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PROTESTANT CHURCHES AND THE FORMATION OF POLITICAL
CONSCIOUSNESS IN SOUTHERN MOZAMBIQUE (1980-1979):

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PROTESTANT CHURCHES AND THE FORMATION OF POLITICAL
CONSCIOUSNESS IN SOUTHERN MOZAMBIQUE (1930 -1974):

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PROTESTANT CHURCHES AND THE FORMATION OF POLITICAL CONSCIOUSNESS IN SOUTHERN MOZAMBIQUE (1930-1974)

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Abstract

The Swiss Mission was established in the southern region of Mozambique in the 1880s. Its insertion in the local community, its methods of work in the field of education, and particularly its use of African languages, generated conflict from an early date, as it was suspected of contributing to the formation of a nucleus of opposition to colonial domination.

In the 1930s the Swiss Mission developed a non-formal youth education system emphasising individual competences and fostering skills essential to the development of a critical understanding of social reality. In the next decades the Swiss developed a project of Africanisation of Church leadership and supported the growth of a small indigenous elite whose social engagement in the circumstances of the redynamised colonialism of the 1930s, 1940s and 1950s transformed the social import of the Swiss Mission work into a fundamental contribution to the development of political consciousness.

Swiss Mission activities fostered a Tsonga ethnic identity particularly by developing a vernacular literary culture. However, the wider world view and inter-cultural contacts constructed through their educational system helped widen the borders of identification from the particular and ethnic to the multi-faceted and national

The developing politico-religious crisis during the 1960s and 1970s, the flight of young Protestants to join the nationalist struggle, the anti-colonial positions expressed by African Pastors from the Mission and the emergence of figures like Manganhela or Mondlane expressed the anti-colonial position of what was by then an African Presbyterian Church and the contribution of the Swiss Mission to the shaping of consciousness, particularly among the younger generations.

ABBREVIATIONS

ANC-	African National Congress
AHM-	Arquivo Histórico de Moçambique
AHU-	Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino
BI-	Borthwick Institute
CAEM-	Comissão de Ajuda aos Estudantes de Moçambique
CAN-	Centro Associativo dos Negros de Moçambique
CEA-	Centro de Estudos Africanos
CCM-	Conselho Cristão de Moçambique
CONCP-	Conferência das Organizações Nacionalistas das Colónias Portuguesas
DGS-	Direcção Geral de Segurança
DM-	Département Missionnaire des Églises Protestantes de la Suisse Romande
FN-	Franco Nogueira Files
FRELIMO-	Frente de Libertação de Moçambique
FGG-	Fundo do Governo Geral
FNI-	Fundo dos Negócios Indígenas
GRAE-	Governo Revolucionário de Angola no Exílio
ISANI-	Inspecção dos Serviços Administrativos e dos Negócios Indígenas
IPM-	Igreja Presbiteriana de Moçambique
MF-	Mozambique Files
MJDM-	Movimento dos Jovens Democratas Moçambicanos

MPLA-	Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola
MUD-	Movimento da Unidade Democrática
NESAM-	Núcleo dos Estudantes Secundários African ^s de Moçambique.
PAIGC-	Partido Africano para a Independência da Guiné e Cabo Verde
PCR-	Programme to Combat Racism
PIDE-	Polícia de Informacao e de Defesa do Estado
SE-	Secção Especial
SECAM-	Symposium of Episcopal Conferences of Africa and Madagascar
SMSA-	Swiss Mission of South Africa
SOAS-	School of Oriental and African Studies
SWAPO-	South West Africa Peoples Organisation
UDENAMO-	União Democrática Nacional de Moçambique
UEM-	Universidade Eduardo Mondlane
UNITA-	União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola
ZANU-	Zimbabwe African National Union
ZAPU-	Zimbabwe African Popular Union
WCC-	World Council of Churches
WIR-	Wiryamu Files of Adrian Hastings
YMCA-	Young Men's Christian Association

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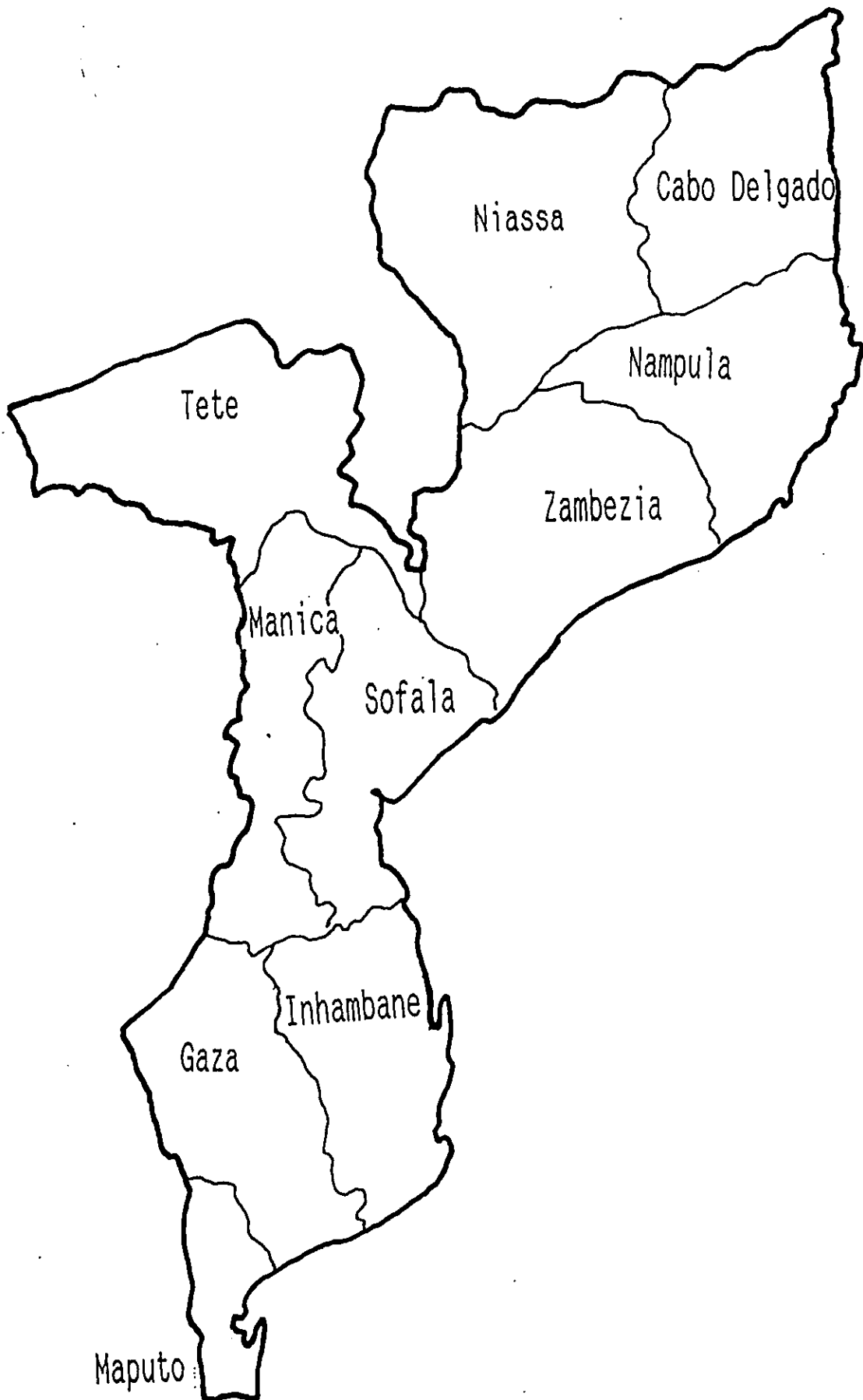
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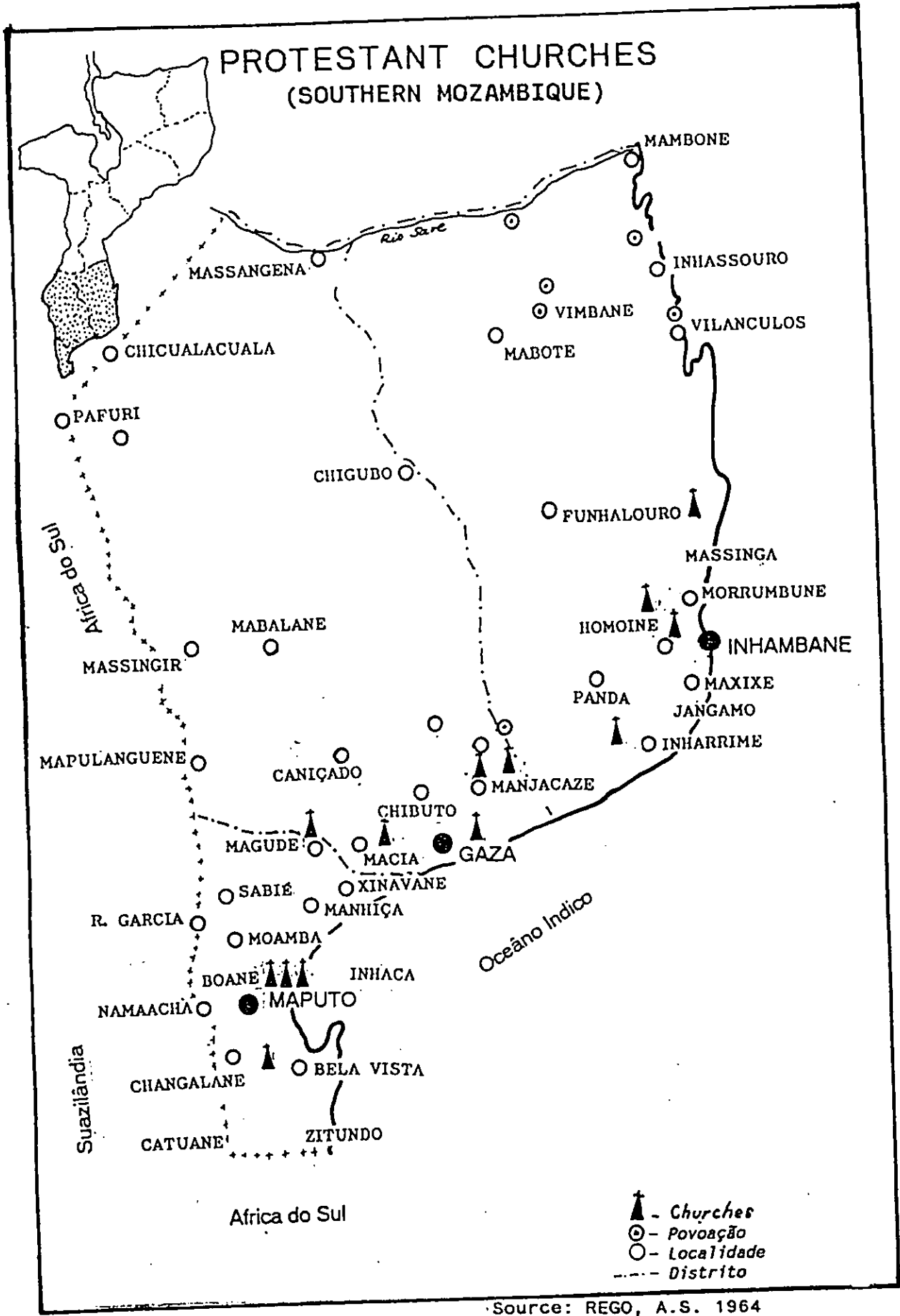
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Source: REGO, A.S. 1964

CHAPTER 1 - RECREATING HISTORY: Voices and Written Words

The argument of this study is that the Swiss Mission in Mozambique made an important contribution to shaping the social and political consciousness of their believers, particularly but not only among the young. By developing a capacity to understand and analyse the world around them through non-formal education, the Mission extended the cognitive boundaries of young people. Promoting access to secondary and university education and preparing an African leadership for the church, the Swiss Mission helped in form an educated elite and consciously contributed in the development of political leadership.

The first idea for this study arose during 1985, when interviewing Mr. Abner Sansão Muthemba¹ on the FRELIMO clandestine network in southern Mozambique². He

¹-Abner Sansão Muthemba, a retired nurse, was born in Gaza in 1916. His father was a primary school teacher of the Swiss Mission. Like other members of his family he was educated by the Swiss missionaries, and most of them did secondary studies. Muthemba had a very active political life participating in activities such as: member of the FRELIMO (Mozambican Liberation Front)clandestine network in Southern Mozambique; member of the Portuguese Communist Party in Mozambique and member of the Associative Centre of Black People in Lourenço Marques(CAN). His connections with FRELIMO led the Portuguese political police to jail him in 1965. A considerable number of his relatives from different generations were also jailed due to their connections with FRELIMO. His brother Mateus Muthemba was murdered in Dar-Es-Salaam as a member of FRELIMO and his niece Josina Muthemba Machel also died during the liberation struggle.

²-See: CRUZ E SILVA, T. A Rede Clandestina da FRELIMO em Lourenço Marques (1960-1974). Trabalho de diploma, licenciatura em História. Universidade Eduardo Mondlane, 1986; and CRUZ E

introduced us to the 'world' of the Swiss Mission, attempting to illustrate the role it played in the formation of an educated elite in southern Mozambique during the 1940s.

When attempting to establish a relationship between the young generation educated by the Swiss Mission and emergent forms of nationalism in southern Mozambique, a preliminary assessment pointed to the necessity of researching oral and written sources in Mozambique and Switzerland.

In 1985 I visited Lausanne, where the archives of the Swiss Mission are lodged in the Département Missionnaire des Églises Protestantes de la Suisse Romande, to collect evidence on the Swiss Mission's social influence in Mozambique. There I met Mr. André-Daniel Clerc³, who worked in Mozambique from 1929 to 1967, and was a central figure in the evaluation of this Mission and who had, on his retirement, organized the Swiss Mission archives. He kindly gave me valuable information and advice on the Mission's history in Mozambique. The interviews with him were full of important information on the organization of their educational work and on the figure of Eduardo Mondlane. Unlike Mr. Muthemba, Mr. Clerc did not mention directly any relation between the emergence of nationalist movements and the Swiss Mission, although he referred to the tense relationship between the colonial state and the Swiss Mission. However, his profound experience and knowledge of the organization of youth groups rooted in African traditions and on the

SILVA, T. A 'IV Região' da FRELIMO no Sul de Moçambique: Lourenço Marques, 1964-65. Estudos Moçambicanos, no. 8, 1990, pp. 125-141.

³-His main activity was developed in the field of education, particularly with young people.

education provided by Swiss missionaries awakened my interest in the study of the role played by the Swiss Mission's formal and informal education and stimulated my interest in a deeper study which led me later to choose the subject of this thesis.

The subject of the study

The purpose of this thesis is the study of work undertaken by the Swiss Mission in social areas in southern Mozambique during the period 1930-1974, with particular focus on the field of education, and the role played by the Swiss Mission in the formation of political consciousness.

Established in southern Mozambique during the 1880s the Swiss Mission, like other Protestant missions, had begun an experience increasingly marked by conflict with the colonial state, as the Mission was suspected of using its work as an umbrella to cover political activities and to 'denationalize' Mozambicans, particularly through their methods of education.

Attempting to deal with discriminatory educational and religious laws of 1929 as well as the social crisis of the 1930s, the Swiss Mission introduced an alternative system of education targeting young people which introduced them to a wider world of knowledge and emphasized individual development and instruments of analysis.

Despite the intensification of restrictions against Protestant churches, the Swiss Mission developed a project of Africanisation of church leadership and supported the

growth of a small indigenous elite among young adherents, whose social engagement against religious and racial repression in the 1950s came to be increasingly political.

The Swiss Mission positions in the colonial political situation during 1960s and 1970s, and their increased efforts to form an educated African elite further provoked the growth of suspicion and persecution against them and worsened the already difficult relationship between the state and the Mission. The developing politico-religious crisis, the flight of young Protestants to join the nationalist struggle and the attitudes of Pastors from the Mission expressed the anti-colonial position of what was by then an African Presbyterian Church.

The regional focus

For Protestants, in general, it was difficult to establish roots in certain geographical areas of the country, owing to the barriers imposed on their expansion by the Portuguese. This meant that Protestant influence in the centre and north of Mozambique was limited until almost the end of the colonial period⁴.

Although in a broad sense we are discussing the Protestant churches in southern Mozambique our main analysis and concrete examples come from the Swiss Mission. The fact that they were mostly concentrated in the present Gaza and Maputo provinces led us to

⁴-On this point, see: GONÇALVES, J.J. Protestantismo em Africa. Lisboa, Junta de Investigações do Ultramar, Centro de Estudos Políticos e Sociais, 1960. Vol. 2.(Estudos de Ciências Políticas e Sociais, no.39); and HELGESSON, A. Church, State and People in Mozambique. An historical study with special emphasis on Methodist Developments in the Inhambane Region. Uppsala, Studia Missionalia Upsaliensia LIV, 1994 (Ph.D. Thesis).

focus our main research in these areas. However, owing to the importance of the Methodist Episcopal Mission and its close cooperation with the Swiss Mission, part of our field work was also conducted in their area of influence, Inhambane Province; most of our comparative references to other Protestant Missions come from the Methodist Episcopal Mission.

Attempts to establish a relationship between the education provided by the Protestant churches in southern Mozambique within the period 1930-1974, and the emergence of political consciousness requires the study of the historical context and the use of multiple sources of evidence.

A brief analysis of the general history and social science literature published in Mozambique helps establish the academic context of this study and the sources and methodologies it has drawn on. During the colonial period, such literature was extremely weak⁵. The post-independence period brought a new generation of historians and different

⁵-For information on the developments of the historiography and social science research on Mozambique, the most immediately useful are: BENDER, G. L. and ISAACMAN, A. The Changing Historiography of Angola and Mozambique. In: FYFE, C., ed. African Studies Since 1945. London, Longman, 1976, pp.220-248; DARCH, C. Análise Bibliográfica, Escritos e Investigação 1975-1980. Estudos Moçambicanos, no.1, 1980, pp.111-120; PENVENNE, J. "A Luta Continua !" Literatura recente sobre Moçambique. Revista Internacional de Estudos Africanos, no.3, 1985, pp. 169-212; ADAM, Y. Historiadores e Ideólogos. In: JOSÉ, A. and MENESES, M.P., eds. Moçambique-16 Anos de Historiografia: Focos, Problemas, Metodologias, Desafios para a Década de 90. Maputo, the editors, 1991, pp.51-72.(Coleção Painei Moçambicano, vol.1); CRUZ E SILVA, T, and JOSÉ, A. História e a Problemática das Fontes. In: JOSÉ, A. and MENESES, M.P., eds. Moçambique-16 Anos... pp.17-27 ; LIESEGANG, G. Possibilidades do Estudo de Espaços Cognitivos Antigos e Mais Recentes em Moçambique, S/C. XV-XX. In: JOSÉ, A. and MENESES, M.P., eds. Moçambique-16 Anos...pp. 29-47.

currents of historiography characterised by a rupture with colonial historiography⁶, and includes general studies⁷, the more recent publications of the History Department from Eduardo Mondlane University⁸, regional studies⁹ and works on specific periods¹⁰ or themes¹¹. It is important to note that a new generation of Mozambican historians has arisen during this period¹².

As in other countries, the history of Mozambique is not exempt from a process of omissions, misinterpretations or distortions of information as a result of political manipulation. Scholars are also affected by the political and social impact of their living

⁶-See: DARCH, C. Análise Bibliográfica...; JOSÉ, A. and MENESES, M.P., eds. Moçambique-16 Anos...; LIESEGANG, G. Possibilidades do Estudo de Espaços...

⁷-See for example: HENRIKSEN, T.H. Mozambique, A History. London, Rex Collings, 1978.

⁸-Departamento de História. História de Moçambique: Agressão Imperialista (1886/1930). Maputo, Departamento de História, Universidade Eduardo Mondlane, 1983. Vol.2 ; HEDGES, D., ed. História de Moçambique: Moçambique no auge do Colonialismo, 1930-1961. Maputo, Departamento de História, Universidade Eduardo Mondlane, 1993. Vol.3.

⁹-See for example: VAIL, L. and WHITE, L. Capitalism and Colonialism in Mozambique: A Study of Quelimane District. London, Heinemann, 1980.

¹⁰-See: PÉLISSIER, R. Naissance du Mozambique: Résistance et Révoltes Anticoloniales (1854-1918). (France), Orgeval, 1984. 2 vol.

¹¹-See for example: PENVENNE, J. African Workers and Colonial Racism: Mozambican Strategies and Struggles in Lourenço Marques, 1877-1962. London, James Currey, 1995; HARRIES, P. Work, Culture, and Identity, Migrant Laborers in Mozambique and South Africa, c. 1860-1910. London, James Currey, 1994.

¹²-See for example: SERRA, C. Para a História da Arte Militar Moçambicana (1505-1920). Maputo, Cadernos Tempo, 1983; COSTA, A.N. Penetração e Impacto do Capital Mercantil Português em Moçambique nos séculos XVI e XVII: O Caso Do Muenemutapa. Maputo, Departamento de História, Universidade Eduardo Mondlane, 1982; COELHO, J. O Início da Luta Armada em Tete, 1968-1969: a primeira fase da guerra e a reacção colonial. Maputo, Arquivo Histórico de Moçambique, Universidade Eduardo Mondlane, 1989.(Serie Estudos, 7); among many others.

and working environment, which is more or less reflected in their academic production. An analysis of social science studies from the colonial and post-colonial periods provides clear illustrations of this. The historical sources, written or oral, are inevitably only part of the reality. The sources do not speak by themselves as history; they require analysis and critique. Obtaining good results from the use of existing sources also depends on the problematization and context developed.

1.1 - Written sources: secondary literature

The analysis of the written sources directly related to our subject matter begins with secondary literature.

Much of the literature on Christianity produced during the colonial period concerns Catholicism and its associated missions, and the Church as an institution¹³; in most cases it attempts to legitimate Portuguese political power¹⁴. The political and social changes which occurred during the 1970s affected the internal structure of the Catholic Church and led to a fresh analysis of the situation of Catholicism in Mozambique and the relationship

¹³-See: GOUVEIA, T.C. As Missões Católicas Portuguesas em Moçambique. Lourenço Marques, Tipografia Guardian, 1960; REGO, A.S. Lições de Missionologia. Lisboa, Junta de Investigações do Ultramar, Centro de Estudos Políticos e Sociais, 1961.(Estudos de Ciências Políticas e Sociais, no.56).

¹⁴-See: GOUVEIA, T.C. Pastoral sobre o Protestantismo. Lourenço Marques, Arcebispo de Lourenço Marques, 1955.

between the Church and the state, as reflected in Pastoral letters and other documentation which reveal the process of crisis and rupture inside the institution¹⁵.

Concerning the Protestant churches, very few systematic studies were produced during the colonial period; only those of Eduardo Moreira¹⁶ and Júlio Gonçalves¹⁷ stand out.

Moreira's study, motivated by the Protestant crisis of the early 1930s in Mozambique and following on from his first report on Portuguese African Colonies¹⁸, covers the history of Christianity in Mozambique from the foundation of Christian Missions to the 1930s. Although he discusses Catholicism and the African Independent Churches, his data on the 'Evangelical Mission' work is perhaps the most valuable information in the book. He analyses Protestant work in relation to Portuguese colonial policies, noting the difficulties the missions had to face particularly in the field of education, and the way the

¹⁵-See: FRANCISCO, B. Q. Os Padres Brancos. Lourenço Marques, Secretaria de Estado de Informação e Turismo, 1971; PINTO, M. V. Na Hora da Viragem. Nampula, Secretariado Diocesano de Informação, 1973.

¹⁶-MOREIRA, E. Portuguese East Africa: a study of its religious needs. London, World Dominion Press, 1936.

¹⁷-GONÇALVES, J.J. Protestantismo em Africa...

¹⁸-MOREIRA, E. General Report of the Rev. Eduardo Moreira's Journey in the Portuguese African Colonies, 20th January to 23rd November, 1934. London, World Dominion Press, 1935. Rev. Moreira undertook his journey on behalf of the 'Liga Evangélica de Acção Missionária e Educacional' of Portugal, and as is mentioned in the introductory note of his report: 'His object was to examine and report on the position of Protestant missions and to consult with them regarding the progress of their work'. In the same report, p.1, the author states that among other objectives his survey should enable him 'to act as a liaison agent between the Missions and the authorities'. It seems that the motivations behind his study of 1936 are the same as those mentioned in his General Report of 1934.

cooperation between those churches helped them to overcome these difficulties. His data and analysis is used in later published sources¹⁹, and he can be seen as one of the first to bring to a wider audience a critique of the religious policies of the established power. However, in his analyses of Protestantism, the work of African evangelists who, particularly in the case of the Swiss Mission, played a pivotal role in the establishment of the Mission, was relegated to second place. Moreira refers to their work in general terms, mentioning specifically only Swiss missionaries' names and actions, such as those of Berthoud or Dr. Liengme²⁰.

Gonçalves' study²¹ analyses the history of Protestantism in Portuguese colonies, particularly in Angola and Mozambique, no doubt motivated by the ideological challenge of nationalism in the late 1950s.

Concerning Mozambique, the author attempts to cover the most important mission and mission societies' history from their establishment to the 1950s. He illustrates their development through statistical information, analyses their methods in the dissemination of the Gospel, and shows the depth of their influence on the native population.

Although Gonçalves recognizes the quality of the Protestant Mission work, particularly in the health and education fields, his arguments and discussion reflect his

¹⁹-See: HELGESSON, A. Church, State and People... or BIBER, C. Cent Ans Au Mozambique, le parcours d'une minorité. 2nd ed. Lausanne, Editions du Soc, 1992.

²⁰-MOREIRA, E. Portuguese East Africa... pp.22-23.

²¹-GONÇALVES, J.J. Protestantismo em Africa...



awareness of the menace they could represent to the assimilation process projected by the Portuguese government for the native population. In analysing the missions' work in social areas such as: i) the mission printing press and the dissemination of literature, ii) teaching and education in general, iii) the emergence of skilled evangelists, Pastors and other African personnel, iv) the attempts of the Protestants to understand custom and traditions, v) the use of radio and cinema, and vi) use of clubs and associations organized by age groups²² as a means of Protestant propaganda, the author reflects strongly his identification with government positions on the question of the 'denationalization' stimulated by the Protestants.

Although Gonçalves' study sometimes presents inexact data, for example when referring to dates of the establishment of Protestant Missions, or when referring to existing Swiss Mission stations²³ and often gives an ideological interpretation of data, it nevertheless does give detailed and valuable information on Protestant work in the Portuguese colonies, and is a good starting point for any scholar researching on Protestant Mission history in Mozambique.

²²-Ibid. pp.177-178.

²³-According to Helgesson (personal information), who did extensive research on Protestant Churches in Mozambique, Gonçalves' history of the establishment and development of Protestant Churches in Mozambique presents some data needing reconfirmation. An analysis of the history of the Swiss Mission in Gonçalves study confirms Helgesson's position.

See: HELGESSON, A. Church, State and People... to compare the history of Methodist Episcopal Mission data, or: BUTSELAAR, J. V. Africains, Missionnaires et Colonialistes. Les origines de l'Eglise Presbytérienne du Mozambique (Mission Suisse), 1880-1896. Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1984; for the early history of the Swiss Mission.

As can be seen from this brief review, the studies of Moreira and Gonçalves are valuable because they constitute documents of the contemporary analysis of Protestant influence on the 'native' population and church-state relations, the former at the inception of the most intense period of anti-Protestant repression, the latter implicitly recognizing the failure of this policy 30 years later.

Rennie's Ph.D.'s thesis²⁴ also analyses part of the mission history of central Mozambique. Rennie's study of the case of Kamba Simango, who was attached at first to the American Board Mission at Mount Silinda while working in Mozambique, deals with emergent forms of nationalism and the role played by the Church in this context and provides a source for an interesting comparison with the southern region.

The most relevant studies produced on Protestantism in Mozambique in recent years are those of Butselaar²⁵ and Helgesson²⁶. Butselaar's book analyses the interaction between three different peoples and three different cultures, namely the Tsonga, the Portuguese and the Swiss missionaries, and attempts to study the foundation and the early history of the Swiss Mission in Mozambique. He also analyses the situation of other missions and churches established in southern Mozambique during the same period (1888-1896). The author contextualizes his discussion within a period of political change, where Mozambique

²⁴-RENNIE, J. K. Christianity, Colonialism and the Origin of Nationalism Among the Ndaus of Southern Rhodesia, 1890-1935. Ph.D. Thesis. Northwestern University, 1973.

²⁵-BUTSELAAR, J.V. Africains, Missionnaires et Colonialistes ...

²⁶-HELGESSION, A. Church, State and People in Mozambique...

passes from a situation of colonialism without extensive politico-administrative occupation through a period of war and negotiations, to the conquest and occupation of the territory by the colonial power. Focusing his analysis on the foundation of the Swiss Mission in Mozambique, Butselaar attempts to illustrate the difficult situation of a new African Church having to face clashes with African people and with the Portuguese authorities, and the identity crisis their believers experienced.

Butselaar's study is the only complete published source on the foundation and establishment of the Swiss Mission in Mozambique. His analyses of the 'African face' of the Mission's first steps and the efforts of the Mission to establish a good relationship with the local chiefs, as well as the study of Tsonga cultural aspects, are valuable to the further understanding of the process of 'africanisation' of the Church and the relationship with the colonial state.

Despite Maluleke's tendency to regard Butselaar's as an 'official history' which does not take into its purview the people's contribution to Mission history²⁷, careful reading of Butselaar's analysis does show us how critical the author is of the positions assumed by Swiss missionaries concerning the African evangelists; Butselaar also underlines the pivotal work of people like Yosefa and Yacob Mhalmhala, Hakamela Tlakula, Lois Xintomane or Jim Ximungana, amongst others²⁸.

²⁷-MALULEKE, S.T. "A Morula Tree Between Two Fields". The Commentary of Selected Tsonga Writers on Missionary Christianity. Doctor of Theology thesis. University of South Africa, 1995, pp.21-22.

²⁸-See Chapter two for more details of the pivotal work undertaken by African Evangelists.

Monnier's study on the Mission Romande (Swiss Mission) in Mozambique during the period of its establishment (1888-1896)²⁹ is strongly critical of Butselaar's book, particularly when discussing the way he used the ethnic concept of Tsonga³⁰ and the way he presented the missionaries' research work in the areas of Anthropology, Ethnology and Linguistics without any problematization³¹. Although I consider these questions pertinent and I agree with his methodological points, it is important to note that Butselaar also presents other relevant material on the missionaries' work, such as the information on the political positions assumed by Swiss missionaries in favour of Africans and internal Mission conflicts, which is particularly useful for understanding the hostility between the Swiss Mission and the colonial state in later periods more central to our research.

Helgesson's study consists of a historical analysis of the triangular interaction between the Church, the state and people in Mozambique in the period 1880-1974. He attempts to understand the causes of the conflict between the church and the state from 1975 onwards by looking at pre-independence history. Although with a focus on Inhambane and on the case of the United Methodist Church (the former Methodist

²⁹-MONNIER, N. *Strategie Missionnaire et Tactiques d'Appropriation Indigenes: la Mission Romande au Mozambique, 1888-1896. Le Fait Missionnaire*, no.2. 1995.

³⁰-The designation Thonga or Tsonga was initially used to refer to people living or originating in areas to the East of Transvaal or Zululand. A linguistic term it was used by H. Junod to identify a 'tribe' or 'nation'. Along with other scholars I have adopted the designation Tsonga as an ethnic group referring to Thonga/Shangaan and Ronga speakers. For more information see: HARRIES, P. *Exclusion, Classification..;* RITA FERREIRA, A.. *Povos de Moçambique: História e Cultura*. Porto, Afrontamento, 1975; JUNOD *Life of a Southern African Tribe*. 2nd ed. London, MacMillan, 1927. With a translation to French (1936), and to Portuguese (1944; 1972; 1974).

³¹-MONNIER, N. *Strategie Missionnaire...*pp.1-2.

Episcopal Mission), the study uses also examples from the Swiss Mission in Gaza and Maputo Provinces, as well as other Protestant Missions in the south.

In analysing the role played by Christian Churches in the history of Mozambique, one of his focuses is the educational field where he presents fundamental data on the Swiss Mission and on the cooperation among Protestant churches. His detailed information on the Methodist Episcopal Mission allows us to compare Methodists and Presbyterian activities and methods of work, particularly in the social areas. Helgesson's study presents also an unquestionable contribution on: i) the study of independent churches in Mozambique, bringing new information and analysis on the role played by Muti Sikobele in the Church independence in 1918; ii) the role of the Mission press in Mozambique; iii) and the development of the ecumenical movement in Mozambique. Like Rennie's study³², it is an important source for the study of the emergence of nationalism from within the African church leadership. In addition, the great value of Helgesson's study is its primary and secondary bibliography on the Protestant churches in Mozambique, enriched by the use of Tshwa writers and numerous interviews with protagonists of the history of Methodism in Mozambique.

Both works contribute material for the analysis of the relationship between the state, church and people, presenting systematic studies in different ways. The first, although not directly related to our period of study provides relevant information to analyse the

³²-RENNIE, J. K. Christianity, Colonialism ...

contemporary history of the Mission. The latter, focused in contemporary periods, introduces important comparative information for our analysis.

In addition to this book, Helgesson's earlier unpublished MA thesis on 'Tshwa Responses to Christianity(...)'³³, with field work undertaken mainly among migrant miners living in the compounds of South Africa, and establishing a continuous comparison between traditional beliefs and attitudes with those found within the Christian community, investigates the impact of the Protestant message on the Tshwa people. This study, although more directed to problems of traditional culture and beliefs, provides interesting comparative material on the impact of Christianity on African societies.

The study of the Swiss Mission in Mozambique has been the subject of more recent theses, which are important points of reference. The study by Jacques Matthey (1971)³⁴, analysing the educational work of the Swiss Mission, particularly concerning the youth groups, attempts to establish a relationship between the evolution of the political situation in Mozambique and the work developed by the Swiss missionaries in the face of the political changes. Matthey's work in this way provides a valuable contribution on the informal education provided by the Swiss Mission. The author also made an interesting

³³-HELGESSION, A. The Tshwa Response to Christianity: a study of the religious and cultural impact of Protestant Christianity on the Tshwa of southern Mozambique. M.A. Dissertation. University of Witwatersrand, 1971.

³⁴-MATTHEY, J. Le Travail Éducatif de la Mission Suisse au Mozambique, Les Ntlawa du Mozambique. Mémoire de Theologie Pratique. Faculté de Theologie de l'Université de Lausanne, 1971.

contextualization, discussing particularly the period 1930-1975, with a focus on Salazar's education policies.

Matthey's study can be seen as one of the first to conduct an analysis of the alternative form of education provided by the Swiss Mission in the context of Estado Novo policies on this field.

The author made good use of primary sources from the Swiss Mission archives at Lausanne. However, his work suffers from limitations of data and interpretation as he used only written information, and consequently presents only one side of the problem³⁵. Written in 1971, his work has been to some extent overtaken by more recent analyses for the period 1930-1975. Nevertheless, Matthey's focus on the education provided by the Swiss Mission presents a systematic study of the problem.

Helgesson³⁶ had access to the same primary sources as used by Matthey. Although analysing the situation of education in Mozambique in the same period, his scope was wider and his view of youth groups was expressed within a more global problematic relating to the links between the colonial state and Protestant churches.

Charles Rohrbasser³⁷ concentrates on the study of types of development and attempts to analyse the impact of the Swiss Mission's work on the Tsonga people in the

³⁵-In the introduction of his work, Matthey recognizes that his limitations of time conditioned his choice of sources.

³⁶-HELGESSION, A. Church, State and People in Mozambique...

³⁷-ROHRBASSER, C. L' Oeuvre Sociale de la Mission Suisse au Mozambique. Mémoire. Université de Lausanne, Faculté des Lettres, 1991.

educational, medical, social and religious areas, focusing his study in the twentieth century (1908-1975). The analysis of social work is contextualized by reference to the general activities of missionaries and to the specific historical period. He presents a systematic synthesis of missionaries' actions, period by period, in the fields of health, education and religion, which is a useful contribution to the systematization of our arguments.

Nicolas Monnier, whose work has already been mentioned³⁸, centred his argument on the problem of whether or not an identity was imposed by the Swiss Mission upon the Tsonga people; he engages in a theoretical discussion around this issue. Discussing the period of the establishment of the Swiss Missionaries in Mozambique, Monnier brings an important contribution to our study by attempting to analyse critically the applicability of different theories and points of view on the question of the development of identities, specifically by reproblematising the Harries thesis on Tsonga identity. By using a dynamic problematic and creating space for alternative argument, he is able to give greater weight than does Harries to the role of African protagonists in the evolution of aspects of identity.

Both theses made use of the Swiss Mission sources in Lausanne, lodged at the Département Missionnaire des Églises Protestantes de la Suisse Romande³⁹. However, writers such as Matthey, Rohrbasser and Monnier did not conduct field research in Mozambique.

³⁸-His mémoire en science politique, from Université de Lausanne, was later published in Le Fait Missionnaire, after revision : MONNIER, N. Stratégie Missionnaire et Tactiques d'appropriation...

³⁹-Hereafter, DM.

The Swiss missionaries developed the written form of the language, playing a pivotal role in the creation of a 'literate culture'⁴⁰. Encouraging the use of vernacular languages for teaching and preaching they stimulated the pleasure of reading and writing. Nevertheless, we still lack written information in Tsonga on the history of the Mission by Mozambicans. This situation can be partially explained by the constraints of Portuguese legislation concerning the use of vernacular languages, particularly from the 1920s onwards, and by the censorship laws.

The newspapers⁴¹ of the Swiss and Methodist Episcopal Missions, written in the vernacular, played a pivotal role in the making of Mission history - in the dissemination of information and in stimulating writing. Like other Swiss Mission periodicals⁴², their evolution parallels that of the society to which they are devoted and they are thus valuable sources on the socio-political evolution of Mozambique⁴³. They enable analyses of the context of important historical periods and of different political tendencies; and they help discern the perspective of the contributors and of the missionaries. The role played by newspapers is discussed in later chapters.

⁴⁰-MALULEKE, S.T. "A Morula Tree... p.34.

⁴¹-Kuca Ka Mixo; Nyeleti ya Miso and Malhale. See Chapter 2 for more information.

⁴²-Bulletin de Mission Romande (1898-1929); Bulletin de la Mission Suisse (1929-1955) and Actualité Missionnaire (1956-1978).

⁴³-See: Chapter 2 for more information.

Although not considered a specialised work on the Swiss Mission, Charles Biber's book⁴⁴ presents a synthetic overview of the history of the Mission (The Presbyterian Church of Mozambique) from its foundation to 1987. Reporting the most relevant points of the history of the church, Biber attempts to characterize the relationship between political power and the Mission work, focusing on the more important points of conflict. Its overall synthesis was useful in the development of a basic periodization and as a guide for further research.

It is also important to note that Adrian Hastings' reports in the British newspapers in 1973 and his publication on Wiriyamu massacres (Tete Province)⁴⁵ represented a new approach in the analysis of Church history and its relationship with the colonial state, reflecting on the crisis of the Catholic Church as an institution in the 1970s and the open conflict between certain sectors of the church and the state concerning the role the church should play in the society. Writing in a similar vein, John Paul (1975)⁴⁶, reporting his personal experience in the Niassa Anglican Mission of Messumba, analysed the relationship between the Anglicans and the colonial state, referring particularly to the period of the war for liberation conducted by FRELIMO. Both authors contribute significantly to the understanding of the relationship between state and Church.

⁴⁴-BIBER, C. Cent Ans...

⁴⁵-HASTINGS, A. Wiriyamu. London, Search Press, 1974.

⁴⁶-PAUL, J. Mozambique: Memoirs of a Revolution. Harmondsworth, Penguin Books, 1975.



Jeanne Penvenne⁴⁷ focuses her analysis on the black workforce of the urban population of Lourenço Marques; it is particularly useful for an understanding of the 1920s and the emergence of nationalism in urban areas. This work also provides an interesting analysis of existing sources in Mozambique, particularly colonial documents and press information.

The Missions' work had a different impact on the local population according to the social, economic and political situation of the historical period and the position of the church in relation to them. The existing literature for southern Africa⁴⁸ as a whole demonstrates that the relationship between the state and the Church was 'an almost classical case of both mutual support and conflict'⁴⁹. Contrary to the relatively undeveloped religious historiography for Mozambique, the literature for the neighbouring countries is rich and diversified, particularly for South Africa. Hastings' paper⁵⁰ presents a very good summary of the different situations of most countries in the region and a basic literature to

⁴⁷-PENVENNE, J. African Workers...

⁴⁸-See for example: HALLENCREUTZ, C. and MOYO, A., eds. Church and State in Zimbabwe. Gweru, Mambo Press, 1988.(Christianity South of Zambezi, vol.3.); PRIOR, A. Catholics in Apartheid Society. Cape Town, David Philip, 1982; GRUCHY, J. The Church Struggle in South Africa. Cape Town, David Philip, 1979; FASHOLE-LUKE et al., eds. Christianity in Independent Africa. London, Rex Collings, 1978; McCRAKEN, J. Politics and Christianity in Malawi 1875-1940. London, Cambridge University Press, 1977.

⁴⁹-HASTINGS, A. Politics and Religion in Southern Africa. In: MOYSER, G., ed. Politics and Religion in the Modern World. London, Routledge, 1991, p.162.

⁵⁰-HASTINGS, A. Politics and Religion...pp.162-188

understand the most important discussions concerning the role of Christianity in society and its relationship with the state.

While researching the impact of the social action of Swiss missionaries in formation of consciousness I was confronted with the use of the designation Tsonga to classify Thonga/Shangaan and Ronga speakers within an ethnic group. My personal life experience and empirical knowledge of southern Mozambique taught me that political and cultural boundaries made a clear distinction between the Shangaan and Ronga, and although identities can be reworked and are subjected to changes, I made a certain number of questions on the origin and evolution of the designation 'Tsonga' to express an ethnic group. The collection of papers in Leroy Vail's book The Creation of Tribalism in Southern Africa⁵¹ had a considerable influence on my analysis of the role played by missionaries in the creation of identities. Because they approached the question of ethnic consciousness as an ideological construction, a colonial imposition or the creation of missionaries, the papers by Vail, Patrick Harries and Terence Ranger⁵² were very suggestive for the problematization of Swiss Mission sources and the analysis of mission

⁵¹-VAIL, L., ed. The Creation of Tribalism in Southern Africa. London, James Currey, 1989.

⁵²-VAIL, L. Introduction: Ethnicity in Southern African History. In: VAIL, L., ed. The Creation of Tribalism... p.1-20; HARRIES, P. Exclusion, Classification and Internal Colonialism: The Emergence of Ethnicity Among the Tsonga-Speakers of South Africa. In: VAIL, L., ed. The Creation of Tribalism...pp.82-117; and RANGER, T. Missionaries, Migrants and the Manyika: The Invention of Ethnicity in Zimbabwe. In: VAIL, L., ed. The Creation of Tribalism...pp.118-150. Patrick Harries enriched his discussion with further publications on Tsonga. For more information see bibliography.

influence and participation in the development of identities and consciousness. More recently, Ranger has undertaken a 'rethinking of the invention of ethnicity'⁵³, where he 'appropriates' Benedict Anderson's notion of 'imagined communities'⁵⁴. An important contribution for our work is the way he attempted to 'explore the relationships of Ndebele identity to the colonial state, to nationalism and to the post-colonial state'⁵⁵.

More recently (1994), Preben Kaarsholm and Jan Hultin published a further collection of papers on such themes⁵⁶, including articles by Shula Marks⁵⁷ and John Lonsdale⁵⁸. From the former I would like only to mention Marks's observation of the importance of church and religion for black and white in the formation of new identities and for nationalist discourse in South Africa. From the latter I would like to note his interesting 'historiography of tribe' from the 1950s to the present where ethnicity is identified as 'a form of nationalism':

⁵³-RANGER, T. *The Invention of Tradition Revisited: The Case of Colonial Africa*. In: RANGER, T. and VAUGHAN, M., eds. Legitimacy and The State in Twentieth-Century Africa. London, Macmillan, 1993, pp.62-111.

⁵⁴-ANDERSON, B. Imagined Communities: reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism. London, Verso, 1993.

⁵⁵-RANGER, T. *The Invention of Tradition revisited*...p.108.

⁵⁶-KAARSHOLM, P. and HULTIN, J., eds. Inventions and Boundaries: Historical and Anthropological Approaches to the Study of Ethnicity and Nationalism. Roskilde, University of Roskilde, International Development Studies, 1994.(Occasional Paper no.11).

⁵⁷-MARKS, S. *Black and White Nationalism in South Africa: a comparative perspective*. In: KAARSHOLM, P. and HULTIN, J., eds. Inventions and Boundaries... pp.103-130.

⁵⁸-LONSDALE, J. *Moral Ethnicity and Political Tribalism*. In: KAARSHOLM, P. and HULTIN, J., eds. Inventions and Boundaries...pp.131-150.

(...)scholars are now beginning to analyse ethnicity positively, as a form of *nationalism*, an intellectually imaginative political project of liberation that makes modern claims⁵⁹ on behalf of civil rights, directly comparable with European nationalism(...)

Lonsdale's assessment of the influence of Benedict Anderson's Imagined Communities (1983), Ernest Gellner's Nations and Nationalism and Eric Hobsbawm's Nations and Nationalism since 1780⁶⁰ in the development of these ideas I found very useful in understanding the evolution of the concepts and dynamics of history as a process. During the development of our main argument, we will discuss the evolution of the concept ethnic identity and ethnic consciousness, which can be considered an embryonic form of nationalism which constitutes part of the basis of national consciousness.

General and regional histories on African Christianity also critically discussed the situation in the Portuguese colonies, particularly the relationship between the Church and the colonial state, although this type of analysis did not devote much space to detailed information and specific situations⁶¹.

⁵⁹-Ibid. p.136.

⁶⁰-ANDERSON, B. Imagined ...; GELLNER, E. Nations and Nationalism. London, Basil Blackwell, 1990; HOBBSAWM, E.J. Nations and Nationalism Since 1780: Programme, myth, reality. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1991.

⁶¹-See for instance: HASTINGS, A. A History of African Christianity 1950-1975. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1979. (African Studies Series, no.26); and HASTINGS, A. Politics and Religion

1.2 - Primary sources

In our analysis of primary sources we include written and oral sources, and we begin with the written sources.

1.2.1 - Written sources

a) The Swiss Mission collections

The Swiss missionaries in Mozambique published valuable studies on culture, linguistics and ethnographic material referring to the people with whom they worked⁶².

The tensions existing between the Swiss Mission and the colonial state obliged them to produce various documents and analyses, regular information on their work for the administrative authorities, and to develop also joint analysis and documents with other Protestant churches in order to reinforce their position in the face of the barriers created by the Portuguese administration. Data from these sources is constrained by the purpose for which it was produced, within a process with specific rules, which has to be taken into account. Along with the development of the main argument we will have the chance to comment on specific problems related to the Swiss missionaries' material.

We used extensively the primary sources of the Swiss Mission archive which, apart from the valuable and rich information on the Mission itself, often gave us the basic information with which to question the colonial data and to prepare interviews. Most

⁶²-See Chapter 2 for more information.

information required was fragmented and scattered, leading us to search in different files containing material on: education; the relationship between the colonial state and the Swiss Mission; the history of the Church; relations with Catholics and other denominations and biographies. Among many important reports, official documents, letters and confidential documents related to Mission activities, we found fascinating files of documents carefully organized by André-Daniel Clerc, containing correspondence exchanged between the missionaries themselves, and between the missionaries and their believers, students and friends, which constituted a particularly valuable source of information. Among these letters, we would like to refer particularly to a collection of correspondence between Eduardo Mondlane and Clerc, which was extensively used in Chapter 6. Apart from their intrinsic historical importance, the correspondence permits the observation of different viewpoints in the analysis being undertaken.

b) - The colonial documentation

The contextualization of our analysis benefitted from much previous analysis developed by other scholars, but was enriched by the valuable primary documentation lodged in the Arquivo Histórico de Moçambique (AHM)⁶³, from which we should mention the collection of Inspecção dos Serviços Administrativos e dos Negócios Indígenas [ISANI]; Fundo dos Negócios Indígenas [FNI]; Fundo do Governo Geral [FGG] and

⁶³-Hereafter, AHM.

Secção Especial [SE]. The Inspecção dos Serviços Administrativos e dos Negócios Indígenas reports give much information on problems affecting the southern region of Mozambique, particularly concerning: migrant labour to South Africa, its social and economic impact, and tentative strategies attempting to stabilize it; white settlement, its impact on African peasants, European land concessions and land struggles; the situation of missions, and the relationship between the local chiefs and the administration. These helped us to understand colonial policies, the local problems of the population with whom Swiss missionaries were working and in general to contextualize our analysis.

Other files in the Secção Especial and Direcção dos Serviços dos Negócios Indígenas show the way the Portuguese administration was organized to control native labour, preventing the economic and political growth of people through repressive measures and a repressive state apparatus controlling the different aspects of life, particularly in the 1960s.

In the primary colonial sources there is a tendency to see the Protestant Churches as using schooling for religious propaganda⁶⁴, and as a threat to national sovereignty or the expansion of Catholicism⁶⁵. The same sources often treat both the mission churches

⁶⁴-See for example: AHM. ISANI, BOX 3. PEREIRA, J. G. T. Inspecção Ordinária ao Primeiro Bairro do Concelho de Lourenço Marques. 1971.

⁶⁵-See: AHM. ISANI, BOX 12. GIL, A.M. Relatório da Inspecção Ordinária à Circunscrição do Maputo e seus Postos Administrativos de Catembe, Catuane, Inhaca e Manhoca. 1960.

together with separatist and Zionist churches as subversive 'sects', attempting to find a relationship between the 'subversive' movements and the education provided by them⁶⁶.

1.2.2 - Oral Sources

Social analysis often has to face historical gaps of diverse origins, such as omissions or testimonies of greatly differing quality on the same subject. Literacy in colonial Mozambique was the attainment of a small minority of the population. Some protagonists spoke through the eyes of those who had the monopoly of the written word in Portuguese or other languages⁶⁷ which could uniquely interpret and reinterpret history, such that the testimonies of ordinary non-literate people tended to be excluded. To counter this, social scientists have to focus their analysis from different angles to obtain different viewpoints on the same reality⁶⁸. For an analysis such as this, one has to rely not only on written historical documents or oral testimony, but also on sources such as photographs, monuments and poetry.

⁶⁶-See: AHM. ISANI, BOX 20. SANTOS, A.P.S. Relatório das Inspeções às Administrações de: Concelho de Gaza; Circunscrição do Bilene; Circunscrição da Manhiça e Circunscrição de Magude. 1953/54. See also: AHM. FNI, BOX 1306. Inventário da Direcção dos Serviços dos Negócios Indígenas (1947-1961).

The only systematic study on Independent Churches in Mozambique undertaken during the colonial period was probably produced by the political police: AHM. SE. FERRAZ DE FREITAS, A. I. Seitas Religiosas Gentílicas. Lourenço Marques 1956-1957, a study which confirmed government suspicions of the churches.

⁶⁷-PENVENNE, J. African Workers...p.12-14.

⁶⁸-Ibid. p.39.

People's testimony can be fundamental to the understanding of particular events or tendencies, filling in historical gaps or showing a new facet of a certain event.

However, histories or documents of life are not there waiting to be taken. They have to be composed. Like snapshots, they are not panorama but partial views (....)

Using songs, poems and interviews and approaching the problems through different areas of knowledge, in short, making use of multiple accounts in our approaches allows us to compare, complement or bring new information to our analysis. In recent years southern African scholars have raised new challenges in the fields of literature, sociology, history and anthropology by developing the use of songs, poems, stories and life stories as important sources of scientific information⁷⁰. Particular mention should be made of the valuable work of Vail and White⁷¹; covering different countries, languages and cultures of southern Africa, they undertake a fascinating analysis of society through songs and poems, including the music of the Chopi in southern Mozambique and work songs from the Zambezia province. From Vail and White we learned how to use song as an historical source and the methodological problems related to it. We were also able to establish a

⁶⁹-BELLABY, P. Histories of sickness: making use of multiple accounts of the same process. In: DEX, S., ed. Life and work analysis: qualitative and quantitative developments. London, Routledge, 1991, p.21.

⁷⁰-See for example: BOZZOLI, B. Women of Phokeng: consciousness, life strategy, and migrancy in South Africa, 1900-1983. London, James Currey, 1991; or VAIL, L. and WHITE, L. Power and the Praise Poem. Southern Africa Voices in History. London, James Currey, 1991.

⁷¹-VAIL, L. and WHITE, L. Power and Praise Poem...

comparison between the resistance songs from Zambezia or from the Chopi and the politico-religious songs recorded during our field work.

Apart from previous material recorded during 1985 when we conducted research work on the FRELIMO clandestine network in southern Mozambique, during our recent field work in the provinces of Inhambane, Gaza and Maputo and during our visits to Lausanne (1993 and 1994), we recorded about 80 hours of life-story interviews, and some in-depth and collective interviews.

The use of the term life-story requires some initial remarks, as some scholars use 'life story' and 'life history' with different meanings, such as making the distinction between autobiography and biography. We adopt the use of such terms, considering 'life-stories' as 'accounts of a person's life as delivered orally by the person himself', and 'life-histories' as the person's own story supplemented by other biographical information. We also adopt the term 'biography' when we are referring to a personal history 'which is written by somebody focusing upon somebody else's life', and autobiography when it is 'written by the person himself'⁷².

A family and an individual trajectory or a biography can be recorded through life stories whose reconstruction is not necessarily limited to a family or individual route reconstruction. It allows us to analyse how far the impacts of social and political events affected them, or what the protagonist knew of the social life from the epoch we are

⁷²-BERTAUX, D., ed. Biography and Society, the Life History Approach in the Social Sciences. London, Sage Publications, 1981, pp.4-5 and pp.7-9.

studying. The selection of this topic for research necessitated the understanding of causal relationships and socio-structural relations at different levels and historical periods and determined our decision to use life stories as a fundamental source of information⁷³.

The following instance suggests some of the problems faced in using oral testimony, particularly life stories. Collecting our preliminary oral information on the Swiss Mission during 1983 and 1984 one of our informants, a very old but perspicacious man kindly and gently questioned us quite often: 'Sorry, are you Marxist?' or 'What could be your interest in the study of the relationship between nationalism and Christianity?' and 'Why are people from a state university interested in such a theme?' The period 1984-1985 was a time when the legacy of post-colonial state hostility toward the various Churches was still only beginning to be undone, and when the state was still labelled as marxist (read anti-Church). The questions and concerns of our informant reflect clearly this situation and show that the greater or lesser freedom with which oral testimonies are made cannot be divorced from changes in the political situation.

The fact that our introduction to the former Swiss Mission was made through a member of a family with strong links with the Swiss Mission⁷⁴ and via recommendation to the top leadership of the church gave us a very privileged situation. Such an entrée allowed

⁷³ - The use of life stories and their scientific value has been discussed by many scholars in the field of social sciences. See for example the collection edited by: BERTAUX, D., ed. Biography and Society...; DEX, S., ed. Life and Work ...

⁷⁴ -Abner Sansão Muthemba, referred to above.

the most difficult barrier to be overcome, resulting in hospitality and friendship instead of the feeling of being an intruder and a complete stranger. Although we felt at that time that responses to our questions were open and the probable fear of the potential use of their information was not an interference with our work, when we completed the research some years later between 1991 and 1994, we felt that people felt freer to revive their memories and were very proud to give information. From 1984-1985 to the 1990s important political changes had occurred in the country; the Church had played a pivotal role and successfully contributed to the organization of the peace process which ended the post-independence war. As a result, its relationship with the state had improved significantly, and the perception of the Churches' positive social role in political discourse thus had some impact on the testimonies.

To reconstruct an individual life and the impact of social and political events on that life means dealing with the memory, and the memory is not like a sponge absorbing liquid. The memory selects and retains only part of the information according to individual or collective interests. Thus, the past is not necessarily one's memory but its reconstruction, affected by external influences, often imaginary and mystified and subject to reinterpretations and various kinds of manipulation. The following examples from our research illustrate some of the problems encountered in collecting data via life stories.

i) - Reinterpreting and reappropriating the history.

Targeting its attention on the young, during the 1930s the Swiss Mission introduced a system of non-formal education to deal with the existing social crisis and the Portuguese laws constraining their activities in the education field. Commenting in 1985 on the impact of the youth education, Charles Périer stated:

One can say that in a certain sense we laid the foundation for revolution in an indirect way. The revolution was being prepared and we prepared in that manner, and I believe that if there had not been all this particular development, the phenomena of the revolution would have been ⁷⁵ slower, more difficult, and perhaps more painful. I said this to Pascoal Mucumbi ⁷⁶, who is a friend of mine. You prepared the revolution in your way and I prepared in mine.

Périer's comments were made after the victory of FRELIMO against colonialism and reinterpreted in the light of present history. Swiss missionaries were involved in the formation of political consciousness of Mozambicans and morally committed to the liberation of the country. However, claiming for themselves part of the preparation for revolution is not only a new reinterpretation of the past in the light of a recent history, but also a reappropriation of that period of history. Charles Périer, like André-Daniel Clerc, made an important contribution to the formation of the educated elite later involved in the

⁷⁵-Pascoal Mucumbi was educated in the Swiss Mission, and was a close friend of Charles Périer. A member of FRELIMO since the 1960s, he was later on Minister of Health, Foreign Affairs and at present he is the Prime Minister (1996).

⁷⁶-Charles Périer interviewed by Teresa Cruz e Silva and Alexandrino José. Lausanne, 29th October 1985. Free translation.

Périer worked in Mozambique as a Missionary and collaborated with André-Daniel Clerc in the creation and establishment of youth groups.

leadership of the liberation movement. His position stated above can be interpreted as a reassertion of the consequences of his work in the Mission, particularly with the youth.

ii) - Omission and manipulation

Swiss Mission activities in Mozambique were not welcomed by the Portuguese administration. The relationship between the Swiss Mission and the state was very tense in the early 1970s, resulting in persecution and arrests of believers, workers and leaders of the Mission and the murder in jail in 1972 of the President of its Synod Council, Zedequias Manganhela, and of the evangelist, José Sidumo. In reconstructing the history of these imprisonments and assassinations, we had access to written documents and some oral information. However, we still face silence concerning some aspects of the history of arrests. A decision of the church was taken that wider discussion of this matter be avoided in order to protect families of ex-prisoners and to avoid division inside the church⁷⁷. Commenting on this, one of our informants⁷⁸ told us how difficult it is to make correct judgements about attitudes of people jailed during that period, considering the psychological and physical repression exerted by the political police. This subject contains evident omissions of detail, with only a part of the history at present recoverable; it can thus be considered a manipulation to maintain the stability of the church itself.

⁷⁷-Personal information from Valente Matsinhe.

⁷⁸-Ibid.

iii) - The imaginary and the mystification

During the development of our main argument we use quite often the biography of Eduardo Mondlane to support our affirmations. We reconstructed the history of his life from different interviews with his relatives and friends, some of his published memoirs as well as from other written documentation. In choosing this example to illustrate the imaginary and the mystification of past memories, we discuss both the use of oral testimonies and written information in our analysis.

Eduardo Mondlane⁷⁹ was educated within the traditions of the Swiss Mission; he also did some of his studies in the Methodist Episcopal Mission. His secondary studies, the first year of university in South Africa and his university studies in Lisbon and United States of America were undertaken with grants provided by Protestant Missions.

In 1961, Mondlane visited Mozambique. Although he was on a private visit his position in the United Nations where he was working and the fact that he was one of the few black Mozambicans with university qualifications created expectations from his compatriots and from the Portuguese authorities. During his stay he was invited to visit the Centro Associativo dos Negros de Moçambique (CAN), an Association of black Mozambicans, and made a speech. He also visited some stations of the Swiss Mission where he had meetings with different people; he travelled to Inhambane, where he also

⁷⁹-A detailed account of his biography is included in Chapter 6 of this thesis.

visited some stations of Methodist Episcopal Mission and also had meetings. His programme of visits was under strict surveillance by the Portuguese police as he was suspected of conducting political activities. After his departure the police made a number of arrests among people who had been in contact with him. Committed to the nationalist movement in Mozambique, he became the first president of FRELIMO in 1962. His charismatic personality and his pivotal role as a leader of a political movement made Mondlane a respected person. Murdered during the process of struggle for liberation of Mozambique, he became a national hero, claimed as their own by different political tendencies⁸⁰.

Attempting to reconstruct the history of his life we faced a number of difficulties, as the detail in the memory was mystified and mixed with much that was imaginary. The most typical case is perhaps the reconstruction of his visit to Mozambique in 1961. We heard different versions of his speech in the CAN and in the Swiss Mission parish of Chamanculo in Lourenço Marques. Unfortunately we have no written document with the speech to compare with these accounts. However, all versions tried to explain that Mondlane's message transmitted the necessity of liberty for the Mozambican people⁸¹. His travels in Gaza and Inhambane with his wife during the 1961 visit are also reflected in numerous versions where, for example, the politicized image of the past results a simple car accident

⁸⁰-See Chapters 6 and 7.

⁸¹-Ibid.

recalled as an attempt at murder, each version trying to represent Mondlane as the symbol and hope of liberty which the colonial power would like to destroy.

Oral testimonies collected on Mondlane's visit to Mozambique in 1961 led us to conclude that the event was interpreted and reinterpreted by different people in a mystical vein, and his words and speeches were interpreted by each person in accordance with their own hopes. The political changes occurring on the African continent during this period in a certain way also contributed to the emergence of different interpretations related to this visit. The written information concerning Mondlane published in the local newspapers in 1961 reflect a different image, which the colonial administration, under international political pressure, wished to show to the world, an image of a country where the colour barriers 'did not exist'.

1.2.3 - The interviews

When defining the strategy of research we faced some difficulty in drawing up a representative sample of people to be interviewed and many changes were made during the work. We had an idea of the necessity to interview males and females covering different generations, from people born in the 1920s to people born in the 1950s, and a minimum number of 30 interviews. Central in interviews was the understanding of: i) evolution in the educational field, ii) the role played by the Swiss Mission in political and social change, iii) the relation between social origins, education and the Church. In practice, after

interviewing two or three key informants, we decided on a 'snowball strategy'⁸². After we had recorded about fifteen life stories and two collective interviews we had the necessary information to draw up an initial picture. However, some generations were not covered and very few Presbyterian women had been interviewed. As a new research strategy we attempted to widen the sample, so as to cover the existing gaps in knowledge and representativeness (age; sex; education, social origin; church). In the process of writing we also realized that the image of a woman with a university education was missing and we turned again to reconstruct a further life story, attempting thus to obtain the missing information.

Part of the recorded material was transmitted to me in Portuguese, although containing a large number of Tsonga cultural expressions; part was transmitted in Tsonga, which I understand well. However, with Portuguese as a mother-tongue, it was very difficult for me to translate all the editing material into English while avoiding a certain number of personal and cultural interferences. Words and phrases having several different meanings in Tsonga, particularly cultural expressions, are very difficult to interpret and translate into Portuguese or English. Although I have attempted to transform my interpretation and perception into an equivalent, sometimes the solutions are not perfect.

⁸²-After the definition of our sample we selected a very restricted number of key informants, to which we aggregated other interviewees in any way related to the previous ones or to their information.
See: BERTAUX, D. *From the Life-History Approach...* p. 37; ALMEIDA, J.F. and MADUREIRA PINTO, J. *A Investigação nas Ciências Sociais*. Lisboa, Editorial Presença, 1990, p.113.

1.3 - The Internal Organization of the thesis

The present thesis is organized in 9 chapters, most of them covering specific chronological periods.

Although our main arguments concern the period from the 1930s to the 1970s, a discussion of the early history of the Swiss Mission and particularly the 1920s is necessary to contextualize the social and political situation for subsequent periods as well as to understand the decisions and policies of the Swiss Mission in the field of education. Consequently, Chapter 2 deals with the period 1885 to 1929. Beginning with an historical background of the Swiss Mission to the 1920s, the discussion focuses on the relationship between the social structure created by the colonial system in rural and urban areas and the consequent increase in conflict which generated emergent forms of nationalism. The Swiss Mission, contributing to the formation of an educated elite and stimulating cultural identities, played an important role in the formation of political consciousness and emergent forms of ethnic nationalism long before the emergence of modern nationalist parties.

Chapter 3 discusses how the tension in the relationship between colonial state and Protestant churches was reinforced by the general socio-economic crisis in the early 1930s and the implementation of the race- and denomination-based education policy delineated in 1929/1930. Attempting to respond to the barriers created by the new educational legislation, in the early 1930s, the Swiss Mission began to develop new methods of education, fostering crucial skills which contributed to 'capacity building' and development of consciousness.

Continuing these themes, Chapter 4 discusses the main consequences of the Concordat for the Protestant Churches (1940-1960). With African education under the care of the Catholic Missions developing an increasingly strong relationship with the state, the difficulties in the relationship between the state and the Protestants were further aggravated. The main discussion of this chapter is centred on the educational situation of the Swiss Mission from the 1940s and their strategies of work in different areas.

Chapter 5 discusses the world-wide and internal challenges which influenced and determined political changes in Mozambique during the period 1940-1960, and analyses the way in which the social engagement of the small indigenous elite came to be increasingly political, in response to post world war repression and discrimination. Political changes also led the more open Protestant missionaries into an ecumenical reflection and reinforced the Protestant churches' ecumenical way of work; this led to the creation of the Christian Council of Mozambique in 1948 and the Ecumenical Seminar of Ricatla in 1958.

In Chapter 6, Eduardo Mondlane's life trajectory for the period 1930-1960 shows the interaction between the Swiss Mission training and an individual's particular historical context in the emergence of an outstanding leadership figure.

In the early 1960s and 1970s, the development of the national liberation struggle and the social and economic policies introduced by the colonial state brought many social changes from which the Church could not stand apart. In Chapter 7 we discuss the situation in which the Swiss Mission's efforts to improve education, train their personnel and Africanise the Church further aggravated suspicions against them. This resulted in a

process of direct persecution and arrest of Mozambican believers and the death of Pastor Manganhela and evangelist Sidumo in jail.

Examining the life stories of men and women from different generations and backgrounds, Chapter 8 gives complementary material on different historical periods, attempting to illustrate and reinforce the main arguments of the thesis which are then summarized and reconsidered in Chapter 9.

CHAPTER 2-THE SWISS MISSION, RELIGION AND SOCIETY, 1880-1929

This chapter analyses the relationship between the social and economic structure created by the colonial system in rural and urban areas, and the resulting conflicts which generated emergent forms of nationalism. The main discussion is related to the particular role played by the Swiss Mission in the formation of consciousness. It attempts to establish a relationship between the early stages of development of the Swiss Mission in Mozambique and their identification by the Portuguese as a source of 'denationalization' in the 1920s and the subversion which occurred in later periods, arguing that:

- i) The establishment of the Swiss Mission in Mozambique was marked by its strong African roots. The existing ethno-linguistic identity of the African evangelists and the Tsonga from southern Mozambique facilitated the creation of good social and political relations with African Chiefs and the insertion of the Mission in the communities. In the next stage the church suffered the impact of a European theology and western values which resulted in conflicts between the newly arrived Swiss missionaries and the pioneer evangelists; and an identity crisis among the converted. However, the political crisis faced by the Mission as a whole during the colonial conquest and occupation of the territory
 - a) distinguished the political position of the Mission from that of the colonial administration
 - b) reinforced if not created the Tsonga notion of identity underlying the frontiers between

them and other groups c) opened a space for the reaffirmation of individual personality and d) gave to the Mission the role of integrating the people.

ii) The Mission's development occurred in the context of chronic political and economic crisis. Portuguese policies concerning native population, labour regulations, forced labour, wages, education and discriminatory laws and attitudes led the missionaries to a) demarcate their political positions from the Portuguese, creating a difficult relationship between the Protestant churches and the colonial state from the beginning, much intensified in the 1920s, and b) find alternatives to colonial policies concerning their work with the native population, whose own initiatives were to grow in the ensuing decades.

iii) The process of vernacularisation was used by Tsonga speakers to transform the written word into an instrument of critical analysis of political and social events, and to reinforce ethnic consciousness.

Protestant missionaries first came to Mozambique towards the end of the nineteenth century. Although their main establishment was in the southern area, they also reached the centre and the north. Most of them entered Mozambique via South Africa, although for central and northern parts the missions entered via Rhodesia and Nyasaland. By 1880, missionaries of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Mission (ABCFM) reached Inhambane and Gaza; from 1884 their work was continued under the supervision of Rev. Richards who was appointed a missionary of the Methodist Episcopal Mission in 1887. During the 1880s the ABCFM also reached Manica and Sofala via South Africa. The

same decade saw the University Missions for Central Africa reach northern Mozambique, the establishment of an Anglican Mission in the south (The Diocese of Lebombo) and the establishment of the South African Wesleyan Methodists, through the agency of Robert Mashaba, who worked in Maputo and Lourenço Marques from 1885¹.

Two Swiss missionaries, Ernest Creux and Paul Berthoud were established in today's Lesotho as volunteers of the Free Church of Vaud in Switzerland, and while working for the Paris Mission, in 1873 they made an exploratory visit to the Northern Transvaal. In the following year, they founded the Mission Vaudaise station there, the base from which they were to extend their work to the east, in the direction of Lourenço Marques.

At this time, Portuguese political control extended barely a few miles beyond the confines of Lourenço Marques. Nevertheless, southern Mozambique was already a supplier of labour to the Natal sugar plantations, Kimberley diamond fields and Eastern Transvaal gold mines. These flows increased markedly from the mid-1880s with the demands from the Witwatersrand gold mines².

¹-See: HELGESSON, A. Church, State and People ...; GONÇALVES, J.J. Protestantismo em Africa...; MOREIRA, E. Portuguese East Africa

²-'Prior to the South African War (1899-1902), Mozambicans comprised 60 percent of the Transvaal mine labour force(...). By 1906 (...), Mozambicans again comprised 60 percent of the mine labour force. From that point until 1920 they generally contributed about 40 percent. From 1920 until Mozambican independence in 1975, the percentage of Mozambicans at the mines varied a great deal, but averaged about 25 percent' In: PENVENNE, J. African Workers... p.24. See also: Ibid. pp.16-17 and FIRST, R. at al. Black Gold: The Mozambican Miner, Proletarian and Peasant. Brighton, Harvester Press, 1983.

This process transformed southern Mozambique into the most important source of migrant labour to rapidly industrializing southern Africa, an activity reinforced by the 1897 agreement signed between the Portuguese and Transvaal governments. Lourenço Marques became a point for the transit of labour and commodities to and from the hinterland. The construction of the Lourenço Marques-Transvaal railway (1894-1897) and the port improvements were a logical response to challenges imposed by the new economic developments. The colonial government began to receive considerable revenues for the transit of goods, and, after 1897, further revenues in foreign exchange for migrants contracted to work in the mines³.

The growth in the economic importance of Lourenço Marques was paralleled by the building of infrastructures such as hotels, shops, roads and other enterprises, thus increasing the demand for labour. The economic changes required new policies to deal with the social and economic consequences of this transformation. The 1890s saw the beginning of labour control and pass laws, while in 1899 a decree officializing forced labour was passed⁴. Defining the moral obligation to work, the law stated that:

³-As stated, the first agreement between Portugal and Transvaal regulating labour supplies was signed in 1897. The 1909 agreement discussed also the utilization of Mozambique harbours and railways for transit traffic. In 1928, a new agreement between the South African Union and Portugal was signed, the Mozambique Convention, comprising the regulations of labour supplies but also the taxes to be paid to the government in foreign exchange for each miner's contract. See: BRITO, L. Dependência Colonial e Integração Regional. Estudos Moçambicanos, no.1, 1980, pp.23-32.

⁴-See: MONDLANE, E. The Struggle for Mozambique. London, Zed Press, 1983, p.33.

(...) all natives of Portuguese overseas provinces are subject to the obligation, moral and legal of attempting to obtain through work, the means that they lack to subsist and to better their social condition (...).

Towards the end of nineteenth century, when Protestants entered southern Mozambique, the region was a mosaic of different cultures and traditions resulting from successive migrations and wars. The region was also beginning to experience the cultural and economic impact of regional industrialization and migrancy, including the increased circulation of money and consequently augmented market for imported products such as alcohol and the demand for prostitutes⁶.

Owing the historical interaction between adjacent zones, by the 1880s, linguistic and family ties united many people in the north-eastern Transvaal and much of southern Mozambique. Before themselves entering the complex socio-economic and political environment of southern Mozambique, the Swiss missionaries were able to take advantage of such common ties, by first sending local emissaries for exploratory visits⁷.

The first journey to Mozambique of a member of the Mission Vaudoise⁸ in South Africa, occurred in 1880. In that year, the son of a Tsonga refugee family in the Transvaal,

⁵-cited by: MONDLANE, E. The Struggle...p.33

⁶-See: PENVENNE, J. African workers...pp.40-43; HARRIES, P. Work, Culture...pp.101-103.

⁷-Jan Van Butselaar(1984)produced a detailed history on the Swiss Mission in Mozambique, for the period 1880-1896.

⁸-Established in 1874 as Mission de L'Église Évangélique Libre du Canton de Vaud (Mission Vaudoise) became Mission des Églises Libres de la Suisse Romande (Mission Romande) during 1883; Mission Suisse Romande during 1917, and later on the Swiss Mission in South Africa. In 1963 the Protestant Churches

Yosefa Mhalmhala, returned to the family homeland north of the Nkomati river in southern Mozambique for private and family reasons⁹, and also used the visit to preach the Gospel. Successful in his first journey, in 1881 Mhalmhala led another mission to southern Mozambique, attempting to i) reinforce his first contacts and to establish others with African chiefs, and ii) obtain official authorization from the Portuguese authorities in Lourenço Marques to undertake religious propaganda in the area. However, the response from the Portuguese administration to the Protestant presence was negative¹⁰. On the other hand, the African chiefs welcomed the evangelists working in their dominions. In 1882, after his ordination as Pastor and nomination as the first missionary to the coastal lands, Mhalmhala undertook his third visit to Mozambique to begin the establishment of the Mission. Mhalmhala worked in the Magude (or Magudzu, 150 kilometres from Lourenço Marques), and Ricatla areas.

At this time, African states in southern Mozambique were in large measure politically independent. The Gaza empire whose influence stretched from the Limpopo to north of the Save, and the kingdom of Maputo, which dominated the lowlands south of Lourenço Marques, were the largest. As the political and military influence of Portugal was

from Romande Switzerland established The Missionary Department of the Protestant Churches of Romande Switzerland (Département Missionnaire des Églises Protestantes de la Suisse Romande). See: BUTSELAAR, J.V. Africains, Missionnaires... p.18.

⁹-Mhalmhala was the son of a Tsonga refugee family from north of Nkomati. See: BUTSELAAR, J.V. Africains, Missionnaires ...p.27.

¹⁰- Ibid. p.32.

limited to the surroundings of Lourenço Marques¹¹, Mhalmhala was able to organize his contacts with African chiefs without any interference from Portuguese authorities despite the latter's hostility.

Mhalmhala's initiatives gave the church in Mozambique specific characteristics. He avoided direct challenges to local cultural traditions and succeeded in locating the church in the community. In the first place, he showed great respect to chiefs such as Magudzu, in whose territory a school was established at Antioca in 1882¹², and secondly he adopted forms of local religion, such as the symbolic structure of rites, so that the new religion did not seem such a wild innovation. He introduced gradually the principles and morality of Christianity and made African religions and Christianity seem symbiotic; he also accepted a number of African customs, such as lobola and polygamy while rejecting other common social practices like drunkenness and adultery or cultural elements like European music.

The integration and acceptance thus achieved led to the mission rapidly being considered locally successful to the extent that a new spiritual movement called 'The

¹¹-For further information see: Departamento de História. História de Moçambique...; HEDGES, D., ed. História de Moçambique...

¹²-Yosefa Mhalmhala had a very good relationship with Chief Magudzu. The characteristics of the early period of the Swiss Mission in Mozambique resulted from his view and his work. See: BUTSELAAR, J. V. Missionnaires, Africaines...pp.46-47; BIBER, C. Cents Ans...p.71.

Awakening' (Réveil) was born in 1885 at Ricatla, where another school was established the following year¹³.

'The Awakening' movement spread into the different areas of influence of the Swiss Mission, registering numerous conversions, although its most important centre remained Ricatla, followed by KaTembe (or Catembe)¹⁴. In 1885, Henri Berthoud recorded the first data about the movement, and more information came in subsequent years¹⁵. In Ricatla it developed around the personality of the evangelist Lois Xintomane, a sister of Yosefa Mhthalmala, and at KaTembe around Jim Ximungana. Other important names in the spread of the movement were Mareta Magowane and Ruti Holene in KaTembe¹⁶.

The main theme within the conversion was the struggle between the spiritual and the material world. Using the reading of 'Buku'¹⁷ where there was a history of Jesus' life, death and resurrection, the evangelist, usually a woman, assumed the forms of African

¹³-According to BUTSELAAR, J. V. Africains, Missionnaires...; the movement was called 'Réveil' (the Awakening), due to its analogy with the Réveil, 'an evangelical revival which began in French-speaking Switzerland in the early nineteenth century'. See: DOUGLAS, J.D., ed. The New International Dictionary of the Christian Church. Exeter, The Paternoster Press, 1974; BUTSELAAR, J.V. Africains, Missionnaires... pp.54-55; BIBER, C. Cents Ans ...p.71.

¹⁴-BUTSELAAR, J.V. Africains, Missionnaires... pp.47-58.

¹⁵-Ibid. pp.48-49.

¹⁶-Ibid. pp.48-50.

¹⁷-The 'Buku' is a translation to Tsonga of four chapters of Genesis, Decalogue and some biblical texts, together with hymns. see: BUTSELAAR, J.V. Africains, Missionnaires... pp.50-51; BIBER, C. Cents Ans...p.21.

rituals and went into a trance¹⁸. People 'touched' by the spirit also had emotional expressions, such as violent convulsions and other external manifestations¹⁹. Thus, although the conversion had the objective of bringing people to Jesus Christ, there was a visible process of identity bridging the new religion with African religions.

Indeed, the complex, rapidly changing and often threatening socio-economic milieu seems to have called out for such identity and integration. 'The Awakening' movement, using the vernacular language to convert, reemphasizing forms of African religious rites integrated with Christianity around the biblical authority transmitted by the 'Buku', played such an integrative role. The African evangelists thus played a key role during the early establishment of the Swiss Mission in Mozambique.

Such success was well reported to the Transvaal Mission. Nevertheless, the implantation of the church in Mozambique was not exempt from tension between African pioneer evangelists and Swiss missionaries, particularly between 1885 and 1895. Indeed, the very success of the Mission's initial implantation caused serious misgivings among some white missionaries. A series of discussions took place in the Transvaal and Lausanne on the establishment of a 'White Mission' in Mozambique²⁰. Although divided on the

¹⁸-The conversion was usually a moment of emotion, where the preacher expressing her sentiments is usually shaking or crying. Those undergoing the conversion also experienced strong emotion when reporting their faults and particularly when they felt 'touched' by Jesus Christ, also shaking and crying. See: BUTSELAAR, J.V. Africains, Missionnaires... p.49 and pp.52-54.

¹⁹-BUTSELAAR, J.V. Africains Missionnaires... pp.51-55, wrote an interesting analysis on Réveil, from which we have drawn most information.

²⁰-Ibid. p.67-68.

matter, the Mission Society decided to send a further exploratory party. In 1885 Henri Berthoud and Eugene Thomas organized a journey to Mozambique and, as a result, in 1887, Henri Bethoud was established in Mozambique; in 1888 and 1889 other pastors joined the Mission in the coastal plain²¹. In this period came the official recognition of their stations in Ricatla (1887), Lourenço Marques (1889) and Antioca (1890). Further schools were established and in 1892 it is reported that the Mission had 6 schools directed by one full-time teacher working with 5 evangelists, and a total of 260 students²².

Despite recognizing the positive aspects of the work undertaken by African evangelists, Berthoud's 1885 report referred to the difference he found between the church in Mozambique, profoundly marked by African influence, and the church in the Transvaal, under the supervision and influence of Swiss missionaries. Other colleagues had a more decided opinion on the quality of the work developed by African evangelists, whom they often considered insufficiently educated to assume leadership positions without supervision by a European. The inflexibility and intransigency of Paul Berthoud and Arthur Grandjean and the new evangelists they brought with them, particularly in regard to the assimilation of elements of African religious practice with those of Christianity, brought about an open crisis between the pioneer evangelists and their believers and the Swiss missionaries²³.

²¹-See: Ibid. pp 59-66 and 70-88. Although the living conditions were not the best, and malaria was a widespread dangerous disease, in the following years other Swiss missionaries came to the coastal region of Mozambique; among them Arthur Grandjean (1888) and Henri-Alexandre Junod (1889).

²²-BIBER, C. Cents Ans... p.71.

²³-BUTSELAAR, J.V. Africains, Missionnaires... pp. 71-78.

For the latter, the assimilation of forms of African religion into Christianity was difficult to accept. Fearing that the 'Awakening' movement would lead to a return to paganism or to a syncretic movement, the European missionaries introduced severe measures against such acculturation, which they considered as a barrier to the development of Christianity.

Such internal differences were for a time exacerbated by friction between evangelists and some missionaries on the right of the former to a salary paid by the Mission²⁴; the intransigence of the Mission on the matter led to resignations, strikes and problems of internal discipline, and deepened the tension between the Transvaal and the Mozambique mission²⁵. The climax of this crisis occurred in 1892, when Yosefa Mhalmhala, the founder of the Swiss Mission in Mozambique, was suspended from his activities for a period of six months. However, the commitment of Lausanne and Transvaal to the solution of this contradiction, as well as Mhalmhala's personal modesty - he was prepared to recognize his own failings - enabled the Church to avoid an open schism²⁶.

²⁴-According to Paul Berthoud the Evangelist should be paid by the community which he was working, although under the missionaries' direction and supervision. For further information see: BUTSELAAR, J.V. Africains, Missionnaires... pp.88-91; BIBER, C. Cents Ans... p.106.

²⁵-Yonas Xitole, from Transvaal, and a relative of Yosefa Mhalmhala entered Mozambique in 1887 with Paul Berthoud, but was suspended (1890) from his activities in the Church in Mozambique, due to disciplinary problems. See: BUTSELAAR, J.V. Africains, Missionnaires... p.74; Eliab Mhalmhala, a nephew of Yosefa, and a primary school teacher sent by the Transvaal Mission to work in Ricatla was also not accepted. Ibid. p.80-81. The coastal mission also created barriers to Daniel Magudzu, son of a chief Khosa, studies at Morija school in Lesotho. Ibid. p.81.

²⁶-Ibid. pp.88-91.

Apart from the evangelists, the body of elders was a fundamental part of the new church; Hakamela Tlakula, Lois Xintomane, Mareta Magowane, Ruti Holene and Jim Ximungana came to be important figures in the establishment of the Presbyterian church in Mozambique²⁷, establishing links between the community and the church. Aware of their role in the community, Swiss missionaries prepared conditions for their training. Thus, in 1890, Berthoud organized an elders' college under European leadership. Elders had also regular short courses and meetings to discuss their problems, which helped them organise their work. More widely, education was not only for training students and teachers, but also young or adult adherents and other personnel in charge of organizing mission life. The evangelization of adults was done with the elders' collaboration, taking advantage of the fact that they were respected persons within the community. Working basically in the parishes, their role in society was to advise and to intervene in connection with sensitive family and community problems such as marriages, divorces, family problems and youth matters. Thus, they reinforced the ties between church and community, of which they were the representatives²⁸.

Aware of the limited area of influence of the Portuguese administration and the importance of having a solid relationship with African chiefs²⁹, the Swiss missionaries

²⁷-More information on the names mentioned can be found in BUTSELAAR, J.V. Africains, Missionnaires...

²⁸-Sec: BIBER, C. Cents Ans... p. 107.

²⁹-BUTSELAAR, J.V. Africains, Missionnaires... p.60.

maintained and improved the good relationships with the chiefs previously established by the evangelists. When the King of Gaza, Ngungunyane, moved his capital to Mandlakazi (or Manjacaze) in 1889, they made approaches to establish an official relationship with him. The first contacts were made by an exploratory mission which began with the visit of Hakamela Tlakula and his brother Elihu to the Gaza capital, followed by that of Henri Berthoud in 1891³⁰. They were well received and were invited to establish a mission station there. Despite the continued opposition of the Portuguese, voiced through their representative at the king's court, Paiva Raposo³¹, the Mission went ahead, and an official relationship grew up between them, through the Swiss missionary and doctor, Georges Liengme. Dr. Liengme remained at Mandlakazi between 1893 and 1895, teaching, doing medical work and acting as advisor to Ngungunyane, with whom he became a close friend³².

When the resistance of local states and chiefdoms against Portuguese encroachment and labour depredation finally gave rise to war in 1894-95, the Mission began to suffer the direct consequences of the war, through material destruction or dispersion of converts. Thus, for instance, in 1894, Ricatla village and the church were set on fire, once by the Tsonga and a second time by the Portuguese³³.

³⁰-Ibid. pp.99-100.

³¹-Ibid. p.100.

³²-Ibid. pp.106-109.

³³-Ibid. pp.126-129.

George Liengme was requested by Ngungunyane to mediate with the Portuguese. However, Liengme's approach to the Portuguese Royal Commissioner in Lourenço Marques, António Enes, with a message from Ngungunyane, only increased suspicion against the Swiss missionaries³⁴. Despite warnings from the Portuguese, Liengme continued to live at Mandlakazi, an attitude regarded by the Portuguese administration as taking the side of the Gaza King³⁵.

The war had an important impact on the Mission. It served to push internal mission differences into the background, as the Swiss missionaries found themselves, effectively if not openly, on the same side against the Portuguese as much of the African population of southern Mozambique. With the end of the war and the defeat of the Gaza and the local chiefs, the Swiss had to face widely circulated Portuguese accusations regarding their relationship with the subjugated chiefs³⁶. Some missionaries were prosecuted. Dr. Liengme was forbidden to stay in Mozambique and Henri-Alexander Junod left the country.

Although a diplomatic conflict between Portugal and Switzerland was avoided³⁷, the war's circumstances and the positions adopted by the missionaries reinforced the perception that the Swiss were hostile to Portuguese colonialism. This contributed, on the one hand, to future tensions with the colonial administration and, on the other, to the internal solidarity

³⁴-Ibid. pp.142-144.

³⁵-Ibid. pp.127-128 and pp.131-138; BIBER, C. Cents Ans... pp.41-43.

³⁶-BUTSELAAR, J.V. Africains, Missionnaires...pp.114-115 and pp.132-136.

³⁷-Ibid. pp.132-134; ROHRBASSER, C. L'Oeuvre ...pp.43-45.

of the Mission and to the esteem in which the Protestants were held locally. There seems little doubt that, by changing the overall context, the intense political and military crisis of 1894-5 was instrumental in the final resolution of the Mission's internal conflicts: the reconciliation between the Mission's pioneer evangelists and its rigorous missionaries finally came in 1895. Moreover, when in 1896, the Mission was affected by a further 'reawakening', with numerous conversions, similar to the previous experiences at Ricatla and KaTembe, Junod, now back in Mozambique, recognized that the social and ideological crisis the people had undergone during a period of violent colonial conquest called for the recuperation of lost cultural values. Although Junod did nothing to stimulate the development of the movement, he did not repress it.

Indeed, the conquest crisis seems to have brought about the context for deepening Swiss Mission interest in African culture, and in the next decade mission activities grew significantly. In part this was a direct result of their scientific and educational work.

Having good staff in the health and educational areas, and others interested in socio-cultural studies with a relatively high level of academic training³⁸, the Swiss began the study of 'customs' and 'traditions' of Tsonga-speakers³⁹. Henri-Alexandre Junod (1863-

³⁸-Most Swiss missionaries had a university degree and a solid training, usually in Portugal and Great Britain. According to the rules of the Swiss Mission, candidates for missionary work were to have a certificate of studies or have a skill to follow a profession. See: ROHRBASSER, C. L'Oeuvre....p.51; quoting: DM. MF, 497C. Règlement Administratif de la Mission Suisse. 1918.

³⁹-Henri-Alexandre Junod wrote different books on Tsonga people. See for example: JUNOD, H.A. Life of a Southern African ...; Ibid. Les Chants et Les Connotes des BA-Ronga. Lausanne, 1897; Ibid. Grammar Ronga. Lausanne, 1896.

1934)⁴⁰, who conducted linguistic, ethnological and ethnographic studies, dedicated an important part of his life to working in Mozambique, publishing the first version of the renowned 'The Life of a South African Tribe' in 1912⁴¹.

Initiating the study of the vernacular to communicate and to evangelise, Swiss missionaries developed the written form of the language. Thus, the Bible, religious texts and hymns were translated into the vernacular. Literacy and evangelization, both conducted in the vernacular, went side by side. Literacy was an important part of conversion. As Harries remarks:

Literacy was particularly linked to Christianity⁴² by those missionaries who used the Bible as a textbook and basic reader (...).

Their Bible reader, the buku, was a powerful instrument of evangelization. People were impressed by reading as a means of communication⁴³, particularly when this was in an idiom with which they had some familiarity.

One of the first translations, edited by Paul Berthoud in 1883 and published in Lausanne, was a small book ('Buku'), above mentioned. The publication of such books written in the Transvaal no doubt facilitated the work of the pioneer evangelists and missionaries in the similar linguistic terrain of southern Mozambique. That the study of the

⁴⁰-For more information on H-A Junod's work see: BUTSELAAR, J.V. Africans, Missionnaires...p. 5 and p.76.

⁴¹-Ibid.

⁴²-HARRIES, P. Work, Culture... p.216.

⁴³-HARRIES, P. The Roots of Ethnicity: discourse and the politics of language construction in south-east Africa. African Affairs, vol.87, no.346, 1988, p.42.

language played a very particular role for church implantation and conversion is stressed by Junod thus:

C'est donc par les langues que nous pénétrons le plus avant dans l'histoire de l'esprit des peuples .

Patrick Harries in his fascinating studies on the Tsonga from north-eastern Transvaal and southern Mozambique⁴⁵ has developed the thesis that Tsonga language and Tsonga tribe or ethnic grouping were both a creation of Swiss Missionaries, who 'interpreted the African world through the prism of a specific intellectual system of structure of knowledge'⁴⁶, leading to the necessity for social classification. Harries points also to the influences of nineteenth century concepts of nationalism on Junod, and particularly to the centrality of language in national groupings and classifications⁴⁷. Thus, Tsonga ethnicity was the result of language construction legitimated by historical and cultural development⁴⁸.

Whether the ethno-linguistic construction of Tsonga is or is not totally a creation from Swiss missionaries is less our concern. What is clear is that the missionaries

⁴⁴-Quoted by MONNIER, N. Strategie Missionnaire...pp. 25-26; citing JUNOD, H.A. La Tribu et la Langue Thonga avec Quelques Échantillons du Folklore Thonga. Lausanne, Georges Bridel & Cie, 1896.

⁴⁵-See for example: HARRIES, P. The Roots...; Ibid. Exclusion, Classification ...; Ibid. Work, Culture...

⁴⁶-HARRIES, P. Exclusion, Classification... p.87.

⁴⁷-Ibid.

⁴⁸-See Chapter 1.

contributed substantially to the study of the vernacular, to its early and relatively widespread use, and to the development of the Tsonga concept of ethnicity. The establishment and integration of the Swiss Presbyterian church in north-eastern Transvaal and southern Mozambique went hand in hand with continuous ethno-linguistic studies.

In a recent study of the Mission work in the Transvaal, Maluleke emphasises that: 'No aspect of Tsonga life has been influenced by missionary intervention more than that of literature and creation of literate culture'⁴⁹. The development of the written form of the language led to the definition of borders, demarcating the community from others. Teaching reading and writing in the vernacular, and using it for religious teaching, reinforced the notion of belonging to a collectivity with which people identified and shared attributes, by maintaining a fundamental part of local culture while taking advantage of a modern means of communication.

The written word became an important instrument among Christians who were able to read and write in their own language, thus widening their vision of the world. By using these means, they also won a special status in the community.

Publication of religious texts for teaching the Gospel and the commitment of missionaries to education, requiring the printed production of material for education (schooling, health and community education) in African languages, led to the establishment of the mission's own printing press in the late 1890s. The first Tsonga printed works were

⁴⁹-MALULEKE, S.T. 'A Morula .. p.29.

translations of religious material, like the original 'Buku', followed by school textbooks and other educational material. The Swiss Mission in Mozambique printed most material in cooperation with the Swiss Mission of South Africa (SMSA)⁵⁰.

With the expansion of literary material based on a standard orthography and style, Tsonga speakers were now exposed to perception of wider linguistic similarities transcending local political, social or economic barriers. With the development of communications they also became aware of political and economic changes in the world. Commenting on the role played by the printing press, Harries remarks:

Printing itself was of central importance as it made tangible a community that otherwise could only be imagined. It allowed disparate peoples, for the first time, to visualize themselves as community. Primary school education⁵¹ sought to establish close ties between the vernacular language and ethnic identity.

The study of 'customs' and 'traditions' of African people by missionaries provided cultural elements in a systematized form which underscored the notion of similarity imputed by the written language. In this process, education played an important role in socialization of cultural identity, and developing an ethnic awareness. In the Transvaal

⁵⁰-The very first Tsonga work had to be sent to Lausanne for printing. Later, in cooperation with Morija Printing Works of the Paris Evangelical Missionary Society (PEMS) based in Basotholand, the SMSA published almost all Tsonga works, from Bible translations to school readers and text-books. This they did variously under the name, Central Mission Press (based in Doornfontein, Johannesburg), Swiss Mission in South Africa (based in Kensington, Johannesburg), and in our own times, they have (re-)named their publishing house Sasavona (based in Braamfontein, Johannesburg) which was the title of the first Tsonga book to be written by a native Tsonga. 'In: MALULEKE, S.T. 'A Morula...p. 26, footnote 20.

⁵¹-See: Harries, P. *The Roots...* pp. 43-44. See also: ANDERSON, B. *Imagined Communities...*; for more information on the role of printing-press and language on the formation of political consciousness.

mines, migrant labourers working in teams and living in compounds organized according to area of origin, were exposed to a similar process, which was reinforced by the literacy and Christianity propagated in the vernacular by Swiss missionaries working there. The migrants acted as diffusers of these ideas in rural areas on their return, aided by the increasing availability of simple books in the vernacular⁵².

Influenced by these various factors, by the turn of the century, the Swiss Mission had recovered from the crisis of the mid-1890s and had become even more deeply committed to southern Mozambique. By 1902, the Mission had a base at Matutuine in the Maputo valley, and by 1908 it was installed at Chicumbane in Gaza Province⁵³. Lourenço Marques, Ricatla and, subsequently, Chicumbane were the most important places for medical assistance and schooling, as well as the training of personnel. In 1903, the Swiss Mission had its first synod in Mozambique, where the significance of training Mozambican Pastors and personnel to work in the Mission was underlined⁵⁴. Probably as a consequence of this, in 1907 Junod founded a school at Ricatla for the full training of evangelists and teachers not only in religious matters but also in basic techniques of giving lessons in literacy⁵⁵. Each course had 3 terms. According to Pastor Simão Chamango, the three first students to pass through the new course were: Filimone Gana, who subsequently

⁵²-HARRIES, P. Exclusion, Classification... pp.102-103; HARRIES, P. Work Culture... pp.213-220.

⁵³-1902 and 1908 are the dates of official recognition of these stations.

⁵⁴-CHAMANGO, S. História da Igreja Presbiteriana de Moçambique. Maputo, 1987, pp.14-15. mimeo.

⁵⁵-BIBER, C. Cents Ans... p. 73.

worked at Manzir; Tandhana Muhungu, who worked in Antioca and Chamanculo and Dan Malungana, who went to Guijá. Pastor Chamango also records Alfredo Moyana who worked in Ricatla, Mahele, South Africa and Nhlangene, and Ndimene who worked in Nsime⁵⁶.

As a consequence of the expansion of the various missions entering southern Mozambique, since the early stage of their establishment, most of them attempted to define areas of influence in order to avoid conflict. According to Helgesson⁵⁷, in the Inhambane region there were clashes amongst different denominations, including the Anglicans, the Free Methodists and the Methodist Episcopal Mission. He also mentions the Protestant missions in the Limpopo river valley, where the Swiss Mission although having a 'strong presence', particularly to the south of the river, had to compete with the Anglicans and Wesleyans. To cope with this situation, the missionary societies organized agreements in order to avoid 'overlapping and competition in a given area'⁵⁸. The process of definition of areas of influence itself brought some misunderstandings between some Protestant denominations, as the dispute of the Swiss with the Wesleyans over the activities of

⁵⁶-Personal Communication, Pastor Simão Chamango, who is the President of the Synod Council of the Presbyterian Church in Mozambique (Swiss Mission) and the head of Ecumenical Seminar in Ricatla. He bases the information on the records of the church.

⁵⁷-HELGESSION, A. State, Church and People...p.134.

⁵⁸-Ibid.

evangelist Robert Mashaba in Lourenço Marques testifies⁵⁹. On the other hand, The Swiss missionaries developed excellent working relations with the Episcopal Methodists⁶⁰.

The first decade of the twentieth century brought to the fore social and political factors which were to have significant influence on the Swiss Mission's stance.

One of these was the consolidation of the rural administrative system and its relationship to the rapidly developing southern Mozambican economy. After the consolidation of the Portuguese victory over African chiefs, and a long period of military rule, only in 1907 was a civil administrative system introduced, with the circumscription or district, headed by a Portuguese administrator, working with paramount chiefs loyal to Portuguese interests. The new system, together with the labour regulations from the early 1900's onwards, were to be the main basis for the establishment of the colonial economy.

Attempting to maintain a very low wage labour force and simultaneously solve the chronic internal labour shortage, the colonial administration institutionalized the use of forced labour (chibalo), and in 1904 created the Department of Native Affairs and Emigration to supervise and control recruitment⁶¹. Further attempts to control African labour, but targeting 'domestic servants and day labourers at the port'⁶² were introduced

⁵⁹-Ibid. pp.166-175.

⁶⁰-Ibid. p.151.

⁶¹-See: Departamento de História. História de Moçambique... p.242; PENVENNE, J. African Workers ...p.24.

⁶²-See: PENVENNE, J. African Workers...pp.63-64.

through the Regulations of Domestic Servants and Native Workers in 1904. The 1909 agreement signed between South Africa and Portugal, on the export of labour and on rail and port transit, reinforced the dependency of southern Mozambique on South African mining capital.

Both chibalo and migration extracted male labour from rural areas, contributing to the depopulation of parts of the countryside, to the reduction of peasant agricultural production and to the impoverishment of the population. Tax increases (in 1908), low wages and poor conditions of work contributed to the further dependence of the peasant economy on migrant wages. The attempts of Portuguese to control the flow of labour to the mines, while coping at the same time with internal demands for labour thus created a vicious circle.

The Swiss missionaries sent reports on the destructive social consequences for the rural population, especially on the structure of the family, as well as the general brutality of this increasingly institutionalised labour mobilisation system, to the Mission Society in Lausanne. Most of them were never published, in order to avoid upsetting the relationship between the Mission and the colonial state⁶³.

This was not the only area of potential conflict. In 1907 the Portuguese Governor-General in Mozambique, Freire de Andrade, published regulations for schooling and religious education, the objective of which was to compel the teaching of African children

⁶³-ROHRBASSER, C. *L'Oeuvre...* pp.68-69.

in Portuguese⁶⁴. Using vernacular languages for schooling, and with considerable investment in literature in languages such as Ronga, Tsonga and Tshwa, the Protestant missions now faced the prospect of changing fundamental aspects of their policies in education and teacher training. Furthermore, in June 1908 an official syllabus for 'native' schools was published⁶⁵. The application of the 1907 regulation and 1908 syllabus had a transitional period of 3 years, permitting the use of vernacular languages during the first two classes of primary school, with the other levels being taught in Portuguese.

Although we know that the Swiss Mission enrolled a number of teacher-evangelists in Portuguese language courses, we have no data on the interpretation and application of these regulations by local administrators for the Swiss Mission; Helgesson tells us of the Methodist Mission experience in Inhambane in the same situation:

The Methodist missionary Terril further reported that he had pleaded with various government officials for the right to carry on the work, in spite of the new laws. "Some permitted school and church services to go on, others permitted church services only, but some refused requests". He then revealed that he had called for diplomatic action⁶⁶.

This was only the starting point of a series of constraints to be imposed by the Government on Protestants, consistent with their attempts to reaffirm their position in

⁶⁴-Portaria 730 from 3rd, December, 1907 quoted in: BIBER, C. Cents Ans...p.72. See also: Bulletin de la Mission Romande, vol.XXI, no.273, 1908.

⁶⁵-Bulletin de la Mission Romande, vol.XXI, no.273, 1908; DM. MF, 820 B. CLERC, A.D. Report on the Situation of the Evangelical Missions in Mozambique. 1956.

⁶⁶-HELGESSION, A. Church, State and People ...p.138 and p.165.

Mozambique, where the use of Portuguese was important for the acculturation of the population under their political control.

Although this issue was to develop into a profound crisis in the 1920s, the advent of the Republic in Portugal in 1910 brought some relief, albeit temporary and indirectly, to the Protestant churches in Mozambique. With the new regime, the anti-clerical movement gained momentum and in 1913 separation between state and Church was decreed. Supplementary legislation for the colonies of the same year meant that the Catholic Church lost its privileged status in relation to the subsidies it received from the state. Changes legislated in Lourenço Marques also indicated a more even handed approach toward the missions. In August 1914, Governor-General Joaquim Machado published a decree authorising the payment of a subsidy to all Portuguese religious missions for their work in 'civilizing' the native population. In October a further decree granted the same 'to every native school recognized by the Government and having as its head a teacher with diploma'(sic)⁶⁷, thus extending subsidies to Protestant missions. According to Helgesson, there is no record of any Protestant mission receiving the subsidy, although the Swiss Mission had teachers with a primary school certificate, and consequently could have

⁶⁷-Ibid. p.159; citing: DM. MF, 93C. Procès-Verbal de la Conference du Littoral. November, 5th-7th, 1914. See also: Ibid. p.165.

benefitted. It seems that they did not apply, so as to maintain their independence from the government⁶⁸.

If the advent of the Republic gave some breathing space, the development of a broad social and economic crisis during and after the First World War, along with associated regional political consequences, eventually carried serious implications for the Protestant missions. Indeed, hardly had southern Mozambique begun to recover from the effects of widespread famine in 1913⁶⁹, than it came to experience the economic and political disruption attendant on Portuguese adherence to the allied war effort; this was manifested most directly by the loss of control by the Mozambican colonial government of the value of its currency in relation to imported basic and consumer goods.

In the emerging racially stratified social hierarchy in Lourenço Marques, in which African labour was increasingly subjected not only to exclusion from skilled jobs but also to discriminatory wage levels, the consequences of the economic crisis among the majority population were particularly severe. Although by comparison with agricultural chibalo workers, forced labourers in the port and railways were better off, even these began to suffer the effects of rapid inflation after 1916. Currency devaluation and the inflation of the prices of basic goods accelerated still further after the end of the War. While white worker protest was met by the concession of economic privileges such as wages in hard currency,

⁶⁸-HELGESSION, A. *Ibid.* p.165

⁶⁹-*Ibid.* p.160; Casimiro Mathié interviewed by Teresa Cruz e Silva and Alexandrino José, Chicumbane, 29th January 1993. Both referred to the effects of this famine in the Inhambane and Gaza regions.

no such facility was afforded to African workers. The continuing discontent resulted in more than 10 strikes and work interruptions involving African workers in Lourenço Marques between 1917 and 1926, each repressed with considerable police or military brutality followed by deportations, arrests or sentences of forced labour⁷⁰.

In this overall context of social tension, the Protestant missions as a whole came once again under suspicion as the proponents of the social interests of the majority African population, and even as the perhaps unwitting defenders of some of its socio-political aspirations.

The Swiss Mission had begun alternative agricultural projects in 1909 under François Paillard, with the objective of promoting individual enterprise as a socially and economically preferable alternative to migration to South Africa or Lourenço Marques, and of overcoming the barriers to African land ownership⁷¹. In the more strictly social arena, the increasing consumption of alcohol was seen as both cause and consequence of the degradation of the social fabric. The sale of adulterated Portuguese wine in southern Mozambique's towns and villages was a staple of rural commerce; the production of sugar cane for the making of cane spirit (sopé) had gained considerable ground in the Limpopo valley and Inhambane since 1906, whether by Asian or Portuguese traders investing in

⁷⁰-The above paragraphs are based on PENVENNE, J. African Workers ...pp. 83-87; and Departamento de História. História de Moçambique... p.269.

⁷¹-ROHRBASSER, C. L'Oeuvre...pp. 87-88, passim. Only in later years, with the foundation of a boarding school, a cooperative and other related activities, did the projects gain a greater expression; an alternative education for youth was also developed after 1930; Ibid. pp. 104-106.

large scale cultivation or by African growers finding a means to pay their taxes and profit from the circulation of currency brought by returning miners⁷². It may be that, as Helgesson suggests, drunkenness was 'at least to some extent, part of the people's protest against the Portuguese system'⁷³. From early days, Protestant churches struggled against the consumption of alcohol. Reacting to the deteriorating conditions increasingly manifested in these years, in 1916, members of the Swiss Mission in Lourenço Marques founded an abstinence society, the Blue Cross, which rapidly expanded in numbers and at times put pressure on the colonial government⁷⁴. In education, the teaching of social discipline and morality, including that offered in the mine compounds, 'inculcating discipline, a sense of time, a morality and system of explanation (...)'⁷⁵, was developed with a rigour understandable in a period of much social disruption associated with early capitalism in Southern Africa, epitomised by alcoholism⁷⁶.

If these features of mission life indirectly challenged aspects of the emerging colonial order, the growth of independence movements within the Methodist Mission in

⁷²-See CAPELA, J. O Alcool na Colonização do Sul do Save, 1860-1920. Maputo, Edição do Autor, 1995, p.39.

⁷³-HELGESSION, A. Church, State and People ...p. 161.

⁷⁴-BIBER, C. Cents Ans ... p.111. According to ROHRBASSER, C. L'Oeuvre ...p.67; by 1946, the movement had 6,800 members.

⁷⁵-HARRIES, P. WORK, Culture... p.215.

⁷⁶-See for example: PENVENNE, J. African Workers ...pp. 40-43; HARRIES, P. Work, Culture...pp.101-3, passim; VAN ONSELEN, C. Studies in the Social and Economic History of the Witwatersrand, 1886-1914, Johannesburg, Ravan Press, 1982, vol.1, pp.44-102.

Inhambane in the war years came to have a more direct relevance to all Protestant churches, because it reflected parts of the social crisis and touched on the question of African political consciousness⁷⁷. In 1907, Muti Sikobele, a leading Pastor in the Methodist Episcopal Church, was the founder of a Home Mission movement, along with Tizora Navess. It began as a means of promoting African financial awakening and support for the Mission. There were considerable tensions concerning what exactly local financial awakening and autonomy might mean, which led to the expulsion in 1912 of some evangelists for producing and selling sugar cane to make alcoholic drink⁷⁸. In 1916-17, divergences between African Christians and European missionaries came to be much intensified over the issue of colonial recruitment in Inhambane for the allied war effort against Germany in northern Mozambique, with some African evangelists openly advocating that no such recruitment should take place. Helgesson suggests that 'African church leaders rose against an evidently indiscriminate use of Black Mozambicans in a war which was not theirs'⁷⁹. In 1918, Sikobele and Victor Sousa founded the first African Independent Church in Mozambique, the Igreja Episcopal Luso-Africana de Moçambique⁸⁰.

⁷⁷-HELGESSION, A. Church, State and People ...p.197. passim.

⁷⁸-Ibid. p.169-170.

⁷⁹-Ibid. p.187.

⁸⁰-See: Ibid. p.197 and pp. 201-204; AHM. SE. FIGUEIRA, M. (s/d) Seitas Religiosas em Moçambique. pp.20-27; HEDGES, D., ed. História de Moçambique... pp. 18-19. In 1926, de Sousa split from the 'Igreja Episcopal Luso-Africana' and formed the 'Igreja Nacional Etiópica de Moçambique', after his ordination as a Bishop of the National Ethiopian Church in South Africa, in 1925.

Much work is still to be done on the history of church independence in Mozambique; to date there is no evidence of similar problems within the Swiss Mission at this time. Hypotheses to explain the difference include, firstly, the fact that the institution had already undergone a serious, perhaps even more fundamental, crisis between 1885 and 1896, and, in the specific context of colonial conquest, had learnt to cope with internal differences, with the new church being transformed into an element of social integration⁸¹. Secondly, the organisational structure of the Swiss Mission, Presbyterian in character, with a large base of internal discussion including assemblies and the integration of elders, facilitated internal accommodation. Moreover, prestigious African church leaders such as Yosefa Mhalmhala, and Calvin Maphophe who came to Mozambique with Paul Berthoud in 1887 and, was in 1911 the first African Pastor ordained in Mozambique after theological studies in Morija (Lesotho), had personally lived through this process⁸². In these ways, therefore, the Swiss Mission may well have already seemed a partially African church.

The immediate relevance of the independence issue, however, was that it intensified the perception among colonists and the administration that the Protestant churches stimulated independence or nationalist aspirations, of the kind already much in evidence in South Africa. Already by 1917, the Swiss Mission annual report referred to accusations of the colonial government that the Mission was aiming to 'denationalize the Africans' - that

⁸¹-See the first section of this chapter.

⁸²-See: BIBER, C. Cent Ans... p. 108.

is, impede the consciousness of belonging to a Portuguese colony - through their methods of work in education⁸³. The apparent threat which the emergence of Ethiopianism and the slogan 'Africa for the Africans' represented for the colonial regime was discussed in Lourenço Marques newspapers with some considerable intensity⁸⁴.

In this context, but also as a result of its rehabilitation in Portugal after 1917, the Catholic Church again began to win the favour of government as a natural ally in colonisation. Although in 1919, in Saint Germain-en-Laye Portugal signed new conventions defining the obligations of colonial powers concerning the protection and assistance due to all religious institutions, the Catholic Church gradually came to be preferred for its potential to 'civilize and nationalize' in the colonies⁸⁵.

In 1921, the colonial government resumed its attempts, in practice in abeyance since 1907-10, to impede the use of vernacular languages in schools, although not interfering with its use in religious teaching and in the first years of learning Portuguese itself⁸⁶.

In the light of the socio-economic context, and particularly the increasing signs of further administrative discrimination against them, the Protestant missions developed forms of collaboration to resolve common problems, including the definition of respective areas

⁸³-See: Bulletin de la Mission Romande. 1918.

⁸⁴-For evidence of this, see for example, O Brado Africano, 12th, July, 1919.

⁸⁵-HELGESSION, A. Church, State and People... pp.185-186.

⁸⁶-FERREIRA, E.S. Le Colonialisme Portugais en Afrique: la fin d'une ère. Paris, Les Presses de L'Unesco. 1974, p.65.

of influence. Thus in 1918 the Methodist Episcopal Mission and the Swiss Mission finally agreed on frontiers between them based on the linguistic border of the Tsonga and the Tshwa languages, where 'a dividing line (...) was doubtless somewhere North-East of the Limpopo river, perhaps 30 to 40 kilometres from the river itself'⁸⁷. Smaller conflicts still occurred, as with other Protestant denominations. The resolution of these problems, the need for coordination of mission work on the Transvaal mines, and for confronting government regulations and policies collectively, led the Missions to develop ecumenical work. Thus, in the early 1920s, the Swiss Mission, the Wesleyans, the Church of England, the Methodist Episcopal Mission and the Free Methodist Mission joined to form the Mozambique Missionary Association⁸⁸.

A number of developments in the 1920s contributed further momentum to the tension between Protestant churches and the colonial state. One of these was the appearance, albeit short-lived, of a political organisation having a more Africanist social base than the existing Grémio Africano. As Jeanne Penvenne and others have shown, early colonial Mozambican society was stratified on the basis of economic and racial criteria, largely as a result of the rapid growth of Lourenço Marques and the Portuguese white population, and the Grémio, formed in 1908, was composed of a group of educated mulattos and assimilated blacks determined to protect their interests in the face of

⁸⁷-HELGESSION, A. Church, State and People... p. 196; citing: DM. MF, 97F. Proces -Verbal de la Conférence du Littoral. August, 20-21, 1918.

⁸⁸-Ibid. pp. 196-197; further information on this institution has not yet come to light.

increasing claims of racial privilege by white immigrants⁸⁹. Its newspaper, O Africano (The African), after 1919 O Brado Africano (The African Cry), edited by the Albasini brothers⁹⁰, developed a line of struggle against racism and discrimination, attacking government abuses against the native population. Although the newspapers had a second section in Ronga, the latter was used with some reluctance, and the reformist editors of the Grémio Africano were by no means favourable to the extensive use of native languages. The programmatic first edition of O Africano of December 1908 refers to the necessity to use Portuguese instead of vernaculars, and criticizes the Protestant missions for teaching reading and writing in African languages⁹¹.

While the Republican period allowed the newspapers to continue their critique of colonial policy, particularly by insisting on the validity of an open assimilation policy which would allow a small number of non-whites to aspire to the status and social

⁸⁹-PENVENNE, J. African Workers...p.67 f, pp.71-3; NEVES, O.I. Em Defesa da Causa Africana: Intervenção do Grémio Africano na Sociedade de Lourenço Marques, 1908-1938. Dissertação de Mestrado. Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 1989, p.110.

⁹⁰- According to: SOARES, P. and ZAMPARONI, V. Antologia de textos do jornal 'O Africano'(1908-1919). Estudos Afro-Asiáticos, no.22, 1992, pp.132-135; O Africano defended the interests of people born in the colony, including long resident whites who opposed colonial native policies.

The Albasini brothers were descendants of a rich trader who became consul of Portugal in the Transvaal; their mother was the Princess of Maxaquene, an area absorbed by Lourenço Marques by 1900. Both had a liberal and Catholic education See: PENVENNE, J. 'We Are All Portuguese! 'Challenging the Political Economy of Assimilation: Lourenço Marques, 1870-1933. In: VAIL, L., ed. The Creation of Tribalism... pp.275-278; SOPA, A. Catálogo de Periódicos Moçambicanos, Precedido de uma Introdução Histórica, 1854-1984. Trabalho de Diploma, Licenciatura em História com especialidade em documentação. Universidade Eduardo Mondlane, 1985.

⁹¹-See: SOPA, A. Catálogo de Periódicos...; HEDGES, D. and ROCHA, A. O Reforço do Colonialismo, 1930-1937. In: HEDGES, D., ed. História de Moçambique... p.63. Republican ideals and the principles of freedom, fraternity and equality stimulated the journalistic production of the urban educated elite.

privileges of whites, by 1920 a new generation of blacks, of a very different social background, preferred to found their own organisation, more in keeping with their religion (Protestant), their language (African) and their cultural ties (rural families with links across the borders). In that year, they founded the African National Congress⁹². In the same year, Tizora Navess, Sikobele's colleague in the Methodist Episcopal Mission, founded a branch of the African National Congress in Inhambane⁹³. In the following year, some elements of the group began the publication of a newspaper Dambu dja Africa⁹⁴. Although these initiatives were short-lived - further information on them has yet to be recovered - they confirm the tendency toward the emergence of political movements on the basis of African nationalism and culture rather than of assimilation to Portuguese culture.

At this juncture, the Swiss Mission began the publication of a vernacular newspaper which indirectly supported the Africanist position. Indeed, in 1904 the Methodist Episcopal Mission had already begun a Tshwa monthly newspaper Kuca ka Mixo (The Dawn of the Morning) for Christians from Inhambane area⁹⁵. According to Helgesson, it provides unique information on the development of the Home Mission movement and the emergence

⁹²-See: SOPA, A. Catálogo de Periódicos...; HELGESSON, A. Church, State and People...pp.207-208.

⁹³-HELGESSON, A. Church, State and People... p.207-208.

⁹⁴-The African Sun, published between 1921 and 1922, in Ronga and Portuguese. Its editorial line centred on the discussion of people's rights and criticisms of government policies. SOPA, A. Catálogo de Periódicos...

⁹⁵-See: HELGESSON, A. Church, State and People... p.417.

of Sikobele's independent church⁹⁶; it also contained material such as lessons for Sunday

Schools:

Sunday School for the whole Christian community had been a standing feature for several years. Lessons were provided monthly, based on both Old and New Testament texts, through the periodical "Kuça Ka Mixo" (= "The Dawn of the Morning"), which was distributed to all circuits⁹⁷.

The Swiss Mission's paper, Nyeleti Ya Miso (The Morning Star)⁹⁸, written in Tsonga, was published in South Africa⁹⁹. The first edition outlined its aims thus:

1. To announce that night is coming to and (sic) end, old customs of darkness must come to an end because the light of the Lord which causes old customs of darkness to perish. This newspaper will combat all evil things, such as beer drinking, malice, deceit, theft and agitation.
2. To proclaim the deeds of the Lord in the country of the Vatsonga as well as in other countries.
3. To try and unite the Vatsonga clans; those of Khosen Hlengwe, Gaza, Speloken, Nkuna, Mpfumu, Johannesburg, Pretoria, Shilubana and Maputo. These people are members of the same body; it is therefore necessary that they know and help one another.

⁹⁶-Ibid. p.170 and p.202.

⁹⁷-Ibid. p.252.

⁹⁸-In the following pages we note two different versions of this title: 'Nyeleti Ya Miso' (s+o for the shhho sound, old Tsonga orthography), which we adopted from the original title of the newspaper, and 'Nyeleti Ya Mixo' (x+o for the shhho sound, modern and current Tsonga orthography), used when citing Maluleke. Personal information from S.T. Maluleke to whom I am grateful for his help.

⁹⁹-Nyeleti Ya Miso: papila ra Vutonga ni Buronga [Morning Star: paper from Tsonga and Ronga]. Cleveland (Transvaal): Swiss Mission. The first number was published in January 1921 and the last number in June 1949, after which a joint Presbyterian-Methodist paper, Mahlahle, was produced; See: SOPA, A. Catálogo de Periódicos...

4. To teach about better living, health, housing, agriculture, clothing and primary health. The writers will no longer be the missionaries and other Whites; native teachers and others with something constructive to say will be invited to write.

5. The main aim of Nyeleti ya Miso will be to explain the Word of God. The root of all misfortune and all suffering is this: We¹⁰⁰ have neglected God and spiritual matters, concentrating only on worldly things .

The main aims of the newspaper resulted from the awareness of the Mission of family values replaced by drinking and social disorder; the Mission's attempts to introduce a new organized life; and an ethnic appeal to unity to facilitate these goals.

Apart from its contribution to stimulating the production of prose and poetry in the vernacular, a general analysis of articles published in Nyeleti Ya Miso confirm that it was orientated to the Swiss Mission's believers, having information for Sunday Schools, religious texts and news about the Mission itself in South Africa and Mozambique¹⁰¹. The paper also contained summaries of principal events in the wider world, with a particular focus on United Kingdom¹⁰², and South Africa¹⁰³, including information on the African National Congress, strikes, and elections. Illustrating the reportage of social and political issues, the edition of May 1924 published an article noting that the Native Congress of the

¹⁰⁰-Cited and translated by MALULEKE, S.T. 'A Morula... p.39.

¹⁰¹-See for instance the article from Calvin Maphophe with information on the Mission, January 1921; and from Paul Berthoud and E. Creux with news on the Mission in South Africa, February 1921.

¹⁰²-See, for example, November 1921 or January 1924.

¹⁰³-See for instance March and June 1921.

Free State had a meeting at Bloemfontein where the main discussion was centred around the unpunished killing of black people by whites and the issue of women's identity cards (passes) among other onerous laws for the African population¹⁰⁴.

The news of Mozambique gave a political and social portrait of the country's situation. The range of articles comprised poetry and prose and contained reports and debates on social problems such as forced and migrant labour, drunkenness, and restriction on the use of vernacular languages. There was also a letters column. Appropriating the written word, vernacular writers now had the possibility to ventilate problems affecting society. Thus, the same issue contains a letter where the consequences of alcoholism for the stability of the family are discussed; there was also advice on agriculture, and an analysis of the economic situation of Mozambique, including a discussion of the impact of forced labour and migrancy¹⁰⁵.

Taking advantage of the fact that the Portuguese, hostile to African languages, often were unable to understand the real meaning of the articles, writers produced analysis of the political situation of Mozambique and the world which defended political positions unlikely to have been published in Portuguese.

The influence of pan-africanist ideas, and the image of the educated African which was important in the formation of political awareness are clear in some Nyeleti Ya Miso

¹⁰⁴-Nyeleti Ya Miso, May, 1924. p.4.

¹⁰⁵-Nyeleti Ya Miso, May 1924, pp.3-4.

articles, such as those where Marcus Garvey or Dr. Aggrey are used as examples. For example, in the issue of September 1921, Pilato Sibana, a Pastor who had spent some years working in South Africa, contributed an article on 'Doctor Aggrey'. He refers to Marcus Garvey's journey from Jamaica to America. He also underlined Garvey's intelligence, and that he had informed Africans that he and his black American friends were prepared to help them expel the whites¹⁰⁶. The same article refers to the role played by Dr. Aggrey in this struggle. Referring to a visit of Aggrey to a Wesleyan school, Pilato underlined the importance for young people of the speech in which he described the well known parable of the eagle which grew up in a yard of domestic animals and had the same habits as chickens, but later gained liberty¹⁰⁷. The importance of this story was its symbolic meaning for African freedom represented by the release of the eagle. Interpreted and reinterpreted by different generations, the story of the eagle has always had the same meaning: African freedom¹⁰⁸.

The first visit of Aggrey to South Africa in 1921 was indeed widely reported. His speeches on reconciliation and equality between blacks and whites and his extraordinary ability to use metaphoric language to explain his ideas impressed widely. Commenting on

¹⁰⁶-From a free translation Tsonga-Portuguese, by Eulalia Temba.

¹⁰⁷-From a free translation Tsonga-Portuguese, by Eulalia Temba. For more information on Aggrey and the parable of eagle see: SMITH, E. W. Aggrey of Africa: A study in Black and White. London, The Garden City Press, 1929, pp.136-137.

¹⁰⁸-For more information on Aggrey see: SMITH, E. W. Aggrey of Africa...; and KING, K. James E. K. Aggrey: Collaborator, Nationalist, Pan-African. Canadian Journal of African Studies, no.3, 1970, pp.511-530.

Aggrey's life and the political impact of his visit to South Africa, his biographer, E.W.

Smith, states:

It was not generally known that Aggrey was a British subject and his visit awakened apprehensions in the minds of the South African authorities who were aware of the subversive influences exercised by certain Negroes from across the Atlantic. Suspicions soon gave way to confidence, and it was recognised that Aggrey could do for South Africa what Booker Washington had done for the Southern States - teach each race to respect the other. During his short visit he delivered 120 addresses, with the goodwill of the authorities¹⁰⁹.

Reflecting also the impact of Pan-Africanism, in November 1921, Nyeleti Ya Miso also had news on the Pan-African Congress¹¹⁰, a way to inform readers on political changes occurring in the world and concerning African political rights¹¹¹. Oral informants in a later period confirmed that the Mission's newspapers were much welcomed and the news printed was often discussed in organized church groups, including the youth.

The second half of the 1920s brought events and decisions which further intensified the differences between Protestant churches and the colonial state as well as those between sectors of the educated non-white elite having different backgrounds and aspirations. The military coup in Portugal in May 1926 put an end to the first Republic and installed a

¹⁰⁹-SMITH, E. W. Aggrey of Africa... p.166.

¹¹⁰-Nyeleti Ya Miso, November, 1921, p.3.

¹¹¹-In later years, writers such as Daniel Marivati, Gabriel Macavi and Eduardo Mondlane became prominent through the columns of Nyeleti Ya Miso. Both Macavi and Marivati wrote in Tsonga. Marivati was also a composer.

regime determined to restore Portuguese national pride. In pursuance of its objective to reverse the decentralisation of the Republic, the new government lost little time in designing the reinforcement of Portuguese interests, including the more rigorous control of colonial populations. The 1926 'Political, Civil and Criminal Statutes for native people from Angola and Mozambique'¹¹² (supplemented by the 1928 Native Labour Code) reinforced the previous discriminatory legislation against the native population. It also imposed restrictions on African public meetings which could only take place with authorization. Thus, political activities were restricted to a minority of the population grouped in authorised associations. The press law of the same year marked a new phase in the control of the newspapers¹¹³, to be developed into a censorship law in the following decade.

The new regime also moved rapidly on religion and language in the colonies. In October 1926, the Organic Statute of Portuguese Catholic Missions proposed to 'nationalize' the Catholic missions, and indeed use them to 'nationalize' native populations,

¹¹²-Diploma Ministerial 12:533, published on November, 27th.

¹¹³-PENVENNE, J. 'We Are all Portuguese!'... p.278: 'The press law of 3 September 1926 revised qualifications for the directors of colonial newspapers-directors had to hold a bachelor's degree and could not be public functionaries(...). The law, enacted shortly after the coup which overthrew the Republic, had a dramatic impact on journalism in the colony as a whole, cutting the number of newspapers published from 97 to 42'.

For more information on periodicals published in Mozambique during the colonial period see: SOPA, A. Catálogo de Periódicos...; ROCHA, I. Catálogo dos Periódicos e principais seriados de Moçambique: da introdução da tipografia à independência (1854-1975). Lisboa, Edições 70, 1985.

as well as to impede the work of foreign missions, said to be supported by foreign wealth and ideas¹¹⁴.

These ideas conformed with much of the political thinking already current in Mozambique, and in the following year, a Commission was appointed, headed by the Director of Native Affairs, to investigate and report on matters relating to foreign mission schools. Its report formulated the justification for close state control of non-Portuguese missions and the extent of literary and professional teaching for non-whites¹¹⁵.

The detailed legislation and regulations (Decrees 167 and 168) which followed in August 1929¹¹⁶, shook the Protestant churches. According to decree 167 i) Portuguese was to be considered the language of communication; it was forbidden to use the vernacular to teach in schools and conditions for its use in religious propaganda were imposed; ii) native preachers were to have a primary school certificate and a contract of work with the mission. Decree 168 was concerned with i) school buildings which now had to be built of brick and their location had to be indicated by the local administration; ii) age limits for attendance at primary school were to be between 7 and 14 years old, with a maximum age of 18 years at boarding school; iii) there was an obligation to have qualified teachers with a certificate and official authorization to teach in native schools.

¹¹⁴-See: OLIVEIRA MARQUES, A.H. História de Portugal. 3rd ed. Lisboa, Palas Editora, 1966, p.586. Vol.III.

¹¹⁵-AHM. FNI, BOX 1310. Relatório nomeado por Portaria Provincial E 630 de 10.8.1927.

¹¹⁶-See: Regulamento do Exercício das Missões Religiosas de Diversas Confissões e Nacionalidades e das Escolas do Ensino Primário pelas Mesmas, Aprovado pelos Diplomas Legislativos n.167 e 168, de 3 de Agosto de 1929. Lourenço Marques, Imprensa Moderna, 1929

Aware of the importance of vernacular languages as a means to develop cultural identity, the Portuguese were determined to restrain their use in order to impose other cultural values. Limiting the age for attendance at 'native' and boarding schools, they were, in effect, limiting the number attending. The obligation of having schools built in brick in accordance with all the other conditions imposed was to be very expensive. Training of teachers and evangelists in accordance with the laws was to be a long and expensive process.

The application of decrees 167 and 168 gave rise to a dramatic situation. In the written sources we find information illustrating the long 'bureaucratic battle' between missions and administrative authorities, trying to show the injustice of the new law, the difficulties of achieving the fixed dates prescribed and the bureaucratic barriers to be overcome. Clerc-Marchand reports for example that, apart from the question of materials, to build a school, it was now obligatory to get the necessary authorization and the administrative indication of a plot of land; another authorization for the plot where the native Pastor should have his outbuilding; obtain the necessary authorization for teaching for the teacher; and guarantee at least 25 part-time students¹¹⁷.

Clerc-Marchand commented also that age limits for primary or boarding schools meant that very few people would have the chance to go to school, and that adults would

¹¹⁷-See: DM. MF, 1182B. CLERC-MARCHAND, A. Lettre de M. Clerc-Marchand aux missionnaires du littoral(en Afrique et en Suisse), 9th, August 1929; DM. MF, 1186A. CLERC-MARCHAND, A. Quelques Breves Remarques sur les deux diplomes 167 et 168, et ses consequences pour notre Mission. 1929; DM. MF, 1182B. CLERC-MARCHAND, A. Letter of Clerc-Marchand to the administrador da Circunscrição de Marracuene. 1929.

not be allowed to read even in Portuguese, as the catechism classes would offer no solution to the problem of literacy in that language. With the orientation to teach religious instruction in Portuguese by individuals having certificates, the tradition of using older Christians to teach in the vernacular would encounter difficulties, as they were not formally good enough to meet the new requirements¹¹⁸.

Amongst part of the educated Lourenço Marques elite associated with the Grémio Africano, the 1929 measures were considered opportune, precisely because they would lead the 'Portuguesification' (assimilation of Portuguese political and cultural values) of the population¹¹⁹.

Christianity, introducing custom, ritual and a certain structure of thought together with new moral values, interfered directly within the existing social and religious structure, as was manifested in a crisis of social identity. Indeed, in southern Mozambique, the establishment of the Swiss Mission resulted in continuity and at the same time discontinuity, in that it helped produce both a crisis of social identity and helped shape new identities on the basis of the old.

¹¹⁸-See: DM. MF, 1182B. CLERC-MARCHAND, A. Lettre de M. Clerc-Marchand aux missionnaires ...; DM. MF, 1186A. CLERC-MARCHAND, A. Quelques...

¹¹⁹-O Brado Africano, 24th August 1929,p.1; 7th September 1929,p.1

Colonial domination gave the Church a role in the integration of people through values and rituals transmitted by a religious identity and the sharing of common ethnolinguistic identities.

The Swiss Presbyterian Mission, with a hierarchy of representative bodies, allowed relatively democratic participation in its activities, and offered to all Christians the possibility to express their opinions and feelings, contrary to Portuguese political and educational systems.

The Swiss Mission contributed to the formation of an educated elite which participated in the movements of protest against colonialism and was a precursor in the emergence of nationalism to be developed in the next decades.

CHAPTER 3 - COLONIALISM, NATIONALISM AND THE SWISS MISSION, 1930-1939.

This chapter argues that the tensions between the colonial state and Protestant Churches of the late 1920s came to be reinforced by the general socio-economic crisis and the colonial response in the early 1930s, as well as the determined implementation by the colonial government of the race - and denomination - based education policy delineated in 1929/1930. In the 1930s, the Swiss Mission began to develop new ways to ensure the continuation and the effectivity of its educational work, thus responding to the barriers created by the education policy and to the socio-economic crisis destroying the family and moral values. In the process it hoped to maintain a close relationship between the church and the people, and thus guarantee recruitment of new members and the reproduction of the church. Meanwhile, the government moved to head off possible protest by incorporating political associations in a subordinate position within the structure of the state authorised institutions.

In the years subsequent to the military coup in Lisbon in 1926, the definition of the new policies of the Estado Novo¹ accelerated particularly after 1932, when Salazar became

¹-For the development of the Estado Novo, see for example: CRUZ, M.B. O Partido e o Estado no Salazarismo. Lisboa, Editorial Presença, 1988 ; CRUZ, M.B. O Estado Novo e a Igreja Católica. In:

President of the Council of Ministers (Prime Minister). The promulgation of the new Labour Code in 1928 which was modified to be applicable to Mozambique in 1930, the Colonial Act of the same year (later incorporated in the 1933 Constitution), defining the main colonial policies, the Organic Charter of the Colonial Empire and the Overseas Administrative Reform of 1933², were fundamental to the new regime's attempt to reorganize the political and economic relationship between Portugal and the colonies. The new regime directed its efforts to transform the colonies into raw-material producers for Portuguese industries by rationalizing the use of male labour, through controlled migration³, the institutionalization of forced labour and cultivation, and by increasing administrative control and political repression in the rural areas. These policies were designed with the overall objective of increasing economic ties between Portugal and its colonies, inverting the relatively weak colonial relations of the period before 1930; they thus constituted Portuguese economic 'nationalism' in relation to Mozambique⁴.

At the beginning of the 1930s, Mozambique had to face not only the remaining consequences of the First World War, especially very low raw material prices and

ROSAS, F., ed. Portugal e o Estado Novo (1930-1960). Lisboa, Editorial Presença, 1990. (Nova História de Portugal, vol. 12).

²-Carta Organica Imperial (Dec.Lei 23:228), 1933; Reforma Administrativa do Ultramar (Dec.Lei 23:229), 1933. See: CRUZ, M.B. O Partido e o Estado...p.63.

³-A new agreement with South Africa for labour recruitment was signed in 1928, as already mentioned.

⁴-See: WUYTS, M. Economia Política do Colonialismo Português em Moçambique. Estudos Moçambicanos, no.1, 1980, pp.9-22.

inflation, but also the consequences of the global depression (1929-1934), and as the decade moved on, the beginning of the impact of the Estado Novo's economic and political reconstruction. Agriculture, rail transport and the export of male labour were all affected by the economic crisis.

In southern Mozambique, where the economy was very much shaped to serve the interests of neighbouring countries, the decrease in the number of miners recruited to South Africa affected the rural population as well as the state's revenues, a situation aggravated by periods of famine, such as the 1932-1934 famines in southern Mozambique⁵. The ports of Beira and Lourenço Marques and the associated railway infrastructures were also affected by the economic crisis, thus reducing the country's income, and wage and employment levels among both the African and the white population.

The impact of the economic crisis, together with the new regime's economic policies resulted in numerous social conflicts and waves of protests. In the rural areas, violent forms of labour recruitment, forced cotton cultivation and repressive methods of tax collection provoked discontent and the further development of forms of protest and means of escape to neighbouring countries, as well as desertion from contracted labour. In urban areas there were work stoppages and strikes, of which the most important were the Beira workers' strike of 1932, and the 1933 strike in the port of Lourenço Marques⁶.

⁵-HELGESSION, A. State, Church and People... p.242; HEDGES, D. and ROCHA, A. O Reforço do Colonialismo...p.50.

⁶-HEDGES, D. and ROCHA, A. O Reforço do Colonialismo... pp.55-61.

Other aspects of colonial policy contributed to the already difficult social environment of the 1930s. The position of the small educated black elite of Protestant background and of the Protestant missions themselves came to be increasingly threatened by an essential complement to the discriminatory religious legislation of 1929: the creation of a full-blown separate education system for blacks.

Consistent with the constitutional differentiation between 'native' and citizen, with the racially discriminatory social structure and with a 'native' policy designed to reinforce labour exploitation and the reproduction of colonial authority, in 1930 the colonial government defined the principal aims of 'native' education which guided its evolution in the following decades. The main objective of policy was stated to be the promotion of the native population from their primitive condition to a civilized status in order to become Portuguese and to be of service to the society. The instrument of policy was to be the Rudimentary School, which all blacks except the children of the legally assimilated had to attend⁷.

Moreover, the Colonial Act confirmed the Catholic Church as the instrument for legitimisation and justification of the colonial undertaking, through transmission of

⁷-See: FERREIRA, E.S. Le Colonialisme... p.67. For information on Rudimentary Schooling see: RAUL, V. O Impacto do Ensino Rudimentar nas Zonas Rurais de Moçambique, 1930-1960. Trabalho de diploma, licenciatura em História. Universidade Eduardo Mondlane, 1995.

Christian values associated with schooling, aiming at the assimilation of Portuguese culture by Africans. Indeed, decree 18:570 of July 1930 approving the Colonial Act⁸ states:

The State (...) accepts and helps the Portuguese religious missions as effective agents of civilization and sovereignty, as well as their staff establishments, recognising them as a juridical personality (...).

In the more determined evolution of colonial strategy thus taking place after 1926, religious and educational policy were thus combined so as to promote adherence to the idea of Portuguese nationality and culture among the native population.

In the process of changing the way of life of Mozambicans towards the acquisition of Portuguese values the younger generations were the most important targets. Their personality and way of thinking were to be shaped according to the regime's interests. Thus, the educational field was to play a pivotal role in the indoctrination of the regime's ideology.

With the new regime, the Catholic missions began to enjoy special privileges particularly in the educational area, intensifying the difficult relationship between the state and Protestant missions. Although this aspect of colonial policy was not fully implemented in the 1930s, and in effect, the colonial state began to implement its educational policy - Rudimentary Schools - through its own means and with little support or intervention by the

⁸-Acto Colonial, aprovado por decreto n.18:570, de 8 de Julho de 1930, em substituição do título V da Constituição Política da República Portuguesa. Lourenço Marques, Imprensa Nacional.

⁹-My emphasis. Free translation.

Catholic Church¹⁰, the new legal, administrative and ideological environment, coupled with the heightened socio-political tension, provided a hostile context for the Protestant missions' operations.

For the Presbyterians, the school, youth education and the family were fundamental to their work and, clearly to the reproduction of the church; its capacity to respond to the constant evolution of the political situation was based on the way the younger generations were educated. The restrictive legislation in the educational field¹¹ generated a certain number of constraints not only for the Swiss Mission, but for all Protestant missions, obliging them to develop alternative methods to overcome these problems.

After a long period of discussion and much pressure from the Protestants, the Portuguese administration produced a circular containing instructions ameliorating the impact of the legislation¹². The changes were more related to the transitional period where it was permitted to teach in vernacular languages in the first classes of primary school. However, the same document contained severe restrictions on religious teaching, particularly concerning writing in the vernacular, as can be seen from the following extracts:

¹⁰-HEDGES, D. Educação, Missões e Ideologia Política de Assimilação, 1930-1961. Cadernos de História, no. 4, p.9, 1985.

¹¹-1929 Decrees.

¹²-The 1929 legislation had a strong impact during the whole period of the 1930s. See: DM. MF, 1183A. MALHEIROS, M.T. Instructions for Carrying into effect the provisions of Legislative diplomas 167 and 168, 3rd August 1929. 4th February, 1930.

Legislation contained in article 2 applies to the catechism and not to worship. Catechism, which is religious teaching, has been carried on orally or by writing (...). The law does not prohibit that oral catechism in the native language should be continued. It only prohibits that it should be taught by means of catechisms in leaves (sic), or other writings in the native language, though natives who may know how to read and write in their language may use them in the act of worship or on any other occasion whatever. The use of Bible, missals or rituals written in the native language is not prohibited for worship. If any writing in a language other than Portuguese were not permitted, (Roman) Catholic worship, in which missals, rituals and the Bible are written in the Latin language, could not be carried on (...).

Considering the circular's measures as no more than a palliative, the Swiss and other Protestant missions continued their negotiations with the government, attempting to solve other problems related to the new laws¹⁴.

Reporting a meeting with the Governor-General of Mozambique during 1939 on the impacts of 1929 decrees, the experienced missionary, Paul Fatton, now well versed in the problems of dealing with hostile Portuguese colonialism, gives good examples of the difficulties faced by the Swiss Mission in the 1930s:

The administrator of Bela Vista¹⁵ closed the school of Nwapoulane as it was not built of brick; the impossibility of gradual rebuilding led to closure of numerous schools, although government schools were sometimes working in huts; in Bilene Macia¹⁶ the administrator closed 7 outbuildings of the Swiss mission; in Ressano

¹³-Ibid.

¹⁴-DM. MF, 820B. CLERC, A.D. Report on the situation of the Evangelical Missions in Mozambique, during the last 50 years. 1956.

¹⁵-Southern Maputo province.

¹⁶-Gaza province.

Garcia¹⁷ a man was beaten and seven others were jailed and their Bibles confiscated, apparently because they were organizing worships at home, a problem usually resulting from poor relations with Catholic priests¹⁸.

Searching for alternative ways to work, the Swiss missionaries came to realize that any changes to be introduced would need to take into consideration the following points¹⁹:

- i) recruitment to the Church was facing a crisis, and young people were not sufficiently motivated to undertake religious studies;
- ii) the youth were living in a world where they were facing the clash of western and Christian cultures and values with their own cultural traditions. The introduction of the capitalist economy with the proletarianization of peasants and migration to urban areas or to South Africa brought a new way of social life. Changing work patterns substantially affected educational patterns and family attitudes towards education;
- iii) existing education, either schooling or religious teaching, was theoretical and had little connection to young people's problems. Religion was so far away from the life of young people that it was necessary to undertake a complete change.

¹⁷-Central Maputo province

¹⁸-DM. MF, 1186A. FATTON, M.P Entretien avec son Excellence le Gouverneur General(confidentiel). 10th, November, 1940. Free translation.

¹⁹-See: DM. MF, 1187C. CLERC, A.D. Les Patrouilles, leur role dans l'Église Indigene, leurs principes pedagogiques. 1935.

The Swiss Mission began to organize a special educational programme for young people, in an attempt to cope with the existing barriers against their social work, to guarantee a good relationship with the younger generation and to recruit new members while maintaining the integration of the church with local communities. In Lourenço Marques, André Clerc, together with some Mozambicans including young people, was responsible for proposing alternative solutions. The result of their work was the institutionalization of a youth education system called mintlawa²⁰, whose main objective was to mould the personality of the young within a Christian education.

Initially based on the experiences of the Swiss youth patrols, the system was adapted to Mozambique and inspired by traditional values of young cattleherders and children from the countryside. The first germ of youth groups in Mozambique was born from a very simple experience with a group of boys from Chamanculo parish (Lourenço Marques) during 1930 under the supervision of André Clerc, assisted by Abrão Aldasse. The movement also took root in Maússe (Manjacaze-Gaza), under the supervision of the missionary Charles Périer, and it was soon flourishing in all areas of the Swiss Mission's influence.

Commenting on this situation, Clerc states:

(...) in 1930 we realized that the missionary school was unable to preach the Gospel to black youth, in a context of hostile legislation. It was necessary to bring together the youth and the Church. Thus were born the first groups in Lourenço Marques,

²⁰-Mintlawa (sing. ntlawa) is a Tsonga word meaning groups. In the literature on youth groups, they are also called Patrulhas (patrols).

later in the countryside, in Manjaçaze, with Périer. Step by step, other groups were born in Ricatla and other places²¹.

The first steps of definition of objectives²² and organization of the movement's basis occurred approximately between 1930 and 1934. In 1933 a parallel movement for young girls was born. Like the boys' groups, the movement spread quickly from the late 1930s.

The mintlawa adopted experiences from other well known world youth movements, where most principles of organization were similar²³. Nevertheless, some aspects of Tsonga culture and traditions were used in the groups' organization. The study of experiences of the organization of young Tsonga cattleherders led the Mission to emphasise features such as the sense of cooperation, leadership, the hierarchy and rules of organization within a group of people; the significance of responsibility and the building up of solidarities within a community.

Commenting on the experiences of organization of young Tsonga cattleherders, André Clerc states:

²¹-DM. MF, 211. CLERC, A.D. Letter 'A La Comission Romande des Unions Cadettes'. 1939. Free translation.

²²-The initial motive was to train active and responsible young people. The basic principles of organization were: Solidarity; Division of work and Responsibility. CLERC. A.D. La Pratique de la vie Chrétienne dans les Groupes de jeunes garçons de l'Eglise Presbyterienne (Reformée) du Mozambique. 1963. Mimeo.

²³-Work with small groups is very well known. The experience of Baden-Powell's Scouts is one of the most widespread. Pestalozzi's and Wesley's experiences of training the young were also understood by Clerc, who himself had developed work with youth groups in Switzerland.

(...) the chief is also the protector. Thus, among the teenagers appears the sense of responsibility(...). The chief, together with other cattleherders is responsible for the cattle under their care (...). The chief must render account to the men of his clan, not only for the cattle under their care, but he is also responsible for the boys. At times of danger he must protect them, even at the risk of his own life. Those groups of cattleherders (...) are not simply ephemeral and casual gatherings. They are organized societies of teenagers integrated in a group (...)²⁴.

With the objective of training young people in the Christian tradition, the principles and methods of mintlawa were based on certain codes of conduct which encouraged their members to adopt a sense of responsibility and self-government.

Activities such as games, dances, drama, songs, camping and so on, helped build a number of capacities. For instance, games were a very good stimulus to improve leadership capacities, planning, organization and self government, teaching at the same time the physical, mental and spiritual discipline²⁵.

Drama represents a very old and popular way to work in groups, where different persons with different skills and capacities can work together and at the same time. Cinema, readings and discussions were other important means to improve social abilities, the spirit of belonging to a group, curiosity and, above all, to open new cultural horizons²⁶. Camping was a means of stimulating some of these capacities, as well as the love of

²⁴-See: CLERC, A.D. and MORGENTHALER, E. Le Mouvement des Équipes ou Patrouilles "Ntlawa" au Mozambique. Lausanne, 1950. Mimeo, p.15. Free translation.

²⁵-Ibid.; BREW, J. M. Youth and Youth Groups. London, Faber & Faber, 1957.

²⁶-Ibid.

adventure, action and danger, in addition to the dynamic of group living and working; it also reinforced links with the wider society, through contacts with villages near campsites, sometimes helping them with manual labour. Through the relationship with the community the spirit of cooperation and mutual aid was to be improved, as fundamental elements within the basic Church principles, illustrated by the use of the motto:

'Il est beaucoup plus important de travailler avec quelqu'un que de travailler pour lui' (Aggrey)²⁷ .

Commenting on the importance of groups' organization Clerc remarks:

The group is like a plastic material in the God's hands. The instructor, helped by elders, grinds selfishness²⁸ to dust, and through prayer and example, transforms it into a malleable substance .

Gradually, the work of organizing, spreading and implanting the youth groups led to the construction of a balanced programme, where a combination of physical, emotional and spiritual activities helped to promote a 'healthy mind in a healthy body'. This can be illustrated by the groups' emblem, a triangle crossed by a bar, meaning the existence of a man with a body, intelligence and spirit²⁹ . The left side of the triangle meant the physical

²⁷-CLERC, A.D. and MORGENTHALER, E. Le Mouvement des Équipes... p.39.

²⁸-CLERC, A.D. L'Église chez ses garçons ou les groupes cadets de l'Église rongga-thonga (patrouilles). Bulletin de la Mission Suisse dans l'Afrique du Sud, no.580, May-June, 1941, p.241. (Special issue on Jeunesse Africaine). Free translation.

²⁹-Inspired by YMCA (Young Men's Christian Association) "An association founded in London in 1844 by George Williams (...) Its object is to win young men and boys for Jesus Christ by uniting them in fellowship through activities designed to develop and train their powers of body, mind, and spirit, and to

development; the right side meant intellectual development and the base the role of the spirit. Finally, the bar crossing the triangle meant enabling the members to serve God and to help their fellow people³⁰.

Education in the mintlawa for boys and girls had the same general objectives, although they had a different orientation as a result of the Swiss Mission conception of gender. Thus, the emblem for girls was a circle crossed by a triangle, where the circle referred to the unity between the girls and family life, the house, the cooking pot, the dance, the village, and so on.

Furthermore, the educational programme for girls assumed that they should be prepared for home activities and marriage within Christian values. Usually, girls began their activities in the mintlawa at about 10 years of age, and they stayed there until their marriage at about 18-20 years old. They learned cooking, sewing, crochet work and other activities related to the care of the family and their home, apart from non specific religious activities³¹. Thus, the girls' education reflected the concept of gender held by the Swiss Mission; as Elizabeth Morgenthaler, a Swiss missionary who encouraged the introduction and development of mintlawa for girls, put it:

The young African girl loves the circle because she understands very well its significance. Is it not the symbol of the hut, the fireplace, the cooking pot, the dance and the village? The young girl released by the Gospel accepts with

enable them to serve God and their fellows". In: CROSS, F.L. and LIVINGSTONE, E.A. The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church. 2nd ed. Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1990, p.1505.

³⁰-CLERC, A.D. La Pratique...p.9 and pp.23-24; MATTHEY, J. Le Travail Educatif...pp.4-5.

³¹-CLERC, A.D. and MORGENTHALER, E. Le Mouvement des équipes... pp. 35-36 and pp.44-45.

happiness³² the restrictions imposed by the place of her work, the discipline of female work .

An article published in the newspaper Nyeleti Ya Miso in 1933³³ announcing a school for women at Valdezia, the Swiss Mission centre in the Transvaal, mentions that the objective of the school was to prepare Protestant women for domestic activities, attempting to teach them how to be good wives. The programme of education proposed contained themes such as Bantu usages and customs, Christianity, women and the home, and women and their obligations concerning their husbands and children's care. Such programmes show clearly the concept that women should assume a secondary role as partners³⁴ .

An important point in the mintlawa organization was the group's secret, Ku bula bula Timhaka³⁵ , a programme reserved for the eldest. Thus, problems discussed inside the group were not in principle to be discussed outside. This was considered an important means of reinforcing group solidarity and at the same time establishing the necessary confidence among the group's members for the discussion of personal and other common problems.

Commenting on this aspect of the mintlawa, Clerc remarked:

³²-Ibid. p.45. Free translation.

³³-Nyeleti Ya Miso, May, 1933, p.3.

³⁴-Women's social space was developed within the household in conjunction with the Church, as we will discuss further, in Chapter 8.

³⁵-A Tsonga phrase meaning 'the discussion of the problem'. Textual translation.

A real group always has its secrets. The young love the mystery, they love to have their personal secret names and even secret signs. There are certain kinds of discussions, projects and plans which are part of the group's secrecy³⁶.

Organized in different age groups, non-formal education provided by Swiss missionaries included small children, adolescents and young adults. Children were allowed to begin their activities as soon as they were old enough to go to school. Although starting at a simple level, this phase of apprenticeship was considered an important step in their lives.

Because the mintlawa system attempted to reinforce the importance of the family in the education and guidance of young people in moral and Christian terms, it was welcomed by parents³⁷. Combining both the African tradition of having the elders' advice and the similar tradition of Presbyterians, from 1930 onwards, elders were involved in advising youth groups³⁸.

The experience of the Swiss Mission was later disseminated to other Protestant Missions, particularly to the Methodist Episcopal Mission, as a development point in youth education.

The permanent commitment of the Mission to increase the quality of education in the mintlawa led them to formalize the training of boys and girls as instructors. Although

³⁶-See: CLERC.A.D. La Pratique...p.7. Free translation.

³⁷-We will discuss this point again in Chapter 8.

³⁸-See: BIBER, C. Cent Ans...p.107.



the instructor coordinated his work with the local Pastor, planning of activities for youth groups was the former's responsibility. Heading a number of group leaders, his main tasks were to train and control the leaders, stimulate religious and spiritual activities, encourage groups to recruit other members, participate in the struggle against illiteracy and to teach and encourage manual labour³⁹. An annual meeting of leaders and monthly meetings between them and instructors were used for planning, discussion of problems and training⁴⁰.

Isabel Mathé, reporting memories about her training as an instructor in the 1940s, shows how the instruction developed⁴¹:

During our instructor's training, we had to study the Bible, learning how to teach, to read and write through the Laubach system; how to lead and organize mintlawa; manual work and songs. We had notions of leadership. A leader must assume himself the responsibility of his work.

The instructor must be someone disciplined and be conscious of timetables; he should be able to prepare his own programmes, and should be humble and respectful.

The instructor works together with the Pastor, but preparation of programmes, timetable and calendar are his responsibility. The programme must be discussed with the Pastor, who usually collaborated in activities such as teaching religious lessons.

³⁹-For information on instructors' activities see: CLERC. A.D. La Pratique...

⁴⁰-Ibid.

⁴¹-Isabel Benjamim Mathé, interviewed by Teresa Cruz e Silva, in October 1993, at Matsinhane, was born in Dingane (Manjacaze), in 1938. Her father was an evangelist and primary school teacher of the Swiss Mission, and her mother a peasant and house wife. She was a member of youth groups in Lourenço Marques, where she was a student. After she finished Rudimentary School, she was trained to be a youth instructor, and after that she finished Primary School and returned to Gaza to work with young people.

Although referring to the 1940s, Isabel Mathe's material is relevant for the previous period.

Training of chiefs and deputy chiefs of mintlawa are the responsibility of the instructor, who must lead and control their activities and discuss with them programmes of work. The monthly meetings with chiefs are planned. Problems arising from youth groups should be discussed between the instructor and the chiefs, and when it was appropriate discussed with their families⁴².

Fabião Sithoye reports his memories as a member and instructor of mintlawa⁴³:

We had lessons of Pedagogy and Psychology(...). We learnt that children are not like a blank page, and their experiences should be considered, in order to teach them our own experiences. Psychology helped us to understand the qualities of each one. Not everybody can be a leader. We are skilled for different things⁴⁴.

Taking into consideration the basic principle that the church could not live by itself if not nourished by and inserted in society, the Swiss missionaries gave great emphasis to youth education and training, with the prospect of a future where the young people could assume responsibility for leadership of the church. The work done during the process of education was one of the means to pre-select church leaders and workers. Most such leaders and professional cadres of the Swiss Mission had been leaders within the mintlawa

⁴²-Free Translation.

⁴³-Fabião Junga Sithoye, interviewed by Teresa Cruz e Silva, in Chicumbane, 19th October, 1993, was born in 1928.

Coming from a very poor and non- religious family, he was educated in the house of a missionary where he was a domestic servant. He did his primary studies at Chicumbane and Maputo under the protection of Swiss missionaries. He is a preacher and has been trained as an instructor.

Although referring to the 1940s, Fabião Sithoye's material is also relevant for the previous period.

⁴⁴-Free Translation.

groups, which accorded very well with a long-term process of Africanisation of the Church.

Until 1929, some Protestant missions had their own schools to train rural primary school teachers⁴⁵. A governmental decree of 1926 (Portaria 312, 1926) created the Training School for Native Teachers, inaugurated at Alvor, Manhiça, in 1930. Under pressure from the official School Inspector, the Protestant missions sent their students to Alvor for training. Treated with discrimination, Protestant students had no access to the boarding school. In response to this situation, 'the Portuguese East Africa Evangelical Missionary Association had set up a committee to deal with matters regarding the Alvor school'⁴⁶, and Paul Fatton and his wife were sent to Alvor to be in charge of Protestant students as their representatives. After a long struggle between the Protestant missions and the government, a hostel for Protestant students financed by the Evangelical Missions Association in 1931, was inaugurated a year later⁴⁷. Extra curricular activities were organized by Protestants at Alvor. Thus, in 1935, the Swiss Mission organized a theological course, attempting to improve the religious knowledge of their personnel studying there. However, the local administrative authorities closed it on the day of inauguration, justifying their actions by saying that the course was against the decree 168 of

⁴⁵-The Swiss Mission had its school at Ricatla, while the Methodists had their school at Chicúque, the 'Jeanes School'.

⁴⁶-HELGESSION, A. Church, State and People...p.240.

⁴⁷-Ibid. p.241.

1929⁴⁸. In 1936, the Protestant hostel was closed by the government, apparently because their extracurricular activities were not welcomed by the school headmaster⁴⁹. Over the years, the number of Protestant students at Alvor dropped, not only as a consequence of the costs missions had to bear and the difficult living conditions for them there (lodging and political pressures), but also as a result of the poor quality of teachers which the school produced⁵⁰. According to Clerc, after 1937 the registration of new Protestant students at Alvor was refused by the educational authorities, and the school was closed some years later⁵¹.

Attempting to overcome the problem of teachers' training, the Swiss Mission organized informal regular courses, firstly at Ricatla and later also in other stations where they had the chance to improve their knowledge and teaching methods⁵².

Commenting on the Protestant missions' efforts to train teachers, Helgesson states:

Thus, one notes a strong desire on the part of Protestant missionary leaders to make the still active schools as efficient as possible. In Lourenço Marques, the

⁴⁸-See: DM. MF, 753B. CLERC-MARCHAND, A. Letter from Clerc-Marchand, A. to the Governor General of Mozambique. 9th, August 1935.

⁴⁹-Helgesson, A. Church, State and People...p.241.

⁵⁰-DM. MF, 1186A. FATTON, M.P. Rapport de M. Paul Fatton, présenté à la Conference de Contra Costa. Juin, 1934. He states that in 1930-31, there were 32 students coming from 6 different missions; in 1932, 15 students from 4 missions; in 1933, 13 students, from 4 missions and in 1934, only 8 students from 2 missions.

⁵¹-Ibid; DM. MF, 820B. CLERC, A.D. Report on situation...; For more information on the School for Teacher Training see: SAUTE, A. Escola de Habilitação de Professores Indígenas «José Cabral», Manhica-Alvor: subsídios para o estudo da formação da elite instruída em Moçambique (1926-1974). Trabalho de diploma, licenciatura em História. Universidade Eduardo Mondlane, 1995.

⁵²-See: BIBER, C. Cents Ans... p.80.

ecumenical "Association for Practical Pedagogics" was formed of missionaries and African teachers, meeting every two weeks to discuss school matters. At Ricatla regular vacation⁵³ conferences were held for all teachers involved in the Swiss Mission work .

The Swiss missionaries, like other Protestant missions, carried on their struggle against the Estado Novo legislation on education. Due to financial problems the Protestant missions faced great difficulties in rebuilding their rural schools. As a result of the closure of numerous village schools - the number of Swiss Mission schools declined from 50 in 1925 to 18 in 1937⁵⁴ - during the 1930s many Protestant missions were obliged to concentrate their students in the central schools, and to organize boarding-schools⁵⁵. The Swiss Mission attempted also to organize vocational schools. In 1935 it founded an agricultural boarding school for boys in Chicumbane and, as mentioned in later chapters, activities related to professional training in the Swiss Mission⁵⁶. Other activities in social areas, such as hospital services, nurses' training and health education continued in parallel to formal religion and education as means of winning people over to the Swiss Mission.

⁵³-HELGESSION, A. Church, State and People...p.238.

⁵⁴-DM. MF, 21B. CLERC, A.D. Travail présenté à la Conference du personnel missionnaire du littoral Portugais. July, 1937.

⁵⁵-The Swiss Mission improved the Chicumbane School (Gaza), after 1929, with a boarding school for boys and an other for girls. The Methodist Episcopal Mission undertook good efforts in boarding schools at Cambine (for boys) and Chicuque (for girls) boarding schools, in Inhambane. See: DM. MF, 820B. CLERC, A.D. Report...

⁵⁶-ROHRBASSER, C. L'Oeuvre....pp.107-108.

While the Swiss Mission was developing these responses to the religious and educational restrictions of 1929-30, in the colonial capital, the economic crisis and particularly unemployment even among whites, further intensified the insecurity of the small mulatto and assimilated black petty bourgeois and the tensions between its components.

Signs of this are to be found in differing non-white public reactions to the religion and language questions. For example, amongst part of the educated Lourenço Marques elite associated with the Grémio Africano, the 1929 measures were considered opportune, precisely because they would lead the 'Portuguesification' of the population⁵⁷. On the other hand, the July 1931 issue of Nyeleti Ya Miso contains an article by Zakarias Ntamele, protesting against the obligation of using Portuguese for teaching and generally against the 1929 decrees on education⁵⁸.

In 1930-31 such tensions came to be magnified. In August 1931, the young Karel Pott, son of a prominent mulatto family who had recently graduated from Coimbra, thus fulfilling the 1926 legal criteria for the post of editor⁵⁹, was appointed to head O Brado Africano. In March of the following year, he was elected President of the Grémio

⁵⁷-O Brado Africano, 24 August 1929, p.1; 7 September 1929, p.1

⁵⁸-Nyeleti Ya Miso, June, 1931, p.3: 'Huwa Ya Kereke Manjacaze ni Maravi Ya Yona' (Textual Translation: Publication of Issues on Manjacaze Church and its branches).

⁵⁹-See: PENVENNE, J. "We Are all Portuguese!"...p.278.

Africano⁶⁰. His positions and criticism of the social situation in Mozambique expressed much more forcefully than hitherto the claims of the Portuguese oriented elite to be afforded the non-racial treatment theoretically guaranteed in the law. Pott's arguments helped create a new dynamic among the associations and non-white Portuguese journalism countrywide and were not welcomed by the government, which now attempted to blunt the impact of such radicalism.

In this, the administration was able to take advantage of the process of social differentiation, set in train since the 1880s, having as its base cultural, religious and race differences among non-whites. By the beginning of the 1930s a small number of Protestants educated in the Swiss and Methodist missions who were also literate in Portuguese were employed in subordinate posts - such as Raúl Honwana, an interpreter in the rural administration, and a few, such as Brown Dulela and Enoque Libombo, had risen to more responsible posts in private commerce. According to Raúl Honwana, 'in order to avoid forced labour, native military service, hut tax, and the total absence of civil rights ... and also to assure a less degrading future for their children'⁶¹, such individuals took out the formal papers of assimilation to Portuguese citizenship which would give them and their

⁶⁰-Karel Pott a mulatto from Lourenço Marques, finished his university degree, in laws in Portugal. He was considered one of the most important personalities developing a struggle against the colonial administration during this period. 'By the mid-1930s, the Gremio leadership was dominated by mulattos'. PENVENNE, J. African Workers...p.93; For more information see also HEDGES, D. and ROCHA, A. Moçambique no auge... pp. 63-65 and HONWANA, R. B. Memórias: Histórias ouvidas e vividas e da terra. Maputo, edição do autor, 1985. p.64 and p.67.

⁶¹-HONWANA, R.B. Memórias .p.72. Free translation.

families some protection. However, as Honwana makes clear, for most, this was a question of survival and family security and did not mean the abandonment of language and religion, still less the aspiration to live like the white man or to feel genuinely Portuguese⁶². In these matters, the black Protestants were very different from much of the mulatto membership of the Grémio Africano, which defended the benefits of an all-embracing metropolitan Portuguese culture, as manifested in much of the reclamatory journalistic production, albeit with more frontal vigour under Karel Pott⁶³.

In 1932, this grouping left the Grémio Africano and established the Instituto Negrófilo, which advocated the material and intellectual promotion of the colony's black population. The new grouping rapidly came to enjoy the support of the Director of Native Affairs and influential colonists. Although an exhaustive analysis of the associations is beyond the objectives of this study, it is important to note that Enoque Libombo, who was part of the direction of the Institute for 15 years⁶⁴, Raúl Honwana and Abrão Aldasse, members and founders of the Instituto Negrófilo, were from the Swiss Mission. It seems probable that the initial reasons for some Swiss Mission members and others such as Levin Maximiano and Dick Nhaca to join the Instituto Negrófilo were common factors such as education, race and religion. These identities cannot conceal the socio-political role allotted

⁶²-Ibid.

⁶³-Ibid. p.64.

⁶⁴-Ibid. p.65.

to the Instituto Negrófilo as an officially authorised organisation attempting to bring specifically black (and Protestant) aspirations within the colonial hierarchy. As such its activities were much constricted by the colonial rules; according to Honwana, the Institute had a passive attitude to colonialism⁶⁵ and its attempts to demand justice were limited to petitions to the Governor-General or to the Minister of Colonies in Portugal with very little chance to undertake an open struggle against the regime⁶⁶.

Moreover, the Grémio Africano was now reduced to a membership of predominantly mulatto families, 'including the Albasini, Fornasini, de Haan, Loforte, Bruheim, and Pott' families⁶⁷. But with his position in the Grémio undermined by this damaging division, Karel Pott himself was forced to resign as Editor of O Brado Africano and President of the Grémio Africano at the end of 1932⁶⁸.

The reaction of the colonial regime to the crisis also included further rules to silence the contestatory press; this now faced further attempts to control their publications with the application of the Portuguese censorship law to Mozambique in 1934. A new Censorship Commission composed of 3 serving military officers was now supposed to review all

⁶⁵-Ibid.

⁶⁶-BRAGANÇA, A. an interview of Honwana, Aldasse and Libombo, conducted by Aquino de Bragança, Jacques Depelchin, Yussuf Adam and Alexandrino José, Maputo, 15th May 1983.

⁶⁷-PENVENNE, J. African Workers...93.

⁶⁸-For more information on Karel Pott and his activities in the Grémio Africano, see for example: PENVENNE, J. African Workers... pp.93-94; and HONWANA, R.B. Memórias.. p.64 and p.67.

newspapers before publication⁶⁹. The new legislation affected the press deeply, touching in this way the associations and constraining the voices of protest coming from the urban African elite.

With the death of João Albasini (1922), José Albasini (1935) and Estácio Dias (1937), the active control of the founder generation of the Gremio Africano and O Brado Africano ended. O Brado Africano made some effort to maintain criticism against the colonial regime, but constrained by the Portuguese control of its direction and under pressure of the censorship law⁷⁰, by 1937, the editorial line of O Brado Africano was clearly identified with the government policies⁷¹. The vigour which characterized the life of the Associations in the 1910s, much of the 1920s and the early 1930s was lost⁷².

The Swiss Mission press, although published outside the country and therefore more influenced by the threat of confiscation at the border on importation, was also affected by the regime's control over the media. The newspaper Nyeleti ya Miso⁷³, despite

⁶⁹-The censorship law published in Portugal in 1933 was introduced in Mozambique in early 1934. A colonial censorship commission was also created to control published material. HEDGES, D. and ROCHA, A. *O Reforço do Colonialismo, 1930-1937*. In: HEDGES, D., ed. *História de Moçambique...*p.61; and SOPA, A. *Catálogo de Periódicos...*

⁷⁰-Assuming an ambiguous position, in the 1920s and 1930s, the Associations developed an important movement of protest against economic and racial discrimination (chibalo, migrant labour, etc.) on the one hand while agreeing with a number of colonial undertakings such as the Limpopo Valley development project and the introduction of peasant cotton production in Mozambique on the other. HEDGES, D. and ROCHA, A. *O reforço...* p.73; HONWANA, R.B. *Memórias...* p.67.

⁷¹-HEDGES, D. and ROCHA, A. *O reforço...* p.77.

⁷²-NEVES, O.I. *Em Defesa da causa Africana...*p.110.

⁷³-From the 1930s onwards this publication assumed a different configuration, with more pictures, an improvement in presentation and offering more world news.

being a Tsonga publication, from 1931 onwards published some articles in Portuguese. During 1931, a special supplement for the newspapers Kuca ka Mixo, Timhaka ta Kuhanyiswa and Nyeleti ya Miso⁷⁴, named Estrela de Alva (Aurora Star), was published. It was all in Portuguese and contained amongst other information news on the missions as well as on the Portuguese authorities in Mozambique.

Reflecting the tensions of the political situation, Nyeleti Ya Miso played a dual role, offering praise to the colonial authorities and protest against their policies. An overview of the articles published in Portuguese in Nyeleti Ya Miso suggests they were mostly composed of news referring to the colonial administration in Mozambique, including visits of personalities and articles praising the Portuguese authorities, such as that referring to the visit of the Portuguese Minister of Colonies to Mozambique in 1939⁷⁵. It will be seen therefore that the missions made some considerable effort both to make the content of their newspapers more acceptable to the administration, diffusing information about colonial authority, and also to cope with official policy on the use of Portuguese.

In the second half of the 1930s, political tensions again came to the fore, this time suggesting that a number of the small non-white elite were no longer prepared to accept the linguistic and cultural divisions encouraged by the government among the associations. In

⁷⁴-See next page for a copy of the front page of Estrela de Alva. We have as yet no further information concerning the newspaper Timhaka ta Kuhanyiswa (textual translation: Problems of Salvation).

⁷⁵-The Nyeleti Ya Miso of July 1939 contains two pages written in Portuguese dedicated to the Minister of Colonies. The issues of May and July 1940, for example, also had articles in Portuguese.

ESTRELA DE ALVA

Suplemento aos seguintes jornais:- Kuca ka Mixo, Timhaka ta Kuhanyiswa e Nyeleti ya Mišo.

Julho

Casa Publicadora—Central Mission Press, Box 75, Cleveland, Transvaal.

1931

A BANDEIRA.

Com grande prazer desejo contar aos meus queridos irmãos que se passou aqui nesta escola de Cambine no dia 20 de Maio. Tivemos uma boa visita do honrado e reverendo Bispo de Lebombo, da Igreja Anglicana, na companhia do Reverendo Padre Staynton da Missão de Chambone, Maxixe.

Felizmente chegaram no dia marcado para a inauguração dum novo páo da bandeira. As quatorze horas do dito dia reuniram todo o pessoal da escola, professores e alunos, onde fôra levantado o páo.

Assim pedimos ao Rev. Bispo içar a bandeira, cerimônia que ele fez acompanhada por cantigos patrióticos pela parte das várias classes da escola. Dois alunos da terceira classe falaram-nos apreciativamente acerca da bandeira da República e os visitantes pronunciaram discursos outros a respeito de educação do povo e os deveres dum bom cidadão.

Naftal Mbanze,
Professor da Segunda Classe.

Nem todos os rapazes que prestam atenção ao seu aperfeiçoamento em agricultura e na criação do gado são afortunados como Simão Manguéz da Escola Bodine da Missão de Cambine. Sem dúvida o dia 25 da Maio será lembrado pelo pessoal da dita escola como um dos mais notáveis do ano corrente. A ocasião era a visita do Snr. Alberto Abrantes da W.N.L.A., emigração da Inimbane. São poucos os jovens deste distrito que não o conhecem, cujo nome vulgar é "Langwane."

Há mezes o nosso amigo teve a bondade de prometer dar um prémio de dois bois ao aluno desta escola escolhido como aquele que tinha feito o melhor progresso na agricultura e na criação do gado, durante o ano escolar. Desde o principio do programme educador desta Missão o Snr. Abrantes tinha notado os bons resultados do ensino da agricultura. Tal foi o prazer dele, e tal é o

desejo dele excitar nos indígenas o amor desta base fundamental da vida indígena, que concluiu mostrá-lo nesta bela oferta.

No dia mencionado o nosso bomfeitor na presença da escola ofereceu os bovinos, e ao mesmo tempo aconselhou os alunos a ligar a esta indústria uma importância enorme. Não se esqueceu de lhes fazer lembrar que o solo e os outros elementos da natureza nos são dado pelo Deus, que sempre espera o bom emprêgo deles pela nossa parte.

Uma charrua, oferecida por um outro amigo anonymo, completou o fornecimento pelo qual o Simão vai mostrar-se bom agricultor e cidadão Cristiano.

Os vários grupos da Missão cantaram o louvor do Snr. Abrantes e do Simão; O Snr. Keys, director da escola, O Snr. Terril, superintendente da Igreja, e o rapaz premiado mostraram os agradecimentos de todos em palavras apropriadas; e com "vivas" passou a ocasião.

COLLABORADORA NOMEADA.

Temos prazer em anunciar aos nossos leitores que a Missão Suíça tem nomeado a Srta. H. Hélene Borioz como collaboradora da ESTRELA DE ALVA e redactor dos artigos preparados pela dita Missão.

A Consagração de Residências.

É possível consagrar uma residência? Muitos dizem que, sim.

Esta conforme a attitudo da família que vai residir nela. É um costume velho entre os tribus desta Colónia fazer uma coremónia, as vezes complicada, na ocasião da inauguração duma nova palhota, pedindo para os residentes as benções e a protecção dos membros do tribu que já passaram para a vida alem do túmulo. Os vivos assim reconhecem o interêsse e o poder dos seus antepassados na vida mundial.

Aposar das obras evangélicas durante um meio século ou mais nesta Colónia, estamos ainda nos principios da época Cristá. Sendo assim merece pena aos dirigentes das igrejas

an attempt to overcome such differences, in 1936, José Cantine, M.S. Muthemba (a member of the Swiss Mission) and others joined together to form another Lourenço Marques based association, the Union of Black Lusitanians. Articles in O Brado Africano began to criticise the prevailing disunion among non-whites and even to propose a confederation of existing associations. However, by this time, the colonial government was increasingly able to make use of new Portuguese legislation repressing 'subversion' and 'communism' among employees of the state apparatus, thus intensifying their social and economic insecurity. In 1937, the new Union was peremptorily closed, and the proposed confederation never formed, thus leaving the existing - divided - associations as the only form of representation available⁷⁶.

Moreover, the intensified repression of the late 1930s was now to be supported by the Estado Novo's own system of non-formal education designed to attain political objectives, and a brief comparison with that of the Swiss Mission is instructive. In 1936, the Mocidade Portuguesa (Portuguese Youth) was established, and in 1939, it was extended to the colonies⁷⁷. Aiming at all sectors of the youth whether students or not, the organization attempted to mould and encourage physical and spiritual capacities in terms of

⁷⁶-HEDGES, D. and ROCHA, A. O reforço... pp.76-77; HEDGES, D. Education, Missions and the Politics of Assimilation. Forthcoming.

⁷⁷-Published in the Decree n. 29452, March, 1939.

dedication to the motherland. The organization was based on principles of rigorous discipline and the cult of military obligation⁷⁸.

Although we have relatively little information on the extent and impact of the Mocidade Portuguesa in Mozambique, we know that it was oriented to urban areas and had complementary activities related to physical and moral character, such as physical education and sports, arts, among other activities. The programme of the Mocidade Portuguesa, together with the teaching of a discipline of Morals and Religion (under the care of Catholics), were important points of ideological inculcation. Subjects such as history and Portuguese included in the formal education system complemented the transmission of ideology to the younger generation. In contrast, Swiss missionaries used child - or adult-centred pedagogical methods, particularly in the mintlawá, which prepared the younger generation to develop their own analytical instruments and aimed at creating capacities such as self-reliance and group dynamism.

Analysis of Swiss Mission positions and philosophy from a wider angle helps explain the growing contrasts and contradictions between the Mission and its products and the colonial state. Although the form of organization of a Presbyterian Church of itself allowed relatively democratic participation of believers, the practice of free expression of opinions and full participation in group and community activities was reinforced and

⁷⁸-Decree 26 611. For more information see: RAMOS Ó, J. Salazarismo e Cultura. In: ROSAS, F., ed. Portugal e o Estado...p.401.

stimulated by the organization of youth groups, which developed notions and ideas of democratic practice. This made the Swiss Mission stand out from the whole colonial system of education, as well as from other Protestant Missions.

Youth education, although structured by Christian principles, taught young adherents to use the Bible to interpret, analyse and argue, a tradition which, taken with the other capacities encouraged by the mintlaw, presented a clear contrast to the objectives of the government's Rudimentary Schooling.

In the context of the socio-economic crisis of the 1930s to which the colonial regime reacted with discriminatory and repressive legislation, constant parallels could be drawn between the people's history in the Bible and the existing situation, thus fostering the idea of the necessity to struggle for freedom. In the same way, religious hymns inciting mintlaw members to struggle for Jesus in most cases were interpreted by more mature young people as a political message.

The use of vernacular language and the emphasis on Tsonga cultural values introduced in youth education, and practised throughout the Mission, reinforced the role of culture as a vehicle of political intervention, where vernacular journalism also assumed an importance in contesting colonialism. Commenting on the mintlaw and the way the Swiss Mission attempted to integrate this programme with African culture and traditions, Clerc states:

The old conception of clan and family find a new form again within the members of youth groups. The African 'without family' finds again a⁷⁹ family. They move together and they feel the development of the group spirit (...)

While attempting to respond to the barriers created by the new educational legislation from 1929/30, the Swiss Mission introduced a system of education which assumed a key role in shaping the consciousness of younger generations, developing emergent forms of nationalism.

The government's attempts to manipulate and control the associations in the early 1930s constrained their activities and reduced their political influence, but was unable to avoid the development of a more and more clear national consciousness. Black Protestants affiliated in some associations, like Instituto Negrófilo, although impeded by the law from assuming open contestatory attitudes, maintained their African identity, which was stimulated by the Mission. Within those associations, in the next decades younger generations of black Protestants went on to play a pivotal role in the development of nationalism.

⁷⁹-See: CLERC, A.D. L'Église chez... p.241. Free translation.

CHAPTER 4 - CATHOLICISM, PROTESTANTISM AND EDUCATION, 1940-1960

In 1940, the Concordat and the Missionary Agreement formalized the institutional relationship between the Vatican and Portugal, establishing the principles of cooperation between them for the colonial undertaking. Article 68 of the Missionary Statute of 1941 prescribed Portuguese nationalist-orientated education for the 'native' population under the aegis of Catholic missions, and gave to the Rudimentary School the task of shaping consciousness more than the transmission of scientific knowledge¹. Implementation of the Statute resulted in: i) expansion of Catholic missions and their engagement in promotion of the Portuguese ideology of assimilation, ii) the institutionalization and reinforcement of the already existing separate education for the native population, and iii) further confinement of Protestant mission activities.

Reacting against increased difficulties in coping with Portuguese legislation in the educational field and in competing with the Catholic Rudimentary Schools, the Swiss Mission i) improved the quality of their formal education and ii) reinforced their strategies of non-formal education. The Presbyterian contribution to the education of the native

¹-See: REGO, A.S. Lições de Missionologia. Lisboa, Junta de Investigações do Ultramar, Centro de Estudos Políticos e Sociais, 1961, pp. 144-145.(Estudos de Ciências Políticas e Sociais no.56).

population contrasted more and more with that offered by the Catholic schools, with its pronounced emphasis on the assimilation of Portuguese values.

Implementation of Estado Novo education policies for the 'native' population during the 1940s and 1950s resulted in increased tension between the colonial state and the Swiss Mission. This situation resulted partly from widely different positions concerning the Portuguese nationalist orientation and content of education to be promoted in all Rudimentary Schools (and others); in this task the Swiss Mission and other Protestant Missions were reluctant partners compared to the Catholic missions, whose acceptance and transmission of state ideology, at least institutionally, seemed complete. Moreover, because colonial rule came to be increasingly questioned in this period, this difference came to mark out their political fields of action.

For practical reasons, our analysis of this period is divided in two Chapters: Chapter 4, more focused into Rudimentary Education, attempts to examine the basic points of conflict between state and Protestants; Chapter 5 is more directed to an analysis of the triangular relationship between religion, state and consciousness during and after the Second World War.

Although the Acto Colonial and related decrees published in 1933 had already enunciated the objective of promoting Portuguese interests ('nationalization' in the then current terminology) in the colonies, and had defined clearly the philosophy of the main policies for the native population and the reinforcement of their integration within

Portuguese nationality through language, education and Christianity, in the 1940s there was much to be done to increase specifically Portuguese domination.

Political ideology and government policy on social issues, education and assimilation after 1940-41 show its adoption of Catholic moral principles, as well as its support for Catholic missions working closely with the state in overseas territories. The Missionary Statute (art.66 and art.74) committed education for 'natives' to the Catholic missions², which assumed the principal role of developing 'native' education according to Christian and moral principles, and fostering assimilation. Pursuant to its 'nationalization' (making more Portuguese) of the whole colonization process, in the 1940s Portugal also 'nationalized' Missionary Action³. Commenting on this situation, Manuel Braga da Cruz states:

Nationalization of colonial action at beginning of the 1930s was followed by missionary action. Bishops as well as the parish priests and other secular and regular clergy were to be Portuguese (art 90). A declaration which foreign missionaries had to make required them to promise to accept Portuguese law, government scrutiny of the nomination of foreign heads of missions and the subordination of all missionaries to the Portuguese hierarchy (art.28).

²-AZEVEDO, A. Política do Ensino em Africa. Lisboa, Junta de Investigações do Ultramar, Centro de Estudos Políticos e Sociais, 1958, p.130.(Estudos de Ciências Políticas e Sociais no.13).

³-art. 3º ; art 4º; art 7º of Missionary Agreement; and Chap.VIII. art. 28º of Concordat referring to foreign missionaries in overseas territories. See: Concordata e Acordo Missionário de 4 de Maio de 1940. Lisboa, Secretariado de Propaganda Nacional, 1943, and Estatuto Missionário (Decreto-Lei 31.207). In: República Portuguesa. Principal Legislação publicada na Colónia de Moçambique. Lourenço Marques, Imprensa Nacional, 1941.Vol.XI.

⁴-CRUZ, M.B. O Estado e a Igreja Católica...p.209. Free translation.

Following Salazar, we can summarise the main objectives of the Portuguese Catholic Church in the colonies as:

(...) to complement the task of political occupation with the sanction of spiritual possession conferred by the Holy See, and with the nationalisation of missionary work, now definitively integrated into Portuguese colonial action .

The separation of primary school education of the 'native' population and 'citizens' was officially confirmed in the 1941 changes. For Europeans, non-blacks (Indians; mulattos) and assimilated Africans, there was a type of school whose plans and programmes were similar to those of Portugal itself. The 'native' population had Rudimentary Schooling, from 1956 entitled Adaptation Schooling⁶.

According to the Missionary Statute (art 68), 'native' schooling was to be under the control of the state and guided by the principles of the Constitution where they were obliged to use plans and programmes drawn up by the government⁷. The use of the Portuguese language as a means of ideological inculcation and transmission of cultural values remained a permanent rule in education, although with different 'nuances' for different periods. The Missionary Agreement (art. 16) reinforced this point:

⁵-Salazar, cited in FERREIRA, L.C. Igreja Ministerial em Moçambique, Caminhos de Hoje e Amanhã. Lisboa, Silvas-C.T.G., 1987, p.75. Free translation.

⁶-Separate education for natives thus gained further legal recognition of an already existing situation. The Diploma Legislativo no. 238, 17th May 1930 created the Rudimentary Schooling for the native population. See: RAUL, V. O Impacto do Ensino Rudimentar...

⁷-The Missionary Statute (art. 66) created a system of education specifically orientated to the native population. See: REGO, A. S. Lições de ...p.245, and Estatuto Missionário...

Apart from the programmes and curricula for 'native' education, the state would only intervene by providing the examination certificates. AZEVEDO, A. Política do Ensino...p. 131.

In the missionary 'native' schools the teaching of Portuguese is compulsory, while vernacular languages can be freely used for religious teaching, in accordance with Church principles .

The training of teachers for Rudimentary Schools, after 1941, was also handed over to Catholic missions⁹ .

The state's protection resulted in a considerable increase in the number of Catholic missions, parishes and Rudimentary Schools. Between 1940 and 1960, the number of missions and parishes grew from 44 to 167¹⁰ , and there was a rise in Rudimentary School attendance from 95,444 in 1942-43 to 385,259 in 1960-61¹¹ . An analysis of the number of pupils matriculated in Rudimentary Schools in 1947 and 1959 published in official statistics for Lourenço Marques, Inhambane and Gaza shows these post-Concordat tendencies in southern Mozambique. During the 1940s, there was a decline of state direct involvement in Rudimentary Schools (official schools), as these were gradually turned over to the Catholic missions. As is shown in Table 1, the colonial state completely withdrew from its direct

⁸-Sec: Estatuto Missionário...; FERREIRA, L.C. Igreja Ministerial...p.75. Free translation.

⁹-After 1941, the training of teachers was transferred to the responsibility of Catholic missions. See: AZEVEDO, A. Política do Ensino...p.157.

¹⁰- LISBOA, E. Education in Angola and Mozambique. In: ROSE, B., ed. Education in Southern Africa. London, Collier-Macmillan Publishers, 1970, p. 281; FERREIRA, E.S. Le Colonialisme Portugais... p.73. According to HEDGES, D. and ROCHA, A. A Reestruturação da Sociedade Moçambicana, 1938-1944. In: HEDGES, D., ed. História de Moçambique...p. 120, from 1938 to 1944, the Catholic schools increased in numbers from 245 to 502.

¹¹-LISBOA, E. Education in Angola and...p.261. and FERREIRA, E.S. Le Colonialisme...

activities in this level of education (official schools), while the number of students in the Catholic schools increased.

TABLE 4.1

Number of pupils registered in Rudimentary School ¹²

RUDIMENTARY SCHOOL	L.MARQUES		INHAMBANE		GAZA	
	1947	1959	1947	1959	1947	1959
OFFICIAL	0	0	0	0	0	0
PRIVATE	236	246	-	-	-	-
PORT.CATHOLIC	8,766	22,388	26,078	54,965	46,951	47,680
FOREIGN MISS.	1,619	1,006	1,714	2,286	2,080	2,134

Source: Anuário Estatístico de Moçambique. 1947 and 1959.

Despite these increases, for African children schooling was a difficult task. Most of them had problems of access owing to the still relatively limited number of schools in existence, scarce financial resources and age limits. The Rudimentary School programme was theoretically of 3 years duration. After passing this level students were allowed to go to the regular primary school, at the third primary Elementary level, Ensino Primário Elementar, and finally to the fourth and last class of primary level, Ensino Primário Complementar.

Most Rudimentary Schools suffered from the loss of time spent in agricultural work to benefit the teacher or the mission, at the cost of study time. These problems meant that,

¹²-As indicated, the Rudimentary School was entitled Adaptation School, after 1956.

even if there was a good chance of passing every year, in practice the Rudimentary programme often lasted for up to six years, and as a result, age limits and economic constraints were usually a barrier to the next levels of education.

Teachers in the Rudimentary School were mainly catechists, with very weak skills, which resulted in poor level of education. A large number of students failed examinations, as they had very poor conditions for learning. Different analyses of the quality of the 'native' education, confirm the ineffectiveness of this educational system¹³. Based on figures collected in Anuário Estatístico de Moçambique (1960) for Adaptation Schooling for Lourenço Marques, Gaza and Inhambane¹⁴, Table 4.2 shows the percentage of children in each type of school who passed:

TABLE 4.2

Percentage of pupils passed, in relation to number of registrations (1960)

(Adaptation Schooling)

TYPE OF SCHOOL	L.MARQUES	GAZA	INHAMBANE
PRIVATE	35.02%	-	-
PORT.CATHOLIC	4.41%	2.66%	1.53%
FOREIGN MISS.	44.62%	38.39%	6.7%

Source: Anuário Estatístico de Moçambique. 1960.

¹³-See: GOUVEIA, T.C. As Missões Católicas ...; FERREIRA, E.S. Le Colonialisme Portugais...pp.75-76.

¹⁴-The quality of colonial statistics either from official or religious sources is very weak, creating some difficulties for data analysis. See: DARCH, C. Análise Bibliográfica...

Eduardo de Sousa Ferreira¹⁵, commenting on the high percentage of illiteracy in the 1950s, criticises education policy in the overseas territories. Using information collected in the Anuário Estatístico do Ultramar (1958), he confirms the poor quality of the Rudimentary School especially that of Catholic Portuguese missions:

TABLE 4.3

Illiteracy levels in Portuguese Colonies

COLONY	TOTAL POPULATION	ILLITERATE POPULATION	PERCENTAGE ILLITERATE
ANGOLA	4,145,266	4,019,834	96.97%
CAPE VERDE	148,331	116,844	78.50%
GUINE	510,777	504,928	98.85%
MOZAMBIQUE	5,738,911	5,615,053	97.86%

Source: FERREIRA, E. S. 1974, p.74.

Although the allocation of negligible financial resources to native education can be used to justify the final results of Rudimentary Schooling under responsibility of Catholic missions¹⁶, we should note that the philosophy behind this educational system was articulated to the needs of economic development of the colonial state and shaped to train a population to work in subordinate posts. Cardinal Cerejeira, Cardinal Patriarch in Lisbon,

¹⁵-FERREIRA, E.S. Le Colonialisme Portugais...p.74. For further information on the weakness of Rudimentary Schooling see: HEDGES, D. and ROCHA, A. Moçambique durante o Apogeu do Colonialismo Português, 1945-1961: A Economia e a Estrutura Social. In: HEDGES, D., ed. História de Moçambique ...pp.180-181.

¹⁶-See: FERREIRA, E.S. Le Colonialisme Portugais... pp. 75-76

in a pastoral letter of 1960 explained this aspect of the objectives of 'native' education and the role played by the Catholic Church:

We try to reach the native population both in breadth and depth to (teach them) reading, writing and arithmetic, not to make 'doctors' of them...To educate and instruct them so as to make them prisoners of the soil and to protect them from the lure of the towns, the path which with devotion and courage the Catholic missionaries chose, the path of good sense and of political and social security for the province... schools are necessary, yes, but schools where we teach the native the path of human dignity and the grandeur of the nation which protects him¹⁷.

The illustrations mentioned are a clear image of the colonial state's awareness of the role played by education in social selection, and their fear of the growth of an educated elite which might compete with the white population and ascend to political positions against the regime.

The overall result of this was that, apart from the poor level of efficiency, the system in effect created barriers to the evolution of education for native people. Difficulties of access meant that very few black students were able to undertake the secondary level of education. Available statistics provided the following information: in 1945, in the secondary schools (liceus), 78.6% of students were white, 21.3% mixed race and 0.14%

¹⁷-A pastoral letter from 1960, cited by MONDLANE, E. The Struggle...p. 60.

black (only one). In 1960, for the same level of education, 81.4% were white, 18.5% mixed race and 2.7% black¹⁸.

While the Swiss Mission had developed alternative means of dealing with the 1929 education regulations in the 1930s, after 1940 it faced increased difficulties in coping with the colonial legislation, now bolstered by the linkage between colonial state and the Catholic Church. Indeed, the expansion of Catholic missions and Rudimentary Schools in southern Mozambique developed often at the expense of and with some hostility towards existing Protestant missions.

Reports from M.P. Fatton (1940) and A.D.Clerc (1956)¹⁹ show how the Catholic mobilization in the post-Concordat period resulted in the more effective application of the governmental decrees of 1929, thus intensifying the difficulties of the Swiss Mission and other Protestant churches. They mention particularly cases of school closures and repression directed against Protestant Pastors.

Fatton states that the Portuguese administration continued to accuse the Swiss Mission of being against the Portuguese and educating children to be disrespectful of the colonial authorities. His information confirms that the state unduly protected the Catholic

¹⁸-Information collected by HEDGES, D. and ROCHA, A. *Moçambique durante o Apogeu...*p.182.

¹⁹-DM.MF,1186A. FATTON, M.P. *Entretien...*; DM.MF,820B. CLERC, A.D. *Report...*

Church, whose schools did not always conform to official regulations, and that hostilities against Protestants were often articulated locally by Catholic priests²⁰.

Clerc's report provides examples of this situation, particularly for the Swiss Mission and Methodist Episcopal Mission in Inhambane:

i) The Swiss Mission school of Mugeijo, in Manhiça, was closed during 1948; authorizations for land concessions to this Swiss Mission school were refused and religious activities forbidden :

Children in their parent's home were arrested during the night on orders of the Rev. Padre Teixeira. They were removed to the R. C. Mission property, and were beaten because they attended Sunday School services. For the same reason, corporal punishment was inflicted on girls and boys²¹.

ii) Again at Mugeijo School, young women aged from 17 to 20 years old, with a completed primary school level qualification, were arrested and obliged to go to the primary Catholic school and to catechism classes 3 times a week²². Such practices continued into the 1950s.

Clerc gives other examples of cases directly related to schools closed during 1955-1956 and teachers forbidden to teach, and more examples, related to religious propaganda, including cases of evangelists and Pastors being beaten, jailed or recruited for forced

²⁰-See also: Rapport Annuel du Conseil de la Mission Suisse dans l'Afrique du Sud sur sa Gestion en 1943. Lausanne, 1944. Ibid. for 1944 and 1945.

²¹-DM.MF,820B. CLERC, A.D. Report on the situation...p.6.

²²-Ibid.

labour, apparently because they were preaching in private houses or without official authorization. These include the cases of Pastor Simione Bendane, jailed in Caniçado-Guijá in 1957 and recruited for forced labour for a six months period, or Titos Daimba Sekiso, a 61 year old Methodist Pastor from Guilundo, in Inhambane, deported to Mozambique Island for a period of 5 years, apparently because he had no authorization to preach in the region. The same report refers also to a district commissioner of Inhambane province forbidding all Episcopalian Methodists of the region from undertaking their religious work and forcing them to close all their churches or to use them for other ends²³.

Protestant primary school teachers who had a certificate were often invited to work in the Catholic Rudimentary Schools and attempts were often made by Catholic priests to win over personnel from the Swiss Mission. Extracts from a letter of a Catholic priest to a Swiss Mission evangelist illuminate one of the methods used to win Protestants to their side:

(..)I will be very pleased to see you joining us for the great Christmas celebration tomorrow afternoon. We have maize flour and beef, which I bought to enjoy a meal all together. At about 7 p.m. tomorrow, we will have food for everybody, and after that you will have enough time for amusement before worship⁽²⁴⁾. We will all be together as Christians and brothers in the Portuguese manner(...)

A Swiss Mission report discussing the activities of 1943 when explaining the anti-Protestantism of the Catholic Church referred to cases of Catholic schools engaging in

²³-Ibid.

²⁴-DM.MF,1375D. P. BAPTISTA. Letter from Rev. Baptista from 'Missão de Santa Isabel' to Mr. Joel Ndove, commented by A. Guermiquet, Swiss missionary in Antioca station. 23rd December, 1951.

compulsory recruitment of Protestant students, and mentioned a case of intimidation from a Catholic priest against a Swiss Mission community:

(...)According to Pastor Macavi, in Chichongui, a Catholic priest entered the chapel during worship. With his hat on, and in front of the preacher's chair, he interrupted the Pastor's words and announced that he was about to close the church (...)²⁵.

Owing to government education policy, for most families the only chance to send their children to school was through a mission school. As 'native' education was under the aegis of Catholics after the 1940s, students in their schools were obliged to study the Catholic catechism, and in some areas a Catholic baptism was essential to be admitted to the school. Again, there were numerous examples showing the use of repression against children, obliging them to attend the Catholic Rudimentary School, undergo compulsory baptisms and work in the teacher's field²⁶.

In order to inhibit this process, the Swiss Mission churches continued with a practice it had initiated in the 1930s: the baptism of young people and even infants, a practice normally left until later. At the same time, parishes were organised to have baptism certificates and records, as they often had to fight with the local Catholic priest, his catechists or the Rudimentary School, testifying that children were already baptised,

²⁵-Rapport Annuel du Conseil de la Mission Suisse dans l'Afrique du Sud sur sa Gestion en 1943. Lausanne, 1944. Free translation.

²⁶-See: CLERC, A.D. Chitlangou, Son of a Chief. Westport (Connecticut), Negro Universities Press, 1971, pp.112-115.

thereby avoiding a new baptism and compulsory recruitment to catechism classes or Catholic schools.

Angelina Macavi, daughter of a Swiss Mission Pastor, remembered what she saw, when young in the 1940s, concerning compulsory recruitment of children to Catholic schools:

I can remember that there were many problems with the priest's school(...). In Chichongui, children were subject to compulsory recruitment to Catholic schools, being forbidden to go to the Mission school. Even the Mission, suffered the persecution coming from "escola do padre"(the priest's school). During that period, my father was a teacher in Chichongui and had problems with Catholic priests, as they often called him to them for the purpose of threatening him. Sometimes children from the Mission school were jailed and my father and the other teachers were obliged to go and discuss their situation and to release them²⁷.

One of our sources, Simeão Malate²⁸, reports that during the 1940s, on orders from the Catholic school, he and other boys participated in the forced recruitment of any boy or girl seemingly old enough to go to school, without taking into account whether or not they were students of a non-Catholic school. He also reported many cases of children being beaten and of others being coercively rebaptised.

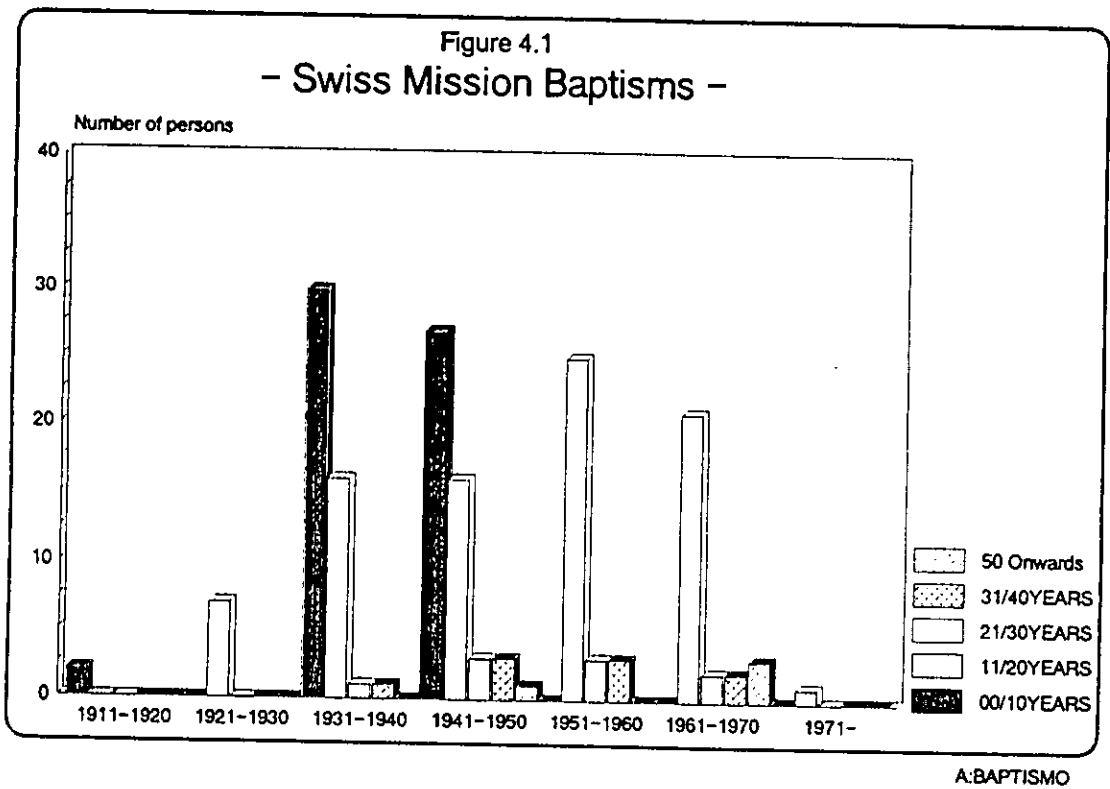
As part of this research, a random sample of baptisms was undertaken, based on registration cards of two parishes from different districts in Gaza Province, and two other parishes from different districts of Maputo Province. The selection took into consideration

²⁷-Angelina Macavi, daughter of Pastor Gabriel Macavi and born in 1927, interviewed by Teresa Cruz e Silva, Chicumbane (Gaza), 19th October, 1993. Free translation.

²⁸-Simeão Malate, interviewed by Teresa Cruz e Silva. Matsinhane, 13th October, 1993.

the need to cover the following items: i) parishes where we had conducted fieldwork; ii) parishes where the Mission was deeply involved in health and educational activities; iii) rural and urban areas.

The results of the random sample are shown in the following Figure:



Source: Baptism registration cards from the following parishes: Maússe, Chicumbane, Ricatla and Chamanculo.

An analysis of figure 4.1 confirms the increase in the number of baptisms of young people and children during the 1930s and the 1940s, corresponding to the periods of closure of Protestant schools and the strength of Catholic Missions. Confirming the implication of our random sample analysis, Fabião Sithoye, born in 1928 and today a worker in the Swiss Mission, says:

In Chicumbane and other places, there was compulsory recruitment for the Catholic school. During that period, our church was organized with baptism index cards. It was not a custom within our Church to baptise children, but children of our Church were going to study in a Catholic Church school and there they were baptised, beaten and forbidden to go to Mission school. To fight against them, our children and infants were baptised and information registered in the baptism index cards, as a means to provide evidence that they were members of our Church²⁹.

The evidence shows that most information relating direct persecution or intimidation against the Swiss Mission, either relating to the state or concerning Catholics, came from the countryside. This reflects the fact that most 'native' schools and preachers were concentrated there and that it was perhaps easier for the administrator or the local priest to engage in such excessive behaviour with less risk of immediate recourse of the victims to means by representation or protest.

In this context of intensified discrimination, the Swiss missionaries continued to develop means of coping with the colonial rules. They reacted by concentrating their efforts

²⁹-Fabião Junga Sithoye, interviewed by Teresa Cruz e Silva, in Chicumbane (Gaza), 19th October 1993. Free translation.

on central schools and boarding schools, and by trying to avoid a decline in the number of students in their schools.

Indeed, after a period of crisis in the 1930s and early 1940s, the Swiss Mission managed to maintain the number of students, achieving a slight increase in 1951 in relation to 1930, despite a reduction in number of schools³⁰, as the following table shows.

TABLE 4.4
Number of Students in the Swiss Mission Rudimentary Schools

YEAR	NUMBER OF STUDENTS
1925	2,880
1937	1,766
1949	2,155
1951	2,911

Sources: Annual Reports of the Swiss Mission. 1937;1949;1951; DM. MF, 21B. CLERC, A.D. 1937; DM. MF, 827A. CLERC, A.D. 1949.

According to Clerc³¹, the number of students in the Swiss Mission schools increased partly owing to the transfer of some Wesleyan students to their schools, and to

³⁰-See: Statistical information from the Annual Reports of the Swiss Mission (1937;1943;1951); DM.MF,21B, CLERC, A.D. Travail présenté à la Conference...; which presents the following numbers of schools: 1925: 50; 1937: 18; 1943: 17; 1951: 15, showing how the numbers dropped dramatically from 1929. onwards. See also: DM.MF,827A. CLERC, A.D. Rapport sur la marche des écoles durant l'exercice 48-49. 1949.

³¹-DM.MF,69B. CLERC, A.D. Quelques réflexions sur l'état actuel des écoles de notre mission. 1954.

the fact that some parents began to send their children to Protestant schools as a result of the poor level of Catholic Rudimentary Schools.

The Swiss Mission Council reporting on activities from 1943³² describes the difficulties they faced in maintaining schools recognized by the government. The Presbyterians and Methodist Episcopalians redoubled their efforts to deal with the competitive situation, improving youth education³³; teaching reading and writing within the Catechism classes; and also introducing domestic teaching, programs of carpentry, agricultural and other vocational training.

The 1943 report³⁴ mentioned some ways used to cope with the native education regulations, such as the night schools, which were a new solution for students over 14 years old who were no longer allowed to go to a day school according to the 1929 regulations. The ensino domestico (domestic teaching) was another way to legalize alternative arrangements, as it was permitted to teach at home a certain number of students, who were then required to go to the official schools for examinations.

³²-Rapport Annuel du Conseil de la Mission Suisse dans l'Afrique du Sud sur la gestion de 1943. Lausanne, 1944.

³³-In 1940, the Methodist Episcopal Mission first explored the experience of the Presbyterians on youth groups, and after that the mintlawa were disseminated to their parishes with the cooperation of the Swiss Mission. DM.MF, 6007A. REA, J. Récit de Julian Rea sur les Équipes d'Inhambane (campo de Cambini).(S/D). See also: André-Daniel Clerc interviewed by Teresa Cruz e Silva and Alexandrino José. Lausanne, 1st November 1985.

³⁴-Rapport Annuel du Conseil...

Casimiro Mathié³⁵, a Presbyterian teacher, reports that with official authorization to teach, some teachers like himself also taught subjects outside the official programme, in order to improve the students' knowledge. Another way in which some Presbyterians dealt with the problems imposed by Portuguese authorities was to operate clandestine schools in the countryside³⁶.

It can be seen therefore that although facing the risk of being jailed, beaten and in extreme cases deported, African Pastors and evangelists committed to the mission's work used their homes to teach and worship, and teachers used different strategies to improve the educational skills of their students. Moreover, the Swiss missionaries realized that knowledge of the Portuguese language was important not only to study and to discuss parish problems with the administrative authorities, but was also fundamental for employment prospects, and they therefore paid attention to the teaching of Portuguese to children and adults according to the regulations.

A further reaction of the Protestant missions to the difficult situation of this period was to improve the quality of their personnel in the schools, the hospitals or direct missionary work, whether through informal training for teachers or courses for nurses. Training of teachers was one of the more difficult problems faced by the Protestant missions, as after the closure of Alvor school the government refused authorization to open

³⁵-Casimiro Mathié, interviewed by Teresa Cruz e Silva and Alexandrino José. Chicumbane, 29th January 1993.

³⁶-See Chapter 6 below.

an inter-mission school in Ricatla to train teachers. Instead, the Protestant missions opted to improve the training of their personnel at the secondary level, as students who attained the second level of secondary school, or equivalent could then obtain an official certificate to teach³⁷.

The relatively high quality of services provided by Protestant hospitals with specialized personnel was another source of attraction to their cause, even with the growth of services in the same area provided by the Catholic Church in the same period³⁸.

As a result of pressures coming from the administration and from the Catholic Church itself, the extensive efforts of the Swiss Mission were not enough to avoid the transfer of some children to Catholic schools, especially with the closure of many Protestant village schools, and the social pressure on children's parents. Nevertheless, between 1940 and 1947, the Swiss Mission improved the agricultural boarding school project in Chicumbane, which had already begun in 1935³⁹. The objective was to deal with both the competitive situation and the necessity to stabilize manpower - which tended to drift towards urban areas and towards South Africa⁴⁰ - as well as to train skilled Mozambicans.

³⁷-See: Rapport Annuel de la Mission Suiss dans l'Afrique du Sud en 1952. Lausanne, 1953.

³⁸-In the Mission's hospitals, personnel(expatriate doctors and some nurses and Mozambican personnel, mainly nurses and auxiliaries) were prepared to speak vernacular languages and to manage the health and administrative problems with special care and competence, providing in this way the necessary confidence to people using their services.

³⁹-See: ROHRBASSER, C. L'Oeuvre... pp.107-108.

⁴⁰-According to Georges Morier-Genoud (letter to Teresa Cruz e Silva, Bienne, 15th January 1995; my thanks for his kind collaboration) the Protestant missions were aware of the importance of migrant labour in

The Chicumbane boarding school joined together the primary Rudimentary and Elementary primary school programs, with the teaching of basic agricultural techniques for boys and domestic activities for girls. Based on mintlawa rules, they taught children principles of leadership and cooperation by means of an agricultural curriculum. In 1948, when the school had 67 students, the Mission built a proper boarding school construction. However the difficult financial situation of the Mission impeded further immediate improvements of the school.

In 1956, based in the same principles of education, a new agricultural boarding school was initiated at Macuvulane, with a small group of 40 boys. Owing to financial constraints and limitations imposed by colonial rules, other projects for vocational schools and an industrial school were reduced to the training of carpenters, masons, and later, mechanics. External financial aid from religious organizations in the late 1950s helped to maintain the boarding schools, although they still faced immense difficulties⁴¹.

The Swiss Mission took great advantage of boarding schools, combining formal education with modern teaching methods and informal education based on African culture introduced through mintlawa, thereby contributing to the provision, at least in part, to native education outside the Portuguese system⁴². It is true that the increased number of Rudimentary Schools under the Catholic missions and the pressures faced by parents to

the economy of southern Mozambique, of its social impact and the necessity to minimize its effects. However, they were not powerful enough to promote stabilization of the male labour force.

⁴¹-ROHRBASSER, C.L'Oeuvre ..pp.104-120, for a detailed analysis on issue.

⁴²-Rapport Annuel de la Mission Suisse dans l'Afrique du Sud en 1951. Lausanne, 1952.

register their children in Catholic schools led to the dispersion of many Protestant students, making the organization of young groups in the rural areas more difficult. However in central missions and in boarding schools, the movement for mintlawa developed side by side with schooling.

With the difficulties of access to school the youth groups had to face the problems of illiteracy, particularly of the girls who, suffering the constraints of the traditional education of a patriarchal society, had less chance of access to school. With the introduction of the successful Laubach method in the 1940s many converts and young people were able to read⁴³. Literacy classes were introduced within youth groups, giving a chance to read and write to those who did not have access to school.

From this brief review, it will be seen that there was a considerable difference in impact as well as in content between Catholic and Protestant missions, with the latter, perhaps because of the effectiveness of their confinement to only a few centres of activity, being more innovative and noticeably more efficient.

This contrast contributed to the hostility with which Protestant activities were viewed by the colonial authorities and by the Catholic Church. As the Concordat was implemented, the relationship between state and the Protestants worsened, and, as

⁴³-Laubach developed a method of teaching reading and writing from his experience in the Philippines in 1912. His method was later adopted by UNESCO and many governments and institutions. After his visit to South Africa (1948) and Mozambique (1949), he adapted his method to teach reading and writing in Tsonga. For more information see: Matthey, J. Le Travail Educatif...pp.10-12. Probably because Laubach's work was recognized by other governments and UNESCO and because the church introduced the system to teach adults or young people in a non-formal system of education, the Portuguese did not interfere in this activity.

Helgesson puts it, the 'feeling of conflict between Catholics and Protestants was constantly present'⁴⁴. Increasing suspicion of their activities resulted in harassment through school inspections, to see how far they were applying the rules, or through the surveillance of their actions, often considered an umbrella to cover political and subversive activities.

However, towards the end of the 1950s, the Portuguese authorities came to be more willing to analyse the reasons behind the Protestants' relative success. Reporting on the means used by Protestants in Portuguese colonies to organize 'religious propaganda', Gonçalves⁴⁵ refers inter alia to the use of the printing press and audio-visual means to spread knowledge in different areas; socio-medical and schooling assistance; the transmission of simple knowledge, whether religious or technical; the quality of personnel, whether Africans or expatriates; the growth in the number of African personnel; sport and musical activities; effective connections either with local authorities or with influential personalities and the cooperation between different missions.

Commenting on Gonçalves' study, Avila de Azevedo⁴⁶ refers to the pragmatic work carried out in their schools. He remarks that its aims were to satisfy the immediate need to raise the cultural and vocational levels of Africans, as well as to respond to the great susceptibility of the 'native' to the Protestant catechism, owing to its free interpretation of the Bible and potential for use in manifestations of anti-European tendencies. He also

⁴⁴-HELGESSION, A. Church, State and People...p.274.

⁴⁵-GONÇALVES, J.J. Protestantismo... pp.177-178

⁴⁶-AZEVEDO, A. Relance sobre a educação... pp.99-100.

reports - and criticises - the Protestants' practice of preserving the social experiences of their students.

However, Azevedo remarks that the Protestants insisted on the introduction and improvement of teaching methods adapted to African social behaviour and, contrary to the practice of the Catholic missions, they took advantage of the creation and dissemination of literature with effective didactic characteristics⁴⁷.

Although representing the colonial interpretation of Protestantism, both analyses not only confirm the differences in methodology of the Protestant missions compared to that of the Catholics, but also the fear felt within the Portuguese administration of their 'dangerous influence' on the African people.

Commenting on this issue, Silva Rego⁴⁸ also reaffirmed the importance of education in the formation of African elites. Analysing the weakness of Rudimentary schooling under the aegis of Catholic missions in contrast with the Protestants' commitment to provide better standards of education, Rego relates the further growth of an African elite with Protestant education and religious practices. Defending the necessity of reinforcing financial support to Catholic missions, as the transmitters of a 'Luso-African' unity, he also referred to the

⁴⁷-AZEVEDO, A. Relance sobre a educação...pp.100-101..

⁴⁸-REGO, A.S. Alguns Problemas Sociológico-Missionários da Africa Negra, Lisboa, Junta de Investigações do Ultramar, Centro de Estudos Políticos e Sociais, 1960.(Estudos de Ciências Políticas e Sociais no.32).

Protestants activities as dangerous⁴⁹ to the Portuguese project of nationalism in the colonies, although they were no longer simply considered 'enemies'⁵⁰.

These analyses are based on careful research and argument, and the fact that they elucidate the danger of Protestant education and religious practices to the project of colonization, shows that both the Catholic Church and state had become more sensitive to the relative failure of Catholic primary education, in the context of the emerging continent-wide African nationalism of the late 1950s.

Commenting on Church-state tensions, Santos referred to the political influence and communist propaganda brought in from neighbouring countries to Mozambique under the label of religious propaganda⁵¹. Files in the Mozambican Native Affairs collection on the Swiss Mission, the Methodist Episcopal Mission and Free Methodist in Inhambane show that their members were always under suspicion and considered to be associated with the dissemination of subversive propaganda⁵². During this period, the repression against non-Catholic churches was also directed at the independent Churches, and those operating without state authorization were closed⁵³.

⁴⁹-Ibid. pp.104-106.

⁵⁰-Ibid. p. 115.

⁵¹-AHM.ISANI,BOX 20. SANTOS, A.P.S. Relatório das Inspeções...

⁵²-AHM.FNI, BOX 1312 and 1313. Direcção dos Serviços dos Negócios Indígenas. Secção E-Instrução e Cultos. 1949-1961; 1958-1961.

⁵³-HEDGES, D. and ROCHA, A. A Reestruturação da Sociedade Moçambicana, 1938-1944. In: HEDGES, D., ed. História de Moçambique...pp. 123-124.

The educational system introduced by the Mozambican colonial government after 1929-30 had a strong discriminatory component. The legislation regulating the activities of the Protestant churches in the religious and educational fields, creating a separated system for 'natives' in the primary school level, was based in a racial and religious differentiation. In the post-Concordat period, the attitudes of Catholic Church and the Portuguese administration toward the application of this legislation made the ideological orientation of education more aggressive, with repressive methods against 'natives', Protestant believers and non-Catholic churches.

The Swiss Mission, attempting to cope with these further constraints improved the quality of its education, concentrating its efforts in central schools and boarding and agricultural education. Because these efforts resulted in a relatively more efficient system, fear of the impact of Protestant activities on African people increased.

Aware of the role of education in the formation of elites, the Portuguese administration created a very selective system of access for African people, particularly to secondary and university levels. Increased numbers of the white population resulted in increased differentiation in schooling, the installation of more of Catholic schools in a larger area, and expansion of secondary education orientated to the necessities of the white population⁵⁴.

⁵⁴-During this period racial and social differentiation in education increased, partly as a result of the expansion to serve the growing white population. HEDGES, D. and ROCHA, A. *Moçambique durante o apogeu...*p.176.

The Swiss Missionaries continued to preserve part of the cultural and social experience of their students; apart from the use of Portuguese, they based their methods of education and evangelization on the retention of Mozambican 'national' rather than Portuguese culture, a fundamental contribution to the education of the 'native' population and development of their political consciousness. Operating in an opposite direction, and contrasting with the Portuguese 'nationalist' education which transmitted state-approved moral and ideological principles, Protestants and particularly the Swiss Mission education took on a stronger political significance, as the general question of African decolonisation and nationalism came to the fore in the 1950s, a subject to which the next chapter turns.

CHAPTER 5 - RELIGION, STATE AND CONSCIOUSNESS, 1940-1960

The world-wide political changes resulting from the Second World War had direct and indirect consequences on the politics of Portugal and its colonies. The environment now became favourable for the development of pro-democratic and anti-colonial movements. The claim of total and immediate independence for all colonies asserted by the Pan-African Congress in Manchester in 1945, and the independences of British colonies in Asia during 1947 and 1948, reinforced this tendency.

The economic and strategic interests of the great European empires in Africa could not restrain the impact of these political changes in Southern Africa and, together with the economic and social crisis of the period, helped unleash developing protest and political movements.

In Mozambique, in the face of the increased economic crisis and social differentiation towards the end of the 1940s and particularly during the 1950s, various forms of political opposition to colonialism in rural and urban areas developed. The intensification of repressive measures introduced by the regime to control the influence of external political change and to avoid the development of internal opposition could not impede the advance of protest, the growth of underground nationalist activities and, finally, nationalist movements.

Political changes led the more open Protestant missionaries into an ecumenical reflection on Mozambique. Despite the intensification of restrictions against Protestant churches, the Swiss Mission continued to be able to develop its project of 'Africanisation' of the Church leadership; indirectly it also continued to support the growth of a small indigenous elite among young adherents, whose social engagement in the face of post Second World War repression on a religious and racist basis become political and anti-colonial.

Difficult conditions of living and working, low wages, forced labour and cultivation and the increase of the state's repressive measures gave rise to forms of resistance such as strikes and revolts. The new economic demands after the Second World War increased exploitation of labour thus leading to peasant resistance, such as that against cotton cultivation by cooking the seeds to avoid their germination, or the clandestine meetings to organize the struggle against forced labour and forced cultivation in Gaza Province during the 1950s¹.

Another way of dealing with the difficult conditions of living was illustrated by the increase in clandestine emigration not only of male labour to the South Africa mines, but also of women and young people to neighbouring countries. Illustrating the problems faced by the African population, Native Affairs reports give constant references to shortages of

¹-HEDGES, D. and CHILUNDO, A. A Contestação da situação colonial, 1945-1961. In: HEDGES, D., ed. História de Moçambique...pp 211-212.

fertile land and migrant-labour related problems resulting from the economic policy of the Portuguese government². Despite the permanent instructions of the Portuguese administration on the control of the clandestine immigration, the government attempts to regulate this phenomenon failed³.

Outbreaks of workers' resistance were reported in the urban areas of Mozambique. The strikes of 1947 and 1949 at the port of Lourenço Marques and the 1954 strike in Xinavane sugar plantation reflected part of the discontent of workers in rural and urban areas.

As mentioned the colonial government attempted to manipulate and control the development of an African elite arising within the Associations. Much as in the previous period, their activities were almost entirely limited to muted claims of civil rights comparable to those of white people⁴. Indeed from 1946, the government stimulated the creation of more Associations for different groupings of permanent African workers in the urban areas. Such efforts were directed to controlling Africans with small business activities. In making further efforts to control the economic development of an African

²-See: for example, AHM.ISANI, BOX 12. Gil, A.M. Relatório da Inspeção Ordinária à Circunscrição do Maputo e seus postos administrativos de Catembe, Catuane, Inhaca e Manhoca. 1960; AHM.ISANI, BOX 11. Serra, A.M. Relatório da Inspeção Ordinária ao Concelho da Manhica e seus Postos Administrativos de Xinavane e Calanga. 1965.

³-Ibid.

⁴-Illustrating the situation of associations during this period, a petition from the Centro Associativo dos Negros de Moçambique (CAN) to the Ministry of Colonies referred to the problem of white settlers undermining any chance of employment for assimilated Africans. AHM.FNI, BOX 1300., E/7/6. Letter from the Centro Associativo dos Negros de Moçambique, signed by Levin Pinto Maximiano, to the Ministry of Colonies sent through the Direcção dos Serviços dos Negócios Indígenas. 14th, December 1956.

petty bourgeoisie emerging among traders and peasants in rural areas⁵, the objective of the colonial regime attempted to oversee the development of classes which could constitute a political opposition in rural and urban areas.

The development of political consciousness after the Second World War affected the younger generations particularly. Thus, towards the end of the 1940s and particularly during the 1950s the development of forms of protest and the search for African roots and political independence were present among them. From the mid-1940s students from the Portuguese colonies in Europe reflected on the political situation within the colonies, and began movements of protest against Portuguese cultural domination. In Lisbon, the Casa dos Estudantes do Império (Empire Students Club) brought together a new generation of students from the colonies who, beginning with protests against imposition of a Portuguese culture and claims for equal civil rights, developed their analysis to the point of claiming political liberation of the colonies; this led to the organization of clandestine meetings outside the Club in the early 1950s. The Centro de Estudos Africanos was then founded in 1951 in connection with those activities. Although permanently watched by the police, it was only dissolved in 1965. Most of their activists later became pivotal elements and

⁵-During 1944 the 'Statute of Peasant Farmer' was published, attempting to promote and control the small commercial farmers in the countryside. See: HEDGES, D. and ROCHA, A. *Moçambique durante o apogeu...* pp.188-190; ADAM, Y. Cooperativização agrícola e modificação das relações de produção no período colonial em Moçambique. Trabalho de diploma, licenciatura em História. Universidade Eduardo Mondlane, 1986.

founders of the nationalist movements in Angola, Guiné-Bissau and Mozambique, furthering the struggle for liberation⁶.

In Mozambique, the winds of political change brought together the anti-fascist struggle in the colony. Although with a very weak impact, the Portuguese Communist Party had cells in Mozambique⁷. Its Youth League, the MUD-Juvenil-Movimento de Unidade Democrática (Youth for Democratic Unity), had a complementary movement in Mozambique. The MJDM-Movimento dos Jovens Democratas Moçambicanos (Mozambican Democratic Youth Movement) was founded after the Second World War to struggle against social injustices and to promote unity amongst Africans⁸, but had an ephemeral life. Between 1948 and 1949 it was closed by the political police and its leaders were arrested, with some of them deported by the colonial government⁹. Although the MJDM had a tiny influence and was limited to Lourenço Marques, the news published by the media on people arrested and deported in connection with the Movement produced a political impact in urban society¹⁰.

⁶-MONDLANE, E. The Struggle for...p.115.

⁷-See: Abner Sansao Muthemba, interviewed by Teresa Cruz e Silva and Alexandrino José. Maputo, 10th June 1985 and 8th July 1985; Joao Mendes interviewed by Mário de Andrade. Maputo, 5th October 1985-by courtesy of Mário de Andrade.

⁸-See: João Mendes...Ibid.; SOPA, A. Catálogo de Periódicos...pp. 257-258; HEDGES, D. and CHILUNDO, A. A Contestação...p.202.

⁹-See: HEDGES, D. and CHILUNDO, A. A Contestação...p. 202; and Joao Mendes, *ibid.*

¹⁰-See: CRUZ E SILVA, T. A rede clandestina...pp.55-56.

Constraints imposed by the colonial regime could not prevent some political changes within the associations, particularly among the young. Thus, in 1949, in Lourenço Marques there arose an association of students, the Núcleo de Estudantes Secundários Africanos de Moçambique-NESAM (African Secondary Students' Nucleus of Mozambique), within the Centro Associativo dos Negros de Moçambique (CAN).

Eduardo Mondlane was the main driving force in the foundation of NESAM, and for this reason was briefly detained by the political police in 1949, and some time later he returned to South Africa where he was a student¹¹. Other members of NESAM were also detained by the police, which made the first steps of organizing the association very difficult.

Although Isabel Casimiro¹² states that after Mondlane's return to South Africa in 1949, NESAM had no political expression, one should note that members of NESAM, aware of the suspicion by political police were not able to expand their activities, which for a time remained limited to readings and to the organization of the library and other cultural activities.

Commenting on this, Almeida Penicela, a founder member states:

I was a founder member of the Nucleus for African Secondary Students from the Centro Associativo dos Negros da Colónia de Moçambique, and I worked on the cultural committee (...).

¹¹-For more details on Mondlane see Chapter 6.

¹²-CASIMIRO, I. Movimento Associativo como foco de Nacionalismo-movimento estudantil-NESAM e AAM. Departamento de História, Universidade Eduardo Mondlane, 1979.

time I did my studies at night school and during the day I worked at the Comissão Reguladora de Importações¹³. One day, when I was working, a group of uniformed policemen came to my office, asking to see my desk drawer(...). They took everything they thought was important to them(...). Then they went with me to my home. They searched everything and took what they wanted(...) and after that we went to the police station where I was under interrogation and jailed. I had no idea what was going on, when I saw the President of our nucleus, Herbert Stephan, also in jail (...). After a conversation both of us realized that we were jailed in connection with the Nucleus. We also saw Georgette Libombo there, our secretary(...). Eduardo Mondlane was also jailed, although later on, when he returned from Chicúque(...). We spent some days in the police station(...). Eduardo Mondlane was the founder of the Nucleus. He came from South Africa during his holidays and used this period to organize our group. He was watched by the police(...). After that we still went there, but we were closely watched and were aware of the situation¹⁴.

Towards the end of 1950 and earlier 1960, the evolution of the political situation in Mozambique led the young educated generation to begin a more active phase within the Centro Associativo dos Negros to which they were linked, developing cultural debates and political discussions, even partially overcoming the constraints imposed by the Portuguese police surveillance.

The initial founding group of NESAM consisted entirely of Protestant students¹⁵. However, existing evidence¹⁶ also indicates that from 1949 until the mid 1950s, other

¹³-Import Regulation Commission.

¹⁴-Almeida Penicela, interviewed by Teresa Cruz e Silva and Alexandrino José, Chicúque (Inhambane), 20th October 1992. Free translation.

¹⁵-DM.MF.910. Letter from Eduardo Mondlane to André-Daniel Clerc, written from Lourenço Marques to Lausanne. 18th January, 1949.

¹⁶-See: CASIMIRO, I. Movimento Associativo.... pp.8-9. and HEDGES, D. and CHILUNDO, A. A contestação...p.203.

members of this organization were children of members from the Centro Associativo dos Negros, who probably joined the embryo created by Mondlane. According to our data, the Swiss Mission did not directly affect NESAM. Yet, it is possible that the initial main drive of this student organization, the debates on Mozambique, and on other social and political issues, were in part inspired in the youth organization of the Swiss Mission given the fact that their founders and some of its members were educated within the principles of mintlawá. According to Almeida Penicela, the mintlawá education taught them forms of organization, developed the spirit of initiative between their members and also taught them the value of their culture, which in part inspired the way the young people organized NESAM, their discussions on cultural issues and their practice of analysing problems¹⁷.

As mentioned, the colonial system of education created various barriers to African education. Only a small percentage of the total population had completed primary school and very few secondary school¹⁸. Written and radio broadcast information was mostly restricted to urban areas, limiting the news on the world events to relatively small social groups. Among these was born a new generation of young African intellectuals who engaged in protest against Portuguese domination. Constrained by the repression of freedom of expression and limited by rules suppressing political activities, they used

¹⁷-Almeida Penicela, interviewed by Teresa Cruz e Silva and Alexandrino José. Chicuque (Inhambane), 20th October 1992.

¹⁸-See: LISBOA, E. Education in Angola...pp.299-303.

cultural forms of protest to express their opinions. Thus, during the 1940s and 1950s, poets, painters and writers, reacting against the alienating culture of white society, engaged in a cultural revolt. Searching for their African roots and protesting against the suffering of black people, their production was influenced by the Pan-African movement and Negritude tendencies. Among others, Bertina Lopes, Malangatana (painters), José Craveirinha, Noémia de Sousa or Luis Bernardo Honwana (writers) inspired the existing and following generations with their pioneer work¹⁹. Testimonies from the painter Malangatana or the deceased sculptor Chissano state that the sense of value attributed to African culture by the Protestant churches also stimulated the creation of their artistic work, which was based in African roots²⁰.

Although the colonial system attempted to control the cultural and political influences from abroad, during the post Second-World War period Mozambique was not a space limited by Portuguese influence. Technical developments in communication and the media facilitated the rapid dissemination of information from all over the world. The influence of Protestant churches, access to literacy and contacts with neighbouring countries brought political and cultural influences and widened the intellectual world of at least some Mozambicans. The influences on literature and art, as well as the influence of

¹⁹-See: MONDLANE, E. The Struggle...pp. 107-114.

²⁰-Information provided by Georges Morier-Genoud, former missionary in Mozambique, letter to Teresa Cruz e Silva, Bienne, 15 January 1995. I am grateful to Mr. Morier-Genoud for his help.

jazz, as a black North American musical form, reinforced this tendency in some circles of the urban population in Mozambique, as is reported by Liesegang²¹.

References from political poetry of the 1940s and 1950s state that in most cases it was produced by a minority of intellectuals from the urban areas and marked by the winds of political change from the post-Second World War period and the African literary tendencies²². During this period, writers, particularly poets, searched for a national literary space, and the affirmation of the 'African Personality', as is analysed by the Mozambican literature specialists Mendonça and Saúte²³. However, forms of protest were not restricted to intellectuals. Workers and peasants also expressed their revolt against colonial forms of exploitation and reaffirmed their cultural values through songs, poems and dances²⁴.

In independent churches songs were introduced reflecting the sadness of the population under colonialism and evoking the Gaza emperor Ngungunyana. In other cases

²¹-LIESEGANG, G. Possibilidades do Estudo...p.36.

²²-According to Mondlane, E. The Struggle... p 109: 'In the political poetry of the forties and fifties, three themes predominate: the reaffirmation of Africa as the mother country, spiritual home and context of a future nation; the rise of the black man elsewhere in the world, the general call to revolt, and the present sufferings of the ordinary people of Mozambique under forced labour and in the mines'.

²³-See: MENDONÇA, F. and SAÚTE, N. Antologia da Nova Poesia Moçambicana, 1975/1988. Maputo, Associação dos Escritores Moçambicanos, 1993, pp. XIII-XIV; See also: MONDLANE, E. The Struggle.

²⁴-See: VAIL, L. and WHITE, L. Formas de resistência: canções e noções de poder na colónia de Moçambique. Revista Internacional de Estudos Africanos, no.2, 1984, pp.9-62; VAIL, L. and WHITE, L. Power and the Praise Poem...; MONDLANE, E. The Struggle... pp.102-104; HEDGES, D. and CHILUNDO, A. A Contestação...pp.222-225.

their hymns contained ideas of freedom which were a means to transmit Pan-African and anti-colonial ideas²⁵.

The importance of vernacular literature, as a cultural and political instrument has already been mentioned in Chapters 2 and 3. The role played by songs as vehicles of intervention in political and social issues is broadly accepted as a powerful one. They illustrate forms of political protest against colonialism²⁶. Most are about forced labour, migrant labour, conquests, hunger, exploitation and oppression. In protest songs or satirical protest songs, most words and tunes reflected social injustice or sadness, or ridiculed the image of the coloniser. They were sung in the vernacular. As the Portuguese repudiated African languages, in most cases they were not able to understand the sense of the words, thus allowing the singers free expression dissimulated by song.

Although Tsonga songs were not the focus of our study, I have analysed some material recorded during my research together with that from other written and oral sources so as to perceive how songs and poems created by authors with a religious background can be considered manifestations or even tools of resistance against colonialism. In order to illustrate this, I have selected two politico-religious songs²⁷. My selection takes into consideration the following: a) the double message they transmit (religious and political);

²⁵-HEDGES, D. and CHILUNDO, A. Ibid. p.224.

²⁶-See: MONDLANE, E. The Struggle...; MANGHEZI A. A Mulher e o Trabalho. Estudos Moçambicanos, no.3, 1981, pp.45-56; VAIL, L. and WHITE, L. Power and the Praise...

²⁷-Both songs were translated to English from a free translation (Tsonga-Portuguese) of Eulália Temba and revised by Pastor Félix Khosa. My thanks for their kind collaboration.

b) both belong to the same period, the early 1950s, allowing us to compare them with political poetry and other forms of literature from the same period; and finally, c) both concern Eduardo Mondlane²⁸.

In the following lines, the first song illustrates a protest message addressed to Mondlane in a religious ceremony:

*Tatana Eduardo
Hakukhonnelela lesvi uhisukelaka ufambaka
uva América
Hi tlhelo ra tiiondzwo*

*Father Eduardo²⁹
We pray for your leaving
For America
To pursue your studies*

*Hosi mukatekise tiiondzweni takwe
Anfuna vantima hinkwavo
Hakombela ka Yesu Hosi
kuhinvika vanwani*

*Lord, bless his studies
In order to help all blacks
We are praying to Lord Jesus
To give us others like this.*

*We Yehova Hosi va matilo muhelekete
Eurona
Hina vanhu vale África
hikarele hi vukarawa
Hita kuma xana anchuseko
hintamu wa Yesu Hosi*

*Lord of heaven, go alone with him
to Eurone
We sons of Africa
We are tired of slavery³⁰
We will be free
With the strength of Lord Jesus*

*Wukathekisa tiniondzweni takwe
Anfuna vantima hinkwavo
Hakombela ka Yesu Hosi
Kuhinyika vanwani*

*We hope you will be blessed in your studies
In order to help all blacks
We are praying to Lord Jesus
To give us others like this.*

²⁸-For more information on Eduardo Mondlane, see Chapters 6. and 7.

²⁹-Father is used here in a sense of someone respected, although it is also used when people are referring to a respected old person, or to refer to Lord Jesus, depending on the context.

Strophes 2 and 4, although presenting some differences in the words perhaps due to an error of the singer, seem to be a chorus.

³⁰-Slavery is used in the sense of sufferance or anguish.

This song³¹ seems to have been composed in about 1950 before the departure of Eduardo Mondlane for Lisbon to continue his studies. It was sung in Tsonga at the local Swiss Mission church at Maússe in Gaza. It was a religious homage to Mondlane from his relatives and members of his religious community. However, the song contains a strong protest message against colonialism, not only in the poem's overt meaning but also because the language used in it was a 'forbidden' vernacular language.

The words of the song revolve around a religious theme repeated in each verse and invoking Lord's blessing in order to guarantee success to Eduardo Mondlane's studies:

Father Eduardo,
 We pray for your leaving
 For America
 To pursue your studies

 Lord, bless his studies

 We hope you will be blessed in your studies

Nevertheless, the key focus seems to be the suffering of black people, the sons of mother-Africa who hope to be free with the help and the strength of Lord Jesus and through their son's help, particularly his access to western knowledge:

Lord, bless his studies
 in order to help all blacks

 We sons of Africa

³¹-This song was sung by Jordina Mondlane, a cousin of Eduardo Mondlane, during an interview conducted by Teresa Cruz e Silva, at Maússe (Manjacaze district), on 12th October 1993. According to the singer, the author of this song is Osias Bila, an evangelist of the Swiss Mission in that region, and a close friend of Eduardo Mondlane. The same source told us that the song was in praise of Mondlane's departure for Europe where he was going to study.

We are tired of slavery
 We will be free
 With the strength of Lord Jesus

The second song was sung by Eduardo Mondlane during a religious ceremony which was held to bid him farewell on his departure to Lisbon, in 1950.

Tshika. wena. mova wanga
 Tshika ku kanaka
 Xana urivala xana
 Tatana wa le tilweni

My soul has no doubts

Do not forget
 Our Heavenly Father

Kule ni misava levi
 Kule ni tiko leri
 Hita hvi kuma vutshamo
 Endliwini va Tatana

Far away from this land
 Far away from this country
 You will have your abode
 In the Fathers's home

Tsika ku rilela nkarhi
 Wa ku luva ka wena
 Hinkwaswo swi ni kuhela
 Na wena wa khaluta

Forget the crying
 For your period of suffering
 Everything has an end
 You are also transient

Kule ni misava levi
 Kule ni tiko leri
 Hita hvi kuma vutshamu
 Endliwini va Tatana

Far away from this land
 Far away from this country
 You will have your abode
 In the Father's home

According to one of our informants³², this song was sung in Tsonga by Eduardo Mondlane in the Chicumbane church (Swiss Mission). During our research, it became evident that this is an old hymn (except for small differences in some words) sung by

³²-Délia Jotamo Zucule, interviewed by Teresa Cruz e Silva, Maputo, 15th July 1994. This song was sung by Délia Zucule during the referred interview.

believers of different Protestant churches even today, generally expressing sadness and hope at the same time³³.

The message is apparently concerned with a religious theme, but the song can be also interpreted as focusing on the suffering of black people and social injustice, as the following verse suggests:

Forget the crying
For your period of suffering
Everything has an end
You are also transient

The song brings a message of hope in the 'Lord's promised land'³⁴, as we can see in the chorus:

Far away from this land
Far away from this country
You will have your abode
In the Father's home

The chorus is expressed in rich metaphorical language that can be interpreted in one way as symbolizing the freedom from colonial domination in an independent country³⁵,

³³-With very small differences this hymn can also be found in the Hymn book Tinsimu Ta Vakriste, Evangelical Presbyterian Church (Swiss Mission in S.A.), Morija, Morija Printing Works, 1987.(Hymn no. 200).

³⁴-Interpreting this song 49 years later, Délia Jotamo Zucule our informant told us that the song Mondlane sang was interpreted by his friends as a promise of liberation from colonialism and she remarked: 'unfortunately, our Moses (referring to Mondlane and meaning the hope for liberation), never came back' (referring to his death in 1969).

³⁵-In a situation of colonial domination, the free interpretation of sacred texts are often used as a comparison with the reality of colonized people, where the promised land can be compared with the hope to live in future in an independent and free country; to compare the suffering of Jesus with the suffering of dominated people and the Romans with the dominant people. See: LONSDALE, J. Moral Ethnicity...pp.131-150.

although it can also be interpreted simply as a religious message where suffering on earth will be compensated in Heaven near Lord Jesus (the Father's home).

It seems evident that the message addressed to a wide church community, in the presence of Swiss missionaries, friends, relatives and other believers³⁶ was at the same time religious and political, if we take into consideration the political and social context of the period (1950).

Taken as a whole, both songs stress a common theme: the suffering of black people and a hope for freedom. These are themes reminiscent of the political poetry of 1940s and 1950s which, as we have already seen, was usually produced by urbanized people³⁷. Indeed, the author of the first song, Osias Bila, although coming from a rural area, worked in the mine compounds in South Africa and thus had contact with the political and social situation there during this period. This seems to have had a political influence on him. His experience of colonial domination and as an evangelist in the Swiss Mission³⁸ also shaped his political personality.

Christian songs introduced by missionaries were well accepted by Tsonga speakers, constituting a forum of unity between Christians of different backgrounds³⁹. Thus, with the

³⁶-Délia Jotamo Zucule, interviewed by Teresa Cruz e Silva, Maputo, 15th July 1994.

³⁷-See: Mondlane, E. The Struggle...pp.109-113.

³⁸-See: Casimiro Mondlane, interviewed by Teresa Cruz e Silva and Alexandrino José. Machecahomu, 27th January, 1993; Silvano Muchanga, interviewed by Teresa Cruz e Silva and Alexandrino José, Machecahomu, 27th January 1993; and José Mutumane, interviewed by Teresa Cruz e Silva, Machecahomu, 14th October, 1993.

³⁹-See: HARRIES, P. The Roots...p. 42, when he refers to the importance of hymns sung in Tsonga.

use of vernacular to sing during the religious ceremonies, songs such as the above politico-religious songs became a special form of expression, which were also used as a medium to criticise the established power, either directly or through metaphors.

In a context in which contestation of the colonial structure intensified, developments in the Swiss Mission heightened the contrast between the Protestant churches and colonial social policy. From its inception the Swiss Mission was directed by a Council constituted by Swiss missionaries and African Pastors, the Ntsombano⁴⁰. As a Presbyterian Church, the Mission was mainly based on the work organized by evangelists and elders which were the pivotal elements in the relationship between the Church and the community. Evangelists received education at Ricatla until 1948⁴¹ where they were trained to teach while continuing with their pastoral activities in the communities with which the Church was working. The elders, representing their community, also worked as lay personnel.

The history of the Mission organization shows the gradual steps towards its autonomy, the institutionalization of a Synod and a Synod Comity and the formation of an African ministry, evangelists and youth instructors. This process gradually led to an African leadership and to financial autonomy. Thus, the 1940s and 1950s found the Swiss

⁴⁰-Ntsombano, a Tsonga word meaning, unity and assembly (textual translation). After 1948, it was substituted by a consistory.

⁴¹-Responding to the colonial regulations on education and as many bush schools were closed after 1929, the church closed their training course in 1948. For more information see: BIBER, C. Cents Ans...pp.106-107.

Mission with an African Pastoral corps trained in Mozambique. Between 1917 and 1948, the Theological School of Ricatla had six courses with a duration of 3 years each⁴². Although incomplete⁴³, the figures in the following table (Table 5.1) give the number of students registered for some courses of theological studies in Mozambique (Ricatla and Chamanculo), indicated according to the year of entrance.

TABLE 5.1

Number of African Ministers trained in Mozambican Seminary

Year of ingress	Number of Students
1907	3
1917	2
1936	3
1940	4
1944	4
1951	4
1958	6

Source: Personal information from Simao Chamango, 1995, based on oral information from Pastor Nkonwana and reports from the Swiss Mission.

⁴²-Ibid. p.108. Students on courses at Ricatla Seminary were usually accompanied by their wives, who were taught the skills required for the role of the Pastor's partner within the community. Such partners would usually have been taught to extend the social space of the household to the church while young girls; the church community, particularly women, would expect orientation and advice from them as the wife of a Pastor. This role seems to be partially the reproduction of the Swiss model in Mozambique, where European wives played a similar role, teaching activities reserved for women (crochet; knitting; care of children; cooking and other household activities), reading and writing.

⁴³-As a result of the poor quality of statistical information produced by the Swiss Mission.

Although small in numbers and limited to a specific region in the country, the Swiss Mission very early on developed the approach of having an African clergy, apart from other efforts to train qualified preachers, elders and other direct collaborators of the Church.

On the basis of such preparatory activities, in 1948, the Swiss Mission transformed itself into the Igreja Presbiteriana de Moçambique(IPM)-Missão Suíça (Presbyterian Church of Mozambique-Swiss Mission), with an African leadership, Pastors, evangelists, youth leaders and lay collaborators⁴⁴.

The Mozambican leadership of the Igreja Presbiteriana de Moçambique-Swiss Mission, was from now directed by an African Pastor, and the Synod Council developed further with the following composition:

TABLE 5.2 - Synod Council

President	Vice-President	Year
G.Macávi	Swiss Missionary	1948-1963
Z.Manganhela	C. Mathié	1963-1972
-	C. Mathié	1972-1973
Izaías Funzamo	Oriente Sibane	1973-1978

Source: Personal Information: Simão Chamango, 1995, based on Swiss Mission records.

⁴⁴-Although in some documents the Swiss Mission appears from now as Igreja Presbiteriana de Moçambique, in our work we still use the name Swiss Mission, as the Igreja Presbiteriana de Moçambique even nowadays continues to be known.

The IPM-Swiss Mission also had an administrative organization which took charge of ecclesiastical and financial matters (salaries and parish expenses).

This period was called Lumuku⁴⁵, as it was regarded as one of the first steps towards the autonomy of the Church. Between the Lumuku and the last convention signed with the IPM for the total autonomy of the Church in the 1970⁴⁶, there occurred a long period of discussions on the best way to 'Africanise'⁴⁷ the church, on the question of the function of the Mission and the missionaries, and the avoidance further political problems with the Portuguese authorities which could prejudice the Mozambican Church.

After 1948, the Swiss missionaries remained in Mozambique and still represented the IPM, through the Swiss Mission, as the latter was still the only institution with legal authorization recognized by the Portuguese authorities in Mozambique until the end of colonial domination in 1974.

Moreover, the Swiss Mission maintained financial donations for social developments such as hospitals, schools and hostels, as well as salaries for the Swiss missionaries themselves, who were also committed to the training programme. However, the philosophy underlying the autonomy pointed to a gradual transition, with the integration

⁴⁵-Lumuku is a Tsonga word meaning the act of weaning (textual translation).

⁴⁶-See: BIBER, C. Cents Ans...p.112.

⁴⁷-Although aware of limitations in using the concept 'Africanisation', in our analysis we adopted its use as meaning the introduction of elements of Tsonga culture in Christian rituals. Sometimes, however the concept is more related to African leadership, as in this case.

of the Mission within the Mozambican church, and the reduction of leadership responsibilities of missionaries, which was included in the formal agenda of the transformation of the Swiss Mission into the IPM. The number of missionaries diminished from 5 in 1948 to 4 in 1962 and then to 3 in 1972⁴⁸.

Discussing the Africanisation of the Church, Georges Andrié⁴⁹, a retired missionary from the Mozambique Swiss Mission remarked:

1948 is a very important date regarding the Africanisation of the Church. In Shangaan this period is called Lumuku. The Church was to be rooted in the population, and we made efforts in that direction.

Financial support of the church was the responsibility of Switzerland. At that time efforts were made to decrease that dependence. A pastoral fund was created, with contributions from all parishes, in order to guarantee the pastors' salaries⁵⁰

These steps towards Africanisation of the Church encountered differences of opinion within the Mission where missionaries from different generations and ways of thinking had to participate in the process. Illustrating those differences Andrié remarked:

(...)In the 19th century the missionaries were spreading the Gospel, but they were not aware of the necessity to transmit, as soon as possible, their knowledge to African pastors and lay personnel⁵¹.

⁴⁸-According to personal information from Simão Chamango (1995) based on Swiss Mission reports and confirmed with other oral sources.

Between 1887 and 1957, a total of 190 Swiss missionaries worked in Mozambique. See: DM.MF, M 56. L'Eglise Presbyterienne (Tsonga-Ronga) du Mozambique. 1961.

⁴⁹-Georges Andrié, a former Swiss Missionary who worked in Mozambique until the end of 1960s and was later linked to Mozambique while in the Département Missionnaire des Églises Protestantes de la Suisse Romande in Lausanne.

⁵⁰-Georges Andrié, interviewed by Teresa Cruz e Silva, 30th April 1993.

⁵¹-Ibid.

In expressing this view, Andrié indirectly indicates a failing among some white missionaries to perceive what the establishment of the church already owed to pioneer African evangelists and Pastors such as Yosefa Mhalmhala and Calvin Maphophe⁵²; moreover, he goes on to suggest that even Swiss Mission activity, despite its respect for local language and culture, was partially structured by colonialist precepts:

(...) To me, the true idea of Africanisation is related to the necessity to leave responsibilities with African personnel. The Gospel is not our possession(...). But, the colonial tragedy changed missionary planning to a conscious acceptance of the principles in colonial ideology (...). The mission had the temptation to make civilization (...). The development of colonialism slowed down the process of Africanisation in the small Swiss Mission⁵³.

But Andrié also comments that, on the other hand, missionaries integrated in society had to face reality and their own consciousness of the political situation in Mozambique, which led them to develop certain positions which were against the established power, and political changes in Asia and later on in Africa itself led some Protestant Churches to think of the Africanisation of the Church leadership.:

The need to train Pastors always led to clashes between the Mission and the politicians. With the process of African independences during the 1960s, the situation became more difficult. Nevertheless, political changes previously started in Asia led the more open people into an ecumenical reflection, to the necessity to press for the Africanisation of personnel⁵⁴.

⁵²-See Chapter 2 above.

⁵³-Georges Andrié, interviewed by Teresa Cruz e Silva, Lausanne, 30th April 1993.

⁵⁴-Ibid.

It seems that by the early 1960s, missionaries visualized the possibility of some form of independence for Portuguese colonies as a consequence of political evolution in the continent⁵⁵.

Although the process of complete Africanisation of the Church took place gradually, the existence of an African leadership, black Pastors and a black Presbyterian church whose organization was based on principles that stimulated practices of democracy were a constant preoccupation for the Portuguese. Indeed, Lumuku could not have begun at a less propitious time for relations with the colonial state. In 1948 the further consolidation of the existing colonial socio-economic order was marked by the mapping out by the Governor-General of stricter race barriers in job allocation and wages/salaries; on this basis the government expected to maintain its support among white workers and recruit more skilled Portuguese personnel to staff technical and managerial posts in the rapidly developing economy⁵⁶.

Repression of African labour was complementary to this strategy; it included further severe control on workers in urban areas⁵⁷, measures concerning forced labour and cultivation, compulsory recruitment and restrictions on labour rights where trade unions

⁵⁵-Ibid.

⁵⁶-HEDGES, D. and ROCHA, A. 'Economia e estrutura social... pp.174-175, passim.

⁵⁷-In 1944 the Regulamento dos Serviçais e Trabalhadores Indígenas (RSTI) was published, which attempted to control internal migration from the countryside to urban areas.

organized on a discriminatory basis were imposed and controlled by the colonial state in collaboration with white workers. In 1942, 1947 and 1953 Government circular letters instituted rigorous controls on rural male labour so as to facilitate compulsory recruitment⁵⁸. The obligation on the African to work, reaffirmed in the Native Statute of 1954, allowed the possibility to choose which work, and the Native Labour Law revision in 1955 laid down penalties for illegal recruitment. However, forms of forced labour were permitted, and practice showed the existence of hidden forms of forced labour and the use of extreme violence in the recruitment and control of labour and obligatory production of cotton and rice⁵⁹. The increase in white settlement aggravated the racial discrimination and workers' economic and social difficulties which had started in earlier periods.

Furthermore, in the 1951-53 constitutional revision, the Portuguese transformed Mozambique's status from Colony to Province, a change which prefigured the more complete integration of Mozambique within a single Portuguese state. In this socio-political context, the Africanisation of a Protestant church already firmly identified with African languages and culture, carrying with it the notion of ideological independence and the practice of administrative autonomy no doubt widened the political gap between Presbyterian Church and colonial state.

⁵⁸-See: HEDGES, D. and ROCHA, A. Moçambique durante o apogeu...pp.138-143.

⁵⁹-MONDLANE, E. The Struggle... p.85-92.

Moreover, at the same juncture, this tendency was reinforced by the further development of Protestant ecumenism, resulting from the need to coordinate more effectively the work of the different churches which were struggling for similar objectives. In 1948, the Evangelical Missionary Association which had been active in the 1930s was transformed into the Christian Council of Mozambique - Conselho Cristão de Moçambique (CCM). Reinforcing the activities of CCM, in 1958 the Presbyterian Seminar of Ricatla became the United Seminar of Ricatla, an interdenominational school for Episcopalian Methodists, Presbyterians, Congregationalists and the Church of Christ in Manica and Sofala⁶⁰.

The end of the 1940s was also a seminal period in the evolution of Protestant newspapers. Following the tradition of vernacular journalism introduced by the Protestant Churches during the 1920s, the close cooperation between the Methodist Episcopal Mission and the Swiss Mission led them to join their efforts in a common publication. In 1949, they integrated Kuca Ka Mixo and Nyeleti Ya Miso into the new Mahlahle, which was written in both Tshwa and Tsonga as well as Portuguese.

Mahlahle⁶¹, meaning 'Morning Star'⁶², was initially financed by the National Council of Churches of Christ in USA, no doubt adding to the suspicion with which it was

⁶⁰-See: HELGESSON, A. Church, State and People...pp. 279-280. See also: BIBER, C. Cents Ans...p.109 and p.113.

⁶¹-Mahlahle: journal ya Vakriste va Vutsonga, Wutshwa ni Vuronga [Morning Star: a newspaper for Tsonga, Tshwa and Ronga Languages]. vol.1 n.1 (1949); vol.22 n.6 (1969), Cleveland, Transvaal (monthly). SOPA, A. Catálogo de Periódicos

regarded by the authorities; in 1959-60 the Christian Council in Mozambique undertook responsibility for funding the newspaper⁶³. According to the South African analyst of Tsonga literature, Maluleke, Mahlahle had the same objectives already established for Nyeleti Ya Miso⁶⁴.

The Mozambican specialist in newspaper history, António Sopa, states that the newspaper was basically distributed in Mozambique, and among Mozambican miners in South Africa, while only a small number was distributed among the population of Tsonga origin in the Transvaal⁶⁵. However, Portuguese legislation controlled the entrance of such material, and under the censorship law or under orders of the political police the newspaper or other religious literature was sometimes confiscated by customs. Commenting on this situation Helgesson remarks:

Big consignments of books and the "Mahlahle" were constantly being sent from the Central Mission Press to Church workers in Mozambique. Frequently it happened that books or bundles of periodicals were stopped by Portuguese Customs, and confiscated. Returning mine workers with Bibles in their luggage might lose all their printed material at the border. Large deliveries of Bibles in various African Languages could be kept for years by the Customs authorities, until they were

⁶²-'Mahlahle' is the name given to the morning star by Tsonga speakers. 'Nyeleti Ya Miso' also means the morning star, or literally 'the star of the morning'. It seems that although initially the missionaries used the long explanatory phrase 'Nyeleti Ya Miso', later they had found and used the more effective and grammatical word, 'Mahlahle'. Personal information from S.T. Maluleke. My thanks for his kind collaboration.

⁶³-For more information see: DM.MF,1758 B. HELGESSON, A. A Report on "Mahlahle"-A Church Magazine in Mozambique and Transvaal. 1967; and HELGESSON, A. Church, State and People...pp.284-285.

⁶⁴-MALULEKE, S.T. 'A Morula...p 38. The objectives of Nyeleti Ya Miso were referred to in previous chapters.

⁶⁵-SOPA, A. Catálogo de Periódicos...

finally dispatched for distribution, or destroyed, depending on the prevailing official attitude at the time⁶⁶.

The 1940s and 1950s were very difficult decades for Protestant Missions, as a consequence of the development of the Estado Novo and the privileged relationship established between the colonial state and the Catholic Church. Yet they were also periods of challenge for Protestant missions, obliging them to reinforce their strategies to cope with political changes. Under the protection of the CCM, Protestant denominations struggled together for training their personnel, for educational activities and to plan common strategies to deal with colonial policies.

The repressive and violent measures introduced by the colonial state, attempting to control and manipulate labour and the growth of an elite as well the general absence of political rights for Africans impeded the development of an organized internal opposition. Nevertheless, towards the end of the 1950s political parties emerged in exile, such as UDENAMO-Uniao Democrática Nacional de Moçambique (Mozambique National Democratic Union) in Rhodesia. Other parties were founded in the early 1960s. The Mueda Massacre of 1960, a violent reaction by the colonial government to political protests in Mozambique, and other such security measures from the colonial government, confirmed the necessity of political groups to work in clandestine ways.

⁶⁶-HELGESSION, A. Church, State and People ... p.285.

Despite the cooperation and the relationship established between the state and the Catholic Church, the understanding between Catholics and the state was not straightforward. During the whole Estado Novo period, problems were evident in Portugal and in the colonies, among certain believers and the clergy itself regarding constitutional problems concerning the recognition of the church, educational issues and the reaffirmation of the Church's independence from the state⁶⁷. In 1957, D. António Ferreira Gomes, the Bishop of 'Oporto' initiated a conflict with the state by criticizing the poverty of people living in rural areas in Portugal, pointing to the need to educate them. In 1958, open criticism by the Bishop on the situation created by the Portuguese policies and the Catholic Church position, exasperated Salazar who silenced him with a deportation which lasted until 1969⁶⁸.

In Mozambique, D. Sebastião Soares de Resende, first Bishop of Beira (1943-1967), criticised the government 'native' policy (1945), especially concerning poor working and living conditions, forced labour and the forced cultivation of cotton⁶⁹. His

⁶⁷-For more information see: CRUZ, M.B. O Estado e a Igreja...pp.210-222,

⁶⁸-Ibid. pp.215-216.

⁶⁹-His Pastoral Letters and the pages of his diary contained good illustrations of the Bishop's concerns on the necessity to improve work in social areas for the native population. See: TAJÚ, G. D. Sebastião Soares de Resende, *Primeiro Bispo da Beira: Notas para uma cronologia*. Arquivo, no. 6, 1989, pp.155-156; MOREIRA, C.M., ed. Sebastião Soares de Resende, Bispo da Beira: profeta em Moçambique, Lisboa, Difel.(containing a collection of his Pastoral letters).

pastoral letters, the Catholic newspaper Diário de Moçambique⁷⁰, and the Catholic radio station Rádio Pax were used by the Bishop to express his ideas and criticisms. In 1951 he discussed the importance of introducing university studies in 'Portuguese Africa'. In 1957, he defended the necessity to abolish the Estatuto Indígena (Indigenous Statute) or the state's obligation to institute compulsory Adaptation Schooling, and further develop primary schooling⁷¹.

In 1957, conflict with the colonial state over the secondary school in Beira led Salazar to request his superior to punish the Bishop. Manuel Braga da Cruz, commenting on this situation, remarked:

In Mozambique, the first open conflict between the state and the Church was precisely in the educational area, involving the Bishop of Beira and the Overseas Ministry, in 1957⁷².

In the post Concordat period, the difficulties encountered by the Portuguese Catholic Church in providing priests for the overseas missions opened up the possibility of having in Mozambique various non-Portuguese missionary orders, who were to play an important role in the relationship between the Church and the state in the colonial

⁷⁰-During 1950 Bishop Resende laid the foundations for the newspaper Diário de Moçambique in Beira. This Catholic newspaper, under the direction of Soares Martins (from 1957), developed a critical line against certain colonial policies. For more information about the Diário de Moçambique, see: TAJÚ, G. D. Sebastião...; CAPELA, J. Para a História do Diário de Moçambique. Arquivo, no. 6, 1989, pp.177-180.

⁷¹-TAJU, G. D. Sebastião...pp.160-161; MOREIRA, C.M., ed. Sebastião... pp.XI; pp.125-128; pp.445-446; pp.1164-1166.

⁷²-CRUZ, M.B. O Estado e a Igreja...p. 216. Free translation.

entreprise, particularly during the 1960s and the 1970s. Commenting on this aspect, Hastings remarks:

the number of Portuguese missionaries available for work in Africa was very limited and the one creative effect of the Concordat had been that it allowed a large increase in the number of non-Portuguese priests and nuns to work in Mozambique⁷³

Using the prerogative of having non-Portuguese priests, Bishop Resende who was open to collaboration with foreign missionaries from orders with a tradition of missionary work and having technical and academic knowledge, expertise and commitment to their work⁷⁴, undertook cooperation with foreign orders which further played an important role in denouncing the colonial situation, an important step towards the development of a nationalist struggle, as will be discussed in Chapter 7.

Defending the importance of improvement in education for the native population, Bishop Resende was aware of the related development of an African elite. And, like Silva Rego, whose views we reported in the last chapter, he was concerned with the political tendencies of the new African elites, defending the position that they should be shaped to serve the interests of Catholic Social Reform, at the risk of being influenced by the ideas spread from the Bandung and Accra Conferences⁷⁵.

⁷³-HASTINGS, A. *Politics and Religion*...p. 169.

⁷⁴-MOREIRA, C.M., ed. *Sebastião*... p.128.

⁷⁵-Ibid. pp.894-896.

Although the study of African independent churches is not the focus of our discussion, and data is scarce for this period, some reports and unpublished studies⁷⁶ give information on their development, which can be complemented by Helgesson's analysis⁷⁷. These sources show the growth of those churches during the period of the Estado Novo, which can in turn explain also the growth of colonial suspicion against them, particularly during the 1950s, fearing their message of freedom and the transmission of nationalistic ideas⁷⁸.

Aware of its relatively dependent position concerning its political and economic domination of its colonies and under international political pressure, Portugal began a process of reforms, including the 1945 and the 1951 constitutional revisions. The 1951 revision was mainly related to colonial issues. The change of names from 'colonies' to the new name 'overseas provinces' in 1951 was undertaken with the main objective of avoiding the international isolation of Portugal. A further and wider process of reforms in the administrative apparatus and social areas took place during the 1950s, but increased during the 1960s, with the intent of maintaining the existing social order.

⁷⁶-See: AHM. SE.FREITAS, A.I.F. Seitas Religiosas...; AHM. SE. FIGUEIRA, M. Seitas...

⁷⁷-HELGESSION, A. Church, State and people..pp.290-291.

⁷⁸-Ibid.

Political changes in the post-Second World War era developed a generalized political awareness. Different manifestations of protest in rural and urban areas characterized the period in Mozambique. The reactions were stimulated by the social and economic policies of Estado Novo developing i) the imposition of restrictive labour measures, ii) increased differentiation based on racial, religious and economic grounds and iii) the general repression of political rights.

The colonial state attempted to control the evolution of politics in Mozambique, avoiding the growth of a possible opposition and at the overt political level it succeeded. However, it was impossible to restrain protest entirely. The different manifestations of protest involved workers, peasants, students, intellectuals and artists, and ranged from strikes, resistance to forced labour and cultivation to forms of cultural protest through songs, literature or art.

Despite political constraints imposed by the Portuguese, towards the end of 1950s and the early 1960s, students organized in NESAM began a more active phase of contestation against colonialism. Political activists working within clandestine political groups in the country or in exile began to think in terms of political independence, and the first political parties emerged.

Ecumenical reflection led Protestant Missions to join their efforts for common strategies to cope with the colonial system, reinforcing the work begun in the 1920s and resulting in the creation of the Christian Council of Mozambique. In spite of the restrictions imposed on the activities of Protestant missions, the Swiss Mission pursued its activities in

social areas. the 'Africanisation' of the church leadership fostering the independence of the church, and the form of organization of the Presbyterian Church, stimulating practices of democracy, were interpreted by the Portuguese as a pre-figuring of the independence of Mozambique.

The commitment by the Swiss Mission to the education of an indigenous elite proved to have important effects. The mintlawa ways of education influenced a new generation which played an important role in the process of contestation and organization of a political struggle against colonial domination, as is suggested by the experience of NESAM and the participation of people from the Swiss Mission in the Associations. The social engagement of Mission believers and missionaries and their consciousness of the political situation in Mozambique also reinforced anti-colonialism.

CHAPTER 6-THE EMERGENCE OF EDUARDO MONDLANE, 1930-1960

The Swiss Mission's work in social areas made an important contribution to shaping the consciousness of many Mozambicans. Eduardo Mondlane's life is of great interest since it shows the interaction between Mission training, particularly in the mintlaw, and an individual's particular historical context in the emergence of an outstanding leadership figure.

Not only did Mondlane continue with his education in South Africa, Lisbon and the United States of America, in itself a testimony to the educational methods developed by the Swiss Mission within inter-denominational cooperation, but he opportunely initiated voluntary cultural and political organisations such as NESAM, or the process of raising funds to support scholarships for Mozambicans. Mondlane's participation in the foundation of FRELIMO was of major importance in uniting and leading nationalists with different tendencies to struggle for a common objective - the liberation of Mozambique.

Eduardo Mondlane's abilities to mobilise and organize, and his evident leadership charisma owed much to the aptitudes facilitated and fostered by the Swiss Mission. Thus, his life trajectory is a superb testimony to the manner in which the Swiss Mission work became strongly political, albeit unintentionally and perhaps indirectly.

For practical reasons, his life trajectory is analysed in chronological periods, corresponding to important phases of his history¹: i) 1920-1939; ii) 1940-1944; iii) 1945-1949/50; iv) 1950-1960. In the next chapter we will come back to Eduardo Mondlane's life in 1961 in connection with his visit to Mozambique. Although most published information on Mondlane's life belongs to the period 1961-1969, because his trajectory is used in our study to illustrate the way the Swiss Mission contributed to his personality and to his socio-political consciousness, the period from 1962 until his death in 1969, where he assumed the leadership of FRELIMO, is not covered by our study.

Eduardo Mondlane's life history was reconstructed from different interviews with relatives and friends, from published auto-biographies and biographies as well as from other written documentation².

Our research in the Swiss Mission archives in Lausanne, gave us access to an important group of files containing correspondence between Mondlane and André-Daniel Clerc³, where most material consisted of unpublished letters from Mondlane to Clerc. Written during the 1940s and 1950s, the letters reveal Mondlane's growth in different

¹-This periodization was already in part developed for a previous analysis of Mondlane's life. See: CRUZ E SILVA, T. and JOSÉ, A. Eduardo Mondlane: Pontos para uma Periodização da Trajectória de um Nacionalista (1940-1961) *Estudos Moçambicanos*, no.9,1991, pp.73-122.

²-See for example: REIS, J. and MUIUANE, A.P., eds. *Datas e Documentos da História da FRELIMO*. Lourenço Marques, Imprensa Nacional, 1975, pp.13-15 and pp.60-73.; SHORE, H. Resistance and Revolution in the Life of Eduardo Mondlane. In: MONDLANE, E. *The Struggle...*pp.xiii-xxxi.

³-All references or citations referring to the correspondence between Mondlane and Clerc used in this chapter are in the following files: DM.MF,910-917, Correspondence between Eduardo Mondlane and André-Daniel Clerc.

steps, his hopes, concerns, joys and troubles. Testimony to the social and political periods lived through the protagonist, they also express the young Eduardo Mondlane's interpretation of society, free of reinterpretation or censorship.

Eduardo Chivambo Mondlane was born in a small village at the District of Manjacaze in southern Mozambique in 1920. He descended from a family of paramount chiefs; his father, a regent of the Khambane lineage, died when he was very small. Until the age of thirteen, his upbringing was under the care of his mother who was a daughter of a noble family and who seems to have played a very important influence on his personality and spiritual development. From her, he received a traditional education, rooted in the deeds of their warrior ancestors. Mondlane's narratives about his boyhood and part of his youth in "Chitlangou Son of a Chief"⁴ have numerous comments on the education he received from his mother, who obliged him quite often to repeat the names of his ancestors and thus initiated him into the history of the family⁵. The book is also full of stories he heard from his mother about his lineage, as well as his place within that lineage. She used to tell him:

⁴-Chitlangou Son of a Chief is a translation of a French edition (Chitlangou Fils de Chef). According to Clerc, the book is a result of a collection of histories written by Eduardo Mondlane about his childhood during his holidays in Lourenço Marques, while a student in South Africa. Clerc organized and edited the work. Chitlangou the title of the book, is a pseudonym of Chivambo, one of Mondlane's lineage names. Clerc also explained that the use of such a pseudonym was to avoid any suspicion from the Portuguese authorities concerning Mondlane. Information transmitted by Clerc during an interview with Teresa Cruz e Silva and Alexandrino José, Lausanne, 15th October 1985. See: CLERC, A.D. Chitlangou, Son of a Chief...

⁵-Ibid. p.19.

But you Chitlangou, you will restore the village; you will be chief; you will marry many women; you will be revered throughout the country; your children will grow up in numbers around you!

Although descended from a noble lineage, like other children of the same age he was a cattleherder. The daily experience within the group of herdboys was his first 'school'. There, he learned the rules of mutual assistance, cooperation and submission to hierarchies within a group, the role of a leader and the value of friendship⁷.

Mondlane's family suffered the consequences of the post - First World War economic and social crisis during the 1920s, the effects of the general recession in the early 1930s and all the discriminatory policies related to colonialism in the Estado Novo period. After his father's death the village disintegrated, and the family had to struggle to cope with the economic crisis. The survival strategies led most of his brothers and male relatives to the South African mines while women stayed at home struggling to feed the family⁸.

Influenced by his mother on the necessity to learn the dynamic of 'white man's world', in 1932, at about 12 years of age, he applied to the Rudimentary School at Manjacaze. In the state school run by a native teacher, students were obliged to fetch wood and water, and to work in the fields of their teachers. Very early the young Eduardo was

⁶-Ibid. p.21.

⁷-Ibid. passim. The book has wonderful descriptions of lives of young herdboys, with good examples of the cattleherders' group organization which in part inspired André-Daniel Clerc in the organization of the mintlawa.

⁸-As mentioned in previous chapters Gaza was a major region of recruitment for labour to South Africa.

faced with the violence of compulsory rounding up of students and the authoritarian and repressive position and power of the primary school teacher in the community, which marked him:

I am learning new words...And new things, too. Our Tsonga language is enriched by the word *rusga*, which means "hunt the new boy", a hunt which has all the characteristics of a regular raid, as the Portuguese word shows.

Rusga days are days of terror to the little bush herdboys(...).

Many of the boys caught that day are thus severely chastised with the ruler. Some of them are detained to force their parents to come forward .

Although he came from a non-Christian family, his negative experience in the state school¹⁰ and the influence of his best friends and probably also of a sister married to a preacher, resulted in his decision to change to the Swiss Mission school at Maússe (Manjacaze)¹¹.

According to his first teacher (at the pre-school level), Natala Sumbane¹², to reach the Maússe school he was obliged to walk about 15 kilometres every day. Nevertheless he

⁹-CLERC, A.D. *Chitlangou*....pp.112-113; and p.115.

¹⁰-According to his letters published by Ilídio Rocha in the Portuguese Magazine *História* and published also by the newspaper *Domingo*. Maputo, 15th April 1984, children were obliged by the school teacher to participate in the compulsory recruitment of other children, suffered corporal punishment and were obliged to collect water and to do other domestic work for him.

¹¹-Silvano Muchanga, interviewed by Teresa Cruz e Silva. Machecahomu (Manjacaze), 27th January, 1993.

¹²-Natala Sumbane was a dynamic animator of *mintlawá* for girls, and was the first monitor in Sunday School and pre-school level of Eduardo Mondlane. Despite being an invalid and sick she kindly gave an interview, to Teresa Cruz e Silva and Alexandrino José, Chicumbane, 28th January, 1993.

was the first one to be there, early in the morning. Commenting on this stage of his life,

Shore remarks:

Quickly he began to learn that school involved so many things beside learning from books-sacrifice and support from others in the family, long walks to attend, frequently eating only one meal a day, and having to work at unpaid jobs for the teacher or headmaster, before and after classes¹³.

With the death of his mother, he stayed with relatives, living in very poor circumstances. His life was very difficult. His cousin, Fernando Mondlane, remembers his childhood:

After his father's death, he lived with his uncle¹⁴, who was always drunk! Eduardo suffered a lot. He had to sleep one week in some friend's home; another month with another friend, all of them¹⁵ colleagues of school. In his house, he had 'no place' to stay, because of his uncle.

Despite economic difficulties Mondlane completed his Rudimentary School at Maússe mission. This was the period (1930s) in which youth groups, mintlawá, were initiated and consolidated, a process in which he participated with great joy, becoming later

¹³-SHORE, H. Resistance and Revolution...p.xviii

¹⁴-Referring to J. Mangulane, which is also named is brother. In: SHORE, H. Resistance and Revolution...p. xvii.

¹⁵-Fernando Mondlane interviewed by Teresa Cruz e Silva and Alexandrino José, Machecahomu (Manjacaze), 27 th January 1993. Free translation. See also: Silvano Muchanga, interviewed by Teresa Cruz e Silva, Machecahomo (Manjacaze), 27th January 1993.

an important activist and instructor of young people. His first experience within an ntlawa was in Maússe:

The first time I was admitted in a youth group was in Maússe during the period where Mr. Périer and the young Lady Natála Sumbana were leading numerous groups. I was admitted to the group 'Light'¹⁶. It was within this group that I made the best friendships with the Maússe boys, which was so good(...). (...)
 (...) one of the most important things one can learn in mintlawa are the democratic methods of work within a spirit of comradeship. The young are led to work rationally instead of resolving problems with violence(...). When we had a serious problem the group helped us to find a solution by reasonable means, where everybody was invited to discuss their own opinion about the problem (...).
 In mintlawa, our discussions were about our spiritual, physical and intellectual problems and also people's problems in other parts of the world. This was in contrast with the curricula of the schools where we were doing our studies every day(...). The groups were confronted with a new world(...).
 One of the things that was revealed to me in mintlawa¹⁷, was the world, a universe beyond and breaking the barriers of my own world(...).

In 1936, when he finished the Rudimentary School he went to Lourenço Marques having a dream in his mind: to finish primary studies at night school. There he worked as a servant at Mission's hospital and after that, in the house of the missionary André-Daniel Clerc¹⁸.

Andre-Daniel Clerc comments on Mondlane's early stay in Lourenço Marques:

¹⁶-Textual translation from the French word 'lumière' meaning also 'shine'; 'candle'; 'lamp' or 'knowledge', among many others.

¹⁷-MONDLANE, E. Avant-Propos. In: CLERC, A.D. and MORGENTHALER, E. Le Mouvement des équipes...pp.3-4.

¹⁸-Mondlane became a protégé of André-Daniel Clerc. Through his help, he later obtained the necessary authorization to undertake his studies in South Africa, Europe and United States. Between Clerc and Mondlane a strong and profound friendship survived over the years.

(...) Mondlane came to our house, because he was a servant in the Swiss Mission's hospital, where he washed dirty cloths, bandages from the operation room. And he sang...he sang in such a way that in the nearby operation room people became upset. One of the nurses came to our home and said: we have here an intelligent boy, singing every time. He would like to study. Probably he could live with you. He came, and he was so bright(...)! .

He cleared the garden and went to school. But in the meantime he made friends with my daughters and learned French with them, although without our knowing. I was not happy to have him speaking French in my home, because I was afraid of Portuguese accusations, as this could be interpreted as a process of 'denationalization' (...)

Under Clerc's protection, he finished the regular primary school and completed the catechist's course at Ricatla. Between 1937 and 1939-1940, his time was divided between his activities as preacher and youth instructor in Lourenço Marques area, working in collaboration with Clerc²⁰.

In Lourenço Marques, he had to face the problems of a big city, where the differentiation between rich and poor people was more marked. He also had to undergo daily the problems associated with his status as an African, with discrimination everywhere, the compulsory use of the caderneta de indígena (pass), and other class and colour barriers²¹.

¹⁹-André-Daniel Clerc interviewed by Teresa Cruz e Silva and Alexandrino José, Lausanne, 21st October 1985. Free translation.

²⁰-André-Daniel Clerc, interviewed by Teresa Cruz e Silva and Alexandrino José, Lausanne, 21st October 1985 and 1st November 1985.

²¹-SHORE, H. Resistance and Revolution...p.xviii .See next pages for a copy of Mondlane's caderneta de servical indígena. DM.MF, 910B.

1930

Modelo n.º C Nº 9 10 B

CADERNETA DE INDÍGENA

N.º 1050

Pertence a *Chivambo Eduardo*

Profissão *peão*



N. 1936

Caderneta de serviçal

N.º 1950

Nome *Chiraulo de Eduardo*

de *14* anos de idade

Filiação *MuaJaane* e de *Muramussog*

Naturalidade *Mahecauno*

Régulo *Muamovane* Induna *Mungunguan*

Circunscricção *Chilubi*

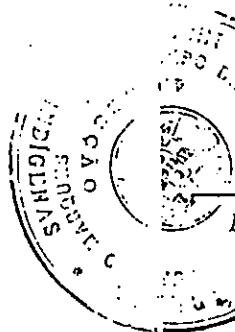
Nome e morada do patrão *M. Correia Guter*
Muamovane

com o ordenado de *5000*

Fotografia	Impressão digital
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F-10000PMPms-
70PPEPPmam



Loureço Marques *2* de Maio de 193*5*

O Comissário de Policia,

Deveres dos patrões para com os serviçais

Artigo 14.º de decreto n.º 251, de 14 de Outubro de 1914

- 1.º — Cumprir escrupulosamente todas as condições do contrato de prestação de serviços, quer escrito quer verbal, quo houver feito;
- 2.º — Não exigir d'êlo trabalho superior às suas forças;
- 3.º — Procurar melhorar as condições do atraso em que se encontra, exercendo sobre êlo uma acção tutelar benéfica.

- Deveres dos serviçais

Artigo 13.º de decreto citado

- 1.º — Obodecer às ordens do patrão em tudo quo estiver do acôrdo com as precrições do presente decreto;
- 2.º — Desemponhar o trabalho, do quo for encarregado, com zêlo e da melhor forma compatível com as suas forças e aptidões.

Alterações

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Comportamento

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Commenting on Mondlane's stay in Lourenço Marques after his primary school studies, Clerc who became his tutor and friend remarks:

During 1936/37, a school with 3 class rooms was built in Khovo. Mondlane, was living there(...). I had everyday meetings with him on our youth groups' work. Many things already started some years earlier began to take a form during this period. He had his ideas and we discussed them together.

He had been a catechist in the so called Polana, but I mean the Polana in the bush, nearby Laulane(...). Two to three times a week he went to Laulane to work with young people and adults. During this period we consolidated our relationship, with pleasure for both. He had completed primary school, and a catechist course. Although he had not many qualifications²², he was already different from his colleagues, he stood out from the others(...).

Aware of his desire to learn more and to continue his studies and the difficulties the Mission had to finance his secondary school level, Clerc sent Mondlane to the Methodist Episcopal Mission at Inhambane Province, where the missionaries wished to introduce the Presbyterian experience with youth groups²³.

Mondlane went to Cambine, in Inhambane Province in about 1939-40, where he did an agriculture course, and there introduced the experience of working with youth, the mintlawa²⁴. He also used the period in Inhambane to study music and English. There he

²²-André-Daniel Clerc, interviewed by Teresa Cruz e Silva and Alexandrino José, Lausanne, 21 October 1985 and 1st November, 1985.

²³-Ibid.

²⁴-Mondlane was the first instructor sent by the Swiss Mission to the Methodist Mission in Inhambane to teach the methods of organizing youth groups. Natala Sumbana also went to Inhambane for short periods to help the girls' organization. After the first experience, instructors' candidates were sent to Swiss Mission courses in Ricatla, and regular cooperation in that area was provided by different parishes in Gaza and Maputo. Catarina Simbine, interviewed by Teresa Cruz e Silva. Maputo, 15th July 1994; Samuel Sengo and

met educated Africans from the Methodist Mission who had undertaken their studies in Rhodesia²⁵ and had the chance to participate in different meetings of the Methodist Mission. At Cambine, he made many friends and won the esteem and consideration of everybody²⁶.

In the correspondence exchanged with Clerc, Mondlane expressed his concerns on the colonial laws to control the native population and the taxes to be paid²⁷.

Having to face directly the strict Portuguese control on movement of the African population through the pass laws and payment of taxes at the risk of being jailed, Mondlane's experience included the attempts of the colonial government to control labour using repressive measures.

The letters he sent to Clerc from Cambine freely mention his commitment to youth groups, to the books he was reading and his permanent desire to continue his studies²⁸.

Filipe Nhancale, interviewed by Teresa Cruz e Silva and Alexandrino José. Maxixe (Inhambane) 25th, October 1992; David Matitique Nhavota, interviewed by Teresa Cruz e Silva, Alexandrino José and Eulália Temba. Chicúque (Inhambane), 20th, October 1992; Martins Paipi Chibali, interviewed by Teresa Cruz e Silva, Chicúque (Inhambane), 22nd October 1992.

²⁵-André-Daniel Clerc, interviewed by Teresa Cruz e Silva and Alexandrino José, Lausanne, 1st November 1985.

²⁶-André-Daniel Clerc, interviewed by Teresa Cruz e Silva and Alexandrino José, Lausanne, 1st November 1985; Martins Paipi Chibali, interviewed by Teresa Cruz e Silva, Chicúque (Inhambane), 22nd October 1992; David Matitique Nhavota, interviewed by Teresa Cruz e Silva, Alexandrino José and Eulália Temba, Chicúque (Inhambane), 20th October 1992; Samuel Sengo and Filipe Nhancale, interviewed by Teresa Cruz e Silva and Alexandrino José, Maxixe (Inhambane), 25th October 1992.

²⁷-DM.MF,910. Letter from Eduardo Mondlane, to André-Daniel Clerc in Lourenço Marques. Cambine, 22nd October 1941.

²⁸-DM.MF, 910. Letters from Eduardo Mondlane to André-Daniel Clerc. Cambine, 22nd October 1941, 16th October 1941 and 19th March 1942.

According to Clerc, during a meeting of the Swiss Mission he expressed to him and to Casimiro Mathié, his former primary school teacher in Maússe, his desire to apply to the Swiss Mission secondary school in Transvaal²⁹.

The proposal presented by Clerc for Mondlane's continuation of studies was not well received by most Swiss missionaries, and was considered by some of them as the product of personal ambition on the part of Mondlane. Thus, after two years of work in Inhambane, the Swiss Mission decided to test his commitment to the church work before giving him an opportunity of continuing his studies. It was to be another probationary period³⁰. In 1942, he was given the responsibility of a small parish in Manjacaze District, Dingane where he stayed until 1944. This was a period of strong expansion of Catholic Missions and Rudimentary Schools under their aegis. Challenging the new legislation on natives' education, he organized with success a clandestine school at Dingane, as is shown in a letter he sent to Clerc, in 1942:

I opened a private small school with 53 students comprising children aged 7 to 18 years old. I have a good relationship with the local teacher at Manjacaze, and although he is a good Roman Catholic Christian, it seems to be that I will not have problems with the Catholics. The idea of having such school is a way to attract boys and girls to the Sunday school and boys to youth groups(...)³¹.

²⁹-André-Daniel Clerc, interviewed by Teresa Cruz e Silva and Alexandrino José, Lausanne, 1st November, 1985.

³⁰-Ibid.

³¹-DM.MF,910. Letter from Mondlane to André-Daniel Clerc. Dingane (Manjacaze), 23rd October 1942. Free Translation.

Commenting on Mondlane's work in Dingane, Clerc stated that his noble name, Chivambo was reputable in Manjacaze region where he was working. Thus, when Eduardo decided to organize a clandestine school, no one, not even the teacher of Rudimentary School denounced it to the priest or to the government³². However, apart from the specific situation of this clandestine school, and the privileged position he had in the region as a member of a noble lineage, he had the same problems as other Protestants working in the area of education.

A letter from Mondlane of 11 August 1942 to Clerc said:

Here³³ we have numerous examples of Catholics' attitudes against us, which were trying to deprive us of all rights on youth. (...) Each Catholic teacher or preacher, is making an effort in order to have as many students as possible, to be praised by his 'Padre Superior'³⁴, and by His Excellency the Minister(...)³⁵.

At Dingane, he encountered the problems of compulsory Catholic baptisms and recruitment of children to the Catholic school, among many other problems regarding the relationship between colonizers and colonized.

³²-André-Daniel Clerc, interviewed by Teresa Cruz e Silva and Alexandrino José, Lausanne, 1st November, 1985.

³³-Referring to Dingane-Manjacaze, where he had the clandestine school. Free translation.

³⁴-The head of the Mission.

³⁵-Referring to the Minister of Colonies. Free Translation. DM.MF,910. Letter from Mondlane to André-Daniel Clerc. Dingane, 11th August, 1942.

Dingane was near Mondlane's family village. Thus, he had regular contacts with them and saw the economic and social problems they were facing, as is mentioned in his letters to Clerc. He himself had to cope with the crisis, complementing his salary with hard agriculture work, combined with his activities as evangelist and teacher³⁶, to which he was so committed, as he remarks:

I am so busy that I do not have much time to write letters. Everyday I sleep very late. In the morning I'm engaged in agriculture; during afternoons I'm working with the children and during evenings I'm reading (...).

The youth groups are doing well, and I need to work hard during that first year. (...) the local church is very big(...) at my Sunday School I have more than 80 children, coming regularly. They are the joy of my eyes!(...)

The Roman Catholic teacher nearby has a good relationship with me(...). I'm doing my best to have an understanding with the Roman Catholic teachers in the neighbouring areas, although they are opposed to our work. They are much more active than the priests .

Mondlane's letters to his tutor and friend, André Clerc, contain a constant analysis of the situation in the country and the consequences of Portuguese policies in Mozambique. His letters of the Dingane period reflect clearly the impact of the Concordat on educational activities, affecting particularly the rural population.

³⁶-DM.MF,910. Letter from Eduardo Mondlane to André-Daniel Clerc. Dingane (Manjacaze), 28th June 1943.

³⁷-Referring to the Catholic Priests having primary school under their responsibility, and African teachers working within the system.

DM.MF,910. Letter from Eduardo Mondlane to André-Daniel Clerc. Dingane (Manjacaze), 25th October 1942 and Manjacaze, 8th April 1943. Free translation.

Recent interviews with his friends and relatives always contain references to his deeply felt need to learn and to study. André-Daniel Clerc³⁸, reporting his life and experiences from the mid 1930s to about 1961 referred to the strength of knowledge and also to his eagerness regarding reading and learning.

Going through these letters exchanged with Clerc, one sees how much more mature Mondlane had become after his stay in Cambine and his work in Dingane with children and adults. As a result of his commitment to church work, he was rewarded with a grant to pursue his studies in South Africa.

In 1944, with a scholarship from the Church he left for South Africa³⁹ where he did his secondary school studies⁴⁰ at Lemana Mission school in the Northern Transvaal⁴¹,

³⁸-André-Daniel Clerc interviewed by Teresa Cruz e Silva and Alexandrino José. Lausanne, 1st November 1985; Samuel Sengo and Filipe Nhancale, interviewed by Teresa Cruz e Silva and Alexandrino José, Maxixe (Inhambane), 25th November 1992; Martins Paípi Chibali, interviewed by Teresa Cruz e Silva. Chicúque (Inhambane), 22nd October 1992; Silvano Muchanga, interviewed by Teresa Cruz e Silva, Machecahomu (Manjacaze), 27th January 1993.

³⁹-The correspondence between Mondlane and Clerc referred to above indicates that in 1944 Mondlane was already a student in the Swiss Mission secondary school in Transvaal (see for instance in DM.MF,910, Mondlane's letters to Clerc dated March and December 1944). Probably based on the year when he was granted an immigration permit (TOBIAS, P.V. A Little Known Chapter in the Life of Eduardo Mondlane, *Geneve-Afrique*, vol.16, no.1, 1978, pp.119-124, refers to 1945 as the year where he had the immigration permit), Shore refers to 1945 as his first year of studies in Transvaal (SHORE, H. *Resistance and Revolution...* p.xviii). It is possible that although being a student he had first a temporary residence permit as an evangelist of the Swiss Mission. That he was already considered an evangelist is apparent from the correspondence between Clerc and Mondlane as well his previous personal history. See following pages.

⁴⁰-SHORE, H. *Resistance and Revolution...* p. xviii; TOBIAS, P.V. A Little known...p.120. According to both, Mondlane had a grant from the Mozambique Christian Council to study in Lemana.

⁴¹-Mondlane attended the 'Lemana Training Institution', according to his letters to Clerc: DM.MF,910. Letters from Mondlane to André-Daniel Clerc. 5th December 1945; 25th November 1946 and 27th January

working at the same time as evangelist. In the first stage of his studies in South Africa Mondlane had to undertake much extra effort to overcome his weak English; he also had to study Afrikaans as well as understand a different system of education. However, it is evident that he was able to reconcile his studies with his religious activities. Shirley⁴² was the parish where he preached, first of all on Sundays and later two to four times a week, using some hours of his rest period. The quality of his work and his dedication as a student led to his election as the chairman of 'Students Christian Association' for the academic year of 1946⁴³.

1946. Note that according to SHORE, H. *Resistance and Revolution...*p. xviii, Mondlane attended the 'Douglas Laing Smith Secondary School'.

Attempting to clarify this matter, Elizabeth Cuenod, a descendant of a family of Swiss Missionaries working in South Africa kindly gave me (November 1995) the following information on Lemana school, based on the information collected by her father: 'Lemana Training Institution started in 1906. At first standard 3 was needed but later a standard 6. In about 1933-35 my grandfather, Rev Rene Cuenod (superintendent of the Lemana Training Institution 1930-35) started post-primary classes, given over week-ends by other missionaries (e.g. maths by Mr V Thomas, English by Mrs P Thomas, Biology and Science by Dr J Rosset) to improve the standard of teachers. Mr Douglas Laing Smith was Secretary of Education at the time, in the United Party, and just before the elections (when the Nationalists won) they asked him to push for funds for the building of a secondary school at Lemana. The same was built in about 1936 on the premises of the training institution and called the Douglas Laing Smith Secondary School after him. When the Lemana Training Institution was closed, in a way to remove the influence of the Swiss Mission, a new training institution was built at Tivumbeni, and the Lemana site was kept as a high school. To keep the name Lemana, they asked Mr Douglas Laing Smith if he would mind if his name be removed and the school renamed Lemana secondary school. He had no objection and the name was changed. The school is still operating today'. Thanks to Elizabeth Cuenod for her courtesy.

⁴²-Elizabeth Cuenod also gave us the following information (November 1995) on Shirley: 'Shirley - a private farm, adjoining the Elim Farm, owned by Mr. Stanley Phipps, son of a Congregational Missionary. He insisted on the farm being treated like a mission farm, so on it he had a chapel, a school and trade school where they made furniture, shoes, basketry, etc.

⁴³-DM.MF,910. Letter from Eduardo Mondlane to André-Daniel Clerc. Lemana, 5th December 1945. The letter refers to his election as chairman of a 'Students Christian Association'.

While at Lemana Mondlane began to discuss with André-Daniel Clerc what would be the best course to undertake next: a course for social workers or a sociology course at the Fort Hare or the Witwatersrand Universities, considering that he had the obligation to do social studies to work for the church⁴⁴. Having passed in his Junior Certificate and Matriculation examinations, in 1948 he applied to a school for social work at Johannesburg, the Jan Hofmeyr School of Social Work⁴⁵. However, the programme did not conform to his intellectual ambitions, and after consultation with André-Daniel Clerc, he applied for the course of Sociology at the University of Witwatersrand for the following term. Commenting on this issue, Clerc remarked:

In Lemana he became a good student. I am not sure, but he saved one or two years of matriculation studies and passed to the next stage. After that, some of his friends and teachers commented that such a brilliant student should go to medical school, but I told Mondlane that he received training to work in the social area of the church, and he should study to be a social worker. He agreed with me and applied to a school for social workers.

In the school he made a strong friendship with the young American missionary and one of his teachers, Mr. Randall (...). Mondlane was not very happy with the school. He informed me and discussed with Randall that he would prefer a University course, and his choice was a course on Social Sciences⁴⁶.

⁴⁴-DM.MF,910. Letter from Eduardo Mondlane to André-Daniel Clerc. Lemana, 25th November. Although the year is not referred to, it seems to be from 1946 or 1947, before he applied to the Social Workers School (1948).

⁴⁵-TOBIAS, P.V. A Little known...p.120.

⁴⁶-André-Daniel Clerc, interviewed by Teresa Cruz e Silva and Alexandrino José, Lausanne, 1st November 1985. Free translation. See also : TOBIAS, P.V. A Little known...p.120.

Both, Randall and Clerc agreed with him, and he had the necessary authorization to study Sociology at Witwatersrand University⁴⁷. Unfortunately our sources have no information on how the discussions between Clerc and the church went on to obtain the necessary authorization for Mondlane to study sociology. There is no further information on the reasons behind Mondlane's decision to study Sociology. Our interviews with André-Daniel Clerc suggest that Randall, who was very supportive of Mondlane's ideas to study more, had discussions on the matter with Clerc, who also was very supportive and appreciated his progress and capacities. After that, Clerc had the difficult task of convincing the Swiss Mission in Mozambique of the importance of Mondlane's choice of studies.

At the end of 1948 he returned to Mozambique on holidays. In this period (1948-49) he established links with secondary school students, most of them being members of the Centro Associativo dos Negros de Moçambique (CAN)⁴⁸ who came from a Methodist or Presbyterian educational background. Bringing with him the experience of student's associations from South Africa, and his personal knowledge of the African National Congress (ANC), he had contacts and informal meetings with friends and other students from the secondary school. They decided to organize a students association.

⁴⁷-Ibid.

⁴⁸-See previous chapters where we referred to this Association.

Although there is little information on the first steps of NESAM, its principal objectives were the building of unity and comradeship between African secondary school students and the development of physical and cultural activities, as clearly expressed by Mondlane:

(...)I had a meeting with African secondary students from Lourenço Marques, trying to organize a group of secondary students. They were approximately 20 students of both sexes. We discussed the problem for more than two hours, resulting in the formation of Núcleo de Estudantes Secundários Africanos de Lourenço Marques (...). What makes me happy is to know that all of us have decided to do something good. The target of our nucleus is the building up of spirit of unity and comradeship amongst African students, expressed by the ardent desire to have spiritual, intellectual and physical culture, and to serve without any self interest the African community⁴⁹.

From the beginning, NESAM was under suspicion by the colonial authorities and Mondlane was detained by the police for interrogation in early 1949⁵⁰.

Commenting on NESAM, Friedland states:

(...)PIDE⁵¹ detained one of NESAM's founders(...) and then was empowered by the Attorney General to keep NESAM under surveillance⁵².

⁴⁹-DM.MF,910. Letter from Eduardo Mondlane to Andre-Daniel Clerc. Lourenço Marques, January 1949. Free translation (the letter was mailed to Lausanne).

During the same period Mondlane's help was requested by young men coming from a mintlawa background, to collaborate in the organization of a young people's nucleus at Chamanculo, one of the Swiss Mission centres of education in Lourenço Marques. The idea was to have a group of young Christians to discuss their own problems. See: letter from Eduardo Mondlane to André-Daniel Clerc, written from Lourenço Marques, to Lausanne, January 1949.

⁵⁰-MONDLANE, E. The Struggle...pp.113-114.

⁵¹-PIDE- Polícia Internacional de Defesa do Estado (International Police for the Defence of the State). During the Estado Novo the police in Portugal and the colonies were reorganized. In 1933 the PVDE- Polícia de Vigilância e Defesa do Estado (Police for the Security and Defence of the State) was created. This was a political police, replaced in 1945 by PIDE (Decree 35046 from 22, October 1945). In 1969, PIDE was replaced by DGS -Direcção Geral de Segurança (General Direction for Security). Despite a large number of

Referring again to NESAM and the involvement of Mondlane in this organization, Friedland remarks:

The person detained, Eduardo Mondlane, notes that PIDE was interested in whether NESAM had any Pan-African financial or political connections. While studying in South Africa Mondlane was involved in the ANC Youth League (...)⁵³.

She continues, remarking that the Portuguese considered that NESAM was "an embryo African nationalist organization and that, as such, it should be closely watched"(...)⁵⁴.

He returned to South Africa on 6th February 1949⁵⁵, as he had been granted a bursary to take his degree in social sciences (Sociology) at the University of the Witwatersrand. To complement his grant Mondlane had a part-time job, organized with the

authors and informants referring to PIDE or DGS and their repressive role in Mozambique, it still not clear when their activities were extended to the colonies. It is probable that PIDE began to operate in Mozambique during 1948/49 or during the early 1950s, as a result of the elections from 1949 during which the opposition campaign had considerable impact. The development of the political situation in Portugal and colonies in the subsequent years led to further political repression.

⁵²-See: FRIEDLAND, E. A comparative study of the development of revolutionary nationalist movements in southern Africa-FRELIMO (Mozambique) and the African National Congress of South Africa. Ph.D thesis. City University, New York, 1980, p.144.

⁵³-Ibid. footnote (3) to p.144.

⁵⁴-Ibid. footnote (4) to p.145.

⁵⁵-TOBIAS, P.V. A Little known...p.120.

help of the missionary Randall. Although living in Douglas Smith House, during the weekends he undertook Church work⁵⁶.

Commenting on Mondlane's experience as a university student Clerc remarked:

Mondlane always stood out from the others. Noticed by his colleagues, the Executive Commission of NUSAS (National Union of South African Students) elected him as the representative of first year students to a conference in Cape Town(...). However, his expulsion to Mozambique did not allow his participation in the conference⁵⁷.

In 1948, Malan's Nationalist Party had won the elections in South Africa and begun the introduction of Apartheid policies. After June 1949 Mondlane's temporary residence permit was not renewed, owing to the new policies.

Until 1945 he had had an immigration permit to study in the Transvaal school, which was regularly extended. Commenting on his later problems with the temporary residence permit, Tobias states:

At the end of 1948, Mondlane went home to Mozambique and, as usual, notified the authorities of the Union of South Africa. He was told in reply that unless he returned to South Africa by 6th February 1949, his permit would expire. The permit was renewable every six months.

In 1949, Mondlane duly returned to the Union of South Africa on 6th February(...). On June 16th 1949, when his temporary permit was due for another six monthly renewal, it was not renewed but was returned to him marked "Final"⁵⁸.

⁵⁶-DM.MF,912. Letters from Eduardo Mondlane to André-Daniel Clerc. Johannesburg, 15th July 1949 and 18th February 1949.

⁵⁷-André-Daniel Clerc, interviewed by Teresa Cruz e Silva and Alexandrino José, 1st November 1985. Free translation.

⁵⁸-TOBIAS, P.V. A Little known...p.120.

Even with a campaign organized by the Students Association of South Africa, the Centro Associativo dos Negros (CAN)⁵⁹ and various personalities on behalf of Mondlane, he was obliged by the government to leave South Africa⁶⁰.

André-Daniel Clerc, commenting on the situation remarked:

(...) apartheid came, and the police were looking for all black students within the University. Mondlane was obliged to leave, but a large number of students joined together protesting against that situation.

He came back to our home, but now he was no longer the small servant, he was nearly...not a Doctor but, after all, the student! and we were talking, and talking!⁶¹.

The University of Witwatersrand itself was still committed to the problem of Eduardo Mondlane, and as a consequence,

special arrangements were made by the Registrar of the University(...). The examination papers were sent down to the higher educational institutions in Lourenço Marques in November 1949 and, with normal invigilation procedures,⁶² Mondlane wrote and passed his examinations.

⁵⁹-Idem, p. 121: 'Meantime, the Mozambique Negro Association requested the Governor-General of Moçambique to intervene, while on 13th September the Johannesburg Joint Council of Europeans and Africans protested and asked the Minister to review his decision'.

⁶⁰-Ibid.

⁶¹-André-Daniel Clerc interviewed by Teresa Cruz e Silva and Alexandrino Jose, Lausanne, 1st November 1985. Free translation.

⁶²-TOBIAS, P.V. A Little known...p.123.

Mondlane's expulsion from South Africa is presented by our oral sources in different ways. Although most versions associate this episode with the new apartheid policies, others reinterpret the events and represent a mystified history with imaginary factors⁶³. As Clerc remarked, when Mondlane returned home, in his eyes he was no longer a servant but a student. In the eyes of some of his compatriots he was also nearly a hero.

During his stay in South Africa, Mondlane used his work for trips and holidays to visit different parts of the country, thus widening his horizons and learning much about southern African socio-political structure. His continued passion for music earlier illustrated in his letters from Cambine is expressed through his participation in choral competitions and his piano lessons⁶⁴.

Apart from contacts he established as evangelist and with students, he also had contacts with people living in the mine compounds and with Mozambicans organized in associations⁶⁵.

⁶³-Among some examples, José Mutumane told us that Mondlane's residence permit was not renewed only because he was Mozambican. José Mutumane, interviewed by Teresa Cruz e Silva, Coolela, 14th October 1993. For Elias Manhique, Eduardo Mondlane was expelled from South Africa, first because the Malan's government could not accept that such an intelligent man came from Mozambique and was studying in a South African University, and second because the government also realized that his residence in South Africa was illegal from the first. Elias Manhique, interviewed by Teresa Cruz e Silva and Alexandrino José, Chicumbane, 28th January, 1993.

⁶⁴-DM.MF,910 and 912. Letters from Mondlane do André-Daniel Clerc, from Cambine and South Africa periods.

⁶⁵-According to José Mutumane, one of our informants and a friend of Mondlane, interviewed by Teresa Cruz e Silva, Coolela, 14th October 1993, Mondlane spent some of his holidays with him, living in the house where he was working as a domestic servant, and later was introduced to a Bantu Social Association, where Mutumane was member. Having some members of his family working in mines, Mondlane also had contacts in mine compounds.



The impact of the new political currents developing during and after the Second World War and the political changes in South Africa, also had an influence on Mondlane's generation. A poem by Eduardo Mondlane was published in the newspaper Nyeleti Ya Miso on 3rd October, 1944. There the author, praising Elim, Lemana and Shirley in Northern Transvaal also praises Dr. Aggrey whom he considers an intelligent man and the champion of Negritude. This could probably be an indication that the image of Aggrey, representing the educated black struggling for African liberation, was still alive during this period. Although there is little evidence on which to analyse the impact of Pan-Africanism and the Negritude movement on Mondlane, it seems to be the case that Aggrey was already in 1942 part of Mondlane's reading, as he mentioned in a letter to Clerc⁶⁶. Later, his involvement in the ANC Youth League seems to have played an important role in the maturation of his political consciousness, although our knowledge on this point is restricted by lack of data⁶⁷. From the letters Mondlane wrote to André-Daniel Clerc, it is clear that very early on, he was aware of the colonial situation. His experience in the Methodist Episcopal Mission and at Dingane reinforced by his political experience in South Africa had an important role in forming his nationalist consciousness.

⁶⁶-DM.MF,910. Letter from Eduardo Mondlane to André-Daniel Clerc. Mucambe (Inhambane), 9th June 1942. Here, he referred to his readings on "Aggrey of Africa", which he considers as 'the most refined writer from the 20th century', and where he expresses his admiration for such a person and his desire to meet him one day.

⁶⁷-The only written source we had access to on Mondlane's involvement with the ANC, was FRIEDLAND, H. A comparative study...p.145; quoting: Eduardo Chivambo Mondlane, 'FRELIMO, the Real Choice'. Tricontinental, Havana, 1969, pp.100-101.

Between his return from South Africa (1949) and his departure to Lisbon (1950) to continue his studies⁶⁸, he was intensively active in the Swiss Mission, working with illiterates⁶⁹ and helping Andre-Daniel Clerc. The political police detained him again for interrogation before his departure for Lisbon, although only for some hours. It seems they wished to know how far he was influenced by and related to the development of political movements in Africa⁷⁰.

Through his work during that short period he also revisited the rural areas. Discussing vernacular languages in a previous chapter we reproduced a song people sung as a tribute when he went to Europe for the continuation of his studies. Jordina Mondlane⁷¹ who sang for us remarked that at the end, Mondlane was crying, as was everyone else. Délia Jotamo Zucule⁷² gave us similar information about the tribute which people of Chicumbane Mission organized for Mondlane during the same period, and remarked that everybody loved and admired him.

⁶⁸-Thanks to much effort by André-Daniel Clerc and the commitment of the missionary Randall, Mondlane received a scholarship for the continuation of his studies.

⁶⁹-André-Daniel Clerc interview with Teresa Cruz e Silva and Alexandrino José, Lausanne, 1st November 1985, stated that Mondlane translated Dr. Laubach's lessons during his stay in Mozambique, between his South African and Lisbon studies (1950).

⁷⁰-André-Daniel Clerc, interviewed by Teresa Cruz e Silva and Alexandrino José, Lausanne, 1st November 1985.

⁷¹-Jordina Mondlane interviewed by Teresa Cruz e Silva. Maússe, 12th October 1993. For more details see Chapter 5.

⁷²-Interviewed by Teresa Cruz e Silva. Maputo, 21st July 1994.

As part of the effort undertaken by the Methodist Church and the Swiss Mission, Darrel and Mildred Randall and Andre Clerc played an important role in raising funds for the continuation of Mondlane's studies both in Lisbon and in the United States of America⁷³.

In 1950 Mondlane went to Lisbon. One year of studies was planned there, as a way of improving his knowledge of the Portuguese language and of avoiding conflicts with the Portuguese administration. While in Portugal waiting for the official matriculation procedures to be completed he received an invitation to participate in a meeting organized in Switzerland by the Swiss Youth patrols. They wished to meet the hero of the book Chitlangou fils d'un Chef whose publication had been a success, and to hear of his experiences⁷⁴. On his return, Mondlane matriculated in the Faculty of Arts of Lisbon University for the course on Sciences of Philosophy and History⁷⁵.

Although scarce data on Mondlane's period in Lisbon limits our analysis, we know that in Portugal he had contacts with Agostinho Neto, Marcelino dos Santos, Mário Pinto de Andrade, Amílcar Cabral and other students from the Portuguese colonies.

⁷³-For more information see: SHORE, H. Resistance and Revolution... and Andre-Daniel Clerc interviewed by Teresa Cruz e Silva and Alexandrino José. Lausanne, 1st January 1985.

⁷⁴-Andre-Daniel Clerc interviewed by Teresa Cruz e Silva and Alexandrino Jose, Lausanne, 1st November 1985.

⁷⁵-DM.MF,913 and 914. Letters from Mondlane to Clerc. Carcavelos-Portugal, 24th December 1950 and 9th January 1951.

In Lisbon, he maintained his relationship with the church, living in the Evangelical Seminar of Carcavelos and being a member of the Cultural Commission of the Portuguese Evangelical Board. As the Swiss missionaries going to Mozambique spent some months in Portugal learning the language, he also had the opportunity of maintaining a relationship with them.

His period in Portugal, although short, taught him that there was a difference between the Portuguese colonial system as such and the Portuguese people, an important point for further definition of strategies of struggle in Mozambique.

According to Marcelino dos Santos and Mário Pinto de Andrade⁷⁶, while many African students coming to Lisbon from Portuguese colonies tried incessantly to find their African roots⁷⁷, Mondlane was the only one among them who had no need for such a search. He was imbued with them, maintaining that he had never distanced himself from his origins.

Like other students from the colonies he was under suspicion, and was often approached by the Portuguese police. At the end of his first term, when he was ready to

⁷⁶-Personal communication during the Seminar "Ideologias de Libertação Nacional". Maputo, Centro de Estudos Africanos, 1985.

⁷⁷-As mentioned above, during the 1940s and 1950s, in Portuguese colonies there arose movements of protest against colonial domination in which painters, writers and other artists and intellectuals played an important role. The reaffirmation of 'mother-Africa' and the 'resurgence of the black man' which dominated such political protest appears as a negation to the Portuguese policy of assimilation, which stimulated rejection of African values and culture. Confronted perhaps by the reality of European metropolitan society and imperial power relations in the post war period, African students in Lisbon reinforced the relationship with their home countries by developing cultural and associative activities with their fellows at the Casa dos Estudantes do Império or Centro de Estudos Africanos (mentioned above), despite being watched by the police.

leave for the United States, Mondlane was interrogated by the Portuguese police and only after a letter from the Swiss Mission to the Portuguese administration was he authorized to travel⁷⁸. At Lisbon airport he was not at first allowed to proceed, apparently because his passport was out of order and he was obliged to postpone his trip for two days⁷⁹.

In 1951, with a scholarship from the Phelps-Stokes Fund in New York he arrived in the United States of America. He did his studies in Anthropology and Sociology at Oberlin College (BA) and in the Northwestern University (MA and Ph.D).

Mondlane's activities in the USA were not limited to degree programmes. The first contacts of Mondlane with the United States had been in Hartford where he spent some time helping experts studying Bantu phonetics⁸⁰.

From the first weeks of his stay in United States he had a very busy life in Christian circles. Commenting on this phase of his life, Shore remarks:

He lectured to groups around the country, attended Christian conferences and other meetings, participated in summer camps and crusades, and wrote or was interviewed for publications⁸¹.

Confirming Shore's comments, Mondlane's letters to Clerc illustrate his very busy life divided between his studies and a large number of conferences he had to attend,

⁷⁸-DM.MF,914. Letter from Eduardo Mondlane to André-Clerc. Carcavelos- Portugal, 12th May 1951.

⁷⁹-DM.MF,914. Letter from Eduardo Mondlane to André-Daniel Clerc. Hartford-USA, 20th July 1951.

⁸⁰-Ibid.

⁸¹-SHORE, H. Resistance and Revolution.. p.xxi.

speeches and meetings where he had to give talks on Mozambique and Africa, most of them within Christian circles. During his stay in United States he had the opportunity to meet people from every part of the world, to exchange experiences and to learn. Even in 1952, he was invited to represent Africa in a UNESCO Conference in New York on the problems of underdeveloped and dependent countries⁸².

André-Daniel Clerc maintained his friendship with Eduardo Mondlane.

Commenting on his stay in the United States of America Clerc says:

In Lisbon, he did the first year of studies(...). After that he went to United States to a College and there he stood out from the others and was accepted in Northwestern University. When I visited Mondlane, one of his teachers asked me: What is your secret to make⁸³ such a kind of man, with such intelligence, abilities and so rich a personality?

In the United States of America he maintained his relationship with the Randalls and benefitted from funding from the American Methodist Board of Foreign Missions.

Between 1954 and 1955 he had the post of assistant at Northwestern University and then went to Harvard as a researcher. In 1956 he finished his studies and married Janet Johnson. In 1957, Mondlane was appointed Research Officer in the Trusteeship Department of the United Nations, a position which allowed him to be in contact with

⁸²-DM.MF,915. Letter from Eduardo Mondlane to André-Daniel Clerc. Oberlin-Ohio, 25th 1952. The letter had no reference to the month.

⁸³-André-Daniel Clerc interviewed by Teresa Cruz e Silva and Alexandrino Jose, Lausanne, 1st November 1985. Free translation.

eminent personalities and leaders of African nationalist movements such as Julius Nyerere, with whom he became a close friend⁸⁴.

According to existing evidence, it seems that his period in Europe and in the United States of America opened his mind to other problems and enriched his knowledge, satisfying his permanent desire to learn more. He learned how differentiation can assume other faces and nuances, and he understood better the problems related to colonialism and this reinforced his nationalist consciousness and his growing awareness of the importance of political liberation⁸⁵.

Mondlane's consciousness emerged from different experiences: the traditional education transmitted by his mother; the everyday struggle against the colonial system; the church education and different experiences of life as student, teacher, worker and researcher at universities and in the United Nations. All together built the man and the leader 'always listening, thinking, growing'⁸⁶.

The permanent political repression by the colonial government; forced labour; men making labour contracts to South Africa in order to pay the taxes to the government while women were doing their best to provide the food for the family, were part of Mondlane's

⁸⁴-SHORE, H. Resistance and Revolution...pp.xxiv-xxv.

⁸⁵-Ibid. and correspondence between Mondlane and Clerc referred above.

⁸⁶-SHORE, H. Resistance and revolution...p.xxx.

experience of life, playing an important role in the sharpening of his political consciousness:

I date my interest in politics from my early childhood when my mothers⁸⁷ used to talk about the oppression they were living under...I recall vividly many occasions when my brothers had to run away to South Africa to avoid being forced to work for local Portuguese farmers, for the plantation owners or for the government itself at almost no pay at all... I spent most of my childhood without any contact with my older brothers. The women...had to fend for themselves as best they could. They often were arrested and put into prison by the Portuguese...because their sons in South Africa were not sending their annual head taxes⁸⁸.

From his mother he assimilated the values of his traditional culture, but also the necessity to learn from the power of the white mans' world. In school, Mondlane learned to analyse problems, using the analytical tools he learnt when young in the mintlawa. His activities as preacher and instructor of youth groups, and his need to learn more and more, fostered the development of his intellectual background. From the church he learned the respect due to human beings; discipline; love of justice and freedom. His experience of life enriched his knowledge and capacities.

Although undoubtedly Mondlane's experience in his periods of childhood and youth can be considered the basic framework for the building up of his personality and consciousness, his experiences in South Africa and United States had a strong influence on his life and personality. In South Africa, his world widened to include a different political

⁸⁷-Meaning his uterine mother and the other wives of his father.

⁸⁸-Mondlane, cited by SHORE, H. Resistance and Revolution... p.xvi.

environment. In the United States, he had contacts with people from everywhere and as Shore stated, he enjoyed the 'free and open atmosphere'⁸⁹.

Having a basic education from the Swiss Mission, Mondlane benefitted from the joint work which Swiss Presbyterians and American Methodists undertook in education in Mozambique. In the United States of America, most of his networks were established under the umbrella of the Methodist Church.

The Swiss Mission, operating as network facilitator, introduced Mondlane to the mine compounds and African associations, and to the congregants' different worlds in South Africa. In America, the Church introduced him into a wider world of cultures and political experiences.

All these experiences together enriched the sense of democracy built up first of all in the youth groups and within the organizational structure of the Presbyterian Church, where the assemblies and the presbyters played an important role in decision making.

Uniting a traditional education with a religious education and his intellectual training, Mondlane had enough ability to make the necessary distance from all of them, in order to develop a critical and analytical framework on the Church itself and the colonial problem.

Mondlane's life was textured in difficult historical periods. Born in a period of socio-economic crisis (the 1920s) his childhood and youth occurred in the period of

⁸⁹-SHORE, H. Resistance and revolution...p.xxiii.

consolidation of the Estado Novo and the establishment of a new relationship between the mother land and the colonies. During his experience of work in Cambine and Dingane, he had to cope with the consequences of the Concordat on African education. However, his political maturity allowed him to make his own analysis of the situation and to assume his own positions.

Eduardo Mondlane's partially ethnic consciousness, born from family education, was to some extent reinforced by Swiss Mission education. However, using the instruments of analysis learnt at the Swiss Mission, improved with his later experience and studies, he made the transition from an ethnic to a national consciousness, and as Liah Greenfeld states, sought 'to locate the source of individual within a people'⁹⁰

⁹⁰-GREENFIELD, L. Nationalism, Five Roads to Modernity. Harvard, Harvard Press, 1992, p.3.

CHAPTER 7-THE YEARS OF CRISIS, 1961-1974

In the early 1950s, only four countries were independent in Africa (Egypt, Ethiopia, Union of South Africa and Liberia). Stimulated by the expansion of the world-economy after the Second World War and the related processes of decolonization, the period between 1956 and 1962 saw the process of decolonization of most African territories. In central and eastern Africa, by 1964, Tanganyika, Zambia and Malawi were independent. However, in the Portuguese colonies wars of liberation were already in progress in the same year. In Mozambique, the war for liberation was conducted by FRELIMO, formed in 1962 under the leadership of Eduardo Mondlane in Dar-es-Salaam, where it benefitted from African independence struggles, particularly that of Tanganyika.

The process of decolonization was on the one hand partially in the political and economic interests of the USA, Britain and France but on the other it was contested by the dynamic of white settler politics to reinforce their exclusive domination in southern Africa. In South Africa, the Afrikaner Nationalist party developed an apartheid programme from 1948 onwards; in 1965 Southern Rhodesia's white regime proclaimed the Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI), while being a British colony. In Angola and Mozambique, white settlers, whose number had increased rapidly from the end of the 1940s, also felt threatened by the political changes. Portugal, playing a weaker economic

role in relation to other colonial powers, had strong reasons to fear the new political changes and attempted to reinforce control over its territories.

The United Nations economic sanctions against Rhodesia stimulated increased economic relationships with South Africa, thus helping to reinforce the latter's central political and economic role in the region; by the 1960s 'the "region" of southern Africa had become an economic reality'¹ of states gravitating around the South African economy. Portugal, having a history of economic relationships with South Africa on the basis particularly of migrant labour flows and transport links, intensified this cooperation in the 1960s and 1970s.

Economic and security problems in the region led Portugal, South Africa and Southern Rhodesia to begin close cooperation in the military sphere in an attempt to maintain dominant white power in their territories and to contain African independences.

By the early 1970s, the wars of liberation were progressing rapidly in the region. In Mozambique, the failure of the major Portuguese 'Operation Gordian Knot' against the guerrillas created a gap in the military system of security, which was used by FRELIMO to open new fronts in Tete and to expand its action south of the Zambezi. The expansion of the guerrilla war in Mozambique put in danger the project of Portuguese permanence on the one hand, and opened space for the development of a guerrilla war in Southern Rhodesia on the other hand. South African, Rhodesian and Portuguese political projects

¹-See: WALLERSTEIN, I. and VIEIRA, S. Historical Development of the Region in the Context of the Evolving World-System. In: VIEIRA, S., MARTIN, W. and WALLERSTEIN, I., eds. How Fast the Wind? Southern Africa, 1975-2000. Trenton, (New Jersey), Africa World Press, 1982, p.11.

were greatly affected by the new scenario. In the early 1970s, the progress of the guerrilla war made the Portuguese armed forces' position in Mozambique very difficult, with the prospect of an imminent military defeat. After the coup d'état in Portugal of 25 April 1974, at the end of negotiations in Lusaka on September 7, Lisbon recognized Mozambique's right to independence.

In the meantime, international pressures and long term internal developments had led Portugal to begin social and economic reforms. In 1961, Portugal declared the formal abolition of the Native Statute and accelerated modernization of Mozambican economy to face the new demands². These and further reforms in education brought a slight expansion of educational opportunities for African people, particularly at the primary school level. However access to other levels was mostly barred, and obstacles placed in the development of Protestant Mission activities in the educational area were increased, as the colonial state still feared growing numbers of educated Africans and the 'denationalizing' influence of the Protestants.

Already committed to 'native' education, the Swiss Mission increased its contribution, although during this period it directed most of its efforts into secondary and university levels and improving the formation of an African leadership for the Church.

Because it assumed positions against the political domination of Mozambicans and contributed to the formation of an educated African elite, the IPM-Swiss Mission was seen as encouraging the consolidation of Church independence, the nationalist leadership and the

²-See: WUYTS, M. *Economia Política*...pp. 20-22.

struggle against colonialism, and thus further provoked the state's suspicion and persecution.

The developing politico-religious crisis, the involvement of young Protestants with the nationalist armed struggle, the refusal of African Pastors to align themselves with the established power, as well as the role played by Mondlane in the struggle for independence, combined to emphasize the anti-colonial position of the African Presbyterian church.

When Mondlane left the country to study, first in South Africa and later in Europe and the United States of America, he was supposed to be trained to work in social areas for the Church in Mozambique. However, his stay in these countries strengthened his political observation and enabled him particularly to consolidate his critique of the colonial system. The underlying direction of his personal and professional life in the United States was closely related to the socio-political destiny of Africa and Mozambique, and was less concerned with mission development as such. His work as Research Officer in the Trusteeship Department of the United Nations gave him direct experience of the political situation of Tanganyika, the Cameroons and South West Africa, and facilitated meetings with African political leaders such as Julius Nyerere. Such contacts broadened his idea of world struggles³ and reinforced his ideas on the necessity to combat colonialism and political domination in Mozambique.

³-See: SHORE, H. *Resistance and Revolution*...pp.xxiv-xxv; CRUZ E SILVA, T. and JOSÉ, A. *Eduardo Mondlane*...pp.104-105.

In 1961, while working for the United Nations he revisited Mozambique. In Maputo Province, he visited the colonial capital, Lourenço Marques and the United Seminar of Ricatla; in Gaza, he went to Xai-Xai, Manjacaze and Maússe; in Inhambane, he visited Cambine and Chicúque. He met old friends, former colleagues, missionaries and relatives⁴. During the visit he had the support of both the Swiss Mission and the Methodist Episcopal Mission who provided lodging and a car with a driver to facilitate his visit⁵.

Although the secret police watched his movements and the people he met, it was a private visit and he managed to have meetings with different people and discussed with some of them aspects of the political situation in Mozambique⁶.

According to available testimony, there was widespread welcome for Mondlane and his wife, reflecting the stature he had already gained as an international figure considered the representative as well the son of a locally oppressed people. When simply visiting the town, in church meetings or merely passing particular buildings, people gathered to see

⁴-For further information on Mondlane's visit to Mozambique see: SHORE, H. Resistance and revolution...pp. xxv-xxvi; Jonathan Rodrigues Chale, interviewed by Teresa Cruz e Silva and Alexandrino José, Maputo, 30th May 1985; André-Daniel Clerc, interviewed by Teresa Cruz e Silva and Alexandrino José, Lausanne, 1st November 1985; Fernando Mondlane interviewed by Teresa Cruz e Silva and Alexandrino José, Machecahomu (Manjacaze), 27th January 1993; Silvano Muchanga interviewed by Teresa Cruz e Silva, Machecahomu (Manjacaze), 27th January 1993, and Casimiro Pedro Mathié, interviewed by Teresa Cruz e Silva and Alexandrino José, Chicumbane, 29th January 1993.

⁵-See: André-Daniel Clerc interviewed by Teresa Cruz e Silva and Alexandrino José, Lausanne, 1st November 1985 and Pedro Eduardo Demony interviewed by Teresa Cruz e Silva, Chicúque-Inhambane, 28th October 1992.

⁶-Albino Maheche interviewed by Teresa Cruz e Silva, Alexandrino José and Júlio Matsimbe, Maputo, 20th February 1986; Amaral Matos interviewed by Teresa Cruz e Silva, Alexandrino José and Jacques Depelchin, Maputo, 29th March 1986.

him or to speak with him. Tribute was paid to him everywhere by people of different social groups, and he was treated with great respect. André-Daniel Clerc observes:

Mondlane was working in the United Nations and he asked me to receive his family as our guests. He was a son of our home, and we organized a place for them to stay (...).

In the next few days when he went to the down town area with his wife and children, there was a traffic jam. There were about 200 to 300 people who wanted to see him, to look at him, and they said: he is our people! he his our people!

We had no idea that people knew him so well!

In the church he preached. It was planned for Khovo parish, but it happened in Chamanculo parish. ⁷ There were lines of people outside the church, near the windows, to hear him !

In Mozambique Mondlane witnessed the poor conditions of education, health and other social services provided by the government, the racial differentiation, political repression and the economic crisis, all of which reinforced his commitment on the necessity to organize the struggle for Mozambique⁸.

On the other hand, oral testimony suggests that the visit was a catalyst which led many young people to consider more practically the liberation of their country. For many, Mondlane's speeches brought for the first time an inter-ethnic appeal and the idea of a national struggle. His visit also brought dramatic consequences in terms of increasing

⁷-André-Daniel Clerc interviewed by Teresa Cruz e Silva and Alexandrino José, Lausanne, 1st November 1985. Free translation.

⁸-See: SHORE, H. Resistance and revolution...p.xxvi. See also, Albino Maheche interviewed by Teresa Cruz e Silva, Alexandrino José and Júlio Matsimbe, Maputo, 20th February 1986; Amaral Matos interviewed by Teresa Cruz e Silva, Alexandrino José and Jacques Depelchin, Maputo, 29th March 1986, and Pedro Eduardo Demony interviewed by Teresa Cruz e Silva, Chicúque, 28th October, 1992. All of them reported the contacts, discussions and visits Mondlane undertook during 1961.

repression and numerous cases of imprisonment and persecution⁹. Nationalists like Albino Maheche, Amaral Matos or Virgílio de Lemos were detained by the police after Mondlane's departure, and Protestants, particularly Presbyterians, came to be watched more carefully.

Apart from written reports on the 1961 visit, there are numerous oral informants who saw or heard or spoke with him. Among the latter it was difficult to separate the imaginary and the mystical from the historical fact. His visit to Gaza and Inhambane is surrounded by the imaginary, transforming a car accident for example into a state conspiracy to assassinate Mondlane¹⁰. From the numerous sermon and speeches he made, the one which most seems to have impressed people was made in the Swiss Mission parish of Chamanculo, where he used the Aggrey Parable of the Eagle¹¹, interpreted by the hundreds in the congregation as a message of hope for liberty¹².

During the 1960s, various internal and external conditions set off armed struggles in the Portuguese colonies. The increased repression of the 1960s reduced even further the

⁹-Albino Maheche interviewed by Teresa Cruz e Silva, Alexandrino José and Júlio Matsimbe, Maputo, 20th February 1986; Amaral Matos interviewed by Teresa Cruz e Silva, Alexandrino José and Jacques Depelchin, Maputo, 29th March 1986.

¹⁰-Jonathan Rodrigues Chale interviewed by Teresa Cruz e Silva and Alexandrino José, Maputo, 30th May 1985; André-Daniel Clerc interviewed by Teresa Cruz e Silva and Alexandrino José, Lausanne, 1st November 1985; Pedro Eduardo Demony interviewed by Teresa Cruz e Silva, Chicúque-Inhambane, 28th October 1992. See Chapter 1.

¹¹-Jonathan Rodrigues Chale interviewed by Teresa Cruz e Silva and Alexandrino José, Maputo, 30th May 1985, gave us detailed information on the parable of eagle. For more information on this parable see: Smith, E.W. Aggrey of Africa...pp. 136-137.

¹²-André-Daniel Clerc interviewed by Teresa Cruz e Silva and Alexandrino José, Lausanne, 1st November 1985.

space for political struggle within the territory of Mozambique. In 1961, nationalist movements from the Portuguese colonies met in Casablanca to form a committee (Conferência das Organizações Nacionalistas das Colónias Portuguesas - CONCP) to analyse and coordinate their common problems and the evolution of the political situation in the colonies¹³. This, together with the explosion of unrest and its repression in Angola in the same year, were important elements prompting the Mozambican movements to unify.

Returning to the United States after passing through Tanganyika where he visited Nyerere, Mondlane resigned from his post in United Nations and accepted a temporary position at Syracuse University in the USA. Accepting an invitation from the Mozambican parties in exile, he participated in a conference in Dar-es-Salaam in 1962 at which FRELIMO was founded¹⁴. Already engaged by the necessity of struggle for Mozambique as in the rest of Southern Africa, Mondlane accepted a leadership position in FRELIMO and he was elected President.

In 1964, FRELIMO, working in the exile, transformed the struggle into a war for liberation, guiding the process until the 1974 Lusaka Agreements with the Portuguese, which paved the way for the independence of the country. Mondlane, who united different

¹³-Marcelino dos Santos from Mozambique, a member of UDENAMO, was part of the secretariat of the new organization.

¹⁴-FRELIMO (Mozambique Liberation Front) emerged from the unity of political parties in exile, like UDENAMO - Uniao Democrática Nacional de Moçambique (National Democratic Union of Mozambique) founded in Bulawayo (Rhodesia) in 1960 and MANU-Mozambique African National Union, founded in Kenya, in 1961. Although the official history of FRELIMO also refers to the presence of UNAMI (Uniao Nacional de Moçambique) as the third movement which joined the others to form FRELIMO, it seems that they joined the movement after the 1962 conference.

tendencies into a national struggle, led the movement until 1969 when he was assassinated by a parcel-bomb near Dar-es-Salaam.

Although Mondlane was not working for the church he maintained ties with the Presbyterians and Methodists and a very special friendship with André-Daniel Clerc. Commenting on the last memories he had of Mondlane, Clerc remarked:

The last time I saw Eduardo Mondlane, was during 1968. He was already in Tanzania. Mondlane came to visit our son who had lung cancer. Our son died some weeks later(...). I can say that during 1968/69, my wife and myself, we lost our consanguineous son, and our spiritual son. Both left unforgettable memories. Mondlane¹⁵ was our spiritual son. He was intelligent, creative and he was an example .

The church could not remain apart from the new political situation in Mozambique. Catholics and Protestants were confronted with social injustice, the violence of the colonial state against the population, and the social struggles which were taking place. With Mondlane leading FRELIMO, Protestant churches had to face the new challenges and to demarcate their political positions from those of the Portuguese, and yet not openly support the war for national liberation¹⁶ .

The Portuguese policy of economic reforms already started during the previous period was now broadened: capital accumulation based on the utilization of cheap, low-

¹⁵-André-Daniel Clerc, interviewed by Teresa Cruz e Silva and Alexandrino José, Lausanne, 1st November, 1985. Free translation.

¹⁶-HELGESSION, A. Church, State and People...p 331-333.

productivity labour began to be restructured during the sixties. The modernization of capital and the opening of the economy to foreign capital occurred because it was an economic and political necessity to Portugal¹⁷. During 1961, the formal abolition of forced labour, of compulsory cultivation of cotton and rice, and of the Estatuto Indígena (Native Statute) thus giving the theoretical right of Portuguese citizenship to all Africans - can be considered as a tentative response of the Portuguese regime to international pressures and to internal problems.

The same process led to the development of some reforms in education at different levels. A decree of September 1964¹⁸ brought reform for the primary school level in the overseas territories with compulsory primary education and a theoretical end to the system of separate education¹⁹. During the subsequent period there was a general expansion of education, particularly at the primary school level. However, the quality of education was still very poor and access to education was still difficult, particularly in rural areas. The school programmes were also marked with an ideological orientation towards Portuguese nationalism²⁰. Access to secondary education and to the University level²¹ was restricted to

¹⁷-See: WUYTS, M. Economia Política...

¹⁸-Decree 45908, from September 1964. See: FERREIRA, E.S. Le Colonialisme Portugais...p. 79. and LISBOA, E. Education in Angola.. p.289.

¹⁹-Commenting on the 1964 reform, LISBOA, E. Education in Angola...pp.307-308, states: 'Primary education became compulsory, general and common to all Portuguese. However, compulsory education cannot be put into practice except where the government itself has the necessary means to enforce it, i.e., when the number of schools in the territory is adequate and free transport assured'.

²⁰-FERREIRA, E.S. Le Colonialisme Portugais...p.83, and pp.88-90. As mentioned for previous periods, the quality of statistical data creates some difficulties in the evaluation of the impact of the expansion on the African population.

a tiny number of the non-white population²², owing to social and financial constraints. The evolution of secondary school levels in the colonies with an increase in technical and professional education, reflects an attempt by the government to respond mainly to the growth of the white population and to produce more skilled labour to face the new economic demands.

Challenges imposed by political transformations in the continent and internally reinforced the Swiss Mission's idea of the necessity to prepare qualified people to deal with the new situation. Available evidence leads us to conclude that during the 1960s the Mission came to be more concerned than ever with the nature and quality of training to be introduced. Although the Mission was aware that improvement of skills among Africans was not looked upon favourably by the colonial authorities, the objectives were to²³:

- 1-Train a larger number of African personnel, as lay or clerical specialists, to be sufficiently competent to assume the responsibility for the church in the future²⁴.
- 2-Train qualified personnel such as nurses, doctors and teachers.
- 3-Undertake efforts to open a technical school and other secondary schools so as to increase the number of skilled and educated Mozambicans more generally.

²¹-The 'Estudos Gerais Universitários', the University level, was introduced in Mozambique during 1963. See: FERREIRA, E.S. Ibid.

²²-See: FERREIRA, E. S. Ibid. pp.88-89 and p.109.

²³-DM.MF,66A. Rapport de la Mission Suisse dans l'Afrique du Sud. 1960.

²⁴-Although the Swiss Mission had already embarked on training programmes for their personnel and believers during the previous periods, the changes imposed by the political situation led them to improve their projects.

During the 1960s missionaries organized a system of scholarships for students from different levels controlled by commissions, under the supervision of a grants committee. While in the USA in the early 1960s, in collaboration with André-Daniel Clerc, Eduardo Mondlane created a fund for scholarships for secondary and university education. The programme began with funding from the philanthropist M. Weiss in New York²⁵, although later it benefitted from funding from World Council of Churches²⁶.

Scholarships were divided into two main categories: i) the Presbyterian Grants, for students working or to be recruited by the Mission, as well as for the continuation of studies at secondary school by the children of believers, and ii) Evangelical Grants (Ecumenical), for students from different Protestant denominations; these were also opened to a certain number of Catholic and Muslim students.

i) Presbyterian Grants

Attempting to improve the education of workers and young people to be recruited for the church, particularly those to be trained as teachers or Pastors, the Comissão de Estudos Secundários (Commission of Secondary Studies) promoted funding with grants to people who wished to study in the arts, science or humanities inside the country or abroad²⁷.

²⁵-The code of this programme was called 'edelweiss' to avoid the attention of the police. Personal information by courtesy of G. Morier-Genoud. Letter from Georges Morier-Genoud to Teresa Cruz e Silva, Bienne, 15h January 1996.

²⁶-Ibid.

²⁷-DM.MF,1070/D/2. Bolsas de Estudo Presbiterianas, Comissão Des Boussiers. 1963.

As often stated for other periods, the lack of full statistical data creates difficulties in the analysis of the evolution of secondary school grants. However, the following figures give an idea of the distribution of some of the grants, referring particularly to the period 1963-1968.

According to decisions of the Commission of Secondary Studies, the programme for the allocation of Presbyterian Grants for 1963-1968 made a total number of 100 beneficiaries, covered by a budget of 250.000\$00 (Portuguese escudos), planned as follows:

TABLE 7.1

**Allocation of scholarships for 1963-64 to 1967-68
(Comissão de Estudos Secundários)**

Year	Nº Beneficiaries
1963-64	10
1964-65	15
1965-66	20
1966-67	25
1967-68	30

Source: DM.MF.Bolsas de Estudo Presbiterianas, 1963.

The scholarship distribution year by year represents a slow growth in the number of students who benefitted from the Mission's funding. Later information contained in a report from 1964 presents a slight increase in the number of grants distributed in relation to

the grants planned earlier. This can be seen as an increase in the number of candidates for 1963-64 from 10 to 16, as can be seen in the next Table:

TABLE 7.2

Presbyterian Grants for 1962-1963 and 1963-1964.
(Comissão de Estudos Secundários)

YEAR	No. GRANTS
1962-63	13
1963-64	16

Source: DM.MF. CRUZ, M.A., 1964.

According to a report from 1964²⁸, as all students were adults they applied to the night secondary school, to the grammar and commercial school. Help at this level came from part of the activities of the Associação dos Antigos Estudantes de Coimbra (Association of Former Coimbra Students), which was sympathetic to the cause of African education and organized a night school staffed by volunteers. The Presbyterian students did not have to pay fees as Swiss missionaries collaborated in teaching also as volunteers.

Owing to funding restrictions, after the first two years of secondary school, only students with high standards dedicated to church work were selected to benefit from a

²⁸-DM.MF,1068F, CRUZ, M.A. Comissão de Ajuda aos Estudantes de Moçambique (CAEM).1964; and Relatório da Comissão Presbiteriana, Ensino Extra-Escolar, Comissão de Estudos Secundários. 1964.

further grant²⁹. The same source³⁰, referring to the term 1962-63 states that there were 11 more scholarships awarded to the secondary school for children of believers.

ii) Evangelical Grants

These grants, with funds coming from different ecumenical institutions, covered a wider population of students from different Protestant Churches to Catholics and Muslims. Our statistical information, although confined to the 1960s, gives us an idea of the commitment of the Mission to improve the education of Mozambicans, especially at secondary and university levels.

The following table indicates for the early 1960s the number of scholarships provided by the Ecumenical Grant.

TABLE 7.3
Grants for 1962-1963
(Comissão de Estudos Secundários)

TOTAL	UNIVERSITY	SECONDARY SCHOOL (Pre-university level)	SCHOOL OF AGRICULTURE	TECHNICAL SCHOOL + LYCEUM*
10	2	3	1	4

Source: DM.MF. CRUZ, M.A., 1964.

*Lyceum-secondary school level with direct access to university level (grammar school).

²⁹-Ibid.

³⁰-Ibid.

Data collected for 1969 shows an increase in scholarships from 10 in 1962-63 (Table 7.3) to 258 in 1969 (Table 7.4). In 1969, Maputo received 7 scholarships for University level, 4 for Protestant students; 2 for Muslims; 1 for a Catholic. This is an increase from the 2 grants recorded for 1962-63 (Table 7.3).

TABLE 7.4
Evangelical Grants for 1969

Province	No.Grants	Grant values (\$)
Maputo	194	611.500\$00
Gaza	9	83.000\$00
Inhambane	25	62.500\$00
Nampula	10	10.000\$00
Beira	20	53.000\$00
TOTAL	258	820.000\$00

Source: DM.FM. Comité dos Fundos de Bolsas de Estudo Evangélicas. Acta no.1/69.

Commenting on the increase of grants for secondary and university levels provided by the Protestants, referring particularly to the end of the 1960s and 1970s, Helgesson states:

It goes without saying that the boom of Secondary Education constituted an immense step forward for the development of African leadership within Mozambique. Going one step further, Protestant churches were now able to subsidize African students³¹ who were ready for higher studies which could not be obtained in Mozambique .

³¹-HELGESSION, A. Church, State and People....pp.360-361.

Concerning the university level of education, the data shows that all beneficiaries were matriculated in Portugal, where some of them were already doing their studies in courses such as Economics, Law, Medicine, Philosophy and Linguistics³².

To the judge from scholarship budgets from 1967 to 1969³³ the average amount per student/year in that period was: secondary school-3.000\$00; university-7.000\$00 for Protestant students and 6.000\$00 for other students³⁴.

According to available data, the Swiss Mission had a small fund for such grants and some students in the secondary schools and others from the university level studying abroad received only a supplement from the Mission in order to augment their funds.

The reduction in the number of Protestant rural primary schools in the previous periods (from 50 schools in 1925 to 15 schools in 1952) and the concentration on central schools, the improvement in teachers' training and the maintenance of quality so as to withstand school inspections made the Swiss Mission school network smaller but more

³²-See:DM.MF,1814. Letters from João Cuambe, in Lourenço Marques to missionary Morier-Genoud in Lausanne, where he reports the situation of education. 1969.

³³-See reports from 1967,1968 and 1969 in the following files:DM.MF,1067G... 1967-68; DM.MF,1070H...1969.

³⁴-To give an idea on the amount of money received by students we can compare it with the minimum level of salaries in the same period.(Portuguese escudos \$) Thus, according to RITA FERREIRA, A. Os Africanos de Lourenço Marques, Memórias do Instituto de Investigação Científica de Moçambique, Lourenço Marques, Instituto de Investigação Científica de Moçambique, 1967/1968, pp.346-347.(Série C, vol.9): since 1960, the legislation fixed a minimum for most wages. For the Lourenço Marques District it was about 6.000\$00 per year, which did not include deductions for food, lodging, health services, clothes, etc, of about 2.450\$00/year, in 1966. For 1967, according to HERRICK, A. B. et al. Area Handbook for Mozambique. Washington, The American University, 1969, p.246 and p.339, the dollar exchange rate (\$USD) for the Portuguese escudo (\$), was '\$0.348 (or 28.75 Portuguese escudos equal \$US 1)'.

efficient. A brief analysis of the number of primary schools under the responsibility of Swiss Mission shows a certain stabilization in their numbers for the 1960s and 1970s. In the meantime, enormous efforts were made to increase the number of students with secondary school qualifications.

The following table gives some figures of existing primary schools, students and teachers in the Swiss Mission for 1966 and 1968.

TABLE 7.5

**Swiss Mission Primary Schools, Students and Teachers
(1966 and 1968)**

YEAR	SCHOOLS	STUDENTS	TEACHERS
1966	14	2,765	29
1968	13	C.2,500	29

Sources: DM.MF.1796C. OUWEHAND, F. 1968 and
DM.MF,826A. SCHNEIDER, T. 1966.

In 1970 the Methodist Mission opened a private secondary school run by the church, the Colégio Pedro Nunes, under the direction of Dr. Almeida Penicela³⁵ where Presbyterians also studied.

Innovations in educational policy and the growth in numbers of secondary school students, most of them concentrated in urban areas, gave rise to the expansion of boarding. Attempting to solve the problem of lodging of secondary school students in Lourenço

³⁵-HELGESSION, A. Church, State and People...p.360.

Marques, an Ecumenical student hostel was planned, and was opened in 1973 within the Swiss Mission precincts in Lourenço Marques, and named Covo Lar³⁶.

In 1968, the cooperation which had developed between the Methodist Episcopalian and Presbyterian missions led to the creation of a training course for nurses in the Methodist Episcopal Mission of Chicúque, Inhambane. During the 1960s and 1970s, the Swiss Mission went ahead with their project for vocational education. During the 1960s, the Swiss Mission had two boarding agriculture schools for boys with about 100 students and a boarding school for girls with about 65 students³⁷. This was another way to improve education and prepare Africans for the new economic and political challenges.

The commitment of Protestant Churches to secondary and university levels of education was not welcomed by the government. Commenting on this situation, Georges Morier-Genoud states:

My colleague Georges Andrié and myself³⁸ have memories of the last days of our stay in 1969, when we had a 'conversation' with the PIDE director in Lourenço Marques. He criticized us as we had students in classes after the second year of secondary education, in the lyceum³⁹. According to his own and the colonial logic of thought, this was useless and above all dangerous(...)⁴⁰.

³⁶-Ibid.

³⁷-ROHRBASSER, C. L'Oeuvre... p.61.

³⁸-Both were Swiss missionaries in Mozambique, between the 1950s and the end of the 1960s.

³⁹-Secondary school level with direct access to university level (grammar school).

⁴⁰-Letter from Georges Morier-Genoud to Teresa Cruz e Silva, Bienne, 15th January 1996 .Free translation.

Turning to more directly political activities, although police repression prevented the open development of politics inside the country, the secondary school association, NESAM, continued the process already initiated at the end of the 1950s and went ahead with their debates on cultural issues and education and with their efforts to change the direction of the Centro Associativo dos Negros de Moçambique⁴¹. Concerned with the racial divisions within the associations, they also attempted to open NESAM to other groups and to establish relations with other associations⁴². The Mueda Massacre in 1960, followed by Eduardo Mondlane's visit to Mozambique and later the foundation of FRELIMO, had considerable political impact amongst the youth from NESAM. The new generation of youth included Luis Bernardo Honwana, Armando Guebuza, Pascoal and Adelina Mucumbi, Lina and Albino Magaia, Jorge and Cristina Tembe, and Josina and Esperança Muthemba. These young activists had been raised within a Protestant churches background, most of them coming from a second generation of an elite educated by the Swiss Missionaries. These and others were further related to the political underground networks and most of them joined FRELIMO after 1962.

Analysing the impact of NESAM, Eduardo Mondlane reported in 1968 that NESAM:

(...) under cover of social and cultural activities, conducted among the youth a political campaign to spread the idea of national independence and encourage resistance to the cultural subjection which the Portuguese imposed (...).

⁴¹-CASIMIRO, I. Movimento Associativo...pp. 9-10.

⁴²-Ibid.

NESAM's effectiveness, like that of all the early organizations, was severely limited by its tiny membership, restricted in this instance to the black African pupils of secondary school level. But in at least three ways it made an important contribution to the revolution. It spread nationalist ideas among the black educated youth. It achieved a certain revaluation of national culture, which counteracted the attempts by Portuguese to make African students despise and abandon their own people (...). And, most important perhaps, by cementing personal contacts, it established a nation-wide network of communication, which extended among old members as well as those still at school, and which could be used by a future underground.

According to Mondlane⁴⁴, the students' nucleus was a basis upon which to build up political awareness as well as to foster the emergence of some members to the nationalist movement in Mozambique. An analysis of the social composition of FRELIMO's underground network in southern Mozambique in the early 1960s and of students abroad who joined the liberation movement in the same period confirms Mondlane's statement⁴⁵, though this does not mean that men and women from other backgrounds did not join the movement. Aware of the political force represented by NESAM, the police banned the students' organization in 1965⁴⁶.

Although there is little information⁴⁷, it is important to mention that in 1964 a number of students from different Protestant Churches (Presbyterians, Methodists,

⁴³-See: MONDLANE, E. The Struggle... pp 113-114.

⁴⁴-Ibid.

⁴⁵-CRUZ E SILVA, T. A rede clandestina...; CRUZ E SILVA, T. A 'IV Região'...

⁴⁶-CASIMIRO, I. Movimento Associativo...; HEDGES, D. and CHILUNDO, A. A contestação...

⁴⁷-Most information came from Bento Sitói, interviewed by Teresa Cruz e Silva, Maputo, 8th September 1992. Further research is needed to clarify some points.

Nazarenes and others) founded a group called Grupo de Estudantes Evangélicos (Evangelical Group of Students) in Lourenço Marques. The main objective of this group was to get together students with a similar Protestant background and with similar interests, to discuss scientific issues, in an attempt to improve their knowledge and better school results. While conducting these debates they also developed their capacity to analyse and to contextualize their situation with reference to colonial, national and world issues. It seems that this group constituted a point of attraction for city-based students and it was open to Catholic and Muslim students to participate in the debates ⁴⁸.

One of its leading members, Bento Sitói ⁴⁹, confirms that discussion within the group went beyond religious problems and became a hidden circle to discuss political and social problems under the umbrella of biblical studies. The political context of the period and the fact that most of its members were educated within principles of mintlawa explains both the political inquietude and its clandestine expression. However, in 1967, some of its members and leaders were detained under suspicion of engaging in political activities and their members dispersed.

When Josef Persson and Alf Helgesson stepped down from the direction of the newspaper Mahlahle in 1962, Bento Navess, of the Methodist Episcopal Mission, became

⁴⁸-Bento Sitói interviewed by Teresa Cruz e Silva, Maputo, 8th September 1992.

⁴⁹-Ibid.

its first African director, a position he held until 1969⁵⁰. According to Helgesson the newspaper 'carried the monthly Sunday School lessons, together with some news and short articles of general interest, often written by newly literate readers'⁵¹. Until the end of its publication in 1969, the newspaper continued in both Tshwa and Tsonga, and maintained its role as a forum for debate and the development of poets and writers using the vernacular to express their feelings⁵².

The Lumuku which began in 1948 was a long process. It can be seen as involving both the training of African Pastors and the religious leadership on the one hand and the movement toward church autonomy on the other. The process of training Pastors to work within the church, the formation of leaders and in general of believers, already well established during the 1930s to the 1950s, increased during the 1960s and 1970s. Previous chapters mentioned the efforts of the Swiss Mission to train preachers and their preoccupation to improve the quality of Pastors' training in the Seminary of Ricatla, most of them also worked as primary school teachers.

⁵⁰-HELGESSION, A. Church, State and People...p.284.

⁵¹-Ibid.

⁵²-Further research is needed to clarify the history of the mission's newspapers and the reason behind the closure of Mahlahle in 1969.

For the 1960s and 1970s we again face some difficulty in acquiring reliable data to corroborate our oral and written information. Schneider⁵³ provides some information for 1966, showing the situation of African personnel in the Swiss Mission as follows:

TABLE 7.6

Number of African Church Pastors and collaborators in 1966

Ordained Ministers	15
Candidates For Minister	4
Youth Chaplain	1
Hospital Chaplain	1
Elders	200
Auxiliary Elders	250

Source: DM.MF,826A. SCHNEIDER, T.1966.

A comparative analysis regarding the growth of African ministers shows the following:

⁵³-DM.MF,826A, SCHNEIDER, T. Personal Remarks on the Presbyterian Church in Mozambique (PEA). 1966.

TABLE 7.7

Number of African Ministers, 1936-1939

YEAR	NUMBER
1936	7
1957	9
1966	15
1969	20

Source: Rappports annuelles de la Mission Suisse, 1936, 1957, 1966 and 1969.

Data from Tables 7.6 and 7.7 reflect the relatively small overall size of the church and the acceleration in the training of African ministers in the 1960s. Table 7.6 again reinforces the impression of a compact church, with the small number of candidates for minister.

Indeed, a report from the President of the Synod Council, Zedequias Manganhela in 1965⁵⁴ refers to a crisis in the number of candidate Pastors for the church, without offering any explanation but only the hypothesis of low salaries. According to Simão Chamango⁵⁵, another justification for such numbers could be the level of education required to be a student in the course which few people were able to obtain. On the other hand, the number

⁵⁴-DM.MF,1634 A. MANGANHELA, Z. Rapport des Activités du Conseil Synodal. 1965.

⁵⁵-Simão Chamango, Pastor, at the moment (1996) is the Rector of the Theological Seminar of Ricatla and the President of the Synod Council. Personal information 1995, by courtesy of Pastor Chamango.

of auxiliary personnel, such as elders and auxiliary elders, showed considerable growth, from 116 in 1936 to 450 in 1966. According to the precepts the Presbyterian Church, elders were fundamental in the hierarchy of courts within the church. Appreciating the importance of the elders in the integration of church in the community⁵⁶, as well as the shortage of ordained ministers and the church's wide geographical spread, the Swiss Mission made enormous efforts to improve the training of elders to guarantee that of all areas of influence were covered and to maintain continuity of the church⁵⁷. Georges Morier-Genoud reinforced the idea of the importance of elders to a Presbyterian church system, observing that the pastoral ministry is not only committed to the Pastors, but that elders had responsibility for small parishes, performing most activities except the sacraments⁵⁸.

Despite the apparent crisis in the number of Pastors, as a result of its education policies in general, in the 1960s and 1970s the Mission had professionals better qualified for education, health and church activities. This made it easier to cope with state regulations or the new political changes, as well as moves towards autonomy.

In 1962 a further stage in the independence of the Presbyterian Church took place with the signature of a convention for the autonomy of the Igreja Presbiteriana de Moçambique-(IPM), where the Mozambican Church assumed the responsibility for all

⁵⁶-See Chapter 2 and Chapter 5 where we referred to the role played by elders in the Presbyterian Church.

⁵⁷-See Chapters 2 and 5.

⁵⁸-Letter from Georges Morier-Genoud to Teresa Cruz e Silva, Bienne, 15th January 1996.

sectors of the former Swiss Mission. During 1964, the Swiss Mission as such disappeared in Switzerland and after that the Reformed Churches of Roman Switzerland (Swiss Romande) established the Département Missionnaire des Églises Protestantes de la Suisse Romande (DM), in which the former Swiss Mission was integrated. The DM continued to offer assistance to Mozambique with funding and personnel when requested by the IPM. In 1970, when the DM and the IPM signed a revision of the convention, the process of autonomy was completed and the IPM received all the Swiss Mission properties as well as the title Missão Suiça - Swiss Mission. Although the Swiss Mission was legally recognised by the colonial government and their statutes approved in 1934, the Portuguese authorities still did not recognize the juridical personality of the IPM⁵⁹.

Andrié, reporting on the process towards the autonomy of the Church, comments on its different phases⁶⁰:

(...) We saw two different phases, regarding the Convention⁶¹. During the first one, all missionaries were withdrawn from management activities and in the second phase, during the sixties, they handed over all leadership positions. During 1962, 1963 and 1964, important periods of discussion, responsibility was handed over, although without any legal title of property. From my point of view, this was an important problem, since it is not possible to transmit the leadership of the Council, of the Synod, or the Presbytery, without transferring the property (...). Otherwise, the situation could only be the 'ideology' of the convention, only giving the name of Swiss Mission.

⁵⁹-For the signature of 1970 Convention different Church representatives were invited, amongst others, the Anglican Bishop in Mozambique, Dom Daniel de Pina Cabral and members of Catholic Church. See: DM.MF,1818A, Notes de lecture concernant les actes d'accusation de M. Abrao Aldasse, Casimir Pedro Matie (sic) et Mafundene Mário Sitoye (sic).(S/D).

⁶⁰-Georges Andrié, interviewed by Teresa Cruz e Silva, Lausanne, 30th April 1993; part of this testimony appears in Chapter 5; it is reproduced more fully here to give a more complete idea of Andrié's meaning.

⁶¹-Concerning the IPM autonomy.

From the juridical point of view, the Portuguese government never recognized the IPM, only the Swiss Mission.

(...) Development of colonialism slowed down the process of Africanisation in the small Swiss Mission. The need to train Pastors always led to clashes between the Mission and the politicians. With the process of African independences during the 1960s, the situation became more difficult. Nevertheless, all the political changes, previously started in Asia, led the more open ideologues into an ecumenical reflection as to the necessity to press for the Africanisation of personnel(...). This took a long time (...). When we went to Mozambique, during 1951⁶², there was already a Pastoral corpus. It was necessary to create an autonomous staff. The autonomy of the Church meant also a financial autonomy. Our generation lived the transformation of mentalities, with the generation trained by Mr. Clerc⁶³.

Andrié's testimony sets out the history of autonomy of the Mozambican Church in phases, indicating clearly the difficulties faced, and underlining the clashes with the Portuguese but also the necessity to change the mentalities of an older generation of missionaries not always open to changes. However, it seems clear from his account that while, as has been suggested in Chapter 5, on the one hand colonialism slowed down the process of Africanisation of the Church, on the other the consequences of the political changes in the 1960s and 1970s led the Swiss Mission to accelerate markedly the process of transfer to African leadership, having in view the possible political independence of the country.

⁶²-Meaning when Andrié came to work in the Mozambican Swiss Mission in 1951

⁶³-Meaning the generation educated within the youth system of education, mintlawa, from 1930s onwards, where Andre-Clerc played a pivotal role.

Completing the last phase of Church autonomy in 1970, the Swiss Mission can be considered the pioneer in Church Africanisation in Mozambique. The Methodists had also embarked on an Africanisation process during the 1960s, although more slowly⁶⁴.

The IPM, an African Church with a Mozambican leadership, was not welcomed by the Portuguese authorities, who in the following years developed a process of direct repression and persecution of their leaders and believers.

Indeed, the history of the Swiss Mission provides more examples than ever of intimidation, persecution and the arrest of Pastors, believers and professional workers. Eduardo Mondlane's life, his detention and persecution either on his return from South Africa or in Portugal is well known⁶⁵; Felix Khosa was arrested by the political police in Portugal, in 1961 and 1962, while undertaking his theological studies there in the Ecumenical Seminary in Carcavelos (Seminário Evangélico de Carcavelos) and forbidden to return to Mozambique until 1965, under accusation of subversive activities⁶⁶. The Swiss

⁶⁴- HEGELSSON, A. Church, State and People... p.374 comments: 'The Methodist Church of Mozambique had been moving in the same direction of gradually africanising its leadership. Since 1964, a Mozambican, Bishop Escrivão Anglaze Zunguze, had been its Episcopal leader, and most of the ecclesiastical districts where, by 1970, supervised by African pastors(...) The Methodist africanisation was gradual, without any definite decision needed to be taken about a 'transformation' or 'transfer of power', because of a different church structure(...). Consequently, a few missionaries were, until 1975, still in executive positions, e.g. as "Heads" of the Methodist Centres of Cambine and Chicuque'.

⁶⁵-See Chapter 6

⁶⁶-Félix Khosa interviewed by Teresa Cruz e Silva and Alexandrino José, Maputo, 20th March 1990. Félix Khosa did his primary and secondary school in Maputo. As a Wesleyan Methodist believer, in 1958 he began his studies in theology in South Africa as a part-time extra mural student while he was working in Mozambique. In 1959 Khosa had a grant to continue his studies in Portugal. In the Seminário Evangélico de Carcavelos where he was studying with other fellows from Angola and Portugal, he faced his first detention (9 days) under suspicion of subversive activities in 1961 and again in 1962, under accusation of subversive political activities, and suffered torture while in jail in Portugal.

missionaries were often admonished and interrogated by the secret police⁶⁷ in different phases of their work in Mozambique.

After the foundation of FRELIMO in 1962 under the leadership of Mondlane and given the flight from Mozambique by some young Protestants, the Portuguese political police attempted to establish connections between FRELIMO and the church. The tension between both state and the Mission grew in proportion to the growth of the war for independence, as Protestants were suspected of being connected with political activities⁶⁸.

A file⁶⁹ containing correspondence exchanged between Rev. Charles Périer and Pascoal Mucumbi⁷⁰ confirms the growth of Church-state tensions between 1961 and 1962. As a student in the medical school in Lisbon, Mucumbi had a grant from the Swiss Mission. During 1961, for political reasons he fled to France, where he maintained regular contacts with Lausanne through Rev. Charles Périer who was trying to finance his studies in France, although with much difficulty owing to the need to avoid suspicion from

⁶⁷-CLERC, A.D., interviewed by Teresa Cruz e Silva and Alexandrino Jose, Lausanne, 1st November, 1985, stated that the political police in Mozambique questioned him on Mondlane. In the following pages Pastor Charles Périer gives other examples of suspicion against them.

⁶⁸-See: HELGESSON, A. Church, State and People... p.331.

⁶⁹-See:DM.MF,1879A/B, containing letters exchanged between Pascoal Mucumbi and Charles Périer, during Mucumbi's stay in Lisbon and Paris (1961-1962).

⁷⁰-Pascoal Mucumbi had a Swiss Mission educational background and had a grant from the Mission for his University Studies. He was an active member of NESAM, and later on joined FRELIMO. As referred in chapter 1 he was a former Minister of Health and Minister for Foreign Affairs, he is presently the Mozambican Prime-Minister. Charles Périer was a former Swiss missionary in Mozambique, where he had an important role regarding youth education.

the Portuguese secret police who had informants in exile circles⁷¹. Concerning this situation, Périer wrote to Mucumbi from Lausanne on 19 December 1961:

(...)Regarding the present situation and in order to avoid our work in Mozambique being stopped, the Mission is not able to help you directly by sending you personally your scholarship. We need to use other international institutions in order to send the grant.

At the moment detailed explanations are difficult. Nevertheless I hope that with your rapid perception you will understand the message through half-words.

Be discreet with your mail. Do not write directly to Lourenço Marques, so as to avoid embarrassment to recipients. Dr. Ribeiro is presently under surveillance by PIDE due to some letters he received (...)⁷².

The same letter from Périer to Mucumbi refers to efforts undertaken by Eduardo Mondlane to involve international institutions in providing grants to Mozambicans students abroad, including Pascoal Mucumbi.

In another letter from Périer to Mucumbi⁷³ he refers to the fact that Mr. Guillod, a Swiss missionary, was interrogated by the Portuguese secret police for about 3 hours and that probably he would not be allowed to return to Mozambique. He remarks:

Be prudent regarding your relationship with other Africans, because some of them are police informants. The situation is very difficult⁷⁴ as in trying to help you we have problems in undertaking our work in Africa(...).

⁷¹-According to Clerc, Swiss Missionaries suspected that the network of Portuguese political police extended to Switzerland. André-Daniel Clerc interviewed by Teresa Cruz e Silva and Alexandrino José, Lausanne, 1st November 1985.

⁷²-DM.MF,1879 A/B. Letter from Charles Périer to Pascoal Mucumbi. Lausanne, 29th December 1961. Free translation. Dr. Ribeiro was a lay missionary and doctor in Mozambique, working in the Swiss Mission.

⁷³-DM.MF,1879 A/B. Letter from Charles Périer to Pascoal Mucumbi. Lausanne, 21st June 1962. Free translation.

⁷⁴-Ibid. Free translation.

Commenting on the tense relationship between the state and Protestant churches, Helgesson states:

A continuous sign of increasing official suspicion was the great attention which the Portuguese authorities paid to church activities, particularly within the non-Catholic churches. Most services were monitored and duly reported to PIDE⁷⁵.

During the 1960s the relationship between state and Protestant churches worsened. In the 1970s, relations were in a very alarming situation, with arrests of responsible leaders from different Protestant denominations, most of them Presbyterians.

In 1972, the magazine L'Actualité Missionnaire⁷⁶ published an article entitled "The Presbyterian Church in Mozambique Suffering Severely"⁷⁷, from which the following extracts are transcribed :

In the recent wave of imprisonments in Lourenço Marques, the President, the Vice-President and other leaders of the Igreja Presbiteriana de Moçambique, about 20 Africans in all were detained. Until now the reasons for their detention are unknown. The Igreja Presbiteriana de Moçambique is working in close collaboration with the Département Missionnaire des Églises Protestantes de la Suisse Romande (Swiss Mission).

(...)The Johannesburg 'Star' spoke of about 1800 persons (being detained). Concerning leaders and believers of the Igreja Presbiteriana de Moçambique under detention, we have information only of the following names:

- Pastor Zedequias Manganhela, president of the Synod Council, 60 years old;
- Pastor Casimiro Matié(sic), vice-president of the Synod Council, 64 years old;
- Pastor Abrão Aldasse, from Khovo parish, Lourenço Marques, 67 years old;

⁷⁵-HELGESSION, A. Church, State and People...p.331.

⁷⁶-L'Actualité Missionnaire, no.4, 1972.

⁷⁷-Free translation.

-Pastor Gabriel Macavi, a former president of the Synod Council, retired, 75 years old;

-the evangelists Mario Sitoye(sic) and Ernesto Muhlanga, both about 60 years old.

-Ananias and Salvador Mause, the first being a worker of the laboratory and the second being a male nurse, both from the Igreja Presbiteriana de Moçambique's hospital, at Lourenço Marques.

We were also informed that the treasurer of Khovo parish, Lourenço Marques, as well as 10 elders coming from the same parish have been also imprisoned, although we do not have their names.

Later on, we heard that two lay members from the Antioica-Macuvulane parish, more than 100 kilometers far from Lourenço Marques, have also been imprisoned.

Those men were literally caught in their places of work or in their homes(...)

Accusations against prisoners must have a political character. The police declared that detention was aimed at persons as individuals, and the Igreja Presbiteriana as an institution and foreign missionaries working for it were not considered involved.

Nevertheless, the Romande Church and its missionary department_g feel as injured and affected by those imprisonments as the Igreja Presbiteriana(...)

The massive detention by the Portuguese political police during 1972 resulted in the death of Zedequias Manganhela and José Sidumo⁷⁹, both from the Swiss Mission-Igreja Presbiteriana de Moçambique.

An analysis of the 1972 imprisonments of Swiss Mission leaders and believers, clearly shows the tension between the state and the Mission, as well as the general political situation in Mozambique in the 1970s. In order to further illustrate that situation we have chosen two cases, those of Casimiro Mathié and Zedequias Manganhela. A number of circumstances were common: i) they came from poor families in two different districts

⁷⁸-Free Translation.

⁷⁹-José Sidumo, an evangelist from the Swiss Mission at Maússe-Manjacaze, was jailed in the same period as Manganhela and Mathié. Personal information from Casimiro Mathié.

(Gaza and Maputo); ii) they were from the same generation having similar educational backgrounds (the Swiss Mission school); iii) in different places and situations they were Pastors and primary school teachers in the post-1930 periods; iv) they were old friends with Eduardo Mondlane; v) both they had experiences and contacts with other countries and vi) they had leadership positions during the process for the total autonomy of the church in the 1970s.

The following biographical evidence of Casimiro Mathié and Zedequias Manganhela, as well as notes from their trial records, illustrates the process of detention.

A) - Casimiro Mathié, a Short Biography⁸⁰

Casimiro Pedro Mathié was born in 1907 in Gaza Province, in a small place near the village of Chicumbane. His parents were released slaves from the Gaza State. His father was a hunter and his mother a peasant. During 1911 and 1912, a great flood followed by an heavy famine obliged his family to move from the valley to the higher lands, where the Swiss Mission was established at Chicumbane. There they received from the Mission some land to build their house, and the family became Christian.

Between 1918 and 1926, Casimiro Mathié was educated at the Mission, where he attended the Rudimentary School, becoming later a school teacher's assistant. After the

⁸⁰-The biography of Casimiro Mathié was reconstructed with difficulty. Despite our attempts to have more autobiographical information, Mathié told us very little about himself. We used the following sources: Casimiro Pedro Mathié interviewed by Teresa Cruz e Silva and Alexandrino Jose, Maputo, 23rd July 1992 and Chicumbane, 29th January 1993, complemented by scattered information given in different interviews and conversations of André-Daniel Clerc with Teresa Cruz e Silva and Alexandrino José, Lausanne, 1st November 1985. Biographical notes on Mathié (DM.MF 1464D), without date, which were apparently collected by André-Daniel Clerc, were very helpful in the systematization of the biography.

death of his father, under the protection of the missionary Terrisse he went to Lourenço Marques, where for about two years he worked as domestic servant, attending at same time the Swiss Mission parish school and the night school at Khovo. After that, in 1928, he submitted his application to the Mission school of Ricatla to be trained as a primary school teacher, although in 1930 he was again in Lourenço Marques (Khovo parish) where he finished his primary school level in 1931, working with Mr. André-Daniel Clerc.

In 1932 he spent another period in Gaza, where he worked for some time in Chicumbane and later in the station of the Swiss Mission in Maússe-Manjacaze, as a primary school teacher. There he developed important mintlawa work with youth. He married Margarida Mucavele and they had 9 children.

From 1945-1947 he attended the Pastoral school of the Swiss Mission in Ricatla and in 1948 he was ordained Pastor at the same time as Zedequias Manganhela in Chicumbane. Between 1948 and 1955 he worked in Chicumbane and Guijá in Gaza, and then between 1955 and 1957 in the Transvaal, South Africa. Returning to Mozambique he worked again in Maússe-Manjacaze until 1962.

After this long experience of work in rural areas mostly in Gaza as primary school teacher and Pastor, in 1962 Mathié was transferred to Lourenço Marques, where he worked in the church of Tavane - Lhanguene. When he was jailed by the Portuguese police in 1972, he had been the vice-president of the Synod Council of the Igreja Presbiteriana de Moçambique (Swiss Mission) ⁸¹.

⁸¹.From 1963.

Mathié had a love of reading thereby widening his horizon of knowledge. Through the church network he was introduced to different worlds and experiences, from the rural to urban environments and to international contacts (South Africa, Switzerland). His long experience of work as a primary school teacher and Pastor meant that he had daily experience of colonial injustices and violence.

At present (1996) he is retired, living in Chicumbane. Although a very old man, he is still very active, with an extraordinary memory and a very lucid analytical capacity. He is considered a respectable man in a large community within and outside the Church. Contributing to his prestige are: his strong and decisive personality, his struggle for a better education within the church, especially for the youth (mintlawa); his tutorial work as the first primary school teacher of Eduardo Mondlane, and in general his struggle against colonial domination through his work in the Church.

B) - Zedequias Manganhela, a Short Biography⁸².

Zedequias Ngoti Manganhela was born on 25 October 1912 in the small village of Magugu, at Salamanga. Coming from a very poor family, with the death of his father he was under the care of his uncle, a primary school teacher trained at the Swiss Mission in Ricatla.

⁸²-We used the following written information to reconstruct Manganhela's life-history: A questionnaire with autobiographical information: DM.MF,1464D (S/D); Personal information from André-Daniel Clerc, Lausanne: November 1985; André-Daniel Clerc interviewed by Teresa Cruz e Silva and Alexandrino José, Lausanne, 1st November 1985; Charles Périer interviewed by Teresa Cruz e Silva and Alexandrino José, Lausanne, 23rd November 1985..

Although we undertook some interviews with Manganhela's friends and former colleagues, we have very little information on his childhood and youth.

At the age of 14, he went to the Swiss Mission station in Matutuine, recommended by his uncle. Like other boys of his age, he used to do small jobs and go to catechism lessons and to school. During that period, he established the first relationship with the family Duvoisin, working in its home as a servant. The Duvoisins were two Swiss missionaries with whom he developed a very close friendship some years later. Attempting to finish his primary school studies, after a short period in Lourenço Marques, he went to Ricatla (1931-1933).

After his experience as a catechist in Maputo, he applied to the Alvor school (Escola de Habilitação de Professores), where he finished his training as a native primary school teacher (1934-37). From this period he established a close friendship with Eduardo Mondlane. In the period 1938-40 he worked in Nsime-Catembe. He received invitations to work in state schools, which he refused owing to his commitment to the Swiss Mission and to the help they gave to him to study.

In 1940 he married Leonor Hunguana, and they had 5 children. During the period 1941-45 he was transferred to Mugeiyo-Manhiça and between 1948-1958 to Catembe again. After a long period of work in rural areas, in 1958 he was transferred to Lourenço Marques, where he was in charge of Chamanculo Parish until his death. In 1963, he was elected President of the Synod Council of the Igreja Presbiteriana de Moçambique, leading the church until his death.

After the Chicumbane Synod in 1968, in which the church gave priority to the work in the northern Provinces, Manganhela made regular visits to that area in collaboration with

Pastor Khosa⁸³, who was leading the church in the north. For reasons related to his work and his position, he travelled to South Africa, Brazil, Switzerland, Portugal, France, England and Malawi.

On 11 December 1972, Zedequias Manganhela was found dead in his prison cell⁸⁴, and was buried on the 13th after a funeral service at the parish of Khovo, Lourenço Marques, with the participation of hundreds of silent men and women. In their attempts to extract confessions by using violent methods, the police also assassinated another member of the Mozambican Presbyterian Church, José Sidumo, an evangelist from Gaza Province, although his death was announced to his family only three months later and his body was never found.

Friends, students and colleagues of Manganhela have memories of his work and friendship.

Valente Matsinhe, as a young man, recollected his first contact with Manganhela:

(...)To me, he was a great man!(...) and he was a very open Pastor and very understanding regarding youth problems (...). He knew, and was already speaking about freedom, and the freedom of the country(...)⁸⁵.

⁸³-Félix Khosa returned to Mozambique in 1965 after the above mentioned interdictions by PIDE while he was in Portugal. He was ordained Pastor in 1965 in South Africa. In Mozambique, while a Pastor from the Wesleyan Methodist Church he collaborated with the Mozambique Christian Council and with André-Daniel Clerc, teaching secondary school students. His misunderstandings with the head of the Mission led him to leave the Wesleyan Church in 1968. While working for the Biblical Society in Maputo he was invited by the Mozambique Christian Council to work on behalf of Protestant Churches in the northern Provinces of Nampula, Niassa and Zambézia, where the last Protestant Mission in Zambézia had been closed by the Portuguese in 1959. He became affiliated to the Presbyterians and was established in Nampula from 1968 to 1978. Félix Khosa interviewed by Teresa Cruz e Silva and Alexandrino José, Maputo, 20th March 1990.

⁸⁴-According to official sources, his death was announced after the post mortem examination.

⁸⁵-Valente Matsinhe, interviewed by Teresa Cruz e Silva, Maputo, 27th July 1992 .Free translation.

Oriente Sibane, talking about Manganhela referred to his great interest in youth, with whom he worked for a long period, either when he was a primary school teacher, or a preacher and youth groups instructor:

(...) He was great in his relationship with children, as well as with youth (...). For him, the youth represented the future (...).⁸⁶ He was a non-violent man. It used to be said that he was a lover of freedom (...).

Maria Aurélia Marcelino, met Manganhela in Lisbon in the Seminário Evangélico de Carcavelos during the 1960s, where they became close friends. Talking about him she remarked:

Manganhela was a very generous man,⁸⁷ open and friendly. About him we can point to the fact that he loved to be himself⁸⁸, and he loved freedom, but the freedom within the Church and within the Christian spirit⁸⁸.

Referring to his courage and resoluteness, his fellow⁸⁹ prisoner reports:

The faith of Manganhela regarding truth was very strong. On 11 July 1972, the last Sunday before he was jailed, he gave a sermon where he said: "A Christian must resist temptations. To resist for ever, he must be like a magnetic needle, which

⁸⁶-Oriente Sibane, interviewed by Teresa Cruz e Silva, Maputo, 28th July 1992 (Free translation). Presently (1996) he is the Pastor of Khovo parish in Maputo. After the imprisonment and murder of Manganhela he took his place as the leader of Chamanculo parish, in Maputo.

⁸⁷-Meaning that he was direct and had a strong personality.

⁸⁸-Maria Aurélia Marcelino interviewed by Teresa Cruz e Silva, Lisbon, June 1993. Free translation.

⁸⁹-Mário Sitoy, was evangelist of Igreja Presbiteriana de Moçambique, when he was jailed with Manganhela.

being on the earth or on the sea, points always to the North: *u dumbeka lu yisa ku feni* - to be strong until the death .

C) - Why did they kill Manganhela and jail Mathié?

1-The opinion of some testimonies:

1.1-Casimiro Mathié⁹¹ :

(...) We had a Synod at Antioca. After that, we returned home, and on Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday, arrests began. Manganhela was jailed on Wednesday, and I was jailed on Thursday. About 1800 persons were jailed during that period, coming from different church denominations, although most of them were Presbyterians(...).

Manganhela went for interrogation immediately! Since he was jailed during June he went for interrogation. I myself, was detained during June, July and August. The interrogation came only in September(...).

(...)Why did they kill Manganhela? (...) The football player; the market salesman, the Zionist, all that had money to give to the movement⁹², all were jailed in order to explain that they gave money to Manganhela(...). So, what happened? Every organization and people accepted (that) ...we gave money to Manganhela! (...) Even believers and elders of our church confessed that they gave money to Manganhela. They confessed! (...) Nevertheless, Manganhela refused to accept that accusation. So they beat Manganhela and even murdered him. Manganhela did not commit suicide (...).

In order to show us that the police used any means in order to reach their objectives, Mathié utilizes the example of a football player or salesman, trying to explain

⁹⁰-HONWANA, G. Um Episódio de Justiça Colonial: O caso de Zedequias Manganhela (Conclusão). Justiça Popular, 1983, January-May, pp 18-19 .Free translation.

⁹¹-Casimiro Mathié, interviewed by Teresa Cruz e Silva and Alexandrino José, Chicumbane, 29th January 1993. Free translation.

⁹²-Referring to FRELIMO.

that anyone jailed during that period confessed that they collected money from their associations to give to FRELIMO through Manganhela.

1.2-Georges Andrié

(...)Between May and June 1972, with a colleague of mine, now dead, I made a working trip to South Africa and to Mozambique. During that period, Mr. Manganhela was the President of the Synod Council.

We had a confidential meeting on the Synod Council in Chicumbane, and I was in charge (...) to discuss with the Presbyterian authorities about a problem related to a question coming from the World Council of Churches. The question was the following: i) is it advisable that Swiss missionaries should leave Mozambique, taking into account that their presence in Mozambique is, from a certain point of view, authorized by the colonial authorities? ii) is it true that the presence of Swiss missionaries in Mozambique expresses correctly much more a relationship with the colonial power⁹³ than having a share (...)with the life of Mozambicans? (...)

When I went⁹³, during the end of May 1972, we had this meeting in Chicumbane, precisely to avoid the 'xiphixi'⁹⁴, as usually people say(...). I am not sure if PIDE reported the meeting, but I have the feeling that they knew of it (...).

(...) The leaders and guides of the Church told us that, from their point of view (...) there were much more positive reasons to continue the collaboration, than to stop it. And finally, we were always considered by colonial authorities as persona (...) non grata!(...)

(...)After that, we made a long journey to Nacala - Nampula together, myself and Mr. Manganhela. I left Mozambique during the first days of June. I think that Mr. Manganhela and other colleagues, Pastors and elders, were jailed on about the 14th of June.

I am making a strong relationship between this trip, the Synod Council and the imprisonment, although the latter seems to have been decided upon in relation to wider concerns(...) as, when later on, we read the documents and the charge records, they spoke of this trip to the North. (...) it seems that from the Manganhela

⁹³-Referring to the trip to Mozambique.

⁹⁴-A Tsonga word, meaning literally cat, used to refer the political police, PIDE.

trip, financial contributions had been organized for FRELIMO, etc. From Beira, we had the feeling that we were followed by a PIDE agent(...)

2-The charge sheet records (auto de acusação):

Zedequias Manganhela was accused by PIDE of the 'exercise of subversive activities for Mozambique's independence', being jailed without bail⁹⁶ due to the fear the police had that if freed he might try to run away from "justice" .

In the interrogation records⁹⁷, the questioning focused on points concerning his relationship with Eduardo Mondlane and the debate between them in 1961 on the foundation of a clandestine party, aiming at the independence of Mozambique, as well as on a supposed request to Manganhela in 1963 by Mondlane to support FRELIMO.

The accusation against Casimiro Mathié reports:

1-He has been mentally manipulated against the Portuguese presence in Mozambique through the Swiss Missionaries and by Dr. Eduardo Mondlane during a meeting that took place in Ricatla, where there were some Swiss Pastors and missionaries and where he stated his intention to found a movement to overthrow the Portuguese Government in Mozambique, meaning that he had need of collaboration of all Africans.

2-During the meetings of the Consistory of his church he encouraged evangelists and elders to persuade their assistants and believers to give support to FRELIMO, and at the end of worship at meetings he led, he made some references to the movement led by Dr. Eduardo Mondlane, struggling in favour of Africans from Mozambique, that the freedom would be soon, sentences spoken always carefully, in accordance with received instructions.

⁹⁵-Georges Andrié, interviewed by Teresa Cruz e Silva and Alexandrino José, Lausanne, 30th October and 1st November 1985. Free translation. We must note that after some years of work in Mozambique Andrié was the link between D.M. in Lausanne and Mozambique. During the process of imprisonment he was a member of the Commission of D.M. trying to find solutions to the problem of the arrests.

⁹⁶-In: HONWANA, G. Um Episódio de Justiça Colonial: O caso de Zedequias Manganhela. Justiça Popular, 1982, May-October, p.14. Free Translation.

⁹⁷-Ibid.

3-He heard daily in his home the radio programme Voz da FRELIMO which gave him sufficient courage to continue the persuasion of believers related with the Mission.

4-He contributed the amount of one hundred and fifty escudos per year to support FRELIMO, a total amount of nine thousand escudos realized during the year 1971, in his church, destined for the referred subversive organization. Presently he is in charge of vice-presidency of the Synod Council⁹⁸.

In the prosecution records of other members of the Igreja Presbiteriana de Moçambique there were also mention of participation in the meeting with Eduardo Mondlane during 1961 (Abrão Aldasse records); dissemination of covert propaganda in favour of FRELIMO during church meetings (Aldasse and Sitoy records); collecting funds for FRELIMO (Aldasse and Sitoy records), among other points⁹⁹ which illustrate the way in which Portuguese police organized the intrigue in order to build up their case of a network between the Igreja Presbiteriana and FRELIMO, through Manganhela, and with the 'blessing' of Swiss missionaries.

In the process of arrests which occurred during 1972, there were accusations against the Igreja Presbiteriana de Moçambique (IPM) and the Département Missionnaire des Églises Protestantes de la Suisse Romande (DM). In Lourenço Marques, there were rumours of possible connections between FRELIMO and the DM-Lausanne and IPM-

⁹⁸-A free translation of the original notification from the police to Casimiro Mathié. Thanks to the generosity of Mr. Mathié, we had access to the documents of his personal archives. A copy of the document is included next page.

⁹⁹-See: DM.MF,1818 A. Notes de lecture concernant les actes d'accusation de M.M. Abrão Aldasse; Casimir Pedro Matie(sic) et Mafundene Mario Sitoy. (s/d).

Vistos os autos deduzo contra os arguidos, a seguir identificados, os seguintes artigos de acusação:

26º

— Casimiro Pedro Matif, casado, pastor da Missão Suíça no Chamanculo, nascido a um do Favorado de mil novecentos e sete, natural da regedoria Languone, do posto administrativo da sede, do concelho de Gaza, distrito de Gaza, filho de pais incógnitos e residente na rua de Cilex numero quatrocentos e oitenta três doze, no Chamanculo. Encontra-se em liberdade mediante torno de identidade e residência (folhas 21/4498 e 21/4499, é acusado da (folha 7/1149).

i

— Ter sido mentalizado contra a presença dos portugueses em Moçambique pelos missionários suíços o por Dr. Eduardo Mondlane, que numa reunião efectuada em Nicatla, a que assistiram alguns pastores e missionários suíços se referia à intenção de criar um movimento para derrubar o Governo Português em Moçambique, necessitando para isso da colaboração de todos os africanos.

ii

— Ter, nas reuniões do consistório da sua igreja, encorajado os catequistas e zeladores a mentalizarem os crontes a auxiliar a Frelimo, e nas reuniões a que presidia fazer ligeiramente, no final dos cultos, certas referências ao movimento chefiado pelo Dr. Eduardo Mondlane, a lutar para benefício dos africanos de Moçambique, e que a liberdade estava para breve, frases proferidas sempre com o máximo cuidado, segundo as instruções recebidas.

iii

— Ter ouvido diariamente em sua casa o programa de rádio da VOZ DA FRELIMO que lhe dava enorme coragem para prosseguir a mentalização dos crontes ligados à Missão.

iv

— Ter contribuído com a importância de cento e cinquenta escudos por ano para auxílio à Frelimo, sendo de sessenta e nove mil escudos a quantia realizada, no ano de mil novecentos e setenta e um, na sua igreja, que se destinava à referida organização subversiva, ~~presentemente e o cargo de vice~~ ~~prexercendo~~ ~~presentemente~~ o cargo de vice-presidente do Conselho Sinodal.

Notifiquem-se os arguidos de que lhes concedo o prazo de dez dias para deduzirem, querendo, a sua defesa escrita, oferecendo testemunhas, juntando documentos e requerendo quaisquer diligências que tenham por necessárias para justificar as infracções que lhes são imputadas, podendo, dentro daquele prazo e durante as horas de expediente, consultar o processo na Delegação da Direcção Geral de Segurança onde lhes deverás ser facultado.

Entregue-se aos arguidos, no acto da notificação, cópia da nota de culpa na parte que lhes respeita, advertindo-se de que a falta de resposta será tida como efectiva audição para todos os efeitos legais.

Solicita-se à Delegação da Direcção Geral de Segurança as diligências necessárias.

Laurenço Marques. 10 de Agosto de 1973.

Assinatura:

Raul Luis de Melo Valente

Mozambique, which was accused of collecting money to send to the FRELIMO head-office in Tanzania through Lausanne¹⁰⁰.

These cases were examined by international forums through action brought about by the DM in Switzerland, with the help of Amnesty International, the International Red Cross, and pressures from the wider religious community, which led to the condemnation of Portuguese policy in the international arena.

Between Zedequias Manganhela and Eduardo Mondlane a strong friendship emerged in their youth. When Mondlane was abroad for his studies, and later at Tanzania leading FRELIMO, they maintained the friendship, even with only occasional contacts. During the interrogation sessions with Portuguese police¹⁰¹, Manganhela never hid the relationship existing between both of them, and recognized that he met Mondlane in Switzerland between 1966 and 1967. From our sources we noticed that some Swiss missionaries made arrangements to organize secret meetings between them in Switzerland, although we have no information on dates, places and the issues discussed between them¹⁰².

Commenting on these matters, Clerc stated:

¹⁰⁰-DM.MF,Z58(1) Bref Memorandum sur la situation de l'Eglise Presbyterienne au Mozambique. 8th January 1973.

¹⁰¹-See: HONWANA, G. Um Episódio...

¹⁰²-André-Daniel Clerc interviewed by Teresa Cruz e Silva and Alexandrino José, Lausanne. 1st November 1985 and Charles Périer, interviewed by Teresa Cruz e Silva and Alexandrino José. Lausanne, 29th October 1985.

Manganhela was the head of the Mission and as such he came from time to time to Switzerland, and during one of his visits Mondlane was also in Switzerland. They were old friends since their days as students during their youth.

Everybody was very excited and asking if it was correct to inform Manganhela that Mondlane¹⁰³ was also in Switzerland, as it was dangerous for Manganhela to meet Mondlane¹⁰³ (...). I am not sure how the things were organized, probably Périer organized everything. The Mission had a small chalet in the mountains (...) far away. We were afraid that Portuguese PIDE informants in Switzerland would notice the presence of Mondlane in the area. However, a meeting between them was organized in the chalet. One went to the place proceeding from Geneva and the other proceeding from Lausanne, thus avoiding any suspicion¹⁰⁴.

During the interrogation process, Manganhela recognized¹⁰⁵:

(...)his sympathy with the idea of independence, and that, even not making direct actions, he supported the ideas of the Mozambique Liberation Front, although he would like to reinforce that his first duty was directed to the believers of his Church. His first concern was 'to serve God', preaching for man.

The friendship between Manganhela and Mondlane and his activities as Pastor and youth educator, as well as the social activities which he carried out within the Igreja Presbiteriana de Moçambique were used by the Portuguese police to build the necessary argumentation to prepare the accusation records against Manganhela. Forged testimonies with declarations coming from PIDE collaborators¹⁰⁶, or extracted with force and

¹⁰³ -Referring to the problems with the political police by network in Europe.

¹⁰⁴ -André-Daniel Clerc interviewed by Teresa Cruz e Silva and Alexandrino José, Lausanne, 1st, November 1985. Free translation.

¹⁰⁵ -See: HONWANA, G. Um Episódio... Free translation.

¹⁰⁶ -See: HONWANA, G. Um Episódio....

psychological torture¹⁰⁷, were familiar practices for the police. It was only a question of time.

Friends and colleagues of Manganhela stated that with such a strong personality he could not commit suicide. Hans-Theodor Thomsen, jailed near the Manganhela's cell Machava prison, made a declaration after his release to prove that Manganhela was murdered after being tortured. He and other two prison inmates were jailed near the place where they murdered Manganhela and listened to the last words of Manganhela and the police agents. His testimony was presented to the International Commission of Jurists, where he commented:

I myself and my Spanish prison fellow listened to the last words of Manganhela. Manganhela said: If you want to kill me, do it! I have nothing to declare and nothing to confess. After that we only listened the noise of two strokes followed by a total silence! The next morning we were informed that Manganhela was found hanged in his prison cell (...)¹⁰⁸.

The involvement of other leaders and members of the Igreja Presbiteriana de Moçambique such as Mário Sitoy or Abrão Aldasse, or even José Sidumo with FRELIMO, as suggested in the prosecution records, can be interpreted as an argument built on the basis of forced confessions of a relationship between them and Manganhela, and their support for

¹⁰⁷-Casimiro Mathié, interviewed by Teresa Cruz e Silva and Alexandrino José, Chicumbane, 29th January 1993.

¹⁰⁸-DM.MF,1818D. Deposition de M. Hans-Theodor Thomsen au Sujet de la Mort du Pasteur Zedequias Manganhela dans la Prison de Machava, au Mozambique dans la nuit du 10 au 11 de December 1972..DM.MF,1818D. A letter from Hans Theodore Thomsen to the 'Conseil Suisse Des Missions Evangeliques'. 1973. See also: BIBER, C. Cens Ans...p.132.

FRELIMO and Eduardo Mondlane under the umbrella of church work. The accusation records of Abrão Aldasse and Mário Sitoy were also based on their supposed relationship with FRELIMO through the Swiss Mission and their collection of funds for FRELIMO.

Mathié was the primary school teacher of Eduardo Mondlane in Maússe and became a friend of his family. From his memories, we note that, in fact, during 1961 both met once in Ricatla and again at Machecahomu together with some friends, although during those meetings they never spoke about politics¹⁰⁹ perhaps, a precaution against suspicion of the police.

Considering the existence of political repression and the great suspicion against the Swiss Mission it seems to have been much too dangerous to use public meetings like worship to organize propaganda in favour of FRELIMO. The Portuguese police had informants all over the country, even within the church, and adherents were aware of this. However, in a very tense situation like the one in Mozambique any word or religious message could be interpreted as a political message. Moreover, the prosecution records, which mention the Presbyterian Synod of 1969, and where the progressive independence of the church was discussed, suggest that such autonomy was by that time also part of police concerns¹¹⁰.

¹⁰⁹-Casimiro Mathié, interviewed by Teresa Cruz e Silva and Alexandrino José, Chicumbane, 29th January, 1993.

¹¹⁰-The trial records cite a Synod of 1969. According to Andrié, discussions on the 1969 Synod were centred on the position of Swiss missionaries within the Igreja Presbiteriana de Moçambique and the autonomy of the Church. See: DM.MF,1818A. Notes de Lecture Concernant les actes d'accusation...; and Georges Andrié, interviewed by Teresa Cruz e Silva and Alexandrino José, Lausanne, 30 October and by Teresa Cruz e Silva, Lausanne, 1st November 1985.

After the foundation of FRELIMO, young people living in southern Mozambique belonging to NESAM or in the underground FRELIMO network began to flee to Tanzania. This was interpreted as being connected with the Swiss Mission, as some of the young people were members of that and other Protestant Churches. Others studying abroad on scholarships from the Swiss Mission also joined FRELIMO.

Although it is quite possible that there were connections between the Presbyterians and FRELIMO owing to the general antipathy toward government policy, it is very difficult to prove such an affirmation because of the prudent silence inside the church¹¹¹. During the colonial period people were extremely cautious regarding security problems and infiltration of PIDE agents everywhere. According to personal information of Valente Matsinhe¹¹² of the IPM, the silence is still there regarding 1972, so as to protect the families of ex-prisoners and to avoid divisions inside the church. From other sources in the Swiss Mission or underground militants of FRELIMO and our own research into the FRELIMO underground struggle in Lourenço Marques, acquiring evidence concerning clandestine struggles involving political imprisonment and death requires a very long period of research and confidence in the interviewer to obtain even part of the information.

It is probably the case that for most Swiss Pastors and leaders working in Mozambique, condemning colonial policies and practices did not at first lead easily to the

¹¹¹-See: Georges Morier-Genoud interviewed by Teresa Cruz e Silva, Lausanne, 23rd, October 1985; Georges Andrié, interviewed by Teresa Cruz e Silva and Alexandrino José, Lausanne, 30th October 1985 and by Teresa Cruz e Silva, Lausanne, 1st November 1985.

¹¹²-Valente Matsinhe personal information.

acceptance that Mondlane was the leader of a movement aiming at liberation through armed struggle, while the church's mission was for peace. Nevertheless with the changing events in Mozambique they became sympathetic to the movement, understanding the necessity to make war in order to have peace. Among them, we must emphasise two names: Charles Périer and André-Daniel Clerc, whose work was mentioned in previous chapters in connection with their commitment to the education of the younger generation and their open attitudes, even though cautious, against the political system. For the Pastors of a new generation, those beginning in the 1960s, it seems likely that it was much easier to accept what was happening in the country, and the necessary adjustments of the church with regard to Portuguese policies. What is very clear is that the Presbyterian Church refused to play on the same side as the dominant power, and like their believers they were also victims of the system.

The political system existing in Mozambique did not allow an open position of the Protestant Churches regarding FRELIMO. However, through the World Council of Churches (WCC), other Protestant Churches in the world helped FRELIMO in humanitarian programmes. The Programme to Combat Racism (PCR) established in 1969 shows the commitment of the ecumenical movement to the situation of oppressed people and victims of violence deprived of basic human rights.

Following the positions assumed for some years by the WCC 'against discrimination between human beings on grounds of race and colour'¹¹³, the Fourth Assembly of the WCC in Uppsala 1968 declared its position against discriminatory political regimes and proposed that the churches:

- must be actively concerned for the economic and political well-being of exploited groups
- must make economic and educational resources available for underprivileged groups
- should also withdraw investments from institutions that perpetuate racism¹¹⁴.

They should also work 'for change of those political processes which prevent the victims of racism from participating fully in the civic and governmental structures of their countries'¹¹⁵.

During 1970 the World Council of Churches accepted a recommendation from the PCR to approve grants from the Special Fund to be used for humanitarian activities (social, health and educational purposes, and legal aid). The grant was of about 200,000.00 \$USD. Among 19 beneficiaries, 9 were from African liberation movements, such as i) Angola: MPLA; GRAE; UNITA; ii) Guiné Bissau: PAIGC; iii) South Africa: ANC; iv) Namibia: SWAPO; v) Rhodesia: ZANU and ZAPU; vi) Mozambique: FRELIMO, causing

¹¹³-SANSBURY, K. *Combating Racism: the British Churches and the WCC Programme to Combat Racism*. London, The British Council of Churches, 1975, p.7.

¹¹⁴-The Uppsala Report, pp.65-6, quoted in SANSBURY, K. *Ibid.* p.8.

¹¹⁵-*Ibid.*

controversy in certain sectors of the WCC due to different positions regarding support for violence¹¹⁶.

The grant from PCR to FRELIMO strengthened the suspicion of the colonial state against Protestants, as it was supposed that the WCC was committed to the armed liberation struggle going on in Mozambique. The former Swiss Mission through the DM assumed strong positions regarding the combat against discriminatory regimes. Existing data¹¹⁷ shows that after the WCC decision on grants to the PCR, a secret Synod of DM in 1971 and a meeting within a Group of Southern African Studies, also in Lausanne in the same year, undertook discussions on the right to independence of people from the region and their civil rights. Regarding the particular case of Mozambique and its political situation, they discussed the kind of public political positions to be assumed by the DM to avoid the possible increase of repression against the IPM or any prejudice to Mozambicans or Swiss missionaries working in the Mozambican church.

Although we have numerous examples showing the political positions of Swiss missionaries as individuals against Portuguese policy, the colonial system played an important role influencing an open and public Protestant Church position concerning violent events in a Portuguese overseas territory. The decades of the 1960s and 1970s saw the clearest demarcation of Protestant positions in relation to the state's policy.

¹¹⁶-See: Conseil Oecumenique des Eglises. Genève, Conseil Oecumenique des Eglises, Bureau des Publications, 1970.; DM.MF,1756 A. Problemes d'Afrique Austral-19e session du Synod le 4 December 1971 au Temple de St. Paul a Lausanne. 1971; and DM.MF,1756 B. Groupe d'Etude Afrique Austral. Les Relations du D.M. avec le COE et l'Eglise Catholique.13rd, August, 1971.

¹¹⁷-DM.MF,1756A. Ibid.; and DM.MF,1756 B. Ibid.

As stated earlier, political changes of the 1960s and 1970s also affected the Catholic Church. Although during the 1960s there were some exceptional cases of denunciation and protests against the colonial situation by members of the Portuguese Church, in general the Catholic Church, as a result of the Concordat and subsequent agreements signed between the Vatican and Portugal, turned in on itself and its religious work was still closely connected with the idea of transforming Africans into good Portuguese citizens a condition of becoming Christians¹¹⁸.

Analysing the situation of the Catholic Church in Africa during the sixties, Hastings has stated:

By the 1960s the churches were still a force for innovation but they were also, and more massively, a force for conservation¹¹⁹.

In Mozambique, while there were some exceptions, such as the 'younger missionary wing (...) identified with the winds of change'¹²⁰, most of them belonging to non-Portuguese orders and only occasionally Portuguese priests; most of them belonged to the conservative wing of the Catholic Church. Thus, Bishop Resende's protests and criticisms became uncomfortable both to the colonial regime and to the Catholic Church.

¹¹⁸-See: FERREIRA, L.C. Igreja Ministerial... pp. 80-83.

¹¹⁹-See: HASTINGS, A. A History of African Christianity, 1950-1975. 2nd edition. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1986, p.260.(African Studies Series 26).

¹²⁰-HASTINGS, A. A History... p.260.

They attempted to silence him, prohibiting the publication of some of his writings and cutting off some of his privileges¹²¹. In the context and the historical period of his protests his activities were very important in fostering changing attitudes within the Portuguese Catholic Church in Mozambique. Commenting on Bishop Resende's role during the 1960s, Adrian Hastings observes:

He was a strong and courageous man who frequently criticized government injustices, published a newspaper, the *Diário de Mozambique*, which was the only paper moderately free from government censorship in the country, and gathered round him a group of priests - both Portuguese and non-Portuguese - who were increasingly critical of the government's refusal to admit that Mozambique could have a future other than as a 'province of Portugal'. Among them was a very international group of White Fathers as well as several quite radical Portuguese secular priests¹²².

However, Bishop Resende died in 1967, and the Catholic newspaper, Diário de Moçambique, after government suspension of some editions, was sold in 1969¹²³ and 'silenced', as it was considered inconvenient for the regime's policy in Mozambique.

The whole period after the beginning of the armed liberation struggle in 1964 and the consequent growth of colonial repression was marked by a tense relationship, on one hand within the Catholic Church itself as an institution, and on the other hand, between certain wings of the Church comprising individuals and certain orders or societies and the

¹²¹-See: TAJU, G. D. Sebastião...

¹²²-See: HASTINGS, A. Politics and Religion...p. 170.

¹²³-After Bishop Resende's death in 1967, his successor, Bishop Ferreira Cabral, who belonged to the wing identified with Portuguese rule, sold the newspaper.

colonial state. In the northern part of the country the war gave rise to a more difficult situation for the Catholic missions, where some missionaries were :

Carrying on a very lonely battle for the rights of their parishioners, who were facing suspicion, imprisonment and torture¹²⁴ .

In general, the Second Vatican Council (1962-65) was directed to European and American concerns. Africa's preoccupations during a period of decolonization and accessions to independence came only indirectly¹²⁵ , and according to Kalilombe:

(...)only later, especially beginning with the mid-1970s and thanks to the growing influence of SECAM¹²⁶ , has there begun to emerge a specifically African response to Vatican II¹²⁷ .

Nevertheless, in Mozambique a process of discussion began after the Second Vatican Council following Bishop Resende's reflections and his initiation of internal dialogue concerning the role to be played by the Church in a modern world. It was the starting point for further meetings and discussions under the leadership of a non-conservative wing within the Church in Mozambique. This was the so called Renovação

¹²⁴-See: HELGESSON, A. Church, State and People...p.328.

¹²⁵-See: KALILOMBE, P.A. The effect of the Council on world Catholicism. In: HASTINGS, A., ed. Modern Catholicism, Vatican II and After. London, SPCK, 1991, pp.310-318.

¹²⁶-SECAM-Symposium of Episcopal Conferences of Africa and Madagascar-1969

¹²⁷-KALILOMBE, P.A. The effect of the Council... pp. 317.

Pastoral Missionária (Missionary Pastoral Renovation), indicating the need for reflection and change. Other activities were evident within the process of innovation¹²⁸. However most priests and orders, societies or congregations involved in the conflict between the Catholic Church in Mozambique and the state were non-Portuguese, such as the already mentioned White Fathers, Spanish priests of the missionary society of Burgos or the Italian Verona Fathers. There were, however some exceptional cases of Portuguese priests and members of the hierarchy such as D. Manuel Vieira Pinto, Bishop of Nampula and others directly confronted by the war scene. The Mozambican clergy in the pre-independence period was very small and had no impact on the new developments within the Church.

The intensification of the war situation in Mozambique during the 1970s aggravated the relationship between the Catholic Church and the state.

Apart from the discussions about the role of the Church in Mozambique and some protests against the submission of the Church to the state, in view of the social injustices and of the massacres against the population some priests assumed more radical attitudes. They acted on these more radical ideas by sending letters and reports to their leaders and using the media to denounce the colonial situation to the world, with reports containing detailed facts and numbers. In response, the Portuguese administration expelled some

¹²⁸-According to FERREIRA, L. Igreja Ministerial...pp.84-85, some signs of the new post-Council consciousness are seen in the meetings with various denominations and institutions within the Catholic Church; discussions about problems of evangelization in Mozambique, and the relationship between evangelization and culture; denunciations of a Church without freedom due to its institutional relationship with the colonial state.

missionaries or simply refused to renew their entry visas to Mozambique. Thus, between 1961 and 1971 the White Fathers had 11 of their missionaries confronted with this situation. Demarcating clearly their attitudes from the state and the Church's hierarchy in Mozambique, the White Fathers decided to leave Mozambique in 1971. After the publicising of their decision to leave the country owing to the constant violation of Mozambican human rights and the ambiguous role played by the Church, they were expelled by the political police at forty-eight hours' notice; between late 1971 and early 1972 two diocesan priests and two Burgos Fathers were arrested. The denunciation of the Wiryamu massacres during 1972, by Spanish Burgos Fathers and the reports in the British media led to new protests within the Catholic Church in Mozambique and in the world, ending with a new wave of prisons and deportations. During 1973-74 the Italian Verona Fathers protested against the colonial situation and the 1940s agreements between the Vatican and Portugal. This led to the expulsion of some of them and of D. Manuel Vieira Pinto, the Bishop of Nampula, in 1974¹²⁹.

These events illustrate that when individuals or groups of the church rejected the politics of colonialism, the response strategy was to make this appear as an interference in the matters of state.

By 1973 and 1974 the Church contained very difficult internal tensions. The development of the armed liberation struggle and the consequent repression by the regime

¹²⁹-For more information see HASTINGS, A. Wiryamu...; HASTINGS, A. A History of African...; HASTINGS, A. Politics and Religion...; FERREIRA, L. Igreja Ministerial...; and the Wiryamu files of A. Hastings in the Borthwick Institute, University of York.

reinforced the consciousness of part of the Church in opposition to the conservative wing securely committed to the state and represented by Archbishop Alvim Pereira.

Although the crisis which affected the Catholic Church during this period is still poorly researched and is not the subject of our thesis, it is clear that on the one hand the war accelerated it, obliging demarcation of political fields within the institution; on the other hand the commitment of some orders and individuals within the Church also produced benefit to the nationalist struggle, particularly in the central and northern parts of the country, and reinforced international public opinion against Portuguese colonialism.

The political changes in Portugal with the events of 25th of April 1974 precipitated the situation within the Mozambican Church, reinforcing the necessity of a profound internal transformation. Thus, in July two Mozambican priests established the first contact with FRELIMO in Dar-es-Salaam and in August there took place the first national meeting of priests and religious Mozambicans-USAREMO, where the first steps for the definition of a new Africanised Church were taken. Following these events there were different meetings and discussions within the country, attempting to give a new face to the Church¹³⁰.

The Vatican was aware of the difficult situation within the Church in Mozambique. The expulsion of the White Fathers in 1971 emphasized the danger of the situation and led the Holy See to send a delegate to Mozambique. Like the Portuguese administration, the Church was not able to face the challenges imposed by the new political situation without

¹³⁰-See: FERREIRA, L.C. Igreja Ministerial...

considerable internal change. The ordination of the two first Mozambican Bishops occurred in 1975 with D. Alexandre dos Santos and D. Januário Nhangumbe¹³¹, a clear indication that the Vatican had already embarked in a policy of reforms within the Church.

The history of the relationship between Protestants and the colonial state in Mozambique since the early period of their establishment is closely related to the issue of political power and autonomy.

The Swiss Mission's work in Mozambique made an important contribution to shape the consciousness of their believers, particularly young generations. Promoting access to Secondary and University education and preparing an African leadership for the Church in the period 1961-1974 of the Swiss Mission increased the formation of an educated elite and consciously contributed to the development of political leadership.

Aware that educated skilled Africans were important to the development of the opposition in the country and demands for autonomy and independence, which was against their political project, the Portuguese increased their surveillance of the activities of Swiss Mission during the period 1961-1974, aggravating the tense relationship between state and Church.

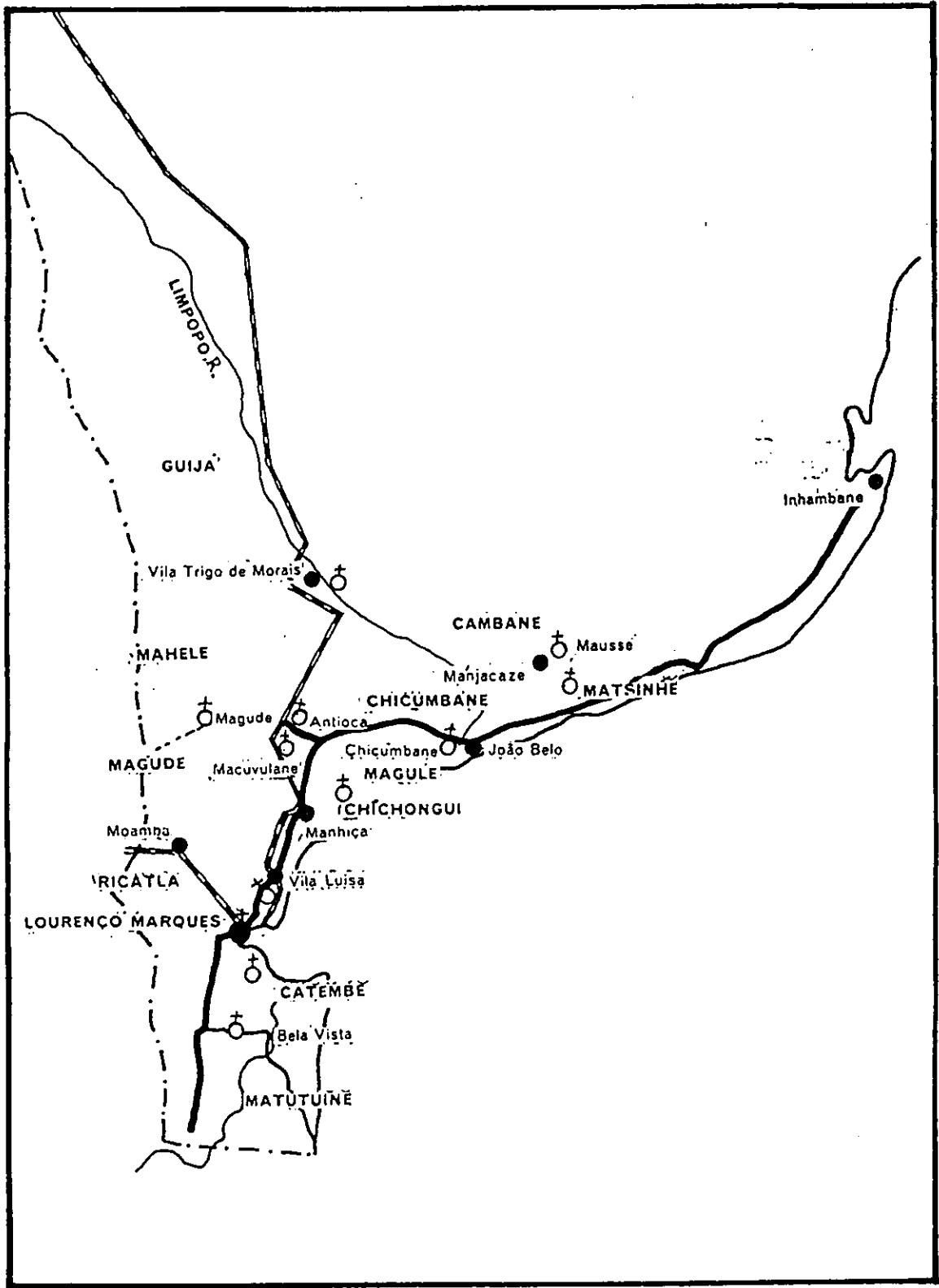
The trial of Manganhela, Mathié and their fellows, and the violence surrounding the deaths of Manganhela and Sidumo, which were severe blows against the Igreja

¹³¹-Ibid. p.87.

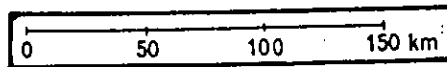
Presbiteriana de Moçambique-Swiss Mission and the Swiss missionaries, show clearly the incompatibility existing in the relations between the state and the Swiss Mission, indicating at the same time the extent to which they had become mutually opposed.

The developing politico-religious crisis in the 1960s deteriorated rapidly in the early 1970s. The flight of young Protestants to join the armed struggle and the refusal of the Pastors to conform to colonial precepts expressed the anti-colonial position of the African Presbyterian Church. Figures like Mathié, Manganhela and Mondlane, who had an appeal across denominational and ethnic boundaries, expressed very strongly in their different ways the development of a national consciousness built up within a system of education of the Swiss Mission education in struggle with the repressive colonial domination, thus reflecting the political maturity of those protagonists.

THE SWISS MISSION



SOURCE: L'ACTUALITÉ MISSIONNAIRE (14)5 1969.



CHAPTER 8 - READING CONSCIOUSNESS FROM SOCIAL BIOGRAPHIES: Short life stories of men and women educated by the Swiss Missionaries.

In selecting and analysing biographies of men and women together in the same chapter, exploring the stories of Sebastiao Mabote, Bento Sitói, Angelina Macávi, Catarina Simbine and Lina Magaia, we are attempting to use their narratives and the interpretations of their stories to:

- i) Study forms of consciousness expressed in their own life stories.
- ii) Read the impact of the Swiss Mission education and the colonial intervention on the people's lives.

Writing social biographies for this purpose (consciousness developing through lives of people who grew up in the youth educational tradition of the Swiss Mission), has been one of the most difficult tasks in the process of writing this thesis. Despite having rich tape-recorded material from field work, containing life stories and interviews with people from different generations and backgrounds, the process of selecting and editing such material, while maintaining the protagonists' narratives in the foreground, has not always been an easy task. Nevertheless it was very fruitful and interesting, requiring frequent return to the methodological issues commented upon in Chapter 1 of this thesis: the interferences of recent history in the reinterpretation of the past, the use of multiple accounts to approach the problems or the applicability of certain universal concepts to the particular situation of our study.

The biographic approach is an attempt to relate a personal life trajectory with a certain politico-social context to which he belongs¹. People interviewed for this chapter were born between 1927 and 1947, meaning that their childhood and youth memories are related with the period of the Estado Novo and the consequent social and economic policies on the colonies, including the alternative responses of the Swiss Mission to the new legislation on education. They witnessed the consequences of the world economic recession and a great deal of political change in the post Second World War period, and that of the 1960s African independences, as well as the political changes of the 1970s. All these challenges played an important role in the shaping of their consciousness.

Discussing youth education, particularly the mintlawa, in previous chapters we stated that although education for girls and boys was based in the same principles, the gender concepts of the Swiss Mission gave a different orientation to both. Swiss missionaries introduced a type of education which reinforced the subaltern role women usually played in a patriarchal society, reinforcing in this way forms of conservatism in the social relations between men and women, and contributing to restrain women's participation in various social activities.

In dividing our analysis into groups of male and female we are attempting to indicate the differentiation of practices of education within the Swiss Mission, which should facilitate i) a better analysis of the gender concept of education within the Mission, ii) the different impacts of the same education on girls and boys coming from different socio-cultural milieus, as well as iii) to explore the specific way in which gender affected their lives and the development of their consciousness.

¹-See Chapter 1.

The biographies discussed in the following pages are divided into two groups:

The first comprises the story of Sebastião Mabote, born in Chicumbane (Gaza Province) in 1941, and Bento Sitói, born in Lourenço Marques in 1947, both educated in Swiss Mission traditions but with different life trajectories.

The second group comprises the story of Angelina Macávi, born in Chicumbane (Gaza Province) in 1927, Catarina Simbine, born in Cadine (Gaza Province) in 1927, and Lina Magaia born in Lourenço Marques in 1945. They have very different life stories, but have in common their education in the Swiss Mission.

From Sebastião Mabote's life story², we selected the most relevant narratives to show his social origin, education and youth experiences:

(...)My name is Sebastião Chinguane Marcos Mabote. I was born on 18th May 1941, and I was educated in Chicumbane by the Swiss missionaries. My mother was the sister of a paramount chief, named Languene³ (...). My father(...) was of Chopi origin. He married my mother and they established themselves in Chicumbane, along with my father's brothers. (...) My uncle had land, cattle and a waggon at Chicumbane valley. Although my father had a smaller number of cattle (...) he also had a parcel of land where he produced rice, beans and wheat (...). Thus we had the minimum economic facilities in our family. My father also had a sewing machine, and in the evening he used to sew. The profit of this and of the milk we sold to the missionaries at the Swiss Mission hospital helped to pay for our studies, fulfilling their desire⁴ to have their children at school(...)⁵.

²-Information contained in this part was compiled from Sebastião Mabote's life story: Sebastião Mabote interviewed by Teresa Cruz e Silva, Maputo, 15th July 1994.

³-A Shangaan chief.

⁴-Meaning the desire of his parents.

⁵-Sebastiao Marcos Mabote, interviewed by Teresa Cruz e Silva, Maputo, 15th July 1994. Free translation.

From Mabote's narrative one can learn the history of those families who used to sell part of the produce of their land and cattle to educate their children.

From his childhood he has memories of stories his grandmother used to tell him about Ngungunyane warriors⁶ and stories about his father's people, the Chopi, which contributed to developing a pride in his African origin. Coming from a mixed ethnic family (Shangaan and Chopi), educated in a village where most people were of Shangaan origin and influenced by Christian traditions, Mabote's background was not limited to rigid ethnic boundaries; rather, he was affected by different influences in the formation of his African identity, further contributing to the rejection of Portuguese nationality.

Although his parents were not Christians, the influence of his uncle and those of his family who became Swiss Mission adherents, together with the fact that they were living within an area of strong Swiss Mission influence (Chicumbane), led the young Sebastião to undertake his studies in the Mission school. Like many African children, when he finished Rudimentary School, he was over the official age limit to continue ordinary primary schooling; but, benefitting from private classes⁷ provided by the Swiss Mission, in about 1958-1959 he finished his primary school studies. In secondary school, he did not manage to finish the second year.

Mabote was much influenced by the methods of education introduced by the Swiss missionaries from the 1930s onwards, maintained and improved as they were in the face of the greater difficulties of the 1940s and 1950s. After his primary school he went to Lourenço Marques where he lived with his brother in Chamanculo suburb. He

⁶-From the former Gaza State.

⁷-This was the so called "domestic teaching", an authorized way to teach at home students who were not allowed to apply to the primary school according to existing laws. Usually the reasons were related to the 1929 regulations regarding the age of students, or the refusal of the state to authorize a school.

lived there for about one year, working as a cashier in a garage. During this period, he made friendships with young people of his own age in the Swiss Mission.

In 1959, at the age of 18, he joined the Portuguese army. As a radio operator he developed contacts with other colleagues and had access to news from the outside world, thus broadening his knowledge. In the early 1960s he had access to information on African political developments:

We heard about Ahmed Nasser (sic) from Egypt, Kwame Nkrumah and later Patrice Lumumba (...), President Nyerere, President Kaunda and President Banda (...) We were very young, but we were reading the news published by the Portuguese⁸.

During this period, his contacts with people from other parts of Mozambique and with his Portuguese colleagues in the army helped him to enlarge his understanding of colonialism and to rethink the discriminatory policies resulting from it, thus contributing to his political maturity.

In the account of his youth, Mabote drew a strong contrast between the colonial system of education introduced during the Estado Novo, and the alternative methods introduced by the Swiss missionaries. Rethinking and reanalysing his experiences from the youth group in the light of the present, he commented:

(...) The Swiss missionaries had a kind of political and moral power. They taught us a certain number of things that were politics, such as, for example mintlawa, a Shangaan word, meaning groups(...). I only realized that much later, when I was in the Portuguese army and began to hear about the national liberation movements.

In mintlawa we had an organization with different chiefs for different activities. We were marching with long sticks over our shoulders. At mintlawa we had a song which went:

⁸-Sebastião Marcos Mabote interviewed by Teresa Cruz e Silva, Maputo, 15th July 1994. Free translation.

Soldiers of Jesus
 March! in front!
 Never put down your weapons
 Before you have defeated
 Your enemy.

Another song told:

The war we are facing
 Is the war for Jesus Christ
 He can not be defeated!
 We shall win this war!

What I would like to underline regarding the Swiss missionaries is that all the songs we were singing were politics! (...).

In the process of his emerging political maturity, Mabote heard about the recent formation of FRELIMO in Dar-es-Salaam and decided to join them. In 1963, he organized his clandestine escape to Tanzania where the movement had its headquarters, using the Rhodesia-Mozambique border. However, he was imprisoned by the Portuguese authorities but, on his release in the same year, he fled to Tanzania, via Rhodesia and Zambia, and joined FRELIMO.

As a freedom fighter, Sebastiao Mabote participated in the struggle for the independence of Mozambique, rising to the position of a Provincial Commander of guerrilla forces in the course of it. After 1975 Mabote continued his work in the Mozambique army until his recent retirement (1994). While in the army he continued his studies in a military academy.

Reinterpreting further the process of his nascent consciousness, and the way the Swiss Mission education contributed to it, Mabote remarks:

⁹-Sebastião Marcos Mabote interviewed by Teresa Cruz e Silva, Maputo, 15th July 1994. Free translation. It seems that this hymn, like many others, are translations from French or English versions to Tsonga or Portuguese.

When I went to school I had no idea about Mozambique as such. My world was limited to my village, Chicumbane¹⁰. In the mintlawa experience I learned about other parts of the country. The youth groups played a key role for the understanding of my sense of unity. We began to understand each other. Although we came from different parts of the south(...) or centre(...) or other parts of the country we understood that all of us were Mozambicans(...)¹¹. At mintlawa we were also singing religious hymns which were inciting us to struggle for Jesus until the victory. The colonial situation, where we had massacres and forced labour, led us to establish an analogy between the necessity of fighting for Jesus and the necessity of fighting for our liberation. Thus the first ideas of nationalism began there. With the political changes occurring in the world, particularly the development of the nationalistic movements in Africa, we reinforced our nationalistic consciousness¹².

According to Mabote's further reinterpretation of his life story, when young he was not aware that the education received from Swiss Mission was shaping his consciousness step by step, particularly in creating the idea of fighting for ideals and for the victory against their enemies, and the consciousness of inequality and discrimination. However, later on he realized that: i) the interaction of Mission's education, with ii) the experience of colonial domination and iii) the impact of challenges posed by world political transformations which occurred after the Second World-War, were pivotal points in developing his political maturity. His experiences in a cosmopolitan place like Lourenço Marques and contacts with people from different races, cultures and political tendencies while in the army were also important elements

¹⁰-Although his family came from two 'ethnic' backgrounds, with a limited world knowledge it was difficult to imagine Mozambican boundaries embracing people with widely diverse 'ethnic' origins.

¹¹-As mentioned, education in mintlawa broadened world knowledge, and access to other material through literacy also facilitated the development of a wider concept of nation. In the particular case of the Protestant missions, the practice of using the mission newspapers or other readings, most of them in the vernacular, reinforced the identities of Africans and Christians on one hand and introduced them to political and social events in the world on the other.

¹²-Sebastião Mabote interviewed by Teresa Cruz e Silva, Maputo, 15th July 1994. Free translation.

in the evolution of Mabote's political maturity, contributing to his view of Mozambique's situation in a broader political context.

Bento Sitói¹³ was born in Lourenço Marques in 1947. Although educated in Swiss Mission traditions, he lived in a different socio-cultural milieu, and his life followed a different path. Through his own words we will feel his evolution:

My name is Bento Sitói. I was born in 1947, in this city, Maputo¹⁴ (...). My father was born in Chokwe and came from Gaza to Maputo when he was 17 years old to try to find a job. He worked as a domestic servant, and later on as a cook at the Hotel Europa, one of the bigger hotels in Lourenço Marques and, after that, as a gardener with the Town Council.

My mother was born at Salamanga and came to Maputo where she found a job as a maid. She was born in a Christian family belonging to the Swiss Mission(...). To be married to my mother, my father was obliged to become a Christian, and both had to face long discussions with their families to convince them to link through marriage two families of different ethnic groups, Shangaan and Ronga (...). After the marriage, both went to my father's village, and later on returned to Lourenço Marques.

In 1953, my father sent me to the primary school, at Khovo (...). My father's income was very low, so my mother and I went to Manhiça, where she farmed a plot of land to complement his wage(...)¹⁵.

Bento Sitói's family represents the pattern of most semi-proletarian families living in town during this period, where dependence on agriculture was fundamental for their survival, and for whom providing education for the children was very difficult¹⁶. Nevertheless, the open mind of his father and the fact that his mother had a Christian

¹³-Information contained in this point was compiled from Bento Sitói's life story: Bento Sitói, interviewed by Teresa Cruz e Silva, Maputo, 8th September 1992 and 2nd March 1993.

¹⁴-Formerly Lourenço Marques.

¹⁵-Bento Sitói interviewed by Teresa Cruz e Silva, Maputo, 8th September 1992. Free translation.

¹⁶-See: O'LAUGHLIN, B. A Questão Agrária em Moçambique, *Estudos Moçambicanos*, no.3, 1981, pp.9-31; PENVENNE, J. *African Workers...* pp.141-153.

background where the education of the young generation was important, no doubt influenced the commitment of his parents to send him to school. Thus, in Manhiça, his mother sent him to the Swiss Mission school at Mbeve, 3 kilometres from the small village of Manhiça. Although he was a young boy at that time, he has clear memories of problems the Swiss Mission schools had to cope with under colonial education laws. Discussing the use of the vernacular language, a matter he particularly remembered along with the discrimination Africans were obliged to endure, he remarked:

The Swiss Mission school had problems with the colonial regime, owing to the fact that during this period it was forbidden to teach Mozambican languages¹⁷ (...). Catechism and biblical studies were taught in Ronga, and teaching to read and write was also in Ronga. But it was precisely there, that I learned Ronga¹⁸.

Following the difficulties his son had to face in the school at Manhiça, first because it was a school for African children¹⁹ and second because it was a Protestant Church school²⁰, his father decided to bring him back to Lourenço Marques, to continue his studies. In 1956, with the help of the Governor-General, for whom he was working, Sitói senior gained a place for his son to attend a state school, although he did

¹⁷-Meaning vernacular languages, such as Shangaan or Ronga.

¹⁸-Meaning the written form of the language, as at home they spoke both Ronga and Shangaan. Probably his interest in the study of vernacular languages began in this period, as later on he became a writer in the Tsonga language and a linguist by profession.

Bento Sitói interviewed by Teresa Cruz e Silva, Maputo, 8th September 1992. Free translation.

¹⁹-As mentioned in previous chapters, 'native' children went to Rudimentary Schools, and to have access to a regular system of education they were obliged to undertake first the Rudimentary level of Education, and later the Elementary level.

²⁰-This was a period of increased discrimination for Protestants. Bento Sitói told us that while he was a student, the Manhiça school was closed for six months by the Portuguese authorities, because it did not conform to the new regulations approved for schools; see Chapters 3 and 4.

not yet possess the assimilation certificate²¹. Despite Bento Sitói's 3 years of primary studies in Manhiça, he was obliged to return to the first year of the state school.

Educated within a Protestant Christian tradition, Sitói faced difficulties reconciling the new school and the teachings of his Church:

Regarding the education I had, it is important to note three different levels: the education in the family, in the Church and in the school(...). In Paiva Manso school²², African culture was forbidden. We had to show how Portuguese we were! In the Church we were taught that we were Africans and that we should appreciate what is ours. I kept the school primer books which I had used in the first years. But they were so different from the ones used in Paiva Manso school, that I felt lost (...). Regarding religious studies, I had catechism from the Catholic Church during Saturdays, and during Sundays I went to my Church at Khovo, where I received different information. At Sunday School I used to put so many questions to the instructor that he was obliged to be very well prepared in order to answer to all my concerns²³.

In 1961, while still a student, Bento's father died and the family faced increased financial difficulties. Through the church network, Bento Sitói and his sister were granted a bursary from the Swiss Mission for the continuation of their studies and Sitói was able to go ahead with his secondary studies at a state school.

Living in a social and political context where he was obliged to have a similar pattern of conduct as the Portuguese boys of his age and even to be Catholic to have access to education, in contrast with his family and religious pattern of conduct, Bento Sitói was bound to question the society where he was living, to compare the different forms of transmission of knowledge and general education he was subjected to, in two

²¹-Bento obtained this later to pursue his studies.

²²-The state primary school where he matriculated with the help of the Governor General.

²³-Bento Sitói, interviewed by Teresa Cruz e Silva, Maputo, 8th September 1992. Free translation.

different worlds. This experience helped him to shape step by step the self-awareness of inequality, and his political and intellectual maturity.

Soon he was a mintlawa instructor and a catechist. At about 17 years old, in 1964, he gave his first sermon in the Khovo parish. In 1965, Bento began a course to be a catechist and instructor of mintlawa, which he finished with success two and half years later. Commenting on this he stated:

The course and the experience with youth in the church was very good. The pedagogic methods used in the course and applied in my work, were very helpful in helping me reconcile activities in the school and in the church at the week-ends (...). I learned the importance of using the essence of lessons contained in the Bible for the practical things of my life, and to work with youth (...)²⁴.

His youth group within the Church was very active, and under this umbrella, some of their members discussed the relevant social and political problems of the period, in addition to other cultural activities, such as films and debates.

As mentioned in previous chapters, the early years of the 1960s were very disturbed. In the southern Provinces, particularly in Lourenço Marques, despite the growth of police repression, many young people were engaged in underground political organization and many people fled to Tanzania to join the freedom fighters, among whom there were many Protestants. Although aware of the political situation of the country, a point often discussed in his church youth group, Bento Sitói was not involved with the underground political groups existing during this period, or with NESAM.

In Lourenço Marques, Bento Sitói lived in a socio-cultural milieu where, although the repressive apparatus and means of administrative control were stronger,

²⁴-Ibid.

there were different forms of protest emerging. In Swiss Mission circles in Lourenço Marques, he had the chance to participate in youth groups where most members had a secondary school education and were concerned with the social and economic situation in Mozambique, a contribution to his political maturity. Although not involved in any particular political organization, discussions with some of his colleagues and with André-Daniel Clerc or Manganhela awakened his consciousness and marked his political positions in opposition to colonialism:

I was not related to NESAM or to the Centro Associativo dos Negros de Moçambique, (although) I spent about one year in theatre activities but without being aware of political activities going on under the umbrella of cultural activities (...). I participated in some parties organized by young Protestant students, but only much later did I begin to understand the relationship between people participating in these occasions and political activities they were related to (...)²⁵.

I believe that within our group of Evangelical students some undertook clandestine political activities, although there was not an open discussion of certain problems, so as to avoid problems with the police(...).

I had an open relationship with André-Daniel Clerc with whom I used to discuss the education provided by the Portuguese for Africans (...), and Clerc explained to me that the Portuguese created barriers to the development of our education at higher levels, much as the man that only feeds his chickens until the point that they are ready to be eaten(...)²⁶

Reinforcing the analysis of the church contribution to his political consciousness,

Bento Sitói's narrative continued:

Within the church, nobody discussed directly the political situation in Mozambique. However, Manganhela, who was in charge of working with secondary school students for their 'Confirmation', always used biblical texts to compare it with the reality of Africans²⁷.

²⁵-When NESAM was banned, one way to meet people, while avoiding police suspicion, was through the organization of parties. See below for Lina Magaia's statement related to this issue.

²⁶-Bento Sitói interviewed by Teresa Cruz e Silva, Maputo, 2nd March 1993. Free translation.

²⁷-Ibid.

Sitói did his military service for the Portuguese army, and maintained a strong relationship with his church. While in the army he got special authorization to be the 'chaplain' of a group of Protestants in his quarter in Boane (near Lourenço Marques), and in Niassa Province he also organized the Protestants from his quarter, some of them Portuguese, to preach and teach them reading and writing²⁸. These activities suggest Bento Sitói's capacities to organize and lead groups.

In the early 1970s, he resigned to his post in an airline company, where he had a reasonable salary, to accept a post in the church, where he became a leader of a Presbyter in Lourenço Marques, and later on became in charge of Khovo-Lar(or Covo-lar), a hostel for Protestant students in Maputo. His wife, also a member of the same church, was the first woman to become Pastor, at the Presbyterian Church after 1974-75. Both are still active in the church. Later on he undertook university studies and is today a university teacher and linguist²⁹.

The growth of his political maturity put him in contact with the existence of FRELIMO and, like many other Mozambicans, he began to listen to the clandestine radio broadcasts on their activities, maintaining contact with political developments in the country.

Of the three women, Angelina Macávi and Lina Magaia were educated at the Swiss Mission. Catarina Simbine had her basic education in the former Methodist

²⁸-Ibid. In the army there was already a Catholic chaplain, and Bento Sitói's request brought a new situation. Posted to Niassa Province, Bento realized that some of his Portuguese colleagues were illiterate or had difficulties in reading and writing.

²⁹-Bento Sitói interviewed by Teresa Cruz e Silva..Ibid.

Episcopal Mission. However, she shared many experiences with the Presbyterians. Having undertaken part of her primary studies at the Swiss Mission and shared the experiences of their youth groups. Although all of them were educated in the same basic principles, their life trajectories and experiences occurred in different socio-cultural milieux.

Angelina Macávi³⁰ is the first child of the Swiss Mission Pastor, Gabriel Macávi³¹. She was born in Chicumbane, Gaza Province, where she spent most of her life as a student in the boarding school, and then after marriage with her husband and children. Most of her narrative is related to her experience there:

My name is Angelina Gabriel Macávi. I was born here, in Chicumbane on 8th December 1927. My father was a Pastor in the Swiss Mission and a primary school teacher.

I did my studies here also, in the boarding school to which I came during 1935. From 1935 to 1939 I did my Rudimentary schooling. After that I returned home but in 1945 I was back at the boarding school for six more months, where I came to be trained as an instructor of mintlawa.

When I finished my instructor training, my father was working in Chichongui where I began my activities working with young girls³².

As daughter of a Swiss Mission primary school teacher and Pastor, Angelina Macávi very early received a Christian education and benefitted also from the methodologies and experiences of mintlawa for girls, which were reinforced by her stay in the Swiss Mission boarding school.

³⁰-The information contained in this section was compiled from Angelina Macávi's life story: Angelina Macávi, interviewed by Teresa Cruz e Silva, Chicumbane, 19th October 1993.

³¹-Gabriel Macávi was for years Pastor and primary teacher of the Swiss Mission and a writer in the Tsonga language. As mentioned in previous chapters he was the first President of the Synod Council of the Presbyterian Church of Mozambique, and like other colleagues of the church he was imprisoned by the Portuguese political police during 1972.

³²-Angelina Macávi, interviewed by Teresa Cruz e Silva, Chicumbane, 19th October 1993. Free translation.

Most parents sent their children to the Mission boarding school because they lived far away from places with a school or, in other cases, for economic reasons which made access to school difficult. However, the system of education provided in the boarding school, combining schooling with non-formal education and, in the case of girls, preparing them to become good mothers and good wives, fitted well with African educational traditions in southern Mozambique; it made the Swiss Mission boarding schools famous and well accepted by parents. Commenting on this, Angelina told us:

In the boarding school we were organized in age groups. Younger girls were under the care of the eldest who had the responsibility to educate them in the principles for respect to their elders and for the chiefs.

The boarding school had proper rules of organization. The first objective was to study. Apart from that and from religious studies, considered by the missionaries as a fundamental part of our knowledge and education, we had other activities combined with those of the *mintlawá* in order to prepare us for family life.

Girls were taught the rules of living in society. We learned about marriage: the conduct of a married woman; the respect due to her husband and to the families on both sides, how to cook and to organize the most common meals in the house. Taking care of younger girls and learning to take care of new born babies in the Mission hospital nearby, we learnt to take care of children. Girls also learned to wash, clean and other related activities³³.

Recalling today her own experience, Angelina Macávi stated that among the activities for girls they were trained in agricultural skills and they learned how to cover the hut walls with clay, among other activities considered in the south of Mozambique to be the task of the women in the family³⁴.

Although boys were educated to undertake some domestic activities usually done by women (fetch water and wood, and cook, amongst others), when necessary, girls were specifically prepared for activities which distinguished clearly their role in the

³³-Ibid.

³⁴-Already referred to in Chapter 3.

family and in the society. Shaping girls' and boys' personalities through mintlawa, Swiss Mission education reproduced in some ways the model of social organization where the women's social space is identified with the family and domestic life, although it extended to church activities³⁵.

The system of non-formal education provided for young girls rejected those practices of traditional African education considered as pagan and against Christian moral principles, such as rites of passage or certain practices related to marriage. The missionaries considered that their programmes of education attempted to free the young girl from the 'slavery of the family' and African traditions³⁶, training them to develop their own initiative, their intelligence, curiosity and their capacities of analysis. Nevertheless, educating girls to assume the role of partners, to be good wives and mothers and to accept the limits of their work and the discipline of their female work³⁷, means that the Mission did not frontally oppose the subaltern position of women in society, particularly in rural areas, but gave emphasis to the family and domestic space as the place for women's activities³⁸.

During the period she spent with her father at home, Angelina witnessed at first hand the problems the Mission had in their educational activities as a consequence of

³⁵-See: BARBIERI, T. Sobre la Categoría Género: una introducción teórico-metodológica. Revista Interamericana de Sociología, Año VI, no.2/3, May-December, 1992. pp.157-158.

³⁶-CLERC, A.D. and MORGENTHALER, E. Le Mouvement...pp.16-17.

³⁷-Ibid. p.45.

³⁸-BARBIERI, T. Sobre la Categoría...

rules imposed by the colonial laws, and the growth of the Catholic Missions's power in rural communities after 1941³⁹.

As an adult, she returned to Chicumbane for professional training:

In 1947 I came again to Chicumbane to be trained as a nurse and after that I worked at the Mission hospital until 1953 when I married. After the marriage I stayed at home until now. I have seven children and I am collaborating with the Church where I have leadership activities⁴⁰.

Angelina grew up in a family atmosphere which was effectively a living example of the identification of the Swiss Mission with African culture and identity and the rejection of Portuguese nationality. Her father, Pastor Macávi, was a distinguished poet and writer in the Tsonga language, a primary school teacher and the first African leader of the Swiss Mission. In his writings, he praised Gaza imperial heroes and Eduardo Mondlane. Moreover, in 1965, Angelina's husband was jailed by the Portuguese political police under suspicion of involvement in political activities. In 1972, her father was jailed in connection with the Manganhela and Mathié arrests (referred to in Chapter 7) also under suspicion of involvement in political activities.

Angelina Macávi did her Rudimentary studies during the crisis period of the 1930s when the Swiss Mission grappled with the 1929 decrees and the Estado Novo legislation constraining the Protestant Churches' activities in social areas. She witnessed compulsory recruitment of children for Catholic schools and compulsory Catholic baptisms in the 1940s. Living in a Mission boarding school she experienced a complete

³⁹-See Chapter 4, for Angelina Macávi's memories of compulsory recruitment of Protestant children to Rudimentary Schools under the aegis of the Catholic Church and compulsory Catholic baptisms of Protestant children.

⁴⁰-Angelina Macávi interviewed by Teresa Cruz e Silva. Chicumbane. 19th October 1993. Free translation.

programme to educate girls. Trained to be a mintlawá instructor and nurse, she had a certain number of analytical skills and world views.

However, in attempting to reinterpret further her experience within such a context, she told us that being educated to be a good Christian wife and a good mother, she was constrained by the limited socio-cultural milieu in which she was living, looking after children and husband, working for the church and having no time for other things. Although aware of the colonial situation and the injustices of the political system, she felt limited to her condition of Christian woman, wife and mother⁴¹.

Angelina Macávi's life story brings the question posed by Belinda Bozzoli when discussing the women of Phokeng, on 'how much of our lives is determined for us and how much by us (...)'⁴². It must have been difficult for her, educated within a Swiss Mission family and living in a rural Christian community, to break with the role of women in her social space.

Catarina Jossias Simbine⁴³ was born in Cadine, Chidenguele, in 1927. Her father was an evangelist in the former Methodist Episcopal Mission and her mother was a housekeeper; both were also farmers.

She did her first primary school level in a state Rudimentary School in Matimule near her parents home, as her elder brother did. In 1938, she passed the examinations. The desire to provide a better but Christian education for his daughter led Catarina

⁴¹-Ibid.

⁴²-BOZZOLI, B. Women of Phokeng... p.1

⁴³-The information contained in this point was compiled from Catarina Simbine's life story: Catarina Simbine interviewed by Teresa Cruz e Silva, Maputo, 15th July and 21st July 1994.

Simbine's father to send her to the boarding school of the Methodist Episcopal Mission at Chicúque, Inhambane. She stayed there from 1938 to 1945 where she undertook Biblical studies, since they did not teach the Elementary School level, a fact realized only later by her father. She worked at the same time on the education for girls in the boarding school and assisted the primary school teacher.

She later recalls that period, underlining her condition as a young girl:

I was born in a very kind family. My parents were very fond of each other! I grew up in a family where our educational problems were very small because both my parents were Christians from the Methodist Church(...). Their economic condition was poor but they gave us love and taught us to love each other(...).

My brother Gabriel and I myself went to the state school in Matimule, near our home before the schools went into Catholic Church hands. There I did my Rudimentary School level in 1938(...). During that period, girls studying in school were very few, and I was the first one from my area doing examinations there, because I was the first girl from my area going to school. Because of this, in our community people spread rumours against my father. They used to say that school was only for boys, and girls should stay home to help their mothers(...).

The teacher supervising my examination was so happy with my results that he suggested to my father that he send me to Lourenço Marques in order to continue my studies and become a nurse; he did not accept this as he was afraid of an education outside our church (...). My father sent me then to the boarding-school of Chicúque in Inhambane(...)⁴⁴.

Like other Protestant families, the Simbine family underwent serious problems when, in 1944, Jossias Simbine was arrested and sent for forced labour for one year, apparently because he was a Protestant evangelist⁴⁵. When he returned home in 1945 his health was so precarious that Catarina Simbine was obliged to return home from

⁴⁴-Ibid. Free translation.

⁴⁵-For more examples of Evangelists beaten, jailed or deported, owing to their religious activities, see Chapter 4.

boarding school. Her father died the same year and after that she stayed home where, with her brother, she looked after her mother and younger brothers.

In her home village, Catarina worked in the local Church, teaching catechism to children. During that period she learned with Natała Sumbane from the Swiss Mission in Maússe how to educate young girls using mintlawa methods.

Then, in 1949 the Methodist Mission sent her to the boarding school of the Swiss Mission in Chicumbane to continue her studies, at a time of increasing inter-Protestant collaboration. There, she continued with the Elementary level of primary schooling while at the same time taking a training course to be a mintlawa instructor. At the age of 23, in 1950 she went to Lourenço Marques where she finally completed primary school in the Swiss Mission school of Khovo; it was an educational path exemplifying some of the difficulties in the way of women's primary school studies.

Catarina returned to the boarding school in Cambine to work in young girls' education, where she remained until her marriage in 1958. Catarina Simbine dedicated most of her youth working on young girls' education in the Methodist Mission.

Reinforcing the way a girl's personality was shaped by Mission education, and beginning with her activities in mintlawa, she states:

In my village I went from one place to another to work with young girls. Concerning the mintlawa, I did a lot of work (...). People in my local congregation spent their time teaching the Gospel and they had no time for girls. It was necessary to give them special attention in order to teach the girls about life: how they should be helpful to other people, learn things they should avoid, how they should be helpful in their families and in the world(...). We had lots of young girls, and many came from non Christian families and joined the mintlawa, attracted by our activities(...). However, the mintlawa activities stopped when the young girl married. It was supposed that from that moment she was going to look after her home, and was prepared to join the ladies' meetings. In the past that was the life prepared for any girl(...). After marriage most women were living in a very limited social milieu. Most of them

were living apart from changes occurring in the world. They had no access to information (...) they were confined to the countryside (...) ⁴⁶.

As a daughter of an evangelist and having a long experience of Mission's work in social areas, Catarina Simbine witnessed the social injustice and political suspicion from colonial government. The assimilation process imposing a certain pattern of living marked her deeply. Discussing education and the problems the missions faced in relation to colonial legislation, Catarina Simbine, commented on the use of vernacular languages and the importance of them in the shaping of consciousness:

The use of our own languages was also a kind of struggle, because it was difficult to express our feelings and our desires...and to sing in Portuguese. (...) In our languages we felt our unity, our struggle. That was the reason we were singing in a very organized way in our churches. We struggled to preserve them! However, we were obliged to have the language imposed by the oppressor, in order to deal with a certain number of problems, such as avoiding problems for children in the school(...) ⁴⁷.

Catarina's statement on the necessity to learn and use Portuguese as a way to cope with colonialism reinforces Honwana's affirmation that assimilation and the use of Portuguese was a survival strategy used by his generation to cope with the colonial system, although it did not mean abandoning local culture and religion ⁴⁸. In her narrative she also underlined that respect for culture stimulated by the Protestant missions developed unity amongst believers and reinforced their pride and identity.

Catarina Simbine's family has a history of suffering and struggle against colonial domination. Despite this, they made great efforts to obtain access to education and to

⁴⁶-Catarina Simbine, interviewed by Teresa Cruz e Silva, Maputo, 15th July 1993. Free translation.

⁴⁷-Catarina Simbine, interviewed by Teresa Cruz e Silva. Maputo, 21st July 1993. Free translation.

⁴⁸-HONWANA, R.B. Memórias...p.72.

maintain their political participation for the liberation of the country. Using the church network, the eldest brother, Gabriel Simbine, who was a contemporary and close friend of Eduardo Mondlane, did his university studies in United States of America (sponsored by the Methodist Church) and later joined the liberation movement in Tanzania. The younger sister, Graça Simbine⁴⁹; who benefited from the cooperation established between Presbyterians and Methodists concerning the education of youth, was very active while a secondary school student in Lourenço Marques. Later she was granted a bursary to undertake her university studies in Portugal and some years later she also fled to Tanzania where she joined the armed struggle led by FRELIMO.

Having members of their family directly involved in the armed struggle for Mozambique's liberation, the Simbines were under surveillance by the Portuguese political police. In this process, Catarina's husband was arrested by the police under suspicion of political activities. Although after marriage Catarina's social space was developed within the household, and extended to church activities, using her power as mother and wife and asserting her dignity as a woman she confronted both the police and her husband's work-place superior, arguing for his freedom.

Catarina Simbine's narrative emphasizes the reinforcement of a family education already imbued with Christian principles on the one hand, and the injustice of the political system which led her father to forced labour and premature death and permanent surveillance of her family, on the other; it led us to interpret her education and the importance of the political context in which she lived as pivotal elements in her political consciousness. Her different social experiences and contacts in the Methodist

⁴⁹-Who became Graça Machel by marriage with Samora Machel, the first President of independent Mozambique, and who held the post of Minister of Education after the independence.

Mission, her stay in Chicumbane and Lourenço Marques Swiss Mission stations and, after marriage, her periods of residence in Vilanculos, Xai-Xai and Tete, where her husband was a civil servant, also played an important role in broadening her world views and shaping her consciousness.

The life stories of Angelina Macávi and Catarina Simbine suggest how their identities have origins in their childhood and youth. The influence of family, Christianity, the wider world view constructed through mintlawá and their inter-cultural contacts generated a multi-faceted identity imbued in African roots, although not specifically tied to a Shangaan, Ronga or Tshwa group.

Both were shaped within a social framework of inequality and subordination of positions for women, where the household in conjunction with the church was the 'key institution'⁵⁰ where their space was developed. However, each was also shaped differently under the impact of similar and different forces, resulting in different forms of self analysis and reinterpretation of their own past.

Lina Magaia, had a very different experience of life⁵¹. She was born in Maputo city in 1945. Although not coming from a Christian background, her father was influenced by members of his family and undertook his primary studies in the Swiss Mission school at Ricatla. Later he became a primary school teacher in the Mission

⁵⁰-See: BOZZOLI, B. Women of Phokeng...p.235-236.

⁵¹-Information used in this section comes from Lina Magaia's life story, collected in a long interview: Lina Magaia interviewed by Teresa Cruz e Silva, Maputo. 30th and 31st January, 1996.

school, and then later a junior civil servant working in the meteorological services. Her mother came from a peasant family in Manhiça.

Lina spent her childhood between Lourenço Marques, where their parents were living, and her grandparents' home in the countryside. She undertook her primary school studies in Lourenço Marques, first of all in the school of Centro Associativo dos Negros de Moçambique. Like many native children she went to a Rudimentary School, and only when her father acquired assimilated status in 1955 was she allowed to go to a state school, where she completed the primary level.

Recalling her memories of childhood and youth, particularly the most important influences in the forming of her personality, she remarked:

I can see, myself at about 6 years old, going to Sunday School in Chamanculo(...). There, I learned reading and writing, but in Ronga. And I was also able to read the Bible in Ronga(...).

I am the result of what? Sometimes I consider myself the result of my mother's influence (...). I was deeply influenced by my mother, particularly by the story she told me: when she was 15 years old and came to Lourenço Marques to sell cashew nuts, and after buying and putting on a new dress she was obliged by a policeman to leave her own carrier bag to carry the bags of a woman, only because she was white(..); as well as her frequent comments on racial discrimination against black people(...), who to be noticed as a human being need a piece of paper, a document!

My aunt, with whom I lived for some time, also had an important role in the formation of my personality(...). Her life taught me the importance of struggling to be an independent woman (...). With both, my mother and my aunt I learned the importance of being an independent woman.

I was in the Swiss Mission and I was a member of youth groups, but in fact, I was greatly influenced by André-Daniel Clerc and Manganhela during my youth. Clerc had also an important influence in the formation of my father's personality. Teaching him that God made man similar to himself, helped my father to become strong and never to be subservient to the white man. This had also an impact in my education. All things together made myself as I am⁵².

⁵²-Lina Magaia interviewed by Teresa Cruz e Silva, Maputo, 30th January 1996.

In 1957, at the age of 12, Lina went to a technical secondary school, one of only two secondary schools - offering education in vocational subjects - which were of relatively easy access for black Mozambicans. This was the beginning of an important period in her maturity. The school opened up a new world of knowledge. The teacher of history taught her the story of her family's opposition during the colonial conquest at the end of the 19th century, albeit from the Portuguese perspective. However, for Lina, despite the colonialist orientation, his explanation conformed to the facts her father used to tell her, thus confirming the role of the Magaia in primary resistance, and reinforcing the pride of her origin⁵³. In the same period she began to visit NESAM and became a member, a relationship which lasted until 1965 when the police closed down the Nucleus. In NESAM she developed long lasting friendships with young people, many of whom later became prominent in the underground nationalist groups in Lourenço Marques, such as Armando Guebuza, Luis Bernardo Honwana, Josina Muthemba, Esperança Muthemba and Eulália Muthemba. With them she began to write poetry and short stories, and was later introduced to readings on the process of liberation in Africa⁵⁴. Discussions held in NESAM, or in her home with some close friends, also helped Lina to understand better the colonial problem.

While active in NESAM, Lina was also a member of the Evangelical Youth Choral Group, where she met young people from Protestant Churches, some of them also members of NESAM, and maintained her relationship with the Swiss Mission. Commenting on the impact of religious education on her life, she remarked:

⁵³-Ibid.

⁵⁴-Ibid.

When they taught us that in the past there was already a country dominating another country, like the history of the Egypt and the Hebrews, this led people to think that they were also dominated! In this way the Bible changed our way of thinking. The history of Moses also led people to think that they were also treated as slaves(...). Even I myself, was caught by the Bible message, and particularly when I was about 17 years old (1962), I began to interpret the message of the Bible in this way⁵⁵.

Lina's statement gives support to the indirect contribution of the Swiss Mission in the formation of political consciousness. Providing access to a type of education which created skills and basic knowledge for critical analysis, the Mission gave the opportunity to undertake individual appreciation of socio-political reality. Thus, the free interpretation of Biblical texts encouraged emancipation and political consciousness. Reinforcing this idea, Lina analyses the impact of Swiss methods of education in forming capacities and widening youthful horizons:

Sometimes I think that what they taught us was not only religion. For instance, in youth groups, although we began our activities praying, we had discussions on Bible readings or on lectures. When reading the Bible we were also taught to interpret it and to discuss it. In the Swiss Mission we learned to argue and to defend our thesis, which was very helpful in developing a number of capacities. It is also important to underline that the Swiss Mission had a particular way to spread the Gospel among us. It was a participant Gospel where we felt Jesus Christ the man, amongst us⁵⁶.

At about 16 years old she had her first contact with Eduardo Mondlane when, through André-Daniel Clerc, she read Chitlangou, Son of a Chief⁵⁷. And, when Mondlane visited Mozambique in 1961, she went to the Chamanculo Parish church to

⁵⁵-Ibid.

⁵⁶-Ibid.

⁵⁷-CLERC, A.D. Chitlangou...

see and hear him. She commented to us that although he was a Shangaan, he transmitted a message of national unity. Like most people, she was impressed with the message of freedom which he transmitted with love and intensity, using the parable of the eagle, as we have already seen⁵⁸. In Lina's testimony we encounter again a re-elaboration of a broad concept of ethnic identity, already perceived in the other life stories: it is more than the conventional sense of belonging only to a Shangaan or Tshwa or Chopi or Ronga grouping, having in common the particular historical origin, symbols, practices or language. In this specific period, identity broadens to national boundaries, rather than to a group or an African identity.

For Lina Magaia, only after Mondlane's visit to Mozambique did young people begin to think of national independence and to think in terms of a national struggle. The first time she heard about FRELIMO was during 1963. NESAM was very active during this period and like other members of this student organization Lina had already developed political maturity and was committed to the struggle for liberation. Some of her best friends were jailed while attempting to flee to Tanzania to join FRELIMO and political repression against youth increased. In 1965, when Lina was preparing to flee to Tanzania she was also jailed by PIDE. After her release in the same year, she was twice detained again.

In 1965, NESAM was declared illegal by the police and was closed. The increased surveillance by the political police and the increased repression made political activities very difficult even underground. Lina commented on this period:

I believe that in 1965 the main student movement died. We attempted to resist by undertaking various activities but we had no chance. We attempted to organize parties in friends' homes, using them as an umbrella for our

⁵⁸-See Chapter 7.

discussions and talks (...) Any occasion was an excuse to organize a party because we had no other space⁵⁹.

Lina Magaia went ahead with her studies and finished the medium level of technical education with good marks. As a result, she was granted a bursary to the University by the Mocidade Portuguesa (Portuguese Youth), and CAEM⁶⁰ provided her with a complementary grant. In 1969 she left for Portugal to study economics in Lisbon and matriculated in a course of Economic and Financial Studies. While in Portugal Lina Magaia was not directly involved in political activities. However, in 1974 she fled to Tanzania to join FRELIMO.

Descending from a chiefly lineage, the Magaias, Lina was proud of her origin, language and culture. Although educated in a urban context and in a socio-cultural milieu where she had to change aspects of her identity to cope with the Portuguese political system, so as to gain access to school and other social benefits, she maintained the links with her African roots. As mentioned by Honwana⁶¹ and reinforced by Catarina Simbine, assuming assimilation status was a question of survival. Indeed, Lina Magaia's story suggests the development and use of 'multiple-identity' assumed by many colonial subjects. Coming from a Ronga family with which she maintained her links, she experienced the influence of both Christian Protestant and Portuguese education. In the city of Lourenço Marques where she lived, and in the circle of the

⁵⁹-Lina Magaia interviewed by Teresa Cruz e Silva. Maputo, 30th January 1996. Space here means political space.

⁶⁰-As mentioned, CAEM provided grants for Mozambican students.

⁶¹-Honwana, R.B Memórias...p.72.

educated elite where she was shaped politically, Portuguese rather than vernacular was the language of communication, discussion and reading.

Educated in the Swiss Mission, she developed the capacities of self reliance facilitated by their methods; the latter also stimulated her permanent intellectual inquietude and her rebellion against the political position of Mozambicans. Indeed, this dynamic, no doubt reinforcing her mother's and her aunt's message, led to hostility against the subaltern position of women, despite the Church's conventional teaching of girls of her generation. Lina reacted against the gender view of the church and the society where she was living and, as she told us, she wanted to be a woman, but a woman who would be able to organize and to realize things, and not from a subaltern position⁶². In this respect, the urban environment where she was living in Lourenço Marques, the growth of an African educated elite, and attendance at Secondary School, all played an important part in developing Lina's political and national consciousness. Lina also benefitted from the context of development of nationalism and the struggle for independence, which opened new spaces for women's action and development outside the sphere of the household⁶³.

Life histories presented in this and previous chapters show clearly the different identities adopted and adapted by protagonists as a consequence of the impact of colonialism and Christianity. The different narratives reinforce the necessity of the historian and social scientist to use different angles and views to analyse a specific

⁶²-Lina Magaia interviewed by Teresa Cruz e Silva, Maputo, 30th January 1996.

⁶³-See: WILSON, F. Ethnicity and Gender in a modernizing world. In: KAARSHOLM, P. and HULTIN, J., eds. *Inventions and...*p.161.



situation, such as the study of the impact of Swiss Mission education in forming consciousness. In the life stories presented in this chapter, this impact assumed different faces when inter-related with the socio-political context, the socio-cultural milieu, or with the gender and family context.

In our earlier analysis, in Chapter 3, we mentioned that the socio-cultural milieu affects people's reaction to situations or occurrences in different ways. Reanalysing the life story of Mabote and Sitói and their families, we have examples of the mobility of men from rural to urban areas, searching for better jobs and conditions of life, a common practice in this area, in addition to migration to neighbouring countries. Mobility of men to other regions gave them opportunities of widening their horizons of knowledge, contact other people and enrich their life experience. These practices were more difficult for women due to social regulations, responsibility for children and jobs available for them. In such circumstances, life trajectories of women were also affected by gender conditions.

The three life stories of women we presented in this chapter illustrate part of this situation. Indeed, at one level, the life story of Lina Magaia has only one point in common with Angelina Macávi and Catarina Simbine, the education provided by the Swiss Mission. However, in an urban milieu, individual influences within the family and the relatively uncommon possibility of secondary education at a younger age brought more opportunity to participate in the socio-political activities of NESAM not only for men and boys. Lina's story illustrates how the young of the late 1950s could appropriate Swiss Mission education as part of an intellectual means to widen their horizons, allowing them to analyse colonial domination in Mozambique and to develop

their political consciousness toward a national consciousness, at a moment when independence from colonialism began to seem possible.

Despite the differences in trajectory of the biographies, a common thread is the multi-faceted consciousness of identity revealed; local ethnic identity is not confined simply to the boundaries of one defined group. No doubt, the inter-denominational cooperation between Presbyterians and Methodists helped the development of cross-linguistic and cultural interaction, softening ethno-linguistic boundaries and identities. Moreover, assimilation to the status of Portuguese citizen, and the use of the Portuguese language came to be a means of surviving and coping with daily life, and did not necessarily mean the abandonment of, or giving little prestige to, African language and culture. In this respect the biographies of Sebastiao Mabote, Bento Sitei and Lina Magaia, particularly, show how the Presbyterian background helped cope with and finally resist the assimilative dynamic of Portuguese nationalism to which they were so thoroughly, and at times, so violently exposed.

CHAPTER 9 - CONCLUSION

1-In the earliest period of its activity in Mozambique and South Africa, the Swiss Mission can be seen as indirectly fostering an ethnic culture which resulted from their contribution to the idea of a Tsonga ethno-linguistic grouping¹. Whether Tsonga identity is or is not a total creation of the Swiss missionaries, it is beyond doubt that the study of the vernacular language and the elaboration of a standard written version with associated dictionaries and grammatical material, coupled with the emphasis the missionaries gave to its importance in religious and social life, as well as its widespread use, contributed substantially to the development of a Tsonga identity.

Tsonga identity assumed an important role, legitimated by the historical and cultural context². The use and development of the vernacular language, an important means of communication and of facilitating the spread of Christianity, also had powerful political implications. It allowed an ethno-cultural identification between the Swiss Mission evangelists and the population in southern Mozambique in the period of their establishment, further facilitating the Mission's social and political relationship with local political chiefs and their insertion within the communities.

¹-See: HARRIES, P. *The Roots of Ethnicity...*; HARRIES, P. *Exclusion, Classification...*; HARRIES, P. *Work, Culture, and Identity...* Harries' studies have been complemented by MONNIER, N. *Stratégie Missionnaire...* Both brought important contributions to the discussion on ethnicity in southern Africa, and to the problematic of its construction, invented or imagined, a debate to which ANDERSON, B. *Imagined Communities...* gave much stimulus, complemented by the analysis of Terence Ranger and John Lonsdale; see Chapter 2 above.

²-See: HARRIES, P. *The Roots of Ethnicity*; MONNIER, N. *Stratégie Missionnaire...*

With the written version of the language came together several potential innovations:

i) The development of spatial and temporal borders³, demarcating in this way the self from others, thus reinforcing the distinction between their community and others, and emphasising self-consciousness.

ii) The literary culture reinforced the Mission's capacity to spread the Gospel using vernacular 'sacred texts' and bibles, as well as the Mission's influence in the community. Further development of school texts and books in vernacular, the commitment of missionaries to primary school education and later to the development of vernacular journalism, poems and novels promoted consciousness of local culture and access to wider horizons of culture and knowledge on the part of Mission adherents. At the same time, it helped 'establish close ties between the vernacular language and ethnic identity'⁴. Vernacularisation was also appropriated and used by Tsonga speakers as an important vehicle of political intervention to contest colonialism, as illustrated by songs, poems and articles written in the Mission's newspapers⁵ and other publications.

2-Education provided by Swiss Mission, particularly the non-formal youth education, mintlawa, introduced during the 1930s, developed many of these cultural features in an 'ideologizing' format which contributed to the stimulation of self-reliance

³-'While oral languages were highly mobile and dynamic and observed no frontiers in space and time, a written language was bound by rules that delineated and fixed it both spatially and temporally'. In: HARRIES, P. The Roots of Ethnicity...p.44.

⁴-HARRIES, P. The Roots of Ethnicity...p.44.

⁵-See: Chapters 3 and 4, where we presented some examples.

and individual competences, broader knowledge, new values and world views, fostering crucial skills such as information gathering and interpretation, critical analysis and consequently the individual's critical understanding of his reality. Together, these elements of the education process led to a form of 'capacity building', enabling participants to i) adapt it to their own individual or collective advantage, and ii) continue with their education, even within the Portuguese system.

The political evolution of the country and the aggravation of the tense relationship between the colonial state and Protestant Missions forced the latter into an ecumenical style of work from the 1920s, fostering an inter-ethnic and cross-linguistic experience and, in some respects, an international outlook. Thus, if on the one hand religion played an important role in fostering ethnic identity, where the spread of the Gospel and non-formal education stimulated the use of some aspects of Tsonga culture and especially the use of vernacular, on the other hand, the influence of family education, the wider world view and inter-cultural contacts constructed through mintlawa generated a more multi-faceted identity, still embedded in African roots, but not specifically tied to a particular single ethnic grouping. Out of prior elements of local culture and with the mintlawa approach to education the Swiss Mission inadvertently fostered an 'African' consciousness that was wider than the early 'ethnic' consciousness, which perhaps further encouraged a national rather than local perspective to opposition to Portuguese oppression. Although Mondlane is the epitome of this educational approach, life stories of other individuals used above also illustrate the way in which political consciousness comes to transcend the borders of what is normally considered ethnic identity.

Under the influence of Benedict Anderson, Ernest Gellner and Eric Hobsbawm, numerous studies on the concepts of ethnicity, tribalism, tradition and nationalism have been undertaken in recent years⁶, most of which characterize these concepts as 'in motion'⁷; material considered in this thesis tends to underline the changing nature of consciousness according to the historical context.

3-Providing direct access to Christianity through the Bible, the Swiss Mission contributed to the formation of political consciousness. Its followers, stimulated by their capacities to undertake critical analysis and adapt the situation to their reality, could read and interpret the 'sacred texts' according to their own developing perspectives, interests and hopes. Thus, as Lonsdale puts it, vernacular '(...) bibles that focused historical imaginations on a story of a chosen people struggling to be free(...)'⁸, encouraged nations to emancipate themselves from oppression.

The emergence and development of a Mozambican leadership and African agency within a Presbyterian church with an organization which allowed relatively democratic participation⁹ in the circumstances of the redynamised colonialism of the

⁶-ANDERSON, B Imagined Communities...; GELLNER, E Nations and Nationalism...; HOBBSAWM, E.J. Nations and Nationalism Since 1780...

⁷-For example, CAMPBELL, C.; MARÉ, G. and WALKER, C. Evidence for an Ethnic Identity in the Life Histories of Zulu-speaking Durban Township Residents, Journal of Southern African Studies, vol. 21, no.2, 1995, p.288 state: 'Ethnicities, as is now widely agreed, are not fixed entities but are made and remade and may also be unmade. Ethnic groups are thus historical constructions and ethnicity itself is a contingent rather than essential feature of human social organization'.

⁸-LONSDALE, J. Moral Ethnicity...p.138.

⁹-As mentioned in previous chapters, in the organization of a Presbyterian church, with the consistory, synods and a general assembly, the representative bodies are elected. The mintlaw system of education also had forms of relatively democratic participation within the dynamic of a group. See Chapters 3, 6 and 8 for examples.

1930s, 1940s and 1950s transformed the social import of the Swiss Mission's work into a fundamental contribution to the development of political consciousness¹⁰. The Swiss Mission contributed to the development of socio-political leadership, encouraging Mozambicans to move from subordinate positions and to struggle against political dependence, as can be partly shown by their commitment in the areas of education, firstly at the Primary level, and then in the 1960s also at the Secondary and University levels, as well as the general training of Mission personnel¹¹.

4-The definition of colonial boundaries of Mozambique had taken place towards the end of the nineteenth century and was followed by military, economic and administrative occupation of the territory (1886-1918). The related wars in southern Mozambique, to which we referred in Chapter 2, and the consequences of migration contributed to the shaping and reshaping of identities. In the long run, Mozambican boundaries tended to become inter-ethnic and to constitute the basis for what Anderson calls an 'imagined community'¹², on which African nationalism sought to build. Elements of what became Mozambican 'national consciousness' were themselves partially constructed out of elements which were already there. The Portuguese project of incorporating the Mozambican population into their idea of the Portuguese nation was in contradiction firstly, with the ethnic identity¹³ in part supported by the Swiss

¹⁰-Life stories of Sebastião Mabote and Lina Magaia elaborated in Chapter 8 are examples which show this type of situation.

¹¹-See: Chapters 4, 5, and 7.

¹²-See: ANDERSON, B. Imagined Communities...

¹³-Ethnic identity reinforced the borders between the self and others and led to reinforcement of self consciousness (ethnic consciousness), which we consider a form of embryonic nationalism.

Mission; and the elaboration of a broader concept of ethnic identity within new boundaries helped the construction of a project of Mozambican nationalism, which later became a strong barrier against the development of Portuguese nationalism. Mondlane with his background and international connections, helped by his Swiss Mission background, was able to take this much further. Drawing together existing movements of diverse opinion and programme, he led the formation of a Mozambique national front, FRELIMO, which was then able to contest the Portuguese national project with a project of its own in the 1960s.

5-The Portuguese were acutely aware of these possibilities from the early years of the twentieth century and placed obstacles in the way of the Swiss Mission, whose growth was reversed. Nevertheless, in the 1940s the Mission began to recover slowly, resulting in a better quality of educational experience. Incorporating some aspirations within officially sanctioned associations, the Portuguese remained vigilant, following a traditional security tactic of allowing movements and institutions to develop a little, monitored by informers, then in the late 1960s and early 1970s moving to smash an organization when it began to appear more dangerous.

Meanwhile, the incorporation of the Catholic Church into the colonial project via the Concordat was under internal strain within Catholic Church itself. More intelligent members of its hierarchy saw the danger of Communism if the Catholic church was not oriented to social problems, and more distant from and less identified with the colonial project. Hence Bishop Resende proposed an alternative role for the Catholic Church, only partly implemented around Beira before he died.

6-The history of the relationship between the Swiss Mission and colonial state in Mozambique is also at least indirectly, a history of struggle for political power and autonomy. The Swiss Mission's positions with regard to the colonial political situation, particularly in 1960s and 1970s, the anti-colonial positions expressed by African Pastors and the participation of young Protestants in the nationalist struggle led to a developing politico-religious crisis.

The Swiss Mission's work in social areas gave an important contribution to the shaping of consciousness of Mozambicans, particularly the younger generations. Figures like Mondlane, whose social awareness was greatly affected by the political context and who made a cross-denominational and inter-ethnic appeal, materialize and exemplify our basic thesis. Mathié and Manganhela also strongly represented the anti-colonial African Presbyterian church, built within a repressive political context. Illustrations based on life stories presented in several of the above chapters, and biographies such as those of Bento Sitói, Sebastião Mabote, Catarina Simbine or Lina Magaia give full evidence of the development of a national consciousness built step by step as a result of Mission social activity in the colonial context.

SOURCES AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

ARRANGEMENT:

PRELIMINARY NOTE ON SOURCES AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

1-INTERVIEWS

2-ARCHIVES

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2.2-Département Missionnaire des Églises Protestantes de la Suisse
Romande - Lausanne [DM]

2.3-Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino - Lisboa [AHU]

2.4-Borthwick Institute - University of York, Centre for Southern
African Studies [BI]

3-PUBLISHED DOCUMENTS

4-DISSERTATIONS AND UNPUBLISHED PAPERS

5-NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS

6-SELECTED BOOKS AND ARTICLES

PRELIMINARY NOTE ON SOURCES AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

Documentary sources for this study were collected mainly in the National Historical Archive in Mozambique (Maputo): Arquivo Histórico de Moçambique (AHM), for colonial documentation; and the archive of Missionary Department of

Protestant Missions of Swiss Romande: Département Missionnaire des Églises Protestantes de la Suisse Romande (DM), in Lausanne for Swiss Mission documentation. In both archives, thanks to the cooperation of the directions of the institutions and the commitment of their personnel, I had all facilities, help and freedom to use the information necessary to this study.

In 1989 I undertook a tentative inspection of the Portuguese overseas historical archive: Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino (AHU).

In York (United Kingdom), I had access to the Borthwick Institute (BI), where the collections of Franco Nogueira (FN) and the Wiryamu Files of Adrian Hastings (WIR) were deposited.

Interviews were realized in Mozambique (Maputo city and Maputo Province; Gaza and Inhambane Provinces), and in Lausanne, with former missionaries from the Swiss Mission.

Secondary sources used for our study resulted from research work undertaken in the following libraries: i) Mozambique: Arquivo Histórico de Moçambique; Centre of African Studies, Eduardo Mondlane University; former Instituto de Investigação Científica de Moçambique; ii) Switzerland: Département Missionnaire des Églises Protestantes de la Suisse Romande (Lausanne). iii) United Kingdom: Bradford University; University of Leeds; SOAS - London; Rhodes House (Oxford), and British Museum Library; and iv) Portugal: Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa.

1-INTERVIEWS

Most interviews were taped. They are to be deposited in the Mozambican National Archives - Arquivo Histórico de Moçambique (AHM). The few interviews not taped, or organized and conducted by other scholars and used during our study are annotated.

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- 33-MUCHANGA, Silvano. Machecahomu, 27 January 1993.

- 34-MUTHEMBA, Abner Sansão. Maputo, 10 June 1985; 8 July 1985.
- 35-MUTUMANE, José; MONDLANE, Casimiro; LANGA, Essenetha. Coolela, 14 October 1993.
- 36-NAVESSE, Tizora. Cambine, 25 October 1992.
- 37-NGONHAMA, Elisa Mandavazana. Maputo, 5 October 1992.
- 38-NGWENHA, Arão Zacarias. Ricatla, 3 and 6 August 1992.
- 39-NHASSONGANE, Lea Jotamo; GWAMBE, Jamisse. Sahane, 7 October 1993.
- 40-NHAVOTA, David Matiquite. Chicúque, 20 October 1992.
- 41-NHEQUETE, Josefina Titos. Chicúque, 8 October 1992 (Typewritten notes)
- 42-PENICELA, Almeida. Chicúque, 20 and 22 October.
- 43-PÉRIER, Charles. Lausanne, 29 October 1985.
- 44-SENGO, Samuel; NHANCALE, Filipe. Maxixe, 25 October 1992.
- 45-SIBANE, Adelaide. Maússe, 12 October 1993.
- 46-SIBANE, Oriente. Maputo, 28 July 1992; 17 and 29 September 1992.
- 47-SIMBIBE, CAROLINA; TCHAÚQUE, Alina. Maússe, 12 October, 1993.
- 48-SIMBINE, Catarina. Maputo, 15 July 1994. SIMBINE, Catarina; ZUCULE, Délia Jotamo. Maputo, 21 July 1994.
- 49-SITÓI, Bento. Maputo, 8 September 1992; 2 March 1993.
- 50-SITHOYE, Fabião. Chicumbane, 19 October 1993.
- 51-SUMBANE, Natala. Chicumbane, 28 January 1993 (typewritten notes).
- 52-ZAQUEU, Míriam. Chicúque, 4 October 1993.

53-Collective interview with: Celestina Afonso Ubisse; João Matsinhe; Alberto Simão Mahanjane; Horácio Fabião Savhele; Carolina Thivane; Lina Langa and Delfina Chavana. Maússe, 12 October 1985.

54-Comissão de Senhoras da Igreja Presbiteriana de Moçambique (collective interview) Maputo, Março, 1993.

55-Collective interview with: Beatriz Eduardo Macamo; Joana Jossefa; Raquel Alfredo Vilanculos; Carolina João; Quitéria Mucambi. Chicúque, 1 October 1993.

2-ARCHIVES

2.1-ARQUIVO HISTÓRICO DE MOÇAMBIQUE - Maputo [AHM].

In the AHM, although not all collections used were catalogued, they were all preserved, numbered and organized in boxes. The collections searched were:

-Secção Especial [SE].

-Inspeção dos Serviços Administrativos dos Negócios Indígenas [ISANI].

-Fundo dos Negócios Indígenas [FNI]

-Fundo do Governo Geral [FGG].

2.1.1-SECÇÃO ESPECIAL [SE]:

Previous knowledge of the contents of this collections directed my work only to the following reports on Independent Churches in Mozambique:

FREITAS, A.I.F. Seitas Religiosas Gentílicas, 4 vols. Lourenço Marques, 1956-1957.

FIGUEIRA, M. Seitas Religiosas em Moçambique.(S/D).

2.1.2-INSPECÇÃO DOS SERVIÇOS ADMINISTRATIVOS E DOS
NEGÓCIOS INDÍGENAS [ISANI]:

This collection contains the reports with attached classified documents of the Inspectors of Serviços Administrativos dos Negócios Indígenas in 100 boxes. Analysing administrative, financial, political and juridical themes, the reports present valuable data for the study of contemporary Mozambique. I restricted my research to the southern Provinces (Maputo; Gaza and Inhambane), and worked 30 boxes, from which I selected those with relevant information on: missions and churches; education; associations; colonial administration; labour and migrant labour work, and white settlement.

- BOX 2. GIL, A.M. Relatório da inspeção ordinária ao Concelho de Lourenço Marques e às circunscrições de Maputo e Marracuene. 1954.
- BOX 12. GIL, A.M. Relatório da inspeção ordinária à Circunscrição do Maputo e seus postos administrativos de Catembe, Catuane, Inhaca e Manhoca. 1960.
- BOX 18. GIL, A.M. Relatório da inspeção ordinária à Circunscrição da Namaacha e seu Posto Administrativo de Changalane. 1960.
- BOX 4. MOURA, J.V-B.C. Relatório da inspeção ordinária à Associação dos Naturais de Moçambique, em Lourenço Marques. 1961.
- BOX 3. PEREIRA, J.G.T. Inspeção Ordinária ao Primeiro Bairro do Concelho de Lourenço Marques. 1971.
- BOX 3. PEREIRA, J.G.T. Relatório da Inspeção Ordinária ao 2o.Bairro do Concelho de Lourenço Marques. 1972.
- BOX 30. PIRES, J.A. Relatório das inspeções ordinárias à Comissão Municipal de Inhambane e Administração do Concelho desta Vila e às circunscrições de Govuro, Homoíne, Inharrime, Massinga, Morrumbene, Pande, Vilanculos e Zavala, com os respectivos postos(...) 1947.

- BOX 20. REIS, R.C. Relatório e documentos referentes à inspecção ordinária às Circunscrições de Bilene, Sabié, Manhiça, Guijá e Magude, no Distrito de Lourenço Marques na Província do Sul do Save. 1942.
- BOX 30. REIS, R.C. Relatório e documentos referentes à inspecção ordinária ao Distrito de Inhambane. 1944.
- BOX 20. SANTOS, A.P.S. Relatório das Inspeções às administrações de: Concelho de Gaza, Circunscrição do Bilene, Circunscrição da Manhiça e Circunscrição de Magude. 1953-54.
- BOX 10. SANTOS, A.P.S. Relatório Parcial da Manhiça e Magude. 1954.
- BOX 23. SANTOS, A.P.S. Relatório da Inspeção ao Concelho de Gaza-Sede e Posto de Chongoene. 1954.
- BOX 17. SANTOS, A.P.S. Relatório da Inspeção ordinária feita à circunscrição do Sabié-Sede e postos de Ressano Garcia e Machatuíne, do período de Março de 1947 a Agosto de 1955.
- BOX 26. SANTOS, A.P.S. Relatório da Inspeção ordinária feita à Circunscrição de Guijá-Sede e Posto de Massingir, do período de Agosto de 1942 a Janeiro de 1947.
- BOX 28. SANTOS, A.P.S. Relatório da Inspeção ordinária à extinta Circunscrição dos Muchopes-Sede e Posto Administrativo de Chidenguele, do período de Janeiro de 1941 a Dezembro de 1957.
- BOX 11. SERRA, A.M. Relatório da Inspeção ordinária ao Concelho da Manhiça e seus postos administrativos de Xinavane e Calanga. 1956.
- BOX 11. SERRA, A.M. Relatório da Inspeção Ordinária ao Concelho da Manhiça e seus Postos Administrativos de Xinavane e Calanga. 1965.
- BOX 11. SERRA, A.M. Relatório da Inspeção Ordinária ao Concelho de Manhiça e seus Postos Administrativos de Xinavane e Catembe. 1965.
- BOX 12. SERRA, A.M. Relatório da Inspeção ordinária ao Concelho do Maputo. 1965.
- BOX 12. SERRA, A.M. Inspeção ordinária ao Concelho de Marracuene e seu Posto Administrativo de Benfica. 1965.
- BOX 1. SPENCER, A.V. Relatório da inspecção ordinária ao Concelho de Lourenço Marques e circunscrições de Marracuene e Maputo. 1950.

2.1.3-FUNDO DOS NEGÓCIOS INDÍGENAS [FNI]:

From the extensive collection related to the administration of native affairs, I selected the period between 1920 to 1962, registering 47 files in the data base with documents analysing: missions; independent churches; associations; labour; migrant labour; administration, agriculture and the influence of the political situation in neighbouring countries on the African population of Mozambique. The following were used:

Direcção dos Serviços dos Negócios Indígenas. Secção B-Curadoria e Negócios Indígenas. BOX 1095.

Direcção dos Serviços dos Negócios Indígenas. Secção E-Instrução e Cultos. BOXES: 1300;1306;1307;1308;1310;1312;1313.

2.1.4-FUNDO DO GOVERNO GERAL [FGG]:

The information contained in this collection refers to: colonial administration; legislation; missions; education; local visits and migrancy, although important for studies on Mozambique was less important for our study.

2.2-DÉPARTEMENT MISSIONNAIRE DES ÉGLISES PROTESTANTES DE LA SUISSE ROMANDE - Lausanne [DM].

The DM archive has a large quantity of primary sources, catalogued by file number and housed in numbered boxes, related to the missionary work undertaken by the Swiss Presbyterians in Mozambique (Mozambique Files)[MF] and South Africa, from the end of last century until the 1970s. In the archives I also found numerous published sources, including newspapers cuttings; periodicals and various published

matter such as colonial decrees, pamphlets and some other material mixed with the primary sources as well as a number of religious books and Bibles published in various languages (French, English, Tsonga).

From the index cards, I selected the more relevant documents with which to organize my notes (63 entries in my data base), covering the following themes: education; relations between state and church; biographies; history of the Church; COE (World Council of Churches); relations between Catholics and Protestants. Primary information was complemented with data contained in the rich collection of periodicals on Mozambique, and one section with books, in the library, from the colonial period to the present, with a various range of issues.

2.2.1-MOZAMBIQUE FILES [MF]:

From the large number of files consulted, I used the following in this study (using the document number):

1818C. ANDRIÉ, G. Allocution de Georges Andrié, Culte-intercession du 17 Decembre 72, au Terreaux. 1972.

1818C/2. ANDRIÉ, G. Voyage de M.M.F. Ouwehand et G. Andrié au Mozambique, du 28 Avril au 5 Juin, 1972.

1375. D. P. Baptista. Letter from Rev. Baptista from 'Missão de Santa Isabel' to Mr. Joel Ndove, commented by A. Guermiquet, Swiss missionary in Antioca Mission. 23th December, 1951.

1752D. BADERTSCHER, J. La question du Bapteme des enfants au Mozambique. 1942.

66B. BEGUIN, M.; PÉRIER, C.; REYMOND, E. Mission Suisse dans l'Afrique du Sud, Rapport 1961.

20F. CLERC, A.D. Rapport sur les équipes. 1932.

- 20G. CLERC, A.D. Rapport sur les équipes. 1933.
- 1187C. CLERC, A.D. Les Patrouilles, leur role dans l'Église Indigene, leurs principes pedagogiques .1935.
- 1187B. CLERC, A.D. Les Patrouilles du Mozambique-Breves considerations pouvant servir d'instructions ou d'information.(S/D).
- 21B. CLERC, A.D. Travail présenté à la Conference du personnel missionnaire du littoral Portugais. July, 1937.
- 21I. CLERC, A.D. Letter 'à La Comission Romande des Unions Cadettes'. 1939.
- 21I. CLERC, A.D. Premier Rapport sur la marche du tchimbano et des groupes d'éducation religieuse de la Mission Suisse, exercice 1938-1939. 1939 (with other reports for the subsequent years until 1949).
- 827A. CLERC, A.D. Rapport sur la marche des écoles durant l'exercice 48-49. 1949.
- 69B. CLERC, A.D. Quelques reflections sur l'etat actuel des écoles de notre mission. 1954.
- 820B. CLERC, A.D. Report on the situation of the Evangelical Missions in Mozambique, during the last 50 years. 1956.
- 69D. CLERC, A.D. En est l'oeuvre scolaire en 1961? 1961.
- 820E. CLERC, A.D. AND CLERC, F. Lettre Circulaire de M. A.D.Clerc (strictement confidentiel, a n'utilizer dans la presse en aucune cas).1962.
- 1823C. CLERC, A.D. Liste des écoles de la Mission. 1973.
- 753B. CLERC-MARCHAND, A. Letter from A. Clerc-Marchand to the Governor General of Mozambique. 9th, August 1935.
- 1182B. CLERC-MARCHAND, A. Lettre de A. Clerc-Marchand aux missionnaires du littoral (en Afrique et en Suisse). 9th, August 1929.
- 1186A. CLERC-MARCHAND, A. Quelques Breves Remarques sur les deux diplomes 167 et 168, et ses consequences pour notre mission. 1929.
- 1182B. CLERC-MARCHAND, A. Letter from Clerc-Marchand to the administrador da Circunscricao de Marracuene. 1929.

- 1068F. CRUZ, M.A. Comissão de Ajuda aos estudantes de Moçambique (CAEM) e Relatório da Comissão Presbiteriana, ensino extra-escolar; comissão de estudos secundários. 1964.
1814. CUAMBE, J. Letters from João Cuambe in Lourenço Marques, to missionary Morier-Genoud in Lausanne. 1969.
- 1186A. FATTON, M.P. Rapport de M. Paul Fatton, présenté à la Conference de Contra Costa. June, 1934.
- 1186A. FATTON, M.P. Entretien avec son Excellence le Gouverneur General (confidentiel). 10th, November 1940.
- 1758B. HELGESSON, A. A report on 'MAHLAHLE' - a church magazine in Mozambique and Transvaal. 1967.
- 1183A. MALHEIROS, M.T. Instructions for Carrying into effect the provisions of Legislative diplomas 167 and 168. 3rd August 1929. 1930.
- 1634A. MANGANHELA, Z. Rapport des activités du Conseil Synodal. August, 1965.
- 816A/B/C. MORGENTHALER, E. Les Equipes de jeunes Filles.(S/D).
- 1796C. OUWEHAND, F. Oeuvre Scholaire au Mozambique. 1968.
- 1752D. PÉRIER, C. Naissance et vie de la communauté (S/D).
- 6007A. REA, J. Récit de Julian Rea sur les Equipes d'Inhambane, Campo de Cambini.(S/D).
- 826A. SCHNEIDER, T. Personal Remarks on the Presbyterian Church in Mozambique (PEA). 1966.
- 1818D. THOMSEN, H.T. Deposition de M.Hans-Theodor Thomsen au sujet de la mort du pasteur Zedequias Manganhela dans la prison de Machava au Mozambique, dans la nuit du 10 au 11 de Decembre, 1972.
- 1818D. THOMSEN, H.T. Letter to the 'Conseil Suisse des Missions Evangeliques'. 1973.
- 1070/D/2. Bolsas de Estudo Presbiterianas, Commission des Boussiers.
- 1818A. Notes de lecture concernant les actes d'accusation de M. Abrao Aldasse, Casimir Pedro Matie et Mafundene Mario Siteye.(S/D)
- 1879 A/B. Letters exchanged between Pascoal Mucumbi and Charles Périer, during Mucumbi's stay in Lisbon and Paris (1961-1962).

- 1464/D. Questionnaire with biographic information from Zedequias Manganhela and Casimiro Pedro Mathié.
- 910-917. Correspondence between Eduardo Mondlane and André-Daniel Clerc.
- Z58(1). Bref Memorandum sur la situation de l'Église Presbyterienne au Mozambique. 8th January, 1973.
- M56. L'Eglise Presbyterienne (Tsonga-Ronga) du Mozambique. 1961.
- 1756A. Problèmes d'Afrique Austral. 19e session du Synod le 4 December 1971, au Temple de St.Paul a Lausanne. 1971.
- 1756B. Groupe d'Étude Afrique Austral. Les Relations du D.M. avec le COE et l'Église Catholique. 13rd August, 1971.
- 1861C. Compte-Rendu approximatif de l'entrevue accordé par le Prof. Marcello Caetano, Premier Ministre a M. M. G. Guinaud; G. Morier-Genoud; G. Andrié, ao Palais de São Bento, a 14 heures. 7th February, 1974.
- 989H. Síntese da Sessão da Comissão de Estudos. 11th, July, 1955.
- 20D. Charte des équipes. 1947.

2.3-ARQUIVO HISTÓRICO ULTRAMARINO - Lisboa [AHU]

When I visited the archive in 1989, the documentation from the 1940 onwards was not open to consultation. My work was resumed to a tentative inspection for the 1920s and 1930s, where some boxes contained documents on the Catholic Church, particularly concerning the "Missões Civilizadoras", and relations with the colonial state, particularly in the following box:

BOX 23. 3a. Repartição. Justiça, Instruções e Missões. 1931;1941.

2.4-BORTHWICK INSTITUTE - University of York, Centre for Southern African Studies [BI]

In the Borthwick Institute I consulted two collections: The Franco Nogueira Files, and the Wiriyo Files of Adrian Hastings.

The Franco Nogueira Files (1937-1969) is a collection of written sources donated by Franco Nogueira to the University of York (UK), after 25th April 1974. Most of the collection is composed of manuscripts letters and notes by António Salazar (personal letters and notes; personal correspondence with Cardinal Cerejeira from Lisbon, on Concordat, foreign affairs and war in Portuguese colonies). Although some documents are important the analysis of the relationship between the Catholic Church and the Portuguese state, they are of minor importance to my study.

The Wiriyo Files of Adrian Hastings, is a collection donated by Prof. Adrian Hastings to the University of York. Although small, it contains rare and unique documentation on the role played by the Catholic Church in Mozambique in denouncing the violence of Portuguese colonialism, particularly letters received by Adrian Hastings from Catholic missionaries in Mozambique on massacres in Tete region and the political situation in Mozambique in general. Other documents in the collection are refer to the relationship between the Catholic Church and the Portuguese colonial state in Mozambique; I used the following, in this study:

2.4.1-THE WIRIYAMU FILES OF ADRIAN HASTINGS [WIR]

BOX 1, I A6. COSTA, Padre L.A. Lettre au Pape, d'un missionnaire du Mozambique. 1972.

BOX 1, WIR1 A10. Confidential Missionary Report. 1973.

BOX 1, BI.WIR I. Amnesty International Information Office (1974). News Conference for Father Alfonso Valverde Leon. 18th, April. 1974.

BOX 1, BI.WIR I A9. ROMAN, J. The War in Mozambique. 1973.

BOX 1, BI2.WIR B/8. BERENGER, V.; MOURE, J; BUENDIA, M. Letter from Vicente Berenguer, Júlio Moure and Miguel Buendia to Father Hastings. 1973.

BOX 2, BI.WIR B/1. BURGOS FATHERS. Mozambique Regional Assembly. 1970.

BOX 2, BI.WIR 3 B/2. THE WHITE FATHERS. Letters from the general superior of the White Fathers to the members of the society announcing the decision to withdraw the White Fathers from Mozambique. 1971.

BOX 2, BI.WIR 2 C/2. Trial of Macúti Fathers. 1973.

BOX 2, BI.WIR 2 B/8. Letter from Bishop of Nampula to the Pope, about the situation in Mozambique. 1973.

BOX 2, BI. 2 WIR2 B/10. Secretariat of the Diocese of Nampula. Communique of the Secretariat of the Diocese of Nampula, to AACC Third Assembly, Lusaka. 1974.

1.3.2-FRANCO NOGUEIRA FILES [FN]

BOX 3 (3.6.A), BI.FN. CARDINAL CEREJEIRA. Letters from Cardinal Cerejeira, to Dr. A. Oliveira Salazar.

3-PUBLISHED DOCUMENTS

Concordata e Acordo Missionário de Maio de 1940. Lisboa, Secretariado de Propaganda Nacional, 1943.

Acto Colonial, aprovado por decreto n.18:570, de 8 de Julho de 1930, em substituição do título V da Constituição Política da República Portuguesa. Lourenço Marques, Imprensa Nacional, 1930.

Regulamentos do Exercício das Missões Religiosas de diversas confissões e nacionalidades e das escolas do ensino primário pelas mesmas Missões, aprovado pelos diplomas legislativos n.167 e 168, de 3 de Agosto de 1929. Lourenço Marques, Imprensa Moderna.

4-DISSERTATIONS AND UNPUBLISHED PAPERS

ADAM, Y. Cooperativização agrícola e modificação das relações de produção no período colonial em Moçambique. Trabalho de diploma, licenciatura em História. Universidade Eduardo Mondlane, 1986.

CASAL, A. Leis e Regulamentos Sobre Educação e Ensino durante o período colonial (1934-1975). Maputo, Universidade Eduardo Mondlane, 1978.

CASIMIRO, I. Movimento Associativo como foco de Nacionalismo - movimento estudantil - NESAM e AAM. Departamento de História, Universidade Eduardo Mondlane, 1979.

CHAMANGO, S. História da Igreja Presbiteriana de Moçambique. Maputo, 1987. mimeo.

CHAMANGO, S. L'Articulation de l'Evangile à la Réalité Africaine: considerations systematiques et pratiques. Mémoire de Licence de dogmatique. Faculté de Théologie, Université de Lausanne, 1975.

CLERC, A.D. La Pratique de la vie Chrétienne dans les groupes de jeunes garçons de l'Eglise Presbyterienne (Reformée) du Mozambique. 1963. mimeo.

CLERC, A.D. and MORGENTHALER, E. Le Mouvement des équipes ou patrouilles "Ntlawa" au Mozambique. Lausanne, 1950. mimeo.

COELHO, C.C. As Reformas de 6 de Setembro e a sua Incidência em Moçambique. Dissertação de Licenciatura. Instituto Superior de Ciências Sociais e Políticas Ultramarinas, Universidade Técnica de Lisboa, 1964.

- CRUZ E SILVA, T. A Rede Clandestina da FRELIMO em Lourenço Marques (1960-1974). Trabalho de Diploma, licenciatura em História. Universidade Eduardo Mondlane, 1986.
- FORNS, A-S. A. Religious resistance against colonial domination in Mozambique- some remarks based on unpublished materials in the historical archives of Mozambique. (S/D). mimeo.
- FRIEDLAND, E. A comparative study of the development of revolutionary nationalist movements in southern Africa - FRELIMO (Mozambique) and the African National Congress of South Africa. Ph.D Thesis. City University, New York, 1980.
- HELGESSION, A. The Tshwa Response to Christianity: study of the religious and cultural impact of Protestant Christianity on the Tshwa of southern Mozambique. M.A. Dissertation. University of Witwatersrand, 1971.
- HELGESSION, A. Church, State and People in Mozambique. An historical study with special emphasis on Methodist developments in the Inhambane Region. Ph.D Thesis. University of Uppsala, Studia Missionalia Upsaliensia LIV, 1994.
- JOSÉ, A. A greve dos carregadores da estiva do porto comercial de Lourenço Marques em Agosto de 1963, no contexto da luta de libertação nacional de Moçambique e alguns problemas na reconstrução da história do operariado moçambicano. Trabalho de diploma, licenciatura em História. Universidade Eduardo Mondlane, 1988.
- MALULEKE, S.T. "A Morula Tree Between Two Fields". The Commentary of Selected Tsonga Writers on Missionary Christianity. Doctor of Theology in the subject of Missiology. University of South Africa, 1995.
- MATTHEY, J. Le Travail Educatif de la Mission Suisse au Mozambique, Les Ntlawu du Mozambique. Mémoire de Theologie Pratique. Faculté de Theologie, Université de Lausanne, 1971.
- MISSION SUISSE. Rapport du Conseil de la Mission Suisse dans l'Afrique du Sud sur la Gestion en 1933. Lausanne. (Reports are available for subsequent years, to 1961).
- NEVES, O.I. Em Defesa da Causa Africana: Intervenção do Grémio Africano na Sociedade de Lourenço Marques, 1908-1938. Dissertação de Mestrado. Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 1989.
- PENVENNE, J. The Unmaking of an African petite bourgeoisie: Lourenço Marques, Mozambique. African Studies Center, Boston University, 1982.(Working Paper no.57).

- PENVENNE, J. Principles and Passion: capturing the legacy of João dos Santos Albasini. African Studies Center, Boston University, 1991. (Discussion papers in African Humanities no.12).
- RAUL, V. O Impacto do Ensino Rudimentar nas Zonas Rurais de Moçambique, 1930-1960. Trabalho de Diploma, licenciatura em História. Departamento de História, Universidade Eduardo Mondlane, 1995.
- RENNIE, J. K. Christianity, Colonialism and the origin of nationalism among the Ndu of Southern Rhodesia, 1890-1935. Ph.D Thesis. Northwestern University, 1973.
- ROHRBASSER, C. L'Oeuvre Sociale de la Mission Suisse au Mozambique. Mémoire. Université de Lausanne, 1991.
- SAÚTE, A.R. A Escola de Habilitação de Professores indígenas "José Cabral", Manhiça - Alvor: subsídios para o estudo da formação da elite instruída em Moçambique (1926-1974). Trabalho de diploma, licenciatura em História. Universidade Eduardo Mondlane, 1995.
- SOPA, A. Catálogo de Periódicos Moçambicanos, precedido de uma introdução histórica, 1854-1984. Trabalho de Diploma, licenciatura em História com especialidade em documentação. Universidade Eduardo Mondlane, 1985.

5-NEWSPAPERS, AND PERIODICALS FROM SWISS MISSION.

- Nyeleti ya Miso: 1921-1949.
- Malhale: vol.12, no.9 and no. 19, 1961.
- O Brado Africano: 24.8.1929; 7.9.1929.
- Domingo, 15.4.1984.
- Bulletin de la Mission Romande: 1908-1928.
- Bulletin de la Mission Suisse: 1929-1955.
- L'Actualité Missionnaire: 1956-1975.

6-SELECTED BOOKS AND ARTICLES

- ADAM, Y. and GENTILI, A.M. O movimento dos Liguilanilu no planalto de Mueda, 1957-1962. Estudos Moçambicanos, no.4, 1983, pp.41-75.

- ADAM, Y. Historiadores e Ideólogos. In: JOSÉ, A. and MENESES, M.P., eds. Moçambique-16 Anos de Historiografia: Focos, Problemas, Metodologias, Desafios para Década de 90. Maputo, the editors, 1991, pp.51-72.(Collecção Painel Moçambicano, vol.1).
- ADELMAN, A.H. Evaluation Perspectives In Consciousness-Raising Education. Comparative Education Review, vol.25, no.1, 1981, pp.93-101.
- ALMEIDA, J.F. and MADUREIRA PINTO, J. A Investigação nas Ciências Sociais. Lisboa, Editorial Presença, 1990.
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- ANDRADE, M. Proto-nacionalismo em Moçambique. Um estudo de caso: Kamba Simango (c.1890-1967). Arquivo, no.6, 1989, pp.127-147.
- Anuário Estatístico de Moçambique, 1947-1960.
- Anuário de Lourenço Marques, 1940.
- ARNOVE, R.F. Education and Political Participation in Rural Areas of Latin America. Comparative Education Review, vol.17, no.2, 1973, pp.198-215.
- AZEVEDO, A. Política do Ensino em Africa. Lisboa, Junta de Investigações do Ultramar, Centro de Estudos Políticos e Sociais, 1958.(Estudos de Ciências Políticas e Sociais no. 13).
- AZEVEDO, A. Relance sobre a Educação em Africa: fundamentos e perspectivas. Lisboa, Junta de Investigações do Ultramar, Centro de Estudos Políticos e Sociais, 1963. (Estudos de Ciências Políticas e Sociais no.69).
- BALIBAR, A. and WALLERSTEIN, I. Race, nation, class: ambiguous identities. Bristol, Verso, 1991.
- BARBIERI, T. Sobre la Categoría Género: una introducción teórico-metodológica. Revista Interamericana de Sociología, Año VI, no.2 and 3, May-December, 1992, pp.147-177.
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