

**Mission and Colonialism: A Critical Examination of Hermann Dieterlen's
Ministry (1874-1919)**

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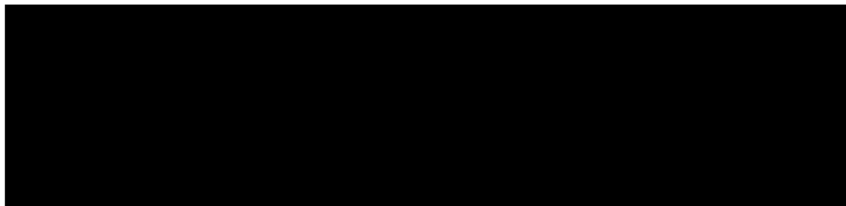
**Submitted in fulfilment of requirements for the Doctor of Philosophy Degree in the
Faculty of Humanities, School of Religion, Philosophy and Classics at the University of
KwaZulu-Natal**

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Declaration

I declare that this thesis is my own unaided work. It is being submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Faculty of Humanities, School of Religion, Philosophy and Classics at the University of KwaZulu-Natal. It has not been submitted before for any degree or examination in any other University.

Signature of candidate



Date: 31 November 2021

Supervisor: Prof P. Denis

Signature:



Date: 4 December 2021

Dedication

I dedicate this study to my wife, Mamokuoane Edith Tšeuoa and our children, Thapelo Tšeuoa, Neo Ellen Tšeuoa, Mokuoane Samuel Tšeuoa and Long Moorosi James Tšeuoa

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I thank God for his guidance from the beginning to the end of this study. I thank him for sustaining and healing me after a major operation which affected me seriously. He gave me the strength and courage to continue with this study. ‘What shall I render to him, for all his benefits to me?’¹*Soli deo Gloria* (To God alone be the glory).

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¹Psalm 116:12.

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Chapter 1

Methodological introduction

1.1 Introduction

Hermann Dieterlen was an Alsatian missionary who worked under the auspices of the Paris Evangelical Missionary Society (P.E.M.S. or the Paris Mission) in Basutoland from 1874 to 1919. My interest in him, came originally from the fact that the Morija Theological Seminary² library, where I trained as a pastor, is named after him: Hermann Dieterlen *Sehoapa* (biltong)³library. This name made me to want to know more about him. I learned that he was fond of biltong and this was how he received the name. Secondly and more importantly, Dieterlen was one of the prominent missionaries of the Paris Mission like Casalis, Mabilie, Coillard and Jacottet yet there is nothing substantial written about him. Biographies have been written on Casalis,⁴Jacottet,⁵Coillard⁶ and Mabilie,⁷ but there is nothing on Dieterlen. This motivated me, as a Mosotho minister, to study his life and work.

² The Paris Mission opened the Morija Theological School in 1882. The first director of this school was Frédéric Hermann Kruger. He was forced by ill health to resign from this post in 1883 and went back to Paris. The school was then closed. It was reopened in 1887 by Hermann Dieterlen who organised it. It retained the name of the Morija Theological School until early in the 1970s. In 1975, the Bible School was merged with it and was since then known as the Morija Theological Seminary. In the list of church institutions in the *Leselinyana* of 1975 to 1976, the name is changed. The Morija Theological Seminary library was obviously named after Dieterlen to honour him. See, V. Ellenberger, *A Century of Mission Work in Basutoland (1833-1933)*, translated from French by Edmond M. Ellenberger (Morija: Morija Sesuto Book Depot, 1938), pp. 219, 242; C. W. Hincks, *Quest for Peace, An Ecumenical History of the Church in Lesotho* (Morija: Morija Museum and Archives, 2009), pp. 339-340; J.M. Mohapeloa, *From Mission to church, fifty years of the Work of Paris Evangelical Missionary Society and the Lesotho evangelical Church 1933-1983* (Morija: Morija Printing Works, 1985), p. 52.

³ Biltong known among the Basuto as *Sehoapa*, which is the Sesotho word for 'biltong', a form of dry meat common among Afrikaners.

⁴ E. Casalis, *My life in Basutoland*, facsimile reprint (Cape Town: C. Struik (PTY.) LTD, 1971); Eugène Casalis (1812-1891) par H. Dieterlen.

⁵ T. Couzen, *Murder at Morija (Random House (Pty) Ltd 2003)*.

⁶ C. W. Mackintosh, C.W. Coillard of the Zambesi: *The lives of François and Christina Coillard, of the Paris Missionary Society, in South and Central Africa (1858-1904)* (London: Fisher Unwin Adelphi Terrace, 1907); F. Coillard, *On the threshold of Central Africa, A record of twenty years pioneering among the Banyai and Barots*. (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1897); François Coillard par H. Dieterlen.

⁷ W. Smith, *The Mabilles of Basutoland* (Hodder and Stoughton, 1939); Adolphe Mabilie Missionaire par H. Dieterlen.

This study examined how Dieterlen's mission enterprise related to colonialism. It raises some questions on whether his mission enterprise enhanced Christianity or colonial enterprise?

In order to get the full picture of things, I looked at the following: Dieterlen's attitude towards civil authority, the Basuto chieftainship and the colonial government, his mission approach or theological framework; how he related to other Christian denominations and his feelings about ecumenism. These are the main questions dealt with in this study. What follows are subsidiary questions:

Which parts of John Calvin's works are mostly used in Dieterlen? How did Dieterlen and his students grapple with superstition (among the Basuto), which were so abhorred by Calvin? How did Dieterlen grapple with culture, labour, gender inequity and inequality in Basutoland?

The Lesotho Evangelical Church (LEC), which is a direct product of the 19th century Protestant missionaries' mission enterprise, presumably owes much to Dieterlen (as he taught in the Morija Theological School) in its theology, polity as well as in its traditions in general. This study may help the LEC in the ministry to understand the Church better.

The most important point the study attempts to understand is Dieterlen's transmission of the Gospel to the Basuto and their reaction to the Gospel as it was translated to them. Equally important to understand, is the context of the life of Dieterlen, which was under the British colonialism, his relationship with the colonial government and whether he promoted Christianity or colonialism. In this respect hegemony and translation become important analytical and interpretative tools.

At the outset, it is important to state that while the study attempts to make a comparison between Calvin and Dieterlen, this cannot easily be achieved because Calvin lived in the 16th century Europe unlike the 19th century missionaries to Southern Africa and never left Europe

to go to Southern Africa. His context and Dieterlen's were far too different. Calvin worked in Geneva where he organized the Reformation. This movement spread to France, the Netherlands and England. He was confronted with what he viewed as idolatry or superstition (impure faith or religion) in his language. Dieterlen, on the other hand, worked among non-Christians in Basutoland. He persuaded them to embrace Christianity. The great challenge in his ministry was the traditional customs which the Basuto were reluctant to do away with. The comparison between Calvin and Dieterlen in this study is done to show the trajectory of Calvin's ecclesiology and theology in Dieterlen in the first place. Secondly, it is done to illustrate how Dieterlen was an avid disciple of Calvin and followed in his foot-steps in Basutoland. Lastly, it is done to appreciate the legacy of Calvin in the French Protestant Missionaries to southern Africa and particularly in Dieterlen.

Dieterlen was trained in the Reformed tradition. No doubt this influenced his theological outlooks as well as his missionary work. Calvin was one of the prominent scholars of Protestantism who abhorred superstition, among other things. Dieterlen is compared with him in order to establish if he followed Calvin's example or not. Secondly, Calvin is used as the base of the study in order to explain Dieterlen's rejection of the Basuto culture.

The study looked at the work of the Comaroffs and the introduction of Christianity in Botswana.⁸ It attempts to do the same in the context of Basutoland by looking at the missionary enterprise of Dieterlen. While chief Khama of Botswana⁹ converted to Christianity and persuaded his people to embrace it, Moshoeshe in Basutoland never actively persuaded anyone to embrace Christianity; instead, he merely protected the missionaries and their work. Conversions were voluntary and were the result of the Gospel

⁸J & J. Comaroff, *Of Revelation and Revolution, Christianity, Colonialism and consciousness in South Africa*, Vol. 1& 2 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991, 1997).

⁹ Khama 111 (1837 - 1923) referred to by the missionaries as Khama the Good or the Great was the King of Botswana. He converted to Christianity and many of his people followed his example. That brought him into conflict with his father Sekgoma 1 (1815-1883) who did not approve of his conversion to Christianity. P. Landau, *The realm of the world: language, gender and Christianity in a South African Kingdom* (New York: Heinemann, 1995).

being preached. Moreover, Moshoeshoe never converted to Christianity. He died before his baptism. It is very debatable whether he really wanted to be baptised.¹⁰

The Basuto nation was founded by Moshoeshoe in the 1820s during tribal wars by bringing together different African tribes. Thus the Basuto nation, which had begun as a small heterogeneous society eventually became a close-knit and homogeneous nation bound by the same mores and culture.

The Paris missionaries were the first to arrive in the land of Moshoeshoe in 1833. They worked hard to eradicate the traditional customs of the Basuto, claiming that they constituted “heathenism.” The Roman Catholic missionaries arrived in Lesotho in 1862. The second generation of the Paris Mission had started arriving early in the 1860s decade and in the first half of the following decade. The period of the first generation ended in 1860. Rivalries took their toll between the two missions as they competed for converts as well as recognition from Moshoeshoe. Dieterlen arrived in 1874 towards the end of the period of the second generation which ended in 1884. He came alone but married Anna Bush in 1877. She was a fellow missionary in a teaching post at the station of Thaba-bosiu. In their marriage they were blessed with four children.

The Anglican missionaries arrived in 1875 and that added more competition over converts.

In South Africa the London Missionary Society (L.M.S.) had already started work in many parts of that country. John Philip, the superintendent of the L.M.S, worked closely with the Paris Mission and advised it where necessary. Christian missions in Basutoland were granted land under usufruct terms unlike in South Africa where Christian missions owned land as a private property. The Bethany Mission near Bloemfontein and the American Zulu

¹⁰ S. J. Gill, *A Short History of Lesotho from the late stone age until the 1993 elections* (Moriya: Morija Museum and Archives, 1993)p. 112; L. Thompson, *Survival in Two Worlds: Moshoeshoe of Lesotho 1786-1870*(Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1975), p. 322; P. Sanders, *Moshoeshoe Chief of the Sotho* (London: Heinemann, 1975), pp. 314-315.

Mission at Inanda in Natal were typical examples of missions which owned land in South Africa. Basuto traditional understanding of land tenure was different from the European notion of land ownership following the arrival of the missionaries, the Boers as well as the British colonial government. This was often followed or marked by thievery, land encroachment and wars between the Basuto and the Boers as well as the colonial government.

Dieterlen worked in two contexts during his missionary tenure in Basutoland. The first was the Cape rule, when Basutoland was placed under the Cape Colony Government. It lasted a little over a decade (1871 to 1884). The second was the British rule, which lasted 82 years, when Basutoland was ruled directly by the Crown (1884-1966).

1.2 Review of the literature

There is a fairly a large corpus of published works on the Paris missionaries, largely written by the French missionaries themselves and some friends of the mission who were close to it. These included Edwin Smith¹¹, Victor Ellenberger¹², Elizabeth Rolland¹³, Edouard (Edward) Jacottet¹⁴, Jean-François Zorn¹⁵ and Eugene Casalis¹⁶. However, these works only portray the experiences and challenges of the missionaries in their encounters with the Basuto, missionary deeds of valour in the mission fields and the backwardness and waywardness of the Basuto. While these works afford from a missionary point of view a rough picture of the general state of things in Basutoland upon the arrival of the Paris missionaries, they fail to give precisely how the missionaries translated and transferred Christian knowledge and the

¹¹ E. W. Smith, *The Mabilles of Basutoland* (Hodde and Stoughton, 1939).

¹² V. Ellenberger, *A century of Mission Work in Basutoland, 1938 and Landmarks in the story of the French Protestant Church in Basutoland during its hundred years of its existence, 1833-1933* (Moriya, 1933).

¹³ *The Recollections of Elizabeth Rolland, 1803-1901*, edited by Karel Schoeman (Cape Town, Pretoria: Human & Rousseau, 1987).

¹⁴ E. Jacottet, "The native churches and their organization," paper read at Johannesburg missionary conference (Moriya: Morija Sesuto Book Depot, 1905).

¹⁵ J. F. Zorn. *Le Grand Siècle D'une Mission Protestante, La Mission de Paris de 1822 à 1914* (Karthala, 1993).

¹⁶ E. Casalis, *My life in Basutoland (The Religious Tract Society, 1889)*.

Gospel message to the Basuto and the reaction of the Basuto to the message. Therefore, this study examined transmission and reception of the Gospel message, among other things.

On the other hand, other scholars who wrote about the Paris Mission like Sepetla Molapo,¹⁷ Maarman Sam Tshehla¹⁸ Esther Ruth Liu,¹⁹ and Sybil De Clarck²⁰ hardly wrote anything substantial on Dieterlen in their works. Whenever Dieterlen is mentioned in these works, it is just in passing or just a cursory reference to him. Jean-François Zorn's magisterial work²¹ hardly deals with Dieterlen's ministry, but his book is useful to understand how the French Reformed Church understood the mission in Basutoland.²² Zorn has dedicated an entire chapter, approximately 80 pages, to the Basutoland mission, but he is very sketchy on the period of Dieterlen's ministry. Therefore, this study provides more information on Dieterlen's ministry in Basutoland.

Generally, much work was done on the 19th and early 20th century missionary Christianity and its problems in Southern Africa by both Western and African authors namely Andrew Walls, Lamin Sanneh (the Gambian scholar) and Jean and John Comaroffs, Western authors. The Comaroffs writing in 1991 and 1997 from the Botswana context maintained that by persuading their converts to do away with their culture and embrace the Western way of life the missionaries colonised the converts' conscience, thereby creating a hegemonic relationship which escalated into negative reactions towards the missionaries when the colonised people became aware of the situation. The Comaroffs insisted that the emergence of indigenous prophets and Churches was directly linked to native resistance to missionary

¹⁷S. S. Molapo, "Majakane: "The emergence of a 19th century non-initiation Basuto identity and the interaction of Basuto Culture and Missionary Christianity." Master of Arts dissertation (Johannesburg: University of Witwatersrand 2003).

¹⁸M.S. Tshehla, "Spelling the faith or coping with biblical literacy? Introducing 19th century Basuto Christians," *Scriptura* 91 (2006), pp. 96-113; "Leselinyana la Lesotho and Basuto Biblical Appropriation Between 1863 and 1883" Doctoral Thesis (University of Kwa Zulu Natal, 2008).

¹⁹E.R. Liu, "The Missionary Translator: Expanding notions of translation through the colonial mission practices of the SMEP Basutoland and Barotseland missions (1857-1904)," Doctoral Thesis (Cardiff University, 2016).

²⁰S.G. De Clark, "The Evangelical Missionaries and the Basuto, 1833-1933." Doctoral Thesis (University of South Africa 2000).

²¹Zorn, *Le Grand Siècle D'une Mission Protestante*.

²²*Ibid.* pp. 419 - 444

Christianity.²³ The Comaroffs' 1991 and 1997 position of hegemony in the Botswana context was tested against the background of Dieterlen in Basutoland in order to understand Dieterlen's context in Basutoland and his mission approach. Sanneh and Walls²⁴ posited that the missionaries' translation of the message (the Bible) made Africa a Christian continent. The translation of the message by the missionaries reached the ends which were not expected or intended by the missionaries who translated it, as the Africans assimilated and appropriated the message in their vernacular.²⁵ Kwame Bediako, a West African scholar, shares the convictions of Sanneh and Walls. He noted: 'The existence of vernacular Bibles not only facilitate access to the particular communities speaking those languages but also created a likelihood that the hearers of the word in their own languages would make their own response to it on their own terms.'²⁶

This thought is further echoed in West, a South Africa scholar, as he wrote: 'The Bible would not always speak as the ones who carry it anticipated.'²⁷

The idea of the message reaching the ends not intended helps us to examine what the Basuto made of the message that Dieterlen transmitted to them.

Generally, African authors²⁸ who have studied the 19th century and the early 20th century missionary Christianity in Africa bemoan the lack of indigenous agency in missionary writings, the paternalistic nature of their writings and the zealous tirade on African culture is a trademark of missionary writings. Mugambi, a central Africa scholar, wrote:

²³ J. and J. Comaroffs. *Of Revelation and Revolution*, 2 vol. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991 and 1997).

²⁴ A. F. Walls. *The missionary movement in Christian History: Studies in the transmission of Faith* (Marry Knoll, New York; Orbis Books).

²⁵ For instance, see, LaminSanneh. *Translating the message: The missionary impact on culture* (Mary knoll, New York: Orbis Books, 1997) pp. 161-163.

²⁶ K. Bediako. *Christianity in Africa; The renewal of a Western Religion* (Mary knoll, New York: Obis Books 1995), p. 62. See also, his *Theology and Identity* (Oxford: Regnum Books, 1992,) p. 434.

²⁷ G. West, "After the missionaries: historical and hermeneutical dimensions of African appropriations of the Bible in Sub-Saharan Africa" (Pietermaritzburg: Ujamaa centre, University of Kwazulu Natal, 2012). Please see also, Tsehla, "Uncelebrated readers of the Bible: Postcolonial Perspective in African Biblical Interpretations" (Atlanta: Society of Biblical literature, 2012) p, 9.

²⁸ For instance, J.K.N.Mugambi, S. T. Maluleke and Gerald West.

‘Lamentably, the modern missionary movement imposed Western culture on the peoples who were being evangelized on the assumption that the Western culture was Christian, while other cultures were dismissed as “pagan” and “heathen.” This was a theological error.’²⁹

Therefore, African authors advocate indigenous agency as highly significant for a better understanding of missionary Christianity. For instance, Maluleke wrote: ‘While the role of Creux and Berthoud in the establishment of the Vaudoise Mission can and should never be eclipsed, the role of the native Basuto evangelists should also not be underestimated.’³⁰

Be that as it may, African authors serve as the lenses in this study to position Dieterlen and the PEMS on the on- going debate about missionary Christianity in Africa.

As the Comaroffs in 1991 and 1997 wrote about the missionary encounters in the Botswana context³¹, Maluleke advocated the study of indigenous agency in understanding missionary Christianity,³² while West wrote about the *Stolen Bible*³³ which looks at what the Africans made of the Bible brought by the missionaries. The study of the theology of Dieterlen is equally important as it can be used to examine whether Dieterlen and the PEMS missionaries in Basutoland promoted Christianity or colonial enterprise, which was the context of Dieterlen’s ministry. It is important to observe the role of Dieterlen as part of the hegemony, the ideology as well as a Christian missionary activity in Basutoland and what the Basuto made of the Bible brought by the PEMS. The Comaroffs have skilfully illustrated how the early missionaries colonised the Batswana, but a similar study has never been done in Basutoland among the Basuto. The study of Dieterlen is therefore an attempt to close this gap

²⁹J. N. K. Mugambi, “Christianity and African Cultural Heritage” in *African Christianity an African story*, eds. U Kalu, J. W. Hofmeyr, P.J. Maritz, Series 5, Vol. 3(Pretoria: University of Pretoria 2005), p. 518.

³⁰T. S. Maluleke, “A Morula tree between two fields: The commentary of selected Tsonga writers on Missionary Christianity” Doctoral Thesis (University of South Africa 1995).

³¹Jean and John Comaroff, *Of Revelation and Revolution*, 2 vol. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991 and 1997).

³²Maluleke. “A Morula tree between two fields.”

³³West, *Stolen Bible*; From tool of Imperialism to African Icon, Biblical Interpretation Series, Vol. 144 (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2016).

1.3 Theoretical framework

This study basically deployed two theories as analytical and interpretative tools, namely: “hegemony” and “translation”. Hegemony is historically the political, economic, or military predominance or control of one state over others. Later, this theory was associated with Antonio Gramsci³⁴ who wrote about ‘the idea that the ruling class can manipulate the value system and mores of society, so that their view becomes the world view.’³⁵ Gramsci posited the concept of power as in coercion or consensus forming an equilibrium between the “political society”³⁶ and “civil society.”³⁷ Gramsci’s theory of hegemony emphasises ‘cultural, moral and ideological leadership of a group over allied and subaltern groups.’ This leadership is not coercive but manipulates and seeks consent of the people which the hegemony is exercised. The ruling class government systems is economically and political based. Gramsci claimed that the leading role of the dominant class includes an ideology and consciousness, that is, the superstructure. He posited that in Europe, the dominant class, the bourgeoisie, ruled with the consent of the subordinate masses. The ruling class protected some of the interest of the subaltern classes in order to get their support. He maintained that it is the task of the proletariat to overcome the leadership of the bourgeoisie and become hegemonic itself. Gramsci was critical of economic determinism and at the same time proposed that in order for the proletarians to attain hegemonic position, it must ally with other social groups struggling for the future interests of social society, like the peasantry. In his view, this would go counter to the established capitalist structure as well as the ideological superstructures on which the bourgeoisie relies.³⁸

³⁴ Italian Marxist theorist and politician.

³⁵ <https://en.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hegemony>.

³⁶ E.g., the state, the church, trade unions, and other associations and movement with political aims

³⁷ Nongovernmental Community association working for the common good securing their needs, desires and objectives

³⁸ B. Boothman, “The sources for Gramsci’s Concept of Hegemony, Rethinking Marxism,” *A Journal of Economics, Culture, and Society* (2008) 20:2, pp.201-215; Antonio Gramsci, *The Antonio Gramsci Reader*, eds, David Forgacs and Eric Hobsbawm (New York: NYU Press, 2000), pp. 189-211.

This theory is borrowed and further developed by the Comaroffs³⁹ as “hegemony of the conscience” to explain the encounter, suppression and subjugation by the early 19th century missionaries in Botswana and the fruit of their work: conversions were not genuine, free and voluntary, hence the “hegemony of the conscience”. Therefore, this theory was looked at against the background of Dieterlen's mission enterprise and endeavours in Basutoland to determine whether there were, in it, elements of hegemony, in the first place.

Translation as a theory dates as far back as the patristic period, but as a systematic theory, its origin is debatable as some claim that it owes a great deal to the communist period in the Soviet Union and Central Europe. The leading exponents of this theory, among others, have been Roman Jakobson,⁴⁰ Gideon Toury⁴¹ and James Stratton Holmes⁴². Translation, among other things, attempts to discover the secret logics that lie somewhere beneath the surface of cultural products, which thought Lamin Sanneh problematizes as he observed and noted:

How might the Church Gentile or other, rise to its missionary obligation unless it believed that its experience, which is necessarily culturally defined, was in some fashion normative of divine truth? Mission is essential praxis, and that entails involvement and communication. Whatever the criteria for the essence of the message, the foundations for the mission emanate from cultural and historical specificity.⁴³

He then brings the presuppositions of mission by “diffusion” or by “translation”. These must also to be looked into, to understand, firstly, the mode of Dieterlen's mission approach. Secondly, “translation”, as a theory is very broad, multi-faced and ‘often adopts different

³⁹J. and J. Comaroff. *Of Revelation and Revolution, Christianity, Colonialism and consciousness in South Africa*, Vol. 1 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), pp.25, 26, 27.

⁴⁰ The Russian linguist and semiotician.

⁴¹ An Israeli translation scholar, and professor of Poetics, comparative literature and translation studies at Tel Aviv University.

⁴² American born scholar, Dutch poet and translator.

⁴³Sanneh, *Translating the Message: The Missionary Impact on Culture*, p. 28,29.

strategies⁴⁴. However, in this study, as an analytical and interpretative tool, we utilized it to examine and understand how Dieterlen transmitted the Gospel message and grappled with the Basuto culture. Above all and more importantly, we look at his role in the face of colonialism with its hegemony which he was part of as a European born Christian missionary.

Colonialism, therefore, being the context of Basutoland during Dieterlen's ministry is an important issue and the theory of hegemony will help to understand and find out whether Dieterlen used Christianity to promote the European dominance in Basutoland or to repudiate it.

The issues of power and translation are also significant in the study of the theology of Dieterlen in that upon Dieterlen's arrival the Bible, which was perceived as having some sort of power,⁴⁵ was already translated, though not entirely. Dieterlen then had the power of Christian knowledge and faith which he translated and transferred to the Basuto. Therefore, this study attempts to understand how Dieterlen translated or transferred his faith to the Basuto.

1.4 Research methodology

This study is largely an archival research based on the *Sesotho* literary material of Hermann Dieterlen viz: sermons in the *Leselinyana la Lesotho* newspaper⁴⁶ (Little light of Basutoland), articles written by the Basuto in the *Leselinyana*, a *Bible commentary on the letter of Paul to the Romans*⁴⁷, *Meqoqo* (short biblical reflections exploring various themes),⁴⁸ *Bukana ea*

⁴⁴ G. Toury, *The nature and role of translation*, In *Idem, Descriptive Translation Studies and beyond* (Amsterdam, Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 1995), pp. 53-69.

⁴⁵ Please see, G. West, "After the missionaries: historical and hermeneutical dimensions of African appropriations of the Bible in Sub-Saharan Africa" (South Africa: *Studia Historiae Ecclesiasticae*, 2012) p. 5, 6.

⁴⁶ Church newspaper, publishing fortnightly, that was started by A. Mabile in 1863 with an object primarily to propagate the Gospel as well as cultivating and promoting the spirit of reading among the Basuto. The Morija Museum & Archives hosts hundreds of issues dating from its inception to the present.

⁴⁷ H. Dieterlen, *Hlaloso ea epistole e ngotsoeng Ba-Roma* (Morija: Morija Sesuto Book Depot, 1912).

⁴⁸ H. Dieterlen, *Meqoqo* (Morija: Morija Sesuto Book Depot 1903).

'Moleli (A Booklet of an Evangelist or Deacon)⁴⁹ and *Palestine Mehlang ea Jesu* (Palestine in the times of Jesus)⁵⁰ and correspondence. The sermons and other reflections of religious nature or of a non-religious nature from the *Leselinyana* will be transcribed, screened, categorized thematically (scan the text into the computer) and translated into English based on a literal rendering of a text which shall form appendices (Appendix A).⁵¹ They were hermeneutically analysed. This explained and interpreted the text to extract an in-depth understanding of meaning of human practices, the culture, and the works of art such as the poems and text. Over and above this, the sermons were compared to Calvin's Bible commentaries to ascertain continuity or discontinuity of Calvin's theology. This helped us to understand Dieterlen's theological position and to address the research problem.

Furthermore, Dieterlen's sermons were classified according to three periods of ten years each of his early life in Basutoland (1874- 1884), ten mid years (1894-1904) and ten years of the close of his ministry (1909-1919). This was done to see how his views developed and changed over time and to see how such views were received or challenged by the Basuto.

The three periods during which Dieterlen preached and published his sermons gave a rough idea of his theology, translation or transmission, and how it was received or challenged.

The major themes that run through the letter to the *Romans* such as Lost in sin (1:1-3:20), Justified by faith (3:21-5:21), Sanctified by the Spirit (6:1-8:39), Chosen by God (9:1-11:36) Transformed by Grace (12-16:27) were likewise assessed, analysed and compared with Calvin's Bible commentary on the letter to the Romans, in particular and his magnum opus: the *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, namely the genre, stylistic approach, text analysis and theological argument were analysed. This helped to answer the main research question.

⁴⁹H. Dieterlen, *Bukana ea 'Moleli* (Moriya: Morija Sesuto Book Depot 1912).

⁵⁰H. Dieterlen, *Palestine Mehlang ea Morena Jesu* (Moriya: Morija Sesuto Book 1909).

⁵¹Appendices provide more detailed information on certain aspects of the thesis, by comparing in detail, for example, Dieterlen and Calvin's works.

The following books of Dieterlen, *Meqogo*, *Bukana ea Moleli* as well as religious and non-religious reflections which constituted the miscellanies were assessed, analyzed and discussed within the Reformed Theology parameters. Correspondence, memoirs and journals determined who Dieterlen communicated with and his thoughts. They form part of the discussion.

Most importantly, this study used the works of notable scholars who studied the Cape Rule⁵² to interrogate Dieterlen's writings to establish how Dieterlen's theology related to colonialism which, when, he arrived was at its beginnings in Basutoland and was the context of his ministry.

⁵²For instance: J. M. Mohapeloa, *Tentative British Imperialism in Lesotho 1884-1910, A Study in Basuto-Colonial Office Interaction and South Africa's Influence on it* (Moriya Museum & Archives, 2002), *Government by proxy, Ten years of Cape Rule in Lesotho 1871-1881* (Moriya: Morija Printing Works, 1971); S. Burman, *Chieftdom Politics and Alien Law: Basutoland under Cape Rule 1871-1884* (London: Macmillan Press, 1981); E. A. Eldrege, *A South African Kingdom, The pursuit of security in the nineteenth-century Lesotho* (New York: Cambridge University press, 1993); P. Sanders, *Throwing Down White Man* (Moriya: Morija Museum and Archives, 2010); *Essays on Aspects of the Political Economy of Lesotho 1500-2000*, Eds. Neville W. Pule and Motlatsi Thabane (Department of History, National University of Lesotho, 2002).

Chapter 2

Basutoland during the time of Hermann Dieterlen

2.1 Introduction

To understand Hermann Dieterlen's work as a missionary in the context of Basutoland, it is important to look first at the years preceding his arrival in Basutoland in 1874. The context includes the Seqiti War(1865-1868),⁵³ the Boers' expulsion of the Paris missionaries (1866), the annexation of Basutoland by Britain (1868) and Emile Rolland 's statement proposing that Basutoland should be incorporated into the British Empire.

The chapter also looks at the episodes of Dieterlen's tenure in Basutoland, namely Cape rule (1871-1884),Moorosi chief of the Baphuthi's rebellion against the Cape Government, disarmament, the Peace Preservation Act and the Gun war (1880-1881), the 50th jubilee of the Paris Mission in Basutoland (1833-1883), the end of Cape rule and the beginning of British rule in Basutoland (1884),the Anglo-Boer War (1899-1901),the Union of South Africa ,the Basutoland National Council, the late 19th century and early 20th century political and religious awakening in Basutoland, the 75th jubilee of the Paris Mission in Basutoland (1833-1908), the First world War (1914-1918) and the formation of the *Lekhotla la Bafo (LLB)* or the Council of Commoners.

Therefore, this chapter provides an analysis of the Seqiti War, and its causes. Broadly speaking the Seqiti war forms the basis of what took place in Basutoland after 1868. It was this war that put Moshoeshoe, the founder of the Basuto nation, in a tight corner to the extent that he was willing to relinquish power and become a British subject so that Britain could protect Basutoland from the Boer invasion. Moshoeshoe had, for several years, wanted and

⁵³The Seqiti War was a result of lengthy hostilities between the Basuto and the Boers over the land which the Boers were occupying. This war was named after the noise that the cannon balls made as they hit the ground- *qiti!* hence the Seqiti War. See, P. Sanders, *Moshoeshoe Chief of the Sotho* (London: Heinemann, 1975), p. 284.

even proposed that there be indirect rule from Britain. He yearned for British protection but did not want to give up the authority that he exercised over his people. In his view, British protection would chiefly guarantee the safety of Basutoland as well as the Basuto's inalienable right to the land.⁵⁴

This chapter illustrates why, at this time, Britain was finally willing to annex Basutoland, when it had always shown its reluctance to do so by turning down Moshoeshoe's repeated proposals and terms of annexation. It puts to light how the Seqiti War affected the work of the Paris Mission, how the Boers expelled the Paris missionaries from Basutoland and how, while in exile, one of them, Emile Rolland⁵⁵, wrote a statement recommending that Britain should include Basutoland in its colonial empire. An immediate question arises here concerning Emile Rolland's statement: did this statement represent the general view of the Paris missionaries concerning the Basuto?

At this juncture, it is important to state that while the mission enterprise impacted negatively on the culture of the Southern Africa people by marginalising their culture and promoting a European ethos, I argue and emphasise the importance of a unique sequence of events which were part of the British colonial scene. I look at the mission enterprise of the Paris Mission in Basutoland as well as the actions of Chief Moshoeshoe and his people.

This chapter shows how, in 1871, Basutoland was placed under the Cape Colony Government, without her knowledge and it looks at the early years of the Cape rule as well as the prevailing forms of resistance to colonialism and the mission enterprise. It illustrates the climax to this resistance to colonialism as it was manifested at the time of the Gun War in

⁵⁴M. Thabane, "Reconsidering the Motives of Colonialism, 1868-1871," in *Essays on Aspects of the Political Economy of Lesotho 1500-2000*, Editors: Neville W. Pule and Motlatsi Thabane (Department of History, National University of Lesotho 2002), p.79.

⁵⁵ Emile Rolland was a son of Samuel Rolland and Elizabeth who were PEMS missionaries. He was the first missionary child born in Lesotho in 1836. He studied in Europe and returned to Lesotho as a PEMS missionary in 1862. He worked at Hermon with his father until he was appointed magistrate in 1872. Craig W. Hincks, *Quest for Peace: An Ecumenical History of the Church in Lesotho* (Moriya: Morija Museum and Archives, 2009), pp. 216, 261.

1880-1881 as well as the anarchy that followed and how Basutoland eventually was ruled by Britain in 1884 after the Cape Government had failed dismally to restore order.

The chapter examines those aspects of the Anglo-Boer War of 1899-1901⁵⁶ which also formed the basis of the events that took place in South Africa and Basutoland in the years following 1901. It illustrates how the plans to unify the four provinces of South Africa (Natal, the Transvaal, the Free State and the Cape of Good Hope) were the cause of a great deal of anxiety among all Africans in Southern Africa, and the Basuto in particular, in the years leading up to 1910 when the Union of South Africa was constituted. The hegemony of the Boers and the English over the Southern African tribes forms a critical part of this chapter.

This chapter discusses British rule in Basutoland and shows how it differed from the Cape rule. It brings to light the growth of the work of the Paris Mission as well as the role that it played in blocking the incorporation of Basutoland into the Union of South Africa. It shows how the *pitso* (national gathering) was abolished and replaced by the Basutoland National Council (BNC) in 1903 as well as the problems that the BNC brought on the Basuto nation.

It provides an analysis of the religious and political awakening that took place at the turn of the 19th century in Basutoland that gave rise to a proliferation of religious and non-religious literature by the Basuto, as they tried to make sense of Christianity. It discusses the creation of the Basutoland Progressive Association (BPA), in 1906, which was a direct reaction by the Basuto elite to the abuses by the chiefs.

It puts to light how the Native Land Act of 1913 in South Africa caused a great influx of refugees into Basutoland as many people found themselves homeless. It discusses the First World War, how it affected Basutoland as well as the shock that the Basuto experienced when some of the Paris missionaries were recruited and sent to the front. Hermann Dieterlen's son died in this war and Dieterlen never recovered from that loss. The chapter

⁵⁶Anglo-Boer War was a result of the power struggle of the two white races: the English and the Boers over the franchise and minerals e.g., gold and diamonds. T. Couzens, *Murder at Morija* (Johannesburg:Random House , 2003), p. 231.

illustrates how the Paris mission carried on some important administrative reforms (between 1915 and 1918) that enabled it to make a quantum leap forward in its work.

The chapter discusses the establishment of the *Lekhotla la Bafo* (LLB), the Council of Commoners that was created to allow the commoners to have a fuller participation in national affairs.

2.2 The Seqiti War (1864-1868)

The Seqiti war marks the apex as well as the end of the ongoing political disturbances and the wars between the Basuto under Chief Moshoeshe and the Boers. The bone of contention was the land, which the Boers believed belonged to them as a chosen people as soon as they arrived on the frontier along the Caledon River valley in the mid-1830s. Originating from Europe, the Boers conceived themselves as a superior race and blessed by God. In fact, all colonists from Europe conceived themselves as superior to the indigenous people in Africa (the British, Germans and French). Thus, it was the Boers' superiority attitude coupled with a sense of divine favour that they made claims that the land in the high veldt belonged to them as a chosen people. They felt unjustly dispossessed by Britain of the land they had owned or occupied for centuries in the Cape. They disregarded the indigenous people's right to the land in the Cape. Perhaps it was a divine inheritance to them as the chosen people. The Afrikaners identified themselves with the people of Israel trekking in the desert to the promised land. The high veldt was the promised land to them. Thus, it was imperative that the native people be displaced in order that the heirs (the Boers) could establish themselves peacefully.

The policy of England, the new colonial power in the Cape, had favoured the emancipation of slaves but promoted violent forms of conquest in other ways. The Boers found the situation intolerable, and they resolved to leave the Cape for a country where they

could establish themselves and be free and independent. This mass movement was called the Great Trek.⁵⁷

Upon their arrival on the frontiers of Basutoland, Moshoeshoe regarded them with a modicum of cordiality. As time went on, they became a thorn unto him, and his people. At first the Basuto thought the Boers were passers-by but when they built permanent settlements it became clear that they were there to stay. Small-scale crimes of cattle theft by the Basuto started and, with time increased until it got to the point where it was difficult to control. This eventually led to the first Basuto-Boer war of 1858 (Senekal War). Chief among the delinquents were Moshoeshoe's son Posholi and his nephew Ramanehella or Lesaoana.⁵⁸ Posholi said that the Boers had deprived him of his land, so they had to feed him.

By the second half of the 19th century, Moshoeshoe had grown old and was unable to control his sons or call his house to order. His sons' marauding and pillaging activities went on unchecked in the south and north of Basutoland. Things got worse when Ramanehella attacked the Boers that guarded the boundary of the Free State in the north near Harrismith, raiding and killing five English transporters who had rested on their way to Pretoria near the boundary. The Free State declared war against Moshoeshoe in 1865. Several small skirmishes between the Basuto and the Boers took place in different parts of Basutoland. These resulted in the Boers defeating the Basuto.⁵⁹

⁵⁷ Hincks, *Quest for Peace*, p. 89.

⁵⁸ M. Thabane, "Reconsidering the Motives of Colonialism," p. 83.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

2.3 The Boers' expulsion of the Paris Missionaries (1866) and the annexation of Basutoland by Britain (1868)

In the first half of the year 1866, the Free State expelled the Paris missionaries from Basutoland. The Boers saw the missionaries as a source of trouble and suspected the Paris missionaries of supporting the Basuto.⁶⁰

Be that as it may, the expulsion of the French missionaries by the Boers was one of the reasons why Britain changed its mind about taking Basutoland on as a protectorate, something she had been reluctant to do for more than half a decade. Christian organizations and some sympathetic people and friends of the Paris Mission in England and in the Cape made so much noise about this expulsion that England had no choice but to annex Basutoland.⁶¹

However, according to Molantoa, the geo-political factor is paramount in understanding the annexation of Basutoland. He contends that the issue of Port St. Johns and the Boers' failure to control the Basuto were the main factors leading to the annexation of Basutoland in 1868 by Sir Philip Edmond Wodehouse.⁶² In the main, Great Britain was determined to block the Boers from any access to a seaport.⁶³

The Orange Free State was said to be looking at the possibility of driving through Basutoland and pushing to have a port where the German and other ships might trade more freely in terms of ornaments and other commodities, thus freeing its self from dependence upon Britain. It was important for Britain to annex Basutoland to secure commerce.

⁶⁰ Thirteen missionaries and their families were expelled from Basutoland. This meant the abandonment of their homes, schools, churches, immovable properties, the result of thirty-two years of hard work. This was for three years. See, Du Plessis, *A history of Christian Missions in South Africa* (Cape Town: C. Struik, 1965), p. 317; L. Thomson, *Survival in two worlds: Moshoeshoe of Lesotho (1786-1870)* (Oxford, 1975), p. 291; Hincks, *Quest for Peace*, p. 248; Couzens, *Murder at Morija*, p. 122.

⁶¹ Thomson, *Survival in Two Worlds*, p. 300.

⁶² Wodehouse arrived in Cape Town in 1862 to succeed Sir George Grey as the Governor of the Cape Colony and British High Commissioner of Southern Africa. Thabane, "Reconsidering the Motives of Colonialism," p. 81.

⁶³ M. M. Lelimo, *The reasons for the Annexation of Lesotho 1868: A new perspective* (Bloemfontein: University of the Free State, 1998), Masters dissertation.

However, Thabane contends that the geo-political and commercial motives played a lesser role in Britain colonising Basutoland than was the case elsewhere. He maintains that Britain annexed Basutoland for the enhancement of its prestige and for security reasons. Britain realised that access to the sea would enable the Boers to import firearms and ammunition without having to secure permission from the British officials in the Cape. Therefore, it annexed Basutoland.⁶⁴ Furthermore, 'Basutoland was seen as a political nerve-centre for African chiefdoms in the region. Bringing this nerve centre under imperial control would therefore deliver significant benefits to the empire.'⁶⁵ This virtually buttresses the foregoing argument.

The Boers' claim that the missionaries were political and had deviated from their function was unfair and unrealistic. It was very difficult for the missionaries to divorce themselves from the people that they served and loved, as the Boers expected them to do. However, the Paris missionaries were cautious not to incite a rebellion among the Basuto. They felt free to confront the Boers and the colonial officers about the injustices committed to the Basuto. Tim Couzens revealed, 'In the *Leselinyana*, the only paper in the country, Mabile⁶⁶ advised adherence [of the Basuto] to the law, even if it seemed injudicious or unjust. . .'⁶⁷

The very fact that the missionaries wrote letters for Moshoeshoe made the Boers believe that they were the source of the trouble.

⁶⁴Thabane, "Reconsidering the Motives of Colonialism," p. 94.

⁶⁵*Ibid*, p. 91.

⁶⁶Adolphe Charles Mabile (1836-1894) was the second-generation missionary of the Paris Mission. He arrived in Basutoland in 1860. He was posted to Morija and became the vanguard of the second-generation missionaries. He established a few important institutions for the Paris Mission which exist even today e.g. The printing Press (1861), the Sesuto Book Depot (1862) and the *Leselinyana la Lesotho* newspaper (1863). He translated John Bunyane's *Pilgrim's Progress* (1871) and Hincks, *Quest for Peace*, p. 252. See also, E. W. Smith, *The Mabilles of Basutoland* (Britain: Hodder and Stoughton, 1939).

⁶⁷Hincks, *Quest for Peace*, pp. 306-307; Couzens, *Murder at Morija*, p. 131.

Unlike the missionaries of the London Missionary Society the Paris missionaries had no ties with their home country, France.⁶⁸ They were independent and enjoyed considerable latitude to judge their context objectively and free from colonial prejudice. The Paris Missionaries did not have support from the French Government. Their home government was weary to involve itself in the affairs of the Christian missions.

The Seqiti war put Moshoeshoe in a tight corner. Realising that the annihilation of his country was inevitable, Moshoeshoe wrote to Wodehouse⁶⁹ again, but this time he was surrendering to any terms that could be agreed upon between himself and Britain with the proviso that his country was annexed. He wrote:

‘I am therefore giving myself and my country up to her Majesty’s Government...’⁷⁰

Wodehouse was not in a hurry to give what Moshoeshoe wanted, but he rather wanted to make sure that he understood what Moshoeshoe was asking for. He sent two officials to Moshoeshoe in Thaba-Bosiu to find out precisely what he wanted before he did anything. After receiving the report, Wodehouse wrote to Britain asking for the annexation of Basutoland. Wodehouse’s proposition was turned down on the grounds of the policy which he had been given when appointed to the position of the High Commissioner. The home country, Britain, made it clear to him that colonial expenditure should be kept low, and that conventions and treaties should be used to exert British influence among Southern African chiefdoms.⁷¹

Though Wodehouse was sympathetic to the plight of the Basuto, this policy was a serious hurdle. Nonetheless, Wodehouse never gave up. He persistently pleaded for the annexation of

⁶⁸A. Boegner, *The Missionary Task of the French Protestant Church (Morija: Morija Sesuto Book Depot, 1914)*, p. 9, an offprint of A. Boegner’s address delivered in the Assembly Hall, Edinburgh (World Missionary Conference) 17th June 1910.

⁶⁹Sir Philip Edmond Wodehouse (26 Feb.1811-25 oct.1887) was appointed Governor of the Cape in 1861 and later was promoted to the position of High Commissioner of Southern Africa in 1862. He succeeded Sir Geroge Grey. See, Thabane, “Reconsidering the Motives of Colonialism,” pp, 81-82.

⁷⁰Moshoeshoe to Wodehouse, 20. August 1865, *BR*, Vol. iii, 1868, pp, 457- 458.

⁷¹ Thabane, “Reconsidering the Motives of Colonialism,” p. 84.

Basutoland. Eventually, Britain allowed him to annex Basutoland and that was proclaimed on 12 March 1868.⁷²

The expulsion of the Paris missionaries, on the other hand, put Moshoeshoe in a precarious situation. The Paris missionaries were his advisors and point of reference. Their expulsion left him alone and all by himself. His mountain fortress was surrounded by the Boers who were making concerted attempts to overthrow it. Moshoeshoe had discerned that a moment like that would one day come. Therefore, he had persistently been asking Britain to annex his country and rule it indirectly, for the Basuto would be confused if ruled by Britain directly. He did not want to be undermined. He had also made it clear that he did not want white settlers in his country.

However, the nature of this annexation was rather vague as it was unclear as to whether Basutoland should become a protectorate or a colony of Britain. To the British officials it was a colony but to the Basuto, and some British administrators, it was a protectorate since Moshoeshoe gave the country over to Britain to rule. The Basuto anticipated that Britain would protect their country, not control it. But as time went on, the Commissioner's Agent (also called Resident Commissioner) and the Paramount Chief governed as equals. This created confusion as there was no consistency in the application of the rule of law.⁷³

2.4 Emile Rolland's statement proposing that Basutoland should be incorporated into the British Empire

Ironically, while some of the Paris missionaries were in exile in Aliwal-North,⁷⁴ Emile Rolland wrote a statement outlining how the Basuto might be incorporated into the British

⁷²*Ibid*, p, 84. See, also, J.M. Mohapeloa, *Government by Proxy* (Moriya: Morija Sesuto Book Depot, 1977), p. 2.

⁷³L.B.J. Machobane, *Government and Change in Lesotho, 1800-1966: A study of Political Institutions* (London: Macmillan, 1990), the preface, p. ix-x.

⁷⁴E. W. Smith, *The Mabilles of Basutoland* (Britain: Hodder and Stoughton, 1939), p. 156.

Empire.⁷⁵ Even though this twenty-six-page document of Rolland does not show to whom it was addressed, the possible recipients were John Bunnet, the Civil Commissioner in Aliwal North, or Philip Wodehouse, the High Commissioner. It is surprising that none of the missionaries talk about this statement in their writings. Perhaps it was a way of distancing themselves from it or there were some other reasons.

In this twenty-six-page statement, Emile Rolland is very critical of the traditional institutions of the Basuto. For example, marriage is labelled as an institution where women are sold by the *bohali* (reversed dowry); Emile Rolland depicted circumcision (passage of an initiation for young men and young women into adulthood) as a “bulwark of heathenism and a school of Satan” declaring that it had superstitious connotations that made [Basuto] men to believe that they were superior to the whites.

Emile Rolland believed that the powers of chieftainship should be curtailed in order to allow Christianity and civilization to advance in Basutoland. He declared that the British Government should support the missionaries as far as education was concerned, as it was the key to civilization.

Other beliefs such as witchcraft, sorcery and divination among the Basuto, had been banned by Moshoeshoe. He even banned circumcision, though he later revived it.

Emile Rolland went on to show the importance of the British Government providing trading shops with licences that regulated trade. Brandy was not supposed to be traded.

Emile Rolland closed his statement with an important note: the Basuto had not been simply annexed by a peaceful convention, nor had they been conquered by the British troops, but rather they had been saved by the Queen from total ruin and dispersal.

While the foregoing statement was truthful, it became a coercive tool in the hands of the Cape colonial administrators and might have led to the possible resistance of the Basuto in

⁷⁵G. M. Theal, *Basutoland Records*, Vol. IV, 1868, pp. 125-151, (hereafter, BR).

the years to come.⁷⁶The government of the Cape Colony followed Emile Rolland's statement when ruling Basutoland.

One could surmise that some of the second-generation Paris missionaries overtly and covertly supported colonialism and had a low opinion of the Basuto and their cultural heritage. Moreover and more importantly, Rolland's statement explicitly supported the hegemonic ambition of the British Crown. In Marxist thought, of which Gramsci was a proponent, cultural hegemony is a 'dominance of culturally diverse society by the ruling class who manipulate the culture of that society the beliefs and explanations, perceptions, values, and mores so that the worldview of the ruling class becomes the accepted cultural norm.'⁷⁷Rolland proposed to the Government that Basutoland should be Europeanised or adopted European features. The colonial government was to eliminate traditional marriage, circumcision as well as the chieftainship whose power was to be curtailed. The education sector of the mission was to be supported by the colonial government in order for "civilization" or European culture to take momentum. Rolland statement makes it clear that the hegemony that was exercised by the government in Basutoland was done in collaboration with the Paris missionaries who supported the colonial enterprise.

2.5 The Cape rule (1871-1884)

When Britain took over Basutoland, Basutoland fell directly under the High Commissioner of Southern Africa who was represented in Basutoland by an Agent. It took Britain almost four years to decide how Basutoland was to be ruled. However, Moshoeshe ruled the Basuto during the interregnum. He was devastated, decrepit and enfeebled by the Seqiti War and he passed the reigns of leadership to his heir Letsie at the *pitso* on 18 January 1870. Shortly

⁷⁶G. Lagden, *The Basutos*, Vol. ii (London: Hutchinson & Paternoster Co, 1909), p. 481.

⁷⁷ B. Alan, *The New Fontana Dictionary of modern Thought*, third edition, eds, Trombley, Stephen (1999), pp. 387-388.

thereafter, on 11 March 1870, he passed on. This was the same year in which Wodehouse left the office of the High Commissioner and was succeeded by Sir Henry Barkly.⁷⁸

The death of Moshoeshoe led to rivalry among his sons and Moshoeshoe's younger brother Masupha. None of them was willing to recognize Moshoeshoe's successor, Letsie. Perhaps this was what impelled Britain to handover Basutoland to the Cape Government in 1871, to 'keep an eye on it'. However, this was done without consulting the Basuto and it became a sore point in the ensuing years, when the Basuto learnt about it⁷⁹. Mohapeloa terms the period of Cape Rule in Basutoland, "Government by Proxy".⁸⁰

The new High Commissioner, Henry Barkly, unlike his predecessor, Wodehouse, followed the orders of the British Government explicitly. In 1871 Barkly annexed Basutoland to the Cape Government to avoid administrative expenses that could accrue to the Imperial Government should taxes (the hut tax) not be well paid.⁸¹ Furthermore, he appointed magistrates: Mr. C.D. Griffith had been the Chief Magistrate or Commissioner's Agent. Emile Rolland became one of the magistrates.⁸²

It was a strange development, a Christian missionary becoming a magistrate! The Paris missionaries were presumably disappointed. Ironically, no reference is made to this issue by any of them in their records, except in their correspondence with friends and family members in Europe.⁸³

Rolland might have been influenced by his brothers-in-law, Joseph Orpen and Hamilton Hope, who served as British officials in Basutoland. He served as a magistrate of Mafeteng,

⁷⁸*Ibid*, p. 47; Hincks, *Quest for Peace*, p. 217.

⁷⁹J. M. Mohapeloa, *Tentative British Imperialism in Lesotho 1884-1910, A Study in Basuto-Colonial Office Interaction and South Africa's Influence on it* (Morija Museum & Archives, 2002), p. 16.

⁸⁰J.M. Mohapeloa, *Government by proxy, Ten years of Cape Rule in Lesotho 1871-1881*(Morija: Morija Printing Works, 1971).

⁸¹Lagden, *The Basutos*, Vol. ii, pp. 471-472.

⁸²S. Gill, "Thomas Mofolo: the man, the writer and his context", in *Tydskrif Vir Letter kunde*, a journal for African literature, translating Mofolo, fourth series, 53 (2) 2016, p. 21; Hincks, *Quest for Peace*, p. 216.

⁸³The Morija Museum and Archives have five books of the proceedings of the missionary conference and letters, written in French, of the following periods: 1860-1872, 1873-1877, 1871-1889, 1863-1877, 1866- 1870.

and then was appointed Director of Education and acting Commissioner's Agent in Basutoland. In 1884 he was transferred to Matatiele and later to Walvis Bay.⁸⁴

Emile Rolland's proposals were followed to the letter by the government of the Cape Colony. The magistrates worked hard to alienate the chiefs from the people. What gave impetus to this was the new system of administration promulgated by a code, which later became the constitution of Basutoland. These new laws empowered the magistrates and curtailed the power of the chiefs. For instance, land allotment was no longer the responsibility of the chiefs but of the magistrates.⁸⁵

Furthermore, the new law went against some of the long-standing Basuto traditional customs. For instance, according to Basuto traditional customs, a woman is married to a family; when the husband dies, she must remain within her husband's family.⁸⁶ The new law gave volition to widowed women to remarry. Additionally, the hut tax was introduced not only to support the administration of Basutoland but also to discourage polygamy.⁸⁷

The Paris Mission assisted in this scheme; for decades they despised Basuto customs (cattle marriage, polygamy and circumcision) and deemed that they were not in line with Christianity, which they were propagating.⁸⁸ The Paris missionaries tried to persuade the Cape colonial administrators in Basutoland to take extreme measures to eradicate the customs deemed not to be in line with Christianity but the Chief Magistrate, Charles Duncan Griffith, rejected the proposal. Griffith attacked the Paris missionaries for their extreme views and

⁸⁴Hincks, *Quest for Peace*, pp. 216, 261.

⁸⁵Philip Wodehouse drew a rough sketch of these codes which were later modified or amended in Barkly's tenure. Commission on the Laws and Customs of the Basutos (Cape Town: Saul Solomon & Co., Steam printing office, 1873); S. Burman, *Chieftdom Politics and Alien Law: Basutoland under Cape Rule 1871-1884* (London: Macmillan Press, 1981), p. 68.

⁸⁶E. Casalis, *The Basutos* (London: James Nisbet & Co. Berners Street, 1861), p. 190; Hugh Ashton, *The Basuto* (London: Oxford University press, 1952), p. 62ff; Smith, *The Mabilles of Basutoland*, p. 189; Mohapeloa, *Government by Proxy*, p. 97.

⁸⁷*South Africa, South African Native affairs Commission 1903-5* vol. iv, minutes of evidence (Cape Town: Cape Times Limited, Government Printers, 1904), p. 416.

⁸⁸*Commission on Laws and Customs of the Basutos* (Cape Town: Saul Solomon & Co., Steam Printing Office, 1873), p. 5; Burman, *Chieftdom Politics and Alien Law* pp. 95, 96, 97.

their tirades on Basuto customs. In his opinion, the Paris missionaries were unreasonable by introducing uncalled for measures. This opinion was expressed in his annual report of 1872 which he presented in 1873. Other magistrates such as John Austen, Major Bell, and Emile Rolland voiced the same concern in their reports. They felt that the enforced separation between converts and non-converts had the effect of increasing the number of renegade converts in Basutoland.⁸⁹

Despite the skirmishes between the government of the Cape Colony and the Paris Mission over which the way the cultural traditions of the Basuto should be handled, the Cape Government supported the Paris Mission schools by the introduction of subventions. The education of the Basuto from the beginning was the sole responsibility of the Paris Mission. The aid from the Cape Government made it possible for more schools to be opened and for the mission to continue to exert its influence.⁹⁰

By asking that extreme measures be taken to eradicate Basuto traditional customs, the Paris missionaries were asking the Cape colonial magistrates to do something out of their mandate. The magistrates were clear about the terms of their duties as well as the boundaries of their office.

Notwithstanding the differences between the magistrates and the Paris missionaries on the issue of the Basuto customs, their aim was the same. But what they could not agree about was the speed and method of abolishing the Basuto customs and of bringing the Basuto under the sway of European culture. Consequently, the chiefs became very hostile to the work of the Paris Mission; and the number of converts and Christians dropped during this time. Some chiefs openly opposed Christianity and even persecuted the Christians under their rule. At the

⁸⁹*Ibid*, pp. 58, 59.

⁹⁰ Ellenberger, *A century of mission work*, pp.171-172; T. Makhakhe, "The teacher: The Motive Power of Development and Civilisation, Initiator and Transmitter of knowledge and History, Inculcator of Moral Ethical Standards and of Ideals, Character and Manners, Preserver of Culture and Traditional Norms and Heritage," in *Mekolokotoane Kerekeng ea Evangeli Lesotho, Jubilee Highlights 1833-2008*, edited by S.J. Gill, G. G.M. Malahleha, M.T. Mashologu et.al, (Moriya Museum and Archives, 2009), p. 204.

same time, young people were apathetic to the religious matters and flamboyantly displayed their independence.⁹¹

Furthermore, the year 1872, saw the introduction of synods in the Paris Mission that ended the semi-congregationalism which had prevailed right from the beginning of the establishment of the mission. Each mission station ran its own affairs independently and enjoyed a certain amount of latitude to run its affairs as it saw fit. However, the introduction of synods was a novelty to the Basuto who could not understand that the decisions taken by their delegates in the synods were binding on them.⁹²

The Church of Hermon experienced a tumult and turmoil because of the synodal regulations. It was comprised of very conceited members who boasted the religious tutelage of their missionary, Samuel Rolland. Hermon almost produced a schism in the Paris Mission, but an experienced missionary, David Frédéric Ellenberger, was sent to quell the disturbances. Ellenberger was succeeded by Hermann Dieterlen in 1887. He was the first Paris missionary to come with a university degree.⁹³

It is against the backdrop of these cultural and socio-political evolutions that Hermann Dieterlen arrived in Basutoland in 1874. He was placed in Morija for six months under an experienced missionary to learn the Sesotho language and the culture of the Basuto. This was the policy of the Paris Mission for all the new missionaries.

From 1872 onwards, efforts were made to have a mission outside Basutoland which would be a branch of the Basutoland mission. In 1873 an expedition set out to explore the possibility of establishing a mission station north of Basutoland. Bonyai (Southern Rhodesia) was found to be a favourable place.

⁹¹Mohapeloa, *Government by Proxy*, pp. 96-97. See also, *Leselinyana la Lesotho* July 1872.

⁹²P. Couprie, "The Foundation and Organisation of the Synodal Authority within the Lesotho Evangelical Church (1872-1964)", in *Mekolokotoane Kerekeng ea Evangeli Lesotho, Jubilee Highlights 1833-2008*, edited by S. J. Gill, G. G. M. Malahleha, M.T. Mashologu, et al, (Morija: Morija Museum and Archives, 2009), pp. 121-123.

⁹³Ellenberger, *A century of mission work in Basutoland 1833-1833*, p.184; Gill, "Thomas Mofolo: the man, the writer and his context", in *Tydskrif Vir Letter kunde*, p. 22.

In 1876 this important work was entrusted to Hermann Dieterlen. He headed for Bonyai with his crew of evangelists only to be intercepted and jailed in Pretoria by the Boers. As a result, he returned to Basutoland and was posted to Hermon serving there from 1877 to 1887.⁹⁴ However, the Paris Mission never gave up the idea of creating new missions outside Basutoland. In 1877, François Coillard was sent with a crew of evangelists to search for a field where a mission station might be established in the north, across the Zambezi. After several years of searching, the Barotseland Mission was founded in 1884.⁹⁵

The commencement of a western style of governance in Basutoland marked a turning point in the chieftainship according to Setimela Janson Jingoos. The chiefs ceased to be the fathers of the people; as the father of the household, he might be strict or loving, kind or severe but his children could expect his backing; he gave a sense of stability and order in the home. The Chiefs then largely became administrators who earned salaries from the colonial government as they helped in the collection of taxes.⁹⁶

The promulgation of a constitution, not in consultation with the Basuto, was the key reason for the first resistance of the Basuto to colonialism. The Basuto wondered what it meant to be the Queen's subjects. In the Cape all the subjects of the British Government were allowed to participate in the laws that affected them, but the Basuto were denied that privilege and this saddened them.

⁹⁴Hermann Dieterlen was bailed out from prison by a German missionary. It was a known fact to the Boers that the Paris missionaries sympathised with the Basuto, and to have their work extended beyond the Transvaal, in their view, was going to bring more trouble in those parts. As a result, the Boers were not prepared to allow that. Additionally, the Boers hated the Paris missionaries with a passion. Ellenberger, *A Century of Mission work in Basutoland*, pp. 200-201; Hincks, *Quest for Peace*, p. 300.

⁹⁵R. C. Germond, *Chronicles of Basutoland, A running commentary on the events of the years 1830-1902 by French protestant missionaries in Southern Africa* (Moriya: Morija Sesuto Book Depot, 1967), p. 563; Hincks, *Quest for Peace*, pp. 300-303; François Coillard, *On the threshold of Central Africa, A record of twenty years pioneering among the Banyai and Barotsi* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1897), pp. 142-146; *Leselinyana la Lesotho*, 01,02(1879).

⁹⁶S. J. Jingoos, *A Chief is a Chief by the people* (London: Oxford university Press 1975), pp. 171, 173, 175; Burman, *Chieftdom Politics and Alien Law*, p. 70; Stephen. J. Gill, *A Short History of Lesotho* (Moriya: Morija Museum and Archives, 1993), pp. 135- 137; M. Thabane, "Aspects of Colonial Economy and Society, 1868-1966," in *Essays on Aspects of the Political Economy of Lesotho 1500-2000*, Editors Neville W. Pulea and Motlatsi Thabane (Department of History, National University of Lesotho, 2002), pp. 105, 106.

The result was the remarkable petition of the 25 February 1872, asking among others, to have the Basuto represented in the Cape Parliament to safeguard the interests of the Basuto. This petition was turned down. The Cape Government impressed upon the Basuto that if that were to be allowed, Basutoland would become part of the Cape Colony and would be opened for white settlers. In addition, the laws in the colony would be applicable in Basutoland; as a result, the Cape laws would supersede their traditional customs.⁹⁷

The Basuto, disappointed and dissatisfied by the verdict of the Cape Government, went about their routines as a people of great industry, tilling the soil and animal husbandry. Peace and plenty reigned in Basutoland as there were no more wars that disturbed and impeded good farming. Nevertheless, all was not well. There was a growing animosity among the Basuto towards the Paris Mission and the Cape colonial government.

The Cape rule in Basutoland coincided with the discovery of diamonds in Kimberley in South Africa. Basuto men rushed to work on the mines in Kimberley seeking fortunes and increasing their wealth. Consequently, the South African mining industry increased the income of the Basuto. On the other hand, this economic boom brought much consternation in the Paris Mission which foresaw the dangers as well as the problems which would arise out of the long periods of separation of families (husbands and wives). Some men left their families for good by going to the mines, while others came home having copied bad behaviour in the mines. The money earned from the mines promoted sensual behaviour and materialism among the people.⁹⁸

⁹⁷Lagden, *The Basutos* Vol.ii, pp. 474-477; Burman, *Chiefdom Politics and Alien Law*, p.93; L. B. B. J. Machobane, *Government and Change in Lesotho, 1800-1966: A study of Political Institutions* (London: Macmillan, 1990), pp. 49-50.

⁹⁸Germond, *Chronicle of Basutoland*, pp. 320-321, 324; Gill, *A Short History of Lesotho*, pp. 118-123; Merafo ea Africa Boroa le Moruo oa Lesotho, *Migrant Labour Project, Christian Council of Lesotho*(Moriya: Morija Printing Works, 1983), pp. 20-24; C. Murray. *Families divided, The impact of Migrant Labour in Lesotho*(Braamfontein, Johannesburg, 2001), p. 49-50; *South Africa today: A good host country for migrant workers? International consultation on the role of the church among migrant workers*(Johannesburg, 1976), p. 79.

Despite the misgivings of the Paris Mission about Basuto able-bodied men going to the mines, it did absolutely nothing to curb the negative impact of the lengthy separation of Basuto males from their families. The mission's main goal was the evangelisation of the Basuto tribe as well as the moralizing of it.⁹⁹

Five years or so after the inception of the Cape rule in Basutoland, there was public disquiet over Christianity and colonialism, a lot of thinking had been done by the Basuto and the Cape rule was well established.

At the helm in 1876, the Cape Government read the proposed amendments to be the laws that governed Basutoland, giving more power to the magistrates as well as a more elaborate disenfranchisement of the chieftainship's privileges. As a result, the Basuto, weary of unjust laws and unjust treatment and after enduring the heavy yoke of the Cape rule exhibited another form of resistance, this time by the Basuto women who despised all the Western commodities or European manufactured goods.¹⁰⁰ The Basuto women displayed their resistance in what Rolland called "hysteria mania" or *Mothekeheke* in Sesotho, whereby '...women rush downhill, their heads flapping about like a knot on whip of lash', according to the explanation of it by Adele Mabile.¹⁰¹ This open and symbolic protest by the Basuto women, according to Stephen Gill, is an indicator of a deep seated and general anxiety which resulted from a long period of rapid social change, and, possibly, the imposition of a different form of power, i.e. colonial authority.¹⁰²

⁹⁹ E. T. Maloka, *Basuto and the mines: a social history of labour migrancy in Lesotho and South Africa, c. 1890-1940* (Codesia, Dakar, 2004), pp. 159-160; For a detailed and general view of Christian Missions' apathy on the harmful effects of migrant labour in the South African mine industries, see, P. Denis: "A case of Pastoral Myopia? The South African church's ambiguous response to the erosion of family life in the early years of the migrant labour system" *International Journal of Historical studies* vol. 50, no.3, (2017). See also *South Africa, South African Native affairs Commission 1903-5, Vol. iv, minutes of evidence* (Cape Town: CapeTimes Limited, Government Printers, 1904). In this book we see how most of the missionaries interviewed were silent about the bad effects of labour migrancy on African family structure.

¹⁰⁰ E.g., European clothing, civilisation, Christianity, pipes, ploughs, and tax receipts but in all that, the Basuto only gave up their pipes and nothing more. See, Mohapeloa, *Government by Proxy*, pp.97-98; *Leselinyana la Lesotho*, 10-11, 10-12(1876), p, 47, 01. 01(1879); Burman, *Chieftdom, Politics and Alien law*, pp. 100-101.

¹⁰¹ Smith, *The Mabilles of Basutoland*, p. 205,206; Gill, *A short History of Lesotho*, pp. 126, 262-263.

¹⁰² *Ibid*, p. 127.

On the other hand, David B. Barrett maintained that the assault of Christian missions on the African traditional structures was felt more by women than by men. Women bore the full brunt of missionary tirades on African traditional customs. The missionaries' refusal to baptise illegitimate children was felt more by women; the stringent law of the missionaries that any polygamist desiring baptism had to choose one wife and to discard the others was felt more by women. The disgrace as well as the stigma of being abandoned was felt more by women. With more to lose, the women vehemently defended their traditional institutions and their way of life.¹⁰³

The Basuto women, deeply depressed by the rapid social changes, reverted to their cultural tradition in their expression of their discontentment. According to Steven Gill, Hugh Ashton and Craig Hincks, a hypnotic trance, staggering about erratically, hysteria and ecstatic movement are closely connected with Basuto traditional healers when they enquire of the spirits about the unknown, or commune with the spirits.¹⁰⁴

The rapid social changes that took place in Basutoland spearheaded by the Cape colonial government and the Paris Mission finally led to a call to return to tradition by the Basuto women. There was a rise of prophetesses in Basutoland as well as backsliding and reverting to initiation rites.¹⁰⁵ However, the colonial government dismissed this phenomenon as a sheer delusion that would die a natural death.¹⁰⁶

The amended laws were promulgated in 1877, and this was done much to the consternation of the chiefs. After a considerable time of thinking, the chiefs wrote a long petition on 03 June 1878 to the British Government. The chiefs, in this petition complained,

¹⁰³ D. B. Barrett, *Schism and Renewal in Africa, An analysis of six thousand contemporary religious movements* (Nairobi, Addis Ababa, Lusaka: Oxford University Press, 1968), pp. 147,150.

¹⁰⁴ Gill, *A Short History of Lesotho*, p. 126; Hincks, *Quest for peace*, p. 262; Ashton, *The Basutos*, pp. 283-284.

¹⁰⁵ See, G. Tylden, *The rise of the Basuto* (Cape town and Johannesburg: Juta & Co., Limited, 1950), p.126. Infanticide and concealment of birth were not offenses in the Basuto law or tradition, but the Cape colonial government made it an offense punishable by imprisonment. Perhaps, this is another reason why the Basuto women felt they had had enough of the Cape Colonial Government as this law affected them directly. Cf. Burman, *Chieftdom, Politics and Alien law*, pp. 92,103.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid*, p. 104.

among other things, about being simply told about the laws that governed them, and of not being allowed to even respond to them. The chiefs reiterated their previous enquiry about what it meant to be the Queen 's subjects. The Basuto chiefs and the people asked the British Government whether there was a distinction between subjects of the British Government and whether they were being treated differently because of their colour. The chiefs brought to the attention of the British Government, the 1872 incident, whereby the laws were promulgated without their being consulted; and they stated that they had thought that it would never happen again.¹⁰⁷

The chiefs stated that they had not signed for this, and, besides, Moshoeshe, who put the Basuto under the British Government, had proposed that England should rule his country through him.¹⁰⁸ The chiefs and the people found that what Moshoeshe had always wanted for the Basuto had been compromised. These grievances could not be addressed during the Cape rule but overall, they formed the basis of what later became British rule. On the other hand, the grievances became a lever for the events that took place towards the close of the 1870s.

2.6 Moorosi Chief of the Baphuthi's rebellion against the Cape Government

Early in 1878, Moorosi, the chief of the Baputhi, south of Basutoland, defied the Cape Colony Government's order to bring his son, Doda, before the law for the alleged theft of horses. This eventually led to a war in which the Cape Colony persuaded the Basuto to help subdue Moorosi. The Basuto were promised Moorosi's country (Quthing) if they helped, but if they didn't help, Quthing would be awarded to the colonial troops for bringing Moorosi to

¹⁰⁷This petition, a fourteen-page document, was seen by Stephen Gill of the Morija Museum and Archives in the Western Cape Archives and Records Services on the 06.07.2018: NA 275(1878), Thapelo ea Marena le ea sechaba sa Lesotho go 'Muso oa Mofumahadali le lipelaelo (The petition of the chiefs and of the people of Basutoland to Her Majesty's Government). This petition was translated into English by Emile Rolland, who was then the acting Commissioner 's Agent, and sent on the 20.07.1878. The *Leselinyana la Lesotho* of 01.12.1878, also, has a long article that discusses the concerns and grievances of the Basuto chiefs tabled before Griffiths in a *pitso* in 1878.

¹⁰⁸Perhaps, the chiefs had forgotten that Moshoeshe surrendered to the Queen with no such terms in 1868. Moshoeshe proposed such terms before the catastrophes of the Seqiti War. See, *BR*, Vol.iii, pp, 457-458.

order.¹⁰⁹ After Moorosi was subdued, the colonial government was reluctant to honour its promise to give Moorosi's country to the Basuto. Instead, the colonial government planned to open Quthing for the white farmers. This exacerbated the tension between Basutoland and the Cape Colony. However, the plan to open Quthing for white farmers never succeeded since Letsie sent his son to occupy the country of the Baphuthi.¹¹⁰

2.7 Disarmament, the Peace Preservation Act and the Gun War (1880-1881)

The exodus of the Basuto to work in the South African mines made it possible for them to acquire firearms and ammunition. As time went on, this caused a measure of panic and alarm among the magistrates in Basutoland. John Austen, the Magistrate of Quthing, was the first person to sound the alarm about the enormous importation of firearms and ammunition into Basutoland. Other magistrates paid little attention to Austen's call; they saw no cause for the alarm.

Generally, white people in Southern Africa suffered from fear of an armed uprising of all the African tribes. As a result, the Cape Government enacted the general disarmament law (the Peace Preservation Act) that disarmed all Southern African native tribes.¹¹¹ At first, the Basuto thought that they would be exempted from the application of this law as docile and servile subjects of the British Government. When this expectation did not materialise, the Basuto nation was split into two factions: the nationalists or "rebels"¹¹² and the "loyalists"¹¹³. Basutoland went into a civil war which was later known as the Gun War.¹¹⁴

¹⁰⁹E. Eldreage, *A South African Kingdom, the pursuit of security in the nineteenth-century Lesotho* (New York: Cambridge University press, 1993), p. 167; Peter Sanders, *Throwing down White man* (Moriya: Morija Museum and Archives, 2010), pp. 70, 97.

¹¹⁰*Ibid*, pp. 81, 263; Gill, *A Short History of Lesotho*, pp. 127-128.

¹¹¹ Sanders, *Throwing Down White man*, p. 98; Eldreage, *A South African Kingdom*, p. 167.

¹¹²Those who refused to hand over their weapons eg. guns, pistols, gun powder, assegai, spears, swords, bayonets, daggers, pikes. *Ibid*; Mohapeloa, *Government by Proxy*, p. 56.

¹¹³Those who handed over their weapons.

¹¹⁴This war took place in 1880-1881. Ellenberger, *A Century of mission work*, p. 211; Mohapeloa, *Government by Proxy*, p. 56ff ; Hinks, *Quest for peace*, pp. 272-273.

The nationalists won this war, and the Basuto were allowed to retain their weapons. A time of anarchy, lawlessness as well as drunkenness followed as the magistrates lost control of the people.¹¹⁵

The Paris Mission's views on disarmament were rather sympathetic to the Basuto. They tried hard to show the colonial government the mistake of disarming the Basuto but in vain. The Paris missionaries went as far as to write two petitions to this effect, but the colonial government instead warned the missionaries to back off lest they be held responsible for inciting a rebellion to the colonial orders among the people of Basutoland.¹¹⁶

2.8 The 50th jubilee of the Paris Mission in Basutoland (1833-1883)

Notwithstanding the political disturbances of the time, on 22 July 1883, the Paris Mission celebrated the fiftieth jubilee of its presence in Basutoland at Morija. It was attended by a large crowd and was graced by the presence of Alfred Boegner, the sub-director of the Mission House in Paris. As it celebrated this jubilee, the Paris Mission was faced with major and competing priorities. Firstly, the Basuto had moved in large numbers into the mountains because of the Gun War, and the mission needed to establish new stations in those parts. Second, the Barotseland Mission, being recently established, needed material support. Third, the Girls' School at Thaba-Bosiu also needed to be revived.

A significant decision which the Paris Mission made to mark the occasion was the publication of a small pamphlet entitled *Yubile ea Kereke ea Lesotho*.¹¹⁷ Years later, Theophile Jousse published a book in French: *La mission française évangélique au sud de l'Afrique; son origine et son développement jusqu'à nos jours*.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁵*Ibid*, Eldreage, *A South African Kingdom*, p. 170.

¹¹⁶Couzens, *Murder at Morija*, p. 133; Ellenberger, *A Century of Mission Work*, p. 207.

¹¹⁷H. Kruger, *Yubile ea Kereke ea Lesotho* (Morija, 1883), 7 pages.

¹¹⁸T. Jousse, *La mission française évangélique au sud de l'Afrique ; son origine et son développement jusqu'à nos jours*. Paris 1889, 2 volumes, over 800 pages. See, J. M. Mohapeloa, *From Mission to Church, Fifty years of*

2.9 The End of Cape rule and the beginning of British rule in Basutoland (1884)

When the Cape Government realised that the anarchy in Basutoland was unstoppable, it arranged with the British Government to take Basutoland back. The 19 March 1884 marked the beginning of British rule in Basutoland. The chiefs were empowered unlike the situation at the period under the Cape rule when their power was curtailed. The Paramount Chief was also empowered by the introduction of combined courts: the Commissioner's Agent and the Paramount Chief worked together. The British Government reserved the right to hear the appeals as well as the pronouncement of the death sentence.¹¹⁹

The commencement of British rule in Basutoland brought about all that Moshoeshoe had long desired. No white man was allowed to own land in Basutoland and all the minerals as well as the subsoil wealth were declared to belong to the Basuto. The Basuto chiefs were allowed more power than other chiefs elsewhere (Bechuanaland, Swaziland and South Africa). The Basutoland authority was exercised through the Paramount Chief supported by other chiefs, something that was not the case in other places where the chiefs were crushed.¹²⁰

2.10 The Anglo-Boer War or the War of South Africa (1899-1901)

The close of the 19th century and the dawn of the 20th century were marked by a power struggle between the Boers and the English over the South African minerals. The discovery of diamonds in the Free State as well as gold in Johannesburg made the Boers eager to retain their independence in Southern Africa; and the English wanted a united South Africa where they could have control or a share of the mineral resources.

The Anglo-Boer War (1899-1902) was a direct product of the power struggle. The Boers were not willing to give up the fight easily, as surrendering would mean being deprived of

the Paris Evangelical Mission Society and the Lesotho Evangelical Church 1933-1983(Morija: Morija Sesuto Book Depot 1985), pp. 4,5; Hincks, *Quest for peace*, p. 308; Couzens, *Murder at Morija*, pp. 138-139.

¹¹⁹*Ibid*, p. 139;Ellenberger, *A Century of Mission Work*, p. 225; Hincks, *Quest for Peace*,pp. 312-313.

¹²⁰Mohapeloa, *Tentative British Imperialism in Lesotho 1884-1910*, p. 50.

their independence. Therefore, they embarked on a guerrilla war that impacted very badly on the English. The two fighting white races eventually entered peace talks which took place in Vereeniging.

The net results of the peace talks were that equal rights and privileges were granted to the English and the Boers; Afrikaans and English languages became the official languages in South Africa; England compensated the Boers for the losses they had suffered during the war; and the Boer Republics became independent Crown colonies.¹²¹

2.11 The Union of South Africa

As time went on, disputes arose in the four colonies, over railways and customs' policies. The High Commissioner, Lord Selborne, encouraged the four Crown colonies to form a Union in order to bring harmony as well as commonality among them. The union of the four colonies took place in 1910, and that marked an important milestone in the history of South Africa.¹²²

The formation of the Union of South Africa gave rise to grave misgivings among the Basuto: they saw the Union as going to swallow them up, thereby disenfranchising them of their national rights. Therefore, all necessary steps were taken by the chieftainship, the Basutoland National Council (BNC) and the Paris missionaries. This was to forestall, delay and guard against Basutoland becoming part of the Union of South Africa. In May 1908, the Paramount Chief Letsie II, wrote a letter to the Resident Commissioner Sloley, enquiring about the position of Basutoland in the anticipated Union of South African colonies. On 29 January 1909, the Conference of the Paris Mission, also wrote a letter to the High

¹²¹These colonies were: The Natal, the Free State, The Transvaal and the Cape of Good Hope. See, E. Jacottet, *History ea South Africa e ngoletsoeng likolo* (Moriya: Morija Sesuto Book Depot, 1929), pp. 40, 41; G.B. Pyrah, *Imperial Policy and South Africa 1902-10* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1955), p. 37.

Hincks, *Quest for peace*, p. 372-373; L. M. Thompson, *The Unification of South Africa 1902-1910* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1960), pp. 192-193.

¹²² Hincks, *Quest for Peace*, pp. 407-408; Thompson, *The Unification of South Africa 1902-1910*, pp. 415-416.

Commissioner Lord Selborne, backing the position taken by the Basuto and emphasising that their country should not be incorporated into the Union.

On 6 February 1909, a delegation of the Basuto chiefs arrived in London with a petition to King Edward VII, expressing Basutoland 's unwillingness to be part of the Union of South Africa. Tim Couzens maintained that *Naledi ea Lesotho* (The Lesotho Star), a bilingual newspaper owned by two Basuto men, disfavoured incorporation in its columns. These concerted actions subsequently ensured that Basutoland was not incorporated into the Union of South Africa.¹²³

The formation of the Union of South Africa in 1910 brought considerable consternation among the Basuto and other Southern African tribes. Basutoland felt vulnerable being surrounded by the Union Government. This resulted in it working hard with other African tribes for African unity and solidarity in the region. Two years after the creation of the Union (08-10 January 1912), the South African Native National Congress (SANNC) was formed in Bloemfontein. This political movement was implicitly inspired by the BPA.¹²⁴ Hincks claimed that the Basuto played a leading role in the formation of the SANNC.¹²⁵ However this is contested. The Paramount Chief, Letsie II, was appointed Honorary Vice President of the SANNC, and Chief Alexander Maama was appointed the first chairperson. When Maama declined the chairmanship, Philip Mochekoane Molise, one of the Basuto delegates, took his place. The SANNC, later renamed the African National Congress (ANC), was a nonviolent

¹²³A. Coastes, *Basutoland*(London, 1966), p.41; Machobane, *Government and change in Lesotho*, pp. 111,114, 117. Cf. Couzens, *Murder at Morija*, pp. 296-298, 304-305; Hincks, *Quest for peace*, pp. 407-408.

¹²⁴ Their founding resolutions were parallel and coterminous to a large extent: anti-European and pro-African with Africans' liberation undertones. Cf. D. P. Kunene, *Thomas Mofolo and the emergence of written Sesotho prose*(South Africa: Ravan Press, 1989), pp. 26, 27, 28; See also J.P. Vanstone, "The Cape and Basutoland: A study of the effects of the Basuto War on the development of political parties in the Cape Colony 1878-1884"(Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario, Canada 1967). MA dissertation.

¹²⁵Hincks, *Quest for Peace*, p. 408.

political movement which advocated for the rights of Africans as well as for racial equality in Southern Africa.¹²⁶

Disregarding the concerted actions of the Africans who demonstrated for their rights, the Union Government passed the Native Land Act in 1913. The land Act deprived Africans of ‘ninety three percent of Union territory... [excluding specifically designated land] known as “scheduled areas” or “homelands.” It also made the common Free State practice of share cropping or “farming by halves” illegal, in order to promote large-scale capitalist farming.’¹²⁷

Since this happened at the expense of Basuto farmers who were gradually dispossessed of their ancestral land, this eventually led to multitudes of people being made homeless. It was followed by a massive exodus of Basuto and some other tribes (the aba-Thembu of Transkei) from South Africa into Basutoland. Basutoland opened its doors to these refugees, perhaps led by a spirit of solidarity.¹²⁸

2.12 The Basutoland National Council

Another important development was the establishment of the BNC in 1903.¹²⁹ The BNC was designed to take the place of the *pitso*. It was hoped that it would facilitate internal territorial affairs as well as effect communication between the colonial government and the Paramount Chief including all the people. It was founded to create an opportunity for the exchange of views and the sharing of responsibility in decision making. However, this scheme failed to

¹²⁶Hincks, *Quest for peace*, p.409; Kunene, *Thomas Mofolo and the emergence of written Sesotho prose*, pp. 27-28; Machobane, *Government and change in Lesotho 1800-1966*, pp. 123-124.

¹²⁷ Hincks, *Quest for Peace*, p, 409.

¹²⁸Ibid.

¹²⁹The BNC was initiated when the Cape Colonial Government withdrew from the administration of Basutoland in the 1880s, and Britain made a resumption of control over Basutoland in 1884. B. Nyeko, “Resistance to Colonial Rule and the Emergence of Anti-Colonial Movements,” in *Essays on Aspects of the Political Economy of Lesotho 1500-2000*, Editors Neville W. Pule and Motlatsi Thabane (Department of History, National University of Lesotho, 2002), p. 133; Machobane, *Government and Change in Lesotho, 1800-1966*, pp. 76-77.

fulfil the envisaged outcomes. Rather the chiefs attended the BNC for their prestige, personal gain, and to pander to the Colonial Government.¹³⁰

The BNC re-stated the customary law (*Melao ea Lerotholi*) and amended it, in its first session in 1903. However, there were mixed feelings about these laws among the colonial administrators in Basutoland. The Resident commissioner thought of them as just being re-instated while the legal advisor thought they were informally legislated.¹³¹

2.13 Late 19th century and early 20th century political and religious awakening in Basutoland

Towards the close of the 19th century, a political awakening was brewing in Basutoland. This found expression early in the 20th century in the formation of the Basutoland Progressive Association (BPA). The Basuto chiefs had become corrupt and were involved in several reprehensible actions impacting negatively on the nation. These were actions such as excessive fines, unfair trials and judgements.

The Basuto educated elite formed the BPA to redress the situation and to advise the colonial government and the Chieftainship on the need to reform a range of political arrangements which, from their perspective, were undermining a broader participation in decision making as well as stifling Basuto entrepreneurship. Reforms were needed as the country 's agricultural production was declining, making it increasingly a labour reserve for South Africa. Moreover, white traders dominated the commercial life, and the scope for the aspirant educated Basuto was restricted by an implicit policy of segregation.¹³²

¹³⁰*Ibid*, p. 84; Mohapeloa, *Tentative British Imperialism in Lesotho 1884-1910*, pp.95, 99-100; L.B.B.J.

Machobane, "Cape colonial rule and African vassalage, the case of Lesotho 1872-1884", in *NUL Journal of Research*, vol. 5(National University of Lesotho, 1995), pp. 89-90.

¹³¹B. Nyeko, "Resistance to Colonial Rule and the Emergence of a Anti-Colonial Movements," in *Essays on Aspects of the Political Economy of Lesotho 1500-2000*, Editors Neville W. Pule and MotlatsiThabane (Department of History, National University of Lesotho, 2002), pp. 133, 134; Hincks, *Quest for Peace*, p. 374.

¹³²D. P. Kunene, Introductory Essay in Thomas Mofolo, *Pitseng, The search for love, A translation of Thomas mofolo by Daniel P. Kunene* (Moriya: Morija Museum and Archives, 2013); Gill, *A short history of Lesotho*, p.

Towards the close of the 19th century, the Paris Mission moved closer to the model of a national Church: a true Church of Basutoland. The theological school for Basuto pastors reopened in 1887 under the directorship of Hermann Dieterlen. Two generations of Basuto ministers, who received three years of training, were ordained and absorbed into the Paris Mission in complete parity with the white missionaries. The mixed conference (the Seboka), established in 1899, accommodated the Basuto ministers and white missionaries on equal terms of powers.¹³³

The Paris Mission's acceptance of the Basuto ministers in the running of the Paris Mission work helped the Church to contain the growing influence of the Ethiopian movement in the 1890s. Ethiopianism advocated African liberation, self-reliance, independence from Churches run by whites and the affirmation and restoration of African dignity. Prior to the appearance of Ethiopianism in Basutoland, Cranmer Sebata¹³⁴ established an independent school at Matelile in 1888. Though trained as a teacher by the Paris Mission, Cranmer found mission Christianity and education paternalistic. He was later ordained as a minister in the African Methodist Episcopal Church.¹³⁵

At the same time, there were some Basuto who held extreme positions and views about their traditional customs. They saw all that Christianity brought as good and all that their forefathers believed and practised as evil. Towards the close of the 19th century, the *Leselinyana* newspaper published very interesting debates in this regard. An anonymous writer posted an article in the *Leselinyana* in 1890 that depicted circumcision as

148; P. P. Mapetla, "The role of the Basutoland Progressive Association in the formation of the modern political parties in Lesotho (History Department, National University of Lesotho, 1985), p. 43. B.A. dissertation.

¹³³Couzens, *Murder at Morija*, South Africa, pp.263-264; P. Couprie, "The Foundation and Organisation of the Synodal Authority within the Lesotho Evangelical Church (1872-1964)", in *Mekolokotoane Kerekeng ea Evangelii Lesotho, Jubilee Highlights 1833-2008*, edited by S. J. Gill, G.G.M. Malahleha, M.T. Mashologu, et al (Morija: Morija Museum and Archives, 2009), pp.123-124.

¹³⁴Sebata was one of the first students at the Normal school in 1868. He became a teacher in the Paris Mission's schools after completion of his studies. When the theological school was opened in 1882, he became a student. The seminary was closed in 1883 due to the ill health of its director. When it opened in 1887, Sebata never returned.

¹³⁵Mohapeloa, *Tentative British Imperialism in Lesotho 1884-1910*, p. 195; Gill, *A Short History of Lesotho*, p.149; Hincks, *Quest for Peace*, pp. 376,380-382; Mohapeloa, *From Mission to Church*, p. 9.

“stinking”. One, August Isaac, took offence from that and responded, harshly defending Basuto customs and insinuating that the anonymous writer was a jerk for insulting his ancestors who practised the traditional rite.¹³⁶

However, the editor of the *Leselinyana* defended the anonymous writer and backed up his position. It was the policy of the editor to suppress dissenting views as well as to expurgate articles. This is evidenced by what the editor once wrote:

‘What I do not want is argument. I have discarded letters by hundreds which might have incited argument and mutual hatred.’¹³⁷

While it is clear that the Basuto held different views regarding their customs and Christianity, the anonymous author who wrote against circumcision, makes it evident that some Christians were not free to speak openly against their culture. They feared the chiefs and the people. Christians were a minority group and a large number of the people were non-Christians. This incident also shows that some Basuto were not happy about the changes Christianity brought with regard to customs and were prepared to face the missionaries about it. Hence why Isaac did not hide his name.

The content of the *Leselinyana* newspaper towards the close of the 19th century was characterised by a strong moral bias. The editor only allowed comments that agreed with missionary teaching. There was a proliferation of literary works by the Basuto over a wide range of themes in the form of fables and Sesotho tales, which at times were reinterpreted or juxtaposed with Biblical stories: the story of Moshanyan’a Sankata retold by Azariel Sekese(1849-1930) is a case in point. It is about a Young Deliverer who was born after a great monster had eaten up all the people on Earth. Despite the warning by his mother to leave the beast alone, the Young Deliverer went after the beast and killed it. He delivered all the people that the beast had swallowed. As a result, the Young Deliverer was made a chief

¹³⁶ *Leselinyana*, March 1, 1890, p. 7.

¹³⁷ *Ibid*, January 1, 1889.

by the people. As time went on, the people became envious of him and wanted to kill him. He escaped from all the traps they set for him, as he had magical powers. The Young Deliverer eventually got tired of it all and allowed the people to kill him.¹³⁸

This story resonates with the story of Jesus Christ, who suffered the same fate for the people that he saved from their sins.¹³⁹ We can conclude that the Basuto had the knowledge of a type of Christ before the coming of the Christian missionaries.

The *zeitgeist* of late 19th century was taken into the 20th century and brought about a more elaborate introspective spirit amongst the Basuto Christians about their traditions and the changes brought about by Christianity. Sekese served as a precursor of this spirit of self-enquiry, when he published a book on the traditions and proverbs of the Basuto in 1893.¹⁴⁰ Even though Hermann Dieterlen hailed and highly commended this work, Sekese felt that it was not good to discard Basuto traditional practices. He therefore spent a great deal of time collecting and writing the traditions and proverbs of the Basuto with a view to preserving them. According to him, proverbs would serve as the final words for the verdicts of all kinds, for wisdom and education as well as words of refinement in conversation, and as words to comfort those in grief.¹⁴¹

The example of Sekese in publishing a book was followed by Thomas Mofolo, who published a novel, *Moeti oa Bochabela* (The traveller to the East) in 1907.¹⁴² Mofolo's work seems to have been inspired by John Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* as there is a very close relationship between the two works. For instance, in Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*: 'We humanity, are corrupt' is replaced by the message: 'We, Basuto, or Africans, are corrupt, in

¹³⁸*Ibid*, 15, 08(1892); Couzens, *Murder at Morija*, pp. 339-340.

¹³⁹Isaiah 53.

¹⁴⁰*Buka ya pokello ya mekgwa ea Basuto*. This is the first book to be published by a Mosotho, and the book was serialised in the *Leselinyana* in 1895.

¹⁴¹A. Sekese, *Mekhoa le Maele a Basuto (Morija)*: Morija Sesuto Book Depot, 1931), p. 81; Cf. Couzens, *Murder at Morija*, p. 291.

¹⁴²This was the first original work by a Mosotho. Hermann Dieterlen commended Mofolo for this masterpiece. *Ibid*, pp. 285-286; *Leselinyana*, 01, Loetse, 1907, A. B. Thoahlane, "Media in Lesotho", in *Mekolokotoane Kerekeng ea Evangeli Lesotho, Jubilee Highlights 1833-2008* (Morija Museum and Archives, 2009), p. 218.

Mofolo's *Traveller to the East*.¹⁴³In this book, Mofolo seems to be responding to the on-going question of whether the Basuto knew God before the coming of the missionaries. His response was in the affirmative. In his skilful allegory of the *Traveller to the East*, Mofolo unpacked, among other things, an innate knowledge of God. Though wayward and backward as well as ignorant, the ancient Basuto believed that there was a living God that created all things. They believed that God detested evil: witchcraft and the likes. When someone had departed, the ancient Basuto would give the departed person a package of all sorts of seeds and bade him or her farewell: “*Oho, u re roballe, u re kopele pula, u re fe mabele, mokopu . . .*”(Oh! sleep for our sake, beg rain for us, provide us with sorghum, [and] pumpkin). The ancient Basuto talked in this manner as if the departed was conscious and heard what was being said. Mofolo further indicated that bereavement songs were sung. An example is:

Re siiloe kante, We are left outside,
Re siiloe le lillo, We are left with weeping,
Re siiloe le mahlomola. We are left with sorrow.
O, hola le 'na nka nkeloa leholimong! O, if only I too could be taken to
heaven!
Ke hloka lipheeo keng? Why do I lack wings?
nka be ke ikela teng; I would go there in person;
Hola khoele e teng e leketlang, If there was a string hanging down,
ke ne ke tla itsoarella ka eona, I would hold onto it,
*Ke nyolohele ho baheso boiketlong*¹⁴⁴And ascend to my people in that
place of peace.

The contents of this song and the gesture of the seeds given to the departed at the burial clearly show that the ancient Basuto had the knowledge of God and believed that there was life beyond the grave. This is a foundational as well as a creedal belief of the Christian faith.

¹⁴³Kunene, *Thomas Mofolo and the emergence of Written Sesotho Prose*, p.23. In South Africa, Tiyo Soga, the first black South African minister (ordained in the Presbyterian Church of Scotland in 1856) also translated the *Pilgrim's Progress*.

¹⁴⁴T. Mofolo, *Moeti oa Bochabela* (Moriya: Morija Sesuto Book Depot, 1957), pp. 2-3; T. Mofolo, *Traveller to the East*, translated by Harry Ashton (London: Penguin Books, 2007), p.3; Kunene, *Thomas Mofolo and the emergence of Written Sesotho Prose*, p.70.

2.14 The 75th jubilee of the Paris Mission in Basutoland (1833-1908)

The Paris Mission celebrated its 75th jubilee on 21-22 October 1908 in Morija. The General Secretary of the Paris Mission, Jean Bianquis, led the delegation from Paris. There was much to be thankful for. The Church had matured, the established parishes were numerous, and a good proportion of the ministers were Basuto. On the other hand, there was still much that needed to be done to ensure that the Gospel penetrated deeper into the hearts and minds of the nation.¹⁴⁵

The occasion was marked by two publications :*Jubile ea Kereke ea Le-Sotho ea Lilemotse 75, 1833-1908*,¹⁴⁶ and *Livre d'Or de la mission du Lessouto: soixante-quinzeans de l'histoire d'une tribu sud-africaine 1833-1908*.¹⁴⁷

2.15 The First World War (1914-1918)

In 1914, the First World War broke out in Europe after the assassination of the archduke of Austria-Hungary by a Serbian activist. Germany was allied to Austria-Hungary. This forced France and England to declare war; however, it indirectly impacted on Basutoland as a British Colony. Basutoland offered its able-bodied men to help England in this war. Some of them died in the war. The worst for the Basuto was the conscription of some of the Paris missionaries.¹⁴⁸

Hermann Dieterlen's son, Roby Dieterlen went missing in war. This impacted very badly on the moral of his father.¹⁴⁹

The enlistment of the Christian missionaries in the war perplexed and confused the Basuto, who had known the Paris missionaries for eighty years, as men of peace and love.

¹⁴⁵Hincks, *Quest for Peace*, p.473.

¹⁴⁶*Jubile ea Kereke ea Le-Sotho ea Lilemotse 75, 1833-1908*(Morija, 1908), (20 pages).

¹⁴⁷E. Jacottet and H. Dieterlen, *Livre d'Or de la mission du Lessouto: soixante-quinzeans de l'histoire d'une tribu sud-africaine, 1833-1908*(Paris 1912),(731 pages).

¹⁴⁸Couzens, *Murder at Morija*, p. 328; Hincks, *Quest for Peace*, p. 439.

¹⁴⁹ Roby Dieterlen was a missionary in Barotseland. Tim Couzens, *Quest for Peace*, pp. 335-336, 338.

The Paris Mission detested war, dissuaded Basuto nation from engaging in it; and took extreme measures to excommunicate those Christians, who took part in it or received the booty or spoils of war.¹⁵⁰

The conscription of some of the Paris missionaries decreased the missionary corps and doubled the work-load of the few remaining missionaries. In Morija, where there were several institutions,¹⁵¹ one missionary was obliged to take charge of two to three institutions.¹⁵²

While the remaining missionaries took the full brunt of the overload, the mission was in dire need of being overhauled. Clerical *esprit de corps* was becoming a problem and needed to be eliminated. This important work of reform of the mission was entrusted to Édouard Jacottet¹⁵³ and Charles Christeller who were the leading missionaries. It was found imperative to have an intermediary court between the consistory¹⁵⁴ and the synod¹⁵⁵. This court was named the presbytery.¹⁵⁶ The establishment of the presbytery Church court was an improvisation. It was not a Church polity practised by any of the Reformed Churches in

¹⁵⁰ Ellenberger, *A Century of Mission Work*, pp. 78-80, 318; Hincks, *Quest for Peace*, p. 439.

¹⁵¹The *Leselinyana la Lesotho*, the Printing Works, the Sesuto Book Depot, the Theological School, the Normal School, and the Girls' School. See, S.J. Gill, "A few thoughts on leadership in the LEC" in *Mekolokotoane Kerekeng ea Evangeli Lesotho, Jubilee Highlights 1833-2008*(Morija Museum and Archives, 2009), p. 290.

¹⁵²Couzens, *Murder at Morija*, pp. 328-329.

¹⁵³Jacottet's vision was a self-directing, self-supporting as well as a self-propagating Church; a true African church not a carbon copy of any of the European churches. This vision is contained in a paper: "The Native Churches and Their Organisation," he delivered at a General Missionary Conference held in Johannesburg in 1904. This paper was published by the Sesuto Book Depot in 1905. Furthermore, S. Gill wrote a very revealing analysis on Jacottet's vision contrasting it with that of Willoughby by: S. J. Gill, "Fully African and Fully Christian, The Different Visions of Jacottet and Willoughby of the London Missionary Society" in *Mekolokotoane Kerekeng ea Evangeli Lesotho, Jubilee Highlights 1833-2008*(Morija Museum and Archives, 2009), pp.177-190.

¹⁵⁴The Consistory was created in 1872. The evangelists and elders together with the missionary met at a local level to discuss and express their opinions over church matters. The missionary listened and drew conclusions. The Consistory was responsible for parish life, discipline, evangelisation, and buildings. Pierre Couprie, "The Foundation and Organisation of the Synodal Authority within the Lesotho Evangelical Church (1872-1964)", in *Mekolokotoane Kerekeng ea Evangeli Lesotho, Jubilee Highlights 1833-2008*, edited by S. J. Gill, G. G. M. Malahleha, M.T. Mashologu, et al,(Morija: Morija Museum and Archives, 2009), pp. 120-121.

¹⁵⁵The synod was introduced in 1872 and was comprised of missionaries and delegates from different consistories. The main function of the synod was to assess the reports from different stations. It met four times between 1872 and 1879 and was suspended. It was introduced prematurely. *Ibid*, pp. 121-123.

¹⁵⁶The Presbytery had no legislative powers as that was the prerogative of the Seboka. It was an intermediary court designed to sift consistory reports to the Seboka so that matters that needed local attention should not be taken to the Seboka. It was a regional court with a moderator who was, overall, an overseer. It met annually. Hincks, *Quest for Peace*, pp. 474-475.

Europe. However, its introduction in the Paris Mission in Basutoland was a way to decentralise and to give more responsibility to the Basuto Christians. This proved a success. Seven presbyteries were formed in 1918 but they only started to work in 1922.¹⁵⁷

The First World War allowed the Basuto who took part in it to enter the White-man's world view. They were able to see the white man at close range and witnessed his errors as well as his shortcomings. It was a disillusioning experience which reduced the claim to authority and respect that the white man had inspired in them. The war promoted a sense of independence among them.

2.16 *Lekhotla la Bafo (LLB) or the Council of Commoners*

In 1919 the *LLB* or Council of Commoners, was founded. It proposed that a separate council for the commoners should be formed and that the chieftainship must reform itself to the pre-colonial period. The *LLB* was very critical of the abuses by the chiefs. It also attacked missionaries labelling them as agents of colonialism and destroyers of the Basuto social fabric. This, according to Maloka, influenced the decision of the Paris Mission to open mission work on the Rand.¹⁵⁸

2.18 Conclusion

Although Basutoland was said to be a protectorate or colony, it was run by the Commonwealth Relations Officer in London, not by the colonial office.¹⁵⁹ The Basuto were British subjects and were never defeated or subdued by any nation, not even by Britain itself.

¹⁵⁷ The seven presbyteries were: Morija, Likhoele, Masitise, Matatiele, Loti or Maloti, Leribe and Thaba-Bosiu. Hincks, *Quest for Peace*, p. 474-475; Mohapeloa, *From Mission to Church*, p. 14.

¹⁵⁸ Maloka, *Basuto and the mines*, p. 159; Cf. Machobane, *Government and change in Lesotho*, pp. xiii, xiv.

¹⁵⁹ J. Gunther, *Inside Africa* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1955), p. 564.

The Basuto Mountain fortress of *Thaba-bosiu* (Mountain at night) was never taken by the enemies.¹⁶⁰

On the other hand, the Paris missionaries were considered *Baruti ba Moshoeshoe* (the ministers of Moshoeshoe). There was a special bond between them and the Basuto. The Paris missionaries' excellent rapport with the Basuto had been established over a long period of social intercourse during the three and a half decades before the coming of the colonial regimes in 1868. There were times when this bond and trust were shaken, as the case during the Cape rule, when the mission seemed to be too close to the Cape colonial government. Nonetheless, this kind of problem petered out over time. Generally, the Paris missionaries were the guardians of the Basuto. They advised the Basuto chiefs; they rebuked and reprimanded them when it was necessary to do so. Notwithstanding cultural misunderstandings between the Basuto and the missionaries, the Paris Mission had become an integral part of the Basuto nation as well as one body with it.¹⁶¹

The historian George McCall Theal, wrote in this way about the Paris missionaries:

The French missionaries . . . less than any other of the numerous agents of Missionary Societies established in South Africa, [did not] make it their business to destroy all native customs that were not in accordance with European ideas, but in general tried to judge of everything accordingly, as it was moral or immoral, right or wrong. They were not endeavouring to make the copyists of the white men, but encouraged them rather to move onward in a groove of their own selection and adapted to their own thinking, and in these lay the secret of their success as civilizers and of great influence which they acquired

¹⁶⁰ E. Jacottet, *Buka ea Histori ea Lesotho, e ngoletsoeng likolo* (Moriya: MorijaSesuto Book Depot, 1941), p. 45.

¹⁶¹Ellenberger, *A Century of Missionary work*, p. 39.

in the Lesuto.¹⁶²

The above citation characterizes the Paris missionaries as people inspired by the spirit of measure and moderation. They were not perfect, but their uniqueness must be acknowledged and appreciated.

¹⁶²Theal, *BR*, vol. ii, 1868, p. 24.

Chapter 3

AN overview of Hermann Dieterlen's life (1850-1933)

3.1 Introduction

The previous chapter provided an historical survey of Basutoland from the time of the Seqiti War to the end of the First World War. This historical survey served to put Dieterlen's arrival in Basutoland and his missionary tenure (1874-1919) in context. This chapter will investigate his life viz his family background, education as well as Christian influences in early childhood, his expedition to Bonyai in 1876, his first pastorate of Hermon from 1877 to 1887, his directorship of the Theological School from 1887 to 1894, his tenure in the pastorate of Leribe from 1894 to 1913, his chaplaincy at the leprosarium at Botšabelo in 1913, his last pastorate of Likhoele from 1914 to 1919, his final years as well as his legacy and the conclusion to the chapter.

3.2 Family background, education and Christian influences in early childhood

Hermann Dieterlen (*Sehoapa biltong*)¹⁶³ was born on 8 May 1850 at Rothau in Alsace, France. Geographically, Alsace is in north-eastern France on the Rhine River plain. It borders Germany and Switzerland. Its geographical position afforded the people of Rothau a blending of cultural and architectural influences from France and Germany. Alsace was annexed to France by Louis XIV during the Franco-Dutch War (1672-1678) in 1674. It remained part of France until the Franco-Prussian War (1870-71), when it was annexed to the German empire. This impacted negatively on the people of Alsace who were attached to France and were forced between becoming German nationals or go into exile. The people of

¹⁶³Biltong known among the Basuto as *Sehoapa*, which is the Sesotho word for 'biltong', a form of dry meat common among Afrikaners.

Alsace disliked Germany because of this ultimatum. France boycotted trade relations that it had with Germany. As a result, German exports to France suffered severely.¹⁶⁴

Dieterlen, who was born before the amalgamation of Alsace with Germany, considered himself a French patriot. He wanted to engage as a soldier, but his father did not allow him. In 1871 he became German by force and then French again in 1919 after Germany was defeated in the First World War. He died as a French man in Alsace near Strasbourg on 8 January 1933 aged 82 years.¹⁶⁵ The triple nationality might have contributed to his being distrustful of imperialism and colonialism as well as being sensitive to political oppression.

Dieterlen married Anna Bush (1859-1945) in 1877.¹⁶⁶ In their marriage they were blessed with four children, two sons (Georges Hermann Dieterlen (1879-1950)¹⁶⁷ and Robert Dieterlen (1885-1915)¹⁶⁸ and two daughters (Cecile Dieterlen (1882-1980)¹⁶⁹ and Christine-Mathilde who lived only a few months).¹⁷⁰

Hermann was a family man and was very committed to the welfare of his family. It was not easy for him to be separated from his children when they had to go to Europe for their

¹⁶⁴ *Cahiers, Chronique familial des Semblat-Dieterlen* (2007; *Hommes et Destins: Dictionnaire biographique d'Outre-Mer, volume 9* (Paris: Académie des Sciences 1977)); J. Lehmann 'Civilization versus Barbarism: The Franco-Prussian War in French History Textbooks, 1875–1895,' *Journal of Educational Media, Memory, and Society* Volume 7, Issue 1 (2015), pp. 51–65; B. Dedinger, 'The Franco-German trade puzzle: an analysis of the economic consequences of the Franco-Prussian war,' *Economic History Review*, 65, 3 (2012), pp. 1029–1054.

¹⁶⁵ *Cahiers, Chronique familial des Semblat-Dieterlen* (2007); R.C. Germond, *Chronicles of Basutoland, A running commentary on the events of the years 1830-1902 by the French protestant missionaries in Southern Africa* (Moriya: Morija Sesuto Book Depot 1967), p. 563.

¹⁶⁶ Anna Bush had originally come to Basutoland independently as a schoolteacher in 1877. She got married to Hermann Dieterlen in 1878. She became a plant collector and that made her the undisputed founder of Lesotho scientific botany. Much of her collection was sent to the Institute of Botany in Strasbourg. See S. Rosenberg and R. F. Weisfelder, *Historical Dictionary of Lesotho second edition* (Lanham. Toronto. Plymouth, UK 2013), p. 116; See also J. Bianquis, 'Hermann Dieterlen 1850-1933' (Rothau 1933), p. 168 (unpublished work). This biography was written shortly after his death.

¹⁶⁷ Georges Hermann Dieterlen was born and died in Basutoland, aged about 70, and was a major player in the 20th century PEMS. He was a missionary.

¹⁶⁸ Robert (Roby) was also a missionary and an accomplished photographer. He served as a missionary in Barotseland. He volunteered for and died in the First World War. His body was never found, and in the *Varia*, accessed by David Ambrose in Paris, his father repeatedly dwelled on the hope that he might still be alive.

¹⁶⁹ Cecile Dieterlen sorted out her father's papers in Alsace, and sent some to the PEMS archives in Paris, but others to Georges Dieterlen in Basutoland.

¹⁷⁰ *Hommes et Destins: Dictionnaire biographique d'Outre-Mer, volume 9* (Paris: Académie des Sciences 1977).

schooling.¹⁷¹ He felt the separation deeply. In the same way he never recovered from the loss of his son Robert who went missing in the First World War (1915). The rest of his life was spent thinking that he would one day meet him.¹⁷²

David Ambrose¹⁷³ states that Hermann Dieterlen's unpublished diaries, housed in the Mission House in Paris, reveal that Hermann and Anna often clashed over the issue of the suffragettes¹⁷⁴ and 'votes for women.' Ambrose suggests that Anna was by nature an independent person and was inclined to argue with her husband at mealtimes during their tenure at the Leribe Parish.¹⁷⁵ It thus follows, that strong talented people often have different views.

Hermann Dieterlen was the son of Jacques Christophe Dieterlen¹⁷⁶ and the nephew of Gustave Steinheil¹⁷⁷ who were Christian industrialists.¹⁷⁸ He belonged to the bourgeoisie of a small town of Rothau. According to Semblat's chronicle of the Steiheil-Dieterlen family, Dieterlen's maternal as well as paternal ancestors were German by origin. The Dieterlen family owned a winery business in Löchgau in Wurtemberg. They migrated and established themselves at Alsace in Sainte-Marie-aux-Mines in the 18th century. Alsace had become an attraction to many Germans because of its iron mines. No doubt Dieterlen's ancestors migrated to Alsace seeking their fortune.¹⁷⁹

¹⁷¹Bianquis, 'Hermann Dieterlen 1850-1933,' p. 170.

¹⁷²Bianquis, 'Hermann Dieterlen', p. 179 ; *Hommes et Destins : Dictionnaire biographique d'Outre-Mer, volume 9* (Paris : Académie des Sciences 1977).

¹⁷³David Ambrose (1939) is a researcher, and former National University of Lesotho lecturer. He has widely published in the history of Lesotho though himself a mathematician. Scott Rosenberg and Richard F. Weisfelder, *Historical Dictionary of Lesotho*, p. 37.

¹⁷⁴Militant women's organisation early in the 20th century who fought for the right to vote in public elections.

¹⁷⁵*Hermann Dieterlen 1884-1932, Varia, XII-XVIII, XX-XXXI, XXXIII-XXXVII, XXXIX-XLII* (Paris Mission Archives, 102 Boulevard Arago). These diaries were seen by Ambrose in Paris in 1986 at the Mission Archives.

¹⁷⁶Christophe Dieterlen (1818-1875).

¹⁷⁷Gustave Steinheil Junior (1818-1875) being first born child to Gustave Steinheil (1788-1956) was named after his father. He attended the Protestant gymnasium of Strasbourg (high school). It was here that he came under the theological influence of Charles Henri Boegner, one of the professors, married to his sister Pauline. Later in life Gustave became a humanist industrialist, the mayor of Rothau and deputy of the Vosages. G. Atzenhoffer, "Gustave Steinheil, a humanist industrialist" (Rothau 2010).

¹⁷⁸*Hommes et Destins : Dictionnaire biographique d'Outre-Mer, volume 9* (Paris : Académie des Sciences 1977).

¹⁷⁹*Cahiers, Chronique familial des Semblat-Dieterlen* (2007).

Dieterlen was raised in an entrepreneurial family. A family that believed in the economic philosophy of privately owned business, a free enterprise and labour wage as well as individual ability to gain wealth through intelligence and hard work. He came from an affluent background, unlike most of the London Missionary Society missionaries who came from a poor background with poor education.¹⁸⁰

For its part, the Steinheil family migrated from Schwaben in Germany and arrived in Alsace in the 16th century. The Steinheil family, were capitalists who owned businesses in Rothau and Strasbourg. Perhaps it was the socio-economic background of the Steinheil-Dieterlen families that brought the two families and their children together more than anything.

Julie Émilie Steinheil¹⁸¹ married Jacques Christophe Dieterlen. The Steinheil and the Dieterlen families became very close as a result of this marriage and saw themselves as one family. They later lived together in a park surrounded by a wall. They called it the “enclos”. Hermann Dieterlen claimed to be an “enclos,” because he grew up in the enclosure.¹⁸²

Gustave Steinheil,¹⁸³ the brother of Julie and Jacques Christophe, Hermann Dieterlen’s uncle and father were age mates and close friends perhaps due to their families’ socio-economic background as well as their Germany origins. They attended the business school of Leipzig in the years 1834-1836. They stayed together in 1838-1840 in the house of Adele,

¹⁸⁰*Ibid*, Cf, J. and J. Camaroff, *Of revelation and revolution, Christianity, colonialism, and consciousness in South Africa, Vol.1* (1991), p, 80-83; S.G. De Clark, ‘The Evangelical Missionaries and the Basuto, 1833-1933’ (University of South Africa 2000), pp. 48-49.

¹⁸¹Julie Émilie Steinheil (1822-1898).

¹⁸²Atzenhoffer, ‘Gustave Steinheil’ (2010).

¹⁸³ Gustave Steinheil Junior (1818-1906) being first born child was named after his father. He attended the Protestant gymnasium of Strasbourg (high school). It was here that he came under the theological influence of Charles Henri Boegner, one of the professors, married to his sister Pauline. Later in life Gustave Steinheil became a humanist industrialist, the mayor of Rothau and deputy of the Vosages. *Ibid*.

Gustave's cousin who was married to a pastor (Goguel). During this time Gustave was doing practical training in *Sainte-Marie-aux-Mines* for the course he took at Leipzig.¹⁸⁴

At the end of 1841 Gustave Steinheil worked for Mrs Pramberger.¹⁸⁵ She was a widow and owned the spinning, weaving and dyeing business in Rothau. She also ran the store in Strasbourg, trading in the fabrics produced in Rothau. Gustave was put in charge of the business in Rothau which was in debt and likely to be closed or sold. This challenge brought him into close contact with his old friend and brother-in-law Christophe Dieterlen, the husband of his sister Julie Steinheil. This was how the two families came to live together in the "enclos".¹⁸⁶

Mrs Pramberger who died on March 23, 1847, had made her nephew and nieces heirs of her property (in Rothau). Her death made it imperative for the business to change its name to G. Steinheil-Dieterlen & Co., Company Limited Partnership.

No doubt this business created jobs and owned most of the society's wealth and means of production. At the same time, the company owners had better living standards than their workers.

'Steinheil was a faithful member of the Presbytery Council and a vigilant secretary of the Consistory. Lastly, ' he was one of the first in France to organise a Sunday school which he directed until his death.'¹⁸⁷ He was struck by the almost total illiteracy of all the young children of Rothau and their parents. He decided to create a Sunday school to teach them the rudiments of reading, writing and calculating while creating the conditions necessary for training them to become good Christians.¹⁸⁸ According to Hermann Dieterlen this Sunday

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid*, *Hommes et Destins: Dictionnaire biographique d'Outre-Mer, volume 9* (Paris: Académie des Sciences 1977).

¹⁸⁵ Her name was Maria Elisabeth, born Griesinger and her husband Mathieu Pramberger died in 1817 of a heart attacks. Gustave Steinheil's mother Sophie Beck was her niece. *Ibid*.

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid*.

¹⁸⁷ *Cahiers, Chronique familial des Semblat-Dieterlen* (2007).

¹⁸⁸ Atzenhoffer, 'Gustave Steinheil', (2010).

school was held at *l'Asile*, in a room near the Protestant parsonage.¹⁸⁹ The children of Rothau learnt hymns and Bible stories. No doubt, Hermann, the nephew of Steinheil, attended this Sunday school.

According to Semblat's chronicle, the Steinheil and Dieterlen belonged to the liberal wing of their Church. They admired Jean Frédéric Oberlin,¹⁹⁰ a man of the Enlightenment. They had no devotion for the reformer Martin Luther.¹⁹¹

However, there was a link between the Steinheil-Dieterlen family and Martin Luther. For instance, Steinheil was dissuaded from becoming a minister of religion by Charles Henry Boegner¹⁹² on the grounds of Luther's teaching about Ordinary Work (*beruf*). Luther taught that *beruf* should not be a religious vocation, but it should also be linked to any professional activity, to any task that God has given to men, thus a profession also becomes a divine vocation.¹⁹³

Steinheil was thus, in this way, dissuaded from becoming a pastor. Consequently, he saw:

¹⁸⁹H. Dieterlen, *L'enclos* (Berger Levrault, 1912).

¹⁹⁰Jean Frederic Oberlin (1740-1826) was born and educated in Strasbourg. He was a Lutheran protestant pastor and philanthropist. He was influenced by Dr. Lorents, a devout preacher at Strasbourg, who embraced the teaching of the reformers but not approved by some of the learned professors. In 1767 Orbelin succeeded Stuber in Ban de la Roche as a minister. That place comprised two parishes, namely Waldbach and Rothau. These were the remotest parts of Alsace that were in a valley along the chain of mountains called the Vosges. The inhabitants of these places were protestant refugees on account of religion during the time of Louis XV. Oberlin's ministry was successful, in Waldbach where he transformed the lives of the people by introducing new methods of agriculture, building schools and libraries for both the young and the old as well as improving roads. In his ministry, Oberlin inculcated in his converts the culture of being 'truly religious in heart and life'. He was remembered for his hard work and benevolence. T. Sims, *Jean Frédéric Oberlin, Pastor of Waldbach, in Alsace; and of Auguste Baron DeStael-Holstein; two distinguished ornaments of the French Protestant Church with an introductory sketch of the history of Christianity in France, from the primitive ages to the present day* (London: James Nisbet, Berners Street, digitised 2007), pp. 25-28.

¹⁹¹*Cahiers, Chronique familial des Semblat-Dieterlen* (2007) ; *Hommes et Destins : Dictionnaire biographique d'Outre-Mer, volume 9* (Paris: Académie des Sciences 1977).

¹⁹² He was a professor at the Protestant Gymnasium of Strasbourg (Bas Rhin). His son Alfred Boegner (1851-1912) later became the director of the Mission House in Paris from 1882-1912. Alfred was a close friend of Hermann Dieterlen. Atzenhoffer, 'Gustave Steinheil' (2010); Couzen, *Murder at Morija* (Random House (Pty) Ltd 2003), p. 198.

¹⁹³ I. Hart, 'The Teaching of Luther and Calvin about ordinary Work' in *the Evangelical Quarterly* 67:1 (1995), 'p.35-52; 'The Teaching of Luther and Calvin about Ordinary Work: 2. John Calvin (1509-64)' in *the Evangelical Quarterly* 67: 2 (1995), p. 121-135; 'The Teaching of the Puritans about Ordinary Work' in *the Evangelical Quarterly* 67:3 (1995), 'pp. 195-209.

The creation, the direction, the management of his company, as a divine mission; to be Mayor of Rothau, Deputy of the Vosges, is to fulfil a will of God; to get involved in his parish by his contributions to theological discussions, by the organization and animation of the Sunday School, it is to answer the call of God.¹⁹⁴

Steinheil passed on this understanding of ordinary work as God's calling to his Sunday school children. No wonder we find Hermann Dieterlen doing the same for the Basuto in his writings. For instance, Dieterlen published a short exposition on ordinary work where he explained that ordinary work, be it: sweeping, cooking, caring for the little ones, as well as grinding sorghum, young girls should do it with the help of God knowing that their faith is true. No work is unsuitable for children of God. We should serve and glorify God in all vocations.¹⁹⁵

For instance, of the first three missionaries to Lesotho, two were ministers of the Word and sacraments and the other one was a mason. The missionary who had been a mason, after his conversion, decided to build houses with a new heart and to glorify God through his work. In Lesotho, he cut and fell trees down to make shelters for cows, repaired broken guns and made blankets for his fellow missionaries.¹⁹⁶

The Sunday school as well as his life in the "enclos", where the evening family prayers were often led by Steinheil, undoubtedly played an important part in Dieterlen's religious life. These were indeed formative moments for him. Above all, he grew up in Alsace, where Catholics as well as Lutherans coexisted and yielded a religious diversity. This religious diversity undoubtedly helped him in his future missionary work.

¹⁹⁴Atzenhoffer, 'Gustave Steinheil', (2010).

¹⁹⁵ H. Dieterlen, 'Mosebetsi oa matsoho' (ordinary work or menial work), *Leselinyana La Lesotho*, Oct,1, 1883, p. 4.

¹⁹⁶*Ibid.*

Additionally, Dieterlen studied at Strasbourg¹⁹⁷ and Montauban, where he attained a Bachelor's in Theology. His thesis was titled: *Le Synode général de Paris 1559, étude historique sur la naissance et le développement intérieur des Églises réformées de France*. It was supervised by Professor Jean Monod, a Calvinist systematic theologian, who was a moderate supporter of the Revival. He also studied in Paris before being sent to Basutoland as a missionary in 1874 after a short training at the Mission House. Dieterlen did not do a lengthy training in the Mission House, as was the normal procedure for all the missionaries; perhaps his theological training at the Protestant theological faculty at Mantauban, coupled with the degree of the University of Paris, was found to be sufficient preparation.¹⁹⁸ Edouard Jacottet¹⁹⁹ did not train extensively in the Mission House. He too received only a short training.²⁰⁰

The missionary vocation of Dieterlen went back to his childhood. As time went on, he doubted it somewhat. The 1870 war interrupted its preparation. He was keen to fight for France, but his father did not allow him. He allowed him only to work for France as a nurse, in an ambulance. When peace was restored, he wondered whether he should not remain in France and devoted his life to the moral recovery of his countrymen as a pastor. However, the

¹⁹⁷Defap in Paris houses the testimony of François Maeder before his examiners for candidacy of missionary career delegates of the *Société des Missions Évangéliques de Paris* (SMEP) were Pastor François Haerter (1797 – 1874) and Professor Charles Henri Boegner (1800-1881) which revealed that the Pietist movement was very active in Strasbourg and that pastor Haerter was at the head of it. This religious diversity in Dieterlen's formative years undoubtedly became a boon in his missionary career in Basutoland. Gerard Moeder or Maeder- (Gerardmoeder@yahoo.com)- accessed and translated the material on 8 May 2019 and shared it with the Morija Museum and Archives.

¹⁹⁸S. J. Gill, "Thomas Mofolo: the man, the writer and his context" in *Tydskrif Vir Letter kunde: A Journal for African literature*, translating Mofolo, fourth series, 53, 2 (2016), p, 22; Counzens, *Murder at Morija*, p. 179.

¹⁹⁹Edouard Jacottet (1858-1920) came from Neuchâtel in Switzerland. He grew up in a home devoted to Christ. His father was a teacher of law and a leading member of the Evangelical Reformed church. He received a good education in which he had excelled in Latin and Greek as well as German in addition to his native French. In 1880, he went to Germany to further his theological studies at the University of Tübingen. He later moved to Göttingen, and finally, he returned to the University of Neuchâtel in 1881. With his background of education and training as well as spiritual formation, he was ordained in 1882 and became a missionary with the Paris Evangelical Missionary Society. In 1883 he completed his missionary preparation in the Mission House in Paris and in Glasgow in Scotland where he learned English and Medicine. He was the only missionary who came to Basutoland after Hermann Dieterlen in 1884. S. J. Gill, 'A brief biographical sketch and tribute to Rev. Edouard Jacottet (1858-1920)' (2009) (unpublished work); Counzens, *Murder at Morija*, (2003).

²⁰⁰ Gill, "A brief biographical sketch and tribute to Rev. Edouard Jacottet", p. 11

call to work in the mission fields was so strong that he could not abandon it. To answer it, he had to accept the sacrifice of leaving his friends and family behind.²⁰¹

He was ordained in the Mission House in Paris on November 12, 1874. On 25 November, 1874, he left for Southern Africa.²⁰²

Upon his arrival in Basutoland Dieterlen was placed at Morija²⁰³ under Adolphe Mabile²⁰⁴ to learn the language of the Basuto, and to study their culture as well as the policies and procedures of the mission. The normal procedure of the Paris Mission was to expose new missionaries to the life of the Basuto and the mission for six or more months before they were appointed to a pastoral charge.²⁰⁵

3.3 The expedition to Bonyai(1876)

The Paris Mission had, for several years, wanted to open a mission outside Basutoland but this had not been possible since the missionary corps was few. This long overdue plan was achieved in 1876 when Dieterlen was entrusted with the task of establishing missionary work among the people of Bonyai (Banyai)²⁰⁶ Basuto Christians contributed both money and oxen

²⁰¹*Hommes et Destins : Dictionnaire biographique d'Outre-Mer, volume 9* (Paris : Académie des Sciences 1977).

²⁰² *Ibid.*

²⁰³ *Ibid.* Morija was in the Southern part of Thaba-Bosiu, Moshoeshoe's citadel. The first Paris missionaries established themselves in it because of its abundance of water and firewood. They made it a centre of education as well as the head office of the Basutoland Mission or church of Lesotho. S.J. Gill, *A Short History of Lesotho, From the Late Stone Age Until the 1993 Elections*, (Morija: Morija Museum and Archives 1993), p. 78.

²⁰⁴ Adolphe Mabile (1836-1894) was a Swiss born missionary and son in law of Eugene Casalis. He was married to Adele Casalis. He was sent to Basutoland in 1859. He replaced Thomas Arbousset at Morija. He introduced several important institutions for the Paris Mission, for example, the Printing Press in 1861, Book depot in 1862 and the *Leselinyana la Lesotho* newspaper in 1863. He was a visionary and a vanguard of the second-generation Paris missionaries. E. W. Smith, *The Mabilles of Basutoland* (Morija Museum and Archives 1996-*facsimile reprint of the 1939 edition*).

²⁰⁵ P. Germond, *Chronicles of Basutoland* (Morija: Morija Sesuto Book Depot 1967) p. 563; Jean Bianquis, 'Hermann Dieterlen 1850-1933,' p. 166; *Hommes et Destins: Dictionnaire biographique d'Outre-Mer, volume 9* (Paris: Académie des Sciences 1977).

²⁰⁶ According to Stephen Gill 'The term Bonyai (for the country) and Banyai (for the people) of what is now Zimbabwe has roots in what appears to have been a system of often expanding social and political hierarchies originating during the Mutapa empire 500 years ago. Outsiders, perhaps not fully understanding the term, came to call the peoples who lived under this system 'Banyai' (though previously they had been called the Vakaranga and so forth). Thus, when mission work began north of the Limpopo during the latter half of the 19th century, non-Ndebele peoples of southern Zimbabwe were often referred to as Banyai by outsiders. The 'Banyai' called themselves by a range of names but did not know themselves as Banyai or as Shona for that matter. The latter term seems to have

towards this mission.²⁰⁷ Asere Sehahabane,²⁰⁸ who had returned from the Northern Transvaal where he had been placed by Mabilie, became the co-leader and was accompanied by some evangelists.²⁰⁹ However, in Pretoria, the crew was intercepted by the Transvaal Government.²¹⁰

The Transvaal Government was hostile to the Paris Mission. It accused the Paris missionaries of supporting the Basuto as well as being the enemies of the Free State. Gill maintains,

The logic was clear: the missionaries moving north would establish centres of education among the non-Whites in a manner that might strengthen the 'natives' and thus undermine the control of the Afrikaner settlers. Moreover, the (South African Republic SAR) had hopes of extending its influence deeper into Central Africa, at least as far as the Zambezi. As a result, these missionaries and their Basuto assistants might prove to be an impediment and were not welcomed.²¹¹

been pejorative (those who disappear or hide themselves) used by Mzilikazi to describe non-Ndebele inhabitants of his kingdom. Because of the ferocity and violence meted out to the original inhabitants of Zimbabwe by the Ndebele, they would often hide themselves rather than suffer directly from the Matabele. Shona is thus a Sindebele word and is not even found within the language which is now called Shona. The term 'Shona' only developed fully during the period of European colonization at the end of the 19th century to describe (and to unite) the sometimes disparate peoples who are now seen as the 'majority' ethnic community in Zimbabwe.', S. Gill, 'Taking the Gospel to one's cousins and then their more distant neighbours: Basuto Evangelists & Workers who went to the Transvaal, Bonyai (Zimbabwe) and Borotse (Zambia)' (Morija: Morija Museum and Archives 2019), p. 18 (unpublished paper). See also, Gerald Chikozho Mazarire, "Reflections on Pre-colonial Zimbabwe, c. 850-1880s" being Chapter One of Eds Brian Raftopoulos and A.S. Mlambo, *Becoming Zimbabwe: A History from the Pre-colonial Period to 2008* (Harare and Cape Town: Weaver and Jacana, 2009), p. 1-38.

²⁰⁷ Hincks, *Quest for Peace*, p. 300; Smith, *The Mabilles of Basutoland*, p. 220; F. Coillard, *On the threshold of Central Africa, A record of twenty years pioneering among the Banyai and Barotsi*, (London: Hodder and Stoughton 1897) p. xxvi.

²⁰⁸ Asere Sehahabane came from Kolo, an outstation of Morija. He was raised by a Christian mother. He was a student of Philimone Rapetloane. He worked as a teacher and evangelist at ha Sepeami. He was one of the evangelists who accompanied Adolphe Mabilie in his expedition to Northern Transvaal in 1873. Mabilie left Sehahabane and Eliakim Matlanyane in Goedgedacht at Zoutpansberg under Stephanus Hofmeyr (the Dutch Reformed Church minister) to continue the evangelistic work among the Magwamba and to see to the possibilities of establishing a mission station in those parts. Hincks, *Quest for Peace*, pp. 254-255.

²⁰⁹ The evangelists who accompanied Dieterlen to establish missionary work in Northern Transvaal were: Azael Buti, Andrease Lesoli and Onesima Motsieloa. Hincks, *Quest for Peace*, p. 300.

²¹⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹¹ Gill, 'Taking the Gospel to one's cousins and then their more distant neighbours,' p. 23.

The Basuto Evangelists were jailed and mocked by the Transvaal Government officials.

For instance:

A lieutenant of police said to Onesima [one of the evangelists] that they were quite mad to have been led into the delusion that they were preachers or catechists, they were neither the one nor the other, they were simply *Kaffirs*, and would always remain so. As for God, they [the Blacks] had nothing to do with Him, and if by accident a Kaffir, even *one*, were to be seen in Heaven, when he [the lieutenant] got there, he would pick up his hat and wish [the Almighty] goodbye and walk straight out.²¹²

A German missionary, Grüneberger bailed Dieterlen out and the whole crew had to return to Basutoland.²¹³In 1877, Dieterlen was posted to Hermon.²¹⁴

3.4 The Hermon Pastorate (1877-1887)

The station of Hermon²¹⁵ was established by Hamilton Moore Dykein 1853.²¹⁶ François Coillard took charge of the station for six months in 1860 when Dyke was in the Cape.²¹⁷ He was succeeded by Samuel Rolland²¹⁸ who, assisted by his son Emile, moved to Hermon after

²¹²C. W. Mackintosh, *Coillard of the Zambesi: The lives of François and Christina Coillard, of the Paris Missionary Society, in South and Central Africa (1858-1904)*, (London:T. Fisher Unwin Adelphi Terrace,1907), p. 221.

²¹³ Hincks, *Quest for Peace*, p, 300; J.F. Zorn. *Le grand siècle d'une mission protestante. La Mission de Paris de 1822 à 1914*, Paris, (Karthala, 1993), p. 444-445 ; C. W. Mackintosh, *Coillard of the Zambesi*, pp. 219- 220.

²¹⁴ J.F. Zorn. *Le Grand Siècle D'une Mission Protestante, La Mission de Paris de 1822 à 1914*, (Karthala, 1993), p. 530 ; J. Bianquis, "Hermann Dieterlen 1850-1933," p, 168 ; *Hommes et Destins :Dictionnaire biographique d'Outre-Mer, volume 9* (Paris : Académie des Sciences 1977).

²¹⁵The station of Hermon was between the town of Mafeteng and Wepener. It was very close to the latter. Hermon and Wepener were separated by a big mountain east of Wepener.

²¹⁶ Hincks, *Quest for Peace*, pp. 192, 198-199; Ellenberger, *A Century of Mission Work in Basutoland (1833-1933)*, (Moriya: Morija Sesuto Book Depot 1967), p. 97.

²¹⁷*Société des mission évangéliques de Paris (Paris Evangelical Mission Society) : Jubile ea Kereke ea Hermone (1853-1903)*, p. 9.

²¹⁸Samuel Rolland (1800- 1873) was sent by the Mission House together with Isaac Bisseux and Prosper Lemue as the first Paris missionaries in 1829 to reinforce the work of the London Missionary Society in Southern Africa. Rolland and Lemue founded Moseqa. After its destruction he settled at Littakou [Lithako] and then at Bothethong [Mothetho]. He left Lemue at Mothetho to establish Beersheba in 1835. It was at Beersheba the first printing press was established. Rolland translated the New Testament with Eugene Casalis. His parish was a model to all early stations because of its schools. He married Elizabeth Lindal whom they came along with in 1829. She was a teacher by profession and had come to attend to the educational needs of the descendants of the Huguenot in the Cape. Elizabeth Rolland piloted modern education in Southern Africa. In Beersheba

the destruction of Beersheba and Poortje (New Beersheba).²¹⁹ Samuel Rolland passed on in 1873. His son had become the magistrate of Mafeteng in 1871 and Dr Eugène Casalis took charge of the station.²²⁰ Dieterlen arrived at Hermon in 1877 just as calm had been restored by Frédéric Ellenberger,²²¹ following a serious disagreement about synodical regulations²²². Under Dieterlen's leadership 'Hermon returned to being a hive of activity [as well as] one of the most prominent parishes in Lesotho.'²²³ He opened new outstations for Hermon namely: Litšoeneng, Khojane, Bongalla, Mafeteng and Likhoele.²²⁴ He remained at Hermon only for a decade.

In 1877, Dieterlen baptised Thomas Mofolo who later became the famous writer of novels.²²⁵ In the same year he married Anna Bush²²⁶ and a year later a son, Georges, was born to Hermann Dieterlen.²²⁷

Dieterlen was a man of many interests, ranging from 'linguistics to botany and prehistoric cultures.'²²⁸ From what is known he had the reputation of being a compassionate person. He

Rolland was expelled by the war of 1858, from there he founded Poortje (New Beersheba) which he had to abandon in turn, in 1869. He spent the last of his days in Hermon where he died and was buried. R.C. Germond, *Chronicles of Basutoland*, p. 568; Hincks, *Quest for Peace*, p. 100; *The Recollections of Elizabeth Rolland (1803-1901)* edited by Karel Schoeman (Cape Town, Pretoria: Human & Rousseau (Pty) Ltd, 1987).²¹⁹ *Ibid*, p. 9; Ellenberger, *A Century of Mission Work in Basutoland*, pp. 98, 100-102, 129, 137, 160; Hincks, *Quest for Peace*, p. 261.

²²⁰ *Ibid*.

²²¹ D.F. Ellenberger (1835-1920) was a Swiss born Paris missionary. He arrived in Basutoland in 1861. He was posted to Bethesda in the Southern part of Basutoland. He fled from Bethesda during the Sqiti War (1864-1868) before the Boers advanced. He crossed the Senqu or Orange River and discovered the cave of Masitise. He established the station of Masitise among the Baphuthi of chief Moorosi, living in the cave with his family. He collected the history of the ancient Basuto, their traditions and customs. He then through his notes wrote and published 'History of the Basuto Ancient and Modern'. Germond, *Chronicles of Basutoland*, p. 564.

²²² Gill, 'Thomas Mofolo: the man, the writer and his context,' p. 22; Hincks, *Quest for Peace*, pp. 261-262.

²²³ Gill, 'Thomas Mofolo: the man, the writer and his context,' p. 22.

²²⁴ *Society Des Missions Evangeliques De Paris (Paris Evangelical Mission Society): Jubile ea Kereke ea Hermone 1853-1903*, p. 14.

²²⁵ Counzens, *Murder at Morija*, p. 290; D. P. Kunene, *Thomas Mofolo and the emergence of Written Sesotho Prose* (Johannesburg: Ravan Press 1989), p. 21.

²²⁶ Anna Bush (1859-1945) was a Parisian, of Alsatian by origin. She arrived in Basutoland in 1877 to teach at Paris Mission's Normal School of girls at Thaba-Bosiu. She married Hermann Dieterlen in 1878. After her marriage she assumed the role of the missionary's wife. Additionally, she collected samples of Basutoland plants which she sent to the Institute of Botany in Strasbourg. This made her the founder of Basutoland scientific botany. Scott Rosenberg and Richard F. Weisfelder, *Historical Dictionary of Lesotho*, p. 116; *Hommes et Destins: Dictionnaire biographique d'Outre-Mer, volume 9* (Paris: Académie des Sciences 1977).

²²⁷ S. Rosenberg and R. F. Weisfelder, *Historical Dictionary of Lesotho*, p. 116; Gill, *The Story of the Morija Museum and Archives*, p. 39.

made time to interact with fellow missionaries,²²⁹ with Christian as well as non- Christian Basuto. He visited their homes, riding on horseback.²³⁰ For instance, in 1879, he visited the Church of Bethule. He went to see the bridge of Bethule and the confluence of the Caledon with the Senqu accompanied by Yonase (the evangelist of Bethule). Dieterlen later published his experiences in the *Leselinyana*.²³¹ In the same way, in 1883, he visited Litšoeneng with Christol (a fellow missionary and an artist) to see the lower jaw of the hippopotamus in the Caledon River²³². Furthermore, in 1884 in the company of Adolphe Mabilie, Henry Robert Dyke, Jacques Weitzacker, Édouard Jacottet, who had just arrived, and the trader Wells. He took an epic journey to the falls of the Maletsunyane River. They slept in the huts of the Basuto on the way. Dieterlen described the falls as a miracle of creation.²³³

It is important to note that Dieterlen was the first person to write about fossil footprints in sub-Saharan Africa, in the 1880s in Sesuto after the Gun War. No-one else had noticed it which gives him a place in the palaeontology volume of *Lesotho Annotated Bibliography* written by David Ambrose.²³⁴

Dieterlen served as an editor of the *Leselinyana la Lesotho* in (1880) when Mabilie, the editor, had gone to Europe to print the Sesuto Bible as well as to plead for the course of the Paris Mission. On the first of June 1880, the editor, A. Mabilie, made a notice that all correspondence should be send to H. Dieterlen in Hermon until he returned from Europe.

²²⁸ *Ibid*, p, 38; S.J. Gill, *Museums in Lesotho: Building upon the legacy, An inquiry into the idea and reality of a National Museum in Lesotho*, (Moriya: Morija Museum & Archives 2015), p. 27.

²²⁹ Counzens, *Murder at Morija*, p. 332.

²³⁰ S. G. De Clark, "The Evangelical Missionaries and the Basuto 1833-1933," (University of South Africa 2000), pp. 241-242, 252. (PhD Thesis); *Litaba tsa Synod, 19 September 1897- 26 September 1918*, Synod of Morija, 30 September 1918, pp. 234-235.

²³¹ *Leselinyana la Lesotho*, August 1, 1879, pp. 2,3.

²³² Gill, *The Story of the Morija Museum and Archives*, p. 40.

²³³ Counzen, *Murder at Morija*, p. 175.

²³⁴ Dieterlen, "Nonyana ea Makhuarane," *Leselinyana*, June 1, 1885, pp. 2-3.

Unfortunately, from the first of August 1880-June 1882 the newspaper ceased publishing because of the Gun War. He had served as editor for only two months.²³⁵

Dieterlen's correspondence with family members in France (1885) tells of how he visited and had some business dealings with the Bushmen who lived in a cave near Ha Ramohapi in the Mafeteng district. He bought a bow, a quiver and some arrows from them. From there he also visited the Ramoleboheng village.²³⁶ During these visits he was able to collect artefacts and to engage in the more significant parts of his pastoral ministry.

He had good relations with Chief Mojela Letsie, the principal chief of the area. Chief Mojela had a drinking problem. Dieterlen recounted how the chief asked him to organise a service, 'where he, as chief, would renounce the drinking of brandy and forbid his subjects also to drink it.' The service took place, and the chief told his people that they should arrest him if they ever saw him buying brandy.²³⁷

3.5 Hermann Dieterlen, the director of the Morija Theological School (1887-1894)

The idea of a theological school for native pastors, dates from the time of the first-generation missionaries of the Paris Mission (1833-1860). It was Thomas Arbousset who realised, from the beginning that the success of evangelisation in Basutoland lay in the hands of the Basuto.²³⁸ The Paris Mission had wanted to have such an institution in the 1840s, but scarcity of funds never allowed it to open one.²³⁹

²³⁵ Leselinyana, June 1, 1880, p. 7; Smith, *The Mabilles of Basutoland*, pp.262, 271-274.

²³⁶ *Ibid*, pp. 40-41.

²³⁷ H. Dieterlen, *Le Petit Messager des Missions Évangéliques* (FR), January 1886, pp, 1-8.

²³⁸ Ellenberger, *A Century of Mission Work in Basutoland*, p, 59; Couzens, *Murder at Morija*, pp. 101,117; Hincks, *Quest for Peace*, p. 200.

²³⁹ Ellenberger, *A Century of Missionary work in Basutoland*, p, 119.

It was Adolphe Mabilie (a second generation missionary) who put in place Arbousset's policy of deploying the Basuto for the evangelisation of their fellow countrymen.²⁴⁰ He opened the first outstation of Kolo and placed a Mosuto evangelist (Esaia Leheti) in charge of it.²⁴¹ He also pressed the missionary conference to open the theological school. In 1882 this school was opened under Frederic Hermann Kruger²⁴² who stayed for a brief period. He was compelled, for health reasons to go back to Europe in 1884.²⁴³ The students who had enrolled were sent back home.

The school was re-opened in 1887 under the new director, Hermann Dieterlen.²⁴⁴ One of the students who had been sent back when it closed in 1884 returned when the school was re-opened.²⁴⁵ The Theological School opened with three students²⁴⁶ two of them were teachers²⁴⁷ and one was taken from the benches of the Normal school or teachers' training school.²⁴⁸ These students became the first Basuto ministers. After completion of their three-year training. They were placed for a year under an experienced missionary to do field work. Motebang was placed under Edouard Jacottet at Thaba-Bosiu and Moteane under Adolphe Mabilie in Morija. They were then sent into the mountains to open new stations. Motebang, the first to be ordained, opened Molumong in 1891. Moteane established Sehonghong in 1892

²⁴⁰ S. S. Molapo, "Majakane: "The emergence of a 19th century non-initiation Basuto identity and the interaction of Basuto Culture and Missionary Christianity" (Johannesburg: University of Witwatersrand 2003), pp. 128-131. (Master of Arts dissertation).

²⁴¹ Hincks, *Quest for Peace*, p. 253; Ellenberger, *A Century of Mission Work in Basutoland*, p. 121; Smith, *The Mabilles of Basutoland*, p.131.

²⁴² Hermann Frédéric Kruger was a university-trained missionary. He came to Basutoland in 1882 with the view of opening the theological school for Basuto ministers. Hincks, *Quest for Peace*, p. 298 ; *Hommes et Destins : Dictionnaire biographique d'Outre-Mer, volume 9* (Paris : Académie des Sciences 1977).

²⁴³ Gill, 'A brief biographical sketch and tribute to Rev Edouard Jacottet (1851-1920),' p. 9; Hincks, *Quest for Peace*, p. 298.

²⁴⁴ Couzen, *Murder at Morija*, p. 117; Gill, 'A brief biographical sketch and tribute to Rev Edouard Jacottet (1851-1920),' p. 10.

²⁴⁵ This student was Jobo Moteane. M. N. Moteane, "Nalane ea Moruti Jobo Tjaoe Moteane 1848-1942" in *Mekolokotoane Kerekeng ea Evangeli Lesotho, Jubilee Highlights 1833-2008*, (Morija Museum and Archives 2009), p.76, 87; Counzen, *Murder at Morija*, p. 214; J.F. Zorn, *Le Grand Siècle D'une Mission Protestante, La Mission de Paris de 1822 à 1914* (Karthala, 1993), p. 530.

²⁴⁶ Calisle Motebang, Jobo Moteane and John S. Mohapeloa. Couzens, *Murder at Morija*, p.177; Hincks, *Quest for Peace*, pp. 340-341.

²⁴⁷ Motebang and Moteane.

²⁴⁸ Mohapeloa.

and Mohapeloa was sent to Lovedale ²⁴⁹for further study and to mature. He established Letsunyane in 1893.²⁵⁰

The second generation of Basuto ministers consisted of five students,²⁵¹ who completed their studies in 1896. Dieterlen was compelled, for health reasons, to leave the Theological School in 1894. The students were placed under the care of Jacottet. Dieterlen was then posted in Leribe.²⁵²

3.6 The Leribe pastorate (1894-1913)

The station of Leribe is in the North of Basutoland. This place was under chief Molapo, the second son of Moshoeshoe, chief of the Basuto. The station was established by François Coillard in 1859.²⁵³ Coillard remained at Leribe until 1884 when he left for Barotseland to establish a mission station among the Barotse.²⁵⁴ His place at Leribe was taken by Jacques

²⁴⁹Lovedale was a Scottish mission station and educational institute. It was established in 1824 by the Glasgow Missionary Society. It operated as a mission station solely devoted to evangelistic work until 1841 when the institute was introduced by William Govan (1804-1875). The institute trained many Africans from within and without the sub-region who later became important leaders in African societies, e.g., Chris Hani, Steve Biko, Tiyo Soga. The Paris Mission sent its student to Lovedale to acquire higher education. For instance, two of the Basuto ministers (Jobo Moteane and John Mohapeloa) trained at Lovedale. Moreover, the Normal School was fashioned after Lovedale. Before its establishment Mabilie visited Lovedale in 1865 to understudy the institute's teaching methods'. Duncan, "Coercive agency in mission education at Lovedale Missionary Institution" (University of Pretoria 2004), p. 948-952 (PhD Thesis); Hincks, *Quest for Peace*, p. 341; Matjato Neo Moteane, 'Nalane ea Moruti Moteane' in *Mekolokotoane*, p. 84; Smith, *The Mables of Basutoland*, pp. 136-137.

²⁵⁰Couzens, *Murder at Morija*, pp. 214-215; Hincks, *Quest for Peace*, pp. 340-341; Gill, 'A brief biographical sketch and tribute to Rev Edouard Jacottet (1851-1920)', p. 12.

²⁵¹Bethuel Sekokotoane, Everrit Lechesa Segoete, Nicolas Mpiti, Edward Lefatle Motsamai and Fineas Khololikane Matlanyane. Hincks, *Quest for Peace*, p. 341; J.T. Makakane, "Mokete oa teboho oa lilemotse tsa Kereke ea Evangeli Lesotho: Ho phatlalatsoa molaetsa o molemo ka baruti le baboleli" in *Mekolokotoane Kerekeng ea Evangeli Lesotho, Jubilee Highlights 1833-2008* (Morija Museum and Archives 2009), p. 26; S.J. Gill, 'A brief biographical sketch and tribute to Rev Edouard Jacottet (1851-1920)', p. 13.

²⁵²J.F. Zorn, *Le Grand Siècle D'une Mission Protestante, La Mission de Paris de 1822 à 1914* (Karthala, 1993), p. 530; Hincks, *Quest for Peace*, p. 340; Tim Couzen, *Murder at Morija*, pp. 229-230; Gill, 'A brief biographical sketch and tribute to Rev Edouard Jacottet (1851-1920)', pp. 12-13.

²⁵³*Ibid*, p. 198; Ellenberger, *A Century of Missionary work in Basutoland*, p. 117; Couzens, *Murder at Morija*, p. 196; Hincks, *Quest for Peace*, p. 122.

²⁵⁴Couzens, *Murder at Morija*, p. 196; Hincks, *Quest for Peace*, pp. 300-303. For a full account of the Barotseland or Zambesi Mission please see, *The spread of the Gospel in Barotseland: From the Paris Mission to the United Church of Zambia, A chronological history 1885-1965*, edited by Philippe Burger, François Escande and André Honegger, translated by John Roden, (Paris: DEFAP 2010) and François Coillard, *On the threshold of Central Africa, A record of twenty years pioneering among the Banyai and Barotsi*, (London: Hodder and Stoughton 1897).

Weitzecker, a new missionary who had arrived in 1883.²⁵⁵Weitzecker later joined Coillard in Barotseland and his place was then taken by Ernest Mabile (the son of A. Mabile). Ernest had problems with women. He had an illicit relationship with a Mosotho woman in Leribe.²⁵⁶ This brought disgrace on the mission. He resigned from the Paris Mission in 1895 and worked independently among the Basuto on the Rand as a mine recruiter.²⁵⁷ The mission found it imperative to send an experienced missionary to take charge of the station. Dieterlen was found to be a suitable candidate for the station and was therefore, at the end of 1894, transferred to Leribe.²⁵⁸He had health problems and needed a lighter workload which would not include the direction of the Theological School. Dieterlen opened an outstation for the station of Leribe at Chief Seetsa Molapo's village in Malaoaneng.²⁵⁹His wife Anna started her well known botanical work. She went all over the surroundings of the station of Leribe collecting plants.²⁶⁰

Dieterlen continued to promote ecumenism²⁶¹ while working on the station of Leribe. He was a friend of the Anglican priest Joseph Deacon who was posted to Tsikoane, the outstation of Hlotse which had been a full mission station since 1892.²⁶²He visited the

²⁵⁵Mackintosh, *Coillard of the Zambesi*, p. 310; Hincks, *Quest for Peace*, p. 298; Couzens, *Murder at Morija*, pp.173, 178.

²⁵⁶ Hincks, *Quest for Peace*, p. 298, 477; Couzens, *Murder at Morija*, pp. 225-227; Gill, 'A brief biographical sketch and tribute to Rev Edouard Jacottet (1851-1920)', pp. 12-13.

²⁵⁷Couzens, *Murder at Morija*, p. 227; Edward Tseliso Maloka, 'Basuto and the mines: Towards a history of labour migrancy, c.1890-1948', p. 68; Hincks, *Quest for Peace*, p. 546.

²⁵⁸ Ellenberger, *A Century of Missionary work in Basutoland*, p. 263; Couzens, *Murder at Morija*, p. 230.

²⁵⁹ H. Dieterlen, *Portraits et souvenirs du Lessouto*, (Paris : Société des Missions Évangéliques 1923)

²⁶⁰ *Ibid*, p. 52; Rosenberg and Weisfelder, *Historical Dictionary of Lesotho*, p. 116.

²⁶¹This term is used in Semblat's chronicle to describe the theological orientation of his father and his uncle who both were influenced by Oberlin. This type of theology will be investigated in chapter 5 on Dieterlen's perception of the church. However, for a detailed survey of the theology of the 19th century French Protestant missionaries, see A. C. Neele, "Theological Education of the nineteenth-century French Missionaries: An Appropriation of the Catholicity of Classical Christian Theology," *Studia Historiae Ecclesiasticae*, vol.39 n.2 (Pretoria, 2013).

²⁶² Hincks, *Quest for Peace*, p. 322.

missionaries of other major missions in Leribe such as that of Rev. Joseph Gérard at St. Monicas²⁶³ and Rev. Widdicombe at St. Saviour's.²⁶⁴

While the foregoing may be true, Dieterlen was quite critical of the Roman Catholics. This could be seen in the deliberations of the Synod of 1918 held at Morija. He posited that the “Catholics are great liars” and that they are not even ashamed of that, that was where the great danger lay. The Basuto liked to be deceived. When a dental doctor arrived, they left their usual doctor to the new one because they liked to be deceived.²⁶⁵

In addition, Dieterlen declared that he was thankful that he was not a Catholic. He was grateful to be an evangelical of Lesotho. However, he criticised those who labelled Catholics as heathens. He asserted that Catholics have a flexible law that enabled sinners to enter heaven. Conversely, however, the Catholics had some laws that were as hard as a crowbar and inflexible. If bad and detestable habits of the Catholics could be removed, some good would be found in them. That was the basis of his refutation of the Catholics labelled heathens.²⁶⁶

Dieterlen was not the only one in the 1918 synod to who had misgivings about the Catholics.

²⁶³The site of this Roman Catholic station was granted by Chief Molapo (the second son of Moshoeshoe) through Major Bell, the magistrate of Leribe. Major Bell gave Bishop Jolivet a recommendation to Chief Molapo, the Bishop met with the chief, then the site was granted. J.B. Brain, *Catholic beginnings in Natal and beyond* (Durban: Interprint (PTY), LTD 1975), p. 93; R. Dove, *Anglicans Pioneers in Lesotho: Some Account of the Diocese of Lesotho 1876-1930* (Mazenod, Lesotho: Mazenod Institute, 1975), pp. 15, 16.

²⁶⁴The Anglican Church obtained a site at Hlotse in the Northern side of Lesotho in 1876. Fr. John Widdicombe became the first priest of the St saviour church. Even here Major Bell was instrumental to the church's allocation of this land by chief Molapo. Hincks, *Quest for Peace*, pp.283-284; Dove, *Anglicans Pioneers in Lesotho*, p. 15.

²⁶⁵Moneri Dieterlen: *Ba-Roma ke mahata a maholo. Hape ha ba tšabe leshano'me he ke moo ke bonang kotsi e kholo ea bona. Kahobane Basuto ke batho ba ratang ho thetsoa. Ha ngaka ea meno e ele teng eba ba o tlohela ngaka ea bona ea mehla ho ea ho ea meno. Ka hobaneke batho baratang ho thetsoa. Taba tsa synod 1897-1918: Synod of Morija*, p.209.

²⁶⁶Moneri Dieterlen: *a ema a re o leboha ha ese mo-Roma,'me o thaba ha ele motho oa thuto ea Evangeli ea Lesotho. Empa o nyatsa ha ho thoe Ba-Roma ke bahedene. Re mpe re tsebe hore Ba-Roma ba na le molao o kobehang o tsebang ho nolofalets a baetsalibe ho kena leholimong. Athe melao ea Roma eona e meng e thata joalo ka kofuthu e hanang ho kobeha. Ha re ebola mo-Roma re tlosa mekhoe eohle e mebe eo re e nyatsang ka hare ho eena re ka fumana monakalali. Ke moo ke reng re se k era monyefola haholo ka hore re re ke mohedene. Taba tsa synod 1897-1918: Synod of Morija*, pp.213-214.

Louis Mabile²⁶⁷ presented a paper on the advancement of the work of the Roman Catholic Mission (hereafter Catholics or Catholic Mission). He stated that their schools, as well as their stations were becoming numerous, particularly in the mountainous areas. They established their stations in the vicinity of the locations of the chiefs. They had a marked influence in Basutoland. This influence was promoted by the Paramount Chief Griffith²⁶⁸ who had converted to the Catholic faith. When a chief asked for a mission station to be established in his place, Griffith made sure it was the Catholic mission. Even in a case whereby the Paris Mission was asked to establish a mission station, the Catholics were given preference.²⁶⁹

The alarming thing, continued Mabile, with the Catholic Mission was that they were not evangelical. They denied people the Word of God and their teaching was not in line with the Bible. They hardened people's hearts for the Gospel not to penetrate them. Furthermore, the people did not understand the difference between the two missions. They thought that the Catholic teaching was evangelical, but it was not so. The members of the Paris Mission were to be taught the differences between the two missions.²⁷⁰

To counterbalance the progress of the Catholics, Mabile suggested that the Paris Mission should revive Sunday schools and target young people with teaching. Youth guilds and

²⁶⁷L. Mabile (1869-1937) was the son of Adolphe Mabile. He studied in Europe and returned to Basutoland as a missionary between 1891 and 1892. He succeeded his father at Morija after his death in 1894. He was put in charge of Maphutseng in 1918. In 1936 he left Basutoland because of ill health. He died in May 1937.

²⁶⁸Nathaniel Griffith Leretholi was the Paramount Chief of Basutoland from 1913 to 1939 when he died. He was the first Monarch to convert to the Roman Catholic Mission and numerous chiefs followed his example. Gill, *Short History of Lesotho*, pp. 162-163.

²⁶⁹L. Mabile...*Kereke ea Roma e qala ho ipha matla, 'me e rata ka matla ho amoha kereke ea Fora moqhaka oa eona. Kajeno ka baka la tšokoloho ea Morena e Moholo e iphila matla haholo. Moo e bonahalang ho ipha matla haholo ke maloting[...]*moo e leng litereke tsa morena e iphile matla haholo. Etsoe ha morena e mong a batla thuto ea Fora e ba morena o mo laela ho batla ea Roma. Ba-Roma ba tsositse likolo tsa bona ka matla 'me hohle-hohle ho se ho batla ho bonaha Rosary feela. *Tabatsa Synod* (proceedings of the Synod) 19 September 1897-26 September 1918: Synod of Morija, 26-30 September 1918, p. 200, 201; Cf. W.E. Brown, *The Catholic Church in Southern Africa From its Origins to the Present Day* (London: Burns and Oates, 1960), pp. 213-214, 215, 223; Brain, *Catholic Beginnings in Natal and Beyond*, p. 99; Hincks, *Quest for Peace*, pp. 482-485.

²⁷⁰L. Mabile: *Mosebetsi oa kereke eo moo re kekeng ra lesa ho tšoha ke oona, ke hobane ha se thuto ea Evangeli. E hanela batho lentsoe la Molimo, 'me e baruta litaba tse khelohaneng le thuto ea 'nete e thehiloeng Bebileng. Le hona e fetola lipelo tsa batho sebataolo moo peo ea Evangeli e meleng kathata [...]*Hape batho ha ba utloisisi phapano ea likereke tsa rona le ea Roma, athe ba ntse ba tšepa hore thuto eo le eona ke Evangeli athe ha hojoalo. Re ikhathatse ho bontša balumeli ba phutheho tsa rona moo re fapanang le ba-Roma teng. *Tabatsa synod 1897-1918: Synod of Morija*, p. 201-202.

catechetical classes were to be made priorities as well. More stations were to be established.

The Paramount Chief had to be approached and to be told that he should accommodate all the missions and should not prevent the Paris Mission from establishing new stations.²⁷¹ The synod applauded Mabile for his paper and then reflections and deliberations on it followed, mostly by Basuto ministers, the elders as well as a few missionaries.

Jobo Moteane commented that catechetical classes should be established; according to him, many times congregants did not always fully understand what they believe. All the ministers were expected to strive to have organised catechetical classes.²⁷²

David Lebesse maintained that the synod was given a big thing, which was the orthodoxy or truthful teaching which they had to be careful not to be deviated from by the Catholics who claimed that the Bible is a silent letter or book. The book that explained the difference between the teaching of the Evangelicals and the Catholics had to be used.²⁷³ This book had to be taught to the Paris Mission congregations.²⁷⁴

Samuele Hlasa pointed out that the Catholics baptised infants; their children went to Paris Mission schools already wearing Rosaries. Children should be taught Bible verses with illustrations.²⁷⁵

²⁷¹L. Mabile: *Ka moo re etsang ho fihlela joale, Likolo tsa Sontaga, Phuthehoana ea lebesse le tse ling kaofela, Li- 'teachers' li hlokomele Kolot sa Sontaga. Re ikhathaletse ho hlokomela mekhatlo ea ba bacha, 'me re hlome likereke ka bongata. Me le teng e ka ba tsoanelo hore re bontše Morena e Moholo hore ke Morena oa bohle 'me a se ke a thibela ho hloma ka moo hobonahalang eka ke mokhoa oa haemehleng ena. Taba tsa synod 1897-1918: Synod of Morija, p.203.*

²⁷²Jobo Moteane, *ha buaka taba ena o re ho theoe phutheoana hantle hobane ha ngata batho ba phutheho tsa rona ha ba k eba tseba hantle seo ba se lumetseng. Ho etsoe ka matla hore ho theoe hantle. Taba tsa synod 1897-1918: Synod of Morija, p.204.*

²⁷³Lipotso tse 31 tse supang moo thuto ea Evangeli le ea Roma li fapanangteng, (31 questions that point out the differences of the teaching of the Evangelicals and the Roman Catholics) Morija: Sesuto Book Depot 1897.

²⁷⁴David Lebesse *o re re neiloe ntho e kholo e leng thuto ea 'nete re hlokomele hore re se ke ra boela ra khelosoa ho eona ke ba-Roma ha ba re Bebile ke letere e semumu. Ka baka leo ho sebetsoe ka bukana ela e hlalolang moo re arohanang le ba-Roma teng ea Potso tse 31. E hle e rutoe liphuthehong tsa rona. Taba tsa synod 1897-1918: Synod of Morija, p.205.*

²⁷⁵Samuel Hlasa: *o buoa malebana le bana o re ba-Roma ba tsoaea bana. 'Me le ha ba kena likolong tsa rona ba kena e se ele ba roetseng mefeqe. O eletsa hore bana ba rutoe ka litemana tsa Bibe le tse nang le litšoantšo. Taba tsa synod 1897-1918: Synod of Morija, p.205.*

In agreement with Mabile, Jacottet stated that the growth of the Catholic Mission was seen from the advancement of their schools. In the beginning the Paris Mission was ahead of the Catholics in terms of the number of schools that it had. But that had changed because where the Paris Mission had 18 schools, the Catholics had 16. Why were the Catholics making this good progress? In the beginning, they did not have good relations with the Basuto, but later, they had it. Initially, the Paris Mission had good relations with the Basuto, but that has diminished. Additionally, the Paris Mission had become somehow incapable to voice out its grievances to the Paramount Chief regarding prevention of the establishment of new stations. That cowardice should be stopped. This is the remedy.²⁷⁶

Petrose Mokale posited that the reason why people joined the Catholic Mission was the stringent laws of the Paris Mission about brandy and marriage contracts. The Basuto desired brandy and wealth. Some Basuto claimed that the Paris Mission forbade them to take part in the feasts of their relatives who were Catholics and members of the Anglican Mission where there was insobriety.²⁷⁷

In accordance with Mokale, Motebang averred that he agreed that people joined the Catholic Mission because of cattle[marriage], the Paris Mission was the only mission even among the evangelicals that forbade cattle [marriage]. Another reason was that the Catholic Mission promised people to enter heaven easily without effort.²⁷⁸

²⁷⁶Moneri Jacottet: *Kereke ea Roma ea hola 'me taba ena e bonahala ka likolo tsa eona tse holang. Mehla re ne re siea Roma ka ho hloma likolo tse fetang tsa eona empa kajeno ke bone hore moo re hlomileng kolo tse 18 Roma e hlomile tse 16 e leng pontšo ea hore ba re atamela. Ke ka baka lang ha ba Roma ba tseba ho ja setsi kajeno? Ke hobane pele ba ne ba sa utloane le sechaba. Athe kajeno ba utloana le sona. Pele ke rona re neng re utloana le sechaba athe kutloano eo e fokotsehile ho rona. Hape se re bolaeang ke ho se tsebe ho hlahisa lillo tsa rona ho Morena ka matla tabeng e kang ena ea ho re hanela ho hloma. Re bolaoa ke bokoala. Re botlohele, ke sona sehlare. Taba tsa synod 1897-1918: Synod of Morija, pp. 206-207.*

²⁷⁷Petrose Mokale: *Lebaka le lebisang batho Roma ke bothata ba melao ea kereke ea rona. Bakeng sa ho hana lino le ho nyalla etsoe sechaba mehleng ena se lakatsa lino le leruo. Hape ba re Kereke ea heso e ba sitisa ho ea meketeng ea banababo bona ba leng Roma ka Chachi moo ho leng majoala. Taba tsa synod 1897-1918: Synod of Morija, p.207.*

²⁷⁸Moruti Motebang: *Le eena o lumela hore batho ba ea Roma ka baka la likhomo, etsoe hara likereke tsohle le tsa Evangeli ke rona feela re hanelang likhomo. Hape lebaka le leng le ratisang batho Roma ke tšepiso e ba tšepisang ho kena leholimong ha bonolo ka ntle ho boitelo. Taba tsa synod 1897-1918: Synod of Morija, p.208.*

Jeremea khoboso asserted that the Catholic Mission was advancing in his place and that this had polarised the people. It was the Paris Mission members who criticised the Catholics. He advised that young people should be vigorously taught and by doing that the Paris Mission would triumph if that was done with determination.²⁷⁹

Matthew Sebatane agreed with Mabile's letter on the teaching of the Catholics hardening people's hearts. He maintained that the teaching of the Catholics was like the actions of the Bushmen who filled up or covered a fountain with a stone so that animals could go drink where they had set their traps. His chief Mopeli and his wife, had converted to the Catholic Church because of brandy. Chief Mopeli confessed that he knew that if he joined the Paris Mission there would be altercations. Sebatane maintained that the weakness of Basuto was that they liked food very much. He suggested that more stations should be established.²⁸⁰

Lazaro Tšepe stated that the word 'our land' made him to respond. The land belonged to them as the children of Moshoeshoe. The Catholics led people astray by brandy so that they could follow them. The Paris Mission was urged not fear to voice out its grievances to the Paramount Chief.²⁸¹

Buti labelled the Catholics as the heathens because they promoted cattle marriage and brandy. He blamed the Paris Mission for its inconsistency in the discipline of the Christians to fear the teaching of the Catholics. According to him, the Catholic ceremonies as well as

²⁷⁹Jeremea Khobososo: *Ke nete Roma e ipha matla mane haeso ho se ho arohile motse ka lehare. Empa ho fihlela joale ke rona re ntseng re halefela ba-Roma. Ho rutoe ka matla bana 'me ha re etsa joalo ke moo re tla hlola ha re etsa ka matla. Taba tsa synod 1897-1918: Synod of Morija*, pp.208-209.

²⁸⁰Matthew Sebatana: *O ea le lengolo la moneri Mabile moo le reng thuto ea Roma e etsa lipelo tsa batho sebataolo. E etsisa moroa ho thoeng o e a kate mohloli oa seliba ka lejoe ele hore liphoofole litle li site ho noa teng tse ling li mpe li li eo noa moo eena a chekileng mamena a hae teng. O re mane ha habo Morena Mopeli le Mofumahali oa hae ba ile Roma 'me ele ka baka la lino, etsoe eena Morena o bile a hlalosa ka hore o entse hoo ka ho tšaba hore hoja a tla kerekeng ea heso re ne re tlaa tšoha re fapana. Hobane ntho e bolaeang Basuto haholo ke ho rata lijo. Sehla re sena ho hlongoe likereke haholo. Taba tsa synod 1897-1918: Synod of Morija*, pp.209-210.

²⁸¹Lazaro Tšepe: *Lentsoe le nkemisang ke lena le reng lefatše la rona. Ke nete lefatše lena ke la rona bana ba Moshoeshoe, feela ba-Roma ba khelosa batho ka letsoai leo ba tsamaeang ba le hasa fatše hore linku li ba latele e leng joala. Ka baka leo re se k era tšaba ho hlaisa lillo tsa rona ho Morena e Moholo. Taba tsa synod 1897-1918: Synod of Morija*, pp.210-211.

baptisms were heathen practices because in them there was brandy. He urged the synod to maintain unity and enforce the laws.²⁸²

Andrease Motsamai maintained that he found the Catholics as ordinary heathens. He stated that what was sad was that the true Church which was evangelical reverted to the Catholics by taking away from a person his things when he married in the Paris Mission.²⁸³ By this act the Paris Mission reverted to the heathen practise of the Catholics.²⁸⁴

Daniel Seqhobane indicated that the Paris Mission did not cleanse people, as opposed to the Catholics who did.²⁸⁵ In this way, it was easy for a Mosotho to incline to that Church for its their tradition to cleanse.²⁸⁶

The foregoing deliberations of the Paris Mission Synod on the advancement of the Catholic Mission reveal that Dieterlen's ecumenism excluded the Catholics. In as much as he regarded them a Christian denomination, he allegedly claimed that they had some defects, which were, perhaps, doctrinal. As a result, they were not fully accommodated in his ecumenism.

²⁸²Moruti Buti: *O bitsa ba- Roma bahedene ka baka la lenyalo la likhomo, le joala. Joale o nyatsa rona ba kereke ea Fora ka moo re sa tšoaneng mekhoeng oa ho tšabisa bakreste ba rona bohedene bona ba ba-Roma. Hobane mekete efe le efe ea Ba-Roma esita lea likolobetso e ntse ele bohedeneng ba ba-Roma ka ketso eo. Taba tsa synod 1897-1918: Synod of Morija*, p.211.

²⁸³'...taking away from a person his things when he married in the Paris Mission,' this was in reference to cattle marriage which the Paris Mission detested and forestalled and thereby deprived the bride's parent's compensation for the upbringing of their daughter. The cruelty and inhumanity of fighting cattle marriage was associated with the Catholics who were seen as bad. I am grateful to Mathatela Segoete for helping me to understand this passage.

²⁸⁴Andrease Motsamai: *A re o fumana ba-Roma ele bahedene feela. Empa ho leng bohloko ke hoba joale le rona kereke ea netee Evangelii le khutlela ho ba-Romaka ho amoha motho ntho tsa hae ha a tlile ho nyala ho lona. Ke moo ho seng thuso hobane le rona joale re khutlela hona bohedeneng ba ba-Roma ka ketso eo. Taba tsa synod 1897-1918: Synod of Morija*, p.213.

²⁸⁵This had to do with the nomenclatures of baptism. In Lesotho the Catholics employed the word *ho hlatsoa* (to cleanse) for baptising while the Paris Mission used *ho kolobetsa* (to make wet or to moisten). Traditionally the Basuto were familiar with the former as one of their purification rituals. For instance, when one had been jailed or a woman, lost by death, a child or a husband cleansing was imperatively done. H. Ashton, *The Basuto* (London, New York, Toronto: Oxford University Press 1952), p.111; S.A. Mokorosi, *Basuto traditions: Indigenous Architecture and Creativity* (Morija: Morija Printing Works, 2017), pp.68,69,70; F.M.A. 'Moteetee, *Moetlo oa lefu le seo lefu le se bolelang har'a Basuto* (National University of Lesotho 1979), pp. 37-38 (B.A. Dissertation).

²⁸⁶Daniel Seqhobane: *Kereke ea rona ha e hlatsoe athe ea Roma eona ho thoe ea hlatsoa. 'Me ka mokhoa ona ho bonolo ho Mosotho ho sekamela kerekeng eo etsoe e ntse e le hlaho ea Basuto ho hlatsoa. Taba tsa synod 1897-1918: Synod of Morija*, p.214.

The Paris missionaries were displeased with the progress of the Catholics. They claimed that they brought harm to their work by promoting cattle marriage and brandy. The Paris Mission was militant against brandy; It had staunch opponents to its use, whereas the Catholics were moderate and lenient. The Catholics did not have a problem with social drinking, more especially when it came to the senior chiefs to whom they would give brandy to ingratiate themselves with them but not necessarily to promote alcoholism. It was an exaggeration to say that they promoted alcoholism.

In addition, according to William Eric Brown, early in their establishment, the Catholics declared 'three obstacles to conversion: the social habits of drunkenness, polygamy and magical practices and their ramifications.'²⁸⁷

Concerning bride wealth, the Catholics worked towards mitigating the abuse of marriage contracts. They encouraged their converts to keep the number of cattle to the minimum, whereas the Paris Mission totally banned the tradition. They saw it as a degradation and a sale of a woman.²⁸⁸

Albert Brutsch²⁸⁹ spoke of Dieterlen's wide ranging friendships beyond the Paris missionaries. According to him this was quite unusual in Dieterlen's day. He had many interests and enjoyed discussions with others, both Christians and non- Christians.²⁹⁰

Dieterlen's strong interest in ecumenism enabled him to tolerate other religious movements and sought to understand them. During his time at Leribe there was a famous

²⁸⁷Brown, *The Catholic Church in Southern Africa*, p. 220; Cf. Brain, *Catholics Beginnings in Natal and beyond*, p.83.

²⁸⁸Brown, *The Catholic Church in Southern Africa*, pp.218-219; Smith, *The Mabilles of Basutoland*, pp. 211-12; Ellenberger, *A Century of Mission Work in Basutoland*, p. 240.

²⁸⁹ Albert Brutsch arrived in Basutoland as a missionary of the Paris Mission in 1942 and passed on in 2004. He was an authority on the history of the Paris Mission and Lesotho. He served as a parish minister in several stations, was an instructor at the Theological Seminary as well as an archivist from 1953 until well into the 1990s. Gill, *The Story of the Morija Museum and Archives*, pp. 47-49; Hincks, *Quest for Peace*, pp. 608-609; Rosenberg and Weisfelder, *Historical Dictionary of Lesotho*, pp.79-80; Germond, *Chronicles of Basutoland*, 1967,p. 561.

²⁹⁰ Hincks, *Quest for Peace*, p. 568.

clergyman called Edgar Mahon²⁹¹ who preached conversion and claimed to possess healing powers through the Holy Spirit.

Dieterlen recounted how the daughter of Chief Seetsa (Mosonngoa) got ill not long after her marriage. She had signs of mental instability and was in danger of losing her mind altogether. All healing attempts were tried; native healers as well as doctors were consulted but they failed. One day the chief heard that there was a healer in Harrismith. His name was Mahon and he was said to heal people by laying hands on them. The sick had to confess their sins and pledge commitment to God.²⁹²

Mosonngoa was taken to Mahon in Harrismith and came back allegedly healed. Members of Dieterlen's Church asked him whether it was a good thing to take their sick to Mahon. He commended the parishioners' desire to understand the movement and to learn from it.²⁹³ Nonetheless, he regarded the healing ministry of the movement with a modicum of suspicion and distrust. He identified two pitfalls in the beliefs of the revivalists about healing that needed to be avoided. The first was the one that befell the Pharisees and the Sadducees, who when faced with Jesus Christ's healing, denied it and claimed that it did not come from God. The second pitfall was to believe everything without holding anything back, to confuse credulousness with faith and illusions with truth.²⁹⁴

Dieterlen was held in high esteem by his fellow missionaries. As a university-trained missionary, he was seen as having progressive ideas for the mission.²⁹⁵ At the same time he was always respectful of the viewpoint of others. For instance, when the synod was faced

²⁹¹ Mahon (1865-1936) was a Zionist healer and revivalist preacher based in Harrismith. He was born at Thaba-Nchu in the Free State in South Africa. His religious origins were from the Salvation Army. His baptism estranged him from the Salvation Army. He became an itinerant Zionist revivalist in the frontiers of Basutoland and South Africa. He influenced the development of the Zionist Church in South Africa and in Basutoland. *Ibid*, p, 989; W. F.P. Burton, *When God Makes a Missionary: The life Story of Edgar Mahon* (Minneapolis, 1961).

²⁹² Hincks, *Quest for Peace*, pp, 989-990.

²⁹³ H. Dieterlen, 'Un Visiteur Embarrassant,' *Journal des (Mission Évangéliques* 1905) pp. 39-45 (Tiisetso Pitso is acknowledged for translating this article) ; Hincks, *Quest for Peace*, pp. 989-990.

²⁹⁴ *Ibid*, 421 ; H. Dieterlen, 'Un Visiteur Embarrassant,' *Journal des Missions Évangéliques*, p. 39-45.

²⁹⁵ Couzens, *Murder at Morija*, p. 265.

with the difficult decision of whether to accept junior wives into the Church,²⁹⁶ he voted for an easier acceptance of the *lirethe*, as opposed to Frédéric Ellenberger who was totally against the idea. However, he respected Ellenberger's clear 'no' and sincerity. Tim Couzens maintained that Dieterlen wanted 'clarity and frankness not subterfuge.'²⁹⁷ Jacottet thought that, since Dieterlen did not have a parish of his own, being the Theological School director at the time, he did not understand certain practical difficulties. The ultimate decision upheld by the conference was that second and third wives could only be baptised after divorce or physical separation from the husband.²⁹⁸

Not all the 19th century missionaries shared this belief. John William Colenso,²⁹⁹ the Anglican bishop of Natal, for example, did not subscribe to the Paris Mission resolution. He believed that to demand such a sacrifice was unreasonable and unkind, since it deprived the discarded women of their family ties and their livelihood. He was in favour of baptising polygamists and demanding monogamy in the second generation. Bishop Allard of the Roman Catholic Mission, however, did not subscribe to Colenso's view.³⁰⁰

When the Mission House in Paris extended its mission work to the French colonies (Madagascar and Congo) it needed experienced missionaries and such missionaries could only be found in the Basutoland Mission. Twice Dieterlen was nominated. He was, firstly nominated in 1887 when the Congo Mission needed an experienced missionary to head it. Jacottet wrote frantically dissuading Boegner in Paris from taking Dieterlen away from the Basutoland Mission. He told Boegner that transferring Dieterlen would jeopardize the

²⁹⁶ *Taba tsa Synod, 19 September 1897-26 September 1918*: Synod of Hermone, 31 March 1905, pp. 108-109

²⁹⁷ Couzens, *Murder at Morija*, p. 266.

²⁹⁸ *Ibid*, pp. 211-212, 265-266; *Taba tsa Synod, 19 September 1897-26 September 1918*: Synod of Hermon, February 1905, p. 109.

²⁹⁹ W. Colenso (1811-1899) was the first Anglican Bishop of the Natal in 1853. He was a mathematician and was also trained in the modern scientific school. He was charged for heresy for his unorthodox views on the Pentateuch and the book of Joshua: *The Pentateuch and the Book of Joshua Critically Examined*. Du Plessis, *A History of Christian Missions in South Africa, Facsimile reprint* (C Struik, Cape Town, 1965), p. 355.

³⁰⁰ Brown, *The Catholic Church in South Africa*, pp. 248-250; Brain, *Catholic Beginnings in the Natal and Beyond*, p. 58; R. Elphic, *The equality of Believers: Protestant Missionaries and the Racial Politics in South Africa* (Charlottesville, London: University of Virginia Press, 2012), pp. 74-75; Du Plessis, *A History of the Christian Mission in South Africa*, pp. 355-356.

development of the Theological School for Basuto pastors as Dieterlen oversaw it. Tim Couzen stated that the Paris missionaries in Basutoland were also apprehensive of the plan of the Mission House to remove Dieterlen from Basutoland. Couzen wrote:

Not only was Dieterlen Jacottet's closest friend but he was also precious to us [Basutoland mission] in all ways, and a force in the mission who contributes, through his moderate way of understanding things, an indispensable balance of optimism and pessimism.³⁰¹

Secondly, he was supposed to be sent to Madagascar in 1897. However, this never materialised. This plan seriously troubled Jacottet who thought Dieterlen's removal from Basutoland would kill him.³⁰² Jacottet and Dieterlen were close friends who confided in each other. For example, Jacottet confided only in Dieterlen about the call of his teacher Frédéric Louis Godet³⁰³ to go to see his sick mother in Switzerland. He had been in Lesotho for ten years and furlough was only taken after 15 years of missionary work.³⁰⁴

At the same time, Jacottet regarded colonialism with considerable dislike. Tim Couzens maintained that Jacottet strongly believed that missionary work should be disinterested and should not be used as a pretext for colonial ambitions.³⁰⁵ He mainly feared that the Mission House's expansion of its work to French colonies would promote French nationalism. As a result, Basutoland would eventually be forgotten or not be high on the list of priorities at the Mission House.

On the contrary, Dieterlen was rather passive about the colonial governments: the Cape colonial government and the British Government in Basutoland. He wrote two articles about the Gun War in the *Leselinyana* in the 1880s. His main concern was the emotional well-being

³⁰¹ Couzen, *Murder at Morija*, p. 196.

³⁰² *Ibid*, p. 237.

³⁰³ Frédéric Louis Godet (1812-1900) was a clergyman and a Swiss Protestant theologian in Neuchâtel in the 19th century well known throughout Protestant Europe for his works. *Ibid*, p. 143.

³⁰⁴ *Ibid*, pp. 196, 208, 229.

³⁰⁵ *Ibid*, pp. 178, 183, 197; Gill, 'A brief biographical sketch and tribute to Rev Edouard Jacottet,' p. 6.

of the Basuto and the work of God which was always a priority in his writings. He comforted the Basuto and beseeched them not to allow their minds to be fixed on their guns and what the Cape Government intended to do with them but rather they should fix their minds on the work of God which has eternal promises.³⁰⁶ In other words, he told the Basuto to submit to the colonial government and pray. He did not find it necessary to combat colonial abuse unlike Bishop Colenso who fought for the rights of the Hlubi and Zulu chiefs (Langalebalele and Cetshwayo) in the 1870s and 1880s in Natal.³⁰⁷

Jacottet, as discussed earlier, ‘strongly believed that missionary work should not be used as a pretext for colonial ambitions.’ He fought hard against the incorporation of Basutoland into the Union of South Africa and succeeded.³⁰⁸

Dieterlen bemoaned the bad effects of the Gun War on the Basuto. Before the war the Basuto observed Sunday as a day of rest and worship but after the war, that had changed. They went about their businesses on a Sunday. The war had some disillusioning effects on them. They had seen British troops attacking Moorosi on a Sunday. By that action, the British, communicated a message to the Basuto that they expected victory by attacking on a Sunday. Perhaps, by keeping busy with their business on a Sunday, the Basuto expected to be successful in their endeavours.³⁰⁹

Dieterlen was critical of the high-handed manners of the missionaries. He bemoaned the prevalent racial prejudice in the Christian missions and the pride of white missionaries. In addressing the Second General Missionary Conference held in Johannesburg in 1906, on the theme “The preparation of native pastors” he said:

The greatest obstacle that the formation of a native ministry has to reckon with is not the incapacity or the unworthiness of the Natives, but the amazing pride of the white

³⁰⁶ H. Dieterlen, ‘Leeba la Noah’ (the dove of Noah) *Leselinyana la Lesotho*, June 1, 1880, p. 1; ‘Kereke e Tsohile’ (the church has resurrected) *Leselinyana la Lesotho* June 1, 1882, pp. 4, 5.

³⁰⁷ Elphic, *The equality of Believers*, p.59.

³⁰⁸ Couzens, *Murder at Morija*, pp. 296-298.

³⁰⁹ H. Dieterlen, “Letsatsi la bosupa” (the seventh day) *Leselinyana la Lesotho*, April 1, 1880, p. 2.

missionaries. We are so convinced of our superiority and dignity that we do not see our enormous defects and shortcomings and that we deny the natives any capacity for administering the Church. It is time we should display more humility, more justice and intelligence.³¹⁰

The foregoing statement illustrates explicitly how Dieterlen did not like crude racism, but at the same time, was an unmitigated imperialist.

According to Setiloane this attitude of superiority among the missionaries seemed intrinsically embedded in all the missionaries:

The missionaries were mostly . . . culture bound. They had no doubt about the superiority of their culture, . . . kindly disposed as they were and well meaning, the works of the early missionaries to Africa Shaw's 'Memorials', Moffat's 'Missionary labours and scenes', Casalis 'The Basutos' and others are not pleasant reading for the descendants [of those] whom they, in their superiority, call "savage", "heathens", "coffers" "sons of the wilderness."³¹¹

Dieterlen was seriously troubled by the arrogance of the missionaries in the mission fields. In 1893, before the Second General Missionary Conference, he wrote an article in the *Leselinyana* titled: *Na batho ba batšo ba tla kena leholimong?*³¹²(Will black people enter heaven?).

In this article, Dieterlen censured white people for their arrogance and their belief that black people did not have the right to call themselves Christians or the right to enter heaven. The worst thing, he declared was that white people used the Bible to back up this statement.

Dieterlen defended the right of black people to enter heaven by disputing the argument that they were cursed by God. This was said to have occurred when God cursed Ham the son

³¹⁰ H. Dieterlen, "The preparation of Native Ministers," in *Report of the proceedings of the Second General Missionary Conference* (Johannesburg, 1907), p. 48.

³¹¹ G. M. Setiloane, *The image of God among the Sotho-Tswana*, (Cape Town: Balkema, 1976), p. 89.

³¹² H. Dieterlen, "Na batho ba batšo ba tla kena leholimong?" (Will black people enter heaven?) *Leselinyana la Lesotho*, December 15, 1893, p. 1.

of Noah, who was claimed to be the father of all black people. He refuted this by citing Genesis 9:24-27. He pointed out that the one who was cursed was Canaan, Ham's son. The descendants of Canaan were the Canaanites whom the Israelites fought when they entered their land. As for the other descendants of Ham, the Bible does not state that they were cursed. Even if black people were descendants of Ham, they were not cursed at all. Anyone who insisted on this should be told that the wrath of God is not eternal. 'God visits the iniquities of the fathers upon the children unto the third and fourth generation of them that hate him,' Dieterlen pointed out and said that such generations had long passed away; this claim therefore made God to be an unforgiving God. Secondly, white people ignorantly claimed that Jesus came from among them. Here Dieterlen argued that Jesus was not a *lekhoora* (a white person). He defended this position by illustrating that Jesus was not from a tribe whose origins were related to the English or Maburu (the Boers) or Ma-fora (the French) whom, it could be said, came from Japheth. Jesus was not yellow; his language, culture and way of dressing were all of the tribe of Shem not Japheth.

Dieterlen still thought in terms of race. He just wanted to put Jesus in another race. The notion of race which is discussed and debated today is typically colonialist. Earlier civilisations in the first century BC, for example, did not think in terms of race. Dieterlen was a man of his time.

The white people entered the kingdom of God as did the Gentiles and heathens, who converted by God's grace and through faith. Dieterlen noted the Jews did not accept that the Gentiles could enter the kingdom of God, and the whites did the same thing to the black people. In the book of the Acts of the Apostles and the letters of St. Paul, the Romans and the Greeks were not easily accepted into the Church. These were white people. The white people, Dieterlen felt, were acting ridiculously; they acted as if they were the children of the house and prevented others from going in.

The Bible, continued Dieterlen, refuted the claims of white people for despising the conversion of black people. Jesus said, 'Go all over the world and make disciples of all nations' (Matthew.28: 19). Abraham was told that all nations would be blessed through him. (Genesis 12: 3). The book of Revelation describes 'a great multitude, which no man could number, of all nations, and kindred, and people, and tongues, [who] stood before the throne' (Revelation. 7:9). 'All nations' did not exclude black people.

The book of the Acts of the Apostles tells of how black people were accepted in the covenant of God in the early times of the Church of Jesus. The eunuch of Candace, the Queen of Ethiopia, who was baptised by Phillip, was the first black person to be baptised. Ethiopians were black people. The Holy Spirit did not despise black people. Black people should realise that the keys to heaven were not put in the hands of the white people but in the hands of Jesus Christ who called them to heaven. What Jesus had opened could not be shut by any educated white person. Dieterlen was fearless in defending black people, thus proving that they too had the right to enter the kingdom of God.

Dieterlen envisaged, for Basutoland, a fully-fledged autonomous Native Church not a carbon copy of the European Church. He said that such a Church should be led by duly trained native pastors.³¹³

He went to great trouble in 1883 to explain in the *Leselinyana*, under the title *Thuto* (Christian teaching) and *Sesotho*³¹⁴(anything pertaining to the Basuto), what it meant to be a Christian as opposed to the belief held by pagans, that to be a Christian meant to disown oneself, one's nationality, one's culture and kindred as well as becoming a white person.³¹⁵

³¹³H. Dieterlen, "The preparation of Native Ministers," in *Report of the proceedings of the Second General Missionary Conference* (Johannesburg 1907), p. 63.

³¹⁴H. Dieterlen, 'Thuto le Sesotho,' *Leselinyana la Lesotho*, September 1, 1883, pp. 2-3; Cf. S. G. De Clark, 'The Evangelical Missionaries and the Basuto 1833-1933' (University of South Africa 2000), p. 171; M. N. Moteane 'Nalane ea Moruti Jobo Moteane 1842-1942,' p. 101.

³¹⁵H. Dieterlen, 'Thuto le Sesotho,' *Leselinyana la Lesotho*, September, 1, 1883, pp. 2-3; Cf. T. E. Yates, 'Christian Conversion 1902-1993, William James to Lewis Rambo' in *Mission Studies*, Vol, VIII-182, 25&26(1996), pp. 311-312.

At the outset, he explained that Christianity was cradled in Jerusalem after the death of Jesus. From there it was carried to the country of the French and the English, and that they were converted. They in turn brought it to Basutoland. His most telling point was that Christianity is the blanket of God, shared by different people. It was brought by white people, but it knew no colour. Therefore, becoming a Christian meant not to lose identity, culture or nationality. The converted French remained French and so a Mosuto.³¹⁶

The sentiment and conviction that there should be an autonomous African Church was also shared by Jacottet who pointed out:

The Native Church is the necessary and logical outcome of the mission itself. The success of the Mission will only be secured by the existence of the Native Church. It is only by means of a native agency, a native African organisation, that Christianity can become the secure possession of the native mind, that the Christian spirit can take hold of the native African spirit and life, as it did in England and Germany of the English or German native mind and life.³¹⁷

At the same time, Dieterlen did not approve of the Basuto initiation school. He wrote an article in the *Leselinyana la Lesotho* newspaper in 1894 disparaging the rite. He was baffled by married men who went to this institution. He could not understand why married Christian men debased themselves by going to an institution which served as a rite of passage for young people when they had already passed that stage.³¹⁸ He found *lebollo* (the initiation school) to be a stumbling block for conversion. He pointed out that sixty years had elapsed since the Gospel was first preached in Basutoland and one would expect people to have

³¹⁶H. Dieterlen, 'Thuto le Sesotho,' *Leselinyana la Lesotho*, September 1, 1883, pp. 2-3.

³¹⁷E. Jacottet, *The Native Churches and their Organisation*, Paris Evangelical Missionary Society (Morija: Morija Sesuto Book Depot, 1906), p. 4-5, an off-print of his address to the South African Missionary Conference in 1904; See also, The forward of S. J. Gill, 'A brief sketch of the Life of and times of Eugene Casalis' in E. Casalis, *The Basutos; or, twenty years in South Africa* (London: James Nisbet & CO. Berners Street 1861); Gill, 'A brief biographical sketch and tribute to Rev Edouard Jacottet,' p. 15.

³¹⁸H. Dieterlen, "Lebollo," *Leselinyana la Lesotho*, April 1, 1880, p. 3.

moved forward in that time. He felt that the initiation school had become outdated, and that people should seek schools that brought them to God.³¹⁹

Dieterlen also found the chieftainship to be ‘the greatest opponents of the missions. He depicted Chief Motšoene Molapo of Leribe as *orgueilleux, ombrageux, ambitieux, violent* (arrogant, quick to take offence, ambitious, violent). Chief Motšoene regarded himself, however, as a civilised gentleman.³²⁰ Chiefs were the custodians of lebollo and no one could convene one without their permission. Nevertheless, Dieterlen felt that the chiefs were stumbling blocks to conversion.³²¹ Moreover, the chiefs, as explained, earlier had an influence from the Roman Catholic missionaries.

Dieterlen was a friend of Alfred Boegner the director of the Mission House in Paris³²² and served as the director’s assistant when on furlough in 1890.³²³ When the Paris Mission celebrated the 75th Jubilee of its presence in Basutoland in 1908, Dieterlen and Kohler³²⁴ contributed by writing the commemorative book of the history of the mission (*Livre d’Or*), and about the Basuto of the past and present.³²⁵

Dieterlen served as treasurer of the Missionary Conference in 1885,³²⁶ president in 1894³²⁷ as well as secretary in 1897.³²⁸

³¹⁹H. Dieterlen, “Lebollo” *Leselinyana la Lesotho*, September 15, 1894 p. 2; For a broader understanding of lebollo, please see, S. S. Molapo, “Majakane: “The emergence of a 19th century non-initiation Basuto identity and the interaction of Basuto Culture and Missionary Christianity” (Johannesburg: University of Witwatersrand 2003), pp. 19-24; D.F. Ellenberger, *History of the Basuto, Ancient and Modern* (Morija: Morija printing Works 1912), pp. 280-289; H. Ashton, *The Basuto* (London, New York, Toronto: Oxford university Press), pp. 46-61.

³²⁰H. Dieterlen, *L’Ami des Missions* (FR), vol.2, no.12, 12 (1905), p.3-4.

³²¹S. S. Molapo, ‘Majakane: “The emergence of a 19th century non-initiation Basuto identity and the interaction of Basuto Culture and Missionary Christianity’ (Johannesburg: University of Witwatersrand 2003), p. 20.

³²² Alfred Boegner, the Director of the Mission House was from Alsace. He was the son of Charles Henri Boegner, the Professor at the Protestant Gymnasium in Strasbourg. Gérard Atzenhoffer, “Gustave Steinheil, a humanist industrialist” Rothau 2010.

³²³Couzens, *Murder at Morija*, pp. 197-198; J.F. Zorn. *Le Grand Siècle D’une Mission Protestante, La Mission de Paris de 1822 à 1914* (Karthala, 1993), pp. 181.

³²⁴Frédéric Kohler (1847-1929) was born in Villars-les-Blamont (Doubs). He arrived in Basutoland in 1873 and was placed at Cana where he remained till his retirement in 1908. He died at Cana. Germond, *Chronicles of Basutoland*, p. 565.

³²⁵Couzens, *Murder at Morija*, p. 295- 296; S.J. Gill, “A brief biographical sketch and tribute to Rev Edouard Jacottet” p.18.

³²⁶Couzens, *Murder at Morija*, p. 178.

The year 1910 saw a further deterioration in Diertelen's health. He was often ill. He survived a couple of heart attacks.³²⁹ Despite his poor health, Couzens listed him, along with Jacottet and Dyke, as part of the leadership of the Paris Mission from 1910 onwards.³³⁰

In 1913 Hermann's health forced him to resign from parish work. He went to work as a chaplain to the newly established leprosarium at Botšabelo.³³¹

3.7 Hermann Dieterlen, the chaplain of the leprosarium at Botšabelo(1913)³³²

The outbreak of leprosy in Basutoland, late in the 19th century, meant that its victims immediately lost their human rights as they were banished from society and kept in remote places. There was no cure for leprosy before the 1940s. In South Africa, Robben Island was used as a leprosarium from 1846 to 1931. In northern Lesotho (Leribe), during the reign of Chief Jonathane Molapo (ca 1880-1911), leprosy patients were sent to the deep valley of Menyameng. In the central area (Maseru), oral tradition claimed that they were sent to Botšabelo during the time of Mohlomi, late 1700s and early 1800s. However, this is contested as no historical evidence confirms it. The British Government established a leprosarium at Botšabelo in 1912.³³³

Approximately 800 people were admitted for treatment in 1913. It was not long before they realised that they were to be kept there for the rest of their lives and a strike broke out.

³²⁷ Ellenberger, *A Century of Mission Work Basutoland*, p. 263.

³²⁸ *Taba tsa Synod 19 September 1897-26 September 1918*: Synod of Thaba-Bosiu, 7 April 1911, p. 128-135.

³²⁹ Couzen, *Murder at Morija*, p. 312-313.

³³⁰ *Ibid*, p. 313.

³³¹ Hincks, *Quest for Peace*, pp 505-506; Scott Rosenberg and Richard F. Weisfelder, *Historical Dictionary of Lesotho, second edition* (Lanham, Toronto, Plymouth, UK: The Scarecrow Press, Inc. 2013), p. 116; Couzens, *Murder at Morija*, p. 323.

³³² I am indebted to Stephen James Gill for the information on the establishment of Botšabelo. He conducted a research on the Botšabelo settlement and allowed me to read his notes and see the photographs that he took from the site.

³³³ Hincks, *Quest for Peace*, pp. 505-506; Ellenberger, *A Century of Missionary Work in Basutoland*, p. 300.

The British Government had asked the Paris Mission to post a chaplain to the leprosarium on a government grant.³³⁴

Dieterlen was entrusted with this important responsibility.³³⁵ Unfortunately not long after moving to the place a strike broke out. The lepers demonstrated and sang war songs every night, so much so that the police had to intervene. Dieterlen was caught up in the middle of this ongoing strike and riot. That was just too much for him. Some of the lepers absconded and left the asylum. Consequently, Dieterlen had to move to Morija where he was welcomed by colleagues with open arms.³³⁶ He was then posted to Likhoele.³³⁷

3.8 The Likhoele pastorate (1914-1919)

Likhoele station, formally Makeneng, was established by Ernest Mabile in 1887.

Lerotholi,³³⁸ the area chief of Makeneng, east of Mafeteng, requested the Paris Mission to send the grandson of Eugène Casalis to be near him.³³⁹ Moshoeshoe had had Casalis as his missionary and advisor. Lerotholi followed the example of his grandfather, Moshoeshoe, by asking for a missionary. Besides, for a chief to have a missionary nearby or of his own was a sign of power.³⁴⁰

Dieterlen followed Paul Colin³⁴¹ at Likhoele in 1914 who was transferred to Thaba-Bosiu.³⁴² In December that year Dieterlen celebrated his 40 years of missionary service. He was then 64 and half years of age.³⁴³

³³⁴ Hincks, *Quest for Peace*, p. 336; Couzens, *Murder at Morija*, p. 506.

³³⁵ *Hommes et Destins : Dictionnaire biographique d'Outre-Mer, volume 9* (Paris : Académie des Sciences 1977).

³³⁶ Couzens, *Murder at Morija*, p. 330.

³³⁷ The station of Likhoele was on the Eastern side of Mafeteng. It was 5.9km from Mafeteng camp.

³³⁸ He was the brother of Letsie whom he succeeded as Paramount Chief. *Ibid*, pp. 246, 301.

³³⁹ Hincks, *Quest for Peace*, p. 336; Couzens, *Murder at Morija*, p. 178; Ellenberger, *A Century of Mission work in Basutoland*, p. 231.

³⁴⁰ S. S. Molapo, "Majakane: 'The emergence of a 19th century non-initiation Basuto identity and the interaction of Basuto Culture and Missionary Christianity' (Johannesburg: University of Witwatersrand 2003), pp. 4-5, 164-165; Eugene Casalis, *My life in Basutoland* (Paternoster, 1889), p. 241.

³⁴¹ P. Colin followed H. Marzloff at Likhoele. Ellenberger, *A Century of Mission Work*, p. 299.

³⁴² *Ibid*, p. 300.

³⁴³ Bianquis, *Hermann Dieterlen*, p. 179.

In 1914 the First World War broke out in Europe. Dieterlen's son Robert³⁴⁴ took part in this war. In 1915 he was wounded in action. As soon as he recovered, he asked to be sent back to the front. He was last seen severely wounded, but his body was never found. He was officially reported "missing", and after the armistice his death was officially recognised.³⁴⁵

Dieterlen was greatly affected and demoralised by his son being posted as missing on the war front. His entire period in the station of Likhoele was spent under a dark cloud of mourning. David Ambrose revealed that 'a number of his diaries were overshadowed by the Great War in which his son went missing.' He hoped that he might still be alive and that he would meet him one day.³⁴⁶

In 1918 Dieterlen revised *Tšebeletso* (the liturgy book) which was translated by H. Marzolff.³⁴⁷

Dieterlen retired from the service of the Paris Mission in 1919 and went back to France near Strasbourg in Alsace.³⁴⁸ He had served in Basutoland as a missionary for forty-five years. He went on furlough two times. The first time was from 1890 to 1892 and the second was from 1903 to 1904 when he had an occasion to help Alfred Boegner in the Mission House.³⁴⁹

3.9 Dieterlen's last years (1919-1933)

Hermann Dieterlen and Anna Dieterlen informed the readers of the *Leselinyana* in 1919 that the directors of the Mission House in Paris had recalled them to minister in Alsace-Lorraine to the French who were released from the yoke of the Germans. Their time of departure was

³⁴⁴ Robert Dieterlen was born on 30 August 1885; educated in France; B.A., University of Nancy, 1904; studied Divinity at Montauban Seminary, where he qualified for the ministry, and at Aberdeen University (Divinity, 1909-10); appointed by the Paris Evangelical Missionary Society to Barotseland, North Rhodesia. *Ibid*, p. 335, 336; Bianquis, *Hermann Dieterlen*, p.179.

³⁴⁵ Couzens, *Murder at Morija*, p. 338.

³⁴⁶ *Ibid*, pp. 336, 338.

³⁴⁷ Bianquis, *Hermann Dieterlen*, p.180.

³⁴⁸ *Ibid*, p. 51 ; Germond, *Chronicles of Basutoland*, p, 563 ; Bianquis, *Hermann Dieterlen*, p.181; *Hommes et Destins: Dictionnaire biographique d'Outre-Mer, volume 9* (Paris: Académie des Sciences 1977).

³⁴⁹ *Ibid*.

August or September. Though the work they were called for was good, they were sorrowful to leave Basutoland where they had worked for 44 years and six months in the joy of the land of Moshoeshoe.³⁵⁰ They thanked the Basuto and their chiefs for the peaceful way they lived with them. They were grateful to God for his help all the years of their service. They promised to pray for the Church of Lesotho.³⁵¹

Dieterlen 's ministry as compared to his predecessors was at an advantage since he arrived during the Cape colonial period, six years after the annexation of Moshoeshoe's country to Britain in 1868. Basutoland was under British protection. The Paris Mission worked harmoniously with the Cape colonial government from 1871 to 1884 and the Crown from 1884 to 1966. There was peace as well as tranquillity and there were no serious wars that threatened the work of the mission such as the Senekal War of 1858, when the Boers had wanted to harm Thomas Arbousset at Morija. They had burned Arbousset 's office, vandalised and auctioned his furniture.³⁵² The Boers had burned Beersheba and had killed un-armed Christians in the station.³⁵³ In the Seqiti War of 1864 to 1868, the Paris missionaries were expelled from the country by the Boers. They had to leave their stations. Dieterlen never experienced these atrocities. The *Leselinyana* upon his arrival was well established and serving its purpose of being the Church's mouthpiece very well. He made full use of it throughout the entire period of his ministry in Basutoland. The Theological School was re-opened in 1887 and he was entrusted its directorship. Thus, he was privileged to train the first Basuto ministers. He stayed in Basutoland long enough to see the fruits of his labours among them. They became prolific writers like him and devoted servants of the Church of Basutoland.

³⁵⁰ Note Dieterlen 's contradiction with Bianquis on the years of his service in Basutoland. He maintained he served for 44 years and six months while the latter noted that it was 45 years. Bianquis might have rounded up the years.

³⁵¹ H. Dieterlen & A Dieterlen, "Tsebiso," *Leselinyana*, July 18, 1919, p. 1

³⁵² Ellenberger, *A Century of Mission Work*, pp.102-103.

³⁵³ *Ibid*, pp. 100 -101.

In Alsace, Dieterlen actively represented the Mission House or the Society of Evangelical Missions. He reached out to all the French speaking corners in Alsace with a view of bringing back to the Mission House the sympathies which, in the forty years of German occupation, had gradually spread to other works of the mission.³⁵⁴

He continued to engage in writing; every day he wrote down his thoughts, reflections of his readings, as well as his experiences. For instance, he continued to contribute articles to *The Christian Family Friend* nearly 3,000 biblical meditations. In 1920 he published a new edition of *Pourquoi les Missions* (why the missions) and it was printed and he published the narrative of some incidents of his life as a missionary in 1922. The directors of the Mission House tasked him to write biographies of Eugène Casalis, François Coillard, Frédéric Ellenberger in 1928. These biographies were to serve as landmarks for the centenary celebration in 1933 of the Paris Mission in Basutoland. He celebrated fifty years anniversary of his missionary career in 1924. He also celebrated the golden anniversary of his marriage in 1928.³⁵⁵

In Strasbourg, he lived for a long time in an apartment at No. 15 on the Fishermen's Wharf. In 1929, when his wife could not cope with the care of the household, he moved to an asylum at the house of the deaconesses of Strasbourg. Here he had a room and a small office. It was while in the asylum that he was appointed as a knight of the *Légion d'Honneur*. He received his cross in Paris in the Mission House from his cousin, Edouard Gruner, then the director of the Mission House. On this occasion, Dieterlen baptised his great-grandson. During the two last years of his life, he stopped preaching because of ill health. He died on Sunday, January 8, 1933.³⁵⁶

³⁵⁴H. Dieterlen & A Dieterlen, "Tsebisio," *Leselinyana*, July 18, 1919, p. 1; Bianquis, *Hermann Dieterlen*, p. 204 .

³⁵⁵*Hommes et Destins : Dictionnaire biographique d'Outre-Mer, volume 9* (Paris : Académie des Sciences 1977); Bianquis, *Hermann Dieterlen*, pp. 182-184.

³⁵⁶*Ibid*, p. 182-193.

3.10 Hermann Dieterlen's legacy

The word 'legacy' is not to be understood only as the tangible things which a person leaves behind but also as the ability to unlock the potential in people's minds. This was what Dieterlen, from the outset, did for the first- and second-generation Basuto pastors who trained at his feet. He was the inspiration and the driving force behind them. This responsibility was shared with Jacottet who taught the second generation when ill health forced Dieterlen to leave during their training. They saw the potential in the Basuto, encouraged them and worked hard to bring out the best in them.³⁵⁷ When Sekese published his book *Mekhoa le Maele a Basuto*, Dieterlen wrote a long forward commending that work. In the same way when Mofolo published *Moeti oa Bochabela*, he commended Mofolo's book and encouraged the Basuto to buy and read it.³⁵⁸

Dieterlen and Jacottet, both prolific writers, successfully managed to inculcate respect for the written word in the Basuto ministers. As a result, most of the Basuto ministers emulated them and produced educational literary works. For instance, Moteane contributed many articles in the *Leselinyana* about the association known as "Good Templars"³⁵⁹ which he had learned about while studying at Lovedale, as well as in his work at Sehonghong.³⁶⁰ Mohapeloa published the booklet *Mating a Phehoang* in which he urged Christians to make *leting* (light beer) instead of *joala* (strong beer).³⁶¹ Motebang published a book titled

³⁵⁷ Gill, *A brief biographical sketch and tribute to Rev Edouard Jacottet*, p. 11.

³⁵⁸ H. Dieterlen, "Rekang Moeti oa Bochabela," (Buy *The Traveller to the East*) *Leselinyana* 01, 9(1907), pp. 3,4; Couzens, *Murder at Morija*, 2003, p. 291; Ellenberger. *A Century of Mission Work in Basutoland*, p. 277.

³⁵⁹ "Good Templars" were an alcohol anonymous group that was based at Lovedale where Moteane trained as a teacher in the years 1873-1875. "Good Templars" fought against alcohol abuse and advocated sobriety. Yobo Moteane, 'Bo Good Templars,' *Leselinyana la Lesotho*, August 1, 1879, pp. 6-7.

³⁶⁰ M. N. Moteane "Nalane ea Moruti Jobo Moteane 1842-1942" p.21-24. (Unpublished paper); Yobo Moteane, "Bo Good Templars," pp. 6-7.

³⁶¹ *Litaba tsa Synod, 19 September 1897- 26 September 1918*: Synod of Morija, 7 October 1915, p. 162-165; J. Mohapeloa, *Mating a Phehoang* (Morija: Morija Sesuto Book Depot 1924), (16 pages).

Chobeliso (abduction or marriage by force) in which he sternly warned young people against *chobeliso*.³⁶² He also presented a paper on superstition to the synod of 1911.³⁶³

These three were the first-generation Basuto ministers whom Jacottet defined as ‘traditionalists par excellence.’³⁶⁴ However, they were independent in thought, proactive and innovative. They influenced some of the laws or traditions of the Paris Mission such as the prohibition on drinking alcohol,³⁶⁵ abduction,³⁶⁶ meat slaughtered for the burial and at the conclusion of a marriage (*bohali*)³⁶⁷ as well as superstition.³⁶⁸

When reading the *Leselinyana* newspaper and the proceedings of the synod,³⁶⁹ one immediately realises that the laws were not imposed by the missionaries but were made by the Basuto ministers and the elders through thoughtful debates as well as reflections. An immediate question arises here: was this due to missionary indoctrination, enculturation or the genuine work of the Gospel in the hearts of the Basuto? This study cannot provide a full evaluation of this question but can only surmise that it was both. Kwame Bediako³⁷⁰ and Gerald West grappled with this kind of question. Kwame Bediako tackled the “Hellenization” of the Gospel and how the Greeks took from their culture and the teachings of their philosopher, Plato, that which could be absorbed into their Christianity. Nonetheless, his study failed to show to what extent ordinary, not high Greek cultural values, were utilized or promoted. Gerald West illustrated how the Bible, brought by white missionaries, was

³⁶² C. Motebang, *Chobeliso* (Moriya: Morija Sesuto Book Depot 1915), (8 pages); *Litabatsa Synod, 19 September 1897- 26 September 1918*: Synod of Morija, 7 October 1915, p.170-171.

³⁶³ *Litaba tsa Synod, 19 September 1897- 26 September 1918*: Synod of Thaba-Bosiu, 7 April 1911, p. 128-135.

³⁶⁴ Couzens, *Murder at Morija*, p. 266.

³⁶⁵ *Litabatsa Synod, 19 September 1897- 26 September 1918*: Synod of Morija, 7 October 1915, pp.162-165, 185; Matjato Neo Moteane “Nalane ea Moruti Jobo Moteane 1842-1942” p.21-24. (Unpublished paper); Yobo Moteane, “Bo Good Templars,” *Leselinyana la Lesotho*, 1, 8(1879), p. 6-7.

³⁶⁶ *Ibid*, p. 170-171.; Motebang, *Chobeliso*, (Moriya: Morija Sesuto Book Depot 1915).

³⁶⁷ *Litaba tsa Synod, 19 September 1897- 26 September 1918*: Synod of Hermon, 31 February 1905, p.113.

³⁶⁸ *Litaba tsa Synod, 19 September 1897- 26 September 1918*: Synod of Thaba-Bosiu, 7 April 1911, pp. 128-135.

³⁶⁹ *Litaba tsa Synod, 19 September 1897- 26 September 1918*.

³⁷⁰ K. Bediako, *Theology and Identity, the Impact of Culture upon Christian Thought in the second Century and Modern Africa* (Oxford: Regnum Books 1992).

appropriated by Africans, Isaiah Shembe³⁷¹ in particular, to become an African tool, hence his writings under the heading of the “Stolen Bible”.³⁷² West explained how the Bible of the missionaries was “stolen” by the Africans and became for them a liberating tool,³⁷³ a ‘text of power’³⁷⁴ as well as the book of ‘*imithetho*’ (the laws) the governing relationship between men and women. He is quite critical of Missionary-*Kholwa* Christianity in that it is a formulaic kind of Christian faith and has reconfigured the African gender division of labour. ‘It discouraged African women from their accustomed agricultural production. It undermines the key aspects of African culture such as polygamy and lobola.’³⁷⁵

It is important to also note that some of the second-generation Basuto ministers, published educational literary works. For instance, Everitt Segoete was a prolific writer. He published *Monono ke Moholi ke Muoane*³⁷⁶ (Riches are like mist). This novel tackled social issues such as religion and migrant labour that confronted the Basuto. He wrote several religious tracts on shepherding: *Moea oa Bolisa*.³⁷⁷ Jesus is the Good Shepherd therefore ministers should follow his example, *Mohlala oa Jesu Krete*³⁷⁸ (The example of Jesus Christ) and *Mefiboshethe kapa phehello ea Molimo ho moetsalibe*³⁷⁹ (Mephibosheth or God's pursuance of a sinner). Segoete also explored Basuto culture and folklore in his *Raphepheng: Bophelo ba Basuto*

³⁷¹Isaiah Shembe (1867 or 1870- 1935) was born in Harrismith in South Africa. He was the founder of the Nazarite baptist Church whose headquarters are in *Ekuphakameni* in KwaZulu Natal. This was the first church established amongst the Zulus by an African. Shembe through this church attempted to restore the Zulus to the pre-colonial period. He did this by drawing from the Bible, blending the Zulu culture with the Bible. M. L. Martin, *The Biblical Concept of Messianism and Messianism in Southern Africa* (Moriya: Morija Sesuto Book Depot 1964), pp. 123-130.

³⁷²G. O. West, *Stolen Bible; From tool of Imperialism to African Icon*, Biblical Interpretation Series, Vol. 144 (Leiden,Boston: Brill, 2016).

³⁷³*Ibid*, pp.257-259.

³⁷⁴*Ibid*, p.260.

³⁷⁵*Ibid*, p.263.

³⁷⁶E. L. Segoete, *Monono ke Moholike ‘Muoane* (Moriya: morijaSesuto Book Depot, 1910), (107 pages). He was the second Mosotho after Mofolo to write a novel.

³⁷⁷E. L. Segoete, *Moea oa Bolisa* (Moriya: Morija Sesuto Book Depot 1915), (11 pages); *Litabatsa Synod, 19 September 1897- 26 September 1918*: Synod of Morija, 7 October 1915, p, 166.

³⁷⁸E. L. Segoete, *Mohlalao Jesu Krete* (Moriya: MorijaSesuto Book Depot 1924), (77 pages).

³⁷⁹E. L. Segoete, *Mefiboshethe kapa phehello ea Molimo ho moetsalibe* (Moriya: MorijaSesuto Book Depot 1910), (59 pages).

*bakhale*³⁸⁰(The life of the Basuto of long ago). Motsamai published *Mehla ea Malimo*³⁸¹(The days of the cannibals) and *Majoe a mahlano a molatsoana*³⁸²(Five pebbles from the stream). In the former he recounted stories of *Malimo* during the time of the *lifaqane* (tribal wars) while in the latter he warned Christians against heathen temptations. He also wrote a biography of Moshoeshe, *Morena Moshoeshe: mora Mokhachane*³⁸³(King Moshoeshe: the son of Mokhachane) as well as *Kereke*³⁸⁴(The Church).

Bethuele Sekokotoane published *U roballeng* ?³⁸⁵(Why sleep?) and *Habo mina la nko ha le ome: Re tla etsa joang hore bana ba rona ba hole hantle?*,³⁸⁶(We shall not stop wailing: What shall we do for our children to grow well?). Young people were straying from the right paths; as a result, the author made a clarion call to parents to take full responsibility to ‘train up young people in the way they should go.’

Besides the fact of having opened Basuto ministers’ minds, another legacy of Dieterlen was his collection of historical and cultural artefacts which, in 1956, were donated to the Paris Mission to form the ‘Basutoland Museum – the Morija Section’ or ‘Morija Museum’.³⁸⁷ According to Stephen Gill³⁸⁸ Dieterlen's motivation for this collection was that:

³⁸⁰ E. L. segoete, *Raphepheng: bophelo ba Basuto ba Khale* (Morija: Morija Sesuto Book Depot 1915), (87 pages).

³⁸¹ E. Motsamai, *Mehla ea Malimo* (Morija: Morija Sesuto Book Depot 1912), (143pages).

³⁸² E. Motsamai, *Majoe a mahlano a Molatsoana* (Morija: Morija Sesuto Book Depot 1907), (31 pages).

³⁸³ Edward Motsamai, *Morena Moshoeshe: mor'a Mokhachane* (Morija: MorijaSesuto Book Depot 1947), (84 pages).

³⁸⁴ E. Motsamai, *Kereke* (Morija: MorijaSesuto Book Depot 1925), (56 pages).

³⁸⁵ B. Sekokotoane, *U Roballeng* (Morija: MorijaSesuto book Depot 1968), (34 pages).

³⁸⁶ B. Sekokotoane, *Habo mina la nko ha le ome, Re tla etsa joang hore bana ba rona ba hole hantle* (Morija: MorijaSesuto Book Depot 1929), (52 pages).

³⁸⁷ S. Gill, *Museums Lesotho: building upon the legacy, An inquiry into the idea and reality of a National Museum in Lesotho* (Morija Museum and Archives 2015), pp, 26-27, 29, 32-34; Stephen J. Gill, *The story of Morija Museum and Archives*, (Morija Museum and Archives 2005), pp,38-39; *MorijaMuseum and Archives strategic plan 2010-2015* (Morija Museum and Archives 2010), p. 7.

³⁸⁸ Stephen Gill (1955-) came to Lesotho in 1979 as a teacher. He taught at Mapholaneng High School in Mokhotlong. In 1989 he was appointed the curator of the Morija Museum and Archive. He is a researcher who has authored: *A short history of Lesotho, From the late stone age until the 1993 elections* (Morija Museum and Achives 1993), (266 pages); *Museums Lesotho; Building the legacy: An inquiry into the idea and reality of a national Museum in Lesotho* (Morija Museum and Achives 2015),(100 pages)and *The story of the Morija Museum and Archives: Pioneers in heritage management and education in Lesotho* (Morija Museum and Achives 2005), (102 pages)as well as numerous articles on the history of Lesotho. Over and above these,

The material circumstances of the Basuto during the latter part of the 19th century were changing rapidly and that, as such, many things would just disappear. For him, it was a matter of preservation, for the sake of future generations of the Basuto, lest the youth should become ignorant of its historical and cultural roots and lose touch with them.³⁸⁹

The museum in Morija grew to become a hub of scientific research attracting researchers from all over the world. In 1989 the archival collection of the Paris Mission was combined with the Morija Museum and placed ‘under one roof in permanent facilities and a full-time staff person was made available to serve the public.’³⁹⁰

The Morija Museum and Archives is a ‘treasure house containing valuable collections of books, documentation, photographs, maps, art work and artefacts as well as digital material.’³⁹¹ It also caters for those looking for recreation and refreshments, for adventure and group activities, as well as tour guides to historical places in the Morija area such as the missionary cemeteries, the dinosaur foot prints and the institutions of the mission such as the Printing Works, K.E.L. Radio and the Theological Seminary. It is the one and only museum in the country and therefore it is of national importance.

Another legacy of Dieterlen is his literary works which are also invaluable and of service to the Lesotho Evangelical Church.³⁹² He was a prolific writer who wrote with equal facility both in Sesotho and English. The *Leselinyana la Lesotho* newspaper, which served as a mouthpiece and news bulletin for the Paris Mission was full of his articles in the form of

Stephen Gill is fully committed to building and reviving Morija to become a more vibrant centre of heritage, culture, the arts and tourism.

³⁸⁹ Gill, *Museums Lesotho: building upon the legacy*, p. 27.

³⁹⁰ Gill, *The story of Morija Museum and Archives*, p. 65.

³⁹¹ *Morija Museum and Archives strategic plan 2010-2015* (Morija Museum and Archives, 2010), p. 3.

³⁹² The Paris Mission handed the reins of power to the Basuto Christians or Church of Basutoland in 1964 and since that time, the church has been under the leadership and direction of the Basuto and was named the Lesotho evangelical Church. J.M. Mohapeloa, *From Mission to Church* (Morija: Morija Sesuto Book Depot, 1985), pp. 44-50, 64-65; ‘The Vision and Mission Statement of the Lesotho Evangelical Church.’ In *Mekolokotoane Kerekeng ea Evangeli Lesotho, Jubilee Highlights 1833-2008* (Morija Museum and Archives, 2009), p.3; Hincks, *Quest for Peace*, p. 603.

religious meditations, short sermons as well as stories with a moral lesson and moral education. All his articles in the *Leselinyana* were initialled H.D. (Hermann Dieterlen). His articles in this newspaper, which were published fortnightly were so numerous that one Mosotho by the name of Yosefa Matong wrote in the *Leselinyana*– ‘*Nguana sa lleng o shoela tharing*’ (A child that does not cry dies in the cradle), asking why most of the articles were signed “H.D.” He wondered why other missionaries and were not contributing?³⁹³

Dieterlen wrote biographies of his fellow missionaries that helped in the understanding of those missionaries and their work in Basutoland.³⁹⁴ He authored several books of a religious nature.³⁹⁵ He also wrote a book on the medicines of Lesotho³⁹⁶ and co-authored a Sesuto English Dictionary.³⁹⁷ Tim Couzens revealed that Dieterlen wrote a letter every week to his mother for thirty years.³⁹⁸ This meant that he wrote 4 letters per month, 48 per year and approximately 1440 in 30 years. The Morija Museum and Archives houses this collection of letters, spanning from 1874 to 1919 as well as the foregoing literary material. All these works paint a rough picture of Dieterlen’s evangelistic work and his interactions with the Basuto as

³⁹³Y. Matong, “Nguana sa lleng o shoela tharing” *Leselinyana la Lesotho*, February 2, 1884, p. 7.

³⁹⁴Adolphe Mabile Missionare par H. Dieterlen (320 pages); Eugène Casalis (1812-1891) par H. Dieterlen (261 pages); D.F. Ellenberger par H. Dieterlen, unpublished; François Coillard par H. Dieterlen, (85 pages).

³⁹⁵H. Dieterlen, *Tšokoloho* (Morija: Morija Sesuto Book Depot 1915), (12 pages); H. Dieterlen, *Palestine Mehlang ea Morena Jesu* (Morija: Morija Sesuto Book 1909), (92 pages); H. Dieterlen, *Esau le Jakobo*, (Morija: Morija Sesuto Book 1927), (81 pages); Hermann Dieterlen, *Hlaloso ea epistole e ngoletsoeng Baroma* (Morija: Morija Sesuto Book Depot 1912), (210 pages); H. Dieterlen, *Megoqo* (Morija: Morija Sesuto Book Depot 1903), (329 pages); H. Dieterlen, *Bukana ea ‘Moleli* (Morija: Morija Sesuto Book Depot 1912), (116 pages); H. Dieterlen, *Missionaire 1850-1933, Manuel De L’Évangéliste*, Société Des Mission Évangéliques 102, Boulevard Arago-Paris-XIV; H. Dieterlen, ‘The preparation of Native pastors’ in *the Report of the Proceedings of the Second General Missionary Conference for South Africa* (Johannesburg 1906); H. Dieterlen, *Bahlankana ba Fora* (Morija Sesuto Book Depot 1918).

³⁹⁶H. Dieterlen, *Lamédecine et Les médecins au Lessuto* (Paris Société Des missions Évangéliques 102, Boulevard Arago (XIV) 1930), (72 pages).

³⁹⁷H. Dieterlen and A. Mabile, *Sesuto- English Dictionary* (Morija: Morija Sesuto Book depot, 1911), (515 pages).

³⁹⁸Couzens, *Murder at Morija*, p. 169.

well as his impressions of the Basuto which he shared with friends, family members, and his mother in Europe. Two of his books were used as textbooks in the Bible School.³⁹⁹

Ambrose maintained that Dieterlen was a frequent contributor to *Le Petit Messager* from 1874 to 1933. Furthermore, he also contributed 50 signed articles to *L'Ami des Missions*. Even after his death in 1933 for 15 months his articles were printed posthumously. The Mission House in Paris housed his unpublished diaries amounting to some 8000 pages.⁴⁰⁰

Lastly, Dieterlen's literary works, as discussed earlier in this chapter, surpassed of his predecessor, Eugène Casalis, who was the vanguard of the first-generation missionaries. Among his contemporaries, Dieterlen was close to Adolphe Mabilie in producing literary works. Mabilie was the vanguard of the second-generation missionaries. For example, Eugène Casalis wrote *Topollo e entsoeng ke Y.[Yesu] Keresete*⁴⁰¹(the redemption wrought by [Jesus] Christ), *The Basutos*,⁴⁰²*Katekismaniane*⁴⁰³ (a small catechism), *Katekisma ea pele*⁴⁰⁴(the first catechism) and translated some parts of the New Testament.⁴⁰⁵ Mabilie translated some of the historical books of the Old Testament.⁴⁰⁶ He wrote and published *Lipina tsa Matsema*⁴⁰⁷(songs for work parties), *Lipina tsa mefuta-futa le tsa likolo tse phahameng*⁴⁰⁸(different songs and songs for the high schools) *Lipina tsa likolo tsa bana*⁴⁰⁹ (Songs for the school children), *Plusieurs chants séparés. Morija Yubile & autres(en tonic solfa) in 1883*, a *Sesuto- English Dictionary*,⁴¹⁰*Motsualle oa Lucy*⁴¹¹ (a friend of Lucy) and

³⁹⁹Dieterlen's books used in the Bible school: H. Dieterlen, *Palestine Mehleng ea Morena Jesu* (Morija: Morija Sesuto Book 1909), (92 pages);and); H. Dieterlen,*Bukana ea 'Moleli* (Morija: Morija Sesuto Book Depot 1912), (116 pages).

⁴⁰⁰Varia,XII-XVIII, XX-XXXI, XXXIII-XXXVII, XXXIX-XLII.

⁴⁰¹ E. Casalis, *Topollo e entsoeng ke Y. [Yesu] Keresete*(Morija,1839).

⁴⁰²E. Casalis, *The Basutos; or, twenty years in South Africa* (London: James Nisbet& CO. Berners Street 1861).

⁴⁰³ E. Casalis, *Katekismaniane* (Cape Town, 1836); See also Hincks, *Quest for Peace*, p. 110.

⁴⁰⁴E. Casalis, *Katekisma ea pele* (Morija, 1845).

⁴⁰⁵ Ellenberger, *A Century of Mission Work*, p. 45; Gill, *A Short History of Lesotho*, p. 94.

⁴⁰⁶ E.W. Smith, *The Mabilles of Basutoland*, p.129.

⁴⁰⁷A. Mabilie, *Lipina tsa matšema* (Morija: Morija Sesuto Book Depot, 1880).

⁴⁰⁸A. Mabilie, *Lipina tsa mefuta-futa le tsa likolo tse phahameng* (Morija: morija Book depot, 1890).

⁴⁰⁹A. Mabilie, *Lipina tsa likolo tsa bana* (Morija: Morija Sesuto Book Depot, 1887).

⁴¹⁰ A. Mabilie and H. Dieterlen, *Sesuto English Dictionary* (Morija: Morija Sesuto Book Depot, 2011).

⁴¹¹ A. Mabilie *Motsualle oa Lucy* (Morija:Morija Sesuto Book Depot, 1881).

*Matšohlo a Testamente e Ncha*⁴¹²(the crumb of the New Testament), *Motsualle oa baboleli le balisa ba likolo* (a friend of the deacons or the evangelists and the shepherds of schools). This was a journal of 32 octavo pages. Mabile started it in 1889. It served a useful purpose of helping the native workers of the Church.⁴¹³ *Leeto la Mokreste*⁴¹⁴ (of Pilgrim's Progress), *Phuthollo ea Mantsoe le Mabitso a Bebile*⁴¹⁵(a dictionary of the words and names in the Bible), *Bophelo ba Kereke*⁴¹⁶(Church History), *Katekisma enkiloeng go ea Luther*⁴¹⁷ (Catechism translated from Luther's), *Tableaux de lecture (serie Mabile)*,⁴¹⁸ *Bukanyana ea Arithmetic*⁴¹⁹(a booklet of arithmetic), *Melao le Mekhoa ea puo ea Sesotho*⁴²⁰ (grammar) and *Help for to learn Sesuto*,⁴²¹ *Mantsoe a ho buisana ka Sesuto le se-English*,⁴²²(English-Sesuto words for communication), *Sesuto-English vocabulary*,⁴²³ *Tšebeletso tsa Kereke ea Lesotho*⁴²⁴ (liturgie 55 pages). In addition to these literary works, Mabile contributed articles as well as editorial comments in the *Leselinyana*. Dieterlen's ministry in Basutoland was relatively longer. He was able to see the fruits of his labours. He trained the first Basuto ministers and was able to see them becoming prolific writers like him. Dieterlen's ministry spanned over 45 years,⁴²⁵ Casalis 22 years⁴²⁶ and Mabile 34 years.⁴²⁷ While Casalis and his colleagues engaged in a ground-breaking work of introducing and familiarising the Christian faith to the Basuto, Mabile and the second-generation missionaries built on the work of their predecessors. Dieterlen arriving towards the close of the period of the second generation, his

⁴¹² A. Mabile *Matšohlo a Testamente e Ncha* (Morija: Morija Sesuto Book Depot, 1881).

⁴¹³ E. W. Smith, *The Mabilles of Basutoland*, p 331.

⁴¹⁴ A. Mabile, *Leeto la Mokreste*, (Lovedale, 1872).

⁴¹⁵ A. Mabile, *Phuthullo ea mantsoe le mabitso a Bebile* (Morija: Morija Sesuto Book Depot, 1890).

⁴¹⁶ A. Mabile, *Bophelo ba Kereke* (Morija: Morija Sesuto Book Depot, 1880).

⁴¹⁷ A. Mabile, *Katekisma e nkiloeng ho ea Luther* (Morija: Morija Sesuto Book Depot, 1886).

⁴¹⁸ *Tableaux de lecture, serie mabile*, 1874-1875, 1878-1879.

⁴¹⁹ A. Mabile, *Bukanyana ea Arithmetic* (Morija: Morija Sesuto Book Depot, 1876).

⁴²⁰ A. Mabile, *Melao le Mekhoa ea Puo ea Sesotho* (Morija: Morija Sesuto Book Depot, 1878).

⁴²¹ A. Mabile, *Help for to learn Sesuto* (Morija: Morija Sesuto Book Depot, 1878).

⁴²² A. Mabile, *Mantsoe a ho buisana ka Puo ea Sesuto le se-English* (Morija: Morija Sesuto Book Depot, 1887).

⁴²³ A. Mabile, *Sesuto -English Vocabulary* (Morja: Morija Sesuto Book Depot, 1876).

⁴²⁴ A. Mabile, *Tšebeletso ea Kereke ea Lesotho* (Morija: Morija Sesuto Book Depot, 1885).

⁴²⁵ Dieterlen arrived in 1874 and retired in 1919. Germond, *Chronicles of Basutoland*, p. 563.

⁴²⁶ Casalis arrived in 1833 and left for Paris in 1855. *Ibid*, p.561; Ellenberger, *A Century of Mission Work*, p. 93.

⁴²⁷ Mabile arrived in 1860 and died in 1894. *Ibid*, p. 566; Smith, *The Mabilles of Basutoland*, pp. 99, 100, 351.

ministry was at a better advantage than Casalis and Mabile. A fair number of the Basuto were Christians and could read and write. The Paris Mission already had a mouthpiece, the *Leselinyana*. Dieterlen made full use of the *Leselinyana* to translate the Gospel. That made him the most prolific missionary the Paris mission ever had.

3.11 Conclusion

Dieterlen's complicated national history (French, then German, then French again) impacted on his relationship with the Basuto. The fact that his native area, Alsace, had been under German occupation during most of his life may have influenced his way of thinking. Additionally, his bourgeois background may have also contributed to the way he behaved. He reproduced in Basutoland what his uncle Gustave Stainheil did with the people of Rothau. He treated and related to the Basuto the way his uncle treated the people of Rothau who worked in his factory. However, like Boegner, Dieterlen always remained attached to his French citizenship. It affected his work in Basutoland in the sense that he was not directly linked to the British colonial power (and even less to the Afrikaner states). He had a certain degree of independence vis-à-vis the colonial government.

Dieterlen disliked the key aspects of the Basuto culture, such as polygamy and circumcision. He wrote articles in the *Leselinyana* newspaper discouraging the Basuto from these customs.

Dieterlen's silence about colonialism in Basutoland as well as encouraging his converts to adopt a passive attitude towards the colonial governments: the Cape colonial government and the British colonial government indicates that he supported colonialism.

Conversely, Dieterlen understood, to a certain degree, the colonial situation by having lived in a country colonised by Germany. His indifference to colonialism in his writing makes one to conclude that he supported it.

On the theological side, Dieterlen coming from Alsace in France, had much in common with the Swiss missionaries: Adolphe Mabile, Frédéric Ellenberger, Paul Germond, Louis

Duvoisin and Edouard Jacottet. Tim Couzens described these Swiss missionaries' mission approach in this way:

Firstly, their approach . . . treasured political, social and religious independence. Since they were intimately involved in the fate of the whole country, small as it may have been, this was an important mindset. Secondly, they were strongly evangelical, this was their overriding concern, and their aim was conversion. They did not share to the same extent, the ethnological concerns and curiosity of Arbousset, Casalis and others. Their approach was direct.⁴²⁸

The affinity of Dieterlen and the Swiss missionaries in their understanding of missions as well as their theological outlook was obvious. For instance, Jacottet and Dieterlen envisioned and aspired to develop a free independent Basutoland Church. They both worked hard to achieve this goal for the whole of their time of the ministry in Basutoland. Additionally, Dieterlen's early Lutheran background with its pietism may have brought him close to the Swiss missionaries whom he worked with upon his arrival in Basutoland.

Dieterlen was committed to the translation of the Gospel as well as passionate about pastoral ministry. This is seen in the contents of the seminar that he held for sixty evangelists in the winter of 1911 at Leribe. He painted a picture of the joys and sorrows of being an evangelist, the importance of commitment to the work as well as their relations with the chiefs, the heathens and the Christians as a whole.⁴²⁹ What he taught them was what he practised in all his pastorates.

The way Dieterlen expounded the themes such as '*Thuto le Bosotho*' (Christianity and Identity) made of him a forerunner of the type of theology which later became the concern of Bediako and others. Dieterlen believed deeply in the ideal of a non-racial society and Church,

⁴²⁸Couzens, *Murder at Morija*, p. 119; cf. T.S. Maluleke, "The Valdesia Mission Station, Then and Now: A missiological appraisal"; Ellenberger, *A Century of Missionary work in Basutoland*, pp. 92, 115, 119.

⁴²⁹Dieterlen later published the contents of this seminar. See, H. Dieterlen *Bukana ea 'Moleli (Morija: Morija Sesuto Book Depot 1913)*.

where the white and the black should be free in the knowledge that they are all God's children. He also opposed clerical dominance in the Church; that is, he believed that there must be a healthy balance between the laity and the ministers in their roles and responsibilities in the Church. Throughout his ministry in Basutoland, he worked hard to make all realise this by his actions, with his pen as well as his oratories.

Dieterlen and Jacottet provided much of the leadership during their time in Basutoland, not just because of their university education 'but also for their solid grounding in the Church to which they were fully committed'.⁴³⁰

⁴³⁰ Gill, 'A briefbiographical sketch and tribute to Rev Edouard Jacottet,' p. 29.

Chapter 4

Dieterlen's views on South African politics, church development and biblical interpretation

4.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses Dieterlen's writings, that is, his religious material comprising the sermons and non-religious material, including his worldview. Dieterlen's sermons are not fully developed sermons, they are very short. They are more like religious meditations. Nonetheless, their development follows a sermonic structure, such as a text, a body or an application and a conclusion.⁴³¹ I analyse here three periods of his writings which belong respectively to his early years in Basutoland (1874-1884), mid years (1894-1904) and final years (1909-1919). The total number of his writings from 1874 to 1919 is 768.⁴³² In his early years he wrote 175 religious and non-religious tracts; in his mid-years, he wrote 166 and in his final years 241. The total number of writings examined is 582. The remaining 186 writings are from the intermediary periods as the three periods covered ten years of early life, mid and final years respectively. For instance, between 1884 and 1894 there are 149 writings and between 1904 and 1909 there are 37 writings. What determines what is taken and what is left out in these three periods is what is pertinent or inapplicable to the two key words of the topic of this study, namely Colonialism and Mission as well as the research questions of the study accentuated in chapter one. While these periods workout to give an idea of his religious thoughts as well as his thoughts about the nature of truth, reality and life; they also help to establish how his thoughts developed and changed during his missionary tenure in Basutoland. Moreover, this chapter illustrates how a French missionary who had been in

⁴³¹See, J. Chisanga, *Some Basic Christian Doctrines and Reflections* (Morija: Morija Theological Seminary, 1996), p. 137.

⁴³²All of Dieterlen's contributions in the *Leselinyana* from 1874 to 1919 were counted to establish that the periodisation is representative of his contributions.

Basutoland for many years was meditating, reading the Bible, preaching and communing with nature.

This chapter also analyses and compares Dieterlen's sermons with Calvin's Bible commentaries. This is done to establish continuity or discontinuity between Calvin and Dieterlen. Since Dieterlen studied in the Protestant institution at Mantauban (in this place he received a Bachelor of Theology), which belonged to the Reformed Church⁴³³ and the University of Paris⁴³⁴ as well as in the Mission House. It is important to see how Dieterlen used Calvin and which parts of his works were made use of. However, Dieterlen never mentioned Calvin in his works. It was Eugène Casalis who mentioned Calvin in his dogmatic lectures to Mabile and others in the Mission House.⁴³⁵

We shall pay a cursory attention to Martin Luther as Dieterlen was raised in a Lutheran background in Rothau and Strasbourg. It also analyses his non-religious writings to establish what he conceived of life, nature and the world as well as his impressions about the Basuto. The focus here is on Dieterlen's Sesotho literary materials: religious as well as non-religious materials as they were published in the *Leselinyana* and not beyond. The Morija archives also house hundreds of the copies of *Journal des Missions Evangéliques* as well as Dieterlen's correspondence to his mother in French.⁴³⁶

This chapter briefly introduces the *Leselinyana la Lesotho*: its owner and the date of its establishment as well as its nature. This is followed by a discussion in a four-fold structure which, I used for the choice of the subheadings in this chapter, to wit the General matters,

⁴³³There were two state-recognized faculties of theology in Mantauban for the Reformed Church and Strasbourg for the Lutherans.

⁴³⁴The University of Paris was a state-owned university and had nothing to do with the Protestants. Protestant theology had never been taught in it until 1877 when the Protestant faculty at Strasbourg, which was for the Lutherans, was transferred to be part of it. That was a milestone on the work of the Protestants whom even the Edict of Nantes did not allow them to have their theology taught in the capital.

⁴³⁵This dogmatic notebook belonged to Adolphe Mabile and is kept in the Morija Museum and Archives. See A.C. Neele, "Theological Education of the nineteenth-century French Missionaries: An Appropriation of the Catholicity of Classical Christian Theology," *Studia Historia eEcclesiasticae*, (2013, 39: 2).

⁴³⁶The Morija Archives houses hundreds of copies of the *Journal des Missions Evangéliques* from 1826 to 1993. Dieterlen's correspondence to his mother is from 1874 to 1899 when she passed away.

South African politics, Church development and Biblical interpretation. These subheadings result from the study of Dieterlen's writings in the *Leselinyana la Lesotho* from 1878 to 1919.

Dieterlen's commentary on the Romans also forms part of his writings. But because of its theological nature, it is treated independently in Chapter Eight of this study.

a) The *Leselinyana la Lesotho* newspaper⁴³⁷

The *Leselinyana la Lesotho* (the Little light of Basutoland) was a Church newspaper which was established in 1863 by Adolphe Mabilie (1836-1894), the son in law of Casalis as well as the vanguard of the second-generation missionaries. He instituted it for the propagation of the Gospel as well as the promotion of reading among the Basuto. Education was introduced as early as the second half of the 1830s. The station of Beersheba was a model to all other stations. Elizabeth Rolland (1803-1901), and her husband Samuel Rolland were in charge of it. She was a teacher by profession. Education was largely the responsibility of the wives of the missionaries. During Mabilie's time in the 1860s, a fair number of Basuto could read. The *Leselinyana*, at that time, served as a good instrument through which the mission exerted its influence as well as literacy. It was read by many people in and outside Basutoland. It published socio- economic and political news as well as the work of the Mission. Each issue always had a short meditation or a sermon. From its commencement, the newspaper was published weekly, but from 1864 it became a monthly newspaper. The missionaries as well as some of the Basuto contributed articles which were screened or expurgated by the editor. Mabilie was its editor from its commencement up to the end of his life in 1894. François Coillard (1834-1904), who was in charge of the Leribe pastorate, dominated the first part of

⁴³⁷ Some of the information used here can be found in my master's dissertation: N.S.K. Tšeuoa, "The Message of Morija: A Critical Historical Study of the Sermons (1863—1881) of the Missionaries of the Paris Evangelical Mission Society in Basutoland" (University of the Free State, 2011).

its commencement by contributing articles⁴³⁸ while Hermann Dieterlen dominated the second part up to the close of the 19th century.⁴³⁹ In the 20th century his students in likes of Segoe, Motsamai and Sekokotoane also contributed articles. Some of their books were also serialised in the newspaper. At the beginning of the 20th century, Dieterlen contributed intermittently to the *Leselinyana*. He was in furlough in Europe for two years from 1903 to 1904, as indicated in the previous chapter. He only contributed one article during this time apologising to the readers for leaving without informing them.⁴⁴⁰

The publication of the newspaper was interrupted by the major wars that were fought in Basutoland. These were the Seqiti War of 1864-1868 and the Gun War of 1880-1881 as well as in 1970 during the political disturbances in Lesotho.⁴⁴¹

The Morija Museum and Archives houses hundreds of issues of the *Leselinyana* from its commencement to the time when it stopped publishing, around 2010. Dieterlen's contributions are always marked with the letters H.D. This is what distinguishes him from other contributors.

4.6 Dieterlen's early years in Basutoland (1874-1884)

a) General matters

The context of Dieterlen in his early life in Basutoland was the Cape rule (1871-1884). This is discussed in detail in Thapter Three of this study.

In his early life, Dieterlen's writings were not only religious but they also covered a broad area including every facet of life such as nature and natural resources,⁴⁴² civilisation⁴⁴³ as

⁴³⁸ From 1863 to 1865 Coillard dominated the *Leselinyana* by contributing articles.

⁴³⁹ Dieterlen dominated the *Leselinyana* by contributing articles from 1877- 1900.

⁴⁴⁰ Dieterlen, "Likhomo tsa Switzerland," *Leselinyana*, February 1, 1904, p. 1.

⁴⁴¹ Ellenberger, *A Century of Mission Work in Basutoland*, pp. 126-127; Smith, *The Mabilles of Basutoland*, pp. 127-128; Germond, *Chronicle of Basutoland*, p. 566; Gill, *A short history of Lesotho*, pp. 139, 194.

⁴⁴² Dieterlen, "Tsa mashala," *Leselinyana*, May 5, 1878; Dieterlen, "Naleli e mochochono," *Leselinyana*, November 1882.

well as other countries, cities or continents such as Greenland,⁴⁴⁴ Paris,⁴⁴⁵ France,⁴⁴⁶ Egypt,⁴⁴⁷ Bethuile in the Republic of South Africa,⁴⁴⁸ England,⁴⁴⁹ Europe⁴⁵⁰ and India.⁴⁵¹ He commented on the blue book of 1877. He maintained that in England the government records are kept in blue books; in France they are kept in the yellow books and in Australia in red books. He commended the good progress of Christianity and claimed that it was due to the

⁴⁴³ For instance, at Morija there was a new way of cooking by solar energy. He told the readers of *Leselinyana* about it. Dieterlen, "Molloaletsatsi" *Leselinyana*, June 7, 1882, pp.3-4. He also told the readers about the heliograph which the English troops used during the Gun war. They found themselves surrounded by the Basuto warriors. They used it to communicate with their brothers. Nonetheless, a heliograph does not work when the sun is covered by clouds as well as late in the afternoon. Dieterlen, "Tsa heliographie," *Leselinyana*, October 10, 1882, pp.4-5. When he went to meet new missionaries coming to Basutoland at Aliwal, he saw a telegraph in Wepener and a telephone in Aliwal. He told his readers about this new means of communication which were unknown to the Basuto. Dieterlen, "Aliwal," *Leselinyana*, April 1, 1883, p. 4.

⁴⁴⁴ Greenland is in the northern side of all known countries beyond the great oceans. In Greenland lives the Esquimaux. All the area is covered by ice. It is a cold place. However, one Christian missionary by the name Egede brought the Gospel to this place. It is habitable under adverse weather conditions. Dieterlen, "Greenland," *Leselinyana*, July 5, 1878, p.6.

⁴⁴⁵ Basuto artefacts are kept in a Museum in Paris. They were taken by the missionaries to show the people at their home the ways of the Basuto. However, Dieterlen did not give the name of the Museum in Paris, as they might have been many. Dieterlen, "Leetonyana," *Leselinyana*, April 1, 1879, pp. 6-7. In Paris paper is made by boiling pieces of cloth and mixing them with chemicals to make a soft porridge and then water is distilled to have a hard residue, which is pressed by machines to make white paper. Grass and trees also make paper. Dieterlen, "Pampiri," *Leselinyana*, May 1, 1879, p. 2.

⁴⁴⁶ In countries where the teaching of the Roman Church flourished like in France, we find something encouraging. On the sides of the road or in the middle of a village there are piles of stones and a cross with the mode or form of Jesus on it. It is erected among the stones. Written on it are the words: Behold the Lamb of God that cleanses the sins of the world or behold what Jesus has done for you, what do you do for him? Dieterlen, "Le nkhopoleng," *Leselinyana*, October 10, 1879, pp. 1-2.

⁴⁴⁷ In Egypt the Egyptians used a soft layer found in the Nile River where reeds grow. They took that soft layer wove it to make paper called papyrus the mother of all papers. Moses wrote the Ten Commandments on a hard rock. He was from Egypt where the wise men of that country had invented a better means of writing. Paper is made with cloths. Dieterlen, "Pampiri," *Leselinyana*, May 1, 1879, p. 2.

⁴⁴⁸ The bridge of Bethuile has 19 pillars and its length is 460 feet. It was one of the biggest bridges that Dieterlen had ever seen. It was an amazing work and view. Man is powerful, declared Dieterlen, even though he is a sinner and depraved he is powerful to cross big rivers such as the Senqu or the Orange River. Dieterlen, "Bridge ba Bethuile," *Leselinyana*, August 1, 1879, pp. 2-3.

⁴⁴⁹ In England the Queen has people who advise her like the Council of Commoners and other men. In Basutoland a similar council (the National Council) would be established to help the Paramount Chief to rule. Dieterlen, "Lekhotla la boelets," *Leselinyana*, May 1, 1883, p. 5.

⁴⁵⁰ In Europe there were houses for the sick. Health services were free and were supported by governments as well as churches. Dieterlen maintained that now that the government had built a hospital, health services must be free as in Europe, Dieterlen, "Ntlo ea bababi," *Leselinyana*, September 9, 1882, p. 5. In Europe blind people used reading braille to read. Dieterlen, "Tsa bofofu," *Leselinyana*, July 1, 1883, p. 7.

⁴⁵¹ He bemoaned the plight of Indian women whose husbands were polygamists. They lived in a *zenana*, a sort of a prison, not allowed contact with other men. They met their husbands upon their summons to their houses. He declared that Basuto women were in a similar position though not kept in a prison like a *zenana*. He concluded with a plea that women should be cared for and respected. The Word of God liberates them from whatever bind them. Dieterlen, "Basali ba India," *Leselinyana*, August 1883, pp.2-3.

geographical position of Basutoland surrounded by South Africa and having little influence from without. White people did not have the right to own land in Basutoland.⁴⁵²

He extensively wrote about how people live in other countries as well as important events that took place in them with a view to enlighten the Basuto. He, thus, broadened their minds as well as their world view. Hence his mission was not only religiously oriented but also shared what Western civilizations constituted.

Concerning the natural resources, he explained the formation of coal, its usefulness for cooking and warming of the houses as well as how it was mined.⁴⁵³ He mentioned *lisu* as another means of cooking besides coals.⁴⁵⁴ He asserted that the life of the Basuto was like that of the ancient Israelites who lived with the Arabs in Western Asia. They made castles four times the height of a man with *lisu*. These castles served as defences during war and were also used for making fire.⁴⁵⁵

It thus appears that Dieterlen appreciated the ways of the Basuto, specifically pertaining to cooking which he equated to that of the Israelites'. Nonetheless, he was very critical of their traditional customs.

He expounded on the comet that appeared in the sky before sun rise in the 1880s. It had a form of a shining tail in the sky. It was visible even during the day when it stood next to the sun. It was understood differently by people: to some, it meant war, famine, general diseases as well as the end of time. God would wipe away all people on earth with it. Astronomers, however, maintained that comets moved like other stars. Its appearance changed the belief of

⁴⁵²Dieterlen, "Buka e putsoa ea 1877," *Leselinyana*, October 1, 1878, p. 1; N.S.K. Tšeuoa, "Church and Land in Basutoland: The Paris Evangelical Mission and its Implications," *Studia Historiae ecclesiasticae*, Vol. 46. 2 (2020), pp. 7-8.

⁴⁵³Dieterlen, "Tsa mashala" *Leselinyana*, May 5, 1878, pp. 1-2.

⁴⁵⁴*Lisu* are animal excretes that have hardened and made a layer in the crawl. It was dug and dried in small castles like forms. This was used to make fire for cooking or warming the house.

⁴⁵⁵Dieterlen, "Lisu," *Leselinyana*, March 1, 1879, p.4.

ancient Basuto that the earth is equal to the heavens. Additionally, they believed that the earth is occupied by them only. But when they saw the white people, they were baffled.⁴⁵⁶

Dieterlen was a man of many interests as pointed out earlier in his biography.

b) Church development

His writings also concerned the work of the mission. He explained the 1883 jubilee of the Paris Mission. He maintained that 50 years had elapsed since the arrival of the first missionaries. Therefore, it was imperative for the mission to pause and take stock as well as to introspect. He commended the visit of Alfred Boegner, the director of the Mission House in Paris who attended the ceremony. He hoped that his visit would give a fresh impetus to the mission.⁴⁵⁷

After the celebration of the 50th jubilee, an inspection was carried out in the work of the mission. Boegner visited all the stations of the mission. Dieterlen maintained that they were all given one message that they should prepare for maturity and the time whereby they would be led by Basuto ministers when those from France would be no more.⁴⁵⁸

From that time onwards the mission worked towards the autonomy of the Basutoland Church. This was achieved by giving the Basuto full participation in the work of the Mission. In 1964 that long awaited dream was accomplished at Morija when the Mission handed over the power of leadership to the Basuto ministers. That event allowed the Lesotho Evangelical Church to be born.

Dieterlen noted that the school for carpenters was located near Masitise, in the southern part of Basutoland. It was under Jean Preen (1841-1924). It had 15 students from Thabana-Morena, Masitise and Maphutseng. It offered courses in masonry, Carpentry as well as

⁴⁵⁶Dieterlen, "Naleli e mochochono," *Leselinyana*, November 1, 1882, pp. 6-7.

⁴⁵⁷Dieterlen, "Yubile ea likereke tsa Lesotho," *Leselinyana*, April 1, 1883, pp. 1-2, "Moneri Boegner", *Leselinyana*, April 1, 1883, p.3.

⁴⁵⁸Dieterlen, "Phethego ea likereke." *Leselinyana*, September 1, 1883, p.3.

English language and Agriculture. Students were taught how to grow wheat and other crops in a way that could bring about a good harvest. There was a water mill near the school. He encouraged the parents to send their children to this school.⁴⁵⁹

It thus appears that the mission was not only focusing on the spiritual aspects of the Basuto, but it also attended to their material needs. That school contributed immensely to the development of Basutoland as those who trained in it applied their knowledge in the country. Thus, the country had improved agriculture, architecture as well as technical ability.

He explained the difficulty of the ministry of the Word and Sacraments. He asserted that Alexander Vinet⁴⁶⁰ reassured the new ministers about the ministry and that it was not easy to lead many people of different interests and dispositions. The ministry had a busy schedule ranging from calling upon the poor, the infirm, managing schools and counselling as well as teaching. A minister was on duty all the time.⁴⁶¹

Perhaps this was directed to his students whom he trained at the Theological School. He wanted them to understand their duties as the future ministers.

Dieterlen noted the deaths of Dr. Casalis's child who with Esau son of Azariel was struck by lightning in 1879.⁴⁶² He impressed upon the readers that 'all things work together for good to them that love God, to them who are called according to his purpose.'⁴⁶³ This does not mean only the good things, but all things painful and confusing the heart of a person.⁴⁶⁴

The fact that Dieterlen wrote about the death of Azariel's son shows that he held him in high esteem as a chief. Dieterlen respected the traditional chieftainship regardless of religion.

⁴⁵⁹Dieterlen, "Sekolo sa ba betlhi" *Leselinyana*, June 1, 1883, pp.3-4.

⁴⁶⁰ Alexander Rodolphe Vinet (1797-1847) was a Swiss theologian and literary critic. He advocated religious freedom as well as the separation of church and State.

⁴⁶¹Dieterlen, "Bothata ba boruti," *Leselinyana*, October 1884, p. 4.

⁴⁶²It is not clear who Azariel was as his family name is not mentioned. However, he might have been Azariel from the area below Tšita 's Nek an area within Dieterlen's Hermon station, a Christian chief who was well known at the time. Stephen Gill is acknowledged for helping me with this information.

⁴⁶³Romans 8:28.

⁴⁶⁴Dieterlen, "Lipecti le matšelisio," *Leselinyana*, February 2, 1879, pp.1-2 .

He believed that the chieftainship was God ordained. These views he shared with Calvin as argued in this study.

He also noted the death of Paul Keck who was the son of Daniel Keck (1814-1885), a fellow missionary at Mabolela. He asserted that God is never wrong in his actions.⁴⁶⁵ He bade Théophile Jousse (1823-1890) farewell, as he returned to Paris for retirement.⁴⁶⁶

He wrote two articles about Bushmane and Khosane who were part of the crew that accompanied Coillard to Barotseland in 1887. They passed away in Barotseland together with Eleazare.⁴⁶⁷ Dieterlen commended their dedication and the great sacrifice which they made for God and the Gospel. Dieterlen challenged the Basuto Christians to follow the example of the three martyrs.⁴⁶⁸ There was a confusion as to who the Barotseland mission belonged to, to the Basuto or to the French. Dieterlen explained that Basuto evangelists and a French missionary started the work. Basuto Christians made contributions for the establishment of the Barotse mission. Nonetheless, the issue was the eradication of heathenism not to make names either for Basuto or for the French.⁴⁶⁹

The Barotseland mission was in Dieterlen's heart. He contributed several articles about it from its beginning when Coillard was making its preparations as well as when he had settled in Barotseland.⁴⁷⁰ Perhaps he was sad that the mission, this time, did not allow him to go, as he had wanted to.

c) South African politics

Dieterlen's writings also pertained to government issues. He bemoaned the escalation of thievery in Basutoland after the Gun War (1880-1881). He recalled and commended the law

⁴⁶⁵Dieterlen, "Paul Keck," *Leselinyana*, February 1, 1883, p.p.1-2.

⁴⁶⁶Dieterlen, "Moneri Jousse, *Leselinyana*, August 8, 1882, pp.2-3.

⁴⁶⁷ Hincks, *Quest for peace*, pp.301-302.

⁴⁶⁸Dieterlen, "Ho hlokahala ha Eleasare le ba bang," *Leselinyana*, March 1, 1879, pp. 3-4, "Our graves," *Leselinyana*, April 1, 1879, p.3.

⁴⁶⁹Dieterlen, "Tlhalosonyana" *Leselinyana*, December 1, 1879, p. 3.

⁴⁷⁰Dieterlen, "Barotse," *Leselinyana*, September 1883, p.7, "Kurumba le Seatjeka," *Leselinyana*, December 1, 1883, p. 7, "Baeti ba rona," *Leselinyana*, February 1, 1884, pp. 1-2.

and order that prevailed during the rule of the Cape Government. He averred that the magistrates were hard in their discipline that some people remembered those times. Thieving brought a disgrace to the nation and was disrespecting the Basuto chiefs who oversaw the nation.⁴⁷¹

Dieterlen favoured the Cape colonial government. It made him sad to see it crumble away. This was due to its misguided plan to disarmament as well as its heavy-hand style of governance in Basutoland. The lawlessness that prevailed was a result of the Gun War.

He sensitised the Basuto about the problems caused by brandy. He averred that brandy had become powerful. When a cow was stolen, that was attributed to brandy; when people could not adhere to the law, it was because of brandy. When there were quarrels among people, it was alleged that brandy was the cause.⁴⁷²

This also came as an aftermath of the Gun War. The law that prohibited brandy had become ineffective or was suspended. The importation of brandy had become de facto and was abused so much that all offences were blamed on it.

d) Bible interpretation

Religious news was in the form of sermons,⁴⁷³ stories⁴⁷⁴ and addresses.⁴⁷⁵ He also explained the teaching of other religious movements and denomination such as the Quakers,

⁴⁷¹Dieterlen, "Bosholu," *Leselinyana*, August 1, 1883, p.3.

⁴⁷²Dieterlen, "Mong a molato," *Leselinyana*, January 1, 1884, pp.1-4.

⁴⁷³ By a sermon, here, we mean a biblical text expounded in the light of Jesus Christ. Nonetheless, Dieterlen quite often used a biblical theme instead of a text. For example, Dieterlen, "Ho ipolela" (confession), *Leselinyana*, March 3, 1877, pp. 4-5, "U se keohloloakebobe" (do not be overcome by evil), *Leselinyana*, December 12, 1877, pp.1-2, "Pako" (repentance), *Leselinyana*, January 1, 1878, pp. 5-6, "Lipontšo tsa tšokoloho" (signs of conversion), *Leselinyana*, February 1878.

⁴⁷⁴ Tales were of a moral message which may have strongly resonated with the oral tradition of the Basuto. For example, Dieterlen related an incident of a certain abusive man who often bit his wife and ended up killing her. The wife reported him to the magistrate. He was made to pay a heifer for his abusive actions on his wife. That did not stop him. The man had married according to traditional customs. Dieterlen claimed that there was no love in that union as it was an arranged marriage. However, he maintained that marriage is from God and not from the British Government. No one should play with it. Dieterlen, "Litabatsalenyalo," *Leselinyana*, October 1, 1878, pp.3-4.

Muhammad (570-632) as well as the Anglican Church. Dieterlen elaborated that the Quakers, were founded by John Fox (1624-1691). They were of the teaching of the “Friends,” though nicknamed Quakers because of their hysteria and ecstatic movements during prayer when they were moved by the Holy Spirit⁴⁷⁶ while the movement of Muhammad was made up of Arabs following the teaching of Muhammad who was of a royal family and a descendent of Ishmael, the son of Abraham.⁴⁷⁷ The Anglican Church, Dieterlen explained, had three categories which did not work together, the Anglo-Catholics, the Evangelicals and the liberals. The Anglican Church was a splinter group of the Catholic Church. The Pope would

⁴⁷⁵Addresses were addressed to the nation or to the church. For instance, Dieterlen made an address to the readers of the *Leselinyana*: The *Leselinyana la Lesotho* is a national paper reporting not only about the events in Lesotho, but even of other places like Bopeli and Bonyai where our brothers are working as evangelists. We know about their work through the paper. The paper is a source of information, and no one should despise it. It covers different themes and concerns of people such as the horse races, exaggerations about the wars in Europe and Turkey as well as religious instruction. Dieterlen, *Ho ba babali ba Leselinyana,” Leselinyana la Lesotho*, January 1, 1878, pp.1. He also made another address to the Basuto living in the Republic of South Africa in 1880. He wished them a good new year. Dieterlen, *“Ho babaliba Leselinyana South Africa” Leselinyana*, January 1, 1880, p.2.

⁴⁷⁶Quakers made appearance in England in the year 1647. Their teaching is the same with that of the Paris mission. They believe in the Apostles’ Creed, and in Jesus being the head of the Church as well as a great shepherd of its communions. Nonetheless, Quakers don’t administer sacraments; they regard them as Jewish rites. They do not encourage voluntary contributions during church service or public speech (sermon). They wait to be guided by the Holy Spirit. They maintain simplicity, care for the poor and do not make vows or take part in war or in the army. Dieterlen, *“Bo Quakers,” Leselinyana*, February 2, 1879, pp. 3-4.

⁴⁷⁷Mohammed grew up taking part in his tribe business of driving Camels selling spices. He met many religions in his journeys such as Judaism and Christianity. His people (the Arabs) were worshipping several false gods. They adored a black stone which they kissed in adoration. Mohammed bemoaned these several gods worshiped by his people. He therefore merged several religions to form what is known as Islam. He trained a white dove to put its mouth in his ear and claimed that the Holy Spirit had spoken to him. He had a large following and tried to force his people to abandon their religious beliefs. At first, he was defeated, but later he won the war and all his people embraced Islam. Islam attacked and killed many Christians, captured lands like Constantinople (Turkey) and Jerusalem. The teaching of Mohammed is found in the Koran, which is like the Christian Bible. It is alleged that the Koran was written by God in heaven and Mohammed was taught the Koran by the angel Gabriel. The Koran teaches that there is one God whom all people ought to serve. There is no trinity in this God. This God revealed himself by the prophets, of which major ones among them were Adam, Noah, Abraham, Jesus and Mohammed. Mohammed is senior to Jesus as he is the last prophet. Resurrection of the dead and judgment shall be there and the righteous shall enter paradise, enjoy bliss in the seventh heaven, while the unrighteous shall be condemned and would suffer great afflictions. The righteous one keeps the following important duties: they pray kneeling down facing Mecca (the place where Mohammed started his teaching) five times a day. They care for the needy and show acts of mercy and cleanse sin. They fast on appointed days as well as voluntarily from morning to evening. They must visit Mecca once in a lifetime, serve God at the temple of Kaba, kiss the four corners of the black stone, visit shrines, burn sacrifices, shave, cut nails and return home. Dieterlen, *“Mahomede,” Leselinyana*, March 3, 1878, pp. 1-2, April 4, 1878, pp.1-2.

not allow the King of England to divorce Catherine who could not give him the heir. He then separated from the Catholic Church to form the Anglican Church. He claimed to be the head of the Anglican Church although the head of the Church is Christ. The Church of England was infamous for being lax in discipline as well as in the admission of converts. Once a person was baptised, he was assured that he would attain heaven. Salvation was made an easy thing for people. The Church also allowed its converts to be married in polygamy and to drink brandy.⁴⁷⁸

This slanderous statement was caused by the Christians who left the Paris Mission to join the Anglicans. The Paris Mission was uncompromising in its stand against the Basuto traditional customs. The Anglicans, on the other hand, were a bit moderate towards tradition customs. It is an exaggeration as well as a calumny that a Church could allow its members to drink brandy. While Anglicans might have been less vocal about the use of brandy, it should not be taken that they condoned the use of it among their Christians. This is also discussed in this study.

In his early life, Dieterlen's sermons in the *Leselinyana* tended to be catechetical by nature. They were more of instructing in Christianity. They expounded the basics of the Christian faith such as sin, repentance, confession, excommunication as well as conversion. The latter was the aim of all the sermons. The sermons are based on biblical texts or themes as pointed out earlier. They followed a three-part development of an introduction or exposition of the text as well as its background, the body or the application of the text and the conclusion or an invitation to embrace the message of the sermon.

Dieterlen made his first contribution to the *Leselinyana* in March 1877⁴⁷⁹ while posted at Hermon. Perhaps this delay was caused by the work which the Missionary Conference tasked him with. He was to establish mission work in Northern Transvaal in 1876. It is

⁴⁷⁸Dieterlen, "Thuto e 'ngoe" *Leselinyana*, October 10, 1882, p.2, "Thuto ea Churchi," *Leselinyana*, November 11, 1882, p. 2.

⁴⁷⁹Dieterlen, "Ho ipolela," *Leselinyana*, March 3, 1877, pp. 4-5.

understandable that he was busy preparing for that expedition. This is why he delayed to make contributions.

The first meditation was based on the theme of confession from I John 1: 9. Following the narrative style of expounding the biblical text, Dieterlen noted that a certain man bemoaned the fact that people who sin are excommunicated by the Church. But the apostle John maintained, ‘if we confess our sins God is faithful and just to forgive us our sins.’ That man could not understand the point of excommunication because if God has forgiven a person, then there was no reason for the Church to punish him. True confession is when a person is pushed by his conscience to disclose an unknown sin. Such a person cannot be judged or be brought before the congregation to make a confession. A person who is caught red-handed is the one who is supposed to be excommunicated. A minister waits for him to go and show remorse for his sin.⁴⁸⁰

Calvin, commenting on the same text, maintained: ‘But this confession, as it is made to God, must be in sincerity; and the heart cannot speak to God without newness of life: it then includes true repentance. God indeed forgives freely but in such a way that the facility of mercy does not become an enticement to sin.’⁴⁸¹

It thus follows that true confession brings about the restoration of a sinner to God. Hence in Dieterlen’s narrative, a person who voluntarily confessed his sin was not to be judged. This is the sincerity which Calvin emphasised. Dieterlen further intimated that excommunication is a way of bringing a sinner back to God. This resonates with Calvin who claimed the same.⁴⁸²

While expounding on “Repentance” in January 1878, Dieterlen declared that members of the congregation of Jesus are excommunicated from the Church when they have sinned; they

⁴⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

⁴⁸¹ Calvin, *Commentaries on the first epistle of John*, translated from the original Latin, and edited by John Owen (Michigan: Baker Books, 2009), p. 168.

⁴⁸² See, F. Wendel, *Calvin: Origins and Development of his Religious Thought*, translated by Philip Maire (New York: Harper and Row Publishers, 1963), pp.298-300.

know that they cannot be received in Church before their public repentance before the Church. They should be remorseful about their transgressions. However, many people do not know true repentance. They feel degraded and ashamed; they consider themselves a bad example and a laughingstock because of their sin. This feeling may drive them to public confession before the Church. This is not true repentance as it is motivated by tarnished personal image and there is no God in it; a person must be sorry for sinning against God. True repentance must be motivated by the fear of God; ‘Against you, you only, have I sinned and done what is evil in your sight, (Ps. 51.4).⁴⁸³

The above example buttresses the point that true confession is marked by a voluntary action of confessing unknown sins because of the fear and love of God.

Dieterlen, once again, while expounding on 1 John 1:9 under the theme of “Forgiveness,” posited that the forgiveness that we receive from God is different from our own because we do not forget. God forgives and forgets. Calvin explains that ‘He forgives freely.’⁴⁸⁴ We often ask ourselves, why should we bother about our sins for God has forgiven and forgotten about them. Nonetheless, it is important to always remember our sins; this helps us to be more vigilant in our Christian life. Therefore, watchfulness and prayerfulness are important for a Christian. Forgetfulness is slumber and slumber is death.⁴⁸⁵

Expounding on the theme *sebe se ntlhagetseng* (a sin that has happened to me), Dieterlen declared that it is a common thing among people to blame others for their sins. Nonetheless, Christians believe that they are saved by the grace of God. This is why they confess their sin in Church to be forgiven. The wrong thing is when they blame Satan for their sin. While Satan is a source of all evil, we should not use him as an excuse for our iniquities. God knows

⁴⁸³Dieterlen, “Pako,” *Leselinyana*, January 1, 1878, pp. 5-6.

⁴⁸⁴ Calvin, *Commentary on the first epistle of John*, p. 168.

⁴⁸⁵Dieterlen, “Tšwarelo,” *Leselinyana*, July 7, 1878, p. 1.

our hearts, that we were born inclined to evil. He is omniscient. Therefore, it is important to confess our sins.⁴⁸⁶

Calvin also believed that ‘all temptations are sent by Satan, so, when they assail us, they warn us that Satan is at hand.’⁴⁸⁷

Commenting on Hebrews 12: 2, Dieterlen averred that looking at Jesus in his earthly ministry healing the sick, laying hands on infants; looking at Him on the cross afflicted, covered in blood, he sees him as His saviour. We should not look at other people, or compare ourselves with them, but we should look to Jesus who died for us.⁴⁸⁸

Calvin noted,

He commends to us the patience of Christ ... because he endured the most bitter death, and because he despised shame. He then mentions the glorious end of His death, the faithful might know that all the evils which they might endure will end in their salvation and glory, provided they follow Christ.⁴⁸⁹

According to Dieterlen, Christ ‘s earthly ministry constituted his work of salvation. While Calvin concurs, he added that Christ’s bitter death ought to be an encouragement to the faithful to endure hardships, as the end would be salvation and glory.

Commenting on Psalm 26: 5, Dieterlen maintained that we must see bad moments in order to see our salvation. ‘Through many tribulations we must enter the kingdom of God.’⁴⁹⁰ Those who experience tribulation for Christ must be of cheerful hearts, they shall reap in happiness in the end.⁴⁹¹

⁴⁸⁶Dieterlen, “sebe se ntlhagetseng,” *Leselinyana*, October 10, 1877, pp. 2-3.

⁴⁸⁷ Calvin, *Commentary on the second letter to the Corinthians*, p. 374.

⁴⁸⁸Dieterlen, “Hebrews 12:2,” *Leselinyana*, August 1, 1877, p.1

⁴⁸⁹ Calvin, *Commentary on the letter to the Hebrews* (Michigan: BakerBooks, 2009), p. 313

⁴⁹⁰ Acts 14:22.

⁴⁹¹Dieterlen, “Go lema le go kotula,” *Leselinyana*, September 1877, pp. 2-4.

Dieterlen warned against haughtiness. He noted two sermons on this subject.⁴⁹² He averred that a haughty person is selfish to other people and to God. He does not need God. However, Dieterlen encouraged humility, as God is against the haughty and is merciful to the humble. He stressed that Paul was troubled by haughtiness in people's hearts, the pride of his apostleship, his gifts of the Holy Spirit, his conversion in the gates of Damascus as well as his persecution of the Church and his vision. All these displeased him and he wrestled with them in his heart.⁴⁹³

In accordance, Calvin declared that Paul was confronted by every kind of temptation which was physical as well as spiritual. Nonetheless, by a goad in his flesh God repressed insolence in him.⁴⁹⁴

While expounding on 1 Tim. 3: 4-5, Dieterlen maintained that Paul showed the importance of the house of a Christian. It is there where a Christian must start the work of discipleship for Christ. If he fails, how can he lead others to Christ? If he succeeds, he is enabled to lead others to Christ.⁴⁹⁵

Calvin stressed, 'Paul does not demand that a bishop shall be unacquainted with human life, but that he shall be a good and praiseworthy master of his household.'⁴⁹⁶ The home of a Christian should be exemplary to the non-Christians.

Dieterlen while explicating 2 Peter 2: 19, stressed, 'The deceiver by his cunning confuses the people of God by the word liberty in the sense that people should do away with old ways and do as they please. The deceiver targets backsliders as well as those who follow the bad example of the white people who are not Christians. It is because of this deception that children do not listen to their parents and Christians becoming unruly. This liberty that is

⁴⁹²Dieterlen, "2 Cor. 12: 7-9," *Leselinayana*, September 9, 1879, pp.1-2, "Boikhohomoso," *Leselinyana*, June 6, 1879, p. 1.

⁴⁹³*Ibid.*

⁴⁹⁴ Calvin, *Commentary on the second letter to the Corinthians*, pp. 373- 374.

⁴⁹⁵Dieterlen, "Ntlo ea Mokreste," *Leselinyana*, February 1, 1880, pp.2-3.

⁴⁹⁶ Calvin, *Commentary on the first letter to Timothy*, p. 82.

sung lately is slavery to sin and ends in death.⁴⁹⁷ However, Christians are servants of Jesus.

His laws are not a heavy yoke. They save Christians from sin as well as death and bring them to life.⁴⁹⁸

Calvin, commenting on the same text, averred,

What is condemned here is vicious doctrine, connected with impurity of life; for the apostle's design was to obviate the deceptive allurements by which they ensnared the foolish. The name of liberty is sweet, and they abuse it for this end, that the hearer, being loose from the fear of the divine law might abandon himself unto unbridled licentiousness.⁴⁹⁹

Dieterlen while expounding on Romans 1: 16,⁵⁰⁰ declared that the heathens are ashamed of the Gospel or to believe in God. They are not prepared to part ways with sin and their friends. They allow themselves to be swayed to evil doings. People should not be ashamed of believing in Jesus. Unbelievers fear people not God, but Christians should not fear people, but should fear God or else Jesus, too, will be ashamed of them before God.⁵⁰¹

Calvin, following the same thought, asserted, 'This is an anticipation of an objection; for he declares beforehand, that he cared not for the taunts of the ungodly.'⁵⁰²

Commenting on Psalm 37: 3, Dieterlen posited that two things which a person must do in a lifetime are, to trust in God and to do what is right. Trusting in God means believing in him. Trust and faith are one thing and are inseparable. If we believe in God, we should stop from evil.⁵⁰³

⁴⁹⁷ Romans 6:16-23.

⁴⁹⁸ Dieterlen, "Bolokologi," *Leselinyana*, February 1, 1883, pp.1-2.

⁴⁹⁹ Calvin, *Commentary on the second letter of Peter*, p. 409.

⁵⁰⁰ Dieterlen by mistake noted Romans 1:17 instead of Romans 1: 16.

⁵⁰¹ Dieterlen, "Romans 1:16," *Leselinyana*, June 1, 1883, p. 1-2.

⁵⁰² Calvin, *Commentary on the letter to the Romans*, p. 42.

⁵⁰³ Dieterlen, "Etsa go gotle," *Leselinyana*, November 1884, pp.1-2.

Calvin maintained, ‘Everything in the end shall be well with the righteous, because they are under the protection of God...He exhorts them to put their trust in him, and . . . to follow after goodness and truth.’⁵⁰⁴

Overall, we observe a very close expository kinship of the biblical text between Calvin and Dieterlen. While the difference is seen in their rhetoric and stylistic features, the content of the message is the same. Dieterlen followed an exhortative mode in expounding the biblical text while Calvin adopted an expository style.

4.3 Dieterlen’s mid years in Basutoland (1894-1904)

a) General matters

In his quest for the enlightenment of the Basuto, Dieterlen shared some information about what was happening in some parts of the world. For instance, he wrote articles about the wars that were fought in Africa and Europe: the war between the English and Matebele,⁵⁰⁵ the war between Spain and the United States of America in 1898⁵⁰⁶ and the Egyptian war caused by Mahdi who claimed to be the new Mohammed.⁵⁰⁷ He stressed that countries must sign peace treaties in order to avoid war. France initiated and signed a peace treaty with America, so that

⁵⁰⁴ Calvin, *commentary on the Book Psalms*, Vol. 11, p. 18.

⁵⁰⁵ The English had defeated matebele. They used a dreadful canon called the maximum gun. Its bullets were the size of a normal gun, unlike the big ones that were used in Basutoland during the Gun War. It was pulled by a horse, operated by two people of whom one fed it with bullets and the other shot it. It fired many bullets. Many of the Matebele were killed with this canon. Dieterlen, “Kanono e tšabehang,” *Leselinyana*, May 1, 1894, p. 1.

⁵⁰⁶ Dieterlen explained that war affected Southern Africa and Basutoland economically as most of the manufactured goods as well as paraffin were imported and shipped from America. Wool and mohair of Basutoland were American imports. The war ships of Spain hunted and intercepted American cargo ships to Southern Africa or Southern Africa to America. This is how that war affected and disrupted business between America and Southern Africa. Dieterlen, “Ntoaea Spain le United States of America e re senyetsayoang?” *Leselinyana*, June 15, 1898, p. 3. See also, Dieterlen, “Parafine ea fela,” *Leselinyana*, July 1, 1895, pp. 3-4.

⁵⁰⁷ Mahdi attacked and took many places that were occupied by the English to oust them in that country. It was only Khartum which Mahdi’s forces could not take. Dieterlen, “Ntoa ea Egepeta,” *Leselinyana*, Mesa 1 1898, p.2-3.

should a disagreement arise between the two countries, a college of judges from both of them would assemble and resolve the problem amicably.⁵⁰⁸

It seems that Dieterlen abhorred war and this helps us to understand what he wrote about it. He suggested peace treaties as one of the means through which war could be stopped. He gave as an example the treaty that was signed between America and France.

He also wrote articles about how to churn up fire,⁵⁰⁹ the nursery schools in the Cape Colony,⁵¹⁰ the adoption of potatoes as edible food in Europe⁵¹¹ the snow slip or the avalanche,⁵¹² the fire brigades in Europe.⁵¹³

Dieterlen observed the behaviour of spiders, some birds as well as some animals and published his observations in the *Leselinyana*. He observed the wisdom and the loving heart of rooks.⁵¹⁴ He also observed the behaviour of different kinds of spiders.⁵¹⁵ He commended

⁵⁰⁸Dieterlen, "Sehla re sa ntoa," *Leselinyana*, November 1, 1895, p.1

⁵⁰⁹Ancient Basuto used dry wood to kindle fire. Later, they used a pebble and steel. They strike or rub them together to make sparks directed to a dry grass. These methods were unreliable. In 1843 Kammerer invented another way made from phosphorus mixed with lightly grinded glass and sulphur collected from the volcano eruption. He attached the mixture to the head of a small stick that burns easily. Dieterlen, "Mollo o fehloayoang," *Leselinyana*, April 5, 1896, p. 4.

⁵¹⁰In the Cape Colony there are a few nursery schools. In Europe it is the same thing (France, Italy, Germany and England). In Lesotho there are few schools. It is a sad thing when children near schools do not attend them. Those who are far from them, I do not say anything about. When will the children of Lesotho be educated? Dieterlen, "Kolo tsa bana tsa Cape," *Leselinyana*, March 15, 1896, p. 4.

⁵¹¹It was in the 1750s or in the 1780s when the Europeans started using potatoes as food. Potatoes were first used as food in North America at Andes in Chilli. Tourists from Spain saw them there in the years 1500 to 1600. They tasted them and found them good. They brought them to Europe. At first, Europeans did not like potatoes. They saw them as food for cattle and pigs. Great famines forced them to eat potatoes. Dieterlen, "Litapole," *Leselinyana*, February 1, 1896, p. 4

⁵¹²In France and Switzerland where there are the Alps; the avalanches are very common and dangerous. People go there for skiing. Dieterlen, "Ho thella ha lehloa," *Leselinyana*, 15, January 1896, p. 3

⁵¹³In Europe houses are in story buildings and many people live in them. If fire breaks out on any occasion the whole block gets burned. There are fire men on standby for such emergencies. The church bells are used to give an alarm of a fire outbreak. They use water to extinguish it. They have fire engines that help them to throw water high in the building to rescue people who may be trapped. Firemen have protective clothes such as helmets that protect them from anything falling from the burning building. Dieterlen, "Ntoa ea mollo," *Leselinyana*, January 1, 1896, pp. 2-3.

⁵¹⁴Dieterlen observed rooks preparing a shelter for themselves. They scouted the trees and chose a long tree without branches close to the ground. They chose to build their houses on strong branches not far apart. They built it carefully with strong branches that would sustain it during strong winds and heavy rains. When the house was completed, one entered it and sat in it. The other ones sang a song of jubilation. Dieterlen, "Tsa mekhoabane," *Leselinyana*, November 1, 1894, p. 2.

⁵¹⁵Some spiders live in a hole in the ground. They make a cover by their web to protect themselves from rain. Some make a small cave with their web at the corners of the houses or in a tall grass. A spider lays up to 50 or 70 eggs. Some spiders make houses for their eggs while others carry them in their backs. These eggs are

the cognitive ability found in doves.⁵¹⁶ He explained how Australia got its red hares.⁵¹⁷ He noted an article on the trees that might be good for Basutoland.⁵¹⁸ He maintained that Cicile Rhodes, the Governor of the Cape, had ordered that wild animal must be hunted with great care lest they are extinct. He had cut a large portion of land for the conservation of wild animals. Nonetheless, Dieterlen declared that since snakes and lions kill people, it is not a bad thing to kill them.⁵¹⁹ He also wrote an article about the fat cattle of Switzerland.⁵²⁰ Dieterlen's keen interest in the ecosystem is shown in the article that he wrote for the *Leselinyana*.

He wrote about an earthquake that happened in Basutoland in 1896. It shook houses so much that mud fell from the wall. Some kraals collapsed.⁵²¹ He explained the fire that broke out and killed people in North America's big forest.⁵²² He also told of a terrible accident that happened in Russia in 1894.⁵²³

hatched after 15 to 20 days. These new spiders learn how to make a web and how to find food for themselves. Dieterlen, "Tsa seokho," *Leselinyana*, April 1, 1895, p. 2.

⁵¹⁶Doves are of cognitive ability. They served as good messengers during the war between Germany and France. Dieterlen does not indicate which war this was. Moorosi could also have used them during his war if he knew about that. No wonder Noah sent one during the flood to check whether the water had subsided. Dieterlen, "Maeba-Mayara-Poso," *Leselinyana*, August 1, 1894, pp.1-2.

⁵¹⁷In Australia, all the animals were killed by hunters. One hunter asked a friend in England to send him red hares. Three hares were sent, one male and two females. That was in the 1880s. Within a short time, these red hares multiplied and filled the whole country. They ate all the grass and vegetation in the fields. They became a menace to the farmers. The government tried to control them but never succeeded. Nonetheless, the drought of 1888 helped to put them under control. They were denied water by making enclosures to the lakes and to all the water sources as it was feared that they might drink all of it. They died in large numbers. Dieterlen, "Hlolo ea Australia," *Leselinyana*, June 15, 1895, p. 1.

⁵¹⁸Dieterlen listed poplar, willow, blue gum and acacia trees that do not bear fruit but are useful in different ways. For trees that bear fruits he enumerated apricot, apple and pear. He gave an advice that they should not be planted close to each other. Dieterlen, "Lifate tse tšoanelang le-Sotho," *Leselinyana*, May 1, 1895, p. 2.

⁵¹⁹Dieterlen, "Paballo ea linyamatsana," *Leselinyana*, August 15, 1895, p.4.

⁵²⁰The cattle of Switzerland, Dieterlen explained, grazed in fertile pastures and produced a lot of milk. The people of Switzerland made cheese with the milk. Cheese was liked most by the Europeans whereas the Basuto did not like it that much. Dieterlen, "Likhomo tsa Zwitserland," *Leselinyana*, Hlakubele 1, 1904, pp.1-2.

⁵²¹A volcano eruption happened because of the forces inside the earth. There is fire, a hot mass as well as gas inside the earth. These hot mass causes the earthquake. Volcanoes are also the result of the forces of this hot mass. It makes a big mountain of hot mud with a hole that brings out fire and hot mud. The Bible tells us that at the end times there will be earthquakes. This earthquake confirms this prophesy which many people despise. Dieterlen, "Tšisinyeho ea lefatše," *Leselinyana*, January 1, 1896, p. 4.

⁵²²In North America there are big and danced forests the size of Lesotho. Just one forest stretches from ha Matela [northern side of Basutoland] to Ha Nkuebe or Aliwal North [southern part of Basutoland]. People live in these forests in different parts of it. They have a business of selling planks for carpentry. The year 1894 was a dry year; rain did not fall for several years. Fire broke out and no one knew how it started. It burned the

Dieterlen believed that *boloi* (witchcraft) would bring many problems to the Basuto if left unchecked by the chieftainship. He declared that in the Cape Colony, the laws have been put in place to fight against witchcraft. They wanted to put an end to it. Any diviner who promoted witchcraft by telling others that they were bewitched by so and so was punished by the government. Anyone who taught others about it was also punished. Anyone who claimed that he had been bewitched by so and so was also punished. In Lesotho it was the Gospel that fought against witchcraft then when the Basuto did not convert who would fight against it?⁵²⁴

He explained that among the “heathens” as well as the Christians there was talk about witchcraft. Two things must be clarified. Firstly, a person who poisons someone else is not a witch but a murderer. Secondly, when a person claimed to have some magical powers to inflict death by lightning or claimed to have sprinkled someone’s house with medicine or bewitched a person through his hair or faeces or with a magical spell buried a person with Satan or the evil spirits that cause divisions, enmity and expulsions from a village. Dieterlen said that witchcraft should be eradicated among the Basuto. He wished the light of God might shine in the darkness of witchcraft and the works of the devil be replaced with the love of God!⁵²⁵

Dieterlen made it clear that killing a person with poison is not witchcraft but murder. Superstitious beliefs in magical powers that included casting spells of bad luck on others cause divisions in society as well as expulsion from the village. He stressed that the claims of

forest fiercely. Many people died because of the fire. Dieterlen, “Tsa meru ha echa,” *Leselinyana*, September 1, 1895, p. 2.

⁵²³Russia is near the Baltic Sea. The winter is very severe. The Sea froze in the winter and forms a huge glacier the size of a height of a person. People in this place earn their lives by fishing. The selling of fish is the source of their income. In the winter when the Sea is frozen, they cut the glacier and make an opening to be able to fish. They walk on the glacier with their horses’ pulling carts. It was on the 13 February at Russia in Europe when this terrible accident happens. It was in winter and about five hundred people were on the Sea fishing. A strong wind came from within the Sea. It broke the glacier near the land and pushed it in the Sea. When people realised this, they found they are far from the land. They spend five days in the Sea before help could come. Three died and others were terrible affected. Africans are lucky to be not earning their lives from the Sea. Dieterlen, “Kotsi e makatsang,” *Leselinyana*, August 15, 1894, p. 1.

⁵²⁴Dieterlen, “Molao o khalemelang boloi,” *Leselinyana*, November 1, 1895, pp. 1.

⁵²⁵Dieterlen, “Boloi,” *Leselinyana*, June 1, 1895, p. 2.

magical powers or belief in witchcraft should be stopped to allow the love of God to reign amongst his people. Witchcraft as explained by Dieterlen, was synonymous with superstition which Calvin so much detested, as it robbed God of his power and attributed it to supernatural powers.⁵²⁶ It is not surprising that Dieterlen was against witchcraft. He was following in the footsteps of the Genevan Reformer. Moreover, Dieterlen's abhorrence of witchcraft was transferred to the Basuto ministers who trained under his hand.⁵²⁷ He made them the *amakholoa*⁵²⁸ who believed that the customs of the Basuto were bad as well as backward but what pertained to the white missionaries was portrayed as good. This is discussed in Chapter Five and Six of this study.

Dieterlen saw danger in the good harvest of 1895. Traditionally, when there was plenty, the Basuto celebrated. Traditional beer was the centre of such a celebration. Thus, Dieterlen warned and dissuaded the Basuto from drinking traditional beer. It appears that he made no distinction between traditional beer and brandy. He saw both as intoxicating liquors. He maintained, 'drunkards will not enter the kingdom of God.'⁵²⁹ They purposely shut themselves out of the kingdom of God.⁵³⁰

These were abominable practices in Dieterlen's view and they constituted heathenism. His mission and purpose in Basutoland were to eradicate heathenism and convert the Basuto to Christianity.

⁵²⁶ Wendel, *Calvin: Origin and development of his religious thought*, p. 177. The superstition in Calvin's thought is discussed in Chapter Eight of this study.

⁵²⁷ First Basuto Pastors, Carlisle Motebang, JoboMoteane, John Mohapelo. The Second generation Basuto pastors, Everitt Lechesa Segoete, Edward Lefatle Motsamai, Niculus Mpiti, Finias Matlanyane, Bethuel Sekokotoane. See, Hincks, *Quest for Peace*, pp. 340-341.

⁵²⁸ The term "Amakholwa" is reserved for the educated blacks in the Natal Colony. The word *amakholwa* is Zulu. See, N. Etherington, *The rise of the Kholwa in Southeast Africa: African Christian communities in Natal, Pondoland and Zululand 1835-1880* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1998); G.O. West, *The Stolen Bible: from tool of imperialism to African icon* (Boston: Brill, 2016), p. 4.

⁵²⁹ Gal. 5:20-21.

⁵³⁰ Dieterlen, "Botaoa," *Leselinyana*, October 1, 1895, p. 2.

b) Church development

Dieterlen wrote about the death of Adolphe Mabile in 1894. He told of his contributions to the mission: he piloted the appointment of evangelists; published a Sesuto-English vocabulary; established the *Leselinyana* newspaper; printed the entire Bible in Europe and it was through him that Lesotho got protection from Britain.⁵³¹

Dieterlen had earlier made known the names of the evangelists who accompanied Coillard to Barotseland. He also told of the places of their labour.⁵³² He told of the retirement of Jean Preen (1841-1924) who was in charge of the Industrial School.⁵³³ He also recounted the consecration ceremony of the Church of Lerotholi.⁵³⁴ He noted the ordination ceremony of Edward Motsamai at Thabana-Morena in 1900.⁵³⁵

c) South African politics

The context of Dieterlen's mid years in Basutoland was the British rule. It began in 1884 when the Cape Government returned it to the Crown. The major historical events around this time were, firstly, the breakout of rinderpest that killed many cattle in 1897. Dieterlen wrote three articles on this cattle plague. For instance, he lamented the existence of treacherous people among the Basuto who spread false information that rinderpest vaccine had killed many cattle. As a result, many people were reluctant to get their cattle vaccinated. He maintained that the perpetrators of that act must be apprehended. On the other hand, he

⁵³¹Dieterlen, "Adolphe Mabile," *Leselinyana*, June 1, 1894, pp. 1-2.

⁵³² The gate to Barotseland is Kasungula. It is a village found after crossing the Zambezi. Following the Zambezi upstream, the next village is Shesheke and from there one gets to Sefula, then, Lealui the place of Lewananika. Dieterlen, "Bo-Rotse," *Leselinyana*, June 15, 1895, p. 1.

⁵³³Preen taught at the Normal School upon his arrival. He took charge of Matatiele where there were many troubles and the Industrial school where he served for 24 years. Dieterlen, "Tse ling tsabaruti," *Leselinyana*, May 15, 1896, pp. 3-4.

⁵³⁴ This ceremony took place on November 11, 1896. It was Mabile's idea that Lerotholi should have a church. He died before this happened. His students in the Transvaal sent money to his wife to decorate his grave. A friend in Europe had already done that. Mabile's wife used the money to build the church for Lerotholi. Dieterlen, "Kereke ea Lerotholi," November 15, 1896, p.3.

⁵³⁵Motsamai was one of Dieterlen's students of the second-generation Basuto ministers. Dieterlen, "Baruti ba Kereke ea le-Sotho," *Leselinyana*, December 1, 1900, p. 1.

blamed the folly of those who were influenced not to get their cattle vaccinated on their ignorance.⁵³⁶

Secondly, the war of Lerotholi and Masupha was fought in 1898 while the Anglo-Boer War lasted from 1899 to 1901. While Dieterlen did not openly express his opinions on these wars, more especially the South African War, he recounted incidents that related to it. For example, he related an incident of a British soldier who was found at Peka in the northern side of Basutoland. The police took him to Hlotse heights to the magistrate. This British soldier recounted how his group, the Kitchener's Horse, was captured by the Boer forces while he was guarding the well at Jacobsdaal, so that the Boers might not spoil or contaminate it. He was taken by train to Pretoria as prisoners of war. At night he escaped and headed to Basutoland, the land of the Queen, where he was found. Dieterlen, however, urged that he who is captured by Satan must work hard to escape from him and should not fear. Conversion is not an easy thing. We are the people of God; we belong to him.⁵³⁷

This statement makes it evident that Dieterlen disliked the Boers as they were equated to Satan in the story. It was possible he disliked the Boers because when he passed through Pretoria, they stopped his expedition to Northern Transvaal in 1877, and jailed him and his evangelists. They were hostile to the work of the Paris Mission. They burned Beersheba and Arbousset's study at Morija during the first Basuto- Boer war in 1858, the war was later known as Senekal War.⁵³⁸ Moreover, they accused the Paris missionaries of supporting the Basuto and being the source of trouble in their relations with the Basuto. This was the reason why they expelled the Paris missionaries in 1866 during the Seqiti War. The Boers were enemies of the Paris Mission and were a threat that might harm its work. If they could succeed in their plan of driving the Basuto away from their land, the mission would have no

⁵³⁶Dieterlen, "Keng?" *Leselinyana*, August 1, 1897, p. 1; "Ntho e bolaeang batho ke bothoto," *Leselinyana*, November 1, 1897, p.1; "Molai ha a ahloloe keng?" *Leselinyana*, November 15, 1897, p.1.

⁵³⁷Dieterlen, "Meqoqo ea nto," *Leselinyana*, May 1, 1900, p. 3.

⁵³⁸Senekal was a prominent commander of the Boers who was killed at Thaba-Bosiu, and this war was named after him.

people to evangelise. Dieterlen disliked them for these reasons.⁵³⁹ Nonetheless, he seemed to have admired the Imperial Government. The fact that he employed the colonial language about the Queen of England explicitly shows that he admired her and her rule of Basutoland. The phrase, Basutoland the land of the Queen instead of the land of Moshoeshoe, is the case in point. While this phrase may seem innocent, it has a colonial tinge or undercurrents in it. At the same time, Dieterlen never failed to extract valuable information from any event to convey a biblical message.

Dieterlen's admiration of the Imperial Government is made more evident in his article about Sigalo, the chief of the Pondo. Sigalo was called by the colonial governor to appear before him as if he had done wrong. Sigalo decided to meet the magistrate against the advice of friends who said he should not go. Nonetheless, it was found that he had not committed any crime but was told that he had to be removed from his place in order not to bother the government. Sigalo took the matter to Cape Town and his place was restored to him. Dieterlen exhorted the Basuto to follow the example of Sigalo.⁵⁴⁰

Dieterlen saw nothing wrong with Sigalo been removed from his place by the colonial government. If Sigalo had taken the advice of his friends and refused to meet the magistrate at his office or resisted an unlawful removal from his land, Dieterlen would have seen him as being wrong. He would be liable to a charge for the contempt of the colonial order. No matter how unjust, unlawful, unkind and unreasonable the colonial law or order might have been, Dieterlen expected the natives to abide by and to comply with the law. That is how far he loved and respected the colonial government. He did so at expense of the natives, the Basuto whom he inculcated respect in for the colonial government. This also illustrates his unwavering support for the Imperial Government.

⁵³⁹Hinck, *Quest for Peace*, pp.300-301, 179; Ellenberger, *A Century of Missionary Work in Basutoland*, pp. 77-78, 140.

⁵⁴⁰Dieterlen, "Sigalo," *Leselinyana*, December 15, 1895, p. 2.

d) Bible interpretation

Dieterlen remained catechetical in the biblical message that he shared with the Basuto.

However, he expounded more on backsliding as well as the Basuto customs,⁵⁴¹ conversion and the Holy Spirit,⁵⁴² the heathens⁵⁴³ and obedience.⁵⁴⁴

While expounding on 2 Peter 2:22, Dieterlen maintained,

Peter wrote this word in reference to the backsliding of Christians. Some of the Basuto Christians return to their heathen practices by demanding the groom to buy expensive blankets for the bride as well as for bride's mates. They do not demand cattle for their daughters, but they return to that practice slyly by their demands. This shows that some Christians have bound themselves with the laws they do not understand. They see nothing wrong with alcohol, cattle marriage, initiation schools as well as traditional dancing.⁵⁴⁵

Calvin declared,

What Peter meant briefly is this, that the Gospel is a medicine that purges us by wholesome vomiting, but that there are many dogs who swallow again what they have vomited to their own ruin; and the Gospel is also a laver which cleanses all our uncleanness, but there are many swines who, immediately after washing, roll themselves again in mud. All the same, the godly are reminded to take heed to themselves, except they wish to be deemed dogs or swine.⁵⁴⁶

⁵⁴¹Dieterlen, "Ho khutlela mahlatseng" *Leselinyana*, November 1, 1894, p.1; "Liketso tse fapaneng le lipuo, *Leselinyana*, "October 15, 1895, p. 1; " Mekhoa ea bontat'a rona," *Leselinyana*, December 1, 1895, p.1;"Lenyalo la Isaaka," *Leselinyana*, April 15, 1896, p.1.

⁵⁴²Dieterlen, "Re tla ateloa joang ke Moea o Halalelang," *Leselinyana*, July 15, 1897, p. 1;"Moea o halalelang o ntse o sebeta," *Leselinyana*, August 1, 1895, p.1;" Hohlokoang ke Moea oa Molimo," *Leselinyana*, November 1, 1895, p. 1; "Le se ke latima moea," *Leselinyana*, August 1&15, 1898, p. 1.

⁵⁴³Dieterlen, "Mokreste le lefatše," *Leselinyana*, August 1, 1894, p.1;" Bahedene", *Leselinyana*, April 1, 1895, p. 4; "Ha re atameleng," *Leselinyana*, July 15, 1896, p.1.

⁵⁴⁴Dieterlen, " Ke tšoanelo ea hau," *Leselinyana*, May 15, 1894, p. 1;"Kutluo ea mokreste," *Leselinyana*, June 15, 1894, p. 1; "Tšepo le kutlo," *Leselinyana*, August 15, 1896, p. 1.

⁵⁴⁵Dieterlen, "Ho khutlela mahlatseng," *Leselinyana*, November 1, 1894, p. 1.

⁵⁴⁶ Calvin, *Commentary on the second letter of Peter*, p. 411-412.

It follows that Christians were not supposed to demand anything when their children got married, as that constituted heathenism and a sale of their daughters, according to the Paris missionaries. That act by itself was a sin of backsliding. Calvin posited that the Gospel cleanses a person from sin. If he who was once cleansed but returns to sin that act is synonymous with a dog which returns to its vomit and a swine which also returns to the mud after being washed. Christians should not behave like animals in their weaknesses to sin. Dieterlen addressed this biblical metaphor to the customs of the Basuto which Christians were not to comply with or return to while Calvin expounded the meaning of the metaphor regarding the life of a Christian. While stylistic approaches differ, the content of the message is the same, as it warns against backsliding.

Commenting on Titus 1:16, Romans 1:21, 2 Tim. 2: 19, Dieterlen lamented the fact that there was Christian knowledge everywhere in Basutoland, but this knowledge was not in tune with the actions. That situation was found even among the whites. White people did not give the Basuto who worked for them what was due to them. They thus steal and deny the existence of God. By being untruthful we sin against God. Whoever worships God must stay away from evil.⁵⁴⁷

Calvin declared,

He treats those persons as they deserve; for hypocrites, who give their whole attention to minute observances, despise fearlessly what constitutes the chief part of Christianity. The consequence is that they display their vanity, while the contempt of God is manifested in open crimes.⁵⁴⁸

Dieterlen once again applied his interpretation of the biblical text to the context of the Basuto who were all cognizant of the Gospel, but whose lives were contrary to it. Calvin expounded the biblical text and stressed the folly of hypocrisy in Christianity. It appears that

⁵⁴⁷Dieterlen, "Liketso tse fapaneng le lipuo," *Leselinyana*, October 15, 1895, p. 1.

⁵⁴⁸ Calvin, *Commentary on the letter of Titus*, p. 307.

all immoral acts constitute sin against God. It is thus imperative for Christians to maintain honesty and faithfulness all the time.

Expounding on Ezekiel 2:18-20, Dieterlen averred,

Even though many people believe in the existence of God, they are reluctant to convert, as that means they had to leave the ways of their fathers. It is human nature to cling to the traditions of our fathers. However, God said that we should be of cheerful hearts and leave those ways for his ways. In Lesotho people are so attached to polygamy, initiation schools, cattle marriage as well as praying to the *balimo* (the living dead). A Mosotho respects the ways of his fathers and is very reluctant to leave them. Nonetheless, we should not despise the ways of our fathers. They were useful in the old times, but we should take the new ways of God since our fathers have passed away.⁵⁴⁹

Calvin commenting on the same text, explained,

Here God does not speak of bad examples and of plain and palpable crimes, but . . . judgments and statutes . . . he forbids their posterity to conform to the statutes and laws of their fathers, meaning to their ceremonies and rites. . . this passage is worthy of notice, because we may learn from it how frivolous is the excuse of those who boast of their fathers and arrogantly predict that they will be pardoned if they conform themselves to their example.⁵⁵⁰

Dieterlen stressed the respect of the Basuto on the ways of their fathers as well as their reluctance to leave them while Calvin emphasised the frivolous boasting as well as the arrogance of those who were attached to the ways of their fathers and hoping that by that they will be pardoned. Dieterlen applied his interpretation to the Basuto while Calvin just expounded the text. They both emphasized the problem of being attached to the Ways of the

⁵⁴⁹Dieterlen, "Mekhoa ea bo-ntat'a rona," *Leselinyana*, December 1, 1895, p. 1

⁵⁵⁰ Calvin, *Commentaries on the book of Ezekiel*, p.309-310.

fathers. However, Calvin added in a hope of being pardoned. Thus, they are not far from each other.

Dieterlen commenting on Genesis 24: 2-3, maintained,

The marriage of Isaac teaches how marriage was conducted in ancient times. He did not plan it alone, but with his father Abraham who in realizing that he was getting old, decided to find a wife for him. However, it is not a good thing when parents plan the marriage of their children not in consultation with them. Children too should not plan marriages not in consultation with their parents. Basuto traditional custom, pertaining to marriage, agrees with the Bible where it does not allow children to plan their marriage without the guidance of the parents (Gen 24:57). However, there are widespread lies that Christianity in Lesotho has made young people to do as they please. This is a prefabricated lie about Christianity.⁵⁵¹

Calvin, in accordance, noted,

Now this example should be taken by us as a common rule, to show that it is not lawful for the children of a family to contract marriages, except with the consent of the parents; and certainly, natural equity dictates that in a matter of such importance, children should depend upon the will of their parents. How detestable, therefore, is the barbarity of the Pope, who dared to burst this sacred bond asunder!⁵⁵²

There is a close similarity between Calvin and Dieterlen in their biblical expositions. They both emphasised the need for children to arrange their marriages in consultation with their parents. Dieterlen, however, stressed that it was appropriate for parents to plan marriages of their children. Nevertheless, that should be done in consultation with the children. He averred that Basuto traditional marriage was in line with the Bible for not allowing children to plan their marriages while elsewhere he disparaged it by claiming that there was no love in such

⁵⁵¹Dieterlen, "Lenyalo la Isaaka," *Leselinyana*, April 15, 1896, p. 1.

⁵⁵² Calvin, *Commentary on the Book of Genesis*, p. 14

marriages as they were arranged by the parents. Dieterlen's perception of Basuto marriage is discussed in Chapter Six of this study. Calvin lambasted the Pope for not allowing the priests to marry. Dieterlen directed his interpretation to the Basuto while the Genevan Reformer was bent on expounding the biblical text as it was. Nonetheless, in this context, he launched an attack on the Pope.

Dieterlen expounding on 1Thessalonians 5:19, 20-22, asserted that in the early Church there were no miracles, but people were converted by the Holy Spirit. However, day by day they came together and waited for its coming. Each one of them was given a chance to speak and thus the Holy Spirit was not quenched among them.⁵⁵³

Following that thought Calvin declared, 'God illuminates us chiefly by doctrine, those who give not teaching its proper place, do, so far as in them lies, quench the spirit, for we must always consider in what manner or by what means God designs to communicate himself to us.'

Both Calvin and Dieterlen alluded to the importance of Christian teaching. The former stressed that God illuminates his people by doctrine or Christian teaching. That teaching must be given a proper place. The latter emphasised that all were given a chance to teach and that promoted the spirit of God among the Christians rather than quench it. In addition, Dieterlen maintained,

In the book of the Acts of the Apostles, 3000 people converted during Pentecost in Jerusalem by the sermon of the apostle Peter. This was a great miracle as conversions are scares lately. We often concluded that the Holy Spirit is no longer working. It is not so, people are reluctant to convert and believe. We must work hard in evangelism, that will bring about conversions. It is through pastoral calling and evangelism that

⁵⁵³Dieterlen, "Le se ke la tima moea," *Leselinyana*, August 15, 1898, p.1.

people come to God. we should allow the Holy Spirit to work in us, then, we will see miracles and revival in the Church of God.⁵⁵⁴

Dieterlen wrote that the Church had recently celebrated a thanksgiving feast where Christians thanked God for the harvest. A thing like that one does not find among the heathens. They know about the sun, stars, rain, mountains, rivers and animals. They depend on some of them for their survival, yet they are unthankful.⁵⁵⁵ He further explained that a Christian evangelising heathens must be courageous in his work. He should know it is only God who can convert heathens by the Holy Spirit. His duty is to teach the heathens the will of God found in his word. The heathens may be slow to convert or to hear the Gospel, but the Gospel is the power of God to save whoever believes.⁵⁵⁶

Expounding on Hebrews 10: 22, Dieterlen stressed that the heathens must draw near to God. Some Christians draw near to their pastors not to God. They go to Church but not to God. They are not with God because they do not go through Jesus. Drawing near to God must be a daily routine. He who draws near to God must be loyal and committed to God.⁵⁵⁷

Calvin declared, 'We are made partakers of Christ if we come to him, sanctified in body and soul.'⁵⁵⁸

For one to be a child of God he should have a relationship with Him. This is what is alluded to in Calvin and Dieterlen. The former laid it that coming to Christ, the sanctity of the whole person (body and soul) is important while the latter emphasised that commitment to God or believing in him is the way of coming to God. It thus follows that the work of the Holy Spirit is to bring people to God. This is maintained by Calvin and Dieterlen but in a different way. Nevertheless, Dieterlen explained that the heathens as well as Christians must draw near to God day by day.

⁵⁵⁴Dieterlen, "Moea o Halalelang o ntse o sebetsa," *Leselinyana*, August 1, 1895, p.1.

⁵⁵⁵Dieterlen, Mokreste le lefatše, *Leselinyana*, August 1, 1894, p.1.

⁵⁵⁶Dieterlen, "Bahedene," *Leselinyana*, August 1, 1895, p. 4.

⁵⁵⁷Dieterlen, "Ha re atameleng," *Leselinyana*, July 15, 1896, p. 1.

⁵⁵⁸ Calvin, *Commentary on the letter to the Hebrews*, p. 237.

Expounding on Exodus 3, Dieterlen noted that when God spoke to Moses in a burning bush, He said unto him: ‘Go to Pharaoh and tell him to let my people go.’ Moses made many excuses which God stopped him from. When a person is called by God the first thing he must do is to obey and the second is to believe in God or have hope. The heathens do not have obedience and hope. They are reluctant to take the orders of God.⁵⁵⁹

Calvin maintained,

And this is the best of encouragement to duty, when God renders those, who would be otherwise slow through doubt, sure of good success; for although we must obey God’s plain commands without delay or hesitation, still he is willing to provide against our sluggishness by promising that our endeavours shall not be in vain or useless.⁵⁶⁰

Calvin and Dieterlen propose that God’s commands must be obeyed without delay. However, each of them had his own way of saying it. Dieterlen maintained that the heathens lack obedience and hope and thus are reluctant to follow the orders of God.

Dieterlen added more clarity to the issue of obedience in his response to a question from one of the readers of the *Leselinyana*, regarding the sin of Adam by eating the fruits of the tree of the knowledge of good and bad by pointing out,

Adam was at fault by breaking the law of God. God had said: ‘thou shall not eat of it’ and Adam went against that by eating the fruits. He was then expelled with Eve because of their disobedience. We need not argue with God as this leads to selfishness and ways of disobedience. A Christian should be obedient to the will of God. He should not question it or complain about it but should do it with a loving heart.⁵⁶¹

⁵⁵⁹Dieterlen, “Tšepo le Kutlo,” *Leselinyana*, August 15, 1896, p.1.

⁵⁶⁰ Calvin, *Commentary on the book of Exodus*, pp.66, 69.

⁵⁶¹Dieterlen, “Kutluo ea mokreste,” *Leselinyana*, June 15, 1894, p. 1.

4.4 Dieterlen's final years in Basutoland (1909-1919)

a) General matters

The context of Dieterlen in his final years was still the British rule and important events around this time were, first, the establishment of the leprosarium in 1913 which Dieterlen became the first chaplain of. The monopoly of having a chaplain at the leprosarium on government grant, discussed in Chapter Three of this study, also confirms the support of the Paris Mission to the British Government. That came as an appreciation from the British Government to the Paris Mission. The Roman Catholics as well as the Anglicans who were also allowed to post chaplains did not enjoy the benefit of having their chaplains paid by government. In fact, Craig Hincks states that the Anglican Mission's application to also have their chaplain paid by government was turned down. Hincks further maintains that the British Government and the Paris Mission, at the time, had good working relations and the former recognised that the Protestants were in a better position by far to provide a chaplain for this new venture.⁵⁶² This thought is followed by the comment of Stephen Gill, of the Morija Museum and Archives, who maintained that the Protestants were by far the largest denomination, at that time, far exceeding the rest. It is not hard to understand why they were given preference.⁵⁶³ While the Paris Mission's friendly relations with the British Government as well as its advanced work qualified it to receive a preferential treatment with regard to the posting of a chaplain at the leprosarium, this incident makes it more evident how the Paris Mission was close to the British colonial government.

Secondly, the First World War as well as the Spanish flu that followed it, which were also discussed earlier, formed the main events. While commenting on this European War in 1917, Dieterlen noted,

⁵⁶² Hincks, *Quest for Peace*, p. 506.

⁵⁶³ The researcher had an electronic conversation with Craig Hincks who wrote a tome on the History of Christianity in Lesotho (*Quest for Peace*) and Stephen Gill, the curator of the Morija Museum and Archives on September 22, 2021.

The war of Europe has caused many people to ask where God is? What is he doing? How can he allow evil to defeat good? What is he doing about the prayers of his children? This war has caused great concerns in people. However, he believed that in the end evil would be defeated. This will be in God's time. God does not look at the clock or any calendar. He will bring it all under control in his own time.⁵⁶⁴

The European War caused much anguish and consternation. People were shaken in their faith and started to ask questions such as: Where is God in this situation? What is he doing? Some people probably lost their trust and faith in God for not getting satisfactory answers. Nonetheless, Dieterlen believed that God in his own time would intervene. God would not allow evil to triumph over good. This quotation suggests that evil will finally be defeated. Dieterlen encouraged his fellow missionaries to keep the statistics of the deaths caused by the Spanish flu. In the station of Likhoele, where he was in charge, the influenza had killed 30 Christians and seven catechumen.⁵⁶⁵

b) Church development

The Bethany Mission celebrated its 75th jubilee in 1909. Dieterlen attended this celebration ceremony representing the Paris Mission. He explained thus,

Bethany is a German mission station on the western side of Bloemfontein. Five missionaries from the Berlin Missionary Society had an interview with Adam Kok, chief of the Maseteli (the Griquas), in 1834 with a view to evangelise his people. He allocated them a huge site of about 20 farms the size of the farms found in Ficksburg or Bethlehem. That mission place had three fountains. They named the station Bethany. In that station lived about a thousand people: Batswana, Barong, Bakhothu, Bahlaping, Basuto and Maseteli. There were no heathens in Bethany. That land

⁵⁶⁴Dieterlen, "Molimo o etsang?" *Leselinyana*, February 16, 1917, p.1.

⁵⁶⁵Dieterlen, "Mokhohlane o bolaile bakreste ba ba kae?" *Leselinyana*, December 27, 1918, p. 3.

belonged to the mission, unlike in Basutoland where the Paris Mission did not own any land. There was a good agriculture taking place in the station. The inhabitants of Bethany reared sheep. They shared profits of the sale of wool as well as agricultural produce with the mission.⁵⁶⁶

Bethany was a typical example of a mission that Dieterlen aspired for. There were no heathens, and the inhabitants earned their lives by rearing animals and selling wool and mohair. They also practised agriculture.

When the American Zulu Mission at Inanda in Natal also celebrated its 75th jubilee in 1911, Dieterlen attended the ceremony representing the Paris Mission. He was impressed by the Christians of the American Zulu Mission. He commended their attire. For example, he maintained that all men were in formal attire, with long beards. Christian women wore hats on their heads, not head kerchiefs. Head kerchiefs were worn by old ladies. They wore the blankets of the white ladies. Their hair was long, and they made stripes of all sorts with it. Nonetheless, Dieterlen claimed that he admired Basuto women with their head kerchiefs. As for the Zulu heathen women, they were short and fat. They wore light see-through cloths that exposed their body features. Their hair was long; they made a tuft with ochre that protruded like a red horn. "Their smell left much to be desired." The American Zulu Mission differed from the Paris Mission in the administration of the Lord's Supper. The minister was the one who read the words of the institution of the rite. Twelve elders helped to serve. The mission had schools for young people and a girl's school as well as an industrial school for girls. That school afforded a good degree of womanly refinement to its students in terms of clean habits, dress and manners. In Dieterlen's view, what was important was when Christians differentiated themselves from the heathen. Be him or them Zulu or Basuto.⁵⁶⁷

⁵⁶⁶Dieterlen, "Jubile ea Bethany," *Leselinyana*, October 23, 1909, pp.2-3.

⁵⁶⁷Dieterlen, "Bakreste ba Natal," *Leselinyana*, August 12, 1911, p.4

Dieterlen published his visits to other mission jubilee celebrations, in the *Leselinyana* with a view to broadening the Christian perspectives of the Basuto, so that they might know, understand and appreciate the work of other mission societies. Dieterlen's mention of the fact that the Paris Mission did not own land in Basutoland confirms the deliberations of the *Community of Southern African Historians'* conference on "Church and Land," which was held in Pretoria at UNISA in 2020.⁵⁶⁸

c) Biblical interpretation

Dieterlen declared that a Christian must pray and seek from God strength and power to rise above the challenges that confront him. He said another important aspect for a Christian is the reading of the Bible.⁵⁶⁹ He exhorted the Christians to pay attention to themselves. Much as they have ministers, evangelists, Christian friends and elders, it is important for them to work out their salvation by prayer, reading of the Word and the attending of Christian assemblies.⁵⁷⁰

Dieterlen encouraged the Christians to be independent by taking full responsibility of their Christian lives. This was to be achieved by prayerfulness and the reading of the Word of God.

Expounding on 1 Timothy 4:7, Dieterlen averred that exercising in godliness affords a Christian a firm faith that helps him or her in times of trials and temptations.⁵⁷¹

Calvin commenting on the same text maintained, 'By the word godliness, he means the spiritual worship of God, which consists in purity of conscience.'⁵⁷²

⁵⁶⁸Tšeuoa, "Church and Land in Basutoland: The Paris Evangelical Mission and its Implications," *Studia Historia ecclesiasticae*, Vol. 46. 2 (2020).

⁵⁶⁹Dieterlen, "Ho ipha matla," *Leselinyana*, October 8, 1910, p.1.

⁵⁷⁰Dieterlen, "Boikaloso," *Leselinyana*, July 22, 1911, p. 1

⁵⁷¹Dieterlen, "Uitlhakise borapeling," *Leselinyana*, October 1910, p. 1

⁵⁷² Calvin, *Commentary on the first letter to Timothy*, p. 108.

In the exposition of this text, Dieterlen focused on the results which godliness yields: firm or strong faith that surmounts the challenges of every kind while Calvin explained what godliness meant: the worship of God and holiness. The slight difference between Calvin and Dieterlen is in their approach to the biblical text illustrated. Calvin expounded the text while Dieterlen applied it.

Dieterlen wrote,

When Christians approached the Lord's Table or kneeling before the altar, they saw Jesus who died because of their sins. They see him in the bread and wine that symbolise his body and blood. By partaking of the Lord's Table, a Christian responds to the grace of Christ who 'bore our sins in his body on the tree, so that we might die to sin and live to righteousness.'⁵⁷³ All Christians, be it of Methodist, Anglican or Roman Catholic desire to 'die to sin and live to righteousness.' *Paseka* (the Passover) is the commemoration of the resurrection of Christ. A Christian is not only sorrowful because of the death of Christ but he also rejoices because of the resurrection. In this rite a Christian renews his plans, his covenant with Christ and pledges to always do good.⁵⁷⁴

The Passover finds fulfilment in the Lord's Table as a commemoration of the death of Christ. It affords a Christian a new strength in his Christian journey. A Christian renews his covenant with God, vows as well as his commitment to be always pleasing unto him.

Expounding on baptism, Dieterlen averred,

Some people use baptism as a way of healing. This is wrong. Some people when at the edge of death, calls (sic.) for a minister, a priest or an elder to be baptised. They used it as something that cleanses sin. This is wrong. Baptism signifies the transformation of the life of a person. A convert when immersed in water, that act

⁵⁷³ 1 Peter 2:24.

⁵⁷⁴ Dieterlen, "Paseka," *Leselinyana*, April 4, 1912, p. 1.

symbolizes dying and comes up in the newness of life. By baptism a person is received into the communion of God.⁵⁷⁵

This resonates with Calvin who claimed the same.⁵⁷⁶

Dieterlen believed that the yoke of Jesus is not that easy to carry. Sometimes it is light because we serve God happily sometimes it is not that easy because we serve him unhappy because of the things that confront us. For a person who is coerced into Christianity, the Christian life becomes a heavy yoke, but he who voluntarily embraces it, it becomes joy.⁵⁷⁷

He recommended that children be brought up in such a way as to make them inclined to doing good. When they are older and free to choose what they like, they will not choose bad things. They should be made to love the Christian faith.⁵⁷⁸

He declared that Jesus said to his disciples, “You be wise as serpents and innocent as doves.”⁵⁷⁹ This also befits the Christians who live among the heathens. However, Christians are only doing with one part of this advice. They fear the heathens. They also fear other Christians whom they suspect will bewitch them. This is wrong. Christians should be loving and trusting among themselves.⁵⁸⁰ Lastly, a Christians must imitate the love of Christ.⁵⁸¹

While expounding on Proverbs 16: 11, Dieterlen noted,

Scales were made by people to know the weight of goods, to be able to set prices. In the work of God, a scale is used to weigh the things of the world or heathenism to see what they are worth. In one plate we put the things that are refuted by the Gospel e.g., the ways of the heathens: circumcision, liberty, traditional medical practice, divining bones, *liphatso* (scarification), *mahlabelo* (meat mixed with medicine or drugs) and

⁵⁷⁵Dieterlen, “Kolobetso,” *Leselinyana*, January 30, 1913, p. 1.

⁵⁷⁶Wendel, *Calvin: Origins and Development of his Religious Thought*, p.320; *The Institutes of the Christian Religion*, 4.15.3.

⁵⁷⁷Dieterlen, “Joko ea Jesu,” *Leselinyana*, January 14, 1916, p. 1

⁵⁷⁸Dieterlen, “Kholiso ea bana,” *Leselinyana*, February 11, 1916, p. 1.

⁵⁷⁹Matthew 10: 16.

⁵⁸⁰Dieterlen, “Likeletso tsa Jesu tse khelohuoang ke bakreste,” *Leselinyana*, February 1, 1918, p. 1

⁵⁸¹Dieterlen, “U etsise Morena,” *Leselinyana*, February 29, 1918, p. 1.

likhokhoane (?). People do not want to do away with things such as brandy and cattle marriage. People also do not want to do away with them. In another place we must weigh God, Jesus and the Holy Spirit. We should consider heaven and eternal life that God gives to people as well as the joy of leaving heathenism behind and becoming a Christian. Christians should stop talking about the difficulty of the Christian faith and instead talk about the joy a person finds in Christianity.⁵⁸²

Dieterlen abhorred Basuto traditional customs. Concerning traditional medical practice, he wrote *La médecine et les médecines au Lessouto*, (healthcare and medicine in Lesotho), published in 1930, where he generally disparaged traditional healers, divining bones and the traditional medical practice as a whole. In *La médecine* the Basuto traditional medical practice was compared with European medical practice. The former was illustrated as outdated and unreliable and the latter as reliable.⁵⁸³ In Dieterlen's view, one had to do away with Basuto traditional customs as well as the rituals in order to be a true Christian. These customs pertaining to the rites of passage, healing, seeking answers from the ancestors and exorcising amounted to vanities as compared to eternal life that is granted by God and the joy of becoming one of his children. Thus, a Christian should talk more about the joy of being a Christian not the difficulties.

Dieterlen also had a message for Christian women who were married in polygamous marriages. He encouraged them to be converted in their hearts. As Christians, they were to acknowledge that they belonged to Christ. Even when they could not free themselves from making traditional beer, they were to keep their faith.⁵⁸⁴

It follows that Christian women married in polygamy were not to be unruly because they were Christian, although their husbands were not. They were encouraged to respect their

⁵⁸²Dieterlen, "Sekala se lokileng ke sa Molimo," *Leselinyana*, June 13, 1919, p. 1.

⁵⁸³Dieterlen, *La médecine et les médecines au lessouto* (Paris: Société De Missions Évangéliques, 1930).

⁵⁸⁴ Dieterlen, "Tšokoloho ha e thibehe," *Leselinyana*, April 2, 1910, p. 1.

unbelieving partners by making traditional beer, as a woman was expected to do traditionally. What was important for them was that they be converted in their hearts and have faith in God.

It was noted earlier that Dieterlen condemned the use of traditional beer which he did not distinguish from brandy. But encouraged Christian women married to unbelieving husbands to make traditional beer as was expected of them by custom. He might have been discouraging drunkenness that involved many people in a celebration ceremony which often resulted in wars, promiscuity and wanton behaviour. Traditional beer made for a husband in a home was not considered to be very bad, as it was used moderately by the husband. Such a drink enabled him to entertain his visitors and to show how the wife was a good cook, docile and taking good care of her husband. Perhaps Dieterlen's change of mind regarding the use of traditional beer was based on his experience of traditional life. It considered the fact that traditional beer often forestalled drunkenness.

Early in 1911, 'Maletšabisa, the wife of Lerotholi, the Paramount Chief, passed away. After her burial Filip Molise, one of the counsellors, told the people to abstain from work for the days following the burial. This announcement baffled the missionaries, so much that Dieterlen concluded that the traditional customs of the Basuto were changing, as that was unprecedented in Sesuto. That was encouraging to him that Christianity was transforming some of the ways of the Basuto.⁵⁸⁵

The Basuto traditionally mourned for their departed from the time of death to the time of the burial.⁵⁸⁶ The extended mourning period, which was announced by Molise at the burial of 'Maletšabisa was a new development. However, it is not clear how Christianity influenced this change as there was no such tradition in it. Moreover, the missionaries never encouraged it. Dieterlen's attributing this change to Christianity is highly dubious. He exaggerated the influence of Christianity in this context. This must have been an extended respect to

⁵⁸⁵ Dieterlen, "Mekhoa e fetohang," *Leselinyana*, January 28, 1911, p.3.

⁵⁸⁶ E. Casalis, *The Basutos*, facsimile reprint of the original text of 1861 (Morija: Morija Museum and Archives, 1992), p. 260.

Maletšabisa as the Paramount Chief's wife and had nothing to do with the influence of Christianity.

Dieterlen said that the home is where children are taught obedience. It is an important family setting to nurture young people to adulthood. Initiation lodges were also used to teach young people obedience as the rites of passage. However, *mesuoe* (the teachers at the initiation lodges) were incompetent for that work as they did not understand the lives of modern people. Moreover, God and his law were shut out of the initiating lodges. A good school for obedience is the Church. It knows the laws of God and teach them about them. Every law of God affords people with a good life. The Ten Commandments teach us to obey God, people and good laws.⁵⁸⁷

Dieterlen accepted some aspects of Basuto traditional customs pertaining to the rites of passage. All we know is that he detested and despised the Basuto initiation lodges which were misconstrued by the missionaries as circumcision schools. This is discussed in Chapter Six of this study. His reference to the teachers of the initiation lodges as incompetent makes it clear that he abhorred such lodges.

Dieterlen maintained that one's conscience is a Bible in his chest. This was said by a heathen chief in a consecration ceremony of a Church building. The conscience is the natural Bible, but it is corrupted by sin. One must, therefore, live by the new bible that has all the commandments of God.⁵⁸⁸

Since the Bible is claimed to be the Word of God, it is logical to equate it with one's conscience. Conscience speaks to one when one does wrong. In the same way, the Bible exhorts people not to sin. It prevents them from sinning.

Dieterlen declared that the Roman Catholics claimed that the Bible was a strange country, in that it was difficult. He stated that he did not want to refute this position to hurt them.

⁵⁸⁷Dieterlen, "Hlonepha ntata'o le 'mao," *Leselinyana*, September 5, 1919, p. 1.

⁵⁸⁸Dieterlen, "Letsoalo le Bibe," *Leselinyana*, September 17, 1910, p. 1.

However, he maintained that to the evangelicals the Bible was not a strange country, and it was not difficult. In the Bible the evangelicals found messages from God that spoke directly to their hearts. Another country was the world which was dark whereas ‘ the Word of God is a lamp at the feet and a light of the way’ to the evangelicals.⁵⁸⁹ Concerning, the Roman Catholics’ claim that the Bible was a dead letter, a silent or a mute book, he argued that it might be so to the Catholics. A deaf person hears nothing when others speak. He thought that they are dumb. However, to an ordinary Christian, the Bible is a book that has life in it and it brings life to the people. It speaks in hard or in soft tones sometimes. God could not have been that cruel as to give his people a dead letter. He gave it so that it could be heard by people in their minds, ways and spirit. The Bible provides spiritual food not ashes. A Christian must read the Bible with prayer, faith and hope.⁵⁹⁰

Dieterlen portrayed Catholics as if they never read the Bible or they were not interested in it. In fact, he made a mockery of the teaching of the Roman Catholics about the Bible. This shows that he had some reservations about Catholics. Perhaps that was due to the rivalry between the two missions or it was Dieterlen’s propaganda against the Catholics. On the contrary, he was adamant that the evangelicals or Protestants were the ones who knew and read the Bible.

4.5 Conclusion

Dieterlen’s sermons resonate with Reformed theology. The same reliance on the Bible and the same emphasis on guilt or sinfulness in humanity and the need for grace as well as to convert and embrace Christianity that characterised Dieterlen’s sermons, are also found in Reformed confessional statements such as the confession of La Rochelle that speaks about

⁵⁸⁹ Psalm 119:105.

⁵⁹⁰Dieterlen, “Bibele,” *Leselinyana*, July 6, 1919, p. 1.

guilt, grace and gratitude. This is what I have argued elsewhere.⁵⁹¹ Apart from the emphasis on the sovereignty of God, the authority of the Bible, the depravity of the human condition as well as the need for personal conversion that reaffirm or resonate with Calvin's classical theology as found in other parts of his *Institutes of the Christian Religion* and elsewhere,⁵⁹² Dieterlen dwelled more in book three of the *Institutes* that expounds on the generation or repentance. In fact, repentance, conversion as well as sanctification are the recurrent themes in Dieterlen's religious writings. It is important to remember that Calvin had a broad understanding of repentance. According to him, repentance was a more inclusive term that was synonymous with conversion and sanctification.⁵⁹³ Wendel attests to this, as he contends,

Christ dwells in us and takes possession of our whole being. It is in this that regeneration or sanctification properly consists of. There are two aspects of it which are inseparable and linked together by penitence: mortification of the old man, and participation in the new life. The one and the other proceed directly from union with Christ and tend towards the end of regeneration: that is, to the restoration of the image of God in its primitive integrity.⁵⁹⁴

Moreover, repentance is a Christian's lifelong battle with sin as well as his response to the Gospel.⁵⁹⁵ Wendel suggests that Calvin followed Luther in this thought.⁵⁹⁶ This reminds us the fact that Dieterlen was raised in the Lutheran background. For this reason, while Dieterlen had trained in institutions with a Calvinist influence, we cannot forget his Lutheran background. However, it is a challenge to determine when he was following Calvin or Luther

⁵⁹¹ N.S.K. Tšeuoa, "The Message of Morija: A Critical Historical Study of the Sermons (1863—1881) of the Missionaries of the Paris Evangelical Mission Society in Basutoland" (University of the Free State, 2011).

⁵⁹² In Wendel, *Calvin: Origins and Development of his Religious Thought* as well as Calvin's Bible commentaries.

⁵⁹³ Calvin, *The Institutes of the Christian Religion*. 3.2.1; 3.3.1-2, 6, 9- 10, 18, 20.

⁵⁹⁴ Wendel, *Calvin: Origins and Development of his Religious Thought*, p. 242; cf. *A theological Guide to Calvin's Institutes, Assays and Analysis*, eds. David W. Hall and Peter Lillback (New Jersey: P&R Publishing, 2008), p. 300.

⁵⁹⁵ *Ibid*, pp. 243-244.

⁵⁹⁶ *Ibid*.

as Calvin himself drew much from Luther. However, it must be noted that Dieterlen deployed Calvin as well as Luther in his theology.

Dieterlen was a hard working missionary among his colleagues. His religious meditations as well as his sermons reveal how he indefatigably set out to teach about the Christian faith in Basutoland by stories which he often used to convey the biblical message and his sermons. Since 'faith comes from hearing, and hearing through the word of Christ,'⁵⁹⁷ his mission approach or theological framework was to preach the Gospel by all means, to all people, in all walks of life and win them for Christ by all means. In this way, he promoted Christianity by his translation of the Gospel message. Dieterlen's commitment to the translation of the Gospel is seen from his writings. He dominated the *Leselinyana* by contributing articles so much that one Mosotho complained about it. This is discussed in the previous chapter. He published books in which even the non-religious had a religious tinge. This shows how much he was determined to transform Basutoland from its non-Christian state to the Christian one. His mission and purpose in Basutoland were to make Christ known to all people. His corpus also discussed in the previous chapter, attests to this.

Nonetheless, he believed that it was God who could bring about conversion in people's hearts by the Holy Spirit which is inseparable from his word. It is observed that he did not teach the Basuto religious matters only. He also worked hard to broaden their world view. This is seen by his sharing of information about Western civilisations, new inventions such as a solar energy, a telephone and a heliograph. He also shared information about the Paris Mission, American Zulu Mission in the Natal and the Christian community at Bethany Mission, the Roman Catholic Church, the Quakers, the Islamic faith as well as the Anglican Church. He pointed out important examples which the Basuto were to follow, hence his holistic approach to human development, spiritually, mentally and physically as well as

⁵⁹⁷ Romans 10:17.

materially. By sharing this information about the work and beliefs of other missions Dieterlen promoted ecumenism by making the Basuto Christians to know and appreciate the work of the Church in other places as well as the religion of Islam. Nevertheless, the way Dieterlen wrote about the Catholics shows that he had some reservations about them. Perhaps this was due to the rivalry between the Paris Mission and the Roman Catholic Mission.

Dieterlen's Christianity came to the Basuto at a high cost. They had to do away with several of their important traditional customs pertaining to marriage, the rites of passage, the ancestors and traditional healing in order to be accepted into the Church. Dieterlen abhorred Basuto tradition customs. He was bent to disparaging the Basuto rites and customs, as could be seen in his writings. He repeatedly illustrated how outdated they were and why needed to be discarded or discontinued. The Gospel was by far, more important for the Basuto to embrace than the ways of their fathers which were stumbling blocks to their conversion and had become the sacred cows of some kind as well as the demigods to them. He viewed the Basuto traditional customs, particularly circumcision, as superstitious. He abhorred these customs in the same way as Calvin did with the Roman Catholic rituals. Generally, Dieterlen wrote against Basuto customs in the *Leselinyana* in his entire life in Basutoland. Nonetheless, it is realised that in his mid and final years, Dieterlen was a bit accommodating to some of the aspects of the Basuto culture pertaining to traditional beer, the mode of marriage as well as the initiation lodges while, at the same time, he strongly rejected the latter. *La médecine et les médecines au lessouto* is the case in point.

Dieterlen's appointment as a chaplain at the lepers' home in 1913 and being paid by the government reveals that the Paris Mission and the Imperial Government were on friendly terms, as he was the only one who enjoyed that benefit. At the same time, the stories of the British soldier who escaped from the Boers and was found at Peka as well as that of Siqualo, chief of the Pondo, makes it evident that he admired the Queen of England and supported

colonialism in Southern Africa. This is seen by his calling Basutoland the land of the Queen and by encouraging the Basuto to follow the example of Siqalo who complied with an unfair colonial order. However, Siqalo took the matter to the court of law in Cape Town where a judgement came out in his favour. His land was restored to him. This also shows how the Cape Colony Government was impartial, sometimes, in dealing with African chiefs and equally promoted acts of violence. The eviction of Siqalo from his land is the case in point. Another example of Dieterlen favouring the colonial government is seen from the fact that after the Gun War when there was lawlessness, thievery and drunkenness in Basutoland, he recollected the Cape rule and commended law and order that were prevailing at that time. He thus wished the hands of time could be reversed. Equally important to note is Dieterlen's attitude towards Azariel, a Christian chief at Tšita's neck, whose son passed away in 1879.⁵⁹⁸ The fact that he wrote about this death shows that he respected and held Azariel in high esteem as a chief. This confirms what will be discussed in Chapters Seven and Eight of this study that Dieterlen respected the traditional chieftainship as well as the colonially engineered authority.

Overall, Dieterlen wrote extensively on religious and secular matters in his early years, more secular issues than religious reflections in his mid-years and more religious reflections in final years. Perhaps in his early years there was much to tell the Basuto religious as well as secular. In his mid years, the politics of the time may have taken their toll on his writing. In his final years he cemented his Christian teaching by devoting much of his time writing and edifying religious tracts. He was more on the edification of the Christians. He strengthened their faith, their love for God as well as their understanding of their duties as Christians.

⁵⁹⁸Dieterlen, "Lipecti le matšelisio," *Leselinyana*, February 2, 1879, pp.1-2 .

Chapter 5

Dieterlen's views on the Church, the sacraments and ecumenical relations

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents my view of the reformer, John Calvin (1509-1564)'s theology of the Church as Dieterlen was trained in the Reformed tradition. This is done to ascertain whether Dieterlen reproduced or adapted Calvin's theology of the Church. In addition, this may help in part to establish whether Dieterlen left anything of Calvin's theology of the Church. The chapter discusses Dieterlen's views on the Church, the ministry of the Word and sacraments, the worship in Church, as well as the mission of the Church and ecumenism. It also establishes how he transmitted all these to the first Basuto ministers who trained under his hand during his directorship of the Theological School (1887-1894).

5.2 Calvin's theology of the Church

Calvin viewed the Church in two categories, the visible and the invisible Church. The former constituted the physical Church on earth while the latter involved all the elect of God, including the dead. These two categories make up the communion of the saints 'where the benefits shared by Christ with them should be shared with one another.' Christ is the head of the Church and believers are united under him. The visible Church is the mother of the believers. As a mother conceives and nourishes infants, so does the Church to the believers.⁵⁹⁹ Furthermore, the visible Church has some defects as it is made up of the elects of God and hypocrites.⁶⁰⁰

⁵⁹⁹ Calvin, *The Institutes of the Christian Religion*, 4.1-4.

⁶⁰⁰ *Ibid*, 4.1.7.

God fulfils his work on earth by human agency. He calls humans for all and sundry ministries, to some apostles, prophets, evangelists, pastors and teachers.⁶⁰¹ Calvin recognised two marks of the Church of God as where the pure Word of God is preached and heard, as well as where the sacraments are administered according to Christ's institution.⁶⁰² Other people added: where discipline is exercised as a third mark of the Church. The preaching of the Word takes precedence over everything else. the Word of God is authoritative. It is a normative and yardstick of all doctrines.⁶⁰³

Calvin's view of the Church was universal or ecumenical.⁶⁰⁴ He embraced ecumenism, for example, on Christian unity, John Thomas McNeill, one of the Calvinist scholars, states that Calvin was committed to the 'Christian unity' so much that in the 1560s, he made attempts to make a concord with the Lutherans. Nonetheless, this was frustrated by Melancthon's decline among them as well as his death. Calvin was willing as well as ready to work in the council that unites all Christianity with the Pope, whom elsewhere, he called by bad names: "a despot," "the antichrist" and "not a bishop in the house of God;"⁶⁰⁵ "a fraudster, invader as well as treacherous"⁶⁰⁶ to give but a few examples. Furthermore, Calvin's words to Thomas Cranmer (1489-1556), the leader of the English Reformation and Archbishop of Canterbury, that 'he would not hesitate to cross ten seas if he might help in uniting the severed members of the Church's body . . .' also expresses how committed he was to ecumenism. 'Reformed Protestantism has never quite lost the ecumenical impulse it received from him.'⁶⁰⁷ Calvin's ecumenism was very complex.⁶⁰⁸ His pursuit for Christian unity was based on the truth which he viewed as the only appropriate ground. He was uncompromising about this. Christian

⁶⁰¹ *Ibid*, 4.3.4.

⁶⁰² This is in reference to the Lord's Supper and baptism which according to him are warranted by the scriptures.

⁶⁰³ Calvin, *Institutes*, 4.1.5-6, 9, 10.

⁶⁰⁴ *Ibid*, 4.1.9.

⁶⁰⁵ *Ibid*, 4.2.12, 7.23.

⁶⁰⁶ *Ibid*, 4.11.13-14.

⁶⁰⁷ J.T. McNeill, *The Character and History of Calvinism* (London: Oxford University Press, 1954), pp.200, 388.

⁶⁰⁸ J.R. Wood, "Calvin's complex ecumenism," *Ad Fontes journal.com*, August 24, 2021.

unity, in his view, must not come at the expense of the truth found in the submission of Christ as the head of the Church through his word.⁶⁰⁹ For instance, Calvin's communication with Cranmer, discussed earlier, suggests that he was committed to Christian unity, but when he learnt that Cranmer had retained some aspects of the mass in the English worship, Calvin was quick to tell him off and claimed that he should be ashamed of himself.⁶¹⁰ Moreover, Calvin criticised Martin Bucer's⁶¹¹ (1491-1551) eagerness for reunion with the Church of Rome and for his willingness to compromise.⁶¹² These two examples should suffice to illustrate that Calvin's ecumenism was complex and at the same time, he was not ecumenical as such. What remained ecumenical in the Reformed circles was his ecclesiology. The notion of the Church as constituting the visible and the invincible Church, drove Reformed Churches towards ecumenism. The visible Church, as discussed earlier, is the Church in history and temporal as well as the Church militant. This is the Church of all ethnicities and nationalities on Earth including the hypocrites. On the other hand, the invisible Church is the Church as God perceived it. It is the Church triumphant in eternity, seen from the perspective of the consummated kingdom at Christ's return. This is the Church only known to God.⁶¹³ The external means of grace expounded in Book Four of the *Institutes of the Christian Religion* enable Christians around the globe to participate in the eschatological kingdom. Thus, the visible Church resembles and anticipates the invisible reality which is eschatological.⁶¹⁴ This

⁶⁰⁹ J. Calvin, "Letter to Cardinal Jacopo Sadoletto," in *A Reformation Debatle: John Calvin and Jacopo Sadoletto*, ed. John C. Olin (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1966), p. 57.

⁶¹⁰ J. Calvin, "Second letter to Archbishop Thomas Cramer," July, 1552; *Letters of John Calvin*, Vol. 2, ed. Jules Bonnet, trans. David Constable (University of Toronto Library, 2012), 2: 341-343.

⁶¹¹ Martin Bucer was a German Protestant reformer based in Strasbourg. He was, originally, a member of the Dominican order in the Roman Church. He was influenced by the reformer Martin Luther in 1518 to annul his monastic vows. He influenced the Calvinist, the Lutheran and the Anglican doctrines.

⁶¹² S. Ozment, *The Age of Reform, 1250-1550: An intellectual and Religious History of late Mediaeval and Reformation Europe* (New Haven: Yale, 1981), p. 364.

⁶¹³ 2 Timothy 2: 19.

⁶¹⁴ H. Bavinck, *Reformed Dogmatics, Holy Spirit, Church, and New Creation*, Vol. 4 (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Baker Academic, 2008) pp. 289-290; Wood, "Calvin's complex ecumenism," *Ad Fontes journal.com*, August 24, 2021; G. Mannion, "Calvin and the Church : Trajectories for Ecumenical Trajectory Today," in *John Calvin 's Ecclesiology Ecumenical perspectives*, eds Gerard Mannion and Edyardus Van der Borgh (Bloomsbury T&T Clark, 2011), pp. 13,16.

is how Calvin's ecclesiology promotes ecumenism in Reformed tradition. It shapes and informs the life of the Church. Mannion notes that Michel Servetus who was burned for heresy at the stakes in Geneva in 1553 in the cooperation of Calvin and Genevan magistrates, offers 'yet ecumenical lesson,' as that incident reminds all Christians that love and charity must prevail in encounters with those who hold a different view to ourselves.⁶¹⁵ On the other hand, Agustinus Marthinus Luther Batlajery claimed that Calvin's meetings in Hagenau, Worms, Regensburg and in Lambeth palace in London as well as the consensus of Tigurinus together with the conflict in Neuchatel and Frankfurt were Calvin 's ecumenical activities as he played an important role in them.⁶¹⁶

The proliferation of alliances as well as proposals for unity and the formation of religious societies that was witnessed among Reformed Churches in the 18th and 19th centuries was a result and expression of Calvin's ecclesiology among them.⁶¹⁷ Calvin's ecclesiology united Reformed Churches and made them one in faith.

Calvin believed in the Presbyterian polity or Church government where there are teaching and ruling presbyters or elders or pastors and bishops as well as the diaconate. According to him, bishop, a pastor and presbyter are one thing.⁶¹⁸ While the teaching presbyters are responsible for instruction, the ruling ones are responsible for maintaining order and discipline. The diaconate is responsible for the care of the poor and the distribution of alms.⁶¹⁹ The custom of the Church but not the Word of God has made it that presiding presbyters be deemed as superior to the other presbyters. Calvin argues that all ministers must carry out their functions in cooperation. Thus, he advocated parity among the clergy.

⁶¹⁵ Mannion, " Calvin and the Church : Trajectories for Ecumenical Trajectory Today," in *John Calvin 's Ecclesiology Ecumenical perspectives*, pp.16-17.

⁶¹⁶ A. M. L. Batlajery, " The Unity of the Church According to Calvin and Its Meaning for the Churches in Indonesia," (Vrije Universiteit, 2010), doctoral thesis.

⁶¹⁷ J. T. McNeill, *The History and Character of Calvinism*(London: Oxford University Press, 1966), pp 386-389.

⁶¹⁸ Calvin, *Institutes*, 4.3.8.

⁶¹⁹ *Ibid*, 4.3. 9.

According to him, Presbyterian polity is in line with the teaching of the Word of God, and this is what the early Church practised. Thus he appealed to the scriptures and drew from the ancient fathers of the Church, particularly Jerome (c. 347-419 or 420) to substantiate and validate his position.⁶²⁰

Calvin taught that ‘the office of the keys’ (the binding and losing in matt.16:18 and the order of feeding Christ’s flock in John 21:15) was not given to apostle Peter alone as the members of the Church of Rome of his time believed and taught, but to all the apostles. He contends that losing and binding is a metaphor for the teaching of the Gospel which opens the heaven gates for the believers and closes them for the unbelievers. Therefore, the authority given to the Church to forgive sin to the repentant believers by the preaching of the Word and withholding forgiveness to the unrepentant unbelievers if they do not repent was given to all the apostles.⁶²¹

Calvin maintained that civil government is ordained by God.⁶²² It is not antithetical to the Church. He declared that the Church and civil government are interdependent of each other and should not interfere with each other, as they both have varied functions and responsibilities. The former is responsible for the spiritual and eternal life matters while the latter is responsible for order, peace, justice, tranquil, and harmony in society as well as the protection of the Church.⁶²³

While Calvin was willing to work with the Pope for Christian unity, as discussed above and thereby recognised the Church of Rome as the Church of God, he detested the Papal system together with its institutions and ecclesiastical orders. He wrote at length in his *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, refuting as well as disparaging it.⁶²⁴ This may have

⁶²⁰ For a thorough discussion on Church Polity please see, C. Hodge, *The Church and its Polity* (London: Nelson, 1879); D.W. Hall & J.H. Hall, *Paradigms and Polity*(Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1994).

⁶²¹ Calvin, *Institutes*,4.6.3-8.

⁶²² Romans 13.

⁶²³ Calvin, *Institutes*, 4. 20.1-2.

⁶²⁴ Calvin, *Institutes*, 4.7-8,10-11.

contributed in part to the enduring hatred and rivalries between Protestants and Catholics, but particularly the 19 century missionaries to Basutoland.

In the Reformation period Calvinism lacked missionary interest in foreign lands. Such interest was prevalent in their counterparts, the Roman Catholic, and the Portuguese during the exploration era and the colonial conquest⁶²⁵ due to Protestant lands' lack of access to the sea on one hand,⁶²⁶ and persecution of the Calvinists in Europe for almost a century after 'the revocation of the edicts of Nantes' (1685)⁶²⁷ on the other hand. However, beginning with people such as David Brainerd who piloted missionary work amongst the native Americans (the Indians)⁶²⁸ and William Carey (1761-1837), the Baptist clergy and the alleged 'father of modern missions,' the Calvinists' missionary zeal in foreign lands took momentum. The Calvinists had a burning zeal to take the Gospel to where Christ was unknown. They believed in the continuation of the Reformation as well as its being unfinished. The French Revolution (1789-1794) that saw Napoleon Bonaparte⁶²⁹'s rise to power as well as his granting of religious tolerance in France also contributed, in part, to the protestant mission interest abroad as well as its growth.

⁶²⁵See, P. Denis, "Christianity in Southern Africa," in Werner Dietrich and Isabel Phiri, eds, *Anthology of African Christianity* (Geneva: World Council of Churches, 2016), pp.250-258; A. E. Akinade, "Islamic Challenges in African Christianity," in *African Christianity: An African Story, Perspectives on Christianity Series, edited by Ogbu U Kal, J.W. Hofmeyr & P.J. Marits, series 5: Vol.3* (Pretoria: University of Pretoria, 2005), pp.144-146.

⁶²⁶ K. J. Stewart, *Ten Myths about Calvinism, Recovering the Breadth of Reformed Tradition* (England: IVP Academic, 2011), pp. 129-31, 134.

⁶²⁷The edicts of Nantes (1598) had allowed Protestants in France (the Huguenots) to practice their religion without persecution from the state. In 1685 Louis XIV revoked them because he found Protestants a threat to French unity. Thus, France was deprived many of her able people by the mass migration that took place because of the persecution ensued thereafter.

⁶²⁸*An Account of the life of the Reverend David Brainerd* was put together by Jonathan Edwards (1703-1758) and published posthumously. This work had a far-reaching influence on the Protestants with regard to the missions in foreign lands. The book was widely in circulation and persuaded many people for missionworks. For example, it is said that William Carey knew large sections of it by heart; the London Mission Missionaries to Southern Africa were given the copies of it when they came to Southern Africa. K. J. Stewart, *Ten Myths about Calvinism, Recovering the Breadth of the Reformed Tradition* (England: IVP Academic, 2011), pp.142-143,146-145; See also, *The Works of Jonathan Edwards, Vol. II, revised and corrected by Edward Hickman* (Edinburgh: The Banner of Truth Trust, 1834), pp.313-447.

⁶²⁹Napoleon Bonaparte (1789-1821) was a French military officer who dominated European politics for a decade and granted religious toleration as well as freedom which allowed the persecuted protestants to embark on missions in foreign lands.

The Paris Mission was one of the many Protestant mission societies that were formed because of the burning zeal to take the Gospel to foreign lands.

5.3 Dieterlen's views of the Church

Dieterlen defined the Church as *ekklesia* – the people of God.⁶³⁰ He asserted that these people of God make the kingdom of God (on earth) and that the Church is an imperfect shadow of that kingdom; it is the visible Church as well as the invisible one.⁶³¹ In this Church the law of God and His truths are proclaimed. It is where the heavenly bread is partaken. It is where people live by the spirit in purity, prayerfulness and obedience. Any person claiming to be of God must be a member of the Church-the people of God- and live there with other children of God.⁶³²

⁶³⁰ . . . ba bona ho bitsoang kereke, kapa sechaba sa Molimo, H. Dieterlen, "Selallo" in *Meqoqo* (Moriya: Morija Sesuto Book Depot, 1946), p.187 (Adele, the wife of Adolph Mabile and daughter of Eugen Casalis, in her desire for the Basuto to have religious books advised Dieterlen to compile some of his religious meditations in the *Leselinyana La Lesotho* newspaper into a book. This is how the book *Meqoqo* came about) ;cf. G.J.Spykman, *Reformational Theology, a new paradigm for doing Dogmatics* (Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company 1992), pp.428,429,430,479; H. Bavinck, *Reformed Dogmatics*, vol.4, John Bolt, General editor and John Vried, translator (Michigan: Baker Academic, 2008), pp.1, 273, 296-297; M. Horton, *The Christian Faith, A systematic Theology for pilgrims on the way* (USA: Zondervan, 2011), p. 828; J. Calvin, *The Institute*, 4.1.2; R.C Sproul, *Truths we confess. A layman's guide to the West Minister Confession of Faith*, vol.111 (New Jersey: P&R Publishing, 2007), pp. 43-45; *The Confessions of Faith and the Catechisms of the Orthodox Presbyterian Church with Proof texts* (USA: The Orthodox Presbyterian Church, 2008), pp. 123-125; F. Turrentin, *Institutes of Elenctic Theology, Translated by George Musgrave Giger, edited by James T. Dennison, Jr.* (New Jersey, 1997), p.6; M. Bernard, *Tšebetso ea Balisa Kerekeng: Kereke, Litho tsa eona ho ea ka Bibe* (Moriya: Morija Theological Seminary, 1994), p.20; J. Chisanga, *Some Basic Christian Doctrines and Reflections* (Moriya: Morija Theological Seminary, 1996), p.13; *Katikisma ea lithuto tsa Religione* (Moriya: Morija Sesuto Book Depot, 1916), p. 88; A. Mcgrath, *Affirming your faith, exploring the apostle's creed* (England: Inter-Varsity Press, 1991), p.108.

⁶³¹ J. Calvin, *Institutes* 4.1.7 cited by H. Dieterlen, "Thuto e 'ngoe ea Morena oaMohedene" in *Meqoqo* (Moriya: Morija Sesuto Book Depot, 1946), pp. 87-88 and in the *Leselinyana la Lesotho*, Jan,1, 1901, p.1. Note the little modification made in *Meqoqo* of the theme differing from the original one in the *Leselinyana la Lesotho*: "Seo re se rutiloengke Morena oaMohedene." Nevertheless, the meaning as well as the content in both articles is the same.

⁶³² Ke sechabasa Molimo, ke 'muso oa Molimo, oo Kereke e leng setšoantšo se sa phethahalang sa oona; ke Kereke e sa bonoeng le eona e bonoang. Ke moo molao oa Molimo le li nnete tsa ona li boleloang teng; ke moo hojeoang bohobe ba leholimo. Ke moo ho pheloang ka moea, ka hloeko, ka borapeli le ka kutlo. Motho ofe le ofe ea reng ke oa Molimo e ka khona a kene Kerekeng, sechabeng sa Molimo, 'me a phele hona teng feela le bana ba bang ba Molimo. Dieterlen, "Thuto e 'ngoe ea Morena oa Mohedene" in *Meqoqo*, pp. 87-88; Dieterlen, "Seo re se rutiloengke Morena oaMohedene" in *Leselinyana la Lesotho*, Jan1, 1901, p.1. Cf. Bavinck, *Reformed Dogmatics Vol. IV*, pp. 290, 298; Turrentin, *Institutes of Elenctic Theology*, pp.32-34; *Katikisma ea lithuto tsa Religione*, p. 90; Matthew 13; St. Augustine, *The City of God* (England: Penguin Books, 1984), p.831.

He declared that the Church is the kingdom of God on earth and is moving towards its completion. It is the kingdom of God in an embryonic stage, like when the shell of the egg has not yet broken, and the chick has not come out and is not yet fully formed. The Church, as the kingdom of God, is a crop in a field which has yet to ripen but is ready and the owner is looking forward to the harvest.⁶³³

When Dieterlen wrote this article on ‘the Church’ in the *Leselinyana la Lesotho*, in 1884, Basutoland had just been returned to the direct rule of England after being ruled by the Cape Colony Government from 1871 to 1884. The Cape Rule made dramatic changes in ruling Basutoland. It worked closely with the Paris Mission to eradicate some of the traditional customs of the Basuto. It marginalised the chieftainship and estranged it to the people. It introduced tax for colonial expenses. All these resulted in mass discontentment displayed by *motheketheke* (ecstatic movements) in the Basuto women. There was also a rise in the number of prophets and prophetesses. The Cape rule made the Basuto to fight Moorosi the Chief of the Baphuthi in 1879. He was one of their own and a friend to Moshoeshoe. It attempted disarmament of the Basuto in 1880-1881. This resulted in the Gun War, anarchy and lawlessness. All these things made the Basuto apprehensive as well as suspicious of the Cape colonial government and the Paris Mission in particular.⁶³⁴ Therefore, Dieterlen’s articles on ‘the Church’ served to educate the Basuto about the Church and its work as well as to restore trust amongst them, of the Paris Mission.

⁶³³Kereke ke ‘muso oa Molimo ha o ntse o tsoela pele, o ea go phethegeng ga oona. Ke ‘muso oa Molimo o sa le legeng, lekhapetla ga le eso pshatlege, tsuanyana ga e eso tlagele ka nthle, e phethegile. Kerekeke ‘muso oa Magoimo o sa le yoale ka tšimo, mabele ga a eso go butsoe, ampe a se atalima, ‘me mokotuli o hopotse go kenya thipa ho ‘ona. Dieterlen, “Kereke” in *Leselinyana la Lesotho*, May,1,1884, p.1; Bavinck, *Reformed Dogmatics*, vol.4, pp.1,297; L.Berkhof, *Systematic Theology* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans Publishing Company 1941), p. 568.

⁶³⁴see, M. Thabane, “Aspects of Colonial Economy and Society 1868-1966,” in T. Mothibe, M. Ntabeniet *al*, *Assays on Aspects of the Political Economy of Lesotho 1500-2000*, edited by Neville Pule and Motlatsi Thabane (Lesotho: Department of History, National University of Lesotho, 2002), pp.104-105; P. Sanders, *Throwing Down White Man, Cape Rule and Misrule in Colonial Lesotho, 1871-1884* (Morija: Morija Museum & Archives, 2010); J.M. Mohapeloa, *Government Proxy* (Morija: Morija Sesuto Book Depot, 1971),.

Dieterlen likened the Church to Jerusalem, a holy village that will ascend to heaven; it is where God's temple has been built; it is the village of all the elects who have been cleansed in Jesus' blood.⁶³⁵

He averred that the Church enriches people with wealth that does not rot or get spoiled. It gives them the promises for this life as well as the one to come. In the darkness of this world, it shines like the sun in the sky.⁶³⁶

He maintained that the Church is the culmination of God's creation plan which started when he created all things. Jesus came to perfect the creation that he made when heaven and earth came into being. And when the time is fulfilled, the true Church will remain as the kingdom of heaven in its reality.⁶³⁷

He stated that the Church of Jesus is made beautiful by the goodness of its members. Its ornaments are faith, prayers, purity and the good acts of its members. Every Christian must watch over the goodness of the Church and adorns it with his holiness.⁶³⁸

He explained that the Church was instituted by God through the Holy Spirit, to watch over his people, and it is sent by Jesus Christ, the chief shepherd and the head of the Church.⁶³⁹

Dieterlen taught that the Church was instituted by Christ when he appointed ministers, prophets and apostles and other servants to tend his flock and that he endowed them with

⁶³⁵Kereke ke Jerusalema, motse o khethiloeng, o tlang go nyologela legolimong; ke motse oo tempele ea Molimo e leng hara oona, ke motse oa bakhethoa botle ba tlatsoeng ka mali a Konyana. Dieterlen, "Kereke" in *Leselinyana la Lesotho*, May, 1, 1884, p.1.

⁶³⁶E ruisa batho leruo le sa senyegeng, le sa boleng, e ba tšuarisa lipallo tsa bophelo bona le tsa bophelo bo tlang. 'Me hara lefifi le letšo la lefatšeng, e khanya yualeka letsatsi sebakeng sa legolimo. *Ibid.* P.2

⁶³⁷Kereke ke phetho ea morero oo Molimo o o kalileng tšimolohong, ha one o bopa lintho. Yesu, ha a na a thlile lefatšeng, e be ele gore e kete popo eo a neng a e bopile mohla magolimo le lefatše li kalang go bat eng. 'Me e thlare gobane linako li phethehe, Kereke ea 'nete e tla sala e le oona 'muso oa magolimo ka sebele. *Ibid.* P.1.

⁶³⁸Kereke ea Jesu e ntle ka botle ba batho ba eona. Likhabiso tsa eona ke tumelo, merapelo, hloeko, le liketso tse lokileng tsa bakreste ba teng. Mokreste e mong le e mong o tšoanetse ho falimehela botle ba Kereke eo le ho e khabisa ka lipalesanyana tsa khalalelo ea hae. Dieterlen, "Lipontšo tsa tumelo ea 'nete " in *Meqoqo*, p.83.

⁶³⁹Empa Kereke le eona e hlomiloe ke Molimo ka moea o halalelang hore e alose batho ka thomo ea Jesu e leng "molisa e moholo oa linku." (1Pet. 2:25, 5:4)le "hloho ea kereke" (Ba-Ef. 5.23). Dieterlen, "Kereke" in *Meqoqo*, p.179 and in *Leselinyana la Lesotho*, May, 1, 1884, p. 1; cf. Turrentin, *Institutes of Elenctic Theology*, p.6,9; Sproul, *Truths we confess*, pp.45-47; G.R. Allison, *Historical Theology, An Introduction to Christian Doctrine* (USA: Zondervan 2011), p.565; *Katikisma ea Thuto tsa Religion*, p.88; Bernard, *Tšebetso ea Balisa Kerekeng*, p. 20; A. McGrath, *Affirming your faith, exploring the apostle's creed*, p.109.

wisdom from the Holy Spirit. He pointed out that when reading the Old Testament, one finds that God led the Israelites by human messengers like Moses, Joshua and Samuel as well as the prophets and not by angels. In the New Testament Jesus lays the foundations for his Church by initially, appointing his apostles and training them. He told Peter that he would build his Church through him. When he had returned to heaven, he sent his Holy Spirit to fulfil all that he had promised. At Pentecost the Church became a reality, living thing.

Working or ministering, it was depicted as the pillar and buttress of truth.⁶⁴⁰

Dieterlen posited that the Church is one of the most important things in the world and in people's lives. The local Churches are branches of the universal Church of God. It is comparable to a sanctuary or a mountain where those in trouble climb for protection. It is a great light that shines on all who are in the shadow of death. It is the mother of all. It begot, nursed, brought people up and educated them. It marries people, buries the dead and comforts and consoles people when they are going through hard times and trials. It reminds them of the love of Jesus; it teaches them the Bible; it reprimands them when they err and administers the Lord's Supper to them. It guides them with a steadfast heart, so that they may get to God.⁶⁴¹

⁶⁴⁰Jesu o hlomile kereke, "o beile baruti le baprofeta le baapostola"(1 Ba-Kor. 12:28) le bahlanka ba bang ba hae, ba tle ba mo alosetse bana ba hae, ba ntse ba nka bohale ho moea o kentsoeng ke eena ho bona (1 Ba-Kor.12: 4-11). Le ha motho a bala Testamente ea Khale, o tla fumana ho eona ka moo Molimo o neng o tsamaisa ba-liseraele ka manqosa a hae a batho, e seng a mangoeloi, a bitsoang Moshe, le Joshua, le Samuele le baprofeta. Ha a bala Testamente e Ncha, o fumana teng hobane Jesu o hlomile Kereke ka baapostola ba hae. Pele o ba khethile hore a tle a ba lokisetse mosebetsi oo, a ba a bolela Petrose hore ke ka eena a tla haha kereke eo. Ha morao, hobane a khutlele leholimong, a romela Moea o Halalelang, ha ba ha etsahala tsohle tse neng li profitiloe ke eena. Mohla Pentekonta kereke ea fetoha taba e bonoang, e kholo, e sebetsang...Ea ba ea tsoantsoa ka hore ke tsiea le motheo oa 'nete. Dieterlen, "Kereke" *Meqoqo*, pp. 179-180 and in *Leselinyana la Lesotho*, May,1,5,1884, p. 1; Cf. Spykman, *Reformational Theology*,p. 463; Calvin, *Institutes*, 4.3.1-3, 6-9; Bavinck, *Reformed Dogmatics Vol.IV*, pp.333-337; Berkhof, *Systematic Theology*, pp.583-584.

⁶⁴¹Ntho e ngue e fetisang tse ling ka bothle le ka ho rateha, ke Kereke ea Yesu e ka lefatšeng lotle, eo likereke tsa rona e leng makala –kala a eona. Ha ele bakeng sa lefatše, Kereke ea Jesu ke moo lichaba li tšepileng teng hore li tla bolokeha. Ke leseli le leholo le chabetseng batho baneng ba lutse meriting oa lefu; ke motse o gagiloeng go lima thaba, oo bothle ba ka tšabelang go oona... Kerekeke 'm'a rona bohle. E re tsuetse, e re a nyesitse, e re golisitse; le ho re rutoa, re rutiloe ke eona. E re felegetsa litabeng tsotle tsa rona, ea re nyalisa, pata bafu b arona, ea re tšelisa mahlomoleng a rona. Ke eona e re gopotsang Yesu le lerato la gae; e re phuthullela Bebile, e re khalemela ha re sebile, e re abela Selallo sa Morena, e re tataisa ka pelo e telele, re thle re be re fithle go Molimo. Dieterlen, "Kereke" in *Leselinyana la Lesotho*, May 1,1884, p. 1, p.1; Spykman, *Reformational Theology*, pp.433-434; Calvin, *Institutes*,4.1.4.

He asserted that the Church is the body of Christ through which he works among people on Earth.⁶⁴² It is his mouthpiece as well as his right hand. He wants to accomplish through it the work he started on earth. He has sent it to the nations to sound an alarm to them as well as to inform them of his love for them. He trusts that the Church will always be his witness before his adversaries.⁶⁴³

Writing about the trustworthiness of the Church, and comparing it with the city of Paris, he explained that the French compare the city of Paris to a ship in a troubled ocean, which never sank. This city had seen days when it was attacked and taken by the enemy. But it stood strong. The Church of God, said Dieterlen, is like the city of Paris. It has fought with many things that have tried to annihilate it, but it has remained strong. Jesus said to Peter, “And I tell you, you are Peter, and on this rock, I will build my Church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it” (Matt 16:18). The Church was persecuted by the Jews as well as the heathens, but it never perished. It was badly affected by the divisions and schisms within it that estranged its members from one another. This was due to heresy, hatred as well as persecution. Still, it never perished. It faced the darkness of dullness, ignorance and religious apathy before Luther and others rekindled the faith. Still, it never perished. It faced the problem of sin from within which impeded its progress among the heathens. But this too, did not overpower it. The Church of Basutoland likewise has seen many bad days, been attacked by the devil but it has never perished. Dieterlen exhorted his readers to be encouraged by

⁶⁴²O bone kereke ea Molimo e lefatšeng, e leng ‘mele oa Morena Jesu oo a sebetšang ka oona hara batho. Dieterlen, “Teboho ea Galane” in *Meqoqo*, p. 111, and in “Kereke” in *Leselinyana la Lesotho*, May 1, 1884, p.1; Cf. Bavinck, *Reformed Dogmatics Vol. IV*, p. 298.

⁶⁴³Kereke ke ‘mele oa Jesu, ke Molomo oa hae, ke letsogo la hae le letona la gae. O rata go phetha ka lona mosebetsi oo a o kalileng a sa le lefatšeng; o e romile gara lichaba gore e li tlabele mokhosi, le gore e li tsebise lerato leo a li ratang ka lona. O tšepile Kereke gore e thla ‘ne e be paki ea gae pela baganyetsi ba gae. Dieterlen, “Kereke,” in *Leselinyana la Lesotho*, May 1, 1884, p.1

Jesus' word and believe that the Church will safely take them to the shores of heaven as some ships do with people.⁶⁴⁴

Dieterlen's understanding of the Church of Christ was that it was catholic or universal. He averred that a believer must learn to perceive the holy universal Church of Jesus which, existed in the past, exists in the present and which shall be there forever. In the present time, it is as if it is divided into many factions that are not in harmony because there are numerous Churches calling themselves by different names. Some use the languages of their communities, but their teaching is the same. Some have subtle differences between them that do not make them different from each other. Some differ over great things, resulting from painful quarrels that are bad; but they too, stood in the foundation of Jesus and the apostles. For this reason, there is one Church of Jesus, which he works through, that must be known on Earth. But it is not easy to know about what is going on in the universal Church without reading newspapers and having access to maps. Therefore, everyone must understand that he or she is a member of a branch of the universal Church of Christ, that branch being the

⁶⁴⁴Motse oa Paris, ma-Fora a o tšuantša ka sekepe se tsamaeang holima leoatle le halefileng, a re, se tsukutloa ke maghubu, empa ha se tebe. Ba rialo kahobane motse oo, eleng oa moreneng, o se o ile oa hlaeloa ke litsietsi tse ngata-ngata. Ba loanang le ma-Fora ba o hapile ka ntoa... (empa) o sa eme, o tile. Kereke ea Morena Jesu e tšwana le motse oo o ratehang. E loantsoa ke lintho tse ngata tse ratang ho e timetsa... empa e sa eme... ke taba e neng e builoe ke Jesu, mohla a bolellang Petrose...lentsoe... le reng:" ke re ho uena o Petrose (ke hore lejoe), 'me ka holimo ho lejoe leo, ke tla haha kereke ea ka, 'me likhoro tsa ngalo ea bafu ha li ka ke tsa e hlola," (Matth. 16:18). Tsietsi ea pele e ehlaetseng e bile lihloriso tsa ba-Yode le tsa bahedene... Empa... ha lia ka tsa tseba ho timetsa Kereke. Tsietsi ea bobeli e hlaetseng kereke, ke likhaohano tse arohantseng bakreste ho bakreste ba bang... Le makhotla ao a sera sa eona, e leng lithuto tse fosahetseng, le hloeano, le hlorisano, ha a ka a e hlola. E ngue tsietsi e bile linako tsa lefifi le tsa bothoto tse ileng tsa eba teng mohla-monene likerekeng tsa Europe, bo Luther ba eso hlabele bakreste mokhosi le ho nchafatsa tumelo... batho ba ne ba tepeletse, ba imetsoe ke lefatše le ke ho robala ha lipelo le meea le likelello tsa bona. Tsietsi e ngue e boleloang holima kereke, ke libe tse ileng tsa 'na tsa hlaha hara eona. Li ee li hlahe le kayeno, ele tse nyefolisang bahedene,... Empa ha lia ka tsa hlola Kereke ea Jesu. Kereke ea le-Sotho ese e ile ea futuheloa ke makhotla a Satane hangata... Monga eona o e pholositse kereke, ka hobane ke kereke ea hae. Kereke ea Yesu e tla fihla joalo kounge ea leholimo, e phetse ka thata, hara lintoa le mahlomola a mangata. Empa ha ele ho timela, e ke ke ea timela. Ba e tšepileng ba 'ne ba e tšeperuri; e tla ba finyeletsa leholimong. Dieterlen, "Ho tšepahala ha Kereke ea Yesu," in *Leselinyana la Lesotho*, Dec 15, 1894, p. 1; J. C. Ryle, *Aspects of Holiness* (London: Grace Publications Trust 1999),p.97-101; Bavinck, *Reformed Dogmatics*, pp.316-319.

Church of Lesotho, or another Church, the Church of Rome, or the Church of England or Wesele (Methodist).⁶⁴⁵

By contrast, the Genevan Confession claimed to be authored by John Calvin or William Farel explains, ‘The Churches governed by the ordinances of the Pope are rather synagogues of the Devil than Christian Churches.’⁶⁴⁶ However, Calvin holds the opinion that ‘although the Pope is the main leader of the reign of the Antichrist, there may still be true Churches in the Roman communion given the fact that there are traces of the Church in it, notably, baptism.’⁶⁴⁷ Perhaps, Dieterlen accepted the Roman Catholic Church as part of the Church of God because of the religious diversity in Strasbourg where he grew up and studied.

As noted, the local Church is a branch of the universal Church. ‘Each local Church is the expression of the catholic Church.’⁶⁴⁸

Dieterlen enumerated three functions of the Church among God’s people. Firstly, the Church watches over the faith of Christians as well as guarding against false teaching. ‘So that (they) may no longer be . . . tossed to and fro by the waves and carried about by every wind of doctrine . . .’ Secondly, the Church is there to teach believers good ways as well as to

⁶⁴⁵Ha hole joalo, uena molumeli, u ithuteho bona Kereke e halalelang e ka lefatšeng lohle, ea Jesu, e neng ele teng, e leng teng kajeno, e tla ‘ne e be teng ka hosafeleng. Mehlang ea kajeno u ka re e arohane likoto tse sa lumellaneng, ka hobane ho fela hona le likereke tse ngata, tse mabitso-bitso. Tse ling li fapane ka ho fapana ha puo tsa lichaba, thuto ea tsona e ntse e le ‘ngoe. Tse ling li fapane ka litabanyana tse sa tsebisahaleng, ka mekhoanyana e meng e sa li khaohanyeng ruri. Tse ling li fapane holima litaba tse ling tse kholo ruri, ‘me khaohano ea tsona ke e kopaneng le litseko tse ling tse bohloko, tse mpe; empa le tsona li eme holima motheo o le mong, e leng oa Jesu le baapostola. Ka baka leo, Kereke ea Jesu e teng, e le ‘ngoe, eo a sebetsang ka eona, eo uena u tsoanetseng ho e tseba hohle lefatšeng. Empa ho thata ho motho ho tseba litaba tsa kereke e ka lefatšeng lohle, a sa bale likoranta, a sa tsebe ‘mapa ...U talime hobane uena u motho oa lekala le leng la kereke ea Jesu, lekala leo ele kereke ea Lesotho, kapa lekala leo ele kereke e ngoe, Roma, England, Wesele. Dieterlen, “Rata Kereke ea heno” in *Megoqo*, pp.182-183 and in *Leselinyana la Lesotho*, April1, 1903, p.1; Cf. *The Belgic Confession* article 29; Calvin, *Institutes*, 4.1. 9; *The Confession of Faith and Catechisms of the Orthodox Presbyterian Church*, pp. 126-127; Sproul, *Truths We confess*, p.45; Bavinck, *Reformed Dogmatics*, pp.288-291; Turrentin, *Institutes of Elenctic Theology*, pp. 30-31.

⁶⁴⁶“The Genevan Confession” art.18 in *Confessions and Catechisms of the Reformation*, edited by Mark A Noll (England: Barker Book House Company, 1991), p. 131. Cf. *The Confession of Faith and Catechisms of the Orthodox Presbyterian Church*, p.127; J. L. Gonzalez, *A History of the Christian Thought from the Protestant Reformation to the twentieth Century*, Vol. 3 (Nashville: Abingdon Press 1987), pp.162,163.

⁶⁴⁷ Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, 4.2.11-12.

⁶⁴⁸ M. Horton, *The Christian Faith, A Systematic Theology for the Pilgrims on the Way*(Zondervan: Library of Congress Publication, 2011), p.854; Bavinck, *Reformed Dogmatics, Holy Spirit, Church, and New Creation* (Michigan: Baker Academic 2008), p. 280.

reprimand the sinners and those who err so that they may repent, be safe and whole. Jesus taught that if your bother does not listen to you, when he had sinned against you, you must tell the Church. Paul did the same, when the Corinthians did bad things. Without the shepherding of the Church what would have become of the Christians, in this world marked with temptations and snares of Satan? Thirdly, the Church administers holy sacraments such as the Lord's Supper and Baptism. These rites cannot be officiated by any other person other than those ordained by the Church for that purpose. Anyone who allows him or herself to be guided by the Holy Spirit and the Lord Jesus Christ through his Church would find happiness and salvation.⁶⁴⁹

He maintained that Christians should love the Church as Christ loved it. They should dedicate themselves to the work of the Church. They should support it financially and help it to erect Church buildings. They should maintain good behaviour and thus keep the universal Church of God holy.⁶⁵⁰

⁶⁴⁹Kereke ena ea Jesu, ...mosebetsi oa eona o moholo: ke eona e falimehelang tumelo ea bakreste hore ba se balumele mashano a batho," ba se ke ba fefoloa ke moea o mong le o mong oathuto" (Ba.Ef. 4.14), ba mpe ba tsoare 'nete e tlisoeng ke Jesu, ba e khomarele, ba phele ka eona. Kereke hape e tsoanetse ho ba teng, e rutang balumeli mekhoe e lokileng, e khalemelang bafosi le baetsalibe, ba tle ba bake, ba bolokehe, ba fole. Jesu o rutile taba ena pele, ha a re: "eka re ha ngoaneno a sa u utloe (ha a u sititsoe)u bolellekereke" (Matt.18:15-17). Le Paulose o sebelitse joalo ka kereke, mohla balume liba-Korinthe baetsang lintho tse mpe. Hojane bolisa ba kereke bo le sieo, le likeletso, le li khalemelo tsa eona, bakreste ba ka be bafetoha eng mona lefatšeng la meleko, le hara maraba a mangata a Satane.Hape kerekeke eona e sebetsang ka litaba tse halalelang tse bitsoang kolobetso le Selallo, e leng tse ke keng tsa lokolleloa mang le mang ea ratang ho li etsa, tse mpang li tsoanetse ho tšepeloa batho 'nete ba beiloeng ke kereke . . . Ea lumelang ho alosa ke moea o Halalelang le ke Morena Jesu ka kereke ea hae, o tla fumana lehlohonolo le poloko. Dieterlen, "Kereke" in *Meqoqo*, pp.180-181 and in *Leselinyana la Lesotho*, May,1, 1884, p. 1.

⁶⁵⁰Kereke eo u tsoanetse ho e rata joale ka ha Jesu a e ratile. Ha u e rata, u itelle eona. Utloa: U e telle chelete ea hao, e tle e seke ea hloka letho le ka e ntšetsang pele. U e telle matsoho a hao, ntlo ea kereke e tle e hahuo, e 'ne e liloe, e fielloe, e be ntle. U e telle litakatso tsa hau tse mpe, u li lahle, e sebe mohlomong ua khopisa kerekana eo le ho e silafatsa le ho e busetsa morao le ka bokhopo bo etsoang ke uena. Ka ho baballa kereke ea heno , ngoaneso, u se u baballa Kereke e halalelang ea Jesu e ka lefatšeng lohle. Dieterlen, "Rata Kereke ea heno" in *Meqoqo*, pp. 182,183,184 and in *Leselinyana la Lesotho*, April,1,1903, p. 1.

He explained that a person who is slow in helping himself with the Church or do so minimally, denies himself that which could make him strong. Anyone who makes the most of the Church gets more power from it. It helps him in his weakness.⁶⁵¹

He argued that no one can save himself alone without the Church. The tongue cannot go away and cut itself from the rest of the body. A hand is useless when not attached to the body. The life of all the organs comes from the whole body.⁶⁵²

5.4 Dieterlen's views on the ministry of the Word and sacraments

e) Ministry of the Word

According to Dieterlen, the Church cannot be said to be living if the sacraments are not duly administered and convocations of the people of God wanting (such convocations go along with the preaching of the Word of God).⁶⁵³

He averred that the preaching of the Word of God is the responsibility of all of God's people: ministers, deacons or evangelists, elders as well as teachers.⁶⁵⁴ Derek Prime notes,

⁶⁵¹Motho ea ithusang ka Kereke butle, hanyenyane, o itima se ka beng se motiisa. Ea ithusang haholo ka Kereke, o fumana matla a maholo ho eona, 'me e mo thusa haholo bofokoling ba hae. Dieterlen, "Ho oa ha sefate sa heso" in *Meqoqo*, pp.94-95 and in *Leselinyana la Lesotho*, Nov,15, 1901, p.1.

⁶⁵²Ga go motho ea ka fetang Kereke a ipholosa ele eena a 'notši. Leleme le ke ke la ngala, la khaogana le 'mele kaofela, le thle le ipaballe le 'notši. Letsogo ga le sana thuso ha le sa khomarele setopo kaofela. Bophelo ba litho bo tsoa 'meleng kaofela. Dieterlen, "Kereke" in *Leselinyana la Lesotho*, December, 1,1884, p. 2.

⁶⁵³Mokete oa Paseka ena re thla 'ne re o gopole ka thabo le ka tebogo. E ne e ntse ele Mokete oa tsogo ea Morena Yesu. Empa kajeno ho no go le yualoka goya ho no go tsoga bafung bafu ba babeli; e mong e le Yesu, e mong ele kereke ea gae e mona Lesotho. Kereke ea Lesotho e ne e sa phele. Na go ka thoe, kereke ea phela, ha lilallo li sa yeoe, bakreste ba sa teane ha 'mogo pela monghali oa bona, go sa kolobetsoe batho, go sa utloagale liboka tse kholo tsa sechaba sa Molimo na? Dieterlen, "Kereke e tsohile" *Leselinyana la Lesotho*, April, 1, 1882, pp. 4-5; "Reformed-Roman Catholic dialogue," *Growth in Agreement II: Reports and Agreed Statements of Ecumenical conversation on a World Level, 1982-1998*(ed. Jeffrey Gros, Harding Meyer, and William G. Rusch; Geneva: World Council of Churches; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans 2000),p. 802;Allison, *Historical Theology*, p.566; *The Confession of Faith and catechisms of the Orthodox Presbyterian Church*, p. 126; Calvin, *Institutes*, 4.1.9;Bavinck, *Reformed Dogmatics Vol. IV*, pp.312-314; Turrentin, *Institutes of Elenctic Theology*, pp. 86-87; Berkhof, *Systematic Theology*, pp. 577-578; Sproul, *Truths We Confess*, pp. 58-59;*TheBelgic Confession* art. 29; "The Genevan confession" art 18 in *Confessions and Catechisms of the Reformation*, pp.130-131.

⁶⁵⁴Kerekeng ea Lesotho ho na le basebetsi ba mefuta e mengatanyana. Ke baruti ba Mafora le ba Basuto, Ke baboleli. Ke baholo. Ke baruti ba likolo (hobane moo litaba li tsamaeang hantle, moruti oa sekolo o itseba 'me o tsejoa hore ke oa Molimo le oa Kereke, ea tšuanetseng ho holisetsa Molimo le Kereke bana ba sechaba).Sehlopaha se seng le seng sa basebetsi bao se na le litšoanelo tsa sona. Empa basebetsi bao kaofela , 'nge 'ngoe, ba kopana ba bile ba tšoana ka ho bolela evangeli, ka bo boleli bona bo botle, bo halalelang hobane

‘the two terms pastor and teacher denote the same office in Ephesians 4:11 and shepherding and teaching are twin tasks.’⁶⁵⁵

Michael Bernard,⁶⁵⁶ the French missionary to Basutoland is in concord with Dieterlen on the fact that the preaching of the Word of God is the responsibility of all God’s people.

Be that as it may, Bernard never met Dieterlen, but he must have been aware of his writings as he came 25 years after him. He also taught in the theological seminary and seemed to have continued what Dieterlen taught.

Bernard elaborated that the work of the people of God is to portray Jesus before all people, always and in the whole world. This means that in this new people of God, which is the Church, there is only one work which all takes part. We cannot differentiate between ministers and laymen because all are the same; all are laymen, all are ministers. A layman is a member of the people of God designated service at baptism. The word layman comes from the Greek word *laos* meaning people. The ministry is just a certain service done by a member of the people of God. The work of a minister is not to make himself appear as a representative of Jesus in the world. But he is a minister (a servant). He is a member of the people of Jesus whom Jesus uses to do a certain work among the people, just as he uses

bohle ba bilelitsoe lehlonolo la ho bolela lentsoe la Molimo moo ba sebetsang. H. Dieterlen, *Bukana ea ‘Moleli* (Moriya: Morija Sesuto Book Depot 1983), p.3.

⁶⁵⁵D. Prime, *Pastors and teachers, the calling and work of Christ’s under- shepherds* (United Kingdom: Christian Books for Africa and Asia 2003), p.27.

⁶⁵⁶Michel Henri Leon Bernard (1928- 2004) was born in Lille (northern France). His family lived in Roubaix where his father was an accountant in a textile factory. His father was also a treasurer in the church he attended. Bernard did his military service and it was there he got his call to the ministry. He did one year of preparatory course in St Germain enlai near Paris and a summer internship in a Parish in La Rochelle to make sure this was what he wanted to do. In 1950, he began his 5 years theological studies at the theological School in Boulevard Arago, Paris. He married in 1955. In 1956, he was recalled to the army to take part in the Algerian war. In 1957, they attended the Ecole des Mission in Paris for six months to be briefed on mission that awaited them and to learn about Basutoland where they would be sent. Another six months was spent in London where they learnt English. He arrived in Basutoland under the auspices of the PEMS in 1958. He served as a parish minister in several stations, namely Cana, Morija and Masitise. He also worked as an instructor at the Morija Theological Seminary from 1975 up to 1995. He retired from the missionary service in 1995 and went back to France. I am indebted to his daughter Marianne Bernard who received this information from her 91 years mother. See also, M. Bernard, “Tumeliso ho Seboka” (September 1995).

others in other works. All members Jesus uses so that they may be edified and enlightened to reach the level of responsibility.⁶⁵⁷

In this way, Dieterlen and Bernard suggest that the keys of the kingdom of God are given to the Church, depending on one's calling. This opinion or thought is followed by several theologians like Calvin and those who came after him: Francis Turrentin as well as Herman Bavinck for a few examples.⁶⁵⁸

According to the Heidelberg Catechism ⁶⁵⁹ 'the preaching of the holy gospel and Christian discipline toward repentance both open the kingdom of heaven to believers and close it to unbelievers.'⁶⁶⁰ The Heidelberg Catechism explains,

According to the command of Christ: The kingdom of heaven is opened by proclaiming and publicly declaring to all believers, each one, that, as often as they accept the gospel promise in true faith, God, because of Christ's merit, truly forgives all their sins. The kingdom of heaven is closed, however, by proclaiming and publicly

⁶⁵⁷Tšebeletso ea sechaba sa Molimo ke ho hlalisa Jesu Krete pel'a bohle, ka linako tsohle, lefatšeng lohle.'Ho na ke ho bolela hore sechabeng sena se secha sa Molimo, e leng Kereke, mosebetsi o mong feela 'me re kengoa bohle mosebetsing ona. Re ke ke ra 'na ra hlaisa phapano ho bao eleng baruti le bao e seng bona (*laymen*), hobane bohle rea tšoana; ke ho re bohle re "layman," 'me bohle re "baruti." Layman ke setho sa sechaba sa Molimo se khethetsoeng tšebetso mohla kolobetso ea hae. (Lentsoe leo le tsoa puong ea Segerike: laos = sechaba). Boruti ke tšebeletso e itseng feela ea setho se seng sa sechaba sa Molimo. Tšebetso ea hae ha se ho itlhisale "moemeli oa Jesu Krete lefatšeng empa ke moruti. Ke setho se seng sa sechaba sa Krete seo Jesu a se sebelisang ho phetha mosebetsi o mong o itseng sechabeng joaloka ha a sebelisa ba bang ho sebetsa mosebetsi e meng e itseng, 'me bohle Jesu o basebelisa hore litho tsohle li holisoe, li rupeloe, li tle li tsebe ho fihlela boemo ba boikarabeli. Bernard, *Tšebetso ea Balisa Kerekeng*, p. 21.

⁶⁵⁸Turrentin, *Institutes of Elenctic Theology*, pp. 225-226; Bavinck, *Reformed Dogmatics* Vol. IV, pp.173, 394-395; Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, 3. 4. 14.

⁶⁵⁹ Heidelberg Catechism (1563) is one of the confessional statements of Reformed churches designed in the form of questions and answers for teaching Reformed Christian doctrines. It is part of the Reformed confessional statements called the Three Forms of Unity: The Belgic confession (1561), Canons of Dort (1619) and Heidelberg Catechism. These three, bound the Reformed churches together theologically. Heidelberg Catechism owed its origin to the disputation of a Lutheran pastor and a Calvinist deacon, in what is today, is Germany, during the time of Frederic III. Frederic paired up two theologians who studied with Calvin, Caspar Olevianus (1536-1587), a French Reformed Protestant and Zacharius Ursinus (1534-1583), then a student of Melanchthon to put together a harmonious theological front. This Catechism became famous in parts of Germany that leaned on Protestantism after its publication in 1663. No doubt, Dieterlen been raised in the Lutheran background and Alsace been part of Germany in his early life, learnt about the catechism in his early age. *Confessions and Catechisms of the Reformation*, edited by Mark A. Noll (Britain: Baker Book House Company, 1991), pp. 133-136.

⁶⁶⁰Heidelberg Catechism, question 83; Matt. 16:19; John 20:22-23.

declaring to unbelievers and hypocrites that, if they do not repent, the wrath of God and eternal condemnation rest on them. God's judgment, both in this life and in the life to come, is based on this gospel testimony.⁶⁶¹

Dieterlen believed that conversion which is the chief purpose of preaching is solely the work of God. He stated that the statistics of the Church in 1884 as compared to 1883 did not show any growth and some people may ask why so much labour and yet conversions were few? He explained that nothing is done in vain in the name of God. Conversion is a process in which God oversees. People must believe in the power of the Gospel for salvation.⁶⁶²

Furthermore, he maintained that the Word of God re-creates a person's heart anew.⁶⁶³ A person who reads the Word of God regularly is moulded by it. Others immediately realise that the Word of God is his counsellor and a driving force of his life.⁶⁶⁴ Therefore, anyone who wants to be firm in faith and to exhort others must adhere to this command: 'Let the word of Christ dwell in you richly' (Col. 3:16).⁶⁶⁵

f) Sacraments

Dieterlen recognised two sacraments: the Lord's Supper and baptism.

g) Lord's Supper

Dieterlen noted that the Lord's Supper is the real spiritual food that is able to unite a believer

⁶⁶¹ Heidelberg Catechism, ques. 84; Matt. 16:19; John 3:31-36; 20:21-23.

⁶⁶² Re bone Leselinyaneng la Phupu lipalo tse boleloang ka moo litaba tsa liphuthego tsa Lesotho li lutseng ka teng. Go gola ga mosebetsi ha ho bonagale ga kaakang. Sechaba ka bogolo ba sona se ituleitse se sa lumelloe letho la tseo le li yalang gara sona. Empa re se ke ra lebala hobane litholoana li sa le teng re e-song go lumelloe go li bona, tse e-song go butsoe empa le ha gole yualo li ntse li thla, 'me li bonoa ke monga mosebetsi. Lentsoe la Molimo ga le senyege feela...Ga ho ketso, ga go puo e etsoang ka lebitso la Molimo e sa thuseng ho ntšetsa mosebetsi oa oona pele. Se talime lipalo tsa ba sokologi feela. U mpe u kholoe ke mathla a 'nete ea Molimo. Dieterlen, "Lipalo tsa Kereke" in *Leselinyana la Lesotho*, Sept, 1, 1884, pp. 3, 4.

⁶⁶³ Botle ba Lentsoe la Molimo ke hobane le bopa pelo ea motho bocha. Dieterlen, "Lentsoe le bopang" in *Meqoqo*, p.133; Dieterlen, "Lentsoe le bopang" in *Leselinyana la Lesotho*, Oct, 1, 1884, p. 1.

⁶⁶⁴ Motho ea balang Bibe le ka mokhoa oa teng, ke hore ka mehla, ka thapelo le ka pelo, a ke ke a lula ha lelele a sa lemohe hore e bopa pelo ea hae; le ba bang ba tla lemoha hobane Lentsoe la Molimo ke lona le mo eletsang le ho mo tsamaisa bophelong ba hae. *Ibid*.

⁶⁶⁵ Ka baka leo, motho ea ratang ho ema tumelong le ho khothatsa bana babo, o tšoanetse ho ea ka taelo ena: Lentsoe la Molimo le ikahela ka ho lona ka moeno (Ba-Kol.3:16). *Ibid*, p. 134.

with the Lord Jesus, as well as to foster prayerfulness in the heart of the child of God.⁶⁶⁶ Nonetheless, the Lord's Supper which is the most holy ordinance, loved by the children of God, needs to be approached with great respect and purity as Paul maintained that 'For anyone who eats and drinks without discerning the body eats and drinks judgment on himself' (1 Cor. 11:29).⁶⁶⁷ There is a mystery in the Lord's Supper that is beyond human understanding which a believer cannot fully comprehend. By eating the bread and drinking from the cup he or she is meeting with Jesus. That meeting takes place when a person eats with faith, even if a person does not understand fully what the Lord's Supper all is about.⁶⁶⁸

He went further to explain that some people claim that even though their eyes see bread and wine, these have become the real body and blood of Jesus Christ. Others maintain that the bread and the wine remain what they are. But that the glorified body of the Lord is in them merged with them like fire merged with metal in the fire. Some believe that bread and wine are still what they are, but when a person partakes of them, a person's spirit meets with the glorified Jesus, whom he or she beholds with the eyes of faith. To others, the Lord's Supper is just a remembrance of the death of Jesus that works in the soul of a believer and that even prolongs his or her life as well. He concluded this explanation of the variations of the understanding of the Lord's Supper by citing an unnamed person, whom he called a great Christian who said that the important thing, is not for a person to understand the Lord's Super, but to eat it well.⁶⁶⁹

⁶⁶⁶Selallo ke sejo sa 'nete sa moea, se tsebang ho kopanya molumeli le Morena Jesu, le ho phephela mollo oa borapeli o ntseng o tukile pelong ea ngoana oa Molimo. *Ibid*, p.94.

⁶⁶⁷Selallo ke mosebetsi o halalelang ka ho fetisa, oo bana ba Molimo ba o ratang haholo, o mpang o tsoanetse ho etsoa ka hlomphe e kholohali le makhethe, ka moo Paulose a itseng: "Ea jang le ea noang ka mokhoa o sa tsoanelehang, o itjella tsuo ea hae, o inoella eona" (1 Ba-kor.11:29). *Ibid*. p. 184.

⁶⁶⁸Sephiri se teng se seholo Selallong, se fetang kutloisiso ea motho, seo molumeli a sa lekeng le ho se senola kaofela, eleng sa kopano ea motho le Morena Jesu ka ho ja bohobe boo le ka ho noela senoelong sena. Kopano e joalo e teng, ha motho a se ja ka tumelo, le ha a sita ho hlahanya ma-sa-tsejoeng 'ohle a Selallo. *Ibid*.

⁶⁶⁹Ba bang ba re, le ha mahlo a bona bohobe le veine, ha e sa le bohobe le veine, empa e se e le 'mele le mali a Morena Jesu ka sebele. Ba bang ba re, e ntse e le veine le bohobe, empa 'mele o tlotlisitsoeng oa Morena Jesu o teng ka ho tsona, o kopane le tsona joalo ka mollo ha o kopane le tšepa e kentsoeng mollong. Ba bang ba re, veine le bohobe e ntse ele tsona feela, empa motho ha a li ja ka molomo oa hae, moea oa hae o kopana le Jesu ea tlotlisitsoeng, eo a 'monang ka mahlo a tumelo. Ho ba bang Selallo ke khopotso feela ea lefu la Morena, e

The above examples of different understanding of the Lord 's Supper have much to do with the Roman Catholics, Lutheran, Calvinists as well as the Zwinglians' views on the Lord's Supper. The Roman Catholics advocate the corporeal presence. That is, Christ's physical presence in the Lord's Supper. Bread and wine turn into the real blood and flesh of Christ by the blessing of a priest hence the doctrine of transubstantiation. Lutherans hold that Christ's body is ubiquitous, that is, it is able to be in different places at the same time. For this reason, they believe that since Ascension, Christ's body became everywhere present. Ergo, Christ's body, is present in, under and with the bread and the wine. This is what Lutherans call consubstantiation. Calvinists teach the real spiritual presence of Christ. That is, by Word and Spirit He is always with us. Zwingli reflects that the Lord's Supper is a memorial feast wherein believers made testimony to their faith.⁶⁷⁰

However, it must be noted that Calvin's Eucharistic doctrine is subtler than what is summarised above. According to Calvin the work of the Holy Spirit coincides – while being separate of – the partaking of the bread and wine. Calvin was anxious to avoid the impression that anything material like bread and wine could “touch” the divine. He maintained a strict separation between the two levels. The only point of communication between the material and the spiritual, for him, was Christ during his earthly life (but not after). However, he affirmed the real presence of Christ in the supper in a rather mysterious manner, which he claimed, ‘it is a secret and wonderful work of the Holy Spirit,’ while he was opposed to transubstantiation of the Roman Catholics as well as consubstantiation of the reformer, Luther.⁶⁷¹

sebitsang moeeng oa molumeli le ho moekeletsa bophelo. Lihlaloso re li siea moo, ka lentsoe la mokreste e moholo e mong ea itseng: “Ntho e kholo ha se hore motho a utloisise Selallo, ke hore a se je hantle.*Ibid*,185.

⁶⁷⁰Spykman, *Reformational Theology*, pp. 459, 460; Horton, *The Christian Faith*, pp. 803-823; Allison, *Historical theology*, pp.643-654.

⁶⁷¹ Calvin, *Institutes*, 4.17.18,19; J. Calvin, *Commentary on the Epistles of Paul the Apostle to the Corinthians, Vol.I* (Michigan: Baker Books, 2009), pp.376-381; J.T. McNeill, *The History and Character of Calvinism* (London: Oxford University Press, 1979), pp.218-219; F. Wendel, *Calvin:Origins and Development of His Religious Thought*, translated by Philip Mairet (New York:Harper& Row, Publishers, 1963), pp, 330-333.

Dieterlen used the story which Jesus told to explain how a person can partake of the Lord's Supper in the right way. A king planned a wedding ceremony for his son. That king slaughtered fat animals and invited people that he wanted to honour by making them his guests.⁶⁷² The king wanted those people to eat with him and to sit at the table with him. It is a great honour and happiness to the guests when a king wants to eat with them.⁶⁷³

Dieterlen also said that another name for the Lord's Supper is the Lord's Table, God's table. The food that is on it is God's; it is holy and is of heaven. God himself is the host. He planned the feast and invited the guests. He is present when this feast is celebrated. The eyes of a person do not see God at the Lord's Table. But God is there, he has come to rejoice and thank Jesus whom he acknowledged in this way: 'This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased.'⁶⁷⁴ Therefore, when approaching the Lord's Supper a Christian must go with happiness, thanks and humility. He must feel blessed as well as honoured to be a guest of God to be counted among those who, by his grace, God wishes to be with at His meal. It is for this reason that a Christian must prepare for this feast: put on the wedding garment,⁶⁷⁵ put things right in the heart by confession of sin, by self-abasement and prayer. Another reason is that a Christian must leave the Lord's Table exhorting himself to 'walk worthy with God.'⁶⁷⁶ To glorify God in his body as well as in his spirit that is of God.⁶⁷⁷ He is the chosen one of God⁶⁷⁸; he must be holy, walk religiously and with self-respect.⁶⁷⁹

⁶⁷² Matthew. 22:1-14.

⁶⁷³ Empa motho a ka 'na a talima Selallo ka mokhoa o mong, a tle a eketse ho se thabela le ho se ja hantle. A ka'na a ithusa ka taba ea Morena eo ea boletsoeng ke Jesu, ea ratileng ho etsetsa mora oa hae mokete oa bohali, a hlaba linonneng tsa hae, a mema batho bao a ratang ho ba hlompheka ka ho ba biletsa mokete ona oa hae (Mat. 22: 1-14). Morena eo o ratile hore batho bao ba je le eena, ba lule tafoleng hammoho le eena. Ke hlonepho e kholo, ke lehlohonolo ho bamemuoana, ha Morena e mong a rata hore ba je le eena. Dieterlen, "Selallo" in *Megogo*, p. 185.

⁶⁷⁴ Matthew. 3:17.

⁶⁷⁵ Matthew. 22:11-14.

⁶⁷⁶ 1 Thesalonians. 2:12.

⁶⁷⁷ 1 Corinthians. 6:20.

⁶⁷⁸ 1 Peter. 2:9

⁶⁷⁹ Lebitso la Selallo le leng ho thoe, ke Tafole ea Morena, Tafole ea Molimo: lijo tse holima eona ke tsa Oona, tse halalelang, tsa leholimo. Monga mokete ke Molimo ka sebele sa oona. Ke oona o bitsoang bamemuoana. Le Oona o teng mohla mokete ona o jeoang. Mahlo a motho ha a bone Molimo Tafoleng ea Selallo. Empa Molimo

He maintained that the Lord 's Supper is not celebrated because people are hungry. People have food in their homes. Through the Lord's Supper, God unites Christians with the 'lamb that cleanses the sins of the world'. He feeds them with what is the heart of the teaching of the Gospel, its holy riches. In the Lord's Supper, God wants his people to unite, to be there for each other and to love one another. It is for this reason that the children of God must prepare themselves for the Lord's Table by forgiving each other their wrong doings as well as getting reconciled. They should also be able to live peacefully with others, stick to each other in Christian love as well as support each other. The Church is a community that is always bound together by the solidarity, divine and fraternal love.⁶⁸⁰

h) Baptism

Dieterlen noted that some Christians are hesitant about infant baptism, adding that they do not believe it to be the right thing to do. This makes their baptismal vows weak because anything that is not done with a sincere heart cannot be carried through properly.⁶⁸¹

o teng, o tlile ho thabela le leboha Morena Jesu eo o neng o 'molele ka ho re: "Ke enoa mora oa ka ea ratoang, eo ke khahlisisoang ke eena" (Mat. 3: 17). Joale mokreste ha a fihla Selallong, o tsoanetse ho se atamela ka thabo, ka teboho le ka boikokobetso, a ntse aikutloa hobane o neiloe lehlohonolo le makatsang la ho etsua 'memuoa oa Molimo le la ho baloa hara batho bao Morena a ithatetseng ka mohau oa hae ho ba lulisa le eena lijong tsa hae. Ke ka lebaka leo a tsoanetseng ho itokisetsa mokete ona ka makhethe, a apare kobo ea bohali (Mat. 22:11-14), a lokise pelo ea hae ka boipolelo ba libe, ka boinyatso, ka thapelo. Ke ka baka leo hape a tsoanetseng ho tloha Selallong a ntse a ikhohatsa hore o tlamiloe " ho phela ka mokhoa o tsoanelang Molimo" (1 Ba-Thes.2:12) a tlotlise Morena 'meleng le moeeng oa hae, e leng oa Molimo" (1 Ba-Kor.6: 20). "Ke "mokhethoa oa Molimo" (1 Peter 2:9); a ke a ikhethe, a phele ka khalalelo le ka boithlhonepho. Dieterlen, "Selallo" in *Meqoqo*, pp. 185-186.

⁶⁸⁰Lijo tsa Selallo le tsona li tlameha ho lemohua. Morena eo o ne a tseba hobane batho bao a hopotseng ho ba memela moketeng oa hae, ba ntse ba ena le lijo tsa bona matlung a bona. Ha a ka a re ba lapile... Mohlang oo Molimo o ba kopanya le konyana e tlosang libe tsa lefatše. O fepa meea ea bona ka hoo e leng mooko oa tse boleloang ke Evangeli; o ba a bela linonneng tsa Oona tse khethehileng... Selallong, Morena o rata hore batho ba hae ba kopane, ba bonane, ba ratane... Ke ka baka leo bana ba Molimo ba tsoanetseng ho itokisetsa Selallo ka ho tsoarelana melato le ho boelana. Ke ka baka leo hape ba tsoanetseng ho tloha Selallong ba itseba hobane e ka khona ba phelisane hantle le bakreste ba bang, ba ba etse hantle, ba khomarelane le bona ka lerato la boena le ka thusano tsohle tseo ba ka etsetsanang tsona. Kereke ke sechaba se kopanang ka mehla ka lerato la Molimo le ka lerato la boena. *Ibid*, pp.186, 187.

⁶⁸¹Ntho e makatsang ke hobane le joale bakreste ba bang ba hana kolobetos ea bana, kapa ba ba kolobetsa ka lesisistheho, ba sa kholoe hore ba etsa taba e ba tsoanelang. Lipelaelo tseo ba nang le tsona lia ba fokoklisa ka 'ngeng ea ho phetha likano tseo ba ikanneng ka tsona sebakeng sa bana ba bona; hobane ntho e fe le efe e sa etsoeng ka 'nete ea pelo, ha e phethehe hantle. Dieterlen, "Kolobetso ea bana" in *Meqoqo*, p. 176.

According to Dieterlen, the child who is taken for baptism has no knowledge, understanding or faith. Is that a matter for concern? One day children were brought to Jesus so that he might lay hands on them and pray for them. But his disciples rebuked those who brought them. Jesus said to them, ‘Let the little children come to me and do not hinder them, for to such belongs the kingdom of heaven.’⁶⁸² Dieterlen argued that the children did not come by themselves; they did not convert or have faith. They were brought by their parents. The will of the parents was done not of the children. The parents did what was right. They wanted their children to receive a blessing which they did not know about but as parents they knew about it. Jesus agreed to give this blessing without asking for the consent of the children but looked at the will of the parents.⁶⁸³

A child is born out of the will of the parents. A child, while still young, has no understanding and self-will. It is the parents who chose what is good for the child. They take him or her along to wherever they go. Now, Dieterlen asks, how can the parents, knowing that it is good to live in the Church of Christ, deny their child that goodness by not baptising him or her? In addition, as members of the people of God how could they leave their child outside the people of God by not baptising him or her as a Jew circumcised his child when he was eight days after birth? The parents must take the initiative to baptise their child, young as a child may be and without understanding. If when older a child rejects his baptism, let it be so. The parents would have done all they could do for their child to be saved.⁶⁸⁴

⁶⁸²Matt. 19:13-15.

⁶⁸³Ho belaeloang na? Efela ngoana o kolobetsoa a sa tsebe seo a se etsoang, a eso ho hlahe mahlo, a eso ho lumeleho Morena Jesu le ho ikhethela eena ele eena. ‘Me ho nang? Ka letsatsi le leng, “ ha tlisoa ho Jesu bana hore a ba behe matsoho, a ba rapelle; empa barutuoa ba khalemela ba ba tlisang. Jesu a re ho bona: lesang bana bana, le se ke la ba thibela ho tla ho ‘na, hobane ‘Muso oa maholimo ke oa ba joale ka bona. E itse hobane a behe matsoho, a tloha teng’ (Mat. 19:13-15). Bana ha ba ka ba itlisa. Ha ba ka ba sokoloha le ho lumela. Ba ile ba tlisoa ke baholo ba bona. Ho entsoe thato ea batsoali, e seng ea bana. Baholo bao ba entse hantle. Ba ratile hore bana ba bona ba neoe lehlohonolo le leng leo ba sa le elleloeng, le mpang le elleloa ke batsoali ba bona. ‘Me Jesu o lumetse hoba neha lehlohonolo lena, as a botse bana thato ea bona, a mpa a talimile takatso e ntle ea baholo ba bona. Dieterlen, “Kolobetso ea bana” in *Meqoqo*, p. 176.

⁶⁸⁴Ngoana ha a ka a itsoala, o tsoetsoe ke baholo ba hae. Ha a ka a re, o rata ho bat eng lefatšeng; o tlile teng ka thato le liketso tsa ntata’e le ‘m’ae. Le boseeng ba hae ha a na kelello le kutloisiso le boithatelo. Ke ntho ea baholo ba hae, ba mokhethelang se motšoanelang, ba mo pepang a ee le bona moo ba eang teng. Joale baholo

Dieterlen explained that infant baptism is a part of the parents' long-term plan which begins when a pastor baptises their child. It does not end on the day of baptism. The parents by baptising their child want him or her to be of God, brought up by Him and saved by Him. The child would be a true Christian on earth by the power of the Holy Spirit even in the life to come. Parents have taken the plan of Jesus and made it theirs so that their child should not perish but be saved. Parents should work with God to bring up their child. This is a difficult work that, even the wise fail to do. It needs to be pursued with old and new ways, with words and prayer as well as good examples to the child. Parents who do not honour their baptism vows on their children are guilty before God and their children by taking such solemn vows which they do not follow.⁶⁸⁵

5.5 Dieterlen's views on worship⁶⁸⁶

Towards the close of his missionary career, to strengthen the work of the Paris Mission against the background of the good progress of the work of the Roman Catholics, Dieterlen

ba hae ha ba bona ho phela kerekeng ea Jesu ho molemo , ba ka lesa joang ho batlela ngoana oa bona molemo ona ka ho mokolobetsa? Hape bona ha ele ba sechaba sa Molimo , ngoana eo a ka tloheloa joang ka ntle ho sona, a sa kengoe ho sona ka kolobetso, joale ka ngoana mo-Jude ha a ne bolotsoa ka letsatsi la boroba meno e 'meli le hlalamang la ho tsoala ha hae? Ngoana a ke a kengoe ke baholo ba hae, a isoe a ntse a sa tsebe, a beoe matsoho ke Jesu, a amoheloe sechabeng sa Molimo, a je mahlohonolo a teng. A kolobetsoe ke baholo ba hae. Ha morao ha nyatsa molemo oo a o etselitsoeng ke baholo ba hae, a mpe ao koenehele, ao lahle e le eena ka thato ea hae, baholo ba hae ba entse tsohle tseo motho a ka li etsang bana ba hae bat le ba bolokehe.

Dieterlen, "Kolobetso ea bana" in *Meqoqo*, pp.176-177; Cf. Spykman, *Reformational Theology*, p.457.

⁶⁸⁵ Empa mokreste a tsebe hobane kolobetso eo hase taba ea letsatsi le le leng, la mohla moruti a tšelang metsi holima phatla ea lesea leo. Hase taba e phethoang ka lona letsatsi leo... Kolobetso ea ngoana ke morero, e bile ke morero o molele. Monna le mosali ha ba eme pela moruti , ba tšoare lesea la bona, ba re le kolobetsoe, ruri ba kena morerong o moholo, oo kolobetso eo e leng qaleho feela le motheo oa oona. Bana le taba e kholo e ba tlisitseng mona, e leng hore ngoana enoa oa bona e be ngoana oa Molimo ea ikholisetsoang ke oona, ea ipolokeloang ke oona, eo e tla ba mokreste oa 'nete mona lefatšeng, ka matla a Moea o Halalelang, le bophelong bo sa feleng. Ba keneletse morero oa Jesu , ba o entse morero oa bona, oa hore motho a se ke a timela, a mpe a bolokehe... Batho bana ba tšoanetse ho seblisana le Molimo paballong ea ngoana eo, le ho moholisetsa Morena... Ba bang bakreste, hobane ba kolobetse ngoana oa bona, ba batla ba fella mona, ba sa tsebe morero oo o molele le mekhoha ea ho o phetha. Ba joalo ba molato ruri ho Molimo; le bana ba molato, ka hobane ba lihetse bana tsietsing ka ho ba tlama ka bokreste boo ba sa ba ruteng bona. Dieterlen, "Kolobetso ea bana," *Meqoqo*, pp.177, 178.

⁶⁸⁶ I have used some of the information that appears in this part in a Lecture on John Calvin at the event of the consecration of the John Calvin Chapel at the National University of Lesotho on 10 October 2015: N.S.K. Tšeuoa, "A lecture on John Calvin - The Genevan Confession - on the eve of the consecration of the Calvin Chapel at NUL on October 10, 2015" (Unpublished paper).

presented a paper before the synod sitting at Morija on 30 September 1918, on the theme of *Tšebeletso ea Molimo Kerekeng* (The worship of God in Church). He maintained that the service of God in Church must be conducted with respect. The house of God as well must be respected and made beautiful for those who attend it. All that is done in Church must be done for the edification of the Christians and with a view of winning many people for God.⁶⁸⁷

He maintained that all things must be done decently, accordingly and in order (1Cor.14:40) and that people must be encouraged in that way to respect the Church of God. In order for this to happen, the Church must be adorned and made beautiful. The liturgy book of the late Mr. Marzolf must be used.⁶⁸⁸

‘All things must be done decently, and in order,’ resonates with Calvin and led to his introduction of the liturgies,⁶⁸⁹ which had a greater importance and influence. This liturgy was based on the administration of the Lord’s Supper which Calvin regarded as essential for Christians and wanted it to be celebrated weekly, but the Genevan Magistrates allowed it only quarterly.⁶⁹⁰ Concerning the adornment of the Church, it is important to note that Calvin held an austere attitude of worship. He believed in the simplicity, decency and dignity of worship. He averred, “But decorum for us will be something so fitted to the reverence of the sacred mysteries that it may be a suitable exercise for devotion, or at least will serve as an

⁶⁸⁷Lengolo lena le re hoa utloahala me ho hlokeha hore tšebeletso ea Molimo Kerekeng e be ntho e hlomphehang. Le eona ntlo ea Kereke e tšoanetse ho hlomphehang hantle e be ntle e ratehe le ho ba kenang ho eona. Tsohle tse etsoang Kerekeng li etsetsoe khaiso ea bakreste, ‘me hape ho ntse ho habiloa hore e hapele Molimo bathoba bangata. *Litaba tsa Synod*, 19 September 1897- 26 September 1918, Synod of Morija 30 September 1918, p.227.

⁶⁸⁸Tšebeletsoveohle e etsoe ka hlomphehang le ka molaovho se ke ha ferekangoa lintho empa tsohle li etsoe ka hlomphehang. Batho barutoe joalo ho hlomphehang Kereke ea Molimo. Hore ho tle ho be joalo ka ha ke tsoa pheta, e ka khona e Kereke li khabisoa li be ntle. Ho sebetsoe ka bukana ea mofu moneri Marzolf e bitsoang Tšebeletso ea Kereke. *Litaba tsa Synod*, 19 September 1897- 26 September 1918, Synod of Morija 30 September 1918, p.227. Cf. *Calvin in Asian Churches*, edited by Soul-Young Lee Vol.iii, proceedings of the Ninth & Tenth Asian Congresses on Calvin Research (Korea: Presbyterian College and Theological Seminary, 2008), pp. 32-33.

⁶⁸⁹ The first was used by Calvin in the French church in Strasbourg, *La Maniere de faire priers* (the manner of praying in the French Churches) and the second was used in Geneva: *La Forme des priers et Chant Ecclesiastiques* (The form of prayers and church hymns with the manner of administering the sacraments and consecrating marriage; according to the use of the early Church). See T.H.L. Parker, *John Calvin, A Biography* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 2007), p.112.

⁶⁹⁰See Calvin in *Asian Churches*, pp. 35,108, See also, Joel Chisanga., *Some basic Christian Doctrines and Reflections* (Morija: Morija Theological Seminary, 1996), p. 65.

appropriate adornment of the act.⁶⁹¹ I suppose Dieterlen wrote to that effect since he does not explain what he meant by adornment in Church.

Dieterlen maintained that the use of the liturgy book must be accompanied with Christians coming to Church with a spirit that appreciates the significance of the Church of God. A pastor, too, must love the house of God and the people that attend it as ‘Christ loved the Church and gave himself up for her, that he might sanctify her . . .’(Eph.5.25).⁶⁹²

A pastor must make his Christian assemblies interesting so that they may be loved by those who attend them. He or she must build up people in their faith and must always have a cheerful disposition. He or she must make time to prepare his or her message and avoid repeating the same message time and again. A pastor should emulate the high spirited and impetuosity of the Wesleyans in delivering the message. He or she should openly commend the goodness of Christianity, maintain dress etiquette as well as sound and proper reading of the Word of God to the people. He or she should always bring to the attention of the congregants quite telling portions of the scriptures while reading. After Church service, a pastor should greet congregants as well as the visitors who come to the Church and encourage heathens to come again. Christians should be urged to keep the time of the Church service as well as to put on appropriate clothes for the banquet of God.⁶⁹³

⁶⁹¹ Calvin, *The Institutes*, 4.10.29.

⁶⁹² Le ha ho sebelisoa buka ena ho hoholo ke hore balumeli ba leke ho tla Kerekeng baena le moea o motle oa ho utloisisa, ba tšabe, ba hlomphe ho ba nqalo eo ba kenang ho eona. Moruti le eena a rate ntlo ea Molimo, a rate batho ba kenang teng. Ho tle hobe joaloka ha ho boletsoe ke moapostola ea itseng: Krete o ratile Kereke ‘me o ikemislitse eona e le Kereke e halalelang. Litaba tsa Synod, 19 September 1897- 26 September 1918, Synod of Morija 30 September 1918, pp.227-128.

⁶⁹³Phutheho tsa moruti li natefiso, li tle li ratoe ke ba tlang ho tsona. ‘Me ba fele ba nosoe tse monate tsa ntlo ea Jehova. Sefahleho sa moruti se khanye khotso ka mehla. Thuto e be eo moruti a itokisetsang eona ka mehla, a se ke a touta thuto ele ‘ngoe ka mehla le ka liveke tsohle. Re ikhapele mekhwa e meng ea mahlaha-hlaha a ma-Wessel. Moruti a pepese bottle ba bokreste. Liaparo tsa moruti li tšoanelane le boruti ba hae. Molumo oa lentsoe la moruti ha a bala Kerekeng, o lumellane hantle le mantsoe ao moruti a a balang. Ha temana e ngoe e le teng e hlabosang ho feta tse ling moruti a ke a emehanye-nyane palong ea hae a supise phutheho monate oa lentsoe leo. Moruti ha a etsoa Kerekeng a lumelise phutheho esita le baeti ba tlleng Kerekeng ea hae le bona bahedene a bakhothatsa ho tla Kerekeng hape. Bakreste ba eletsoe ho fihla ka nako. Hape ba krete ba eletsoe ho tla ba apere hantle etso[e] ba tla moketeng ‘me hape e le mokete oa Molimo. Litabatsa Synod, 19 September 1897- September 1918, 26 Synod of Morija 30 September 1918, pp.228-229.

The music of the Church should be done bearing in mind whom it is made for. Thus, Calvin preferred Psalm singing in Church but did not limit music to the Psalms. He also allowed ‘exact passages of scripture to be sung’ to give glory to God.⁶⁹⁴

Dieterlen asserted that Christians should be taught how to welcome visitors by showing them where to sit in Church as well as lending them their hymn books. The psalmist said, “I was glad when they said to me, ‘Let us go to the house of the LORD’ (Psalms 122:1). Christians should be happy for the day of the Lord. They should look forward to it, prepare themselves for it and this will liven up the house of God as well as give life to his children.”⁶⁹⁵

5.6 Dieterlen’s views on missions

Dieterlen’s views on missions are found in *Pourquoi les missions? Réflexions d’un missionnaire* (Reflections of a Missionary), which, he published in 1893 and republished 1920, the year following his retirement from the missionary work.⁶⁹⁶

At the outset, Dieterlen argued that missions ‘are not what is commonly called a matter of feeling . . . an illusion or infatuation, something romantic which strikes the imagination of women and children, a beautiful mistake but finally an error.’⁶⁹⁷

⁶⁹⁴ Calvin’s position on music is helpfully explained in W. Blankenship, “Church Music in Reformed Europe” in Friedrich Blume, *Protestant Church Music: A History* (New York: W. Norton and company, 1974), p. 617; J. Barber, “Luther and Calvin on Music and Worship” in *Reformed Perspectives Magazine*, Vol 8, (26), June 25-July 1, 2006; R. Osi-Bonsu, John Calvin “Perspective on Music and Worship, and its implications for the Seventh-Day Adventist Church” in *Horin Journal of Religious studies*, Vol.3, (1) 2013, pp. 87, 94.

⁶⁹⁵ Lipina le tsona li hlokomeloe e se re tsa binoa feela empa ho sa hopoloe ea bineloang. Bakreste ba rutoe ho amohela baeti hantle likerekeng ka ho ba bontša moo ba lulang le ka hoba alima lifela. Mopesalema o re, ke ile ka thaba ha ba re a re eeng ka tlung ea Jehova. Bakreste ba hle ba thabe ha letsatsi la Sondaga le chaba. ‘Me ba ikutloe ba hlolohetsoe letsatsi leo. Mokreste a be le boimamelo bo boholo ha Sondaga se atamela. ‘Me a hle a be le hoo ho ka thoeng ke hlekelo ea ‘nete ka lisondaga tsohle. Hona ho tla natefisa ntlo ea Molimo le ho phelisa bana ba oona. Litabatsa Synod, 19 September 1897-26 September 1918, Synod of Morija 30 September 1918, pp.229-330.

⁶⁹⁶ H. Dieterlen, *Pourquoi les missions? Réflexions d’un missionnaire. Les principes, les objections, les moyens d’action et les faits accomplis* (Paris : Maison des missions évangéliques, 1893) (Why the Missions ?Reflection of a Missionary: The principles, Objections, Means of Action and Accomplished facts (Paris: The Mission House, 1893) and thanks to Liako Mahao’s translation in to English. Liako Mahao is the documentalist at the Morija Museum and Archives.

⁶⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

He maintained that ‘missions are an exaggeration of the Christian principle, an excess of zeal, an expensive luxury, a supererogation work . . . We are told: Go and announce the Gospel to the negroes, but it has to be more royalist than the king, more Christian than Jesus Christ.’⁶⁹⁸

He averred,

They are drawn to missions by their adventurous not to say heroic. They love the stories of lions; they relish the descriptions of the barbaric mores of the pagans. They are moved by their privations, the trials and the dangers to which certain missionaries are sometimes exposed. On their part, it is an error, but a generous error; and we must take men as they are.⁶⁹⁹

He insisted,

But the missions are quite another thing . . . They are based on solid principles, on Christianity itself, of which they are the very natural consequence, as natural as the branches that grow on the trunk of a living tree. It is a coldly reasoned enterprise, which sustains an examination, having good reasons for existing and a goal perfectly intelligible to those who place themselves, to judge it, from a Christian point of view.⁷⁰⁰

He posited,

We imagine that the missions are intended to civilise the pagans, to teach them to live like Europeans, to dress appropriately, to build houses, to read and write, or even to give up their childish and coarse manners, to substitute our more human and more refined customs.⁷⁰¹

He explained,

⁶⁹⁸*Ibid.*

⁶⁹⁹*Ibid.*

⁷⁰⁰*Ibid.*

⁷⁰¹*Ibid.*

Obviously, missionaries are agents of civilisation and progress. But in what capacity? Here is the thing: Civilisation walks in the footsteps of the Gospel; it is a remarkable and encouraging result. When savages are transformed in their heart by the action of the Gospel, there is spontaneously produced in them respect for themselves, the desire to live in a manner worthy of their quality as people of God, and by consequently an effort to improve their material life, their costume, their customs and their institutions. It is inevitable.⁷⁰²

It is important to note that Lamin Sanneh, the American scholar of Missions and World Christianity, observed that there are two approaches or methods of missions: mission by diffusion and mission by translation. He explained that while the former ‘religion expands from its cultural base and is implanted in other societies primarily as a matter of cultural identity,’ the latter ‘carries with it a deep theological vocation, which arises as an inevitable stage in the process of reception and adaption.’ The former is exemplified in Islam while the latter in Christianity. Conversion in mission by diffusion ‘is not primarily a theological enquiry. It is, rather, assimilation into a predetermined positivist environment.’ Hence mission by diffusion can also be understood as mission direct, as it imposes the culture as well as the language of its founder to the recipients, whereas mission by translation can be seen as mission indirect, as it ‘affirms the *missio Dei* as the hidden force for its work.’⁷⁰³

John William Colenso (1814-1883), the first Anglican Bishop of Natal, embraced mission by translation. He believed that the Gospel must be allowed to do its work in the hearts of the people in the mission fields. He would not persuade or coerce polygamous converts to divorce their partners.⁷⁰⁴ By contrast, the Paris Mission in Basutoland merged mission by translation and diffusion. It worked hard to preach the Gospel to the Basuto and at the same

⁷⁰²*Ibid.*

⁷⁰³L. Sanneh, *Translating the Message, The Missionary Impact on Culture* (Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 1989), pp.29-31.

⁷⁰⁴See, S. Kaplan, *Indigenous Responses to Western Christianity* (NYU Press, 1995) pp.11-12.

time persuaded them to do away with some of their traditional customs (polygamy, cattle marriage and initiation school).⁷⁰⁵ This is what Dieterlen did in Basutoland.

Dieterlen explained,

The missionaries use civilisation to achieve a higher goal. They founded schools; they advised the pagans to change their natural way of life. Why? Quite simply to facilitate the progress of the Gospel, to shatter superstitions and destroy bad routine, ignorance, traditions, prejudices which keep pagans far away from God. In short, to replace an environment unfavourable to the life of the soul by an environment that favours it. They cleared the ground for the Gospel, that was all; and God knows if it is necessary!⁷⁰⁶

‘Modern education introduced aspects that contradicted local knowledge,’ as a result, it caused great confusion to the Basuto as well as the disruption of their traditional heritage. Matsobano J. Manala attests to this as he notes, ‘this caused identity crisis for many Africans, a crisis that resulted in African self-hatred and self-denigration.’⁷⁰⁷

More like an after-thought, Dieterlen stated,

But the goal of the Mission is not civilisation of the pagans. A missionary is a Christian who goes to bring the Gospel of Jesus Christ to the pagans to convert them to God, to deliver them from the bonds of evil and sin. It aims, not to make the pagans into civilised men, but to transform the pagans into Christians by repentance and by faith in Jesus Christ.⁷⁰⁸

The foregoing discussion underlines the distinction which Dieterlen made between civilisation and evangelisation. According to him, the former is an evitable product of the

⁷⁰⁵ P. Sanders, *Moshoeshoe, Chief of the Sotho* (London: Heinemann, 1975), pp.125, 128-129.

⁷⁰⁶ Dieterlen, *Pourquoi les missions? Réflexions d'un missionnaire ?*

⁷⁰⁷ M. J. Manala, “The Impact of Christianity in Sub-Saharan Africa” in *Studia Historiae Ecclesiasticae. Vol. 39 n.2* Pretoria (2013).

⁷⁰⁸ Dieterlen, *Pourquoi les missions? Réflexions d'un missionnaire.*

latter lest civilised men claim not to need the Gospel. Conversely, Sebusiso Masondo, scholar at the University of KwaZulu- Natal, posited,

[Missionaries] developed their views on Africa based on their European worldview.

Their worldview determined how they analysed what they saw. Given their backgrounds, they were unable to empathize with the African[s]. Their mind was flooded with images of difference – difference in this case was seen as inferior.

Ideologies of otherness were developed using Judeo-Christian templates as a standard to understand non-Western religions.⁷⁰⁹

Barney Nyameko Pityana, a human rights lawyer and theologian in South Africa, also notes, ‘Christianity declared some African practices pagan and the Church was persuasive influence on family practices.’⁷¹⁰

Dieterlen asserted, ‘Missions are the continuation of the work of Jesus and the progressive realisation of his program . . . Those who know God must go and reveal him to those who do not know him and strive to convert them to him.’⁷¹¹

According to him,

A Christian is concerned about the glory of God; he is moved to jealousy for him, he suffers to see him unrecognised and ignored, he is animated by a great need for propaganda, and he can only be at peace if all knees bow before him and that every man honour him. For him, every pagan who is converted is a triumph for God, a homage paid to the creator and a progress of his reign in the world.⁷¹²

He argued,

⁷⁰⁹ S. Masondo, Ironies of Christian Presence in Southern Africa” in *Journal for the Study of Religion* 31, 2 (2018), pp. 209-231.

⁷¹⁰ N. B. Pityana, “The renewal of African moral values,” in *African Renaissance*, edited by Malegapuru W. Makgoba (Sandton: Mafube Publishing, 1999), pp.137-148.

⁷¹¹ Dieterlen, *Pourquoi les missions? Réflexions d’un missionnaire*.

⁷¹² *Ibid*.

The missions are thus a work of Christian patriotism and fidelity to God. Even if God had not commanded Christians to go through everyone and to preach the Gospel to all human beings, the Christian would do it spontaneously, out of need, out of principle. He would invent the missions, if they were not announced by the prophets of Israel and instituted by Christ himself and by the entire Bible.⁷¹³

He maintained,

Christianity without missions is as if in contradiction with the thought of God or detached from it. Now, on whom does God count to be the God of all men, if not on Christians and on the work, they will do to proclaim his existence and his will to the ends of the earth?⁷¹⁴

He declared,

Jesus, when he came to earth, was the first missionary whom God sent into the world to fulfil his servants of the Old Covenant and call men to obedience to the rightful king. He set or put back . . . things in course. He drew up a program; he provided by his life, by his death, by his resurrection, the means of carrying it out. Then he returned to operations [heaven]. He went back to heaven leaving a group of [the] faithful in a few villages in Palestine to whom he had given this instruction: 'Go through to everyone and to every human creature. You will be my witness to the ends of the earth.'⁷¹⁵

He explained,

To establish the reign of God and to conquer the world, Jesus relied on his disciples, on all those who had accepted and practised his teachings. It is not to angels that God

⁷¹³*Ibid.*

⁷¹⁴*Ibid.*

⁷¹⁵*Ibid.*

entrusted the realisation of his program. It is through men that he wants to act on men and wants to attract them to himself.⁷¹⁶

This thought resonates with Calvin, as already highlighted earlier that God employs human agency to fulfil his work on earth not the angels.

Dieterlen further averred,

The first Church, very small as it was, understood and accepted this immense task[of missions]. See what happened in Jerusalem after Pentecost! See Saint Paul, a missionary by excellence, crossing the seas, resuming the conversion of the people of Asia and aspiring to reach the ends of the then known world . . . European Churches would not exist if missionaries had not come . . . to preach the Gospel. And if today I and you are Christians, if there is in our Europe a strong leaven of Christianity. We owe it to those who prolonged the work of Jesus by establishing missions in the middle of our ancestors, plunged into the thickest paganism.⁷¹⁷

He declared,

Missions are a work made from love for men. The first duty of a Christian is ‘to love God’ and to attend to the affairs of his Father. The second is ‘to love your neighbour as yourself.’ And when we talk about love, you will agree that it is not a platonic, vague and sterile attachment. To love is to act; it is wanting the good of those we love and working to prove it to them.⁷¹⁸

He explained,

Now, the pagans, first, are members of mankind . . . Whether black or yellow, negroes have more advanced civilisation, it does not matter. They are men; they are . . . brothers. If you see their miseries let it be not to despise them, but to have mercy on them and to help them . . . They are ‘without God and without hope.’ They are ‘sitting

⁷¹⁶*Ibid.*

⁷¹⁷*Ibid.*

⁷¹⁸*Ibid.*

in the darkness of death' because they are deprived of the knowledge of salvation and delivered to all the horrors of ignorance and vice.⁷¹⁹

He averred, 'woe to me if I do not evangelise! The Europeans, however, took care of the Africans, not to evangelise them, but to create colonies in their grandparents. From there missions are a work of repair . . .'⁷²⁰

He elaborated,

This colonization is often represented in a seductive aspect. They would like to make them believe that the enlightened Europe is interested, in philanthropy, in bringing them benefits of modern civilisation. It is quite another thing. Europe divided Africa and annexed the islands of the Pacific to open new outlets of its trade. In almost all cases, it is her own interest not of the savages that the colonisation of Europe is aiming for. And the little philanthropy that mixes with this prevents us from seeing certain results that we are careful not to reveal to the European public.⁷²¹

Colonialism constituted seductive elements in Africa in a form of incentives which came as works of philanthropy, whereas, they were meant to hide the wicked aspects of the colonial enterprise. Thus Dieterlen believed that 'Christian Europe must prevent and repair the wrongs committed by colonizing Europe.'⁷²²

5.7 Dieterlen's views on ecumenism

Ecumenism is an expression of the desire for Christian unity notwithstanding denominational differences. Dieterlen practically embraced this as a principle in all the stations that he served. As Oberlin mentioned in Chapter Three, Dieterlen always reached out to others with a view to promote good working relations. As discussed in the preceding chapter, Dieterlen

⁷¹⁹*Ibid.*

⁷²⁰*Ibid.*

⁷²¹*Ibid.*

⁷²²Dieterlen, *Pourquoi les missions? Réflexions d'un missionnaire.*

was a friend to Rev. Joseph Deacon of the Anglican Mission at Tsikoane.⁷²³ Additionally, in 1895-1913, while posted at Leribe, he visited the missionaries of other missions in the area such as Father Joseph Gérard of the Roman Catholic Mission at St Monica's and Rev. John Widdicombe of the Anglican Mission at Hlotse (St. Saviour's).⁷²⁴ Brutsch commented on the wide-ranging contact that Dieterlen had with other Christian people beyond the Paris Mission and contends that this was unusual in his day.⁷²⁵ Dieterlen was less cynical about the Church of Mahon.⁷²⁶ While he had some reservations as well as being sceptical about it, he was rather very tolerant of it.⁷²⁷ Nonetheless, ecumenism was the spirit of the mission enterprise right from its beginning. For instance, John Philip, the superintendent of the London Missionary Society, helped the PEMS missionaries upon their arrival in Southern Africa.⁷²⁸ Moffat housed Samuel Rolland and Prosper Lemue before they could establish themselves.⁷²⁹ They worked closely as well as harmoniously. Kolbe at Philippolis, too, housed Eugène Casalis, Thomas Arbousset and Constant Gosselin who were on their way to Kuruman in the north-west. It was on his advice that they ended up coming to Basutoland.⁷³⁰ These are but some few examples of how ecumenism remained the spirit of the mission enterprise. Let it suffice to state that that spirit continued to characterise the mission enterprise to the end of it. The churches that were the fruit of the mission enterprise (the Paris Mission, the Roman Catholic Mission and the Anglican Mission) also embraced it. For

⁷²³ Hincks, *Quest for Peace*, p.322.

⁷²⁴ *Ibid.* p. 568.

⁷²⁵ *Ibid.*

⁷²⁶ Edgar Mahon was a Zionist itinerant preacher and healer based in Harrismith. He visited Leribe in the area where Dieterlen worked and made a large following. He preached repentance and conversion, laid hands on the sick, discouraged the use of tobacco and the consumption of pork. *Ibid.*, pp. 415-416.

⁷²⁷ *Ibid.*, pp.414-415, 989-990

⁷²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 92.

⁷²⁹ *Ibid.*, p.152; *The Recollections of Elizabeth Rolland 1803-1901*, edited by Karel Schoeman (Pretoria: Human&Rousseau 1987), pp.61, 62.

⁷³⁰ B.M. Khaketla, *Moshoeshoe le Baruti* (Moriya: Morija Sesuto Book Depot 1954), pp.44, 46, 65-67; M.Damane, *Histori ea Lesotho* (Moriya: Morija Sesuto Book Depot, 1986), pp.37-38; Senders, *Moshoeshoe Chief of the Sotho*, p.47.

instance, in Lesotho⁷³¹; in the 1960s churches desired to work together where possible. As a result the following organisations were formed: the Christian Council of Lesotho in 1965, to express the oneness of the Church; Private Health Association of Lesotho in 1974 by the Paris, Roman Catholic and Anglican missions; the Sodepax Commission in 1964, 'whose aim was to bring co-operation among the Churches, especially in the areas of development, justice and peace; the Lesotho Ecumenical Association was also formed for the purpose of studying the Christian issues such as 'Christian Personality: Its growth and Development.' This was discussed in 1971.⁷³²

Overall, Dieterlen reproduced Calvin's theology of the Church with omissions of the disparagement to the Roman Catholics who were prevalent in Basutoland during his time that characterised Calvin's theology of the Church. Dieterlen was much more tolerant with Catholics than Calvin. The preoccupation of Dieterlen's writing on the Church was in an inclusive manner, that is, ecumenical as well as universal. While the content of his understanding of the Church was coterminous with Calvin, their difference accounted for rhetoric, genre and stylistic features. Dieterlen employed metaphors or similitude to describe the Church. For example, to describe the invincibility of the Church, he compared it to his home city Paris, the French claimed to be invincible despite the enemy attacks that it experienced. The Church is likened to a sanctuary or a mountain where those in trouble climb for protection, a crop in a field yet to ripen but ready and the owner expecting the harvest as well as an egg with a chick in its development in it and not yet broken for the chick to come out. All these examples are Dieterlen's making and are not found in Calvin who strictly confined to the Holy Scripture in his elucidation of the Church.

⁷³¹Lesotho is a pre-colonial as well as a post-independence name while Basutoland is colonial. It obtained its independence in 1966. The Paris Mission gave the reigns of leadership to the Basuto Christians in 1964, and the church was given a new name, the *Lesotho Evangelical church*. See, Mohapeloa, *From Mission to Church*, pp.42, 49; Gill, *A Short History of Lesotho*, p.216.

⁷³²Mohapeloa, *From Mission to Church*, pp. 56,57.

In the introduction of this study, it was highlighted that Calvin and Dieterlen cannot be compared owing to their different contexts and time of their labour. Nonetheless, a thorough discussion on their doctrinal similarities as well as their difference is important to make.

Firstly, Doctrinal similarities between Calvin and Dieterlen regarding the Church are noticed in their depiction of the Church as a community of believers in two categories: the visible and the invisible Church. The former constitutes the Church of God on earth and the latter all the elects of God including the dead. The invisible Church makes up the body of Christ. These two categories make up the communion of saints that is ‘the totality of the elect.’ The visible Church, however, comprises the hypocrites. Dieterlen declared that the Church is the kingdom of God on earth in its embryonic stage, that is in its beginning, in its imperfect state, but striving for its perfection or completion in heaven. This means that the true Church or the elects are only known to God. This is the invisible Church. The members of the Church are all those in communion with Christ. Dieterlen averred that the Church of God is where heavenly bread is partaken. This is in reference to the communion with Christ. It is in the Lord’s Supper where this communion is found. The Church of God is universal or ecumenical or catholic. It is a worldwide Church. Dieterlen maintained that the local Churches are branches of the universal Church of God. Thus, all Christian Churches on earth, professing Christ and believing in him make up one Church of God.

According to Dieterlen the functions of the Church are as follows: to teach or preach the Gospel, to guide the believers – possibly in sanctity – and to reprimand them when they err. On the other hand, Calvin enumerated the marks of the true Church of God as where the Word of God is preached, the true sacraments are observed and where discipline is exercised. The use of sacraments in Church strengthens faith and promotes sanctity among other things. Moreover, Dieterlen posited that the Church cannot be said to be living if the sacraments are not duly administered. Thus, the sacraments are very important in the Church, but Calvin

viewed them as of secondary and of a supplementary nature as compared to the Word of God which alone is sufficient for salvation. Therefore, the Word of God takes pre-eminence over all the functions or marks of the Church. Discipline helps the Church to maintain order within itself as well as to restore or bring back into its fold the members who have erred, strayed or fallen into sin. While Calvin believed in the rigorous application of discipline, Dieterlen advocated moderation in the exercise of it, lest the wrongdoers end up being pushed away instead of being brought back to the Church. Calvin firmly believed that the Church of God must be purged from all impurity. He was somehow a fanatic of the purity of religion in the Church of God. Nonetheless, Calvin and Dieterlen regarded discipline as essential in the life of the Church.

Christ is viewed as the head of the Church and the believers are united under him. He is the master of the Church.

God employs the human agency such as the ministers, the teaching, the ruling presbyters as well as the deaconate to fulfil his divine plans. Dieterlen indicated that God appointed in his Church ministers, prophets and apostles and other servants to tend the flock. In the Old Testament, Moses, Joshua and Samuel are examples. In the New Testament, Jesus appointed his apostles and trained them. Dieterlen taught that the preaching of the Word is the responsibility of all the Christians as well as Church officers. Thus, he did not differentiate between the clergy and the laity. In the same way, Calvin believed that the offices of bishop, a pastor and presbyter are one thing. Thus, Calvin and Dieterlen believed in the priesthood and equality of all believers.

Calvin maintained that the office of the keys was not only given to the apostle Peter but to all apostles. Dieterlen acknowledged that God told Peter that he would build his Church through him but did not discuss the office of the keys. While Calvin maintained that the

Church is the mother of the believers and it conceives and nourishes them as the mother does to her infant, Dieterlen stressed that the church nurtures the believers.

Calvin and Dieterlen accepted the Church of Rome as the Church of God. Calvin held an opinion that there may be true Churches in the Roman Communion while, at the same time, he viewed the Pope as the antichrist. Dieterlen's background of religious diversity in Strasburg helped him to accept the Roman Church.

Doctrinal similarities between Calvin and Dieterlen are also noticed in their understanding of the sacraments. Firstly, they both recognised baptism and the Lord's Supper as the sacraments ordained by Christ. Secondly, while Calvin affirmed the real presence of Christ in the supper in a rather mysterious manner and which he claimed, 'it is a secret and wonderful work of the Holy Spirit, Dieterlen also claimed that there is a mystery in the Lord's Supper that is beyond human understanding which a believer cannot fully comprehend that by eating the bread and drinking from the cup one is meeting with Jesus. That meeting takes place when one eats with faith, even if one does not understand fully what the Lord's Supper is about. Calvin and Dieterlen believed that the Lord's Supper had mysterious connotations in it. However, Dieterlen did not go into the details of Calvin's understanding of the Lord's Supper, as highlighted earlier.

Secondly, the difference between Calvin and Dieterlen is mainly found in the different contexts of their ministries as well as the circumstances that surrounded their lives. Dieterlen came voluntarily to Basutoland as a missionary and was motivated by his love for Christ as well as his burning zeal for missions. On the other hand, Calvin never left Europe as a missionary. He fled from France, his home country, and became a fugitive in Europe because of a religious persecution that threatened his life.⁷³³ After a sojourn in Basel, Calvin eventually went to Geneva where he continued the reformation work which Farel had

⁷³³ T.H. L. Parker, *John Calvin, A Biography*(Louisville, London: Westminster John Knox Press, 1975), pp.49,51.

started.⁷³⁴ Calvin grappled with what he viewed as idolatry in Christendom. Since his conversion in 1529 or the early 1530s, ‘beliefs and forms of worship which had been his since babyhood then appeared as superstitions, religion was not God given but arbitrarily devised by men.’⁷³⁵ In particular, Calvin was opposed to the mass. He viewed the mass as abolishing and obliterating the Lord’s Supper which is the true and only death of Christ. He regarded the mass as a blasphemy and insult to Christ by substituting human priest in his place.⁷³⁶ Thus, Calvin abhorred the rituals of the Roman Church.

In Basutoland, Dieterlen continued the work of his predecessors by teaching the Basuto about Christ with a view of converting them. His big challenge in his ministry was the traditional customs of the Basuto such as polygamy, cattle marriage and circumcision. Dieterlen deemed these customs as not in line with Christianity as well as superstitious. For this reason, he persuaded the Basuto to stop practising them. The Basuto’s adherence and veneration of the ways of their fathers made Dieterlen to believe that the Basuto customs were a superstition of some kind. The customs claimed the powers that belonged to God only when in reality they did not have such powers. While this makes it evident that Calvin’s abhorrence of the Roman Church’s rituals was transferred in Dieterlen regarding the customs of the Basuto, it is clear that Calvin grappled with what he viewed as heresy in Christianity and Dieterlen was confronted with unchristian ways among non-Christians in Basutoland.

Another important theme to consider in this regard is grace. How Calvin and Dieterlen viewed it. Calvin believed that Christ by his death obtained the benefits which God intended for humanity. However, God’s benefit is useless without personal relationship with Christ. Faith in Christ is indispensable in this regard. Thus Christ serves as a mediator between God and the believers. In order for one to receive the benefit of God (grace), one must be in communion with Christ, that is, one must be united to Christ and be one with Him. This

⁷³⁴ *Ibid*, pp. 73, 74, 75.

⁷³⁵ *Ibid*, pp. 40, 41; See also Wendel, *Calvin, Origins and Development of his Theological Thought*, pp. 37-40.

⁷³⁶ Calvin, *The Institutes of the Christian Religion*, 4. 18. 2, 5, 7.

spiritual union extends to the whole man and not only to the soul but to the body and the soul, that is, man in totality.⁷³⁷ Calvin believed that the indwelling of Christ in man the latter becomes really righteous. It is important to note that Calvin, however, was careful not to ‘mingle the divinity of the Christ with our humanity and so far as to abase it.’ According to him union with Christ was only possible in the life to come not in this life. The believer’s union with Christ was a daily and gradual process as a believer draws near Him and would culminate in the life to come.⁷³⁸ The believers communion with Christ makes God to love them. It enables believers to be participants in the life and spirit of Christ. It is only by faith that communion is found.⁷³⁹ Calvin understood faith as ‘a sure and certain knowledge of God’s good will towards us . . . founded upon the promise freely given to Jesus Christ . . . revealed to our understanding and sealed in our hearts by the Holy Spirit.’⁷⁴⁰ Faith is a gift of God and believers receive it by grace from Christ. Faith reconciles believers with God . It sanctifies them to reflect on holiness and innocence of life.⁷⁴¹ Christ’s communion with the believers is manifested in the Lord’s Supper. The Holy Spirit plays a mediator role between Christ and man just as Christ is the mediator between God and man.⁷⁴²

While Dieterlen did not directly write about grace as Calvin did, he wrote about the means of grace namely the Word of God and the Sacraments of baptism and the Lord’s Supper. How he understood them shed light as to how he viewed grace. Firstly, Dieterlen viewed the Word of God and the sacraments as essentials in the life of the Church of God. In Reformed tradition these constitute the marks of the true Church of God.⁷⁴³ Dieterlen believed that the preaching of the Word of God is the responsibility of all Christians. Thus, it

⁷³⁷ Wendel, *Calvin, Origins and Development of his Religious Thought*, pp. 234,235.

⁷³⁸ *Ibid*, p. 237.

⁷³⁹ *Ibid*, p. 238.

⁷⁴⁰ Calvin, *The Institutes of the Christian Religion*, 3.2.7.

⁷⁴¹ Wendel, *Calvin, Origins and Development of his Religious Thought*, pp. 241,242.

⁷⁴² *Ibid*.

⁷⁴³ Bavinck, *Reformed Dogmatics, Holy Spirit, Church, and New Creation*, Vol. 4, p. 311, 312; “The Genevan Confession (1536)” in *Confessions and Catechisms of the Reformation* eds, Mark A. Noll(England: Baker House Company, 1991),pp. 130-131.

is the responsibility of every Christian to bring unbelievers to the knowledge of God. the Word of God is the key that opens the kingdom of God to the believers and at same time closes it to the unbelievers. Dieterlen stressed that the goal of preaching the Gospel is conversion. Nevertheless, conversion is the work of God alone. The Gospel is the power of God for salvation. He maintained that the Word of God re-creates people's hearts anew, moulds people and is a counsellor of people. In order for one to have a firm faith, Dieterlen suggested that one must allow the Word of God to dwell in him richly. The foregoing makes it clear that the Word of God, by the work of the Holy Spirit, brings about regeneration, conversion and faith in people. 'So faith comes from hearing and hearing through the word of Christ.'⁷⁴⁴ Thus, one can come to faith only through hearing the word of Christ, that is, the good news about Jesus Christ as the crucified and risen saviour. the Word of God brings forth faith in whoever it dwells and believes in it.

Concerning the sacrament of the baptism, Dieterlen discussed infant baptism. He declared that some parents have some doubts about infant baptism, whether it is correct to do it. He intimated that whatever is done with some doubts cannot be carried out properly. Nonetheless, he recounted a biblical incident when children were brought to Jesus by their parents to be blessed by him. Jesus' disciples rebuked those who brought them. Jesus intervened by stating that they should let them come to him and not hinder them for theirs is the kingdom of God. He then blessed them.⁷⁴⁵ Dieterlen argued that the children did not asked to be prayed for or to be blessed by Jesus. It was the parents who knew and understood the meaning of that act. Thus, the parents did what was right for their children. He explained that children are born without knowledge or a will. It is the parents that make decisions for them such as baptising them so that they may be part of the people of God. Jews circumcised their infants when they were eight days after birth. Parents by baptising their children take

⁷⁴⁴ Romans 10:17.

⁷⁴⁵ Matthew 19: 13-15.

Jesus' plan for children and make it theirs. Baptism is a life-long responsibility of the parents on their children. They pledge to work hard to raise their children to truly become members of the people of God. Thus, baptism as a sacrament in this sense is indeed 'a sign and seal of the covenant of grace, of engrafting into Christ, of regeneration, of remission of sins, and of giving unto God, through Jesus Christ, to walk in newness of life.'⁷⁴⁶

Dieterlen wrote at length about the Lord's Supper illustrating how different Christian denominations understood it. Calvinists, Lutherans, Roman Catholics and Zwinglians believed that there is the real communication of the person and benefits of Christ to everyone who believes in Christ in the Lord's Supper. They only differ over the mode of Christ's presence in the sacrament. Nonetheless, what is important here is how Dieterlen understood the Lord's Supper. He defined the Lord's Supper as a spiritual food that unites a believer with Christ, a holy ordinance that promotes prayerfulness. A believer meets with Christ when he partakes of the Lord's Supper with faith. However, this meeting with Christ in the Lord's Supper is a mystery, something beyond a believer's understanding. The Lord's Supper as a holy meal must be approached with purity lest one eats and drinks judgement upon self. Dieterlen following Calvin affirmed the spiritual presence of Christ in the Lord's Supper. However, as highlighted earlier, he did not expound Calvin's thought regarding the Lord's Supper in full. Calvin in refuting the Lutherans and Catholics' position of physical presence of Christ in the Lord's Supper adopted a subtler position that separated the divinity of Christ which is spiritual from the material elements (bread, wine and the believers). The believers and Christ remain distinct as well as the bread and the wine. There is 'no pantheistic mingling, no transference of substances, no consubstantial oneness such as found in the three persons of the Holy Trinity, nor a personal union of the two persons of Christ.'⁷⁴⁷ The Holy Spirit effects communion between Christ and the believers. It bonds them together so much

⁷⁴⁶ *The Confession of Faith and Catechisms of the Orthodox Presbyterian Church with Proof Texts* (USA: The Orthodox Presbyterian Church, 2005), p. 134

⁷⁴⁷ Bavinck, *Reformed Dogmatics*, Vol. 4, p.577.

that what the minister does on earth regarding the sacrament, the Holy Spirit accomplishes spiritually. In fact, those who partake of bread and wine in faith are, also by the power of the Holy Spirit, nourished by the body and blood of Christ. However, Christ's human body is in heaven, it does not have to come down on earth for believers to partake of it. According to Calvin, signs and things signified must be distinguished without being separated. He rejected the idea that the signs are transformed to the things they signify. The Lord's Supper bonds and fosters fraternal love among Christians.⁷⁴⁸

This succinct overview of the doctrine of grace by Calvin and the means of grace: the Word of God and the sacraments of baptism and the Lord's Supper by Dieterlen reveal that the sacraments are inseparably attached to the Word of God and all points to grace which is their culmination. For instance, baptism presupposes grace as by it a person is engrafted into Christ,⁷⁴⁹ becomes a new creation⁷⁵⁰ as well as a member of the people of God. The marked difference between Calvin and Dieterlen is that the latter seemed to provide the summary of Calvin theology in a simple form to the Basuto while the former it is clear that he was engaged in polemics. Calvin's time and world, that is, 16th century Europe was marked by religious controversies. Calvin's theology was a response to the controversies of his time. His context made him to be meticulous in his analysis of biblical themes. Grace is expounded in a careful elaborate manner. It is evident that Calvin was responding to the polemics of his time in Europe.

Lastly, concerning Church and state relationship, as discussed in Chapter Eight, Calvin and Dieterlen believed that the state and the Church must be interdependent of each other and non should interfere in the sphere of another. However, they both wanted the state to be under the sway of the Church as well as to protect the Church. Dieterlen's context in Basutoland was of a double authority: the traditional chieftainship and the colonial

⁷⁴⁸ K. Mathison, "Calvin's Doctrine of the Lord's Supper," *Worldview and Culture*, Nov 1, 2006.

⁷⁴⁹ 2 Corinthians 3:16-18.

⁷⁵⁰ 2 Corinthians 5: 17.

government. This marks the difference between him and Calvin. Dieterlen recognised the traditional authority which was the chieftainship as well as the colonial engineered authority. On the other hand, Calvin's context in Geneva was that of civil authority or the magistrates.

5.8 Dieterlen's transmission of his views on the Church, ministry, the missions, worship and ecumenism to the Basuto ministers

In chapter three we saw that both the first and second generation of Basuto ministers were prolific writers. It is in their literary works where we see how Dieterlen influenced them regarding their understanding of the Church, ministry, missions, worship in Church and ecumenism.

Edward Lefatle Motsamai⁷⁵¹ and Everitt Lechesa Segoete, the second-generation Basuto ministers, were the most prolific writers of all of them. Motsamai authored a book titled: *Kereke* (the Church) in 1925 the same year in which Thomas Mofolo's master-piece *Chaka* was published. The Paris Mission had started work on the Rand in 1924 and in the same year, had also celebrated Reformation Sunday for the first time 'to enable the Basutos, who had been worked upon by a pervading propaganda, to better understand what the Church owes to the Reformation and through it to God's Word.'⁷⁵²

The pervading propaganda mentioned above had to do with the Roman Catholics whose work was advancing very well, their schools and stations as well as the workforce, had become more numerous and were having some persuasive discourses against the Paris Mission. It was then important for the Paris Mission to define the Church and teach about the

⁷⁵¹ Edward Lefatle Motsamai (1870-1959) was born at Masite in the Maseru district. He enrolled at the Paris Mission Bible School and graduated with honours in 1886. He attended the Teacher Training School, also known as the Normal School or Thabeng Training College. He received his teacher's certificate in 1888. The Paris Mission made him a teacher at the Bible School as well as at the Teacher Training College from 1889 to 1892. In 1893, he joined the Theological School that prepared Basuto for the ordained ministry. Thus, he became the second generation of the Basuto ministers. A. S. Gérard, *Four African literatures, Xhosa, Sotho, Zulu, Amharic* (London: University of California Press, 1971), pp. 136-137; M. Damane, *Marath'alilepe a puoea Sesotho* (Moriya: Morija Sesuto Book Depot, 1960), pp.122-127.

⁷⁵² Ellenberger, *A Century of Mission Work in Basutoland*, pp.347,348, 355-356.

Reformation in the face of an on-going rivalry and competition between them and the Roman Catholics.⁷⁵³ Motsamai in this context did that for the Paris Mission. By this time Dieterlen had retired from missionary work and was back at home in Paris.

In his book, *Kereke*, Motsamai defined the Church as an assembly of Christians, the people of God meeting with the purpose of exhorting each other with the Word of God as well as worshiping him in a designated place and time.⁷⁵⁴

He maintained that the marks of the true Church are teaching, teaching that calls on people to repent and believe in Jesus Christ, as John the Baptist did, as well as observing the sacraments – baptism and the Lord Supper – commanded by Christ. Overmuch, the true Church is known by its Christian members striving to produce the fruits of the spirit as enumerated in the letter to the Galatians 5: 22-24.⁷⁵⁵

He indicated that the Church of God is universal and has cultural diversity. He added that the Church must adapt to the living conditions of the people whom it is located amongst. To clarify this point, he referred to the Jewish Church which practised Jewish traditional rites such as circumcision vis-à-vis the Gentile Church which did not practise it. Nonetheless, he insisted that it was still one and the same Church.⁷⁵⁶

⁷⁵³ Gill, *A Short History of Lesotho*, pp. 173-174, 189-190.

⁷⁵⁴ Kereke ke mokhatlo oa bakreste ba sehlotšoana ba phuthehang ha mmoho ka morero oa ho kothatsana ka buka ea Molimo, ho eletsana, ho rapela Molimo ha mmoho, ho rorisa ka lifela, le ho etsa mesebetsi ea Oona...Sehlotšoana seo se hlokometse nako ea hokopana ha sona; se khethile sebaka seo ho phutheheloang ho sona. E. Motsamai, *Kereke* (Moriya: Moriya Sesuto Book Depot, 1925), p. 5.

⁷⁵⁵ ...Kereke ea 'nete e ikhetha ka matšoao ana: Ke e rutang batho ho baka le ho lumelaho Jesu Krete joaloka ha Johanne Mokolobetsi a ne a etsa; Ke e nang le lintho tse peli tseo Morena a laetseng hore li phethoe, e leng Kolobetso ea balumelang, le Selalloseo a laetseng hore se jeoe a be a fihle. Haholo-holo Kereke ea 'nete e tsejoa ka bophelo ba balumeli ba eona, ba pheeletseng ho hlaisa litholoana tsa moea tse boleloang ho Ba-Gal. 5: 22-24. *Ibid*, p.7; Spykman, *Reformational Theology*, pp.451-452; "Belgic Confession", article 29.

⁷⁵⁶ Kereke ha e'nqa ele ngoe. Ka ntle ho Kereke eo motho a holetseng ho eona, eo a hlahetseng mahlo ka ho eona, Kereke ea Jesu Krete e teng lefatšeng lohle. Ka 'nga e ngoe ho ka thoe, Kereke ea Morena Jesu e lokela ho ipopa hara sechaba seo e leng ho sona ka ho ea ka moo sechaba seo se leng ka teng... Kereke e har'aBa-Jode e ne e sa tšoane le hara balichaba; ea ba Jode e ne e ntse e e-na le mekhoanyana e meng e nkhang se-Jode, e kang lebollo le e meng. Athe Kereke ea balichaba e ne e sena lintho tseo tsa se-Jode. 'Me le ha ho le joalo e ne entse ele Kereke e le 'ngoe. Motsamai. *Kereke*, p.7.

He declared that there is a visible and an invisible Church. These words were used by Calvin.⁷⁵⁷ The visible Church might have some defects in many ways. It is under the care and leadership of people. But the invisible Church is under the leadership of Christ alone.⁷⁵⁸ That was the Church that the Lord referred to when he marvelled at the faith of the centurion: ‘I tell you, many will come from east and west and recline at table with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob in the kingdom of heaven.’⁷⁵⁹ We do not know who its members are. That was the Church God referred to when he spoke to Elijah on the mountain of Horeb that he had preserved 7000 people that had not bowed to Baal.⁷⁶⁰ He stated that the invisible Church is a Church of people like Antipas,⁷⁶¹ the faithful witness of Christ whom he alone commended for his faithfulness. That Church is a spiritual house which God, himself, has collected. Those living stones were taken from all the nations with different languages like the multitudes that Apostle John in his vision saw near the throne of the lamb that no one could count.⁷⁶²

He maintained that no matter how hard the Churches of God may work, the truth remains, that is: ‘the Lord knows those who are his.’ This means, it is not ministers who will testify that so and so belongs to the Lord; he knows his sheep among others.⁷⁶³

⁷⁵⁷ Calvin, *Institutes*, 4.1.4,7.

⁷⁵⁸ J.L. Gonzalez, *A History of Christian Thought from the Protestant Reformation to the Twentieth Century* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1987), pp.161-162.

⁷⁵⁹ Matt. 8: 11.

⁷⁶⁰ 1 Kings 19: 9-18.

⁷⁶¹ Revelation 2:13.

⁷⁶² Revelation. 7:9-17. Kereke eo re tsoa buisana ka eona ke e bonoang, e kalosong ea batho; ke ea lefatše. Ho ka ‘na haeba le liphoso ho eona ka mekhwa e le mengata. Empa re tseba hore hona le kereke e sa bonoeng, eo Molisa oa eona e leng eena Jesu Krete a le mong. Ke bona bao Morena a neng a ba bolela ha a ne a makalitsoe ke tumelo ea molaoli oa lekholo, ha ane a buoa ka lentsoe le matla a re: Ba bangata ba tla tsoa bochabela le bophirimela, ‘me ba tla lula lijong le Abrahama le Isaaka le Jakobo. Kereke eo ke ea batho bao rona re sa ba tsebeng, joaleka Elia a neng a buisana le Jehova Molimo thabeng ea Horebe, ha a ne a bolela hore bana ba Iseraele ba furaletse Jehova, ‘me eena Elia o se a setse a le mong. Molimo oa mo araba ka ho re, o ipoloketse batho ba 7000 ba sa kang ba khumamela Baale le ha ele ho mo aka. Kereke eo ke ea batho ba kang monnanyana eloa Antipase, paki ea Jesu e tšepehang, motho eo botšephehi ba hae bo pakoang ke eena Morena a ‘notsi... Kereke eo ke ntlo ea moea e ntseng e hahuo ka majoe a utloang, ao Molimo o ntseng o a lata koana le koana moo rona re sa tsebeng, har’a lichaba tsohle le mefuta eohle, lipuo tsohle le merabe eohle, joaloka ha Johanne a ile a senoleloa ke Molimo ‘me a bona batho bao ho seng motho ea ka tsebang ho ba bala ba eme pel’a terone ea Molimo le pela Konyana. Motsamai, *Kereke*, pp.9-10.

⁷⁶³ Taba ena e re ruta hore, le ha likereke tsa Molimo li ka sebitsa joang le joang, ho ntse ho tiile taba ea ‘nete e reng : “ Morena o tseba bao e leng ba hae.” Ke hore , hase baruti ba ka mo pakelang hore ‘nyeo le ‘nyeo ke ba

Motsamai averred that some people think of the Church as an association like many others that people make. They say the Church is an association that brings people together in order to make money out of them. He argued that the Church is not an association in that sense. But rather it could be depicted as the people with their own chief. However, this analogy does not suit the Church well. A chief is there because of the people, and he cannot be there without the people. There are nations without chiefs. The Church likewise is there because of the Lord. The Church foundation is deeper and beyond human thought and will.⁷⁶⁴ He explained that the Church is the kingdom of God founded by Jesus. He founded it upon himself. That was the stone Nebuchadnezzar saw in his dream which broke from the mountain and was not made by human hands. It grew and became a mountain and filled the whole world. According to the Bible, the Church is the body of Christ. He is the head of the body. The Church was not founded by human will, but God's will alone. All people that have received Christ are members of his body. The spirit of God empowers the members of the body of Christ; it grows the Church by pushing people to the feet of Christ. It begets them anew; it renews and sanctifies them, and the people of God become mature.⁷⁶⁵

Motsamai noted that Jesus sent his Church to do three things. Firstly, the Church should preach the Gospel and make disciples for Christ. Secondly, it should baptise those who

hae; ke eena ea tsebang linku tsa hae hara tsohle (Joh. 10:14; II Tim. 2:19; Ba-Heb. 12:23; Tšen. 7:9).

Motsamai, *Kereke*, p.10; Cf. Gonzalez, *A History of Christian Thought*, Vol. 3, p. 168.

⁷⁶⁴Batho ba bang ba ee ba tsoantše Kereke e ka ke o mong oa mekhatlo oa ho bokella batho 'me ha ba se babokeletsoe ebe ba batloa chelete, athe ha ho joalo . . . Athe motheo oa Kereke o tebile ho feta moo. Ha ho le joalo Kereke e ka tsoantšoa kang? E ka bapisoa le ntho efe ea batho lefatšeng? E ka mpa ea tsoantšoa ka sechaba se nang le Morena oa sona. Sechaba le Morena ke ntho e hlaileng le batho ho tloha khale; moo sechaba se leng teng hona le Morena. Empa le ha hole joalo taba ea morena le sechaba e sita ho ba setsoantšo se phethehileng, etsoe hona mehleng ena hona le lichaba tse kholo tse se nang borena ba tsoalo...Kereke eona e teng ka baka la morena oa eona. Ke moo ho bonahalang hore e fela motheo oa eona o tebile haholo ho fetisa khopolo le thato ea motho. *Motsamai, Kereke*, pp.11-12.

⁷⁶⁵Kereke ke 'muso oa Molimo, o theiloe ke Jesu, 'me O theile holima hae. Ke lona lejoe leo Nebuchadnezare a le boneng torong, le ileng la khephoha thabeng e seng ka matsoho a motho, la kokomoha la fetoha thaba la ba la tlala lefatše. Bibe e re bolella hore Kereke ke 'mele oa Krete, eena ke hlooho ea 'mele oa hae. Hase ntho e theiloeng ka thato ea motho, empa ele ea Molimo o le 'notsi. Batho bohle ba amohetseng Krete ke litho tsa 'mele oa hae. Moea oa Molimo ke oona o ntseng o fepa litho tsa 'mele oa Krete, o holisa Kereke ka ho khanela batho maotong a Morena Jesu, o ba tsoala la bobeli; oa ba nchafatsa, oa ba halaletsa, 'me sechaba sa Krete sea hola. *Ibid*, pp.12-13.

believe in the name of the triune God as the rite serves as a confirmation for repentance as well as a mark of Christ's followers. Thirdly, it should make Christians to partake of the Lord's Supper regularly in the pronouncement of the death of Christ. This action confirms Christ's teaching to the Jews that he is the true bread that descended from heaven, which bread gives life, 'he who eats my flesh and drinks my blood has life.' By partaking of the Lord's Supper and sharing it, Christians testify that they are truly members of the body fed by God with spiritual food. Hence the children of God must love one another, as they are members of one body.⁷⁶⁶

It is important to note that the ministry of the Word is inseparable from the sacraments. The two are interdependent and both constitute one thing as the 'means of grace'. However, the preaching of the Word is 'crucial to all the others. It is the fundamental touch stone of all doctrine and life. Without it the two become mere rituals.'⁷⁶⁷

Motsamai declared that there are true and false, dead and living Churches in the world. The true and living Church of God has a life that is like that of a man. He enumerated three things of a living Church. First, it must grow. A person grows because of the food he or she eats. The Church of God, like wise grows as Christ said that the kingdom of God is like a mustard seed – the smallest seed that grows and becomes a tree so that birds nest in its branches.⁷⁶⁸ The Church of God is like that. The seed of the Word of God that is sown in people's hearts must be aided by the Holy Spirit for people to repent and be born again. That was what happened at Pentecost because of the teaching of the apostles that 3000 people got

⁷⁶⁶Ha a ka a siea litaelo tse ngata lefatšeng; o re laetse ho tiisa lintho tse tharo... E ka khona re boelele Evangeli, re phehelle ho khannela batho bohle pakong le tumelong...Ba lumelang ba kolobetsoe ka lebitso la Ntate le la Mora le la Moea o Halalelang. Kolobetso eo ke bopaki ba hore motho ea bakileng ka 'nete o hlatsoitsoe bokhopo ba hae hoo a bofuraletseng; e bile ke letšoao le bontšang hore motho eo ke e mong oa ba latelang Jesu...Morena o laetse Kereke ea hae ho ja Selallo ka mehla, ho bolela lefu la hae ka sona.Ka Selallo seo Kereke e se jang Morena o tiisa thuto ea hae eo a e nehileng ba-Jude ha a re: Ke 'na bohobe ba 'nete bo theohileng leholimong, bo neang lefatše bophelo, ea jang nama ea ka le ea noang mali a ka o na le bophelo. Ka ho ja Selallo sa Morena re le hammoho, re se sielana, re paka hore re fela re le litho tsa 'mele o feptjoang ke Molimo ka sejo se le seng sa Moea oa Molimo. Ke ka baka leo bana ba Molimo ba tšoanetseng ho ratana hobane ke litho tsa 'mele o le mong. *Ibid*, pp.13,14, 15.

⁷⁶⁷Spykman, *Reformational Theology*, P.452.

⁷⁶⁸Matt.13:31, 32.

converted. The children of God must preach the Gospel for the kingdom of God to grow. Second, people won for Christ by the Gospel must be cared for, they must be fed with the Word of God so that they may grow in faith and holiness. the Word of God must be read to the people. It must be read well so that it could touch the hearts of those it is read for. People make a mistake to think that the Word of God is the exposition of a minister in the pulpit; the Word of God is the Bible. Third, besides the Word of God, which is food for the children of God another thing which is a source of life for the Church is prayerfulness. This helps in growing the Kingdom of God. It was through prayerfulness that Jesus was able to establish his kingdom on earth. In his earthly ministry he had a habit of climbing up a mountain to pray. Any Church that prays has a life in it and advances well. It was through prayerfulness that the early Church was able to advance. It remained steadfast in prayer.⁷⁶⁹

Motsamai asserted that the singing of hymns in the Church of God is another important thing that helps to convert people and to bring them to Christ. He wrote that some hymns are a prayer by themselves for the whole Church. When they are sung the whole Church is

⁷⁶⁹Re se re bone hore ho na le likereke tse ngata lefatšeng, tse ling ke tsa 'nete, tse ling ke tsa bohata; tse ling ke tse phelang, tse ling ke tse shoeleng. Kereke ea 'nete e phelang, e na le bophelo bo joaloka ba motho. Re tseba hoba motho ea phelang hantle ona le lintho tse peli bophelong ba hae. 1 Ho hola ha Kereke. Motho oa hola. o holisoa ke lijo tseo a phelang ka tsona... Ho joalo ha kakang bakeng sa Kereke ea Molimo! Ea hola. Ho etsahala seo eena Morena Jesu a se boletseng ha a ne a re " 'Muso oa maholimo o tšoaana le hlaku ea mosetareda eo motho a e nkileng, a e sunya tšimong ea hae. E fela e le eona e nyenyane ho lipeo tsohle; empa ha e holile e siea meroho e meng, e fetohe sefate, moo linonyana li tlang ho haha makaleng a sona" (Matt. 13:31, 32). Kereke ea Morena Jesu e joalo. Peo ea lentsoe e jetsoeng lipepong tsa rona ha e tla ba le thuso ho rona, e ka khona e nosetsoe ke Moea oa Molimo, ho tle ho hlahe bophelo bo bocha ho motho, a fele a tsoaloe la bobeli. Kereke ea Krete ha e tla hlaha, mohla letsatsi la pentakonta, ke ka thuto e matla ea baapostola; ha ba ha sokoloha batho ba 3000. 'Muso oa Molimo ha o tla hola ke ha bana ba Molimo ba etsa ka matla ho bolela Evangeli eo ba e amohetseng. 2. Thuto ea Evangeli. Ha re se re khannile batho ka Evangeli, ba tlile ho rona, e ka khona ba baballoe ke rona, re ba fepe ka Lentsoe la Molimo batle ba hole tumelong le tsepong ea litaba tsa Molimo le khalalelong... Lentsoe la Molimo leo re le boloketsoeng Bibeleng e ka khona le balloe batho. Ho hotle ka ho fetisa hore ea ballang batho litaba tseo tsa Jesu a itokise, a tle a bale litaba tseo tsa Morena ka mokhoa o utloahalang. Ha Lentsoe la Molimo le baloa hantle joalo, ke moo litemana tsa lona li atisang ho rothela lipelong tsa ba le mametseng, ba be ba le utloisise. Rea fosa ha re lekanya hore lentsoe la Morena ke lihlaloso tsa moruti feela ka preskestulong; Lentsoe la Molimo ke eona Buka ea Molimo eo re nang le eona. 3. Borapeli. Ka ntle ho Lentsoe la Molimo, e leng sejo sa bana ba Molimo, ntho e 'ngoe e kholo eo e neng e le mohloli oa bophelo ba Kereke ke borapeli; ke bona bo thusang haholo-holo ho holisa 'muso oa Molimo. Ke ka borapeli Morena oa rona Jesu a tsebileng ho thea 'Muso oa hae lefatšeng. Re utloa hangata ho boleloa hore o ne a ea thabeng a 'notši e sa le ka meso... Kereke e rapelang Molimo ka 'nete ke eona e nang le bophelo ba sebele bo tsoelang pele... Ke ka borapeli Kereke ea pele e tsebileng ho hola le ho ipha matla, hoba re utloa ho thoe, ba ne ba tiisetša thapelong. Motsamai, *Kereke*, pp21-22, 24-27.

praying together. Music allows the Christians to express their feelings as well as their opinions.⁷⁷⁰

According to Motsamai, it is the responsibility of the Christians to support the Church. He noted that when God established his kingdom on earth, he ordered his people to support that work by tithes, as illustrated in the books of Exodus and Leviticus as well as by other means coming from them. He maintained that the Church of God does not have a bank where it keeps its wealth, but its wealth is in the hearts of the Christians by their voluntary gifts.⁷⁷¹

He posited that discipline in Church is a way of bringing Christians to Christ. Christians who err or commit certain despicable acts of sin must be disciplined with love. They should not be told off as that might harden their hearts.⁷⁷²

Motsamai 's emphasis of moderation in the exercise of discipline, resonates with Dieterlen who maintained that the Church must be moderate in the exercise of discipline. Sinners must be made to see the significance of discipline as well as understanding what the Church wants by it, that is, to be reconciled with God. This been done, if the sinner really wants to reconcile with God, he or she will be submissive and there would be no grudges on his or her part on the discipline exercised on him or her.⁷⁷³

⁷⁷⁰Ntho e 'ngoe e nang le thuso e kholo kerekeng ea Molimo ke pina. Batho ba bangata ba sokolotsoe ke sefela seo ba neng ba se utloe kerekeng ; ke sona se bileng matla ho ba sisinya, ho ba khanela maotong a Morena Jesu ho feta le thuto e neng e mametsoe. Pina ke ntho eo re hlaisang ka eona maikutlo a rona ka mefuta-futa ka moo litaba tsa rona li emeng ka teng; ha re thabile rea bina; ha re soabile le teng rea bina. Ka metsotso e meng pina ke thapelo ea rona ho 'Mopi oa rona... Lifela tse ling ke thapelo ea Kereke eohle; e mong le e mong o ithapella ka sefela se binoang; ke oona motsotso o motle oa Kereke ho rapela hammoho ka lentsoe le le leng. *Ibid*, pp. 27,28,31.

⁷⁷¹Mohla Molimo o thehang 'Muso oa ona lefatšeng, taba e 'ngoe e kholo eo o nong o e laele ke hore batho ba sechaba sa Molimo ba jare mosebetsi oa Molimo, ba o tšehetse, 'me ba o ntšetse pele ka mesebetsi ea matsoho a bona le ka limpho tsa bona. Taba tseo re li boloketsoe bukeng ea Exoda le Levitike. Ba ne ba tšoanetse ho abela Jehova karolo ea leshome ea tsohle tseo ba li ruileng mehlapeng ea bona le lijong tsa masimo a bona. *Ibid*, pp.32, 33.

⁷⁷²Motho ea sitiloeng o tšoanetse ho khalemeloa e le hore mohlomong a tle a imamele, a be a ipone bobbe, a bake, a pholohe. Khalemelo e joalo ha e tla thusa motho e ka khona e sebetsoe hantle, ka kelello; ke hore, motho ea nyatsuoang a bone ba monyatsang ba ntse ba mo rata, ba mohlonepha, ba mpa ba hloile liketso tsa hae tse mpe feela. Ba bang ba senye; pelo ea motho e be e halefe, e thatafale, a site ho ipona bobbe, a bone hore o hloiloe, ketso ea hae e feteletsoa ka hobane a sa ratoe. Hoo ha hoaloka. *Ibid*, p.38.

⁷⁷³Kereke e tšoanetse ho khalemela libe. Empa e ka khona e li khalemele hantle, e seng hampe. Moetsalibe a khalemeloe. A mpe a khalemeloe hantle. Hantle joang? Khalemelo e ntle, ke eo moetsalibe a utloisisang

Ecclesiastical discipline in Geneva during the time of Calvin was rigorous as compared to the one Motsamai and Dieterlen advocated in Basutoland. While the duo believed in and encouraged moderation in the exercise of discipline, Calvin maintained, ‘Those whose turpitude might throw infamy on the name [of Christ] must be expelled from his family.’⁷⁷⁴

Motsamai’s understanding of the Church resonates with Dieterlen’s as well as Calvin. His depiction of the Church as the people of God whose mission is to bring heathens to the knowledge of God, the importance of sacraments, decency and order in Church worship, are the marks of the Church and how Christians should love and support the Church as well as emphasis on the importance of discipline all these, are thanks to Dieterlen.

Motsamai acknowledged his indebtedness to him in 1925 by referring to his book: *Bukana ea ‘Moleli* (the booklet of an Evangelist) published in 1912. He highly commended this book and deemed his own book—*kereke* amateurish as compared to it.⁷⁷⁵ Albert S. Gerard, the literature analyst, in his analysis of the literatures of the Xhosa, Sotho, Zulu and Amharic, claimed that Motsamai was a minor writer and that his literary works lacked quality. He labelled his book on the Church as ‘a disquisition on the Christian Church.’⁷⁷⁶

However, Mosebi Damane, one of the Basuto historians, holds a different opinion about Motsamai’s literary works. He saw in him, a writer who wrote with precision, simplicity and without exaggerations in the stories that he narrated.⁷⁷⁷ What remains obvious about the book *Kereke* is that Motsamai emulated Dieterlen.

molemo oa eona le seo kereke e se habileng ka eona. Ha e ka ba a rata ho boelana le Molimo, a keke a belaela ka khalemelo eo a e supisitsoeng molemo oa eona. Bopaki bo bong ba ‘nete ba motho ea inyatsang, ke ha lumela hantle likhalemelo tsa kereke le ho ikokobetsa ka tlasa tsona. Dieterlen, “Mokreste ea oeleng o tsosoa joang?” Lengolo le baliloeng sebokeng sa baboleli le baholo ba Berea, Cana, Leribe le Qalo ka Loetse 1895, kerekeng ea Cana (15 February 1898), p. 2.

⁷⁷⁴ Calvin, *Institutes*, 4.12.5.

⁷⁷⁵ Re ke ke ra buoa letho mabapa le Kereke ea Molimo: re ke ke raba le mantsoe a matla ho feta ka moo ntat’a rona H. Dieterlen a rerutileng ka teng ka *Bukana ea ‘Moleli* (we can’t say much about the Church or utter more powerful words than what our father H. Dieterlen has taught us in his book: the Booklet of the Evangelist), Motsamai, *Kereke*, p. 40.

⁷⁷⁶ Gérard, *Four African literatures, Xhosa, Sotho, Zulu, Amharic*, pp.137-138.

⁷⁷⁷ Damane, *Marath’a lilepe*, p. 123.

Another thing that the Basuto ministers adopted from Dieterlen was a pejorative language. He employed the term *bahedene* (heathens) in reference to the Basuto non-Christians. Insulting, disrespecting and derogatory as the term is, he used it freely in all his writings so much that in his *Booklet of the Evangelist* the term is employed 46 times in the 116-page book. All the Basuto ministers in their writings followed his example by calling their fellow country people heathens. For instance, Segoete maintained that when Jesus called his first disciples, he told them that he would make them ‘catchers of people.’ For that reason, all the Christian must understand that by their lives and standing they are the net. Some sinners as well as heathens got converted when they see good examples and the purity of life of the Christians.⁷⁷⁸ The Church of God being a net that catches people has a responsibility for that big work. It must earnestly teach the heathens with a great zeal.⁷⁷⁹

Bethuile Sekokotoane, another second generation Mosuto minister who trained under Dieterlen, on the other hand, wrote about the Christians who were backsliding. He stated that they ridiculed their baptism by participating in the heathen initiation schools.⁷⁸⁰

He was critical of the Basuto mill game, dances, the flute as well as *liketo*.⁷⁸¹ He considered them a source of bad influence and behaviour. He had concluded that those who were fond of them suffered from moral degeneration.⁷⁸²

⁷⁷⁸ “Ke tla le etsa batšoasang batho.” Ke lona lentsoe la Jesu la maobane hosasa mane le bopong la leoatle. Ka baka lona rea utloisisa rona bakreste kaofela. Bophelo ba mokreste le seemo sa hae e se e le lona letlooa. Baetsalibe ba bang le ha a sa ka a utloa lentsoe la Molimo feela, ha ba bona makethe a mokreste ba bona le bophelo ba hae, ka ‘nete bahedene ba bang ba ka tšoasoa, ba hapuo ke taba tsena tse ntle’ me ka mohlomong le bona ba ka fetoha ba Molimo. . E. Segoete, *Mohlala oa Jesu Krete* (Morija: Morija Sesuto Book Depot, 1924), p.43.

⁷⁷⁹ Kereke ea Molimo ke letlooa le tšoasang batho. E na le boikarabelo bakeng sa mosebetsi oo o moholo. E lokela ho ruta bahedene ka matla le cheseho. *Ibid*, pp.50-51.

⁷⁸⁰ ... ba bang batšoarora hara mabollo a bahedene moo baileng ho tlotlolla kolobetso ka lebollo... B. Sekokotoana, *U roballa’ng* (Morija: Morija Sesuto Book Depot 1968), p.27.

⁷⁸¹ *Liketo* is a game for girls where they throw knuckle bones or small round stones or pebbles. They play it sitting ‘on the lawn around the heap of bones or pebbles or in a small ditch. They take turns to compete playing with small pebbles or stones. A player removes one stone from the heap and throws it up. She quickly takes one stone from the heap to receive the one that was thrown up as it descends. She starts to build her own heap and starts again. Her mistakes give way to another player. The winner is the one who can collect all the stones from the heap. See, S. A. Mokorosi, *Basuto Traditions, Indigenous Architecture and Creativity* (Morija: Morija Printing Press 2017), p. 76.

Dieterlen managed to make of the Basuto ministers the *amakholwa*⁷⁸³ of some kind in Basutoland. The *amakholoa* that perceived all that pertained to the Basuto as bad, backward and heathen and all that pertained to the white missionaries as good. However, this does not follow that the Basuto ministers completely ceased to be the Basuto as it will be seen that they often reverted to their traditional customs at times or used Christian rites in tandem with their traditional ones. Dieterlen confirmed this when he maintained that the problems with many Christians was that they were unwilling to do away with Sesuto not realising that that constituted heathenism. They partook of it, acted on it and played with it. There was a lot of heathenisms within them which could not stop bringing them temptations and danger.⁷⁸⁴

This article was occasioned by a medicine murder incident that took place at Thaba-Bosiu in 1912.⁷⁸⁵ That incident shocked people and Dieterlen attributed it to the heathenism that was in the Basuto as a whole, Christians and non-Christians.

Everitt Lechesa Segoete,⁷⁸⁶ another disciple of Dieterlen who trained under Dieterlen's hand and one of the second-generation Basuto ministers was a prolific writer as already

⁷⁸²Che, ha hokae moo ba ka bateng ha ba le sieo moo (kerekeng), ha ese horeba ka fumanoa mane litholeng tsa moea oa boroko, moo o li khobeletseng teng, liphitšaneng tsa mafitšoana a marakoana le mang o tsoana le li kOUNg tsa literata; moo ho lulang mafereho le lehabea le marato le litakatso tsa bohloa; moo ho lulang fleiti le setapo sa eona le lipapali tse hlabosehang, moo litemana tse ling tsa Bibe le li bolokiloeng litholeng tseo hoba liketo le papali e tlosang bolutu le ho natifisa lipuo tsa mafereho le marato ka tsona. Sekokotoane, *U roballa'ng*, p. 30.

⁷⁸³ The term of Amakholwa is reserved for the educated blacks in the Natal Colony. The word *amakholwa* is Zulu. See, N. Etherington, *The rise of the Kholwa in Southeast Africa: African Christian communities in Natal, Pondoland and Zululand 1835-1880* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1998); G.O. West, *The Stolen Bible: from the tool of imperialism to African icon* (Boston: Brill, 2016), p. 4.

⁷⁸⁴ Molato oa bakreste ba bangata ke ona. Ba qenehetse hoo ba reng ke Sesotho, ba sa elellae hore ba qenehetse le bona bohedene, ba boja, ba bo etsa, 'me ba ipapalla ka bona. Bohedene bo sa le bohola ka ho bona, 'me bo ke ke ba tlohela ho bahlahisetsa meleko le likotsi. H. Dieterlen, "Sesotho le Sekreste," *Leselinyana la Lesotho*, January 18, 1912, p.1.

⁷⁸⁵ This medicine murder incident which Dieterlen wrote about made first appearance under the anonymous author of "Bongakababohedene," *Leselinyana la Lesotho*, January 11, 1912, p.1. It is alleged that the murder was due to the advice of the traditional doctors, though not mentioned by name.

⁷⁸⁶ Everitt Lechesa Segoete (1858-1923) was born at Morifi in the Mohale's Hoek district. His parents moved to Maphutseng where D. F. Ellenberger was a missionary. He attended school at Maphutseng. When Ellenberger migrated to Masitise because of the Seqiti War in 1866, his parents followed him. He also trained at the Teacher Training College in Morija. After obtaining his teaching certificate, he left for the Cape Colony instead of joining the teaching profession. He met some misfortunes in the Colony and was encouraged to go back to Basutoland. He worked at the Printing Press in Morija; left again for Aliwal North where he met his wife. He came back to Basutoland and worked as a teacher at Qomoqomong where he taught Thomas Mofolo who

highlighted above. He presented a paper before the synod sitting at Morija in 1915, on the theme of *Moea oa Bolisa* (the spirit of shepherding) and in the same year that paper was published as a book.⁷⁸⁷

The Paris Mission was seeking ways to improve its evangelisation in Basutoland. The *pitso* of 1888 occasioned by the case of a divorce of a Christian woman married to a polygamous man and where polygamy and cattle marriage were discussed, marked the turning point as well as the good progress of the work of the Roman Catholics in contrast to the Paris Mission that lagged behind because of its tirade on the Basuto culture.⁷⁸⁸

After that *pitso* there was a marked disinterest among the Basuto in the work of the Paris Mission and conversions became rare. As a result, the Paris Mission had to find ways to revive and re- invigorate its work. Dieterlen published a book in 1911 titled: *Na bahedene ba sa sokoloha ka bongata joalo ka pele?* (Do heathens convert in multitudes as before?),⁷⁸⁹ as a retrospective reflection to the problem of the decline of conversions in the Paris Mission as well as proposing what needed to be done. The conversion of the Paramount chief Griffith Lerotholi to the Roman Catholic Mission in 1913 became more harmful to the work of the Paris Mission as the masses of the Basuto- royal family members as well as the commoners- followed Griffith.⁷⁹⁰ In the same manner as Dieterlen, Segoete published *Moea oa bolisa* to help the mission to intensify its shepherding, as it is an important part of pastoral ministry.

later wrote a book *Pitseng* about his work at Qomoqomong and nicknamed him Mr. Katse. Segoete became one of the three students who were appointed to enrol at the seminary in 1893. He became one of the prolific writers among the Basuto ministers. *Ibid*, pp.133-137; Damane, *Marath'alilepe a puoea Sesotho*, pp.111-116; Hincks, *Quest for Peace*, p. 250; S. Gill, "Thomas Mofolo: the man, the writer and his context," in *Tydskrif Vir letter kunde* 53(2) fourth series, translated by Chris Dunton & AntjieKrog (Pretoria, 2017), p. 25.

⁷⁸⁷ E. Segoete, *Moea oa Bolisa*(Morija: MorijaSesuto Book Depot 1915) (11 pages);*Litaba tsa Synod, 19 September 1897- 26 September 1918: Synod of Morija, 7 October 1915*, p, 166.

⁷⁸⁸ Ellenberger, *A Century of Mission Work*, pp. 240-241.

⁷⁸⁹ He presented this work before the synod sitting at Thaba-Bosiu in 1911 and published it the same year as a book. H. Dieterlen, *Na Bahedene ba sa sokoloha ka bongata joalo ka pele* (Morija: Morija Sesuto Book Depot 1911); *Litaba tsa Synod, 19 September 1897- 26 September 1918: Synod of Thaba-bosiu, 1- 7 April 1911*, pp.122-123.

⁷⁹⁰ Hincks, *Quest for Peace*, pp. 484-485.

Segoete enumerated important virtues that should characterise the shepherd of the Church of God:

A shepherd should have the spirit of love. He should love God. That love would give him dedication, humility and amazing endurance in the difficult work which would be unto death. He should also love the people. He should love his Church members. Jesus compared the people with his sheep. He said, 'I lay down my life for my sheep.'⁷⁹¹ This is the kind of love that the shepherd of the Church of God must have. He should, whole-heartedly dedicate himself to the service and well-being of the people. He should sacrifice his happiness, plans as well as the world. He should allow himself to be scorned, hated and persecuted because of his love for the people that he wants to save from evil.⁷⁹²

Prudence is another important virtue for the shepherd of the Church of God. Because of the magnitude of his work, the problems facing him come from all directions. Christians as well as heathens look up to him. Satan, too, is looking at him. He knows that if he strikes the shepherd the sheep shall be dispersed.⁷⁹³ It is for this reason, that a shepherd should be prudent. He should be watchful of his life, ways, tongue as well as his teaching. He should be prudent in his work by looking for greener pastures in the Word of God for his teaching. Jesus told his disciples, who would then become shepherds, that they should 'be aware of

⁷⁹¹ John 10:15.

⁷⁹² Taba ea pele, ea sehlooho, e kholo ka ho fetisa, eo molisa oa Kereke ea Jesu a lokelang hoba le eona, ke lerato. Lerato leo le karolo li peli: (a) Lerato la ho rata Molimo... Lerato leo le ba neile boitelo, boikokobetso le mamello e makatsang mosebetsing oa bona o thata, ho isa lefung. (b) Lerato la ho rata batho. Ka ntle ho lerato la Molimo, Molisa o tsoanetse ho rata Kereke ea hae, batho. Ke lerato leo Jesu a neng a le bolela a tsoantsa batho le linku tsa hae, a re, "Ke beela linku bophelo ba ka" (Joh. 10:15)... Molisa eo o tla itella batho, o tla ineela tšebeliso ea bona ka pelo le maikutlo 'ohle. O tla itela joalo ka baka la batho. O tla tela thabo le bolokolohi ba lefatše, a tele merero ea hae, a lumele ho talingoa hampe, ho hlouoa le ho hlorisoa, ka baka la lerato leo a ratang ho pholosa batho bobeng. Segoete, *Moea oa bolisa*, pp.3, 4; Cf. Prime, *Pastors and teachers*, pp.37, 38.

⁷⁹³ Matthew 26:31.

men.⁷⁹⁴ This age is an age of wisdom, intelligent heathenism as well as mushrooming heretical teachings and in all these the shepherd should be prudent.⁷⁹⁵

A shepherd should have the spirit of building up. He should have the desire to build up the Church of God. It was with reference to building up that Paul said, ‘According to the grace of God given to me, like a skilled master builder, I laid a foundation and someone else is building upon it.’⁷⁹⁶ Building up entails growing and making big. For this reason, the shepherd must build up the Church.

There are two ways of building up the Church: one way is by growing the Church numerically. The house of God should be filled with people who listen to the Word of God. Jesus said, ‘And I have other sheep that are not of this fold. I must bring them also and they will listen to my voice. So there will be one flock, one shepherd.’⁷⁹⁷

Additionally, in the parable of the banquet, ‘the master said to the servant, go out to the highways and hedges and compel people to come in, that my house may be filled.’⁷⁹⁸ When Jesus said these things, there were Christians who believed in him and listened to him, but he was not peaceful when he saw the multitudes out there, who were not part of his people. He felt that he must also bring them in to his fold. This is the spirit that the shepherd must have. He should be driven by it to teach, exhort, pray for the learned and the sinners who are all over and bring them all to God so that his house may be filled with people. Another way of building up the Church is by instilling faith in the hearts of the Christian converts. It is the responsibility of the shepherd to nurture the little faith of the new converts. More often,

⁷⁹⁴Matthew 19:17.

⁷⁹⁵Ka baka la hobane molisa o tšoare tšebetso e kholohali, ke ka hoo a talimiloeng ke litsietsi tse hlahang ka ‘nqa tsohle. (a) Bakreste ba talimile ho eena, bahedene ba talimile ho eena; satane o talimile eena ho fetisa, o tseba hoba “ha ho otloa molisa linku lia qhalana” (Matt. 26:31). Ka baka lena, molisa a be le masene, a falimehele bophelo, mekhoha, lipuo le thuto tsa hae...(b) Le teng molisa a be masene mosebtsing oa hae. A battle makhulo a nonneng Lentsoeng la Molimo ka thuto ea hae. Jesu o itse ho bao e neng e tlaba balisa: “Le tsohele batho masene” (Matt. 10:17). Mehla ena kea bohalefi, kea bohedene bo hlalefileng. Keea lithuto tse itlhalang hohle joalo ka hlabahlabane. Ho tsena kaofela, molisa a be masene..., Seqoete, *Moea oa bolisa*, p. 5; Cf. Prime, *Pastors and teachers*, pp.31-35.

⁷⁹⁶1 Corinthians. 3:10.

⁷⁹⁷John. 10:16.

⁷⁹⁸Luke 14:23.

people blame the converts when they do not live up to the standards of the Christian faith.

They forget that puppies are born with no sight and infants with no speech. The mothers take full responsibility for the growth of their young ones by feeding them. A shepherd likewise should feed the converts with the Word of God. Paul explained that he fed his Christians with milk⁷⁹⁹ and Peter confirmed it when he said, ‘Like new-born infants, long for the pure spiritual milk, that by it you may grow up into salvation.’⁸⁰⁰

But Christians do not know the spiritual milk that brings about growth as well as that feeds the inner person; they are infants, an infant cannot feed on its own, but the mother feeds it. In the same way, a shepherd should find proper food for his converts if he really has the spirit of shepherding.⁸⁰¹

Segoete maintained that the inspection of the flock by the shepherd is an important thing to be done. By so doing the shepherd can be personally involved with the flock, thereby

⁷⁹⁹1 Corinthians 3: 2.

⁸⁰⁰1 Peter 2:2.

⁸⁰¹Molisa o tšoanetse hoba le moea oa ho holisa Kereke ea Molimo. Ho na le mekhoe e ‘meli ea ho holisa Kereke. (a) Mokhoa o mong ke hore Kereke e ngatafale, ntlo ea Molimo e tlale bamameli ba Lentsoe la oona. Jesu o bontšitse hoo ha a re: “ke sa na le linku tse ling tseo e seng tsa lesaka lena, le tsona e ka khona ke li tlise, mohlape o tle o be mong, le molisa a tle a be mong” (Joh. 10:16). Hape setšoantšong sa ba bilelitsoeng lijong, mong’a mokete o itse ho mohlanka: “Tsoelang litseleng le pela metero, ‘me le khanne batho, ba kene, ntlo ea ka e be e tlale” (Luka 14:23). Jesu, ha a bua tse, bakreste ba ne ba le teng ba seng ba mo lumetse, ba mo mamela, empa o ne a se khotso, o ne a bona ba bang ba bangata mane thoko bao e seng ba mohlape, ‘me o ne a lokela ho ba khanna kaofela, a ba tlise, ntlo ea Molimo e be e tlale. Ke oona moea o lokelang molisa, ke eona takatso e kholo ea hae. Takatso eo e mo khanna ho etsa ka matla ohle, ho ruta, ho khothatsa, ho rapella bahlahlefi le baetsalibe bana ba bangata ba qhalaneng hohle, a ba tlise ho Molimo, ntlo ea Molimo e be e tlale. (b) Mokhoa o mong hape, ke ho melisa peo ea tumelo eo Molimo o e jalileng pelong tsa basokolohi. Mohlomong ke tla buoa ke fapana le ba bang tabeng ena. Ha ngata motho ea tsoa sokoloha, kapa mokreste ea tsoang bohedeneng bo reng tšo, hang re ba bitsa bakreste ba phethehileng; re makala ha ba sa utloisise li -‘nete tse ling tsa bokreste, re ba nyatsa ka bohale ha ba sa hate ka ho loka melaong ea Kereke, re re, bao joale ke bakreste ba mofuta ofe? Empa ke re, re lebala tsoalo ea lintho tsohle mona lefatšeng. Ntjanyana, le ha e tsoaloa e phela, le ha ho le joalo, e tsoaloa e se na mahlo, e sa bone letho. ‘M’a eona e tšoanetse ho e holisa, e be e bone, e hole. Ngoana oa motho o tsoaloa a phela, empa ha a bue, ha a sebetse letho, ‘me ‘m’ae a k e ke a mo omanya ka hore ke sethoto le hlanya ha a sa tsebe ho buoa. Che, o tla mo holisa, a mo fepe, a mo rute le eona puo, ‘me ha morao ngoana eo o tla etsa liketso tsa batho bohle. Molisa ha a na le moea oa teng, ke eena ea holisang bophelonyana ba tumelo pelong ea batho. A ba holisa joang? A ba fepa kang? Paulosi o ne ahlalosa seo eena a se entseng ho bakreste ba hae, o ba fepile ka lebeso, a ba holisa ka lona (1 Ba-Kor. 3:2). Petrose o tiisa taba eo: “Le lapele haholo, joaloka bana ba tsoang ho tsoala, lebeso la moea” (1 Pet. 2:2) Empa bakreste, lebeso la moea le holisang, le fepang bophelo ba ka hare, ha ba le tsebe; ke masea, ‘me lesea le ke le iphepa ha le sa hlokomeloe ke ‘m’a lona. Ho joalo, molisa ke eena ea tla batla lijo tsa ‘nete tse lokelang lipelo tsa baratuoa ba hae, haeba molisa eo a ena le moea oa bolisa. Segoete, *Moeaabolisa*, pp.6,7,8; Cf.D.Watson, *Called and Committed: World-Changing Discipleship* (USA: Library of Congress, 1982), pp.38,39.

creating a rapport between himself and the flock. This is what Timothy Witmer calls ‘macro and micro-knowing.’ While the former describes the shepherd’s knowledge of the flock, the latter describes the shepherd’s knowledge of the flock personally.⁸⁰² Jesus said, ‘I am the good shepherd. I know my own and my own know me.’⁸⁰³ There is no way a shepherd can know his people unless he inspects them. Thus, he gets among them, to see to their distresses and successes as well as see to their fainting, limping as well as to their hunger. The good shepherd cannot be happy to meet with his people only on Sunday. He must know the people personally. Thus, he visits with them in their homes, consoles and counsels with them; talks with them about day-to-day events as well as things that people come across in this life; he encourages them and prays with them. In doing this, the shepherd gets to know the people personally and their needs. The people, in turn, will know the shepherd as Jesus asserted that his sheep know him. The inspection of the flock will bring about compassion to the weak and backsliders on the part of the shepherd. Jesus told this parable: ‘What man of you, having a hundred sheep, if he has lost one of them, does not leave the ninety-nine in the open country, and go after the one that is lost, until he finds it?’⁸⁰⁴ For this reason, the shepherd must have compassion for the weak, backsliders as well as blasphemers. One soul getting lost must be a great loss to him.⁸⁰⁵

⁸⁰² T. Z. Witmer, *The Shepherd Leader* (New Jersey: P & R Publishing, 2010), p. 120.

⁸⁰³ John 10:14.

⁸⁰⁴ Luke 15:3-4.

⁸⁰⁵ Jesu Molisa e moholo, o buile lentsoe le leng le oke belaelang hore rona, balisa, re ke ke ra le lemoha hantle, re ka le feta re sa le lemohe. Ha a bolela bolisa ba hae, o re: “Ke ‘na molisa ea molemo, ke tseba linku tsa ka,’ me linku tsa ka lia ntseba” (Joh.10:14)., Molisa, le ha e ka ba ofe le ofe, a ke ke a tseba liphoofolo tsa mohlape a sa li hlahlobe, a sa kene hara tsona, a bona litsietsi kapa katleho ea tsona; a bona ho sareloa, ho hlotsa le holapa ha tsona. Molisaoa ‘nete a keke a kholoa keho bona phutheho e tlileng pela hae ka sontaha, a re tsa bolisa ba hae li fella teng. Che, se molokelang ke hore a tsebe batho ba hae ka bo mong. A ikise malapeng a bona ka matšelis, ka likeletso; a qoqe le bona ka litaba tsa bophelo ba rona batho, a kene tabeng tsa bona tsa mefuta tse mo lokelang; a khothatsane le bona hona teng, ‘me baka ha se le teng a be a etse thapelo le bona. Ka ho etsa joalo molisa o tla tseba se hlokoang ke batho ba hae, o tla ba tseba, le bona, joale ka Jesu a bolela, ba tla mo tseba. Hlahlobo eo..., e tla tsoala maikutlong a hae taba e’ngoe e kholo: Qenehelo ea bafokoli le bakoenehi. Ke taba eo Jesu, Molisa e moholo a e buileng ka makalo, a re, “ Ke ofe motho hara lona ea nang le linku tse lekholo,’ me ha a timelloa ke e’ngoe ea tsona, a ke keng a tlohela tse mashome a robileng mono o le mong feelleng, ho ea batla e timetseng, a tle a e bone?” (Luka 15:3,4)...A [Molisa]

The good shepherd must see to it that the sheep has life. He must protect the sheep. Jesus said, ‘I came that they may have life and have it abundantly.’⁸⁰⁶ The good shepherd does that, he takes the Christians to wherever they can have life in their spirit. He teaches them new truths from the Word of God; he makes them to desire the assemblies of the people of God, the Word of God as well as to be strong Christians. The shepherd must be able to teach.⁸⁰⁷ The shepherd who has this duty must take care of his entire life. He must admit it when he has done wrong; admits it when he has wronged his congregation, humble himself and take the blame. He must not overstay his welcome during his pastoral visits, lest he becomes an annoyance to people. He must guard his tongue against cunningness or allurements that may tend to deceive people. His jokes must be harmless. This is the kind of the shepherd qualified to teach. God needs him or her. A shepherd must have this spirit. The shepherd’s goal is to bring people to God so that one day when he appears before God with the flock, he may say, ‘Behold, I and the children whom the LORD has given me’ (Isaiah 8:18).⁸⁰⁸

Motsamai and Segoete were inspired by what Dieterlen wrote about conversion.

According to the latter, the mission of the Church is to convert the heathens. This did not

qenehele bafokoli, a qenehele bakoenehi le banyefoli. A se ke a re, motho le ha a ka lahleha, le ha a le mong, ha se tšenyehelo e kholo. Segoete, *Moea oa bolisa*, pp. 8,9,10.

⁸⁰⁶John 10:10.

⁸⁰⁷2 Timothy 2:24.

⁸⁰⁸Ha molisa a ena le mohau le qenehelo ea bafokoli, o tla hlaeloa ke taba ena e kholo: ho ba batlela bophelo... Molisa oa ‘nete o loanela lintho, o li qobisa litsietsi tseo ka hobane moea oa hae o linthong tseo a li lisang, li mo hapile pelo. Jesu, Molisa e Moholo, ha buoa ka linku tsa hae, o itse: “ Ke tlile hore linku tsa ka li be le bophelo.” Ha a buoa joalo ke hore ke eena Jesu ea loketseng ho li phelisa. Molisa oa ‘nete o etsa joalo, o isa bakreste hohle moo ba phelang meeng oa bona. O ba ruta linnete tse ncha tsa lentsoe la Molimo., o ba lakalisa liphutheho, o ba ratisa Buka ea Molimo, o ba lakalisa bokrese bo matla. Paulosi o hlalositse Timothea (2 Timothea 2:24) a re mohlanka oa Morena e ka khona a lokele ho ruta, Molisa ea nang le tokelo ena, ke ea hlokometseng bophelo ba hae kaofela: Ha sitetsoe motho a lumele ho inyatsa; ha fosane le phutheho ea hae, a ikokobetse, a ipone molato. Ha a chakile, a se ke a fetoa ke linako ‘me a khopisa batho. A lise lipuo tsa hae, li se ke tsa eba le ho kang mano, kapa bohlale ba ho kholisa motho, kapa ho ja motho. Mesoaso ea hae e be e hlokanang molato. Ea joalo ke eena ea lokelang ho ruta, ke eena eo Molimo o ‘matlang... Molisa o tšoanetse ho ba le moea ona. Molisa ha a ntse a alosa batho, ho na le moo a habileng ho ba fihlisa teng ka tsatsi le leng. Mosebetsi oa bolisa ha se o mokhutšoanyane, o fellang mona lefatšeng. Mosebetsi oo o isa hole, hona hae ha Molimo... Ka tsatsi le leng o tla fihla le mohlatoana oa hae hae ha Molimo; o tla bua lentsoe lena le makatsang, a re: Ntate, ke ‘na enoa le bana bao u ‘neileng bona” (Es. 8:18). Segoete, *Moea oa bolisa*, pp. 10, 11.

only mean bringing people to Christ, but it also meant them adopting the Western lifestyle.

‘Christianity was[. . .] synonymous with European civilisation.’⁸⁰⁹

Dieterlen asserted that a true Mosotho is the one who is a Christian and out of tune with traditional customs.⁸¹⁰ This was a hallmark of Dieterlen’s message in his fight against the Basuto traditional customs as well as his promotion of Christianity. He realised that the Basuto were attached to the ways of their fathers and he worked hard to show them that Christianity is better than that. He wrote several articles where he contrasted *Sesuto* and *Sekreste* (anything that pertains to Basuto and Christianity). For instance, *Mekhoa ea bo-ntata lona*, 1 December 1895 (the ways of your fathers); *bokreste le sekhoa* (Christianity and anything that pertains to white people) 1 April 1893; *Sesuto le Sekreste*, January 1912 (anything that pertains to Basuto and Christianity).

Conversion was also a common theme in the works of the Basuto ministers, which they interpreted along the same lines as Dieterlen. Thus, the Basuto were exhorted to convert and join the Church. Segoete authored an imaginative work –*Monono ke moholi ke Mouoane* (riches are like mist, vapour)⁸¹¹ on conversion in 1910. The decline of agriculture in Basutoland towards the close of the 19 century and the colonial government’s demand of tax to be paid in cash, forced many of the Basuto to work in the mines, railway roads as well as on the farms in the Republic of South Africa. This influx to the mine industries as well as

⁸⁰⁹ L.B.B.J. Machobane, “Christianization and African Response: A Comparative View of Religious Conversion Among Barolong and Basuto of the Caledon Valley, 1820-1890,” occasional paper no.7(Institute of South African Studies, National University of Lesotho,1993), p.8.

⁸¹⁰ Mosotho eo [oa ‘nete] hape ha a tšabe ho nyatsa bobae. Esita le morena oa hae o tla nyatsoa ke eena, le ha ele ka hlonepho...Ha tšabe ho rorisa botle, le ha ele leyakane ha lihlong [ka] tsa boyakane ba hae.Oa bo bolela, le litaba tse molemo tsa teng. A tsue a tseba hobane leseli la Evangeli ke lona le ka hlalefisang sechaba le ho se boloka. Mosotho oa ‘nete, ho ‘na, ke ea joalo. Ho khaohana le mekhoe ea khale khale ha se ho khaohana le sechaba. Ntho e tiisang sechaba ha se lebollo, hase likhomo tsa lenyalo, ha se balimo. Ntho e tiisang sechaba ke lipelo tse ntle tsa batho ba sona le bophelo ba bona bo botle. Thuto e ke ke ea senya sechaba , le ha e ka se lahlisa mekhoe e meng ea mohla monene, e ronang batho ba mehla ea yuale. E tla lokisa sechaba e se ntšetse pele, e se tiise... Oho, marena a ka le fosa ha ka kang ha le re, mo-Sotho oa ‘nete ke mohedene oa ‘nete!Tutubolohang mahlo, le tle le fele le lemohe bakreste ba lonaba likete hore ke bona ba-Sotho ba sebele-bele ba ka bitsoang letsuai la sechaba sena le se bolokang lilemo tse ntle tsa ho tsuela pele. Dieterlen, “ Mosotho oa ‘nete ke mang,” *Leselinyana la Lesotho*, December, 1, 1895, p.3.

⁸¹¹E. Segoete, *Monono ke Moholi ke Mouoane* (Morija:Morija Sesuto Book Depot 1910), (107 pages)

other places of the Republic of South Africa caused many problems for the Basuto, of which Segoete gave warning of and advised that the Basuto should stay at home where it is safe.⁸¹² For this reason, Segoete's book *Monono ke Moholi ke Mouoane* was a clarion call for the Basuto to stay at home and not to go out where there were many problems awaiting them and impending dangers. Segoete in embarking on this work was enabled to share his experience of life in the Republic of South Africa. In his young age, he gallivanted around in some of the towns in the Eastern Cape⁸¹³ and experienced a fast paced as well as challenging life in the towns. He did not want the Basuto to experience the same.

The outline of this book shows that material wealth does not last; a person's life gets spoiled and ends in death; the wisdom that a person pursues for his survival is also unable to save him; it brings about many problems; true life is found through faith in Jesus who was crucified for the sinners.⁸¹⁴

Segoete narrated two stories of conversion that complemented one another. In the first part, the characters are the poor old man, Khitsane tells an affluent Tim about his terrible ordeals during his youth and of how he lost his hard-earned wealth, every so often. Khitsane told Tim how he left his home country Basutoland for the Cape Colony in the Republic of South Africa in search of fortunes only to experience sequential misfortunes that left him crippled. He met an old friend who had become a Christian. He was converted by him and returned to Basutoland a cripple with a wooden leg but happy in the true faith. He had a mythical vision of how he would be taken to eternity. That vision initially gave him a fright, but it ended with

⁸¹² J. Aerni-Flessner, *Dreams for Lesotho, independence, foreign assistance, and development* (Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 2018), pp.21-22; E. Eldredge, *A South African Kingdom: The pursuit of security in nineteenth century Lesotho*, pp.58-58, 63; M. Thabane, "Aspects of colonial economy and society, 1868-1966" in *Essays on Aspects of the Political Economy of Lesotho 1500-2000*, edited by Neville W. Pule and Motlatsi Thabane (National University of Lesotho: Morija Printing Works, 2000) pp.108-112;

⁸¹³ Queenstown and Somerset are mentioned in *Monono ke Moholi ke Mouoane*.

⁸¹⁴ Karolo tsa eona ke tsena: (1) E bolela ho fela ka pele ha maruo a lefatše. (2) Bophelo ba motho le bona boa senyeha, 'me qetello ea bona ke lefu. (3) Bohlale ba motho, boo a lekang ho iphelisa ka bona, bo sita ho 'moloka 'me bo mohlaisetsa litsietsi tse ngata. (4) Bophelo ba 'nete bo fumanoa ho Jesu ea bolaetsoeng baetsalibe. *Ibid*, ho mobali (to the reader).

the bliss of being received in heaven. He died on Good Friday and was found and buried by Tim, the friend to whom he narrated his life story.

In the second part of the book, Segoeste illustrated how Tim was moved by the death of Khitsane and the stories he heard from him. He was struck by his happiness during his poverty. Tim, too, was brought to the faith by an ordeal of some kind. A hunting expedition for rabbits in the mountain ended up with his being trapped in the rabbits' den for three days. In the rabbits' den, he had a vision of doomsday. That incident of being buried in the rabbits' den made him realise how short life was. He was found by a shepherd and was rescued. He then shared his wealth with the poor and embraced Christianity.

These two stories about Khitsane and Tim begin naturally and end allegorically. They both show the narrow path which people must traverse in order to get into eternity. At the same time, they both warn against hedonism as well as turning a blind eye to the Christian faith. Segoete warned his fellow men against the dangers of life in the industrial cities. He exhorted them to stay at home where there was safety and happiness. The moral lesson behind the two stories is that the Church or the Christian faith is a safe place for one to be. There is no need to go chasing after any riches as that brings problems along. Moreover, 'all human successes are of temporal nature,' hence the importance of conversion as well as embracing Christianity.

Notwithstanding Segoete's writing about conversion in this way, he was sceptical of missionary Christianity. This can be realised from his book *Raphepheng* (the father of the scorpion) published in 1915.⁸¹⁵ Here he followed the example of Sekese who wrote about the customs of the Basuto in his interrogation, assimilation as well as appropriation of Christianity. However, Segoete might have been influenced by Edouard Jacottet (1858-1920) who trained him in the theological school. Jacottet published the Basuto traditions and

⁸¹⁵ E Segoete, *Raphepheng* (Moriya: Morija Sesuto Book Depot, 1915), (57 pages).

folktales.⁸¹⁶ Jacottet also published in 1900, in French, a collection of 23 Sesotho folktales (litšomo) as well as 60 proverbs collected over a number of years mainly by himself and Dieterlen.⁸¹⁷ Steven James Gill, the Curator of the Morija Museum and Archives, explained, ‘Jacottet prided himself that the local leadership played a large role in all that he initiated, and allowed them to take the lead wherever possible.’⁸¹⁸ Unlike Dieterlen whose mind was plagued by the Basuto heathenism and was out to diminish and annihilate it, Jacottet was much into the spirit of preservation of the Basuto cultural heritage by way of documenting it, despite how they felt about it as the missionaries. No doubt he encouraged his students to document their cultural heritage as Segoete did in *Raphepheng*.⁸¹⁹ However, Gérard, the author of *Four African literatures, Xhosa, Sotho, Zulu, Amharic*, has a different view, as it will be discussed in the next paragraph.

Segoete wrote about the customs of the Basuto under the guise of an old man Raphepheng, who narrated the customs and forms the title of the book for namesake. It is, however, ironic for an ordained minister to write about such things. Gérard suggested that Segoete, being an ordained minister, might have kept the missionaries as the gate-keepers of literature from any suspicion that the book advocated a return to heathenisms.⁸²⁰ Segoete’s message in *Raphepheng* explicitly showed that Christianity with its civilisation (schools and the Church) and colonialism with its industrialisation (commercial farming and the mine

⁸¹⁶ During 1895 or 1896, Jacottet translated Azariete Sekese’s work: *Buka ea Pokello ea Mekhoa ea Ba-Sotho le Maele le Lits’omo* (1893) into French with annotations. This was later published in Switzerland. *Contes populaires des Bassoutos*, Paris 1895 par E. Jacottet

⁸¹⁷ E. Jacottet, *Litšomotsa Basuto*, 2 Volumes, (Morija: Morija Sesuto Book Depot, 1900).

⁸¹⁸ S. J. Gill, “A brief biographical sketch and tribute to Rev. Edouard Jacottet (1858-1920)” (Morija Museum and Archives, 2009), pp.11. Unpublished paper.

⁸¹⁹ I owe some of the thoughts in this paragraph to Steven James Gill, the Curator of the Morija Museum and Archives. We spent a fair amount of time in his office on the 19 September 2020, discussing what might have influenced Segoete to write *Raphepheng*.

⁸²⁰ Gérard, *Four African literatures, Xhosa, Sotho, Zulu, Amharic*, p.137.

industry) had brought harm to the Basuto.⁸²¹ However, colonialism and the Basuto culture which Segoete's *Raphepheng* alluded to, will be discussed in the next chapters.

Selepe was correct when he noted :

The early Sesotho novels primarily exhibit two contrasting views about religion, which can be attributed to the problem of grappling with perceptual changes. There are those novels that express an optimistic view of religion as well as those that express a pessimistic view of religion.⁸²²

Raphepheng is an archetype of the pessimistic view in this assertion while *Monono ke Moholi ke Mouoane* closely resembles the optimistic view.

Overall, Motsamai and Segoete reproduced Dieterlen's perception of the Church. They adapted his message to a certain extent but remained Basuto at heart and by conviction. The foregoing was a result of Dieterlen's translation of the Gospel. What made Dieterlen's translation project successful in Basutoland was the fact that he used the language of the Basuto in his translation. All his articles in the *Leselinyana* were written in the language of the Basuto including the books that he published. He preached the Gospel to the Basuto in their language. This was the strength of some kind in Dieterlen's ministry. By adopting the language of the Basuto, Dieterlen affirmed that 'the Christian message can be expressed in any language and interpreted to any culture.' Sanneh notes, 'Vernacular translation is the primary, critical, leavening, or catalytic action in the spread of the Christian faith.'⁸²³

Dieterlen's ministry in Basutoland validates Sanneh's assertion in this regard. Sanneh intimates, 'Culture is a human enterprise, and whether we are dealing with the so-called high

⁸²¹*Ibid*, cf. T. J. Selepe, "Towards the African Theory of literary Production: Perspectives on the Sesotho Novel" (University of South Africa 1999), pp.68,69,70, (Doctoral thesis). For suggestive examples, please, see, P. Denis, "A Case of Pastoral Myopia? The South African Church's Ambiguous Response to the Erosion of Family Life in the Early Years of the Migrant Labour System," in *International Journal of African Historical Studies* Vol. 50, No. 3 (2017) and M. Mohale, "The Role of Primary Health Care in the Prevention of Disability in Lesotho" (London: University of Bristol, 1992), (Master's dissertation).

⁸²²T. J. Selepe, "Towards the African Theory of literary Production: Perspectives on the Sesotho Novel", p. 90.

⁸²³ Sanneh, *Translating the message*, pp. 200, 208.

culture in architecture, the arts, literature, music, painting, poetry . . . language and nationality or race, it is a human factor that all these have in common.’⁸²⁴ It was observed, in Chapter Three of this study, how Dieterlen collected Basuto artefacts and took them with him to all the stations which he was posted to. After his death, the artefacts were donated to the mission to make a museum. By this action Dieterlen also affirmed certain aspects of the culture of the Basuto as those artefacts resembled it. Moreover, he helped in the preservation of the Basuto culture. This makes it clear that he did not abhor the culture of the Basuto in totality in his translation but there were certain aspects of it which he found important, particularly the artefacts.

Sanneh further maintains, ‘Translation . . . activates a process that might supersede the original intention of the translator.’⁸²⁵ The resistance of the Basuto ministers regarding the changes that Christianity brought was not anticipated by Dieterlen who translated the Gospel to them and neither did he expect the *zeitgeist* of the late 19th century and the 20th century to that effect that resulted in the proliferation of literary works among the Basuto Christians with regard to their culture and the changes brought about by Christianity. Dieterlen never anticipated the political awakening among the educated elites that led to the formation of Basutoland Progressive Association in 1906 which was a direct reaction by the Basuto elite to the abuses by the chiefs. This is discussed in Chapter Two of this study. The foregoing examples confirm Sanneh’s assertion that translation reaches the ends not intended by the translator. This resonates with the *Comaroffs* regarding hegemony which is also the theoretical framework of this study.

⁸²⁴ *Ibid*, p.202.

⁸²⁵ *Ibid*, p. 53.

5.9 Conclusion

Dieterlen's views of the Church, the ministry of the Word and Sacrament, worship in Church, the mission of the Church as well as ecumenism are in line with Reformed theology. His views on the Church make up egalitarianism, that is the Church of God is an equal society with equal rights, unity in diversity; the Church of God is one and comprises different nationalities as well as parity among the Church officers. There are equal powers among the clergy and the laity, there is no distinction and what vary are the roles. This kind of theology is one of the fruits of the Protestant religious reforms that took place in Europe in the Middle Ages. In their efforts to purify the Church which had been defiled by bad dogma, worldliness and licentiousness among the clergy, the reformers designed a theology that was grounded on scripture. Thus, scripture became the normative of the Christian faith as well as of the Church.

From the onset, the Church was conceived as the new Israel (the people of God). To distinguish it from sects that claim to be Churches, the marks of the true Church were invented. The preaching of the word took precedence over the other two marks namely the proper administration of sacraments commanded by Christ as well as discipline. The attributes of a Church that it is 'One' as well as 'Catholic,' to a large extent promoted ecumenism. Churches may have had different traditions, different understandings of certain rituals, the Lord's Supper for instance. But it was still believed to be one Church of God. Ecumenism bound Churches together in a certain locality or region as well as globally. While Calvin and Dieterlen's understanding of ecumenism cannot be compared because of their different contexts and time, the Reformed churches' understanding of the Church, as comprising the visible and the invisible Church, promotes unity as well as ecumenism among them.

The Churches had to work together to address certain issues of their commonality or challenges that confronted them in their work as well as in their spheres.

This was what Dieterlen inculcated in the first Basuto ministers and successfully to a certain extent. Motsamai's exposition on the Church confirms this. However, the Basuto ministers remained Basuto. While to a certain degree, Dieterlen made the Basuto ministers to be critical of their traditional customs,⁸²⁶ this brought about signs of resistance amongst them. For instance, Segoete's *Raphepheng* is the case in point. He did not passively accept missionary Christianity, but he engaged with it hence the appearance of *Raphepheng* under his hand and this proves that he remained a Mosuto at heart. Dieterlen's translation of the Gospel message promoted Western culture and attempted to eradicate or suppress the Basuto's culture. The Basuto ministers are a good example. He persuaded them to accept, respect and believe in the Western way of life and, at the same time, to be critical of their culture. In his translation of the Gospel, Dieterlen merged Sanneh's 'mission by diffusion,' (mission direct) and 'mission by translation,' (mission indirect). This is discussed in the previous chapter. Dieterlen preached the Gospel in the hope that it would convert the Basuto, while, on the other hand, he disparaged their culture and made them see it as bad.

Dieterlen had written much about conversion and his students followed his example. For instance, Segoete in his imaginative work, *Monono ke Moholi ke Muoane*, expounded on conversion and thus followed his example.

⁸²⁶Selepe, "Towards the African Theory of literary Production: Perspectives on the Sesotho Novel," p. 94.

Chapter 6

Dieterlen's views on Basuto culture, gender and labour

6.1 Introduction

In order to understand how Dieterlen viewed the Basuto culture and gender, we shall first look at how the first-generation missionaries grappled with culture and gender in order to ascertain whether there were continuities or discontinuities in the generations that followed them, particularly in Dieterlen. In this way, we shall briefly look at the period of the first-generation missionaries (1833-1860) with a particular focus on their first encounter with the Basuto in 1833 to establish what the status quo was at that time. Full consideration will be given to gender as well as to the reformer John Calvin's position regarding it as the missionaries were trained in the Reformed tradition. We shall also look at their transformation of the Basuto burial rites; their confrontations with the traditional doctors; the 1841 *pitso* where Moshoeshe was roundly opposed by the Basuto for divorcing his wives who converted to Christianity; then "the oxen of the Batlokoa" that caused a mass defection of the Christians.

In the period of the second-generation missionaries (1860- 1884), reference will be made to the prophetess Mantsopa Anna Makhethe's teaching and how it challenged the missionaries' teaching. We shall have a cursory view of Emile Rolland's Statement to the High Commissioner Woodhouse. We shall discuss the first synod of the Paris Mission in 1872 which legislated against some of the Basuto traditional customs as well as the 1888 *pitso* where the validity of Christian marriages was discussed by the Basuto nation and the three missions (Roman Catholic, Paris Evangelical and Anglican missions) working in Basutoland. The study looked at Hermann Dieterlen's views on Basuto culture as well as gender: his views on Basuto marriage, polygamy and initiation schools; his views on Basuto

tradition doctors; his views on Basuto Medicine; his views of divination bones; his perceptions of gender and his views of labour in Basutoland.

6.2 The period of the first-generation missionaries of the Paris Mission 1835-1859

a) The first encounter of the Paris missionaries with the Basuto in 1833

When Eugène Casalis, Thomas Arbousset and Constant Gosselin arrived in Basutoland on 28 June 1833, their impression of Moshoeshoe was that he commanded respect and was used to commanding others. However, they were surprised and disturbed by the many wives he introduced to them.⁸²⁷ As Casalis noted,

Moshoeshoe conducted me towards a house a little higher and more spacious than the others, that of Queen Mamohato. Before entering it, he caused to pass before me his inferior wives, to the number of thirty or forty, not suspecting, poor man, what I thought of polygamy nor the blows which I was meditating against it.⁸²⁸

The day following their arrival was a Sunday and they held their first Christian service at Thaba-Bosiu. It was expected that the Basuto would descend the mountain to the foot of it, where the missionaries had camped. But because it had snowed at night the missionaries had to climb the mountain to meet with them. About five or six hundred people gathered in the *khotla* (men's public court),⁸²⁹ men, women and children. That was the first-time women and men assembled.⁸³⁰

⁸²⁷ Germond, *Chronicles of Basutoland*, p.25; Ellenberger, *A Century of Mission Work in Basutoland*, p.11; Gill, *A Short History of Lesotho*, p. 75; E.Casalis, *The Basutos*, p. 15.

⁸²⁸ E. Casalis, *my life in Basutoland, translated from French by J. Brierley* (Paternoster Row, 1889), p.179.

⁸²⁹ 'The **lekhotla** is the public place (for men at least, because a woman never sets her foot there), and it is also the tavern, the municipal, the club and parliament. It is in addition the school where young boys, after having passed through the circumcision rites, listen to old men talk, learn a few snatches of their national history and are slowly initiated to the handling of the matters of the village and tribe. And the **lekhotla**, is finally and especially..., the court of justice, the court where any disputes that might arise within a population that is very fond of squabbles, that loves discussing, that is used to giving exaggerated importance to trivial matters, and indefinitely prolonging debates, be it only in order to break the monotony of the emptiest existence, are conducted and judged.' H. Dieterlen & F. Kohler "The Basuto of Old, A savage Tribe," *Livre d'or, de la mission du*

Gill wrote the following:

The missionary understanding that the Gospel promoted equality among all persons, and particularly men and women, was both refreshing and disturbing . . . Women's place in Sotho society was, according to the missionary perceptions, in need of upliftment.⁸³¹

From time immemorial women in the Basuto society virtually did not have a say in national or public affairs. Their role comprised, among others, bearing children, taking care of them, taking care of the family, the home, as well as working in the fields. The arrival of the missionaries changed this, as the missionaries encouraged their involvement and participation in public affairs. In addition, the missionaries' introduction of the plough also made agriculture the responsibility of men as it involved the use of oxen.⁸³² It has since remained like that to the present. The wives of the missionaries played a pivotal part in promoting involvement of women in public affairs as they felt that women's position in the Basuto society was low. For this reason, they worked hard for their emancipation and empowerment.

The missionaries had close links with the settler society. All the settlers wanted black men to work in the farms, on the mines (when they started to develop) and on the construction sites. The motivation of the missionaries was not pure. Behind the apparent respect for women there were economic imperatives.⁸³³

lessouto:soixante-quinzeans de l'histoired'unetribusud-africaine, 1833-1908, translated by Few-days Miyanda ca. 2001(Paris, 1912) p.23; Thomson, *Survival in two Worlds*, p.4.

⁸³⁰ G. Dieterlen, *Mareng a Meso 1833-1843* (Moriya: MorijaSesuto Book Depot, 1944), pp.31-33; Casalis, *My Life in Basutoland*, p.218-219.

⁸³¹ Gill, *A Short History of Lesotho*, p.80.

⁸³² Hincks, *Quest for peace*, p.127; Germond, *Chronicles of Basutoland*, p.325; T. Mothibe and M. Ntabeni, "The Role of the Missionaries, the Boers and British in Social and Territorial Changes, 1833-1868," in *Essays on Aspects of The Political Economy of Lesotho 1500-2000*, ed. Neville Pule & Motlatsi Thabane (Department of History, National University of Lesotho, 2002), pp.40.

⁸³³ P. Denis, "A Case of Pastoral Myopia? The South African Church's Ambiguous Response to the Erosion of Family Life in the Early Years of the Migrant Labour System," *International Journal of African Historical Studies* Vol. 50, No. 3 (2017), p.441; J. Kimble, "Towards an Understanding of the Political Economy of Lesotho: the

On the other hand, men were decision makers as they participated in national affairs, advising Moshoeshoe in all the matters pertaining to national security as well as nation building. The *pitso* was their prerogative and important avenue for the discussion of national affairs.⁸³⁴

The foregoing highlights gender inequality which the Paris Mission had to grapple with in different periods of its presence in Basutoland.⁸³⁵

However, Bryaruhanga-Akiiki of Uganda, contends that the Judeo-Christian norms imposed by the missionaries disrupted the African gender equity that existed before their arrival in Africa. He maintained that in pre-colonial Africa, there existed defined gender roles where men had roles they could do as well as women. This ensured stability, peace and harmony in the society.⁸³⁶

He further posited that Africans had a ‘philosophy of division of labour whereby one sex does not oppress the other.’⁸³⁷

Jeff Guy also attests to the foregoing. When reflecting on production in Southern Africa’s pre-capitalist societies, he wrote:

The homestead was made up of a man, his cattle and small stock, his wife or wives and their children, grouped in their different houses, each with its own arable land.

Materially these homesteads were largely self –sufficient, subsisting on the cereals produced by the agricultural labour of the women as well as the milk products of the

origins of commodity production and migrant labour, 1830-1885” (National University of Lesotho, 1978), p.102. (M.A. Thesis).

⁸³⁴M.Epprecht, “Gender and History in Southern Africa: A Lesotho “Meta-narrative,” *Canadian Association of African Studies*, Vol. 30. No.2 (1996), pp.184,187, 191; Smith, *The Mabilles of Basutoland*, pp.187-193; H. Ashton, *The Basuto* (London:Oxford University Press, 1952), p. 91; E.A. Eldredge, *A South African Kingdom, The pursuit of Security in nineteenth-century Lesotho*, *African Studies Series 78* (Britain: Cambridge University Press, 1993), pp.126-127; Dieterlen&F.Kohler, “The Basuto of Old, A savage Tribe,” *Livre d’or*, p. 20

⁸³⁵M.Epprecht, “Gender and History in Southern Africa: A Lesotho “Metanarrative,” pp.91-92; Eldredge, *A South African Kingdom*, p. 126-127.

⁸³⁶ A.B.T. Bryaruhanga-Akiki, “Culture as a source of oppression of women in Africa,” in *Culture, Religion and Liberation, proceedings of the EATWON Pan African Theological Conference, Harare, Zimbabwe, January 6-11, 1991, edited by Simon S. Maimela* (Pretoria: Penrose Books printers, 1994), pp.38-39.

⁸³⁷ Ibid. p.46.

homestead's herd. Animal husbandry was the domain of men, most of the labour time being expended by boys in herding. There was a clear sexual division of labour under the control of the husband or father, who allocated arable land for the use of various houses to which his wives belonged, and on which they worked with their children for their support and that of the homestead.⁸³⁸

Guy further argues that male activities: trade, barter, manufacturing of handicrafts, weapons and implements as compared to agriculture, the domain of women, were secondary. It was agriculture that sustained the homestead.⁸³⁹ While Guy agreed with Bryaruhanga-Akiiki on the division of labour in pre-colonial societies, he differed from him on oppression, whose presence, as pointed out above, Bryaruhanga-Akiiki denied. Guy, however, saw women oppression in pre-capitalist societies in what he calls 'labour power.'⁸⁴⁰ The homestead largely depended upon women's agricultural production.⁸⁴¹

The fact that remains is that a great misunderstanding took place upon the arrival of the Christian missionaries in Basutoland. They misunderstood the Basuto culture. From their point of view, women were traditionally debased in the Basuto society. As a result, they needed to be emancipated and empowered.

This paper now turns to the reformer John Calvin about gender as the Paris Missionaries were under his sway.

⁸³⁸ J. Guy, "Gender Oppression in Southern Africa's Precapitalist Societies," in *Women and Gender in Southern Africa to 1945*, ed. C. Walker (Cape Town: David Philip, 1990), p. 34.

⁸³⁹ *Ibid*, p. 35.

⁸⁴⁰ 'Labour power,' is a Marxist coined phrase for 'productive and creative potential of people' or 'human beings' creative capacity.' *Ibid*, p. 38-39.

⁸⁴¹ *Ibid*.

b) John Calvin and gender

While ideas of gender in the Renaissance as well as in the Reformation Europe were gloomy to the women, as patriarchy was largely the order of the day, Calvin had a wide-ranging association and correspondence with women who aided his reforms.⁸⁴²

Ronald Baiton, Calvinist scholar, wrote that, women played a pivotal role in Calvin's reforms: they took care of the refugees, exhibited courage by standing firm against despotic rulers sometimes as well as contributing to the doctrinal and intellectual questions.⁸⁴³

Mary Potter, another Calvinist scholar, asserted that Calvin had a puzzling attitude towards women. On one hand, he praised and blamed women, at the same time, deemed them as responsible actors equal to men. On the other hand, he 'praised and blamed women as inferior creatures with a well-defined and restricted role to play.'⁸⁴⁴

Potter explains that that was due to Calvin's distinction between *cognition dei* (knowledge of God and *cognitio hominis* (knowledge of humankind).⁸⁴⁵

Calvin affirmed the equality of men and women as written in Genesis 1: 26-27:

Then God said, 'Let us make man in our image, after our likeness. And let them have dominion over the fish of the sea and over the birds of the heavens and over the livestock and over all the earth and over every creeping thing that creeps on the earth.' So, God created man in his own image, in the image of God he created him; male and female he created them.

Calvin used and affirmed the Genesis 1: 26-27 passage in dealing with Paul's difficult statement in 1 Corinthians 11:7 where he states, 'A man . . . is the image and glory of God;

⁸⁴² K. J. Stewart, *Ten Myths about Calvinism, Recovering the Breadth of the Reformed Tradition* (England: IVP Academic, 2011), pp.232-234.

⁸⁴³ R. H. Bainton, *Women of the Reformation in France and England* (Fortress press, 1973).

⁸⁴⁴ M. Potter, "Gender Equality and Gender Hierarchy in Calvin 's theology," signs 11/4 (1986), pp.725-739.

⁸⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

but the woman is the glory of a man.’⁸⁴⁶ At the same time, Calvin took seriously the admonitions requiring silence of the women in Church (1Cor. 14:34; 1 Tim. 2:12) while believing that God made use in the ministry of the Word women like Anna (Luke 2:36) and the daughters of Philip (Acts 21:9).⁸⁴⁷ It is difficult, however, to judge whether this qualifies Calvin to be regarded as gender sensitive. As Kenneth Stewart notes,

It is one thing to demonstrate that Calvinism has been associated with certain views on gender, it is another (and more difficult thing) to try to demonstrate that such attitudes originated from within Calvinism or found their life support in the Reformed tradition, as in no other expression of Christianity. Association is not origination; association is not causation.⁸⁴⁸

Based on the foregoing on gender, one can surmise that Calvin had a dim view of women and at the same time acknowledge that Calvin and gender is a complex topic to grapple with. Moreover, this vague or undefined attitude of Calvin towards women may have contributed to the insensitiveness of gender that existed in the Paris missionaries as they trained in the Reformed tradition. For instance, Hincks correctly observes,

In the PEMS [Paris Evangelical Missionary Society or Paris Mission]. . . many ‘missionary wives’ laboured long and well in mission work- yet, far from being paid for their labour, they were rarely even considered or called missionaries. A woman had to be single to be a real missionary, and even then, her status was far below that of an ordained, male counterpart.⁸⁴⁹

This buttresses the argument that the Paris Mission missionaries were gender insensitive. Moreover, Philomena Njeri Mwaura, stressed, ‘African Christian history has also been

⁸⁴⁶ J. Calvin, *Commentary on the Epistles of Paul the Apostle to the Corinthians*, Vol. 1 (Grand Rapids: Baker Books, 2009) pp. 257-261

⁸⁴⁷ Stewart, *Ten Myths about Calvinism*, p. 230.

⁸⁴⁸ *Ibid*, pp. 219-222.230.

⁸⁴⁹ Hincks, *Quest for peace*, p.563. see also, L. Fiona, “African girls, nineteenth-century mission education and the patriarchal imperative: gender and education,” 20, (4). pp.335-347. Retrieved on the 26 September 2020.

written from a male perspective that depicts women as helpers or totally absent in shaping African Christianity.⁸⁵⁰

c) The Paris missionaries' transformation of the Basuto burial rites

The death of Tšenyehi in 1839, following the conversion of her brother Ntlaloe to Christianity, made it possible for the missionaries to transform the traditional burial rites to the Christian ones at Thaba-Bosiu.⁸⁵¹ From time immemorial, the Basuto did not have cemeteries for the dead. The dead were buried in the cattle kraal or in or along its walls.⁸⁵² Casalis designated the first grave yard for Tšenyehi. From that time onwards Christians at Thaba-Bosiu were buried in that cemetery. That event marked the beginning of continued open hostilities to Christianity.⁸⁵³

Not long after the death of Tšenyehi, Moshoeshoe's wife 'Mantsane also passed away because of 'the delirium occasioned by the measles. She threw herself from the precipices of Thaba-Bosiu.⁸⁵⁴ Her brother Ratšiu⁸⁵⁵ wanted her to be buried according to Basuto customs but Casalis advised Moshoeshoe against it and he took Casalis' advice.⁸⁵⁶ That event exacerbated opposition to Christianity.

⁸⁵⁰ P. N. Mwaura, "Gender and Power in African Christianity: African Instituted Churches and Pentecostal Churches," in *African Christianity: An African Story, Perspectives on Christianity Series, edited by Ogbu U Kalu, J.W. Hofmeyr & P.J. Marits, series 5: Vol.3* (Pretoria: University of Pretoria, 2005), p.414.

⁸⁵¹ Dieterlen, *Mareng a Meso* pp. 64-65, 83-84; Sanders, *Moshoeshoe of the Sotho*, p.127.

⁸⁵² E. Segoete, *Raphepheng* (Moriya: Morija Sesuto Book Depot, 1915) p.51-52; F. Z. A. Matšela, *Bochababa Basuto* (Lesotho: Mazenod Publishers, 1990), pp.94-95; Dieterlen, *Mareng a Meso*, p.49; Thompson, *Survival in Two Worlds*, p.91.

⁸⁵³ Hincks, *Quest for Peace*, p.166; Casalis, *The Basutos*, p.88.

⁸⁵⁴ Sanders, *Moshoeshoe of the Sotho*, p. 127.

⁸⁵⁵ Ratšiu was Moshoeshoe's maternal uncle and one of his closest councillors. Moshoeshoe left him with the reigns of the chieftainship in his absence. See, Sanders, *Moshoeshoe Chief of the Sotho*, p. 278, 313; Thomson, *Survival in two worlds*, p.55.

⁸⁵⁶ *Ibid*, pp. 89-91; Dieterlen, *Mareng a Meso*, pp.84-88; Thompson, *Survival in Two Worlds*, p. 92; Sanders, *Moshoeshoe of the Sotho*, p. 127; Casalis, *The Basutos*, pp.284-286.

d) The Paris missionaries' confrontation with the traditional doctors

While the traditional doctors enjoyed eminence in the Basuto society and their prestigious position allowed them to be advisors to Moshoeshoe⁸⁵⁷ as well as guardians of the revered traditional customs like initiation, where they were always presiding officers⁸⁵⁸, the arrival of the missionaries changed this as Moshoeshoe also sought advice from them.⁸⁵⁹ In the beginning the traditional doctors did not care much about the missionaries being close to Moshoeshoe, but as time went on and in realising the attention that the missionaries received from him, they became jealous of the missionaries and started to fight them. The graphic account of this is found in the event of the appearance of Chapi –Moshoeshoe's trusted traditional doctor before him in November 1838, claiming to be sent by his grand-parents, Peete and 'Maletsie or 'Mamohato, to warn him that the presence of the missionaries was responsible to the infant mortality from measles at Thaba-Bosiu. They had defiled the nation. The message of Moshoeshoe's ancestors, through Chapi, was that Sunday observance should be upheld but *phutheho* (Christian instruction) as well as *lithapelo* (prayers) should be stopped. Chapi advised Moshoeshoe to make a *mokete* (feast), slaughter a black heifer to cleanse and purify the nation as well as to appease *balimo* (the living dead).⁸⁶⁰

While Moshoeshoe trusted the traditional doctors and consulted them for advice in as far as the security of his nation was concerned, the presence of the missionaries in Basutoland made him sceptical of them. He tested their divining skills by hiding certain objects and consulted them to tell as to who took them only to discover that they were liars.⁸⁶¹ As a result,

⁸⁵⁷ Thompson, *Survival in two Worlds: Moshoeshoe of Lesotho*, P.207.

⁸⁵⁸ *Basutoland Medicine Murder, A report on the recent outbreak of "Diretlo" Murders in Basutoland* (London: Stationary office, 1951), pp.25-26.

⁸⁵⁹ S. J. Gill, *A Short History of Lesotho*, p. 92.

⁸⁶⁰ E. Casalis to the P.E.M.S. Committee, 15 April 1839, *B.R.Vol. III*, 1883, pp. 61-62; Dieterlen, *Mareng a Meso*, pp. 22-23; Hincks, *Quest for Peace*, p. 169.

⁸⁶¹ Ellenberger, *History of the Basuto*, pp.231-233.

in 1855, Moshoeshoe enacted a law that forbade the killing of a person by the word of a traditional doctor. This was worded in his proclamation on witchcraft.⁸⁶²

The missionaries also saw traditional doctors as liars and claimed that they promoted cannibalism by their *lenaka* which was the horn alleged to be made of human flesh mixed with some medicine. For this reason, they employed the derogatory epithet of witch doctors instead of traditional doctors in reference to them. The missionaries viewed the medical practice of traditional doctors as a superstition. The rivalries of the two parties escalated into hatred as well as bad- mouthing of each other. For instance, the Basuto believed that Christian converts ‘steal the dead bodies from the graves and feeds on them.’ Christianity was viewed as a form of sorcery by the Basuto. They claimed that the missionaries and their converts eat human flesh during the celebration of Holy Communion. However, the Basuto allegations against the missionaries owed much to the discontentment caused by the missionaries’ attack of their culture.⁸⁶³

e) Pitso of 1841at Thaba-Bosiu

Nearly six years elapsed before the fruits of the preaching of the Gospel by the Paris missionaries could be realised.⁸⁶⁴ That was due to their mission approach whereby they singled out certain traditional customs of the Basuto – initiation school,⁸⁶⁵ polygamy⁸⁶⁶ and

⁸⁶² Hincks, *Quest for Peace*, p.967.

⁸⁶³ Sanders, *Moshoshoe Chief of the Sotho*, p.125; S. G. De Clark, “The Evangelical Missionaries and the Basuto, 1833-1933,” University of South Africa, (200). p.119 (PhD Thesis).

⁸⁶⁴ V. Ellenberger, *Landmarks in the Story of the French Protestant Church in Basutoland, During its First Hundred years of its existence 1833-1933*(London: Paternoster Row, 1933), p.15.

⁸⁶⁵ It was an initiation; the missionaries mistook for a circumcision that served as a passage for young men and girls into adulthood. The missionaries, however, deemed it as promoting cannibalism. The *lenaka* (horn) of the traditional doctors who presided over it was said to be made up of human flesh mixed with medicine. Moreover, it was alleged that the parts that were cut during circumcision were also mixed with medicine and eaten. Sanders, *Moshoshoe Chief of the Sotho*, p.125; D.F. Ellenberger, *History of the Basuto, Facsimile reprint of the 1912 edition* (Morija: Morija Museum and Archives, 1992), pp.280-282; S. G. De Clark, “The Evangelical Missionaries and the Basuto, 1833-1933,” University of South Africa, (200).p.119 (PhD Thesis); *Basutoland Medicine Murder, A Report on the Recent Outbreak of “Diretlo” Murders in Basutoland* (London, 1951), pp. 23-24; Dieterlen& F. Kohler, *The Basuto of Old, A savage Tribe,” Livre d’or*, pp.96-97. Initiation as one of the traditional customs of the Basuto as well as its usefulness is helpfully explained in F. Z. A. Matšela, *Bochababa*

cattle marriages⁸⁶⁷ and persuaded Basuto to do away with them as they deemed were incompatible with the Christian message they were propagating.⁸⁶⁸

Chukwudi A. Njoku maintained, 'The missionaries were therefore, in general, imbued with a spirit and attitude of cultural superiority as they embarked on the mission to Africa.'⁸⁶⁹ Hermann Dieterlen and Frederic Kohler in the *Livre d'or* explained the teaching philosophy of Pastor Jean Henri GrandPierre (1799-?) who trained the first missionaries in the Mission House in Paris thus,

He demanded a superior culture from his students, in the persuasion that men who were charged with the responsibility of preaching the Gospel to pagans and of founding new societies were supposed to be strongly equipped for such a difficult task.⁸⁷⁰

Basuto (Lesotho: Mazenod Publishers, 1990), pp.52-79 and E. Segoete, *Raphepheng* (Moriya: Morija Sesuto Book Depot, 1915), pp. 46-47.

⁸⁶⁶ Its origin among the Basuto is traced back to Mohlomi, the great traveller, doctor and sage who groomed Moshoeshoe, chief of the Basuto. It is alleged that chiefs followed the example of Mohlomi who married many wives in his travels. They used polygamy to extend their power and security for their people by many marriage alliances. This practice was adopted by some commoners who were affluent. Over and above this, polygamy enabled the chiefs to be able to feed their many visitors in their courts as well as entertaining them with their multiple junior wives who acted as concubines at times. L. B. J. Machobane, "Mohlomi: Doctor, Traveller and Sage," *Journal of Southern African Historical Studies Vol.11* (Department of History, National University of Lesotho, 1978), pp.5-27; Dieterlen & Kohler, "The Basuto of Old, A savage Tribe," *Livre d'or*, pp.31-31; Eldredge, *A South African Kingdom*, pp.130, 142; Ellenberger, *History of the Basuto*, p.279.

⁸⁶⁷ The cattle served as a guarantee of the marriage contract. However, the missionaries misconstrued it as a price for the women and claimed that it degraded her. Eldredge, *A South African Kingdom*, 143, 187; Dieterlen & Kohler, "The Basuto of Old, A savage Tribe," *Livre d'or*, pp. 27-28; Report and Evidence of Commission on Laws and Customs of the Basuto (Cape Town: Saul Solomon & Co., Steam Printing Office, 1873), pp. 31-37; Ellenberger, *History of the Basuto*, pp.273-274. For more details on marriage as was practised by the Basuto please, see, F. Z. A. Matšela, *Bochababa Basuto* (Lesotho: Mazenod Publishers, 1990), pp.23-37.

⁸⁶⁸ L.B.B.J. Machobane, "Christianization and African Response: A Comparative View of Religious Conversion Among Barolong and Basuto of the Caledon Valley, 1820-1890, occasional paper no.7," Institute of South African Studies, National University of Lesotho (1993), p.8; Gill, *A Short History of Lesotho*, pp.81-82. For a South African example, see "Missionaries, Xhosa Clergy and the Suppression of Traditional Customs," in Henry Breckenkamp and Robert Ross, eds., *Missions and Christianity in South African History* (Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press, 1995), pp. 151-171; T. Mothibe and M. Ntabeni, "The Role of the Missionaries, the Boers and British in Social and Territorial Changes, 1833-1868," in *Essays on Aspects of The Political Economy of Lesotho 1500-2000*, ed. Neville Pule & Motlatsi Thabane (Department of History, National University of Lesotho, 2002), pp.37-38.

⁸⁶⁹ C. A. Njoku, "The Missionary Factor in African Christianity, 1884-1914," in *African Christianity, An African Story*, p.229; Cf. Thompson, *Survival in two Worlds*, pp.73-74; De Clark, *The Evangelical Missionaries and the Basuto*, p.51; H. R. Niebuhr, *Christ and Culture* (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1951), pp.40-41.

⁸⁷⁰ Dieterlen & Kohler "Basuto of Old, A savage tribe," *The Livre d'or*, p.23.

Leonard Thompson, one of the biographers of Moshoeshoe, attested to this:

The first generation of the French Protestant missionaries were . . . freer of racial pride than most of their contemporaries. Although they did not assume that culture was racially determined, they did believe that the nineteenth-century European culture was infinitely superior to anything African . . . Consequently, like other nineteenth-century missionaries, the French Protestants would find it difficult to understand and impossible to respect the customs that were radically different from their own especially customs related to sex and marriage, like polygamy and bride-price. Moreover, their background and their training made them place great stress on the intellectual and individual approach to religion, and ignore or seriously underestimate the social, aesthetic, and psychological needs of Africans.⁸⁷¹

Eugène Lapointe, the Catholic theologian, also noted,

[The missionaries] were true sons of their time, nineteenth century romanticists, filled with the superiority of their culture, convinced of the exclusive place of the Gospel which they came to proclaim. They were eminently sincere, unshakable in their faith, unconquerable in their courage, convinced to the marrow of their bones of the good effects of their message. We should not be surprised if, together with all these qualities, they brought a few prejudices and ideas of Christianity inherited from the turbulent past of their Church in Europe. The Catholic missionaries were no difference. On both sides, the era of enculturation was far in the future.⁸⁷²

The Paris missionaries' negative attitude towards the Basuto traditional customs brought about tension between them and the Basuto. Libenyanane or Mokhachane, the father of Moshoeshoe, as well as his twin brother, Libe, advised Moshoeshoe that the missionaries

⁸⁷¹ Thompson, *Survival in two worlds, Moshoeshoe of Lesotho*, pp.73-74.

⁸⁷² E. Lapointe, OMI, *An experience of Pastoral Theology in Southern Africa: Inculturation and committed Christian communities* (Rome: Urbaniana University Press, 1986), p.55, cited in Hincks, *Quest for Peace*, p.362.

should be sent back. Moshoeshoe's refusal became one of Libe's reasons for his migration from Thaba-Bosiu to Korokoro.⁸⁷³

In 1841 two of Moshoeshoe's wives converted to Christianity. In this way, they asked him for letters of divorce as the Paris Mission expected those in polygamous marriages to produce them upon entering the Church. Because of the magnitude of this issue, Moshoeshoe convened a *pitso* to explain it all to the nation. He was roundly opposed by the people. Harsh words were uttered, and the angry crowd even wanted to kill Ramatsšatsana, the only Christian who had attended the *pitso* as one of the councillors of Moshoeshoe.⁸⁷⁴

However, Machobane contends that the divorces imposed by the early missionaries on their converts were invalid as the *bohali* (bride-wealth) in all cases with the exception of Mokhachane was not returned to the bride-groom family, as was the custom of the Basuto.⁸⁷⁵

By contrast, the Roman Catholic Mission agreed with the practice of *bohali* and only mitigated the abuse that sometimes surrounded it. They encouraged their converts to minimise the number of the cattle paid. They saw *bohali* as a settlement between two families which served as a guarantee of the marriage contract.⁸⁷⁶

De Clark maintained that the period of 1841 to 1848 was marked by 'several episodes of widespread opposition to Christianity.' He asserted, 'Hostility to Christianity was particularly

⁸⁷³ E. Casalis, *The Basutos*, p. 100; E.M. Leoatle, *Jubile ea Lilemo tse Lekholo* (Moriya: Morija Sesuto Book Depot 1933), pp. 27-28; Hincks, *Quest for Peace*, pp. 169, 170; Ellenberger, *A Century of Mission Work in Basutoland*, p. 43; Gill, *A short history of Lesotho*, p. 82.

⁸⁷⁴ The wives of Moshoeshoe who were given divorce letters were 'Masekhonyana and 'Mamosebetsi. See, G. Dieterlen, *Mareng a Meso 1833-1843* (Moriya : MorijaSesuto Book Depot, 1944), pp.77-78; Hincks, *Quest for peace*, pp. 156, 169-170; Ellenberger, *A Century of Mission Work in Basutoland*, pp.43-44; Thompson, *Survival in Two Worlds*, pp. 93-94, 103; Gill, *A Short history of Lesotho*, p. 79; De Clark, "The Evangelical Missionaries and the Basuto," pp.122, 271; Sanders, *Moshoshoe Chief of the Sotho*, pp.125, 128-129.

⁸⁷⁵ L.B.B.J. Machobane, "Christianization and African Response: A Comparative View of Religious Conversion Among Barolong and Basuto of the Caledon Valley, 1820-1890, occasional paper no.7," Institute of South African Studies, National University of Lesotho (1993), p. 10; See, also, Eldredge, *A South African Kingdom*, pp. 136-137; Thompson, *Survival in Two Worlds*, pp. 100-101; Hincks, *Quest for Peace*, p. 348.

⁸⁷⁶ W. E. Brown, *The Catholic Church in South Africa from its origin to the present day* (London:Burns & Oates 1960), p.218.

widespread in the mid-40s, when it seems to have been motivated by the threat which the new religion presented to ancestor worship, circumcision and polygamy.’⁸⁷⁷

f) “Oxen of the Batlokoa”

Another incident that caused the Basuto to protest openly against the missionaries was the “oxen of the Batlokoa” as that event came to be known. In 1848, Sekonyela, chief of the Batlokoa, attacked Moshoeshoe. The following year (1849) and in retaliation, Moshoeshoe attacked the Batlokoa and vanquished them. He took a large portion of their cattle which were distributed among the warriors of the Basuto as a spoil of war. The missionaries disapproved of this war and ordered their converts to return the cattle. It was said that at Morija, Sekhesa, one of the first converts, received a milk cow from chief Matete as part of the booty of the Batlokoa War. His wife, being a Christian and fearing the missionaries’ censure, refused to eat of its milk with the children so much that Sekhesa had to return it to chief Matete.⁸⁷⁸

By being against this war, the missionaries were seen by the Basuto as supporting the enemy. They went against the traditional custom of war whereby plunder was shared among the warriors to encourage and appreciate their sacrifice for the security of the nation. For this reason, the sons and brothers of Moshoeshoe who had converted to Christianity as well as hundreds of Christians left the Church; some never to return, for what they considered the missionaries’ interference in a matter of national security.⁸⁷⁹

⁸⁷⁷De Clark, “The Evangelical Missionaries and the Basuto, pp. 122,271.

⁸⁷⁸ E. M.Leoatle, Lilemo tse Lekholo tsa Jubile(Morija: morija Sesuto Book Depot, 1933), pp. 26,33-34; Ellenberger, *A Century of Mission Work*, p. 42, Casalis, *My Life in Basutoland*, p.240;Dieterlen, *Mareng a Meso*, pp.57-58.

⁸⁷⁹ Ellenberger, *A Century of Missionary Work*, pp. 78, 79, 80; Hincks, *Quest for Peace*, pp.178-179,195; Gill, *A Short History of Lesotho*, p.92; Machobane, “Christianization and African Response: A Comparative View of Religious Conversion Among Barolong and Basuto of the Caledon Valley, 1820-1890, occasional paper no.7,” p. 22; Thompson, *Survival in Two Worlds*, pp. 149-150.

That incidence had far-reaching consequences for the morale of the Paris Mission as Ellenberger noted, ‘But something had surely vanished, never to come back. The freshness and zest with which the converts were imbued, was no longer to be seen in Basutoland.’⁸⁸⁰

6.3 The period of the second-generation-missionaries (1860-1884)

Several incidences set the scene for the work of the newly arrived missionary generation.

Firstly, the prophetess Mantsopa Anna Makhetha,⁸⁸¹ came up with a new teaching that merged missionary Christianity with Basuto beliefs. Mantsopa and her companion Katsi declared:

They preach the God of the missionaries, with this difference, that the missionaries have their inspiration at second hand and out of a book, whereas they receive direct inspiration and thus are able to point out where the missionaries are in error . . .

Polygamy is not forbidden, but lawful and practised by God himself, Jesus being his child by one wife and the Holy Spirit by another! Thus, the way to heaven is not a narrow road, that the missionaries are ridiculously mistaken in saying so, but that God

⁸⁸⁰ Ellenberger, *A Century of Missionary Work*, pp. 91-92.

⁸⁸¹ Mantsopa Anna Makhetha ‘s origins are debatable. She is alleged to be born across the Caledon River hence the naming of Lady-brand municipality hospital after her (Mantsopa Hospital). Contrary to that, it is claimed by her descendants that she was born near Likotsi (Ha Leposa or Tšhame). Her marriage to a son of Makhetha would have meant she relocated to the west side of the Mohokare (the Caledon River), but during the Lifaqane, it is not known whether she went with Makhetha to the far South or possibly even spent time in the Eastern Cape as did many of Ba-Monaheng. Her connection with Modderpoort is probably because after the Seqiti War, her two sons were resident there. ‘Mantsopa was the most esteemed diviner and prophetess in the nineteenth century in Basutoland. She did not use the customary divining bones but was inspired by visions. Her home was across the Caledon River near Platberg where she had a chapel and a fountain from which drew some water that she used for the healing of the patients. She was a member of the station of Mabolela and was one of the converts who were due for baptism with Moshoeshe at Thaba-Bosiu on March 13, 1870, but Moshoeshe passed away before that time. She was then baptised two days after that date. See, The baptismal register of Thaba-Bosiu 1839-1887; Gill, *A Short History of Lesotho*, pp.112, 141; Thompson, *Survival in two worlds, Moshoeshe of Lesotho*, p.207; P. Jolly, *Rock Shelter, Some cave and Cliff in Lesotho and South Africa* (Cape Town: Credo communications, 2010), pp. 37,39. I am indebted to S. J. Gill, the Curator of the Morija Museum and Archives for some of the information on the origins of Mantsopa Anna Makhetha.

is really the Supreme Chief, and that of course the road to his town is very broad indeed and constantly full of crowds of people going to his court.⁸⁸²

Mantsopa claimed to have witnessed these things in heaven where she had an occasion to visit.⁸⁸³

Undergoing death, going to heaven and resurrection experiences after an illness is a common trait in African prophets and prophetesses. Kimpa Vita, baptised as Dona Beatrice, in the Kongo in the 18th century, Walter Matitta in Basutoland in the 1920s and Alice Leshina Mulengoa Lubusha in Zambia in the 1950s, claimed the same.⁸⁸⁴

Another prophet prophesied against 'Mantsopa, challenged her and obstructed missionary teaching by claiming, 'God did not dwell in heaven but in the bowls of the earth.'

It was alleged,

This man (the prophet that prophesied against 'Mantsopa) has been in the heart of the earth and found him [Molimo] and all other ancient people of the Basuto rejoicing on beer and beef and marrying many wives and doing everything that the missionaries say is wrong; he told the prophet ['Mantsopa] that all the missionary stories are lies, and that there are no inhabitants in the sky at all.⁸⁸⁵

Francis Rakotsoane attests to this, as he notes, 'Molimo as an object of worship in Basuto traditional religion is portrayed as a subterranean rather than a celestial being or sky-divinity.'⁸⁸⁶

⁸⁸² Letter from Joseph Orpen to Burnet, the Civil Commissioner of Aliwal North, 30 September 1862, in G. M. Theal, *Basutoland Records*, vol.3, 1883, p. 181 cited in Hincks, *Quest for Peace*, pp. 259, 260.

⁸⁸³ *Ibid.*

⁸⁸⁴ P. N. Mwaura, "Gender and Power in African Christianity: African Instituted Churches and Pentecostal Churches," in *African Christianity: An African Story, Perspectives on Christianity Series 5, Vol. 3*, eds. Ogbu U. Kalu, J. W. Hofmeyr & P. J. Maritz (Department of Church History, University of Pretoria, 2005), pp.524-526; R. M. Mohono, *The Messenger of God-Walter Matitta*, ed. Stan Nussbaum (South Africa: NERMIC, 1991).

⁸⁸⁵ Hincks, *Quest for Peace*, p. 260.

⁸⁸⁶ F.C.L. Rakotsoane, "A dechristenized concept of Molimo as the object of worship in Basuto indigenous religion" (National University of Lesotho), p.13.

These two episodes of Basuto prophets, particularly the former, illustrated the first syncretism of Basuto traditional religion and Christianity, according to Mokotso.⁸⁸⁷

Secondly, the elders who worked with the first-generation missionaries complained to the second-generation missionaries that had just arrived, about their status in the work of the mission. They requested them to redefine their work as they felt that they were labelled as mere helpers. In answer to this, it was felt that, perhaps, it was time to organise the work in a similar fashion to the Churches in France by introducing the synodical sittings, where the clergy and the laity discussed Church affairs with equal rights.⁸⁸⁸ Unfortunately, the first synod which was supposed to take place in 1865 was impeded by the Seqiti War. In this way, after the war, when there was calm, the Paris mission carried on its plan of a synod.⁸⁸⁹

A big misunderstanding happened in this synod. In the first place, the Basuto were not familiar with this method. They were used to the *Pitso* (the national assembly) where all were able to air their opinions. They did not know that the resolutions made in the synod were binding, that members of the different stations would not believe that the delegates had the power to make decisions for them. As a result, the Church of Hermon, located near the Border of Wepner, revolted against the synodical regulations.⁸⁹⁰ Apparently, the 1872 synodical regulations had to do with the banning of certain cultural practices of the Basuto deemed not in line with Christianity and [they] ‘retarded people in the way of civilization’: *bohali* (marriage with cattle), *sethepu* (polygamy) and *lebollo* (initiation).⁸⁹¹

⁸⁸⁷ I. R. Mokotso, “Syncretism of Basuto traditional religion and Christianity: Gateway to the syncretistic teaching of the Basuto traditional religion and Christianity in Lesotho schools” in *African Journal of History and Culture*, Vol.7(7), pp.157-163.

⁸⁸⁸ Ellenberger, *A Century of Mission Work in Basutoland*, p. 123. This polity introduced by the mission is helpfully explicated by P. Couprie, “The Foundation and Organisation of the Synodal authority within the Lesotho Evangelical Church 1872-1964,” in *Mekolokotoane Kerekeng ea Evangeli Lesotho, Jubilee High Lights 1833-2008*(Motija: Morija Museum and Archives, 2009), p.117-128.

⁸⁸⁹ Hincks, *Quest for Peace*, p. 255; Smith, *The Mabilles of Basutoland*, p.211.

⁸⁹⁰ Hincks, *Quest for Peace*, p.261.

⁸⁹¹ *Ibid*, p. 348; Mohapeloa, *Government Proxy*, p.97.

It is important to point out that the introduction of a synod coincided with Basutoland being placed under the Cape Colony Government in 1871. Ellenberger maintained that ‘the new political regime of Basutoland made the task of the Mission easier in many respects.’⁸⁹² On the other hand, the missionaries thought that the synod was a success as all was assented to without much difficulty. The next synod sittings disillusioned them as they were characterised by quarrels that the idea of a synod had to be suspended.⁸⁹³

The regulations shocked and exasperated the chieftainship when it learnt about them. They thought of the act of the missionaries as tantamount to ‘declaring war.’ For that reason, the regulations were not well received by the chiefs.⁸⁹⁴

Mabille lobbied Griffith, the High Commissioner, to support the regulations but failed. Instead, a commission was set up to work on the regulations.⁸⁹⁵ All the educated sons of Moshoeshoe were against these regulations in this commission.

It is important to note that the revolt of Hermon served as a harbinger for the self-consciousness of African Christians. In the second half of the 1870s and well into the 1880s there were mass agitations for spiritual change expressed in *motheketheke* (ecstatic movements by women) as well as in mushrooming of prophets and prophetesses. All these were signs of discontentment.⁸⁹⁶

Thirdly, Emile Rolland’s statement to Phillip Woodhouse, the High Commissioner, in advised the Cape Colony Government on how to rule Basutoland as already discussed in the preceding chapters. Rolland advised the Cape colonial government to curtail the power of the chiefs through the introduction of the magistrates. He advised the Cape Government that

⁸⁹² Ellenberger, *A Century of Mission Work*, pp. 169.171.

⁸⁹³ *Ibid*, pp. 184-188.

⁸⁹⁴ Hincks, *Quest for Peace*, p.261

⁸⁹⁵ The High Commissioner Griffith and some magistrates in the names of J. Austen as well as E. Rolland were part of the commission; perhaps due to their missionary experiences they were trusted for the job. Rolland served the Paris Mission as a clergy missionary and Austen served the Wesleyan Methodist Mission. The sons of Moshoeshoe and some chiefs were interviewed. *Commission on Laws and Customs of the Basutos 1873* (Cape Town: Steam Printing Office, 1873).

⁸⁹⁶ Smith, *The Mabilles of Basutoland*, 206; Gill, *A short history of Lesotho*, p. 126.

traditional marriage as well as polygamy and initiation schools be discouraged among the Basuto. The Cape colonial government took his advice in ruling Basutoland. It collaborated with the Paris mission in its fight against Basuto traditional customs and hence the cultural hegemony discussed in Chapters One, Two and Six.

Fourthly, the 1888 *pitso*, already discussed in the preceding chapters, occasioned by the divorce of Christian women married to a polygamous husbands, made it imperative for Letsie, Moshoeshoe's successor, to convene a *pitso* to deliberate on the validity of Christian marriages, that is, marriages without payment of cattle, to make a final ruling in the presence of the nation as well as the Christian missions working in Basutoland. The Paris Mission was against cattle marriages. The Roman Catholic priests, the Anglicans openly favoured cattle marriages and that provided a further impetus to their work. They both gained 'a considerable number of adherents, among whom were several wives of chiefs.'⁸⁹⁷ However, the work of the Paris Mission still progressed well but it was no longer the only one, there were competitors.⁸⁹⁸

6.4 Dieterlen's views on the Basuto Culture and Gender

Upon his arrival in Basutoland Dieterlen maintained the position of his predecessors regarding their attitude towards the Basuto culture and gender. This is made evident by the numerous articles that he wrote in the *Leselinyana la Lesotho* newspaper throughout his missionary tenure in Basutoland (1874-1919), in the *Livre d'or* where he contributed an article – *The Basuto of Old, A savage tribe*– when the Paris Mission celebrated its 75th Jubilee at Morija in 1908⁸⁹⁹ as well as in *La médecine et les médecines au Lessouto* published in

⁸⁹⁷ Ellenberger, *A Century of Mission Work*, pp.240-241.

⁸⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

⁸⁹⁹ *Livre d'or de la mission du Lessouto: Soixante-quinze ans de l'histoire d'une tribu sud-africaine, 1833-1908* (Paris, 1912).

1930,⁹⁰⁰ three years before his death, in which he wrote about the medical practice of the Basuto and even contrasted it with Western practices and in *Pourquoi les missions? Réflexions d'un missionnaire*, published in 1893,⁹⁰¹ in which he wrote about his perceptions of the missions.

At the outset, Dieterlen maintained the sense of superiority as well as the paternalistic leadership that characterised most of the 19th century missionaries to Southern Africa in dealing with the Basuto. As Gabriel Setiloane notes,

The works of the early missionaries to Africa — Shaw's 'Memorials', Moffat's 'Missionary labours and scenes', Casalis 'The Basutos' and others — are not pleasant reading for the descendants [of those] whom they, in their superiority, call "savage", "heathens", "caffers" and "sons of the wilderness."⁹⁰²

Dieterlen also employed the terms "heathens" for the Basuto non-believers as well as "witch-doctors" for traditional doctors which terms were insulting and derogatory by nature. He thus had a very low opinion as well as no respect for the Basuto. He regarded them as children who did not know anything and needed guidance. As he maintained in 1908:

And it is because he is so superstitious that the Mosotho is so little religious. When a man who knows nothing wants to explain all the same, he explains the natural by the supernatural and the reasonable by the absurd. The Mosotho lives in nature; he sees lightning kill or burn, disease ruins a body, death freeze limbs that are still robust. He therefore has the impression that his life is surrounded by perils. His defiant mind suspects traps and evil spells or accuses himself against misfortune. He seeks to deceive or reconcile with the nature that has defeated him, through childish tricks. He plants sticks on the roof of his hut in order to chase away the fire from heaven; in the

⁹⁰⁰ Dieterlen, *La médecine et les médecines au lessouto* (Paris Société De Missions Évangéliques, 1930).

⁹⁰¹ H. Dieterlen, *Pourquoi les missions ? Réflexions d'un missionnaire. Les principes, les objections, les moyens d'action et les faits accomplis* (Paris : Maison des missions évangéliques, 1893).

⁹⁰² G. M. Setiloane, *The image of God among the Sotho-Tswana*, (Cape Town: Balkema 1976), p, 89.

evening, he lights fires in his field in order to increase the output, and he has incisions made in his skin in order to protect himself against the enterprises of sorcerers.⁹⁰³

6.5 Dieterlen's views on Basuto marriage, polygamy and initiation

Like his predecessors, Dieterlen disliked and discouraged initiations, polygamy and marriage by cattle among the Basuto. He averred,

The only consideration that is of a nature to delay or complicate the conclusion of a marriage is the national custom that requires that, in exchange for the hand of a young girl in marriage, the parents of the young man give a certain number of animals. It is important the nature of this transaction be examined very closely, because, for Europeans especially, it so much presents characteristics of buying or selling those serious misunderstandings and great difficulties result from this endlessly, more particularly in the disciplinary regulations that the missionaries adopt for the raising of moral standards of their members.⁹⁰⁴

Here Dieterlen implicitly acknowledges that there are two different worldviews: the European one and the African one.

He further added,

It [the marriage contract] is based neither on feelings, a promise, on civil or religious deeds, nor on written documents. It is the settlement of the animals that keeps a woman close to her husband and that guarantees the latter the possession (here the word is used purposely) of his wife and of his children . . . Marriage is more of a

⁹⁰³ H. Dieterlen & F. Kohler "The Basuto of Old, A savageTribe," *Livre d'or*, p.90; Dieterlen, *La médecine et les médecines au lessouto*, chapter 3.

⁹⁰⁴ Dieterlen & Kohler, "The Basuto of Old, A savage Tribe," *Livre d'or*, p.27. Dieterlen also wrote two articles in the *Leselinyana la Lesotho* trying to justify how and why cattle marriage had connotations of selling or buying a woman. Dieterlen, "Lenyalo la likhomo," (cattle marriage), *Leselinyana*, June 15, 1906, p. 3, "Lenyalo la likhomo," *Leselinyana*, July 1, 1906, p.3.

family affair than an individual act, and the heart has nothing to do with it. It is of a frightening realism.⁹⁰⁵

The above statement shows that Dieterlen was unwilling to understand the Basuto traditional customs pertaining to marriage. He expected them to approach marriage like Europeans who used writing documents or the pen, a promise and civil or religious deeds to effect marriages. This illustrates that Dieterlen supported the colonial government's hegemonic vision in Basutoland. He wanted the Basuto to adopt European features regarding marriage. On the other hand, he correctly pointed out that marriage to the Basuto was more of a family affair. However, it should be noted that to posit that the 'heart has nothing to do with marriage,' according to Basuto traditional customs was an exaggeration. Marriage arrangements were made in consultation with the parents concerned and their children according to the Basuto traditional customs.⁹⁰⁶

Dieterlen maintained, 'For Basuto, marriage is the rule and polygamy the exception.' He explained,

Very often the first wife was chosen and given to the son by his parents, without the young man's inclinations and tastes having been consulted. He has "never" loved his first wife. But one day, his heart falls for another one. He loves her. He marries her. It is the marriage of love coming after the marriage of reason, the individual choice succeeding family obligations and conveniences, therefore a very legitimate marriage and perhaps even more moral than the first one. Or may be the first wife does not give any children to her husband.⁹⁰⁷

He further explained how polygamy came to be part of the Basuto culture thus:

⁹⁰⁵*Ibid*, p.28.

⁹⁰⁶ See, Z.A. Matšela, *Bochaba ba Basuto* (National University of Lesotho: Mazenod Publishers, 1990), p. 23-36; S. A Mokorosi, *Basuto Traditions, Indigenous Architecture and Creativity* (Morija: Morija Printing Works, 2017), pp.58-59.

⁹⁰⁷Dieterlen& Kohler, "The Basuto of Old, A savage Tribe," *Livre d'or*, p. 31.

Chiefs, on their part, put forward considerations of a different order. In a country where domestic service does not exist, a Chief, obliged by his position itself to receive a lot of strangers and feed a lot of people would only manage to face such great obligations by increasing the number of his wives, of whom each one fulfils the functions of maid and cook. There is also something plausible in the idea that marrying the daughter of a chief with whom one would one day find oneself at war, is guaranteeing some immunity to one's children and guaranteeing them against certain violence, in case the "father-in-law" defeated his son-in-law and grabbed his village.⁹⁰⁸

He then concluded,

Marriage, polygamy and family life; all that shows that the Basuto have ideas of a very inferior quality about men in general and women. Their notions are those of uncouth and primitive people, and their behaviour is at the level of their ideas. You should not look for a morality that they are incapable of understanding and practising in their life.⁹⁰⁹

The above statement also serves to confirm that Dieterlen had a low opinion of the Basuto as a people and their traditional customs.

When writing about the origins of "circumcision"⁹¹⁰ Dieterlen pondered,

How, from the plains of Mamre did it reach the banks of the Orange River? That is what we shall never know. The Basuto themselves only know to repeat an old song in which the introduction in their midst of the great Semitic rite is attributed to a chief named Ratlali and an anonymous Bushman. As for the rest, the historical or legendary origin of the thing matters less. It is there; it is the centre itself of the social

⁹⁰⁸ *Ibid*, p. 31.

⁹⁰⁹ *Ibid*.

⁹¹⁰ Missionaries used the word circumcision for initiations which were rites of passage for young male and female Basuto.

life of the Basuto, the keystone of their institutions and the object of their strongest convictions.⁹¹¹

He explained,

Driven by a zeal that the Israelites never experienced, they have even extended this custom to the people of the feminine sex and invented for them rites and mysteries parallel to those with which the initiation of boys is surrounded. Mysteries, so we say. Yes, but preceded by a feast that throws the country into a strong excitement and takes the proportions of the greatest gala of which the Basuto are capable.⁹¹²

The foregoing assertion about “circumcision,” written by Dieterlen, as well as the term “circumcision” employed, are something of a misnomer, since the Basuto never practised circumcision like the Israelites. What the Basuto practised were initiations which were the rites of passage for the young boys and girls into adulthood. Circumcision and initiations share a commonality with the foreskins of the males being cut but the differences are that, while the former signified a peculiar patriarchal covenant between Jehovah and Israel,⁹¹³ the latter had no such covenantal connotations with Jehovah the God of Israel. It was an initiation meant to prepare young Basuto males and females for adulthood, hence, their being called rites of passage.⁹¹⁴ Moreover, the Israelites circumcised their children when they were eight days after birth, whereas the Basuto’s initiation was meant for mature boys and girls. As Machobane, one of the historians in Lesotho, notes,

The rite of initiation-*bogoera* in Serolong and *lebollo* in Sesotho . . . foreigners generally called this institution circumcision, which was not the term used for it because circumcision was only a small, symbolic part of initiation . . . The youth,

⁹¹¹Dieterlen & Kohler, “The Basuto of Old, A savage Tribe,” *Livre d’or*, p. 95.

⁹¹²*Ibid.*

⁹¹³ Genesis 17.

⁹¹⁴Matšela, *Bochababa Basuto* (National University of Lesotho: Mazenod Publishers, 1990), pp.52-79; A. Sekese, *Mekhoa le Maele a Basuto* (Moriya: Morija Sesuto Book Depot, 1931), pp.12-16; H. Ashton, *The Basuto* (London: Oxford University Press, 1952), pp.46-58.

aged between eighteen and twenty-one were isolated for about three months in caves in the mountain areas. There they were instructed by the elders on those traditions, customs and laws that were considered essential for adult males to know.⁹¹⁵

Machobane further explained,

Girls between the ages of sixteen and twenty were isolated for a corresponding period of time as the boys, generally in the lowlands, along streams and rivers. Here they learned through chanted poetry “the rudimentary principles of motherhood..., the duties of wives to husbands, and their duties to the state and to the chief.”⁹¹⁶

Dieterlen had misguided opinions of the Basuto initiation schools.

6.6 Dieterlen’s views on the Basuto traditional doctors

Dieterlen was critical of the Basuto traditional doctors to the extent that he published a book on the Basuto medical practice.⁹¹⁷ He contrasted European medical practice with the Basuto one by maintaining,

In Europe medical ministry is reserved for men, and nowadays for women, who have prepared themselves for it by long and serious studies, thanks to which we can, in all confidence, ask for their help and obey their prescriptions. The black doctor, too, enjoys real authority, but his science is first the product of instruction which he received from a man older and more experienced than himself, then of observations he has received himself, mostly from his imagination. In some easy cases, he prescribes the remedies that everyone knows about. In others, more complicated or for him new, he indulges in the most bizarre improvisations, of which the patient

⁹¹⁵ L.B.B.J. Machobane, “Christianization and African Response: A Comparative view of religious of religious conversion among the Barolong and the Basuto of the Caledon Valley, 1820-1890,” occasional paper No.7, (National University of Lesotho, Institute of African Studies, 1993), pp.16-17; Cf. B. M. Leluma, *Mosotho oa ‘Mankhonthe*, (Khilibiting, Thabana-Morena), unpublished work.

⁹¹⁶ *Ibid.*

⁹¹⁷ Dieterlen, *La médecine et les médecines au lessouto* (Paris Société De Missions Évangéliques, 1930).

becomes helpless and a credulous victim. At the end of the day, this doctor always lives at the expense of his clients.⁹¹⁸

Dieterlen further explained,

In general, the black healer likes to capture the imagination of the public with the bizarre costume he adorns himself with. On his head he wears a large cap made of monkey skin, to which he has attached the gall bladders of sheep and goats that have recently been killed to feed him or to treat his clients. Bags of skin, filled with mysterious plants and roots, constitute his pharmacy. Next to him walks a younger man, who carries most of his luggage. He is an apprentice, we would say medical student, who receives his lessons, to make use of them latter.⁹¹⁹

He asserted,

In Lessouto, when a doctor has made a reputation for himself for certain diseases, one can buy him the secret of his remedies by giving him a piece of cattle: this means one sincerely believes in the value of the remedy that we buy at a high price.⁹²⁰

He maintained,

But besides the doctor who flaunts his superiority as we have described, there are others who exercise their art without ostentation and with no less success. They inspire their confidence by their very humility, as this proverb expresses, “The doctor is the little yellow one,” which, translated into the European language, means: “The real doctor is the one who does not look bad, and which shows no pretension.” Because the colour yellow, for the Basutos, symbolises poverty and hunger.⁹²¹

⁹¹⁸*Ibid*, chapter 2.

⁹¹⁹*Ibid*; “The Basuto of Old, a savage tribe,” *the Levre d’or*, p.61.

⁹²⁰ Dieterlen, *La médecines et les médecines au lessouto*, chapter 2.

⁹²¹*Ibid*.

Mosebi Damane,⁹²² the Mosotho historian, notes, 'In Sotho traditional society, doctors were mostly herbalists, and they were classified into categories according to their knowledge of both diagnosis and prescription of medicine.'⁹²³

He maintained,

There was *Ngakana-Ntšonyana* (black doctor), who was also called *ngaka-kea hetla* (the doctor who looks around as he practises his art). The black colour in Sotho, and possibly in African minds, denotes dullness, imperfection or lack of finish, and polish as opposed to white which denotes clearness, fullness and perfection (sic). The doctor is called black because he lacks profound knowledge of herbs and has insufficient skills in dispensing medicine.⁹²⁴

Damane added,

Ngakana-Ntšonyana is despised by those who practise the art of healing in traditional society. Yet he is useful in healing minor ailments. His herbs are effective against 'flu, stomach-ache, headache, sore eyes, etc...*Ngakana-Ntšonyana* is more unpopular than any other traditional doctor because most members of his class has, [sic] in recent times, claimed more knowledge than they actually possessed, charged excessive fees and were generally accused of deceiving their patients... Another reason for their unpopularity stems from their being associated with the recrudescence of medicine murders which swept Lesotho in 1942-1949.⁹²⁵

⁹²²Mosebi Damane was an experienced teacher as well as an outstanding Mosotho historian and Research Fellow in the History Department at the University of Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland.

⁹²³ M. Damane, "Sotho Medicine," *Lesotho Notes and Records*, Vol. X, 1973-1974, pp. 48-59. Please, also see, M. P. Motlamelle, *Ngaka ea Mosotho* (Moriya, 1950). The *Lesotho Notes and Records* was the research publishing journal of the Basutoland Scientific Association (BSA, later the Lesotho Scientific Association). This association was established in 1954 under the leadership of Amy and Charles Jacot-Guillarmond and James Walton with a view to promoting and encouraging the scientific study of Basutoland by fostering research, arranging excursions and study tours, organising lectures as well as the publication of original work. It began publishing *Basutoland Notes and records* from 1959 on an irregular basis till 1974. See, S. Gill, *Museums Lesotho: Building Upon the Legacy, An inquiry into the idea and reality of a National Museum in Lesotho* (Moriya: Morija Museum and Archives, 2015), pp. 35-40.

⁹²⁴Damane, "Sotho Medicine," *Lesotho Notes and Records*, Vol. X, 1973-1974," pp. 48,49.

⁹²⁵*Ibid.*

Ngakana-Ntšonyana was the doctor whom Dieterlen claimed that he or she ‘flaunts his or her superiority.’

Damane further explained that there is another class of doctors called *ngaka-chitja* (hornless doctor),

He does not wear costumes and the horns that distinguish him from the rest of the people. It is his simplicity, honesty and reasonable of his fees that make him respected. Moreover, his remedies are effective. He merely prescribes medicines after the disease has been diagnosed by those, called *bo-kea tseba* (the people who say: ‘I know.’)⁹²⁶

Ngaka-chitja is the doctor which the proverb, “The doctor is the little yellow one,” as discussed above, refers to Mohlomi, the popular traveller, doctor, chief and sage that groomed Moshoeshe, King of the Basuto, belonged to the class of *ngaka-chitja*.⁹²⁷

Dieterlen averred,

Alongside the country’s doctors, there are others who, coming from abroad, in the eyes of the Basuto enjoy very great prestige, because, they say “effective medicine is what comes from afar.” It is for this reason that we can see Kaffir [sic] doctors from the Cape Colony going from village to village, others who come from Natal and the country of the Zulu, still others from the Transvaal and the Portuguese colony of Mozambique, each with bundles of drugs, its incomprehensible language, its bones, divining objects...⁹²⁸

Dieterlen asserted that while these doctors from afar were the most trusted and sought, they were unreliable sometimes. He recounted that an old Zulu doctor named Khokong ordered that ‘ears, fingers and other parts of a man’s body’ be brought to him by a chief who had

⁹²⁶ *Ibid*, p. 49.

⁹²⁷ L. B. J. Machobane, “Mohlomi: Doctor, Traveller and Sage,” *Journal of Southern African Historical Studies* Vol.11 (Department of History, National University of Lesotho, 1978), pp.5-27.

⁹²⁸ Dieterlen, *La médecine et les médecines au Lesotho*, chapter 2.

come for royal medicine. That chief organised a medicine murder to get royal medicine that would help him triumph over his competitor. They were all discovered and taken to prison.⁹²⁹ Medicine murders were common early in the 20th century.⁹³⁰ This one associated with the Zulu doctor, Khokong, took place in 1912 at Thaba-Bosiu. That incident shocked and shook the Basuto nation so much that Dieterlen wrote about it and some Basuto in the *Leselinyana la Lesotho*.⁹³¹

This confirms the general convictions that traditional doctors promoted medicine murders in Basutoland.

Dieterlen posited that traditional medicine abuse as well as charlatanism did not come only from African doctors but also from the white people. A Boer woman from the Orange Free State (OFS)⁹³² was expelled by OFS government for her medical tricks and deceptions. She crossed the Caledon River and established herself in the Leribe district. She found a lucrative clientele among the Basuto and earned the name, “the mother of small shells.” When a sick person consulted her, she pointedly questioned a doll, or gazed at length into a jar filled with a coloured liquid. She would then give what she called “medicine from the Boers” (peasants). She sold what other merchants sold but at a high price. The height of her art was to hang

⁹²⁹*Ibid.*

⁹³⁰ For example, see, G. I. Jones, *Basutoland Medicine Murder: A Report on the Recent Outbreak of “Diretlo” Murders in Basutoland* (London: Stationary Office, 1951).

⁹³¹ Dieterlen, “Sesotho le Sekreste,” *Leselinyana la Lesotho*, January 1, 1912, p.1.

⁹³² The “Orange Free State” was a Boer Republic in Southern Africa, located between the Orange River and the Vaal. A large part of this country belonged to the Basuto of King Moshoeshoe. The Boers during the Great Trek occupied it as passers-by but later claimed it as theirs. The British Government officials in the Cape helped them to achieve this. It was declared an independent state in 1854. It was enlarged in 1869 when its boundary with Basutoland was made to be the Caledon River. Nonetheless, the Boers did not keep to that arrangement; at Wepner the Caledon River was abandoned to be the boundary to its confluence with the Orange River. Thus, that deprived the Basuto of a large fertile land. See, M. M. Lelimo, *The Question of Lesotho Conquered Territory: it’s time for an answer* (Moriya: Morija Museum and Archive, 1998) ; J. M. Orpen, *History of the Basutos of South Africa* (Lesotho: Mazenod Book Depot, 1979); Ellenberger, *A century of Mission Work*, pp. 88, 95-111; R. C. Germond, *Chronicles of Basutoland*, p.571; T. Mothibe and M. Ntabeni, “The Role of the Missionaries, the Boers and British in Social and Territorial Changes, 1833-1868,” in *Essays on Aspects of The Political Economy of Lesotho 1500-2000*, ed. Neville Pule & Motlatsi Thabane (Department of History, National University of Lesotho, 2002), pp.42-43.

around the necks of her clients a pretty, shimmering little shell. She collected shells from the eastern coast.⁹³³

Dieterlen provided another example of Americans elsewhere that arrived, proclaiming that they rejected all medicine and that they only believe in healing by faith. One of them came to fall seriously ill. They called for a government doctor to provide remedies that these Americans reprovved and forbade their followers to use. Dieterlen bemoaned the fact that these Americans proclaimed certain doctrines and preached them strictly to others, only to do just the opposite as soon as they were faced with difficulties.⁹³⁴

It is not clear which American missionaries Dieterlen was referring to. The first American Pentecostal missionaries (Apostolic Faith Mission) arrived around 1908.⁹³⁵

Dieterlen distinguished the doctor from the sorcerers or plain wizards. He maintained that according to the Basuto, a sorcerer “engages in witchcraft.” He or she is a malefactor, a dangerous being, resorting to malice to do evil in secret and possessing powers that Europeans would attribute to the Devil.”⁹³⁶ The doctor, on the other hand, is a benefactor. He delivers people from the evils that afflict them. He has special knowledge. “The sorcerer is the poison and the doctor the counter-poison.”⁹³⁷

He maintained that the Basuto did not believe that a person dies without special cause, hence the proverb “we nail the skin of the dead man to another man’s skin.” That means we attribute to a man the death of another man.⁹³⁸

Motlamelle also attests to this as he notes that witchcraft is intrinsically embedded in the Basuto to the extent that sickness, adversity as well as afflictions are still attributed to it even

⁹³³Dieterlen, *La médecines et les médecines au lessouto*, chapter 2.

⁹³⁴*Ibid.* Chapter 6.

⁹³⁵Hincks, *Quest for Peace*, pp.422-424.

⁹³⁶*La médecines et les médecines au lessouto*, chapter 3; Cf. J. Sechefo, *Customs and Superstitions in Basutoland*(Mazenod: The Catholic Centre),n.d. p. 28-29. Sechefo has discussed a wider range of the Basuto trifle customs and superstitious beliefs.

⁹³⁷ Dieterlen, *La médecines et les médecines au lessouto*, chapter 3.

⁹³⁸*Ibid.*

after years of social intercourse with white people. Pre-colonial Basuto associated literacy with it, as they could not understand how the White man made the paper to speak. They thought it was due to the use of certain medicine that the paper spoke.⁹³⁹

As has been argued earlier that the Basuto remained the Basuto in their hearts despite their interaction with the white people, particularly the missionaries, the forgoing also supports this observation, Sepota, maintains,

It is very difficult and costly (spiritually and economically) for one to change his/her own culture. This is evidenced during the times of crises by many African converts (who are made to believe that their cultural practices are acts of heathenism) turning back to their cultural practices for comfort. Even in times of happiness, they sometimes also turn to their cultural practices for thanksgiving. Such people would be seen during the day in Church services asking for blessings and holy sacraments, while in the evening or early morning they stealthily visit the graveyards to go and communicate with their ancestors. Ancestor veneration might also happen during the day. In such cases, what is normally done is that people talk about a braai or a come together of some sort whereas the bottom line of such activity is to venerate their ancestors.⁹⁴⁰

Dieterlen averred that the African is both gullible and suspicious. He assumed there was harm there or there was not. He believed more in the danger that did not exist. He pushed this distrust to the absurd. Here, for example, there was a custom which attested to this: when a

⁹³⁹ ...Batho ba mo na ka tlhaho ea bona – ke hore ba e so kopane hantle-ntle le batho ba na ba tsoang mose ho maoatle, ba ne ba sitoa ho utloisisa lintho tse ling, e sita le hona ho bala le ho ngola, hore na motho a ka tsebana ntho tse joalo joang ntle le hore e be mokhoanyana o mong o teng o kang meleko, kapa a kile a beoa tlhakanyana e tla moetsa hore a tsebe lintho tse joalo, ka ha motho e motšo e mong le e mong, e sita le mehleng ea kajeno, ha ese e le lilemo-lemo ba kopane le mofuta ona o mosoeu o ntse a na le pelaelonyana ea hore ha e mong a kula ke lefu le fe kapa le fe, le ha a hlahetsoe ke kotsi ea mofuta ofe kapa ofe, o tlabe a loiloe kapa a rometsoe meromella ke ba bang ba mohloleng, ba sa rateng baholo ba hae, ba habo kapa bao eena mokuli a kileng a fapana le bona kapa a ba loantša. Motlamelle, *Bongaka ba Sesotho*, pp. 16-17.

⁹⁴⁰ Sepota, "The destruction of African Culture by Christianity," *S.A.Jnl. Folklore Studies* 9 (2) (Department of Northern Sotho, University of the North, Pietersburg, 1998), p. 25.

man offered his friends a jar of sorghum brewed by his wife, he stirred this drink, and then he drank the first gulps before he could pass the jar to others. In Sesuto, this is *ho tlosa boloi* (removing witchcraft), a gesture that assures the guests that there is nothing in the drink to harm them.⁹⁴¹

He asserted that as a protective measure against harm, the Basuto make small incisions in some parts of the body and apply by friction some medicine therein. This is done to students when they go for higher schools to protect them against harmful influences from malicious comrades. At the wedding, the room where the wedding meal will take place, is immunised, that is, protective medicine is sprinkled or spread on the floor. The family of the bridegroom as well as his friends take precaution through scarification to ensure their safety from contact with other guests and parents of the bridegroom.⁹⁴²

He provided another example according to which the Basuto men going to the gold or diamond mines also protected themselves by protective medicine. Dieterlen explained that one should not be surprised to meet them disfigured by a black circle which surrounded one of their eyes. It is simply a precaution that they took to protect themselves from the bad consequences that life could have for them in common with people of other tribes. The doctors made protective incision there and rubbed the protective drug therein. It is a vaccine like any other.⁹⁴³

While the above examples about the Basuto protective medicine and belief may sound unreasonable and absurd, as it did to Dieterlen, the fact of the matter is this entire example proves beyond doubt that the Basuto remained Basuto at heart notwithstanding the introduction of Christian teaching that dissuaded them to do away with their culture. The precautions taken when they went about having a drink with friends, sending their children to schools and at the wedding ceremonies as well as when going to the mines alluded to the fact

⁹⁴¹ Dieterlen, *La médecine et les médecines au lessouto*, chapter 3.

⁹⁴² *Ibid.*

⁹⁴³ *Ibid.*

that Christians also believed in their customs and used them in tandem with Christian civilization. Simon Maimela, a South African scholar, attests to this, as he notes,

People of South Africa have come to realise more and more that, while it is true that they have suffered under white domination for over three hundred years, it does not follow that Africans have completely ceased from being Africans. Because black South Africans were not fully Europeanised, it is not surprising that, during the times of crisis in their lives, they often resort to their African cultural and religious beliefs and practices.⁹⁴⁴

Dieterlen stressed that according to the Basuto, anything that comes from the human body: (nails, hair and other unspeakable things), can be used against the person from whom it comes by a sorcerer. Even the dead body of a person is kept with great care. It is guarded against desecration and mutilation for medicine purposes. This is the reason why the tombs of the chiefs are of extraordinary depth to protect them from wrongdoing or being unearthed with criminal intentions. A dog's skin, it was believed, could be transformed into a more formidable spell so that no one was allowed to kill it without prior warning of his chief. Chief Molapo of Leribe was said to be so mistrustful of the evil spells of his adversaries that he took great precautions in his travels to and from his home. The doctor protected him against all these superstitious fears and imaginary dangers, according to Dieterlen.⁹⁴⁵

The traditional doctor protected the country against elements of hail, lightning, drought and other calamities. He or she was the one who gave the people *lithakhisa* (small sticks coated with a black substance which they planted in their huts for protection against the fire of the sky); the one who gave smooth pebble which they inserted on the doorstep of their home to prevent evil, misfortune or the evil one from entering it; the one who gave the cultivator certain plants which he must bury or burn in his fields so that his harvest is

⁹⁴⁴ S.S. Mainela, "Religion and Culture: blessings and Curses?" in *Culture, Religion and liberation, African Challenges Series*, p.4.

⁹⁴⁵ Dieterlen, *La médecines et les médecines au lessouto*, chapter 3.

abundant. And he was the one who provided people with the wooden pegs that an eye beholds hidden in the thatch of the hut, also as preventive remedies.⁹⁴⁶

Dieterlen defined medicine as what is done for people, for their good, and witchcraft as what is done against people, to harm them. He labelled Basuto medicine and witchcraft as ‘twin sisters and daughters of ignorance, superstition and traditions.’⁹⁴⁷

He maintained,

The Basuto believe that a man can communicate with certain things or substances, in themselves and by themselves harmless, a beneficial or harmful power, according to the intentions of the one who gives them to other people. In the event of malice, it is not a question of poison, whose effects would be natural, and of material origin, but of preparations in the harmfulness of which the wickedness, the hatred, the vengeance are somehow introduced and thus act by intermediary of an inherently inert vehicle.

One can, even, by this means, send disease, lightning, hail, to the adventures by using air to get them to their destination. This materialization mechanics would be witchcraft.⁹⁴⁸

Dieterlen further explained,

⁹⁴⁶*Ibid*, Cf. J. Sechefo, *Customs and Superstitions in Basutoland*, p. 23.

⁹⁴⁷Dieterlen, *La médecines et les médecines au lessouto*, chapter 3; Basuto ha ba loana, mohlā ntoa, ha ba bolaile monna oa lireng, ba retla setopo sa hae, ba nka linama tse ling tseo ba etsang ka tsona manaka, e leng manaka ao holekisoang bashemane le a ho loea ba lireng bao ho loanoang le bona. Manaka ao ke Sesotho, e bile ke sehedene; ‘me ntho tseo tsepeli li kopaneha mmoho lebollong, li sena ho khetholloa. Liphato tsa Sesotho li joalo, le hohle ho amanang le bongaka le bonhe, le bophelo bo bo ngata: temo ea mabele, koko ea ba babi, polokeho ea metse. Le bona boloi bona bo boleloang ha kalo, le ha bo sa etsetsoe nyoe khotla, boloi bona bo kopanya liketso tsa bohedene le liketso tsa Sesotho, bokopanya bothoto, e leng ntho ea batho, le bolotsana, e leng ntho ea Satane (During war Basuto amputate the bodies of the enemies that they have killed to make horns which they use at circumcision schools (sic) and to bewitch their enemies. Such horns constitute heathenism and the Basuto ways. These two things (heathenism and the Basuto ways) are found in circumcision and cannot be separated. Basuto medicine is like that, and all that has to do with it, divination and the entire life of the Basuto: agriculture of sorghum, nursing of the sick as well as the protection of the village. Even witchcraft that is so rife, though no one is ever tried for it in the court of the chief, talked much about in funerals and results in hatred and grievances. This witchcraft constitutes heathenism and ways of Sesotho coupled with ignorance which is of mankind and cunningness which is of Satan). Dieterlen, “Sesotho le Sekreste” *Leselinyana la Lesotho*, Jan 1, 1912, p.1.

⁹⁴⁸ Dieterlen, *La médecines et les médecines au lessouto*, chapter 3.

On the other hand, they believe that one can communicate to a person's 'qualities or do him good,' for example at the event of illness, by introducing in certain substances the benevolence, charity, the healing from which one wants to make them profit.

When my wife brought our first child, currently a missionary in Lessouto [George Dieterlen], to a Christian vigil called Mophomotsi, that is to say, the one who gives rest, this "grandmother" took the little boy and rubbed her head against hers, all white-washed by age, to communicate to her the privilege of living as long as he does: transmission of vitality through the hair which was at her material and visible sign.⁹⁴⁹

He gave another example to this effect,

And when you want a child who has just been born to become a man of value, you call a strong, wise, intelligent man; we ask him to spit on a piece of meat, which we then hold between the baby's lips so that he sucks this saliva and absorbs, through his intermediary, the virtues of the one who threw it there.⁹⁵⁰

While these practices were despised as well as frowned upon by Dieterlen, the Basuto by practising them meant well for their children. It was their desire that their children became better people, and they did what they did as a gesture to fulfil their wish.

6.7 Dieterlen's views on Basuto medicine

Dieterlen commended the Basuto doctors for their knowledge of botany, that is, the knowledge of the plants of their country. He noted,

You come across some soil product; even a seemingly insignificant herb, an almost invisible small plant, and you knock it down to a black doctor and ask for the name. He will look at it and after a while it will tell you the name, adding in many cases, its medical properties and particularities. You present it to another doctor, and he will

⁹⁴⁹*Ibid.*

⁹⁵⁰*Ibid.*

give you the same answer as his colleague. From which you will conclude, first that in Lesouto, each plant, herb, bush or tree has a name, and that these names are known to all those who share the art of healing.⁹⁵¹

He asserted that certain remedies prescribed by black doctors have a certain effectiveness. This is undisputable. In Europe certain remedies which doctors despise, but which public opinion recommends, are used to cure certain ailments.⁹⁵²

He maintained,

Plants, leaves, roots, bark, transformed into herbal teas by native doctors, can have their effectiveness. In fact, of purgative and emetics, the pharmacy of these gentlemen is well provided with the necessary. But in the absence of scales and measures, these remedies produce the opposite of what we wanted. The doses, being too strong, kill the patients instead of saving them...⁹⁵³

For this reason, he urged,

That black medical science is not to be dismissed. Perhaps some of its secret will be borrowed from it. Because Africa is still far from having revealed all the secrets and all the treasures within its soil, once reputed to be poor and sterile, is abundantly provided.⁹⁵⁴

He recounted how a Whiteman tormented by a tapeworm, got help from the remedy of a Mosuto doctor called Amos.⁹⁵⁵

Dieterlen also commended the Basuto doctors for their knowledge of *thobeha*. He noted,

In case of a fracture, he uses *thobeha* (from *ho robeha*, to be broken), a wonderful medicine that is supposed to mend the broken bones simply by getting into contact with the shadow projected on the ground by the fractured limb.⁹⁵⁶

⁹⁵¹*Ibid*, chapter 4.

⁹⁵²*Ibid*.

⁹⁵³*Ibid*.

⁹⁵⁴*Ibid*.

⁹⁵⁵*Ibid*.

He maintained that *thobeha* is wonderful, ‘When years later we kill this ox and examine the bone of his leg which had been broken, we do indeed find there the black powder which we had inserted into the ground to put back his fracture.’⁹⁵⁷

The forgoing examples, positive on Basuto medicines and doctors, attempt to balance Dieterlen’s predominantly negative attitude towards Basuto traditional medicine as well as doctors.

He maintained,

The black doctor is a quack of the first strength for ignorant and credulous compatriots, and the little knowledge that he possesses does not compensate for the absurd and the cunning that he has no qualms with deployers in the exercise of his art.⁹⁵⁸

He explained,

In all of this, nothing [is] religious. But here is a circumstance in which the divinte, the deceased, are called upon to intervene to decide the fate of a serious person” “She has sleeps,” it is said, which means she is delirious. It is a serious matter. The deceased want to call them. They must be asked to stop calling her, so that she does not meet them in her sleep. It must be “washed”.

He further explained,

We kill a goat or a sheep, we pour on his body the bile of the victim in which we first spit. Her family members rub it with this bile, saying, Wow! heal yourself; sleep in peace for us.” In the evening, another beast is brought before to be sacrificed, and one says: “Here is the beast with which we pray for you.” Then we invoke one of the

⁹⁵⁶Dieterlen, “The Basuto of old, a savage tribe,” *Levre d’or*, p. 62. See also, Sechefo, *Customs and Superstitions in Basutoland*, p.24.

⁹⁵⁷Dieterlen, *La médecines et les médecines au lessouto*, chapter 4.

⁹⁵⁸*Ibid.*

patient's ancestors: "Why are you looking for him Oh, our ancestors, dip your hands in water for us to offer you in its place."⁹⁵⁹

Dieterlen asserted,

Regarding surgery, the Mosouto doctor does very little, as much to say not. He has neither the dexterity necessary to risk operating on his patients. At most we can say that he practices small, very small surgery. In the time when there were not yet time when there were not yet tools to pluck teeth, he extracted them with the tip of the knife, or with a nail. Nowadays some natives have forceps and use them properly.⁹⁶⁰

6. 8 Dieterlen's views on divination bones

Dieterlen maintained that the "knuckle –thrower" is not a doctor per se, but,

They are specialists whose role is not to prescribe this and that remedy, but who claims to discover, using his knuckles, various things that escape sight and knowledge of the common dead. Whether it is knowing the origin of illness, the causes of misfortune, or is there a lost object or animal, the nature of what happened and what will happen, what needs to be done to do, it is there to reveal it to the people who consult it.⁹⁶¹

He averred,

It is a very pretentious and vast program, since it embraces the affairs of the collective as the interest of the individual, and that it possesses, a supernatural, magical, mysterious element, which strikes the imagination of naive and ignorant people, so much that some whites did not make scruples, and were not ashamed to address him to get out of difficulties beyond their mental capacities.⁹⁶²

⁹⁵⁹*Ibid.*

⁹⁶⁰*Ibid.*

⁹⁶¹*Ibid*, Chapter 5.

⁹⁶²*Ibid.*

On the contrary, Segoete,⁹⁶³ Damane,⁹⁶⁴ Matšela⁹⁶⁵ and Motlamelle⁹⁶⁶ agree that divinatory bones as well as the doctor who throws the knucklebones are part of Basuto medical practice. Damane calls the doctors who are diviners or knuckle-throwers *makhekhe*. He explains,

Makhekhe is a diviner who throws bones and has costumes that distinguish him from the rest of the people in the community. He wears a hat made out of baboon's skin, wears horns containing powdered medicine around his neck, and carries a sharpened stick for digging herbs. He is usually employed to doctor a family or a village. He can cause lightning to strike one; he claims that he can turn one into a beast through the power of medicine. Consequently, he is much feared because of his power over natural phenomena. He is much sought after by many people who wish to be rich or influential in society. He can prescribe medicines to enable them to fight effectively, raise much corn, and succeed in business.⁹⁶⁷

Motlamelle attested to the foregoing, he added,

In the old times, to learn about divination was not easy at all yet that art was deemed important. It entailed mystical instruction, for this reason, it needed mystical intelligence for one to grasp it, so much that a person not born or grew up in Africa cannot understand how this art was learnt about to master it.⁹⁶⁸

Perhaps this was the reason why Dieterlen concluded that divination as well as “knuckles-throwers” was not part of Basuto medical practice but a scam of some kind. That was beyond his scope as a European missionary. He noted,

⁹⁶³ E. Segoete, *Raphepheng* (Moriya: Morija Sesuto Book Depot, 1915), pp.44-46.

⁹⁶⁴ Damane, “Sotho Medicine,” *Lesotho Notes and Records, Vol. X, 1973-1974*,” pp. 50, 51-58.

⁹⁶⁵ Matšela, *Bochaba ba Basuto*, pp.80-89.

⁹⁶⁶ Motlamelle, *Ngaka ea Mosotho*, pp. 5,16-36.

⁹⁶⁷ Damane, “Sotho Medicine,” *Lesotho Notes and Records, Vol. X, 1973-1974*,” p. 50.

⁹⁶⁸ Mehleeng ea khale, ho ithuta litaola ka mokhoa o phethahetseng, o hloekileng hantle, ho ne ho talimeha ele o mong oa mesebetsi e matlahali, e thata ho ithuta, e batlang kelello, 'me e rutoang kapa e tsejoang ka mokhoa o kang oa mohlolo, oo motho ea sa tsoalloang le ho holela naheng ena ea Africa ho leng thata ho eena ho utloisisa mokhoa oo baithuti ba ithutang, 'me ba be ba tsebe ka oona. Motlamelle, *Bongaka ba Sesotho*, p. 16.

I never designed to consult the bones, for the good reason that I do not believe in their virtues and that, like Christians, the missionaries and their followers would believe to offend God and to dishonour [Him] by having recourse to superstitions, good only for the pagans.⁹⁶⁹

Maibelo, however, noted,

Divination has to do with the foretelling of the future, or even with the interpretation of the present and past events that appear to be beyond ordinary human understanding. It also involves the use of herbs pointed out to the diviner by his/her ancestors. Divination can thus be regarded as a form of religious communication in which supernatural powers give direct information.⁹⁷⁰

6.9 Dieterlen's views on gender

The 19th century Europe, where Dieterlen was born and raised, was characterised by the gradual extension of the male suffrage, that is, the right to vote. The limitation of the right of vote to men was only a small component of a bigger gender problem. European culture was profoundly gender-biased in all aspects of life and not only in politics. That by itself caused increased agitation among women for their right to vote so much that the 20th century saw some European countries affording the women the right to vote. For example, in Britain women were granted the suffrage in 1928, The Netherlands in 1917, Germany in 1919, France in 1944 and Switzerland in 1971.

As a result of this background, the 19th century missionaries to Africa had a gender bias, as Philomena Njeri Mwaura noted,

⁹⁶⁹ Dieterlen, *La médecine et les médecines au lessouto*, chapter 5.

⁹⁷⁰ J.R. Maibelo, "The role of Traditional Religion in the Teaching of Northern Sotho poetry in the secondary school. "(UNINSovenga, 1989), p.80, Unpublished MA Dissertation. Cited by M.M. Sepota, "The Destruction of African Culture by Christianity" in S.A. Jnl. Folklore Studies (2) (Department of Northern Sotho, University of the North, Pietersburg, 1998), p.24.

However, older missionary accounts did not consider the role [that] women played. Classical texts on mission history have also failed to record anything substantial on women even though there were chapters relating to mission, to social service, education and creating bourgeoisie which were areas in which the role of women was central.⁹⁷¹

France and Germany being countries where Dieterlen spent his early life, had a great influence in his cultural orientation. It is not surprising that in Basutoland as a missionary he often argued with his wife about the suffragettes as Ambrose suggested.⁹⁷²

Dieterlen's studies of 'the Judaeo-Christian scriptures which are largely endocentric, sexist and patriarchal'⁹⁷³ as well as his belief in them, coupled with the cultural background of France and Germany with regard to women might have had a great influence on him about gender. He believed in patriarchy and promoted it in Basutoland. The theological school which he directed only accepted male students to train as pastors and excluded women. He never complained about this to his colleagues or suggested that women should be included as part of "the priesthood of all believers." On the other hand, his wife Anna Bush who independently came to Basutoland as a missionary teacher, might have also been influenced by the suffragette movements in Europe to continue the fight for women to vote with her husband in Basutoland.

Dieterlen was lucky to have a partner who sensitised him about gender issues but that did not help him to see things differently. He maintained the status quo of the Paris Mission about gender, as discussed earlier.

⁹⁷¹ P. N. Mwaura, "Gender and Power in African Christianity: African Instituted Churches and Pentecostal Churches," in *African Christianity: An African Story*, p. 413.

⁹⁷² Hermann Dieterlen 1884-1932, *Varia*, XII-XVIII, XX-XXXI, XXXIII-XXXVII, XXXIX-XLII (Paris Mission Archives, 102 Boulevard Arago). These diaries were seen by Ambrose in Paris in 1986 at the Mission Archives.

⁹⁷³ Bryaruhanga-Akiiki, "Culture as a source of oppression of women in Africa," in *Culture, Religion and Liberation*, p.39.

6.10 Dieterlen views on labour in Basutoland

There is not much literature on Dieterlen regarding labour in Basutoland. A cursory reference to labour is found during the Gun war, while he was posted at Hermon, whereby he travelled to Morija to check upon his colleagues. On his way, he met some members of Hermon who had fled to Kolo for refuge and were working in the fields.⁹⁷⁴ Nonetheless, Tšeliso Maloka and Victor Ellenberger maintained that systematic work among Basuto miners was initiated by the Paris Mission in 1922.⁹⁷⁵ By this time Dieterlen had retired from missionary work and was at home in Paris.

His silence is strange because migrant labour started to develop in the early 20th century with Lesotho, along Mozambique and the Transkei, being the main exporters.⁹⁷⁶ Philippe Denis, a University of KwaZulu Natal scholar, bemoans the general apathy of the Christian missions towards ‘the erosion of family life in the early years of the migrant labour system.’⁹⁷⁷

Denis observes,

All that the missionaries and Church leaders wished for was a mode of social organization, which kept the converts apart from the “irrational,” “ignorant” “superstitious” beliefs and despotic rule associated with African kingdoms. . . they espoused the colonial view that the economic development of the colony was of utmost importance and that it was therefore a good thing to force African men to

⁹⁷⁴ Germond, *Chronicles of Basutoland*, pp. 368-369.

⁹⁷⁵ E. T. Maloka, *Basuto and the mines: A Social History of Labour migrancy in Lesotho and South Africa, c. 1890-1940* (Dakar: Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa 2004), p. 150; Ellenberger, *A Century of Mission Work*, p. 355.

⁹⁷⁶ P. Denis, “A Case of Pastoral Myopia? The South African Church’s Ambiguous Response to the Erosion of Family Life in the Early Years of the Migrant Labour System,” *International Journal of African Historical Studies* Vol. 50, No. 3 (2017), p. 441.

⁹⁷⁷ P. Denis, “A Case of Pastoral Myopia? The South African Church’s Ambiguous Response to the Erosion of Family Life in the Early Years of the Migrant Labour System,” *International Journal of African Historical Studies* Vol. 50, No. 3 (2017).

work in the mines and other industrial centres, far from their wives, children, and relatives.⁹⁷⁸

Dieterlen's silence about labour confirms the foregoing.

The foregoing discussion illustrates that Dieterlen was brutally cynical about the traditional customs of the Basuto. He may have inherited this attitude from Calvin whom he studied in Paris, as Calvin was one of the prominent theologians of Protestantism. Calvin abhorred the rituals of the Roman Church and deemed them superstitious. Calvin's idea of the purity of religion made him to be critical of anything that sought to encroach upon the power of God and claimed that power for itself. Dieterlen seemed to have followed the example of Calvin regarding the traditional customs of the Basuto which he viewed as not in line with Christianity. He often complained in his writings about the strong attachment of the Basuto to the ways of their fathers. He saw Basuto customs as a barrier to conversion, and for that reason, he regarded the customs as superstitious. He abhorred circumcision. He viewed it as a major impediment to conversion, as it made men to be stubborn and to think they were equal to the Europeans. Dieterlen believed that Europeans were superior to the Basuto. This attitude was also found in his predecessors whom he followed their example by maintaining the sense of superiority as well as the paternalistic leadership in dealing with the Basuto. While he lambasted the missionaries in the general conference held in Johannesburg in 1906, as discussed in Chapter Eight, for their superiority attitude which was marked by their reluctance to accept the natives in the ministry of the Word and Sacraments, he never believed that Europeans were equal to the natives. He was, however, of the conviction that the native pastorate was important for the growth and development of an African Church in Africa.

⁹⁷⁸*Ibid*, p. 441.

Dieterlen regarded Basuto traditional medical practice with suspicion and distrusted it. He viewed Basuto medical practice as backward in comparison to the European medical practice which he viewed as reliable. He never trusted the traditional doctors. He viewed them as engaged in a sly business enterprise that cheated and robbed their countrymen. He did not believe in the divining bones and regarded them as superstitious, as they were claimed to reveal the unknown.

Dieterlen believed that Basuto marriage was inappropriate as he claimed that there was no love in it. He saw cattle marriage which the Basuto used to bind the two families together when marrying their children, as degrading the woman. Marriage by cattle was a sale of the woman, in his view, and contravened the Christian law of marriage. Marriage should be characterised by love and free will according to the Christian faith. He abhorred polygamy and regarded it as against the teaching of the Gospel regarding marriage. Polygamy was common among the chiefs during his time. However, he took a lenient position regarding the acceptance in Church of the women married in polygamous marriages.

On the whole, Dieterlen viewed Basuto traditional customs, as completely antithetical to the spirit of Christianity. For this reason, the Basuto were persuaded to give them up and embrace Christianity. However, Dieterlen's view regarding some of Basuto traditional customs changed, as Chapter Eight illustrates how Dieterlen in his late years in Basutoland appreciated some of Basuto traditional customs. Nonetheless, his attitude to the traditional customs resonated with Calvin's attitude towards the Roman Church rituals.

6.11 Conclusion

Dieterlen was unwilling to appreciate and understand the Basuto culture, as his predecessors did not. This made him misconstrue some Basuto cultural practices such as the initiation school which he contrasted with the Jewish circumcision. He also believed that divination

was not part of the Basuto medical art but a scam of some kind. He thought of the Basuto as a superstitious people and had strange medical practices. This is something he may have inherited from Calvin as he was trained in the Reformed tradition. He was a proponent of Calvinism in Basutoland.

Calvin believed that superstition is a result of wickedness and corruption of the true knowledge of God on the part of humankind.⁹⁷⁹ His idea of a “pure” doctrine explains why he despised the Catholic customs so much and considered them superstitious.⁹⁸⁰ There was the same attitude in Dieterlen to the Basuto that might have been the result of Calvin’s influence on him.

Dieterlen focussed on the weaknesses and abuses that one finds in the Basuto medical practice for the most part of his missionary tenure in Basutoland. For instance, he dwelt on the dishonesty that characterised the work of the Basuto medical doctors as well as the selfish ambition and cupidity that made them sly and to charge excessive prices.

The Paris missionaries’ tirade on the Basuto traditional customs as well as their persuasion of the Basuto to give them up, illustrates hegemony as propounded by Antonio Gramsci. This is discussed in Chapters One, Two and Seven. The Paris missionaries worked hard at eradicating Basuto culture and, at the same time, promoted Western culture in the name of Christianity. Converts ended up being unable to differentiate between Christianity and Western culture.⁹⁸¹ While the Basuto Christians together with the first Basuto ministers remained Basuto after their conversion, the fact that they ended up seeing their customs as bad and attacked them and discouraged the other Basuto from practising them. This shows that the missionaries embraced the hegemonic views of the colonial government.

In Botswana, where the London missionaries worked, King Khama coerced his people to embrace Christianity. As a result, the Comaroffs claimed, ‘The conversions were not

⁹⁷⁹ Calvin, *Institutes*, 1.4.1, 4.

⁹⁸⁰ *Ibid*, 4.12.20.

⁹⁸¹ Sanders, *Moshoeshoe Chief of the Sotho*, pp. 122-123; Hincks, *Quest for Peace*, pp.361, 362-364.

genuine, free and voluntary due to the hegemony of the conscience.’ Nonetheless, Moshoeshoe, Chief of the Basuto never coerced his people to embrace Christianity. He only protected and supported the Paris missionaries in their work. The conversions in Basutoland were the results of the Gospel preached. However, the Paris missionaries manipulated the Basuto by making them see their customs as bad and Western culture as good hence Gramsci’s hegemony. They had a hegemonic influence upon the Basuto with regard to their culture.

Dieterlen and his wife had a common interest in botany. This is made evident by the fact that he commented on the efficacy of herbs in Basutoland and in Europe. However, he appreciated the problems caused by lack of scales and measures among the Basuto medical doctors that led to undesired ends sometimes because of overdosing. Nonetheless, despite Dieterlen’s prejudices he was able to recognise the value of Basuto culture.

Chapter 7

Political developments in Basutoland and Dieterlen's response to them

7.1 Introduction

This chapter summarises the events that preceded the arrival of the first British colonial agents in 1868 in Lesotho as well as in the subsequent years (1868-1919).⁹⁸² It touches on the first encounter of Moshoeshoe and the Cape Colony Government in 1834, the 1843 treaty between Moshoeshoe and Britain, the battle of Berea in 1852, the independence of the Orange Free State, the arrival of the second generation missionaries of the Paris Mission and the wars that were fought between Moshoeshoe and the Boers over land. It provides a cursory view of the role of the Paris missionaries in the socio-political affairs of the Basuto. This illustrates the initial relationship between the Basuto, the Paris missionaries and the British Colony Government in the Cape as well as the Boers. Moreover, this was the background of Lesotho prior to the missionary enterprise of Dieterlen that this study is investigating. Thereafter, this chapter discusses Dieterlen's perception of colonialism, tax and the state. It gives special attention to the following: Dieterlen's *Pourquoiles missions? Réflexions d'un missionnaire. Les principes, les objections, les moyens d'action et les faits accomplis*. This work was published in Paris in 1893,⁹⁸³ while he was on furlough.⁹⁸⁴ Dieterlen revised this work and republished it in Paris in 1920, shortly after his retirement from the missionary

⁹⁸² Basutoland was a colonial name given to Moshoeshoe's country, on 12 March 1868, when it was colonised by Britain. Lesotho was a pre- and post-colonial name. Burman, *Chiefdom, Politics and Alien Law*, pp.14-16; Thabane, "Reconsidering the Motives of Colonisation 1868-1871," in *Essays of the Political Economy of Lesotho*, pp. 83-84; Eldredge, *A South African Kingdom*, p.53.

⁹⁸³ Dieterlen, *Pourquoiles missions? Réflexions d'un missionnaire. Les principes, les objections, les moyens d'action et les faits accomplis* (Paris : Maison des missions évangéliques, 1893) (*Why the Missions ? Reflection of a Missionary: The principles, Objections, Means of Action and Accomplished facts* (Paris: The Mission House, 1893) and thanks to LiakoMahao's translation into English. LiakoMahao is the documentalist at the Morija Museum and Archives.

⁹⁸⁴ Dieterlen and his wife spent their first leave in Paris in 1890 and returned to Basutoland in June 1892. See, H. Dieterlen, *Dictionnaire biographique des Chrétiens d'Afrique*. I am indebted to Tiisetso Pitso, former documentalist at the Morija Museum and Archives, for the translation of this document.

work in Basutoland.⁹⁸⁵ He used this work for his fundraising campaigns for the Paris Mission. Dieterlen's biography of Mabile⁹⁸⁶ also forms an important part of this chapter. Chapter 23 of this biography focuses on Mabile as a political man and missionary. While Dieterlen adopted a subtle tone in writing about the British colonial government, obviously trying not to offend anybody and trying to explain why Mabile and those who came before him (the first-generation of missionaries) meddled in politics, why they had to, because of their mission, everything was written in a very careful way. He was not writing about facts per se but was trying to justify the actions of the missionaries. Nonetheless, this work is very important as it sheds some light on the relationship between the mission and the colonial government as well as how Dieterlen perceived colonialism. Another important document for this chapter is the 1874 article titled *Lekhetho le Litsela tsa Lesotho* (Tax and Roads in Lesotho) in the *Leselinyana la Lesotho* newspaper,⁹⁸⁷ where the author complained about tax and the lack of transparency of how it was used. While the author of this article is anonymous, it plainly shows that some of the Basuto were unhappy about paying tax while the roads were in bad conditions. Additionally, the author complained that there were no bridges to cross rivers. Finally, Dieterlen's *Bukana ea 'Moleli* (the booklet of an evangelist), published in 1912,⁹⁸⁸ referred to the relations of an evangelist and the chieftainship. This helps us to understand how he perceived civil government which the chieftainship is the head of.

⁹⁸⁵ The Morija Museum and Archives is in possession of Dieterlen's 1920 republication of *Pourquoi les missions?*

⁹⁸⁶ Dieterlen, *Adolphe Mabile 1836-1894*, nouvelle édition, précédée d'une dédicace par M. Le missionnaire F. Coillard (Paris : Société des Missions Evangéliques, 1898). I am indebted to Brigitte Hall-Cathala, a French-born educator and long-term Morija resident, for the translation of part of this biography.

⁹⁸⁷ "Tax and Roads in Lesotho," *Leselinyana la Lesotho*, 6, June (1874), pp. 45- 46.

⁹⁸⁸ H. Dieterlen, *Bukanaea 'Moleli*, facsimile of 1912 (Morija: MorijaSesuto Book Depot, 1983).

7.2 Brief history of Lesotho from 1834 to 1868

The first encounter and friendly diplomatic relations between Moshoeshoe and Britain took place in 1834. This was made possible by the visit of Andrew Smith⁹⁸⁹ to Thaba-Bosiu Moshoeshoe's stronghold, deputed by the Cape governor Benjamin D'Urban (1833-1838).⁹⁹⁰ In 1835 as well as in 1838 the Great Trek took place.⁹⁹¹ The Boers came to settle in Moshoeshoe's land. On the advice of the Paris Mission, Moshoeshoe initiated a diplomatic relation with Britain in 1843 in an effort to regain control of his land.⁹⁹² Instead of helping him, Britain connived with the Boers and gave them more land. This was sanctioned in several treaties signed between Moshoeshoe and Britain in its pretence of restoring his land to him.⁹⁹³

All these treaties were accompanied by borders drawn in favour of the Boers⁹⁹⁴ and affected the Paris Mission which lost some of its stations which were in the land occupied by the Boers.⁹⁹⁵ Britain was generally pro-Boers. It attacked Moshoeshoe in 1852 when it tried to

⁹⁸⁹Andrew Smith was an army doctor who came to Southern Africa in 1820. He led an official expedition from the Cape into the interior in 1834-1836, visiting Likhoele, Morija, Thaba-Bosiu among other places in Lesotho. The Morija Museum and Archives has two volumes of his diary as well as his journal, that resulted from the excursion which then proceeded to Griguetown, Kurumanas well as other places and then to Mzilikazi. *The Diary of Dr. Andrew Smith, Director of the Expedition for Exploring Central Africa, 1834-1836*, Vols. I & II, edited, with an introduction, footnotes, map and indexes, by Percival R. Kirby (Cape Town: The Van Riebeeck Society, 1939, 1940); *Andrew Smith's Journal of his expedition into the interior of South Africa 1834-1836, An authentic narrative of travels and discoveries, the manners and customs of the Native tribes, and the physical nature of the country*, edited with an introduction and notes by William F. Lye and illustrations by Charles Davidson Bell (Cape Town: A.A. Balkema 1975).

⁹⁹⁰E. Casalis, *Etudes sur la Langue Séchuana* (Paris, 1841), p. 64. Quoted in Sanders, *Moshoeshoe Chief of the Sotho*, p. 83; J. M. Orpen, *Reminiscences of Life in South Africa, From 1846 to the Present Day*, Vols. I & II (Struik, Cape Town, 1964), p.102.

⁹⁹¹ The Great-Trek was the Boer exodus from the Cape unhappy with the British administration. Sanders, *Moshoeshoe Chief of the Sotho*, p.52; Hincks, *Quest for Peace*, p. 89.

⁹⁹²Thompson, *Survival in Two Worlds*, pp.114; Sanders, *Moshoeshoe Chief of the Sotho*, p. 89.

⁹⁹³ See, Mothibe and Ntabeni, "The Role of the Missionaries, Boers and British in Social and Territorial Changes, 1833-1868," in *Essays on Aspects of the Political Economy of Lesotho 1500-2000*, pp. 46-54 and Eldredge, *A South African Kingdom*, chapter 5.

⁹⁹⁴ These treaties signed by one governor after another as well as the land lines that were drawn are discussed in Mothibe and Ntabeni, "The Role of the Missionaries, Boers and British in Social and Territorial Changes, 1833-1868," in *Essays on Aspects of the Political Economy of Lesotho 1500-2000*, pp. 46-54; R. C. Germond, *Chronicles of Basutoland*, pp.569-571.

⁹⁹⁵See, N.S.K. Tšeuoa, "Church and Land in Basutoland: The Paris Evangelical Mission and its Implications," Paper presented in Pretoria in the annual conference of *Studia Historiae ecclesiasticae*, Vol. 46. 2 (2020), p. 8.

retrieve livestock allegedly stolen by the Basuto people.⁹⁹⁶ It also granted independence to the Orange Free State in 1854; allowing the Boers to buy ammunition and guns while at the same time it forbade all the native tribes from doing so.⁹⁹⁷ By the 1860s all first-generation missionaries had gone back to Paris and a new generation had arrived. They were predominantly French-speaking Swiss. They came with a new vigour, zeal as well as methods that gave the impetus to the mission work.⁹⁹⁸

The enduring land disputes between Moshoeshoe and the Boers led to two wars that were fought between them. The first one was fought in 1858⁹⁹⁹ and the second one in 1864 to 1868.¹⁰⁰⁰ The latter has already been discussed in detail in Chapter Two.

7.3 Dieterlen's views on colonialism

Dieterlen has not written much about colonialism, the state or tax in the *Leselinyana la Lesotho* newspaper, the mouthpiece of the Paris Mission. This is surprising as the political atmosphere of Basutoland was extremely volatile because of colonialism during his missionary tenure. Perhaps this was due to the intimidation that the missionaries often received from the colonial government.¹⁰⁰¹

For instance, during the Gun War in 1880, Robert Germond noted that,

The Prime Minister of the Cape, Mr. Sprigg (1878-1881), does not conceal that it is his settled intention not only to bring all the insurgent chiefs to judgement, but also to confiscate their lands . . . They boldly declared that in future and for two generations

⁹⁹⁶Thompson, *Survival in Two Worlds*, pp. 159-164.

⁹⁹⁷Orpen, *Reminiscence of Life in South Africa*, p. 206; Ellenberger, *A Century of Mission Work*, pp.88-89.

⁹⁹⁸Ellenberger, *A Century of Mission Work*, pp. 113-116.

⁹⁹⁹ This first Basuto-Boer War the Basuto named it Senekal War. It was named after Senekal who was a prominent commander of the Boers. See, Thompson, *Survival in Two Worlds*, pp. 239-242; Sander, *Moshoeshoe Chief of the Sotho*, p. 231; Ellenberger, *Landmarks*, p. 15. For a South African perspective of this war, see a helpful analysis of it in A. Britz, "The Portrayal of the 1858 Boer-Basutho War in the South African Historiography," University of the Free State, The Jonathan Edwards Centre Africa.n.d. Unpublished paper.

¹⁰⁰⁰ The 1864-1868 War was named the Seqiti War or 'Cannon-boom War. Sanders, *Throwing Down Whiteman*, p. 13.

¹⁰⁰¹ Ellenberger, *A Century of Mission Work*, pp. 77- 78.

at least, neither missionaries nor the traders should be allowed to settle in Basutoland, for, according to them, obedience was the only thing which ought to be taught to a nation which was still only semi-civilized.¹⁰⁰²

These kinds of threats from the colonial government may have made the missionaries wary to make public statements. This may have been one of the reasons why Dieterlen was silent about colonial activities in Basutoland, lest he displeased the colonial government and was censured.

He wrote scathing remarks on colonialism in *Pourquoiles missions? Réflexions d'un missionnaire. Les principes, les objections, les moyens d'action et les faits accomplis*.¹⁰⁰³ As pointed out above, Dieterlen used this work to raise funds for the Paris Mission at home in Paris. He published it in France in French which was unknown to the people of Basutoland and the colonial authorities. This also confirms that he was not free to express his opinions about the colonial government during his time in Basutoland. Dieterlen was in furlough when he wrote it, as already mentioned, and perhaps was preparing for his new appointment to the station of Leribe in 1894.¹⁰⁰⁴ In his *Biography of Mabile*, published in 1898 in commemoration of Adolphe Mabile who passed away in 1894,¹⁰⁰⁵ Dieterlen maintained that the situation of the missionaries in colonial Basutoland was delicate, being mistrusted by the colonial government. He wrote,

On the side of the whites he [the missionary] will easily be taken for an ambitious man and an opponent. They will say he is a schemer; he wants to play a political character. He has interests in mind, either for himself or for his European homeland. He will sometimes be blamed for the failures of diplomatic actions or even warlike actions of

¹⁰⁰²Germond, *Chronicles of Basutoland*, p. 366; Cf. Smith, *The Mabilles of Basutoland*, p. 247.

¹⁰⁰³Dieterlen, *Pourquoi les missions ? Réflexions d'un missionnaire. Les principes, les objections, les moyens d'action et les faits accomplis* (Paris Maison des missions évangéliques 1893).

¹⁰⁰⁴Ellenberger, *A century of Mission Work*, p.263.

¹⁰⁰⁵*Ibid.*

the whites; he will be the scapegoat on whose head all the mistakes committed by everybody will be piled up.¹⁰⁰⁶

This makes it evident that Dieterlen was aware that the colonial government would not tolerate the interference of the missionaries in their affairs in Africa, especially if they went against the plans of the government. Dieterlen wrote that the missionary's meddling in the affairs of the colonial government would call upon him a bad name. A missionary would be seen as a dishonest person. He would be taken badly when he crossed the parameters of his vocation and judged as ambitious and seeking recognition either for himself or for his home country. The Paris missionaries' home country was France. They worked in Basutoland which was a colony or protectorate of England. Moreover, a missionary's meddling in politics would have made him take the blame of all the failures of the colonial government and be suspected to have been behind it. While this confirms that the missionaries were not free to express their opinions on the colonial government, it also explains why they supported it. The colonial government was a good buffer against all forms of attacks in Africa. It was important for the missionaries to maintain good relations with it.

Ellenberger stressed that even the Basuto mistrusted the missionaries. He wrote the following: 'Their European origin made the Basuto to suspect them. On the other hand, the Boers and the British declared that without the missionaries Moshesh would not have dared resist. . . they [the missionaries] were accused of being the real cause of the trouble.'¹⁰⁰⁷ This buttresses the point that the position of the Paris missionaries in Basutoland was delicate. Dieterlen in *Pourquoi les missions ? Réflexions d'un missionnaire. Les principes, les objections, les moyens d'action et les faits accomplis*, published in 1893, maintained,

Colonisation is often represented in a seductive aspect. They would like us to believe that enlightened Europe is interested in philanthropy, in bringing them the benefits of

¹⁰⁰⁶ Dieterlen, *Adolphe Mabilie 1836-1894*, chapter 23.

¹⁰⁰⁷ Ellenberger, *A Century of Mission Work*, p. 78.

modern civilisation. It is quite another thing. Europe divided and annexed the islands of the Pacific to open new outlets for its trade. In almost all the cases, it is her own interest and not that of the savages that the colonizing Europe is aiming for. And the little philanthropy that mixes with these prevent us from seeing certain results that we are careful not to reveal to the European public.¹⁰⁰⁸

Dieterlen was able to express critical views on the colonising enterprise. At the same time, as a missionary, he was compliant. He never rocked the boat. He was aware that European philanthropy had a hidden agenda. It was meant to insulate and cover the bad effects of the colonising enterprise for the African people as well as for the Europeans. He knew that colonising Europe was interested in the economic benefits in Africa not necessarily the African people. Furthermore, it is interesting to note that Dieterlen divulged colonial secrets in terms of Africa to the European public and disparaging certain elements of colonialism.

Dieterlen further explained,

Here is what very often happens in the colonies. Misunderstandings arise between Europeans and savages which produce conflicts. The war breaks out; civilisation advances, provided with excellent weapons which decimate the blacks armed with arrows or incapable of properly handling our modern rifles. Conclusion: the ignorant, the weak, the pagans are annihilated or rob the educated and civilised man. And we justify that by invoking the rights of the strongest or by saying the Negroes are not men or are second class and must disappear from the ground of which they occupy unnecessarily.¹⁰⁰⁹

¹⁰⁰⁸Dieterlen, *Pourquoi les missions ? Réflexions d'un missionnaire. Les principes, les objections, les moyens d'action et les faits accomplis* (Paris Maison des missions évangéliques 1893).

¹⁰⁰⁹*Ibid.*

The decimation of the Bushmen in the Cape and elsewhere in the high veldt by the European settlers,¹⁰¹⁰ as well as the wars which were fought between the native tribes and the Europeans over land – the Xhosa in 1812, 1825 and 1835 well into the 1880s,¹⁰¹¹ the Pedi,¹⁰¹² the Zulu,¹⁰¹³ the Basuto in 1852, 1858 and 1864-1868¹⁰¹⁴— are typical examples of the foregoing.¹⁰¹⁵ The British robbed Moshoeshe of his land in favour of the European settlers. Moshoeshe's greatest sin was that he had a fertile land which the European settlers coveted. They wanted to remove him from his kingdom or annihilate it so that they could have it as their own.¹⁰¹⁶

Dieterlen added,

But there is much worse. Thanks to the importation of our spirits, we Europeans corrupt the savages, and we bring them misfortunes and vices that they did not know. We give them the taste and the passion of brandy, knowing that she will demoralise and kill them as she demoralises and kills so many Europeans. What our bullets spare will be struck to death by our brandy and finished by other vices that we export from abroad, by most ruthless treatment inflicted on them by the agents of certain commercial enterprise and certain governments and by bad examples of these so-called civilizers.¹⁰¹⁷

In Basutoland most of the chiefs, the paramount ones included, faced the problem of drunkenness. Mabile wrote that after the Gun War (1880-1881), the 'Boer traders had

¹⁰¹⁰Orpen, *History of the Basutos of South Africa*, pp. 153-154; J. Wdicombe, *In the Lesuto: A Sketch of African Mission Life* (London: SPCK, 1885), p. 23.

¹⁰¹¹Orpen, *Reminiscences of Life in South Africa*, pp. 40, 195; Thompson, *Survival in Two Worlds*, p. 71; *Christianity in South Africa*, eds. Richard Elphick & Rodney Davenport (Oxford: James Currey, 1997), pp. 67-68.

¹⁰¹²J. Du Plessis, *A History of Christian Missions in South Africa* (Cape town: Struik, 1965), p. 349

¹⁰¹³Thompson, *Survival in Two Worlds*, p. 114.

¹⁰¹⁴Germond, *Chronicles of Basutoland*, pp. 203-208; Smith, *The Mabilles of Basutoland*, pp. 92, 141-143.

¹⁰¹⁵For other examples of land expropriation in Africa by the European settlers, see, R. Oliver and J. D. Fage, *A Short History of Africa* (London: Penguin Books, 1970), pp. 200-202.

¹⁰¹⁶Germond, *Chronicles of Basutoland*, p. 157; Eldredge, *A South Africa Kingdom*, pp. 53-54.

¹⁰¹⁷Dieterlen, *Pourquoi les missions ? Réflexions d'un missionnaire. Les principes, les objections, les moyens d'action et les faits accomplis* (Paris: Maison des missions évangéliques 1893).

brought in brandy by the wagon load: chiefs who had previously, despite Moshoeshoe's prohibition law enforced by the Cape government, bought a bottle of smuggled brandy, now bought barrels. Drunkenness was rife.¹⁰¹⁸ Mrs Mabile [also] wrote that she found Letsie drinking himself to death; he was aged and pitifully emaciated.¹⁰¹⁹ This confirms Dieterlen's statement about brandy which the Europeans gave to the native people. The Boers as the enemies of the Basuto worked hard to destroy them. They coveted their land. As a result, the Boers used all treacherous methods to have it as their own. For instance, the Boers incited chief Moroke of the Rolong to rebel against Moshoeshoe and claim that he bought the land that he occupied from Moshoeshoe.¹⁰²⁰

Dieterlen criticised the colonial practice on moral grounds. He was unhappy of the distribution of brandy to the African people by the Europeans. He deemed this as a bad civilisation as well as a bad example from the Europeans.

Dieterlen muttered to himself, 'I say no more in this painful subject. I have said enough to be accused of lack of patriotism and to be scolded by the chauvinists of all European nations. It pains me to point out to you these hideous dimensions of civilisation. But why did I do it?'¹⁰²¹

Dieterlen realised that by divulging European secrets in relation to Africa he was betraying his own people and undermining the colonial project. He was liable to be censured for that. But he felt compelled to do it. It was important for the mission to get support from the home people. It hence turns out that colonialism in Africa necessitated missions.

He went on to explain,

So that you can see that Christian Europe must prevent and repair the wrongs committed by colonizing Europe! If our sea ports partner with the soldiers, cannons

¹⁰¹⁸ Smith, *The Mabilles of Basutoland*, p. 304.

¹⁰¹⁹ *Ibid*, pp.304-305.

¹⁰²⁰ Tseuoa, "Church and Land in Basutoland," pp. 10-11.

¹⁰²¹ Smith, *The Mabilles of Basutoland*, pp. 304-305.

and barrels of brandy and men who do not have only one idea: if to get rich to the detriment of the natives by exploiting them, by taking advantage of their ignorance and their naivety to strip them of their property and even their freedom and their country, he must also leave the Christians who go to open the eyes of the pagans, to teach them to choose the products of our civilization, those which are harmful and those which are beneficial. Above all, we must offer the pagans the Gospel which regenerates man and gives him the necessary moral frankness to resist the terrible temptation that other Europeans place before them.¹⁰²²

Dieterlen praised western civilisation while noting that some aspects of it were good and others were bad. It hence follows that he was not anti-colonial. Rather he pleaded for the moralisation of the colonial project. He envisioned a Christian society that would not be corrupted by the ills of Western civilisation, such as the distribution of alcohol to the natives of Africa or the urban society. He perceived this act as non-Christian. That was a common view among the missionaries at that time. Many of them saw the colonial cities as the source of all evils. The Mariannhill missionaries at Pinetown in Natal were typical examples of this.¹⁰²³

Dieterlen came from a traditional rural place of France in Alsace. As a result, he must have had serious reservations about the habits of the urban society. He wanted the people of Europe to support the missions in order to correct the evils of colonisation in Africa. He delineated and separated the missionary enterprise and colonialization. He believed that colonial Europe – largely avaricious – in pursuance of wealth brought about schemes detrimental to the colonised in Africa. At the same time, he felt that Christian Europe ought to correct and mitigate the wrongs of the colonisation. Overall, Dieterlen perceived missions

¹⁰²²Dieterlen, *Pourquoi les missions ? Réflexions d'un missionnaire. Les principes, les objections, les moyens d'action et les faits accomplis* (Paris Maison des missions évangéliques 1893).

¹⁰²³S. R. Khandlhela, *The Mariannhill Mission and African education 1882-1915* (Durban:University of Natal, 1993), pp. 13-18.

as not limited to evangelization but also responsible for the protection of the marginalised and the voiceless.

Douglas Waruta, the Kenyan scholar, however, makes the following contention:

Western Christianity and Colonialism came to Africa hand in hand and no matter what sophistries one may utilize to separate the two, both Western Christianity and Colonialism remain as inseparable as the two sides of the knife blade. Western missionaries, administrators, farmers, and businessmen were basically of the same stock. They came to Africa with what seemed to be different agendas, but a close and unsentimental scrutiny of the historical record and the behaviour of colonialist settlers reveal that, whether farmer or missionary, their endeavour all amounted, in the last analysis, to domination of the African peoples and the exploitation and spoliation of their resources.¹⁰²⁴

This validates the claim that the missionary enterprise and colonialism were inseparable and shared the same goals of domination as well as exploitation of the African people.

Dieterlen believed that ‘missions save the honour of Europe in the eyes of the pagan world.’ Furthermore, ‘by raising the moral level of the blacks, missionaries contribute to the prosperity of the colonies and therefore of the metropolis.’¹⁰²⁵

This suggests that Dieterlen saw missions and colonialism as interdependent as well as essential partners in Africa. The former mitigates or corrects the wrongs of the latter as pointed out above. Over and above this, missions, according to him, promoted the progress of colonialism. Perhaps by its education sector the Mission enlightened the natives and made

¹⁰²⁴ Douglas Waruta, “Religion as a Source of Oppression or Resistance: An Analysis of the Kenyan Situation,” in *Culture and Religion, Proceedings of the EATWON Pan African Theological Conference, Harare, Zimbabwe, January 6-11, 1991, African Challenges Series AACC*, ed. Simon S. Mainela (South Africa: Pretoria, 1994), p. 81.

¹⁰²⁵ Dieterlen, *Pourquoi les missions ? Réflexions d'un missionnaire. Les principes, les objections, les moyens d'action et les faits accomplis* (Paris: Maison des missions évangéliques 1893).

them useful in the work of the colonial administrators not only in the colonies,¹⁰²⁶ but even in the metropolis.¹⁰²⁷ Education enabled the natives to serve as translators, policemen and messengers as well as tax collectors of the colonial government.¹⁰²⁸ In Basutoland, the educated sons of Moshoeshoe served the colonial government as its advisers, tax collectors as well as policemen.¹⁰²⁹

This shows that the colonial regime counted on the African people for its economic development. It also confirms that Dieterlen never opposed the colonial project as such.

It is important to point out that the death of Masupha in 1899 marked the end of chiefly resistance to colonialism and tax. He was one of Moshoeshoe's sons by his first wife, 'Mamohato. He was very influential in the politics of Basutoland. He resisted colonialism in Basutoland to the end of his life. He occupied what is now the district of Berea.

Masupha's resistance to colonialism made the colonial government to seek ways to put him down. He, Ramanehella and Joel openly opposed the colonial rule. They intentionally absented themselves from its *li-pitso* (national assemblies.)¹⁰³⁰

Masupha had moved to Thaba-Bosiu and fortified it. That posed a great threat to the colonial government. They wanted him removed from the citadel. Firstly, they incited Letsie to attack him, but Letsie would not attack his own blood brother. When Letsie died, they incited Lerotholi, who succeeded him, to attack Masupha. Lerotholi concurred with the scheme. That took place in the War of Khamolane¹⁰³¹ and lasted two days. Lerotholi came out victorious in that war. By that time Masupha was in his 80s and that defeat as well as

¹⁰²⁶ Basutoland, Batswanaland or Botswanaland and Zwaziland.

¹⁰²⁷ The Cape of Good Hope was where the head office of the colonial government was based.

¹⁰²⁸ Hincks, *Quest for Peace*, p. 279; Sanders, *Throwing Down White man*, p. 26. For a detailed analysis of education in Basutoland, see, J. Walton, *A History of Education in Basutoland* (Maseru: 1958).

¹⁰²⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰³⁰ G. Lagden, *The Basutos, Vol. II* (London, 1909), pp. 544-545; Eldredge, *A South African Kingdom*, pp. 174, 176; Sanders, *Throwing Down White Man*, pp. 234-235.

¹⁰³¹ Khamolane is between the present day Sefikeng and Thaba-Bosiu.

what followed it being removed from Thaba-Bosiu and deprived of some of his land may have hurt him and weakened his health.¹⁰³²

On the other hand, the colonial government deemed that Basutoland was in its debt for protecting it from succumbing. Therefore, the Basuto were expected to forever remain subservient and obedient to the colonial masters.¹⁰³³

7.4 Dieterlen's views on tax

At the outset, it is important to note that Basutoland has never been subjected to any form of taxation during its diplomatic relations with Britain. Tax was introduced in 1870 for its administration by the Cape colonial government.¹⁰³⁴

Every Mosuto man was expected to pay an annual hut tax of ten shillings in cash or in grain for every hut. A polygamist was expected to pay for the hut of each of his wives just as the single man who owned one hut had to pay the tax for his own hut.¹⁰³⁵

Eldredge notes, 'This tax was levied every year without regard to the family's income, which might fluctuate dramatically from year to year because of climatic factors which affected harvest and market factors which affected profits.'¹⁰³⁶

The Paris missionaries supported the laws that the Cape colonial government introduced to rule Basutoland, as Mabile wrote in 1870 at the inception of the Cape rule:

While these laws are neither complete nor perfect, they are the starting point, a great step in advance for the whole tribe. Christian marriage is recognised; and there are

¹⁰³² Hincks, *Quest for Peace*, pp. 315-316.

¹⁰³³ Lagden, *The Basutos*, Vol. II, p. 481.

¹⁰³⁴ Burman, *Chieftdom, Politics and Alien Law*, p.38; Peter Sanders, *Throwing Down the White Man, Cape rule and Misrule in Lesotho 1871-1884*(Moriya: Morija Museum and Archives, 2010), p. 30; Eldredge, *A South African Kingdom*, p. 172; Thabane, "Aspects of Colonial Economy and Society, 1868-1966," in *Essays on Aspects of the political Economy of Lesotho 1500-2000*, p. 110.

¹⁰³⁵ J.M Mohapeloa, *Goverment By Proxy* (Moriya: Morija Sesuto Book Depot, 1971), p. 14.

¹⁰³⁶ Eldredge, *A South African Kingdom*, p. 172.

preventive measures against circumcision, sorcery, the absolute power of the chiefs and the derogation of women.¹⁰³⁷

The Cape laws which included the introduction of tax, among others, were positive preliminaries according to Mabile. He hoped to see more laws made that would enable Christianity to triumph over what he saw as heathenism in Basutoland. It thus appears that Dieterlen and Mabile had the same expectations from the colonial government. They both expected the colonial government to protect, promote, and support the course of the mission enterprise. Moreover, Mabile's statement confirms the hegemony that was exercised by the colonial government in Basutoland. He stated that the Government took preventive measures against circumcision, sorcery and the absolute power of the chiefs as well as the derogation of women. The latter was in reference to the traditional marriage which was viewed as the sale of the woman because it was contractual with cattle. Mabile made it clear that they were part of this hegemonic project in their capacity as Paris missionaries. They were looking for more laws from the Government that would eradicate Basuto tradition customs.

The introduction of tax promoted the colonial power and hegemony in Basutoland, as Roland Oliver and J. D Fage, in *A short History of Africa* correctly maintain. They wrote the following: 'Clearly the first task of every colonial government was to establish its authority over its subjects. The touch stone of such authority was the power of tax.'¹⁰³⁸

By the introduction of tax, the colonial government tested the loyalty of the chieftainship in Basutoland. Polygamous marriages were common among the chiefs and the more wives a chief possessed, the more tax he was liable for. However, an incentive of one shilling of every ten that the administration collected was given to the chiefs, as they helped in the

¹⁰³⁷ Smith, *The Mabilles of Basutoland*, p. 201.

¹⁰³⁸ Oliver and Fage, *A Short History of Africa*, p.198.

collection of the taxes.¹⁰³⁹ Throughout Africa the colonial governments co-opted tradition leaders to entrench patriarchy.

The introduction of tax weakened the power of the paramount chief. Basutoland was divided into districts to enable the collection of the hut tax. That arrangement somehow allowed the principal chiefs such as Masupha as well as Molapo to enjoy more freedom and independence in their wards and they thus remained hard to control.¹⁰⁴⁰

The introduction of tax in Basutoland deprived the Basuto males of their free dwellings in their villages. However, their citizenship rights were secured and guaranteed by the payment of tax.¹⁰⁴¹ It also promoted migrant labour, as most of the Basuto men had to leave their homes to work in South African mines, railway roads as well as on farms to secure the means to pay tax and to support their families.¹⁰⁴²

In addition, in 1871, the magistrate refused to issue the passes for passage through the Cape or Orange Free State to anyone unable to produce a tax receipt.¹⁰⁴³ It shifted the commoners' allegiance as well as the labour tribute from the chiefs to the magistrates as the latter took over most of the responsibilities of the chiefs.¹⁰⁴⁴

The payment of tax impoverished the Basuto. In times of bad harvest, they had to sell their grain for subsistence in order to pay tax. When their grain ran out, they had to sell their stock to buy grain at exorbitant prices in order to pay tax.¹⁰⁴⁵

While the Paris missionaries were happy about the new government in Basutoland, there was still a general disquiet among the Basuto about the new government and its laws.¹⁰⁴⁶

¹⁰³⁹Burman, *Chieftdom, Politics and Alien Law*, pp.70-71; Eldredge, *A South African Kingdom*, p.172.

¹⁰⁴⁰ Burman, *Chieftainship, Politics and Alien Law*, p. 41; Eldredge, *A South African Kingdom*, p.167.

¹⁰⁴¹Mohapeloa, *Government proxy*, p. 14; Eldredge, *A South African Kingdom*, p. 172; Burman, *Chieftdom, Politics and Alien Law*, pp.38, 41, 70.

¹⁰⁴²Eldredge, *A South African Kingdom*, p. 189; For other examples in Africa, see Oliver and Fage, *A Short History of Africa*, pp.202-203.

¹⁰⁴³Eldredge, *A South African Kingdom*, pp. 188-190; Burman, *Chieftdom, Politics and Alien Law*, p. 70.

¹⁰⁴⁴Thabane, *Aspects of Colonial Economy and Society, 1868-1966*," in *Essays on Aspects of the political Economy of Lesotho 1500-2000*, p. 110; Sanders, *Throwing Down White man*, p. 30; Eldredge, *A South African Kingdom*, p. 173.

¹⁰⁴⁵Eldredge, *A South African Kingdom*, p.174.

An anonymous author wrote an article in the *Leselinyana la Lesotho* in 1874 complaining about tax and bad roads in Basutoland:

Nothing is known about the annual hut tax collection except information from Aliwal newspaper reporting annual collections and savings in the bank. Roads are bad and need to be repaired; this is where the money should be used. The Commissioner Agent must group villages to work on the roads and bridges. Many accidents happen because of overflowing rivers. Bridges are needed in the following rivers: Makhaleng, Hlotse and the two Phuthiatsana rivers. There are no trees to do this work. The colonial government should do something about this problem of bad roads and overflowing rivers that take the lives of people. However, what is appreciated is the mercy shown to the poor and the old women in the paying of the Hut Tax. Nonetheless, there is no justice in the paying of tax, the rich and the poor pay the same amount. But among the Whites a person pays in proportion to his wealth. This should not continue to be like this. The rich are benefitting, and the poor are suffering in the paying of tax.¹⁰⁴⁷

The author of the article accepted the principle of the tax but suggested that people should be taxed according to their wealth or income. He or she only objected to the notion of a hut tax. It is probable that this article was written by a convert, someone who bore the brunt of paying the hut tax. The *Leselinyana la Lesotho* newspaper has articles like this one complaining about the Cape rule and the hut tax by anonymous authors.¹⁰⁴⁸ The missionaries did not pay tax. They supported the colonial government as well as the tax scheme, as pointed out above; the articles could not have been written by any of them. While the hut tax was

¹⁰⁴⁶A. Coastes, *Basutoland* (London, 1966), P.39, 40; J. M. Mohapeloa, *Tentative British Imperialism in Lesotho 1884-1910* (Moriya Museum & Archives, 2002), pp. 16, 17, 22; Burman, *Chieftdom, Politics and Alien Law*, pp. 46, 68.

¹⁰⁴⁷"Tax and Roads in Lesotho," *Leselinyana la Lesotho*, 6, June (1874), pp. 45- 46.

¹⁰⁴⁸See for example the articles in the *Leselinyana la Lesotho* where the Basuto complained about Cape rule and tax:*Leselinyana la Lesotho*, 8 August 1877, pp.3-4; *Leselinyana la Lesotho*, 9, Oct. 1877, pp.1- 2.

paid by the Basuto males only, the author appreciates the fact that old women were exempted from paying it. He or she realised that if that were the case, it would pose a big problem for them.

The tax collected in Basutoland was solely for administration purposes, that is, for the payment of the salaries of the magistrates, the Basuto mounted police force and other Basuto needs.¹⁰⁴⁹ However, during his visit in 1879, Gordon Sprigg, the Prime Minister of the Cape, announced that tax would be hiked to £1 and in this way, it was doubled. He also announced the government's plan for the disarmament of all the native tribes.¹⁰⁵⁰ Additionally, the Cape Government had also decided to use '£12, 500 from the Basuto account to pay for Cape expenses, despite the original undertaking that all the money raised in taxes in Basutoland would be spent on Sotho needs.'¹⁰⁵¹

The plan to disarm the Basuto was carried out on 21 May 1880, following the suppression of Moorosi, the chief of the Baphuthi in 1879, in which the Basuto played a major part.¹⁰⁵² This has already been discussed in Chapter Two. However, Charles Griffith, the Governor's Agent in Basutoland, made sure that disarmament was successful. On 23 December 1879, He wrote to the Paris missionaries asking them to persuade the Basuto to comply with the order. Mabile published that letter in the *Leselinyana la Lesotho*.¹⁰⁵³ At the same time, he wrote to Bartle Frere, the new Governor and High Commissioner who had arrived in 1877, pleading for the Basuto not to be disarmed. His letter was not well received by Frere.¹⁰⁵⁴ Dieterlen also

¹⁰⁴⁹ *The Natives of South Africa, their economic and social condition, edited by the South African Native Races Committee* (London, 1901), p. 58; Eldredge, *A South African Kingdom*, pp. 172,175.

¹⁰⁵⁰ Sanders, *Throwing Down White Man*, pp. 92 - 93.

¹⁰⁵¹ Burman, *Chieftdom, Politics and Alien Law*, p.135-136; Sanders, *Throwing Down White Man*, p.238.

¹⁰⁵² *Ibid*, pp.134-135; G. Lagden, *The Basutos*, vol. 11 (London, 1909), pp. 492-493.

¹⁰⁵³ Smith, *The Mabilles of Basutoland*, pp.249-250.

¹⁰⁵⁴ *ibid*, pp.252-253; Burman, *Chieftdom, Politics and Alien Law*, p.137; Mohapeloa, *Government Proxy*, pp.45-46.

contributed an article in the *Leselinyana la Lesotho*, where he also advised the Basuto to comply with disarmament.¹⁰⁵⁵ He noted,

The Basuto were suspicious of the missionaries because they encouraged them to hand over their guns. They were afraid that the colonial government wanted to make them their slaves by taking their weapons from them. They were to do away with that thought, as there was no evidence that the government planned to do that.¹⁰⁵⁶

That was for the first time Dieterlen openly expressed his political opinion. He must have felt obliged to express his opinion, as he was the secretary of the Missionary Conference at the time.¹⁰⁵⁷ However, his opinion was personal not official as the conference had not authorised him to speak on its behalf.¹⁰⁵⁸

Dieterlen realised that by encouraging the Basuto to comply with disarmament, (as missionaries), made them to distrust and to suspect them of connivance with the colonial government. The Basuto feared that without weapons they would be made slaves by the colonial government. They would be unable to defend themselves. For instance, one of the Basuto declared that ‘even the Bushmen had their arrows, but after those arrows had been taken away from them, they had been destroyed.’¹⁰⁵⁹ This sentiment and conviction was shared by many of them. It hence appears that the Basuto had a justifiable fear. Moreover, what might have increased their fears was the fact that the Boers in the Orange Free State which coveted their land were still armed. That by itself might have also increased their fears about the disarmament order.

¹⁰⁵⁵ Dieterlen, “Keletsu,” *Leselinyana la Lesotho*, February 2, 1880, p. 5.

¹⁰⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁵⁷ The Missionary Conference was a body that managed the work of the Paris Mission. It was established in 1835. It was attended by all the missionaries. It had a chairperson and a secretary. See, Ellenberger, *A Century of Mission Work*, p. 36.

¹⁰⁵⁸ See Germond, *Chronicles of Basutoland*, p. 55; Cf. Mohapeloa, *Government by Proxy*, p. 47.

¹⁰⁵⁹ *Ibid.* p. 57.

According to Makibinyane Mohapelo, ¹⁰⁶⁰the order deprived the Basuto of all their weapons. They were to surrender their ‘rifles, pistons, swords, bayonets, daggers, pikes and assegais’ (spears). ¹⁰⁶¹This made things difficult for the Basuto as the order deprived of them not only of security weapons but even those, they used for earning their livelihoods. For example, assegais were also used for hunting.

The disarmament of the Basuto caused much consternation among the missionaries, magistrates and traders. They were all against it. They saw it as unjust, insensible as well as useless. ¹⁰⁶²

The Basuto had proved their allegiance to the government by helping it to suppress Moorosi. They were not defeated in war and captured by Britain, but they voluntarily put themselves under England ‘s protection with the hope that their land would not be encroached by the Boers. It was unfair that they were treated in that way, as if they were captives of war without any rights.

The missionaries realised that the disarmament would eventually lead to the much-hated war. They knew very well that war would have serious repercussions on their work. For instance, many of Dieterlen’s congregants at Hermon migrated to the mountain of Kolo, ¹⁰⁶³when the colonial government’s pressure on disarmament intensified. ¹⁰⁶⁴While the missionaries were disappointed about the government’s plan of disarmament and were even against it, they made concerted efforts to persuade the Basuto to hand over their guns. They did this in part to stop the impending war as well as to clear the mission that they incited the Basuto to rebel against the law. Adolphe Mabile took the lead in this. While he was unhappy

¹⁰⁶⁰Makibinyane Mohapelo was one of the historians in Lesotho. He published several works and articles in the history of Lesotho e.g., *Government by Proxy* (Moriya: Morija Printing Works, 1971); *From Mission to Church* (Moriya: Morija Printing Works, 1985); *Tentative British Imperialism in Lesotho 1884-1910* (Moriya Museum & Archives, 2002).

¹⁰⁶¹J.M. Mohapelo, *Government by Proxy*, p. 57.

¹⁰⁶²Smith, *The Mabilles of Basutoland*, p.245.

¹⁰⁶³Kolo is halfway between Morija and Hermon. That mountain offered a favourable protection and defence against enemy attack.

¹⁰⁶⁴Germond, *Chronicles of Basutoland*, p.359.

about disarmament, he persuaded the Basuto to accept it.¹⁰⁶⁵ Dieterlen followed his example by advising the Basuto to surrender their weapons. Mabile and Dieterlen were close friends and seemed to have shared similar political opinions regarding the disarmament. However, Mabile was fearless of the colonial administrators while Dieterlen was more of a complaint or a gentleman.

Dieterlen was careful not to offend the colonial governors, as already pointed out above in his *Biography of Adolphe Mabile*. He employed sarcasms when he wrote about Mabile and the colonial government (Mabile the political man or missionary) instead of being straightforward.¹⁰⁶⁶ To show that Mabile was fearless, he refused to publish the disarmament proclamation in the *Leselinyana la Lesotho* newspaper. That earned him a bad name among the colonial officials.¹⁰⁶⁷

After Moorosi's War, Ellenberger, from Masitise, appealed to Frere about the confiscation of Quthing for the European settlers. His concern was not heeded.¹⁰⁶⁸

In the late 1870s and early 1880s, there were concerted efforts by the missionaries to help Basuto about the land in Quthing and disarmament. As with the doubled tax their voices were not heard. Given the fact that the Basuto had just come out of a war and that they had surplus money in taxes, the increase in the tax was unjustifiable. Moreover, Eldredge notes, 'In fact, even the tax of 10s was too heavy a burden under the economic circumstances prevailing at the end of the nineteenth century, and it caused considerable hardship for many Basuto.'¹⁰⁶⁹

¹⁰⁶⁵ Ellenberger, *A Century of Mission Work*, pp. 212-213; Dieterlen, *Adolphe Mabile 1836-1894*, chapter 23.

¹⁰⁶⁶ Dieterlen, *Adolphe Mabile 1836-1894*, preceded by a Dedication By the Missionary F. Coillard (Paris: Society of Evangelical Mission, 1898), chapter 23.

¹⁰⁶⁷ Mohapeloa, *Government by Proxy*, p. 47.

¹⁰⁶⁸ Initially, the colonial government had threatened the Basuto that if they did not help in the suppression of Moorosi, his country would reward the Cape forces after his suppression. It was with that understanding that Quthing would be for the Basuto that they helped in the fight against Moorosi. But after Moorosi's war, Sprigg was not prepared to honour his promises. He wanted to carry out his plan of giving Quthing to the European settlers. Sanders, *Throwing Down Whiteman*, p. 97; Burman, *Chieftdom, Politics and Alien Law*, p. 135.

¹⁰⁶⁹ Eldredge, *A South African Kingdom*, p. 174.

Dieterlen's silence regarding tax suggests that he supported the tax scheme. For instance, in the 1880s, as pointed out above, he reacted to a political situation, the disarmament that threatened the peace of Basuto as well as the work of the mission. He was concerned and determined to stop the impending war. In that context he laid a hand to the colonial government by his support of the disarmament law. Unfair and unjustifiable as it was to the Basuto, he persuaded them to humble themselves to an unjust order of the colonial government. He made no attempts, however, to dissuade the colonial government from that unjust order, as Mabilie did. It is important to note that Mabilie also supported the colonial government. We have seen how happy he was about the laws of the colonial government at the inception of Cape rule in Basutoland. He reacted against disarmament because he saw it as unjust and unfair to the Basuto. He could not have thought of a mission enterprise without the support of the colonial government. Dieterlen too would not have imagined a mission enterprise without the support of the colonial government. Dieterlen and Mabilie were both unhappy about certain elements of colonialism even though they disliked it. In the case of Mabilie the issue was disarmament and in the case of Dieterlen, as discussed in *Pourquoi les missions? Réflexions d'un missionnaire. Les principes, les objections, les moyens d'action et les faits accomplis*, the issue was the ills and evils of Western civilisation as well as the unbecoming behaviour of the colonial society in particular the distribution of alcohol to the natives of Africa. When justifying the meddling in politics of Mabilie and those who came before him, Dieterlen maintained, 'No missionary in Lessouto has the desire or the ambition to meddle with affairs which are conducted under the responsibility of competent magistrates who are devoted to the real interests of [the] Bassoutos.'¹⁰⁷⁰

According to Dieterlen, competent magistrates were those who supported and protected the work of the mission and had the best interests of the Basuto at heart. That being the case,

¹⁰⁷⁰Dieterlen, *Adolphe Mabilie 1836-1894*, chapter 23.

there would not be a point for the mission to interfere in temporal affairs. The issue here was that the missionaries interfered in temporal affairs when there were issues that concerned them. The unjustifiable tax increase was not a problem in as far as the missionaries were concerned and hence their silence. They supported the tax scheme.

The Orange Free State and Transvaal Governments introduced custom duties to stop grain entering their countries. The Basuto paid custom duties for their grain entering the Transvaal. This favoured the Orange Free State as it blocked the Transvaal market for the Basuto.¹⁰⁷¹ The Orange Free State, too, in addition to the duty levied on Basutoland exports, introduced a tax of ten shillings per head on every Mosuto passing through that country. 'The British also imposed a selective tax on African transport riders, requiring that all Ba-Sotho (but not Europeans) buy a pass for each vehicle and pack-animal carrying grain out of the country for sale, at the rate of 2s., 6d. per vehicle and 3d., per animal.'¹⁰⁷²

These examples of heavy tax demands illustrate the abuse of power, and the economic oppression and exploitation, thus making the Basuto victims of discrimination. The South Africa War or the Anglo Boer war (1899-1902) was another example of the economic oppression, exploitation and discrimination of the Basuto and that was coupled with the increase of the tax.

In 1884, Basutoland was returned to the Crown to be ruled directly from there, tax continued to be paid¹⁰⁷³ and on the eve of the Anglo Boer war (1899-1902) tax was doubled once more.¹⁰⁷⁴ Eldredge states,

The Imperial government further took advantage of the Basuto during the South African war (1899-1902). The British relied on the Basuto troops to defend their

¹⁰⁷¹Eldredge, *A South African Kingdom*, pp. 159, 175.

¹⁰⁷² P. E. Woodhouse, "Additional Trading Regulations for Lesotho," (Cape Town, 1870), article 6, *B.R.* V, part II, p. 491. Quoted in Eldredge, *A South African Kingdom*, p. 175.

¹⁰⁷³ It was paid as ten shilling, the reduction from £1 which Sprigg had made. See, Sanders, *Throwing Down Whiteman*, p.254.

¹⁰⁷⁴Eldredge, *A South African Kingdom*. p. 176.

borders from the Boers, commandeered wagons from Lesotho, and used the pastureland in the country to keep the confiscated stock of the Boers, while refusing to buy Basutoland grain for their supply. As a result, thousands of armed Basuto guarded the frontier on British orders, while their pastures and cultivated land were damaged . . . ¹⁰⁷⁵

Frédéric Cristol (1850-1933) and Edouard Jacottet (1858-1920), both of whom were Paris missionaries, reported that the situation in Basutoland during the South African War was chaotic: 'Boer refugees flooded [Basutoland] with their stock, animal diseases were introduced, and more than 325,000 bags of grain were prevented from reaching the markets outside [Basutoland].'¹⁰⁷⁶

Dieterlen observed that the loyalty of the Basuto was divided in this war as the British had just raised the tax and were making more demands on the unhappy Basuto.¹⁰⁷⁷

Dieterlen never objected to the abuse of power and exploitation of the Basuto by the colonial government during the South African War. For him it was important for the Basuto to obey the colonial government as we have seen on the issue of tax. The Basuto were unhappy that they were helping England in its war at their cost: their country was overcrowded with refugees, their pastures overgrazed by foreign animals, animal disease was prevalent in Basutoland and that affected their livestock. At the same time England made them to guard the borders while on the other hand, it did not allow for their export to be sold outside Basutoland. It made the Basuto to participate in a war that did not concern them and

¹⁰⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁷⁶ F. Christol, 16 April 1900, *JME* (1900), 1, p. 457; E. Jacottet, 15 June 1900, *JME* (1900), II, p.111. Both quoted in Eldredge, *A South African Kingdom*, p. 176.

¹⁰⁷⁷ Letter of Dieterlen, 23, Dec. 1899, PEMS Archives (Paris). Quoted in Eldredge, *A South African Kingdom*, p. 176.

at the same time, Britain refused to buy the grain of the Basuto during the war. This made the Basuto to have a divided loyalty in this war as Dieterlen noted.¹⁰⁷⁸

Britain increased tax in 1898, notwithstanding the ecological disasters that befell Basutoland in the 1890s. That period was marked by repeated droughts that affected the harvest. The economic depression was serious and was exacerbated by epidemics that affected the people and their animals. In 1899, smallpox, typhoid fever, influenza and dysentery hit Basutoland. At the same time, in 1897, rinderpest epizootic killed many cattle.¹⁰⁷⁹ The local war against Masupha in 1898, as earlier discussed, also had a serious impact on the Basuto. However, all these troubles that confronted the Basuto meant nothing to the Imperial Government. They continued with the exploitation of the Basuto even under the unfavourable circumstances nationally and among the people.

The foregoing paragraphs explicitly illustrate the harsh hegemony the Basuto received from the British colonial government. They endured this ordeal subconsciously and consciously as they accepted it and then afterwards complained about it when they realised the injustice that was done to them by the colonial government. Gramsci 's theory of hegemony puts Britain's hegemonic actions in Basutoland on the spot here: It is observed that Britain manipulated the Basuto by pretending to help them when in fact it was looking for economic gain and using the Basuto to achieve it. The Basuto had agreed to be ruled by Britain in the hope that Britain would restore the land that had been stolen from them by the Boers. Moreover, the Basuto had accepted to pay tax for the administration of their country, but they were disappointed when the government did not make improvements in their country. They were saddened by this and complained about the government's failure to maintain the roads, among other things.

¹⁰⁷⁸*Ibid.*

¹⁰⁷⁹Eldredge, *A South African Kingdom*, pp. 175, 188; Germond, *Chronicles of Basutoland*, p. 58; J. M. Mohapeloa, *Tentative British Imperialism in Lesotho 1884-1910* (Morija: Morija Museum & Archives, 2002), p. 56.

What mattered to the government was the economic gain which was attained at the expense of the Basuto. The colonial enterprise was not interested in the Basuto as a people and their difficult situation as it continued to exploit and treat them harshly, inhumanly and disrespectfully even in their worst context.

The Paris Missionaries were cognisant of the situation and yet did nothing about it. Perhaps that was due to what Stephen Neill observes: 'In the year 1890 many writers affirm that the missionaries' attitude towards Black people drastically changed. They became imbued with the imperialist ideas and white supremacy.'¹⁰⁸⁰ This is an important point that sheds more light on the problem of colonialism in the context of Basuto and to which the Paris missionaries were partisans.

Commenting on Dan Wylie 's *Language and Assassination: Cultural Negations in White Writers' Portrayal of Shaka and the Zulu*,¹⁰⁸¹ Stephen Gill, the curator of the Morija Museum and Archives, maintains: 'The characterisation of Shaka and Africans generally by white writers created a certain climate in which the missionaries were also engulfed. Having said that, Jacottet danced to a different tune!' ¹⁰⁸²

In concurrence with this, Neill explains,

Missionaries found it hard to remain uninfluenced by the attitude of other white men amongst whom they found themselves living. Almost without knowing it, they came

¹⁰⁸⁰ S. Neill, *Colonialism and Christian Missions* (London: Lutterworth Press, 1966), p. 314.

¹⁰⁸¹ Dan Wylie, "Language and Assassination, Cultural Negations in White Writers' Portrayal of Shaka and the Zulu," in *The Mfecane Aftermath: Reconstruction Debates in South African History*, ed. Carolyn Hamilton (Witwatersrand & Natal University Presses, 1995), pp.71-103.

¹⁰⁸² This was a product of my electronic conversation with Stephen Gill on 7 January 2021 about Dan Wylie 's work. See his works on Jacottet: S. Gill. "A Brief Biographical Sketch and Tribute to Rev. Edouard Jacottet (1858-1920)," (unpublished paper); "Fully Africa and Fully Christian: The Different Visions of Jacottet and Willoughby," in *Mekolokotoane Kerekengea Evangeli Lesotho, Jubilee Highlights 1833-2008* (Morija: Morija Museum and Archives, 2009), pp.177-190; The introduction essay in E. Casalis, *The Basutos*, Facsimile reprint of 1861 (Morija: Morija Museum and Archives, 1992).

to feel that, though all men are equal before God, a very long time must be waited for before that could be realized.¹⁰⁸³

This must have been the case with the Paris Missionaries. Their impassiveness has a bearing on their support of colonialism. We have earlier seen how Emile Rolland, who was one of them, left the mission to work for the colonial government. He played a pivotal part in the colonisation of Basutoland.¹⁰⁸⁴

7. 5 Dieterlen's views on the state

In his *Bukana ea 'Moleli* (the Booklet of an Evangelist), Dieterlen has written about '*Moleli le marena* (an Evangelist and the chieftainship or chiefs).¹⁰⁸⁵ It is in this section that he shows his perception of the state. The chieftainship is the head and the leadership of it.

He maintained, 'in all matters pertaining to his or her work an Evangelist must be guided by wisdom and observation from God and the Bible. He must apply his mind as well. Even in his relations with the chieftainship, prudence is important.'¹⁰⁸⁶

According to Dieterlen a sensible and careful attitude on the part of a spiritual leader was important in dealing with temporal authority, lest the name of God as well as of his servant fall into disrepute. the Word of God must guide and endow an evangelist with essential wisdom for his or her work. This resonates with Calvin who maintained, 'None are to be chosen save those who are of sound doctrine and holy lives, and not notorious for any defect which might destroy their authority and bring disgrace to the ministry.'¹⁰⁸⁷ It thus follows that an evangelist's conduct should be above reproach lest he or she brings a bad name upon him or herself and the ministry.

¹⁰⁸³Neill, *Colonialism and Christian Mission*, p. 315.

¹⁰⁸⁴Sanders, *Throwing Down White Man*, p. 32.

¹⁰⁸⁵H. Dieterlen, *Bukana ea 'Moleli*, facsimile of 1912(Morija: Morija Sesuto Book Depot, 1983), pp.61-65

¹⁰⁸⁶Litabeng tsohle tsa bophelo le mosebetsi oa hae, 'moleli o tsoanetse ho tsamaisoa ke bohlale le temoho eo a ka e fumanang ho Molimo, le Bebileng, le ka ho sebetša ka kelello ea hae. Le phelisanong ea hae le marena ho batleha hlalefo e joalo, Dieterlen, *Bukana ea Moleli*, p. 61.

¹⁰⁸⁷Calvin, *Institutes*, 4.3.12.

In relation to his chief, an evangelist is in a good position and has some advantages which he or she must make use of when appropriate: he or she is the one who is educated and able to read and write. This is an important thing that elevates him or her above the chieftainship.¹⁰⁸⁸

The literacy of an evangelist is a strength of some kind. It is through it that he can exert an influence on the chieftainship. It is an added advantage in the evangelist over the chieftainship. It thus appears that the chieftainship must be brought to the sway of the Gospel perhaps to protect and support the spiritual warfare. This is what Dieterlen expected of the colonial government in relation to the mission, as pointed out above.¹⁰⁸⁹ Moreover, this resonates with Calvin, as John McNeill, the Calvinist scholar, notes, ‘Since in his view all human authority in human society derives from God, it was Calvin’s aim to bring religious influence to bear upon the magistrates.’¹⁰⁹⁰

François Wendel, another Calvinist scholar, in accordance, notes,

He [Calvin] did recommend and tried to put into practice, a system of close collaboration between the two powers, which committed them to reciprocal aid. The ministers of the Church were obliged by their function to contribute to the moral education of the citizens, and to explain to the members of the magistracy the requirements of the Word of God, to which the civil legislation had to conform itself. The Magistrates, on their side, were duty bound to protect the Church and promote respect for the open preaching of the Gospel.¹⁰⁹¹

¹⁰⁸⁸ Mabapa le morena oa habo, ‘moleli o na le bolulo bo botle le libaka tse molemo, ha a ka mpa a lemoha mokhoa oo a tšoanetseng ho phela ka oona: Ke eena motho ea rutehileng, ea tsebang ho bala le ho ngola: ntho e kholo, e mophahamisang. *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁸⁹ Dieterlen, *Adolphe Mabilie 1836-1894*, chapter 23.

¹⁰⁹⁰ J. T. McNeill, *The History and Character of Calvinism* (London, New York: Oxford University Press, 1979), pp. 186-187.

¹⁰⁹¹ F. Wendel, Calvin: *The Origins and Development of his Religious Thought*, translated by Philip Mairet (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1963), pp. 309-310.

The foregoing example makes it evident that Dieterlen was following in the footsteps of Calvin.

The chief requests the mission to send an evangelist to his place. This request might have been motivated by the love of the Gospel or by the desire for prestige on the part of the chief. An evangelist is an important and respected person because of the work of God entrusted to him or her at the invitation of the chief.¹⁰⁹²

An evangelist is a counsellor of the chief not only on matters pertaining to God but in all matters of life, the life of the family, the village and the community. When an evangelist maintains good relations with the Church and his or her chief, that chief will, in return, maintain good relations with the Church for the chief is a servant of God to lead people to righteousness. In maintaining peace and order among people as well as in supporting the Church in its work, a chief is doing the work of God. While there may be some flaws and sins in the chieftainship, it still belongs to God and must work together with the ministry.¹⁰⁹³

This suggests that the chieftainship is of God regardless of the defects that may be found in people that are entrusted with it. It hence turns out that secular authority must be respected notwithstanding its flaws. Dieterlen wielded much influence for the respect of colonial officials. In his view, colonial authority came from God and must be respected at all costs. In addition, Calvin maintained that Christians should not resist the authority of their rulers, even whether they are weak or evil.¹⁰⁹⁴ Dieterlen followed Calvin's teaching in this regard.

¹⁰⁹²O kopiloe ke morena ho baruti, hore a tle ho lula le morena eo. Kopo ena mohlomong e ka tsoa takatsong ea morena ea hore a be le 'moleli, e be sekola se khabisang borena ba hae. Empa le ha ho le joang kapa joang, ka pitso eo ea morena, 'moleli ke motho e moholo, ea hlomphehang, joale ka ha hlompheha ka lebaka la mosebetsi oa Molimo o tšoeroengkeena. Dieterlen, *Bukana ea Moleli*, p. 61.

¹⁰⁹³Ha ngata'moleli o fetoha moelets'i oa morena oa hae, e seng feela ka 'nge nge ea litaba tsa Molimo, empa litabeng tsohle tsa bophelo ba motho, tsantlo, tsamotse, tsasechaba. Ha 'moleli a tseba ho phelisanahantle le kereke le morena oa hae, morena eo o tla phelisana le kereke hantle . . . Morena ke mohlanka oa Molimo ho isa sechaba botleng (Baroma 13: 1-5) o na le moo a sebeletsang Molimo, e leng ho boloka khotso har'a batho, meferefere e tle e be sieo, ho thusa hohle ho etsoang kekereke... 'me le ha marena a ka ba le liphoso le libe bophelong ba 'ona, borena bo roetsoeng ke 'ona e ntse ele bohanka ba Molimo botšoanetseng ho sebelisana le boruti. *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁹⁴Calvin, *Institutes*, 4.20.22-30.

The functions or responsibilities of the secular authority are delineated: maintaining peace and order as well as supporting the work of the Church. This also confirms the point that Dieterlen would not have imagined a mission enterprise without the support of colonialism.

While an evangelist may have been invited by the chief, the latter may be jealous of him or her because, in Church an evangelist is a chief. He or she has a following of the Christians. He or she maintains law and order and exercises discipline. The chief may secretly oppose the evangelist or interfere in Church affairs. When a chief behaves like that and if an evangelist is not prudent, he or she may find himself or herself being used by the chief in matters that do not concern his or her office.¹⁰⁹⁵

Dieterlen here emphasises the interdependence of the office of the chief and that of an evangelist. At the same time, these offices must be so independent of each other that there should not be interference in one another's respective offices. This resonates with Calvin who insisted that Church and state were independent of each other.¹⁰⁹⁶

An evangelist must show respect to his chief even if the chief is a despicable person. He must be respected for his position and authority. Additionally, an evangelist must love him as his father, his protector; he protects the village and the community. When a person is appointed as an evangelist, he is still a Mosotho man. The office of an evangelist does not take him out of his people or free him from the duties of Bosuto (being a Mosuto). An evangelist must participate in the work parties that weed the fields of the chief. He should also pay tax levied by a chief on his subjects.¹⁰⁹⁷

¹⁰⁹⁵Morena le ha bitsitse 'moleli 'me a rata hore a be teng..., o belaela ka hore 'moleli o iketsa morena ea nang le batho, e leng bakreste, le melao, le likahlolo, e leng tsa kereke, 'me o rata ho ikenya litabeng tsa kereke, kapa o hanyetsa 'moleli ka sephiring. Dieterlen, *Bukana ea Moleli*, p. 62.

¹⁰⁹⁶Calvin, *Institutes*, 3.19.15.

¹⁰⁹⁷'Moleli o tšoanetse ho hlonepha morena oa hae, hore e sita le ha eo e ka ba ea sa lokang, ho mpe ho hlomphoe borena boo a nang le bona. Ho feta moo, a morate ka hore ke ntata'e. A 'ne a 'molelle 'nete, empaele ka lerato (Baef. 4: 15) le ka hlompho. Motho le ha a beiloe 'moleli, e ntse e le monna oa Mosotho. Boboleli ha bo montše har'a mofuta oa habo le ho molokolla litšoanelong tsa botho le tsa Bosotho. Ka baka leo, ha morena a memetse, hore ho hlaholoe tšimo ea hae, 'moleli o tšoanetse ho nka mohoma le ho

Dieterlen here maintained that an evangelist must ‘render to Caesar the things that are Caesar’s and to God the things that are God’s.’¹⁰⁹⁸ An evangelist must obey civil law as well as civil government. At the same time, he or she always remains the servant of God.

This also confirms that Dieterlen inculcated respect for the colonial government in Basutoland. Perhaps this was because the Paris Missionaries being French came independently (they were not backed by their home country France) to Basutoland and had less political clout. That too might have made the Paris Missionaries to be at the mercy of the colonial government and to pander to its prejudices.

7. 6 Conclusion

Colonialism in Basutoland specifically challenged the political institutions of the Basuto. It targeted the chieftainship and wanted to put it down by using tax, among other things, to achieve this. The Basuto were taxed heavily by the colonial and the imperial governments as well as their neighbours, the Orange Free State and the Transvaal Governments. That impoverished them, in addition to their fertile land which was stolen by the Boers aided by the Cape colonial government. This chapter demonstrated that British hegemony, upon Basutoland began when Basutoland signed a diplomatic relation with Britain in 1843. Britain was supposed to restore the land stolen by the Boers to Moshoeshe, but instead, it connived with the Boers and gave Moshoeshe’s land to the Boers. Moshoeshe believed that Britain, as a powerful country, would help him and restore his land to him. This is why he signed several treaties with Britain which were never honoured, but instead, more of his land was given to the Boers. That was a tragedy that left him sorrowful, decrepit as well as enfeebled and that eventually took him to his grave. This was discussed in Chapter Two.

ealetsemeng la morenaoahae. Kapa mohlasethabathaba, le eena o tšoanetse ho kenyaletsoho la haejoale ka bohle. Dieterlen, *Bukana ea’Moleli*, pp. 63-64

¹⁰⁹⁸ Matthew 22: 21.

This was how serious this hegemony was upon him. Furthermore, the Government took preventive measures against some of the traditional customs such as circumcision, sorcery, traditional marriage and the chieftainship whose power was curtailed by the introduction of magistrates. The Paris mission was part of this hegemony as it proposed it to the Government through Emile Rolland. This is discussed in Chapter Two. The foregoing discussion illustrates the effects of hegemony as propounded by Cramsci viz ‘the control of one state over others.’ Britain had manipulated Basutoland by a harsh taxation which illustrates that its interest in Basutoland was economic gain. Hegemony is discussed in Chapters One, Two and Six.

The Paris Missionaries’ impassiveness in relation to the injustices inflicted on the Basuto that they claimed to love confirms their support of colonialism as well as their partisan to the hegemony exercised by the colonial government. Furthermore, the derogatory language of “savages” used about the Basuto, that Dieterlen continually employed proves that he was not any different from the colonial governors who employed the same term for the Basuto. It seems that he was quite prepared to insult them just as much as did the colonial governors. Dieterlen’s view of the state, in principle, was in line with the teaching of the reformer John Calvin that the Church and the state should be interdependent. Neither should interfere in the sphere of the other party.¹⁰⁹⁹

In France, as a result of decades of persecution, the Protestant minority was always in favour of a separation between the Church and the state. This separation of the Church from state had variations of some kind in different places. In Geneva, Calvin himself tried to control the state. In France, the Reformed Churches distanced themselves from the king, who was Catholic. In South Africa under apartheid, the Dutch Reformed Church favoured the

¹⁰⁹⁹ Calvin, *Institutes*, 3.19.15.

state religion. In Basutoland, Dieterlen followed the example of Calvin in Geneva by advocating that the state should be under the sway of the Church.¹¹⁰⁰

¹¹⁰⁰Dieterlen, *Adolphe Mabilie 1836-1894*, chapter 23; McNeill, *The History and Character of Calvinism* (London, New York: Oxford University Press, 1979), pp. 186-187.

8.1 Introduction

This study concludes with Dieterlen's commentary on Romans in a manner of recapitulating. This is meant to show that he remained a Reformed pastor and this dictated his opinions and actions in matters of theology, politics and culture.

This chapter looks in-depth at Dieterlen's commentary on Paul's letter to the Romans. By way of introduction, it briefly introduces Paul's letter to the Romans: main themes, place and date of composition, major controversies about its interpretation in the history of biblical exegesis. It argues Dieterlen's use of the Reformer John Calvin and highlights the main points in Dieterlen's commentary on the Romans as a Gospel that is not European. "Heathens" and Jews should not be judged in the same way. The "superstitions" of the "heathens" deserve condemnation. The tyranny of the God of Calvin. The biblical justification of the duty to submit to the authority of the state.

8.2 The letter to the Romans

It is undisputable that the letter to the Romans was written by the apostle Paul. The letter itself attests to this.¹¹⁰² He wrote it while in Corinth in AD 57, probably during his third missionary journey.¹¹⁰³ The letter to the Romans has the following themes: lost in sin (1-3:20), justified by faith (3:21-5:21), sanctified by the Spirit (6:1-11:36), chosen by God (9:1-

¹¹⁰¹H. Dieterlen, *Hlaloso ea Epistole e ngoletsoeng Baroma*(Morija:Morija Sesuto Book Depot, 1912), 210 pages.

¹¹⁰² Romans 1:1.

¹¹⁰³ Acts 20:2-3. See, S. Olyott, *The Gospel as is, Romans simply explained* (Britain: Evangelical Press, 2001), pp.3-4; F.F. Bruce, *The Epistle to the Romans, Tyndale New Testament Commentaries* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1982), p.11.

11:36) and transformed by grace (12:1-16:27).¹¹⁰⁴ The major controversies about its interpretation in the history of biblical exegesis concern the following: Paul's battle of sin¹¹⁰⁵ 'For I do not understand my own actions. For I do not do what I want, but I do the very thing I hate' is understood differently by commentators. Some of them take the text to be in reference to the time before his conversion or his experience as a Christian. Others disagree and claim that that was in reference to a non-Christian.¹¹⁰⁶ Another contention concerns the founding of the Church in Rome. The Roman Catholic tradition has it that the apostle Peter founded it. Some scholars disagree and claim that no one knows how the Church in Rome was founded. However, they surmise that it is possible that some Romans present in Jerusalem on the day of Pentecost,¹¹⁰⁷ carried back with them the faith. Thus, they founded the Church in Rome.¹¹⁰⁸ Lastly, 'the common misconception about the letter to the Romans is that the practical material in chapters 12-16 is not closely related to the doctrinal material in chapters 1-11, when in fact this is where the apostle has been intending to go all along.'¹¹⁰⁹

8.3 Dieterlen's use of Calvin

Dieterlen trained at the Protestant theological faculty at Mantauban and the University of Paris, whose theological curriculums were at that time, strongly reformed in character. There is no doubt that he studied Calvin while he was there, as Calvin was one of the influential figures of Protestantism. Thus, he knew Calvin's works and might have brought them with him when he came to Basutoland. However, the French editions of Calvin's *Institutes of the*

¹¹⁰⁴ L. Ryken, P.G. Ryken & J. Wilhoit, *Ryken's Bible handbook, A guide to reading and studying the Bible* (Wheaton, Illinois: Tyndale House Publishers, 2005), p.492.

¹¹⁰⁵ Romans 7:13-25.

¹¹⁰⁶ Ryken, et. al, *Ryken's Bible handbook*, p.491; D.Coffey, *Romans: Crossway Bible guide* (England: Evangelical Literature Trust, 2000), pp.129-130.

¹¹⁰⁷ Acts 1. 10.

¹¹⁰⁸ J. B. Phillips, *Letters to the Young Churches*, (Britain: Collins Clear-Type Press, 1966), p.19; F.F. Bruce, *The Epistle to the Romans*, pp.12-13. For the pre-eminence of the apostle Peter, see K. Adams, *The Spirit of Catholicism* (London & New York: Sheed and Ward, 1959), pp. 96-104.

¹¹⁰⁹ Ryken, et al, *Ryken's Bible handbook*, p. 488.

Christian Religion as well as his *Commentary on the Romans* could not be found in the Morija Museum and Archives. While there is no mention of Calvin in Dieterlen's *Commentary on the Romans* as he only discusses Calvin's theology, the textual explosions strongly resonate with Calvin in form and content. Their difference is seen in their rhetoric and stylistic features.

For instance, commenting on Romans 1:1, Dieterlen maintained that Paul's office was that of a servant, an adopted servant, reared by Christ and taking orders from him. He went on to explain that being a servant of Christ involves many responsibilities that are shared amongst other servants under one master (Christ). Paul was an apostle, that is, a person who was sent or called to plant Churches and who cared for them by proclaiming the Gospel of Christ through which God saves people.¹¹¹⁰

Calvin, on the other hand, commenting on the same text, stressed,

Paul's apostleship came by the call of God and that maintained his authority of the doctrine. He was not to be seen as an intruder before the Romans. Moreover, the office of an apostle was for all who took upon themselves the responsibility of preaching the Gospel and were thus God's servants.¹¹¹¹

The above is a typical example of the affinity between Dieterlen and Calvin. The former stressed that Paul's work was that of a servant, an adopted one; that is, a servant acquired by one's master's own free choice. He was an adopted servant of Christ. This implied that he belonged to God. Calvin laid it down that Paul was an apostle by the call of God, which office, they both explain, equips one to be a person who proclaims the Gospel. Dieterlen

¹¹¹⁰Kabelo ea . . . Pauluse ke ea mohlanka, ke hore mosebeletsi ea thotsoeng; o ruiloe ke Morena Jesu, o laeloa ke eena. Bohlanka boo bo akaretsa likabelo tsa mefuta-futa, tse aroleloang bahlanka ba mofuta ole mong. Ea Pauluse ke ea moapostola, ke hore ea motho ea romiloeng ho hloma le ho alosa likereke ka ho bolela litaba tsa Jesu . . . tsa morero oa Molimo oa ho pholosa batho ka Jesu(Lik. 9: 3-19), H. Dieterlen, *Hlaloso ea Epistole e ngoletsoeng Baroma*(Morija:Morija Sesuto Book Depot, 1912), p. 1.

¹¹¹¹J. Calvin, *Commentary on the Romans* (Grand Rapids: Christian Classics Ethereal Library), pp.24-25.

added that God saves people through the Gospel while Calvin declared that people who preach the Gospel are servants of God. They both, in fact, posited that Paul was an apostle of God whose work was to proclaim the Gospel. Where they differ is how they say it.

Dieterlen explained that God had long planned the propagation of the Gospel and that it is revealed in the Old Testament, in the law and the prophets and when he chose Israel. God did not accidentally bring Jesus on earth. Jesus is the only son of God and there is no other. The name, Son of God, is in relation to his relationship with God and the phrase 'son of David' is in relation to his earthly descent. He was born from the tribe of David . . . hence the son of David, the Messiah (the anointed one), whom the prophets talked about in the Old Testament. He has two natures: the divine as well as the human. While his life, holiness, teaching and miracles revealed his divine nature, the Holy Spirit revealed his holiness even more. This is made evident by his resurrection which made him different from other people. The resurrection caused people to believe in him. God's plan of salvation is not only for the Jews but is for all people who accept the Gospel and believe in Jesus.¹¹¹²

Calvin, in accordance, averred,

Christ did not come unexpectedly, the prophets testified to his coming. His Gospel too was not something new; it was promised by the prophets and consummated in his coming. The resurrection of Christ confirmed his divinity and his power as well as the power of the Holy Spirit. The term 'son of God' suggests that Christ is the only

¹¹¹²Litaba tsena, ha se tseo Molimo o tšohileng o iqapela tsona mohla o li sebetsang ka Jesu. O no o li rere khale – khale Testamenteng ea Khale, molao le Baprofeta, oa li lokisa halelele leholimong le lefatšeng ka ho bopa sechaba sa Israele...Jesu ke mora oa Molimo a le mong, eo ho seng oa bobeli ea leng eena joalo (Joh. 1:18;3:16). Ka lebitso la mora ...ho lekangoa boleng ba Jesu ka nga ka ho Molimo... Empa o ha beli. Ka 'ngeng ea botho ba hae ke ea tsoileng lelokong la Davida ka nama...ke eena mora Davida, messia (motlotsuo) ea boleloang ke baprofeta ba selekane sa khale... O iponahalitse joalo ka bophelo ba hae,ka khallalelo, ka lithuto, ka mehlolo e etsoeng ke eena . Empa haholo ka ketso e matla ea Molimo, ka moea o halaleleng. Ke ka baka leo a bonahalitsoeng ke ona ka ho tsoha ha hae bafung, e leng mohlolo o mong o nong o mo supang seo a leng sona le se mokhethang ho batho ba bang kaofela. Tsoho ke bopaki bo ileng ba kholisa batho ba pele hore ba lumele. Paulusi o ipolela... hore o neiloe mohau oa ho bolokeha le mosebetsi oa boapostola. Morero oa teng ke hore lichabeng tsohle ho be ba utloang ka lumela lebitso la hae.Dieterlen, *Hlaloso ea Baroma*, pp.2-3.

begotten son of God. Faith is obedience to God. He calls us by the Gospel to believe.¹¹¹³

These text expositions reveal a very close expository kinship between Dieterlen and Calvin. The content of their text expositions is strongly the same, that Christ's coming was prophesied and as a result he did not come unexpectedly or accidentally. The resurrection encouraged people to believe in Christ according to Dieterlen. It confirms his divinity according to Calvin. The Holy Spirit is Christ's power; it reveals his divinity more than his miracles. In these text expositions, one immediately observes the exhortative or sermonic style of Dieterlen in contrast to the expository one of Calvin. For instance, Dieterlen concluded his exposition by stating that God's salvation is not limited to the Jews, but it concerns all people. What is important is for people to believe in Christ. They should believe that he was sent by God and died for their sins. This is more like an invitation to embrace Christ or the Christian faith. Hence an exhortation. However, the content is the same.

While expounding on Romans 1:16-17, Dieterlen posited that Paul, in this part, has written the crux of his message to the Romans.¹¹¹⁴ This view was also shared by Calvin, who noted that Romans 1:16-17 is 'the principal point or the main hinge of the first part of this Epistle, that we are justified by faith through the mercy of God alone.'¹¹¹⁵

Dieterlen declared that people knew the righteousness that resulted from good works. But this new righteousness which is revealed in the Gospel, is revealed in Jesus Christ and this righteousness comes by faith alone and is received by faith alone. Its beginning and end is faith.¹¹¹⁶

¹¹¹³ Calvin, *Commentary on the Romans*, pp. 28,30.

¹¹¹⁴ Joale Pauluse o ngola hoo e leng taba-taba eo a ngolang epistole ea hae holima eona. Dieterlen, *Hlaloso ea Baroma*, p. 9.

¹¹¹⁵ Calvin, *Commentary on the Romans*, pp. 43, 45.

¹¹¹⁶ Batho ba ne ba ntse ba tseba ho loka ho hlalisoang ke liketso tsa motho; empa ho loka hona ho ho cha ho koaholotsoe ke Evangeli, ke hore, ho senoletsoe batho ke Jesu, e leng bofihla bo botle. Hape ho loka hona. . .

Once again, we observe the exhortative character of Dieterlen and the expository style of Calvin in their text analysis, while the content remains the same. Calvin maintained, ‘we are justified by faith through the mercy of God alone,’ stressing in simple terms that we are put right before God by faith, that is, by believing in God and that comes by his mercy alone. This is a foundational thought of Reformed theology. Dieterlen seemed to agree with Calvin, though using a different rhetoric. He contrasted the righteousness, which was obtained by keeping the law of Moses, that is, righteousness by works with what he calls the new righteousness obtained by faith. This new righteousness is made known in the Gospel and in Christ. It is obtained by faith in Christ alone as well as in believing in the Gospel. It begins with faith and ends with faith. While it is indisputable that Dieterlen followed Calvin in this thought, a closer look at Dieterlen’s text exposition as well as his emphasis on faith alone (*sola fide*) and the holy Scripture, reveals his being closer to the Reformer Martin Luther. ‘Luther asserted the sovereign authority of Scripture as the Word of God . . . and established the principle of self-authentication and self-explanation by which they would interpret scripture.’¹¹¹⁷ Concerning the righteousness of God Luther noted,

I greatly longed to understand Paul’s Epistle to the Romans, and nothing stood in the way but that one expression, “the righteousness of God,” because I took it to mean that righteousness whereby God is righteous and deals righteously in punishing the unrighteous. . . night and day I pondered until . . . I grasped the truth that the righteousness of God is that righteousness whereby, through grace and sheer mercy, he justified us by faith. ¹¹¹⁸

ha ho tsoe kae le kae; ho tsoa tumelong feela, hape ho balloa tumelo feela. Qaleho ea hona ke tumelo ea motho ka mong ; le qetello ea hona e ntse ele tumelo eo. Dieterlen, *Hlaloso ea Baroma*, p. 11.

¹¹¹⁷ T. H. L. Parker, *John Calvin, A Biography* (Louisville, London: Westminster, John Knox Press, 1975), p. 100.

¹¹¹⁸ *Luther’s Works*, Weimar edition, Vol. 54, pp.179 ff. Quoted in Bruce, *The Epistle to the Romans*, p. 59.

Calvin followed Luther in this thought. We have seen in Chapter Three of this study that Dieterlen came from a Lutheran background. His uncle Gustave Steinheil, who was a devout elder in a Lutheran Church had a great influence upon Dieterlen's early religious life. Therefore, it is not surprising to find Dieterlen resonating with Luther.

Commenting on Romans 3: 21, Dieterlen noted that God has revealed a righteousness which is different from the works of the Law. This righteousness works in all who have faith in Jesus Christ. It is imparted by God by his grace, and no one earns it. God accomplished it in the redemptive work of Jesus Christ.¹¹¹⁹

Calvin, in concurrence, posited that this righteousness 'flows from him alone, or that its origin is from heaven, but that it is made manifest to us in Christ.'¹¹²⁰

These text expositions underpin the argument made above that the righteousness that is obtained through faith in God or his son is an act of mercy on the part of God. It is not earned. In the Old Testament one was expected to satisfy the works of the Law in order to be reckoned righteous. This marks the difference between the righteousness that comes through faith and works of the Law. God is behind the righteousness that comes by faith, as Calvin noted, 'it is from heaven and revealed in Christ.' Dieterlen followed this thought by maintaining that God accomplished it in the redemptive work of Christ and that it is by Jesus' death on the Cross that he delivers the believers from sin. The content in these text expositions by Calvin and Dieterlen is the same, but what varies is the rhetoric as pointed out above.

¹¹¹⁹Empa joale, tsa khale li fetile, tsa kajeno ke li -sele, ke tse ncha, ho loka ha Molimo ho hlahile, ho bonahalitsoe. Molimo o senoletse batho hore na motho ha a tla boleloa hore o lokile, e ka khona a be joang. Ho na ho etsahala e seng ka mesebetsi ea molao,...Mokhoa oo ho loka hona ho tla fihlela motho ka ona: E leng ho loka ha Molimo ho bonoang ka tumela ho Jesu Krete... ho loka hona ...ho reretsoe batho bohle; ho abeloa mang le mang ea lumelang. Ha ho le ea mong ea loketseng ho abeloa khanya e tsoanang le ea Molimo, eo o tsebang ho e roesa batho...Ke mpho ea mohau e abeloang motho ea sa kang a etsa mosebetsi o ka mo amohelisang eona ka mokhoa oa moputso. 'Me ketso eo Molimo o sebelitseng taba ena ka eona, o e entse ka topollo e leng ho Jesu Krete. Dieterlen, *Hlaloso ea Baroma*, pp. 45-46

¹¹²⁰Calvin, *Commentary on the Romans*, p. 109.

Expounding on Romans 6: 1-3, Dieterlen wrote that the question: ‘Are we to continue in sin, so that grace may abound’ is understood differently by scripture commentators. Some maintain that a Christian with a perfect faith is like a person dead to sin. Sin no longer has power over him. This position is found even among the Basuto. Dieterlen posited that this position is against the teaching of the Bible. Others claim that to be dead to sin only means it is a Christian’s intent not to sin anymore. He said this to be correct. In Jesus’ death a Christian develops by faith not only the intention to do away with sin but also the power to do that.¹¹²¹

Calvin noted, ‘He who sins certainly lives to sin; we have died to sin through the grace of Christ; then it is false, that what abolishes sin gives vigour to it.’¹¹²²

Sinning or doing anything against the will of God, according to Calvin, is tantamount to living to sin, the perpetual transgressions against God. At the same time, he maintained, ‘we have died to sin,’ and that is when sin no longer has power over us, ‘through the grace of Christ.’ The grace of Christ is revealed in his death on the Cross. It is through the grace of God that we receive, through faith, the undeserved mercy of Christ by his dying for us. Calvin noted that it is false, untrue or does not make sense that what puts an end to sin promotes it. This thought is developed further by Dieterlen when he explained two positions about being dead to sin, Firstly, he pointed out that some people believe that a person with a perfect faith is dead to sin or without sin. The Basuto are of the same opinion. He said this is to be incorrect and against the teaching of the Bible. Secondly, others believe that being dead to sin alludes to a Christian’s intent not to sin anymore. This is a Christian’s plan or

¹¹²¹Hleka re tla hlola sebeng hore mohau o tle o ngatafale na? ...ba bang bateng (‘me re ilerautloa le mona Lesotho),ba re, mokreste ea nang le tumelo e phethehileng o tsoana le motho ea shoeleng ka ‘nqeng ea sebe: ha hosale ka moo a se etsang, matla a joalo ha a sa le eo ka ho eena. Thuto e joalo e loantsoa ke Bebile kaofela... Ba bang ba re, ho shoa hona ho tsoantša morero feela oa mokreste oa hore ha a sa tla hlola a etsa bobele ha bo le bong. ‘Nete ke ena. ...Jesu ...o shoale sefapanong, hore a tle a se ke a etsa sebe sa ho se phethe thato ea Molimo; lefung leo la hae mokreste o kha ka tumelo, e seng morero feela oa ho tlohela libe, empa le ‘ona matla a ho li tlohela. Dieterlen, *Hlaloso ea Baroma*, pp. 78, 79.

¹¹²²Calvin, Commentary on the Romans, p. 187.

resolution not to do anything against the will of God. Dieterlen said this to be correct. He concluded by illustrating that Christ's death gives Christians the powers to do away with sin.

These biblical expositions by Dieterlen and Calvin once more reveal not only a close expository kinship, but also a lucid exhortation by the former and a succinct exposition by the latter. Nonetheless, the content is the same. Lastly, we observed that Dieterlen directed his exposition to the Basuto, as he claimed that they believe that a person with a perfect faith is dead to sin.

Baptism also has a role to play, Dieterlen explained that the Greek word for baptism employed and translated here has the following meaning: to dip into or to immerse. In those days, a person's whole body was immersed in water and then would come up out of the water. That baptismal mode was similar to the burial of Jesus who was buried in the grave and then came out of it alive. It symbolises that in baptism a person participates in Jesus' death. He dies with him in his or her sin and rises with him in a new life.¹¹²³

Calvin maintained, 'The death of Christ is efficacious to destroy and demolish the depravity of our flesh, and his resurrection, to effect the renovation of a better nature, and that by baptism we are admitted into a participation of this grace.'¹¹²⁴

In baptism a person participates in Christ's death according to Dieterlen and in his grace according to Calvin. Dieterlen explicated the baptismal mode whereby a person was immersed in water and would come up out of it. He claimed that that act symbolised Christ's death, particularly when he was buried, dead, in the grave and then came out of it alive.

Therefore, baptism meant dying with Christ by being buried under the water and by coming

¹¹²³Le kolobetso e na le taba hona moo . . . Lentsoe la Segerike le fetotsoeng mona ka "ho kolobetsoa," ke le reng : ho inoa, ho qelisoa; e fela mehleng eo mokolobetsuoa o ne a inoa 'mele kaofela metsing, a likelle, a boele a inoloe. Kolobetso eo e ne e tsoana le mohla Jesu a kengoang lebitleng a shoele, a boela a tsoe ho lona a phela; e tsoantsa eona taba eo. Motho ea kolobetsoang o kolobetsoa ho Jesu, o etsoa ea kopaneng le eena, haholo lefung la hae. O iketsa ea shoang le Jesu joaleka Jesu ka 'ngeng ea sebe. Empa litaba ha li felle lefung lena, li mpa li fetela pele, li isa le ho tsoheng bafung... re kena metsing joaloka mofu ha a kena lebitleng leo; o kena teng a tle a qale bophelo bo bocha. Dieterlen, *Hlaloso ea Baroma*, p. 80.

¹¹²⁴ Calvin, *Commentary on the Romans*, p. 190.

out of it to begin a new life. Calvin concisely declared that the death of Christ as well as his resurrection have the power to put an end to the sinful nature of our flesh and ‘effect the renovation of a better nature.’¹¹²⁵

These text expositions continue to illustrate a close similarity of content between Calvin and Dieterlen. Baptism is a participation in Christ’s death or grace. They only differ in their rhetoric.

Commenting on Romans 7:26, Dieterlen posited that a clear sign that one has moved away from God is when one is unable to live according to God’s commands and is doing the bad things which one hates; by this one should know that one is backsliding. At the same time, when one restores one’s union with the Holy Spirit, that weakness goes away, and sin no longer has power over one.¹¹²⁶

Calvin averred,

Man, by his own natural strength, without the aid of Divine grace, can choose what he pleases. But though the will of a faithful man is led to good by the Spirit of God, yet in him the corruption of nature appears conspicuously; for it obstinately resists and leads to what is contrary.¹¹²⁷

Dieterlen, following an exhortative method of expounding the biblical text is very direct and persuasive: ‘a clear sign that you have moved away from God is when you are unable to live according to God’s commands and are doing the bad things which you hate...’ This Calvin explains as a condition whereby man on his own, without the aid of Divine grace, cannot choose God. Without Divine grace man is under the sway of sin. Dieterlen maintained that the Holy Spirit brings order in a person’s life. It is by the aid of the Holy Spirit that a

¹¹²⁵ Ibid.

¹¹²⁶ Mohla o iponang hobane o atisa ho hloloa ke litaelo tsa Molimo, le ho etsa bobae bo nyatsuoang ke eona keello ea hao, u tle o tsebe o khaohane le moea oa Molimo, ‘me ho setse bo uena feela; u boetse morao, o khutletse bomalimabeng ba pele. Mohla o tsosang kopano ea hau le Moea o Halalelang, bofokoli le bohlokoa ba hao boa fela, sebe se feletsoe ke borena ba sona holima hao. Dieterlen, *Hlaloso ea Baroma*, p.107.

¹¹²⁷ Calvin, *Commentary on the Romans*, p. 227.

person can come to God and the weakness of being unable to live according to God's commands and doing the bad things which are hated, goes away. Calvin on the same note, maintained, 'the will of a faithful man is led to good by the Spirit of God.'

The Holy Spirit proceeds from God, who is divine and gracious. She is the third person of the Holy Trinity. Thus, Calvin and Dieterlen are writing about the same thing with a different rhetoric. However, Calvin insists that the corrupt nature in man obstinately resists and always leads to what is contrary, which thought Dieterlen explained as backsliding or moving away from God. It thus turns out that by nature man is so corrupt, to such an extent that good cannot come out of him. It is only with the aid of God, through the Holy Spirit that man can do well. We observe stylistic differences in these text expositions while the content remains the same.

Expounding on Romans 9: 7-10, Dieterlen noted that of all the descendants Abraham, God loved and planned that only those from Isaac should be reckoned as his tribe and from this true descendant of Abraham there would be yet another election. Of the twins that were born to Isaac and Rebecca, one was chosen over the other. This was done by God, according to his good pleasure.¹¹²⁸

Calvin averred,

The difference as to the possession of the promise may not only be seen in the children of Abraham, but... in Jacob and Esau ... these were of the same mother, and were even twins: yet one was rejected, and the other was chosen by the Lord. It is

¹¹²⁸ Molimo o ithatetse hore ka hobane har'a litloholo tsohle tseo Abrahama a tla le tsona ho tla baloa feela ba tsoang ho Isaaka hore ke leloko la Abrahama... Har'a bao e leng leloko la Abrahama hantle-ntle, le khethiloeng, ho boetse ho hlahile khetho e ngoe hape. Rebeka o ne a le mong, le Isaaka le eena o ne a le mong; bana ba tsoaloang ke bona ho ka thoe ba ne ba lekana hantle, etsoe hape e ne ele mafahla...leha ho le joalo, ho ile ha khethoa e mong ho e mong...litaba li sebelitsoe ke Molimo ka boithatelo ba oona. Dieterlen, *Hlaloso ea Baroma*, p.132.

hence clear, that the fulfilment of the promise does not take place in all the children of the flesh indiscriminately.¹¹²⁹

These text expositions are based on the doctrine of election. According to Dieterlen, God planned beforehand that of all Abraham's descendants only those from Isaac would be reckoned as his tribe. Thus, Isaac and his posterity were made the true descendants of Abraham and qualified to receive God's promises to Him, that He would make him a great nation and all nations would be blessed through him.¹¹³⁰ Another election took place among the children of Isaac whom God had designated as the true descendant of Abraham. Between his twin sons one was chosen over the other. That was according to God's sovereign pleasure. God chooses whoever He wants to choose and chooses not for his own good reasons.

Calvin, on the other hand, maintained that the difference regarding the possession of the promise is not seen only in the children of Abraham, where Isaac, the younger son, was chosen over Ishmael, the older brother.¹¹³¹ But it may also be seen between Isaac's twin sons, Esau and Jacob, where one (Esau) was rejected. Calvin used this strong language of "rejected," perhaps following the language of Scripture where God said, 'I have loved Jacob, but Esau I have hated.'¹¹³² This was just to show Divine election.

In brief, these text expositions by Calvin and Dieterlen reveal a similarity of content while stylistic features mark the difference between the two. Dieterlen emphasised God's sovereign pleasure in his election.

Commenting on Romans 12: 1, Dieterlen maintained that the most important thing in the old way of worship was the practice of sacrifices, some of which were for the forgiveness of sin, others for thanksgiving and devotion. God made an important provision for a sacrifice for sin by all that Jesus did when he was sacrificed for the sins of the people. A person responds

¹¹²⁹Calvin, *Commentary on the Romans*, p. 300.

¹¹³⁰Genesis 12: 1-3.

¹¹³¹Genesis 17:15-21.

¹¹³²Malachi 1:1-3; Romans 9:13.

to God by sacrificing and devoting his body to him. As a lamb was presented for sacrifice on the altar, likewise, a Christian must consecrate his body to God. By doing so, he makes a living sacrifice not a dead one, but a living, working one of service to God.¹¹³³

Calvin averred,

We are consecrated to the Lord; for it hence follows, that we must cease to live to ourselves, in order that we may devote all the actions of our life to his service...In bidding us to present our bodies, he alludes to the Mosaic sacrifices, which were presented at the altar, as it were in the presence of God... Paul recommends to the Christian Church for being reconciled to God through the one only true sacrifice of Christ, we are all through his grace made priests, in order that we may dedicate ourselves and all we have to the glory of God.¹¹³⁴

According to Dieterlen, the old way of worship comprised, among others, the practice of sacrifices for several reasons such as forgiveness of sin, devotion, and thanksgiving. However, Christ's dying for people on the Cross, as a sacrifice, is God's exceptional, specific sacrifice for sin. One responds to this act of God by dedicating oneself to his service. This is what Dieterlen calls the devotion and consecration of one's body unto him. This should be done in a way that reflects the lamb which was presented for sacrifice on the altar in the old way of worship. A Christian likewise must do God's work with all his might and with a loving heart to become a living sacrifice to God.

Calvin averred that consecration to the Lord means ceasing to live to ourselves or doing as we please, to be devoted wholly to God. 'Presenting our bodies' does relate to the Law of

¹¹³³Taba e kholo ea borapeli ba khale e be ele mahlabelo, a mang e be e le a etsoang motho a tle a tsoareloe melato ea hae, a mang e le a teboho le boineelo. Molimo o entse sehlabelo se seholo sa libe ka hohle ho entsoeng ke Jesu, ea hlabetsoeng melato ea batho (3: 25-6). Motho o araba Molimo ka ho etsa sehlabelo sa boineelo ka 'mele oa hae... Joaloka nku ha e hlaisoa sehlabelong sa aletara, ka mokhoa o joalo, mokreste o tsoanetse ho khethela Molimo 'mele oa hae ... e tle ebe sehlabelo se phelang, e seng ntho e hlabiloeng, bolailoeng, ... empa e le ntho e phelang, e sebetlang, e sebeletsang Molimo. Dieterlen, *Hlaloso ea Baroma*, p. 166.

¹¹³⁴Calvin, *Commentary on the Romans*, pp. 391, 392.

Moses in as far as the sacrifices are concerned as well as their presentation on the altar in God's Temple. Paul wants the members of the Christian Church to be reconciled to God through Christ's only sacrifice. We are all made priests by the grace of God, and it is important to dedicate ourselves to the glory of God.

The succinct expositions by Calvin and Dieterlen continue to reveal a close expository kinship in the form and content. The devotion of oneself to the service of God as well as the consecration of our bodies should be our response to God's grace shown in Christ's sacrifice. However, one observes stylistic differences between Calvin and Dieterlen.

This assessment of biblical expositions by Dieterlen and Calvin from the letter to the Romans illustrate a very close expository kinship in form and content. The exhortative style of Dieterlen, in relation to Calvin's expository one, is observed. This marks the difference between the two in all the biblical expositions which have been examined. Nevertheless, it is important to point out that while Calvin limited his expositions to the text itself, Dieterlen's expositions seemed to have been directed to the Basuto in Basutoland. He was very direct and persuasive sometimes. The doctrinal similarities between Calvin and Dieterlen are found in justification by faith through the mercy of God alone. They claimed that justification by faith alone is the most important theme of the letter to the Romans. It is 'the crux of [Paul's] message to the Romans' or 'the principal point or a hinge of the first part of this Epistle.'

They maintained that Christians are put right before God by faith through the mercy of God alone. This righteousness comes by believing in God, that is, by faith alone and is not based on the works of the law. Moreover, faith is the gracious gift of God to humanity. This is a foundational thought of Reformed theology which one finds in the works of the Reformer Martin Luther. Calvin may have inherited it from Luther, but, as for Dieterlen, he inherited it from his uncle Gustave Steinheil who was a staunch Lutheran elder. Dieterlen was raised in the Lutheran background. This point is discussed in Chapter Three of this study.

A Christian, being dead to sin, does not imply that he is no longer without sin. But being dead to sin means a Christian's intent not to continue sinning and the power to do that. This is made possible by the death of Jesus Christ on the Cross which enables a Christian to receive through faith, an undeserved grace and mercy from God. Living to sin means 'perpetual transgression against God' and being dead to sin is the opposite. While Calvin and Dieterlen believed that a Christian continues to be a sinner before God, a Christian's faith on the death of Christ makes sin to no longer have power over him or her. For this reason, a Christian is dead to sin. Baptism, as one of the sacraments(an outward visible sign of an inward invisible grace commanded by Christ), gives more clarity to this. A Christian by being baptised participates in the death of Christ by being buried with him by dying in his sin and rising with him in newness of life. It, thus, follows that Christ 's death and resurrection have the power to put an end to the sinful nature in humanity as well as to bring about a new and better life.

Calvin and Dieterlen stressed the total depravity of man. Man by himself cannot choose God or incline to do good, unless he is aided by the Holy Spirit. Thus, man have the propensity for sinning, it is the gracious act of God that puts an end to that by the work of the Holy Spirit. God's sovereignty allows him to choose people and choose not according to his own good pleasure. God does not consider the works of the law or one's faith in his election. The typical example of this is found in the descendants of Abraham where Esau was chosen over Ishmael and Jacob over Isaac. Ishmael and Isaac were elder sons, but God rejected them.

While we may think that Ishmael was rejected because he was not the child of the promise, as he was born from Abraham's concubine, and that Isaac was chosen because he was the son of the promise, the election between the twins (Isaac and Jacob) gives more clarity that God chooses people and chooses not for his own good reason. Before the twins were born and having committed no sin yet, God chose one over the other. This explicitly shows that God's election is not influenced by works or faith. God is infinite and at the same time sovereign.

Calvin's debatable and controversial doctrine of predestination is based on God's election. Predestination is discussed in detail later in this chapter.

The death of Jesus on the Cross or his sacrifice is a great debt to the Christians. It makes them grateful and gives them the reason to be devoted in the service of the Lord as well as consecrating their bodies to the Gospel course. Christ's only sacrifice unites Christians and make them one under Him.

8.4 A Gospel that is not European

A Gospel that is not European is one of the recurrent themes in Dieterlen's writings. For example, it appeared in the article that he wrote in the *Leselinyana la Lesotho* under the title, "Na batho ba batšo ba tla kena leholimong?" (Will black people enter heaven?) in 1893,¹¹³⁵ in his address to the General Missionary Conference held in Johannesburg in 1906¹¹³⁶ and in his commentary on the Romans published in 1912.

Dieterlen has organised his commentary on the Romans in such a way that each section ends with a summary of the main points or lessons or conclusions to be drawn from in that part. Dieterlen's statement which this sub-topic examines appears in the summary of Romans 1:1-7.

Dieterlen noted the following as the concluding points:

Jesus is Lord. He saves his people and thus His people must trust, serve and listen to him.¹¹³⁷ God has enduring plans which He executes in his own good time. He does not hasten or delay carrying them out.¹¹³⁸ Jesus was not a European or an English speaker and neither was His teaching affected by the manners of others (the English). He was from Asia or the Middle

¹¹³⁵Dieterlen, "Na batho ba batšo ba tla kena leholimong?" (Will black people enter heaven?), *Leselinyana la Lesotho*, December 15, 1893, p. 1.

¹¹³⁶Dieterlen, "The preparation of Native Ministers," in *Report of the proceedings of the Second General Missionary Conference* (Johannesburg, 1907).

¹¹³⁷Jesu ke Morena. Morena o boloka batho ba hae, batho ba hae ba tšoaetse ho motšepa, ho mo utloa le ho mosebeletsa. Dieterlen, *Hlaloso ea Baroma*, p.4

¹¹³⁸Merero ea Molimo e melele ; ha o tate, ha o liehe; o sebetsa ka nako e tšoanelehang. *Ibid.*

East, a Jew. People who claim that Christianity resembles only that which pertains to the European mind set are making a mistake as well as a calumny.¹¹³⁹ The resurrection of Jesus testifies that he was the Son of God. This should help us to believe all other things about Him.¹¹⁴⁰ We are called by God, forgiven our sins and given the Holy Spirit. How can we forget or throw away these gifts or be unequally yoked with the unbelievers?¹¹⁴¹

Dieterlen wanted to set the record straight; Christianity did not have its origins in Europe but in the Middle East. Perhaps it was the arrogance of some Europeans in Africa, who behaved as if Christianity was cradled in Europe which made him make this clarification. It seems that he discouraged haughtiness among his countrymen.

The foregoing is a simplification of Dieterlen's statement of a Gospel that is not European. However, as an undercurrent in this statement there is an element of the colonial attitude. He only wanted to put Jesus in another race, as pointed out in Chapter Three of this study. The history as well as the etymology of the word 'race' is an interesting one. English borrowed it from the French *rás*, which in turn borrowed from Italian *razza* meaning breed or kind or lineage. It was understood in the same way as ethnicity in the Middle Ages by the English and was used interchangeable in reference to groups of people with a common origin or descent. In the 1700s, the European colonial agents gave a new meaning to it, as they sort people by their place of origin and skin colour, 'creating the social hierarchy which served as the foundation of slavery.'¹¹⁴²

The 19th century Christian missionaries followed suit about the people that they evangelised. They deemed themselves to be of a superior race to that of their converts. Hence

¹¹³⁹ Jesu e ne ese mo-Europe, e ne e se lekhoa; le thuto ea hae ha se sekhoa; e ne e le mo-Asia, mo- Jode. Batho ba reng bojakane ke sekhoa ba bolela phoso le ketselletso. *Ibid.*

¹¹⁴⁰ Tsoho ea Jesu ke bopaki bo boholo hore ba hore e ne e le mora oa Molimo. Ea kholoang hore Jesu o ne a shoele sefapanong o boetse o phela leholimong , a ka lesa joang ho lumela litaba tsohle tse ling tsa hae?

¹¹⁴¹ Re bitsitsoe ke Molimo, re tsoaretsoe libe, re neiloe moea o Halalelang. Re ka lumela joang ho lebala le ho lahla limpho tse kale, le ho jara joko ele 'ngoe le bas a lumelang? *Ibid.*

¹¹⁴² D. Hays, *The Gospel & Racial Reconciliation, The Gospel for life series*, edited by Russel Moore and Andrew T. Walker (Nashville: B&H, 2016).

their general tendency to impose their cultural mores in the mission fields, that converts ended up unable to delineate between the Gospel and the European culture. While Dieterlen was against racial prejudice, as could be seen in his address to the General Missionary Conference held in Johannesburg in 1906,¹¹⁴³ he remained an imperialist who supported colonialism.

The statement of a Gospel that is not European resurfaces in the American as well as the European notion of race as propounded in the 18th and 19th centuries. Writers and thinkers of that time, in the likes of Thomas Jefferson,¹¹⁴⁴ for instance, strongly believed in the inequality of races which they claimed was determined by their characteristics.¹¹⁴⁵ Dieterlen seems to have been a player who followed through with this ideology. This is seen in his derogatory language when he wrote about the Basuto throughout his missionary tenure in Basutoland. However, it must be pointed out that he abhorred crude racism.

The Holy Scriptures do not portray humankind in terms of race or ethnicity, as was propounded by European imperialists and colonialists. It consistently depicts humankind or all people of all races and ethnicities as created in the image of God. That makes them equal before God and at the same time, that differentiates them from the animals.¹¹⁴⁶ As a matter of fact, Scripture consistently speaks of humankind as nations or nationalities with no distinction or classification.¹¹⁴⁷ The self-established supposition that one race is superior to another is a total denial of this fact. Scripture cautions, 'Whoever oppresses a poor man

¹¹⁴³ Dieterlen, "The preparation of Native Ministers," in *Report of the proceedings of the Second General Missionary Conference* (Johannesburg, 1907), p. 48.

¹¹⁴⁴ Thomas Jefferson (1743-1826) was the third president of the United States of America from 1801 to 1809. He was a minister to France in 1785 to 1789 and was the first secretary of state from 1789 to 1794. He fought for American independence from Britain. He was influenced by English and French political theory. He was a deist who advocated for religious freedom and tolerance. However, his stance on slavery is debatable as he owned over 600 slaves working in his household and on his plantations.

¹¹⁴⁵ H. R. Niebuhr, *Christ and Culture* (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1951), pp. 91-92.

¹¹⁴⁶ Genesis 1.

¹¹⁴⁷ Genesis 12:3, Matthew, 29: 19 & Revelation 7:9.

insults his Maker, but he who is generous to the needy honours Him’ and ‘Whoever mocks the poor insults his Maker.’¹¹⁴⁸

These biblical texts indicate explicitly that anyone who oppresses or mocks the poor because of their socio-economic status insults God, their maker. This is also true of European racial prejudice, imperialism as well as colonialism in Africa.¹¹⁴⁹

Furthermore, a Gospel that is not European is a common theme in the writings of the proponents of African Christian theology. For example, Mugambi notes, ‘The dominant missionary opinion in the past has been that Christian identity is identical with Western culture and religious heritage. We have seen that this is a mistaken view.’¹¹⁵⁰

A similar position to Mugambi can also be found in the works of Chukwudi A. Njoku,¹¹⁵¹ Sebusiso Masondo,¹¹⁵² M. M. Sepota¹¹⁵³ and Lamin Sanneh, for more examples.¹¹⁵⁴ African scholars as well as some Westerns lament the cultural superiority that characterised the lives of the early missionaries to Africa. Dieterlen might have experienced this problem among the missionary corps, hence his contention of a Gospel that is not European. The Gospel or Christ cannot be classified as European. Christ as well as his Gospel is for all people.

¹¹⁴⁸ Proverbs 14:31, 17:5a

¹¹⁴⁹ See, D. Hays, *The Gospel & Racial Reconciliation, The Gospel for life series*, edited by Russel Moore and Andrew T. Walker (Nashville: B&H, 2016).

¹¹⁵⁰ J.N.K. Mugambi, “Christianity and the African Cultural heritage,” in *African Christianity: An African Story*, eds, O.U. Kalu, J. Hofmeyr, P. J. Maritz, Series 5, Volume 3 (Department of Church History, University of Pretoria, 2005), pp.520-521.

¹¹⁵¹ A.Njoku, “The Missionary factor in African Christianity, 1884-1914,” in *African Christianity : An African Story*, p. 229.

¹¹⁵² S. Masondo, “Ironies of Christian Presence in Southern Africa,” in *Journal of the study of Religion* 31, 2 (2018), pp. 209-231.

¹¹⁵³ M.M. Sepota, “The destruction of African Culture by Christianity” in *South African Journal, Folk-law Studies* 9, 2 (1998), pp. 23-27.

¹¹⁵⁴ L. Sanneh, *Whose religion is Christianity? The Gospel beyond the West* (Grand Rapids: William Eerdmans, 2003), p. 105.

8.5 “Heathens” and Jews should not be judged in the same way

Dieterlen noted that the wrath of God is just and holy, but that of man is bad, as it is accompanied by evil. God’s wrath is often earned by those who do not keep his law and who continue sinning and suppressing His truth. According to Calvin, the truth of God constitutes the true knowledge of God¹¹⁵⁵. God's wrath is manifested in God’s punishment of every blasphemy and every wrongdoing as well as every transgression of his law. Man, because of his finite nature, cannot fully comprehend God and his works. Moreover, God is infinite. All people have a natural knowledge of God. God reveals His knowledge in people’s souls as well as in his creation. In this way, no one can claim not to know Him. Nonetheless, man did not make use of the knowledge of God, instead he allowed himself the liberty of ignoring the goodness of God and became superstitious as well as idolatrous.¹¹⁵⁶

Dieterlen underlined the following points in this section:

He maintained that while a person may not blaspheme God with words, he is still guilty of dishonouring him by his actions. To suppress truth with crooked actions is a common thing. It is to kill oneself.¹¹⁵⁷ If one sees those who have the true knowledge of God looking at gods as well as *balimo* (the living-dead or departed ancestors), one immediately realises how lost the people who are attached to the gods or *balimo* are. One finds this ignorance

¹¹⁵⁵ Calvin, *Commentary on the Romans*, p. 47.

¹¹⁵⁶ Bohale ba Molimo kekhalefo ea ona. Khalefo ea motho e kopane le bobbe, e mpe; khalefo ea Molimo e hloekile ea halalela... O boulela molao oa oona le batho ba Oona. O halefela ke hona sebe le ea etsang sebe... ba koallang ‘nete ea Molimo teronkong ka mekoallo ea bobbe boo ba bo ratang le ho bo etsa... Bohale bona bo bonahala ka...ho otlala nyefole e ngoe le e ngoe le ho otlala bokhopo bo bong le bo bong [le] eng le eng eo motho a siteloang molao... Motho o sitoa ho tsebisisa Molimo le tsohle tsa Oona. Ka hobane Molimo o mofeta., o mofeta hole-hole. Empa motho a ka ‘na a elelloa litaba tse ling tse kholo tsa boleng ba Oona, tse ka lemohuoang ke moea oa hae; batho bohle ba kholoa hoba ho na le ea ba phahametseng, e leng Molimo.; le boleng ba Oona ba bo tseba. Ka ‘nqa e ‘ngoe ka hobane ba bopetsoe ho tseba tse joalo... Batho ba atisa ho hopola matla a Molimo ha ba boha tse bopiloeng ke oona, empa ba lemoha bomolimo ba Oona ha ba elelloa ka moo tse sebetsoang ke oona li entsoeng ka bohlale le ka lerato, e leng seo motho a ke keng a se etsa, se fetang motho... ba sitoe ho itatola le ho itlhatsoa ka hore , bona ha ba ka ba bontsoa Molimo ka mesebetsi ea Oona, ba re ha ba na molato ke hona. Ea itlhatsoang joalo o bolela leshano. Tsebo ea Molimo ha ba ka ba e sebelisa bophelong ba bona, ba e nyopisitse, ba phela joalo ka hoja ha ba o tsebe...ha ba ka ba busetsa teboho ho Oona...ba nahana mafela, ba tšepa mafela joale ka ho paka mekhoha ea bahedene. Dietelen, Hlaloso ea *Ba-Roma* pp. 14-15.

¹¹⁵⁷ Le ha motho a sa nyefole Molimo ka molomo, o ntse a le molato ha a o tlotlolla ka liketso tsa hae. Ho hatella ‘nete ka bokhopo ke mokhoa o atileng haholo; ke ho ipolaea. *Ibid*, p.16.

astonishing.¹¹⁵⁸ What a fool is the person who does not commit himself to the things of God or does not keep his mind on them. He thinks about the trivial matters of this world, believes in vanities such as divining bones, ghosts and traditional doctors.¹¹⁵⁹ A heart that is not discerning, that is not educated is dull and does not function properly. There are many people who are like that. Their good sense of things is dead. But a heart that is continually renewed by the truth as well as by the spirit of God, has goodness gushing out of it and adorns its owner.¹¹⁶⁰

In short, Dieterlen basically directed his expositions to the Basuto and their context. He warned them that there is no excuse for the heathens who do not know God and they will get the condemnation which they deserve. He saw crookedness and self-condemnation in the fact that some of the Basuto in principle embraced Christianity, but at the same time behaved differently from the way expected of them. God has revealed the God-self in creation, but instead of giving him his due respect and reverence the Basuto had chosen to ignore him. Instead, they worshipped and venerated *balimo* (the departed ancestors). He found it pathetic as well fallacious that the Basuto were so attached to the *balimo*. For him the knowledge of God was sufficient and desirable for all people. He was also disappointed by the fact that the Basuto would not do away with some of their traditional beliefs such as the divining bones, ghosts and traditional medicine practices which, the missionaries deemed to be not in line with Christianity. Dieterlen had expected them to fully embrace Christianity, to take pleasure in it and in the Word of God. According to Dieterlen, religious instruction was indispensable. It made people better people and without its life has no meaning. Anyone who continually receives it yields good fruits.

¹¹⁵⁸Ha u tseba seo Molimo oa 'nete o leng sona, 'me otalima ho bitsoang balimo, u tla lemoha bolahlehi ba batho ba khorametseng melimo le balimo, u tsote bothoto ba bona. *Ibid.*

¹¹⁵⁹A booatla ba motho ea sa kenyang litaba tsa Molimo kelellong le hloohong ea hae. O nahana tse nyenyane, tsa lefeela, o tšepa mafeela-feelane: litaola, lithotsela, baloi, bongaka bo satsebisahaleng. *Ibid.*

¹¹⁶⁰Pelo e hlokang kelello, e sa hlalefisoeng, ea fifala, e be e site ho phetha mosebetsi oa eona. Batho ba lipelo tse joalo ba bangata. Seliba sa maikutlo le sa merero e lokileng se pshele. A the pelo e ntseng e nchafatsoa ka 'nete le moea oa Molimo e kola botle, e khabisa monga eona. *Ibid.*

Calvin discussed the knowledge of God in book one of his *Institutes of the Christian Religion*. He noted that the knowledge of God is intrinsic in every person. A person is born with a sense that there is a Supreme Being or deity that has to be worshipped. He maintained that even idolatry alluded to the knowledge of God. Nonetheless, he posited that it is a corrupted knowledge of God.¹¹⁶¹ Furthermore, he averred that the knowledge of God is conspicuous in creation. All creation testifies to the existence of God.¹¹⁶² This concurs with and buttresses Dieterlen's exposition on the knowledge of God.

8.6 Heathens are under condemnation

Dieterlen believed that God's punishment on heathens, as written about in this part, will come to pass on the judgement day, as other writers also believed. At the same time, he believed that part of the punishment was already taking place. He mentioned foolishness and dullness of the heart found in heathens as an example. He maintained that Paul has illustrated those who made a joke or a lie of the knowledge of God by giving themselves up to idolatry and superstition and claiming it as wisdom, would be most severely punished.¹¹⁶³

Calvin concurred with this point, but headed, 'All nations are under consideration here not only the philosophers. He maintained that all people have the propensity to create God according to how they conceived of him as well as 'their carnal reason'.¹¹⁶⁴

Dieterlen further explained that when God abandons a person, that person's life becomes miserable and is exposed to despicable sins that even contravene the order of creation as well

¹¹⁶¹Calvin, *The Institutes of the Christian Religion*, 1.3.1,4.1.

¹¹⁶²*Ibid*, 1.5.1.

¹¹⁶³Ba bangata ba bolela hobane likotlo tsa ba babe litla phethahala mohla letsatsi la kahlolo ea la bofelo. 'Nge 'ngoe ho joalo. Empa likotlo tse ling ke tsa mehla ea joale. Re se re bone booatla le ho fifala ha lipelo, e leng likotlo kapa litholoana tsa bohedene. Pauluse o re bontša tse ling, tse fetisang, tseo Molimo o khalemelang ka tsona batho ba tlolang molao oa boraro o reng: U se ke oa iketsetsa setšoantšo le tlolo tse ling. Dieterlen, *Hlaloso ea Baroma*, p.17.

¹¹⁶⁴Calvin, *Commentary on the Romans*, p. 51.

as how God had created man. For instance, they resort to prostitution instead of marriage and the procreation and upbringing of children.¹¹⁶⁵

Dieterlen concluded this section by underlining these points:

When God abandons a person, that person's ruination is all embracing, it affects his or her heart, spirit and mind as well as actions. The knowledge of the holy God makes a person holy.¹¹⁶⁶ A person must strive to learn about God continuously and God must always come first.¹¹⁶⁷ There are many sins committed among people and some people invent new ones which they take from other nationalities in the goldmines.¹¹⁶⁸

In summary, God's punishment on heathens will take place on judgement day. It will be a day of reckoning for them. God's judgement would be impartial and would be based on a person's deeds. They will have to answer for every sin, lie and foolish act that they committed on earth. They would be abandoned of God and that will result in utter ruination on their part. There will be no hope of salvation for them or anyone and only their knowledge of God will save them. It should not just be a mere knowledge of the brain, but it should be knowledge that emanates from the heart and finds expression in faith. It is this kind of knowledge that makes people's lives better. Thus, God must be sought-after and must always come first. Dieterlen lamented that there were so many sins among people. He observed that the Basuto who went to work in the gold mining industry brought back home new sins or new bad ways from there. The gold mining industry brought together diverse nationalities from different parts of Southern Africa. That social intercourse had a bad influence on the mine workers who took back home the bad examples that they learned in the

¹¹⁶⁵Molimo ...ka ho tlohela motho , o honyetsa letsoho la oona le neng le sa ntse le motšoere ; joale motho eo,...o eketsa ho etsa bobe; ho senyeha ha hae ho tsoela pele...ka hlaha liketso tse tšabehang tse fapaneng le molao oa popo le botho. *Ibid.* p. 17.

¹¹⁶⁶Ha Molimo o sutha pela motho, motho o sala a senyeha, a bole pelong, moeeng, kelellong le liketsong. Tsebo ea Molimo o halalelang e halaletsa motho.*Ibid.*

¹¹⁶⁷Motho o tšoanetse ho ithuta Molimo ka phehello. Oho, Molimo, a nke ke u bee ka pela ka mehla. *Ibid.*

¹¹⁶⁸Libe li se li le ngata hara batho; empa ba bang ba ba qapela tse ncha, ba li lata makhooeng, Gaudeng, lichabeng tse ling, ba li tlisa hae.*Ibid.*, p. 21.

gold mines.' Mamonyane Pascaline Mohale argued that the devastating effects of poverty and diseases in developing countries were linked to the influences coming out of colonialism. The introduction of tax forced multitudes of Africans to abandon agriculture to work in South African farms, on the railway roads and goldmine related industries. The paltry sum of money which the mineworkers earned was often shared with concubines and very little or nothing was sent back home. That promoted poverty and diseases.¹¹⁶⁹

Philippe Denis, on the other hand, bemoans what he calls, *A Case of Pastoral Myopia? The South African Church's Ambiguous Response to the Erosion of Family Life in the Early Years of the Migrant Labour System*. He laments the silence of the Church about the erosion of family life caused by the migrant labour systems. The migrant labourers spend lengthy periods away from their families and that impacted badly on their families.¹¹⁷⁰ Dieterlen seemed to have been aware of the problems arising out of the migrant labour system with his mentioning of the new sins invented or brought back home from the mining industries and yet he did nothing about it.

8.7 Jews are also under condemnation

Dieterlen went on to illustrate that the people who have not received the Gospel have access to natural laws and should be judged accordingly. "Heathens" and Jews should not be judged in the same way. While the Jews had access to the law of Moses, the heathens did not. They had the natural law.¹¹⁷¹ This is another recurring theme in Dieterlen's works. For instance, in

¹¹⁶⁹ M. P. Mohale, "The role of primary health care in the prevention of disability in Lesotho" (England: University of Bristol, 1992), pp.13-14. (a Master's degree dissertation).

¹¹⁷⁰ P. Denis, "A Case of Pastoral Myopia? The South African Church's Ambiguous Response to the Erosion of Family Life in the Early Years of the Migrant Labor System," *International Journal of African Historical Studies* Vol. 50, No. 3 (2017), pp.439-460.

¹¹⁷¹ "...bohle ba sitiloeng ba se na molao ba tla timela ba se na molao. Bao ke bahedene, e leng ba sa kang ba neoa molao oa Moshe...ba ke ke ba ahloloa ka oona, empa ba tla timela ho se molao oa Moshe...Ha e le bohle ba sitiloeng ba ena le molao, e leng ba-Jude, ... ba tla ahloloa ka molao oo ba neng bao neiloe...Bahedene... ba na le molao ka ho bona, e leng oa botho, oa hlalo, ho ka thoe, mohedene ke molao ho mohedene, molao oa hae ke letsoalo la hae. Dieterlen, *Hlaloso ea Baroma*, pp.28,29.

1897, he wrote articles in the *Leselinyana la Lesotho* that expounded on the Decalogue. When dealing with the second section of the Decalogue which deals with man's duty to the neighbour,¹¹⁷² he highlighted the fact that Moses gave weight to the natural law. He maintained that committing murder, adultery, stealing, giving false witness and covetousness of others' properties are forbidden even among the "heathens", while at the same time, honouring parents is promoted.¹¹⁷³ It is important to point out that Dieterlen did not base what he wrote on any biblical text. He just discussed the Ten Commandments. Expounding on Romans 2: 14-15, he noted that the Ten Commandments were engraved upon the hearts of the Basuto and were also part of their inherent, natural ways, as they detested those things that are detested in the commandments.¹¹⁷⁴ Committing murder, stealing and similar actions, as discussed above, is the case in point. Dieterlen expressly warned the Basuto that if they violate the natural law using the excuse of ignorance, God will punish them. They knew those things because they had the natural law.¹¹⁷⁵ It thus follows, that the "heathens" and Jews should not be judged in the same way. The former should be judged by the law of nature, as F.F. Bruce notes,

If the knowledge of God's character was available to them through the starry heavens above (cf. i.20), it was also available to them through the moral law within. They did not have the law of Moses, as the Jews had, but they had the law of conscience, the distinction between right and wrong, engraved upon their hearts.¹¹⁷⁶

¹¹⁷²Exodus 20:12-17.

¹¹⁷³Dieterlen, "Molao oa bohloko" *Leselinyana la Lesotho*, April 15, 1897, p. 1; Dieterlen, "Molao oa boroba meno e 'meli, *Leselinyana la Lesotho*, July 1, 1897, p.1. Cf. Dieterlen, *Hlaloso ea Baroma*, pp. 30-31.

¹¹⁷⁴Re fela re tseba hobane bahedene ba Lesotho ba fumana lipelong tsa bona le mekhoeng ea bona ea hlalo melao e leshome(e batla ele eona) kaofela, ba nyatsa se nyatsuoang ke eona. Dieterlen, *Hlaloso ea Baroma*, p. 29.

¹¹⁷⁵Molao oa hlalo o bonahala haholo mekhoeng ea hlalo ea Basuto; Sesotho se nyatsa bofebe, le polao, le bosholu, le ketsetso, se laela bana ho utloa baholo ba bona. Le ha batho ba tlola melao eo ea hlalo e ntse ele teng ; 'me ba tla ahlolola holima eona. Mohedene a se ke a itlhatsoa ka horeke ne kesatsebe. Oa tseba. *Ibid*, pp. 30-31.

¹¹⁷⁶F.F. Bruce, *Tyndale New Testament Commentaries: The epistle of Paul to the Romans*, p.89.

The Jews, on the other hand, should be judged by the law of Moses, ‘for they had access to that source of divine knowledge.’ Be that as it may, Bruce contends, ‘Whether the will of God is known by the law of Moses or by the law of the conscience, knowledge of his will is not enough; it is the doing of his will that counts.’¹¹⁷⁷

8.8 “Superstitions” of the “heathens” deserve condemnation

Superstition, in Calvin’s view, is the neglect and the replacing of divine providence with a belief in supernatural powers. He believed, ‘God is the Creator of the world: having created it, He remains its absolute master, takes an interest in it, intervenes in it at every moment, and abandons none of His power to the blind play of natural laws, still less to chance.’¹¹⁷⁸ What was contrary to this thought in Calvin’s view was superstition. Thus, superstition entailed robbing God of his power and attributing it to something which did not have any power.

Dieterlen thought of Basuto customs in this way, particularly circumcision. He saw it as a stumbling block to conversion. He noted that the missionaries used civilisation to achieve high goals. They founded schools; they advised the pagans to change their natural way of life. Why? Quite simply, to facilitate the progress of the Gospel, to shatter superstitions and to destroy bad routines, traditions and prejudices which kept the pagans far from God.¹¹⁷⁹

The foregoing statement is a summary of Dieterlen’s mission and purpose in Basutoland. Civilisation, according to him, entailed embracing the Gospel. While education prepared the way for it and helped to ward off superstitions, bad traditions as well as prejudices, circumcision was so important for the Basuto that they did not have time to ponder on the things of God. Thus, it became a superstition of some kind.

¹¹⁷⁷*Ibid.*

¹¹⁷⁸ Wendel, *Calvin: Origin and development of his religious thought*, p. 177.

¹¹⁷⁹ Dieterlen, *Pourquoi les missions ? Réflexions d’un missionnaire*.

In the *commentary on the Romans*, Dieterlen disparages the rite. Twice he wrote against it.¹¹⁸⁰

This shows how determined he was to eradicate it. He maintained that to the Jews circumcision symbolised that a person had entered a covenant with God, whereas to the Basuto it symbolised that a person had no covenant with God and his law. The similarity between the two rites is seen in what is done with the knife, but it is their spiritual meaning that accounts for the difference. While it is alleged that the initiation lodge is the school of Moses and the Basuto are therefore the descendants of Abraham by their circumcision, this is a lie and blasphemy.¹¹⁸¹

To the Jews, the rite symbolized their union with God. They were His children who were guided by His law. To the Basuto, it was otherwise. It signified disunion with God and his law. Thus, the claim that Basuto initiation lodges were schools where the law of Moses was taught and that that qualified them to be descendants of Abraham was an exaggeration.

In his campaigns for missions as well as his justification for the significance of missions in *Pourquoi les missions? Réflexions d'un missionnaire*, he mentioned, among others, that the pagan is a child who does not know his father and who is in the power of a being who only wishes him harm. He ignores his dignity, his duties, the happiness which, as a man, he could achieve in the world to come. He knows only the few words about the law of God that his mutilated conscience stirs in him, suffocated by prejudices, superstition and vices, when this conscience is not destroyed. He is directed by his whim, his instincts and the customs of his father.¹¹⁸²

¹¹⁸⁰Dieterlen, *Hlaloso ea Baroma*, pp. 36, 54.

¹¹⁸¹Lebollo la ba-Jude e ne e le letšoao la hore motho o kentsoe kapa o kene seleaneng sa Molimo le molaong oa Oona. La Basuto ke letšoao la hore motho ha kena seleaneng sa Molimo le molaong oa oona. Se sebetsoang ka thipa ke ntho e le ngoe; empa se ka lipelong se fapane ha bohloko. Le ha ho thoe mophato ke sekolo sa Moshe, kapa Basuto ke litloholo tsa Abrahama ka lebollo ke leshano feela le nyefolo. Dieterlen, *Hlaloso ea Ba-Roma*, pp. 36.

¹¹⁸² Dieterlen, *Pourquoi les missions ? Réflexions d'un missionnaire*.

The life of a pagan is characterised by ignorance. He does not know his creator, his father and is under the sway of a harmful influence and power that will eventually harm him. His ignorance makes him too slapdash e.g. He does not care about his dignity, duties or responsibilities or his future. He has no aspirations for a blissful future in the world to come. However, his conscience, though damaged, is a beacon of hope in him. It speaks to him amidst this prejudices, superstition and vices. His whims, instincts, as well as his traditional heritage or the customs of his father dominate his life.¹¹⁸³

This pagan, continued Dieterlen, is responsible for his sins, although in different ways and different degrees ...He will be judged by God, his conscience taking the place of law and establishing his responsibility...When God collects his people, the pagan will not be among the eligible. It is mysterious, it is painful, but it is written. Some people will be “saved” and other people will not be “saved”.¹¹⁸⁴

The above statement reinforces what was discussed earlier that the pagans will one day answer for their sins. God will judge them by their consciences which served them as law for their lives. Their superstition will render them ineligible to enter the kingdom of God. Hence their superstition deserves condemnation. It must be pointed out, however, that Dieterlen ‘s tirade against circumcision makes it seem as if Calvin’s detestation of the Roman Catholic rituals was transferred to the rites of the Basuto.

Calvin was opposed to Lent and thought of it as a superstition. He argued that Christ in the beginning of his ministry did not fast to set an example to be followed, but for the promulgation of the Gospel.¹¹⁸⁵ He was also critical of the Catholics’ gesture of bowing to statues and claiming that they did not worship them, but what they represented.¹¹⁸⁶ This too was a superstition that contravened the second commandment. Mass and Christ’s corporeal

¹¹⁸³ *ibid.*

¹¹⁸⁴ *ibid.*

¹¹⁸⁵ Calvin, *Institutes*, 4.12.20.

¹¹⁸⁶ Calvin, *Commentaries on the four last books of Moses*, abridged in the form of a harmony, Vol. 1 (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Baker Books, 2009), p. 109.

presence in it was another case in point. The Catholics claim that they eat him alive.¹¹⁸⁷ These examples should suffice to illustrate the Roman Catholics' rituals detested by the Genevan Reformer. No doubt he believed that they deserved condemnation.

Dieterlen was also very critical of the superstitions of the Roman Catholics in their rituals. Expounding on the second commandment, he maintained that the bad use of images is found in the Roman Catholic Church.

However, it was not in his nature to offend others, so he acknowledged that there are many things which the Protestants have in common with the Catholics which are by far more important than their differences.

A Roman Catholic, noted Dieterlen, wears around the neck something like a coin with an image of Mary, the mother of Jesus, on it. That coin is not a decoration, but it is believed to bring blessing of some kind. It is worn around the neck like the charms of the heathens. This act contravenes the second law of Moses. Some Catholics wear a cloth over their chest with an image of Mary on it. This is called a scapular cloth. Soldiers going to war wear it with the belief that it will protect them from the bullets. This too violates the law of God by trusting in a cloth rather than God. The Catholic Churches have a statue of the apostle Peter. People approach this statue in adoration as well as in faith and kiss its thumb. This too is to trust in a graven image rather than God. The images of Mary are there in all the Roman Catholic Churches. People kneel and worship them. A Roman Catholic leaves an image of Mary in his locality and takes a long journey to worship another famous image believed to be more powerful. This too violates the second commandment. The Catholics believe in holy water which is commonly used among them as well as the bones of the saints from which, they believe, to receive blessings when praying near them or touching them. All these show the

¹¹⁸⁷ Calvin, *Institutes*, 4. 18.1.

danger of images. A man of God knows, ‘God is spirit, and those who worship Him must worship Him in spirit and in truth.’ (John 4:24).¹¹⁸⁸

All these amounted to superstition and deserved condemnation according to Calvin and Dieterlen.

8.9 The tyranny of Calvin’s God

The God of Calvin is a harsh God who condemns and punishes his creatures and Dieterlen seems to agree with this. There is something pessimistic in this theology even though there is also an emphasis on grace and redemption.

Wendel notes,

The seed of the Word of God takes root and grows fruitful only in those whom the Lord, by his eternal election, has predestined to be his children and heirs of the heavenly kingdom. To all the others who, by the same counsel of God before the constitution of the world, are reprobate, the clear and evident preaching of the truth can be nothing else but an odour of death in death.¹¹⁸⁹

the Word of God mediates between God and his people. It is an instrument through which God reaches to his people. The preaching of it yields two diverse responses. To some it brings life or the favour of God (election), whereas to others it brings death or the rejection of God (reprobation). Election and reprobation are both divine wills. They come from God as divine plans for his people. They are both warranted by God.

‘We call predestination,’ Wendel explains, ‘the eternal decree of God by which he decided what he would do with each man. For he does not create them all in like condition, but ordains some to eternal life, the others to eternal damnation.’¹¹⁹⁰

¹¹⁸⁸Dieterlen, “Molao oa bobeli,” *Leselinyana la Lesotho*, February 15, 1897, p. 1.

¹¹⁸⁹ Calvin, *The French Catechism* (Geneva, 1537). Quoted in Wendel, *Calvin, origins and development of his religious thought*, p. 266

¹¹⁹⁰Wendel, *Calvin, origins and development of his religious thought*, p. 272; Calvin, *Institutes*, 3.21.5.

Thus, predestination consists of election and reprobation, both emanating from God since the beginning of time. Neither is subordinate to the other nor is a result of the other. God created each person with a definite end only known to God.

MacNeill explains this conundrum thus,

The elect owes God gratitude and obedience; the reprobate may not question God's justice or wisdom...by which they are left in their state of alienation and damnation.

That it is God's will is its justification; argumentative reason may not intrude. 'God hath mercy on whom he will have mercy, and whom he will hardeneth' (Romans 9:18).¹¹⁹¹

The foregoing statement adds clarity to this decree of God and at the same time, it becomes even more unjust and cruel, as the reprobate are unable to question their plight before God.

Wendel elaborated, 'The preaching of the word does not equally move all those that hear it, but bears its fruits only in the elect, whereas to the reprobate it brings only death.'¹¹⁹²

There is no partiality in the God of Calvin, and this is the heart of the problem. He chooses some to be in his kingdom and at the same time, does not choose others. He condemns them. There are no valid reasons for this. This is according to his good pleasure. Humanly speaking, this is unjust and unfair. God is the father of all people, and they all owe their existence unto Him. Then why does he choose some over others?

This is the 'enigma of reprobation' and 'the mystery of election,' in which the Word of God is an arbitrary judge.¹¹⁹³ This makes God a tyrant God who punishes his children for no good reason.

¹¹⁹¹ J. T. McNeill, *The history and character of Calvinism* (London: Oxford University Press, 1954), p.211.

¹¹⁹² *Ibid*, p. 266.

¹¹⁹³ G.J Spykman, *Reformational Theology, A new paradigm of doing Dogmatics* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1995), p. 510.

Wendel maintains, ‘The reason why some accept, and others reject it [the Gospel] is to be sought only in God, in a decision of his will which is incomprehensible to us and which we must not even seek to penetrate.’¹¹⁹⁴

Calvin taught double predestination and believed that God ‘s sovereignty is seen in the fact that he accepts some into His kingdom by allowing them to be moved by His Word and rejects others by hardening them. This is his divine will and decision and is not to be questioned, unjust as it may seem and incomprehensible as it is. God is infinite, whereas man is finite. Ergo, Man should not go beyond what God has revealed unto him. Not everything about God is revealed; what has been revealed is meant to enable His children to obey Him. Thus, ‘The secret things belong to the LORD our God, but the things that are revealed belong to us and to our children forever, that we may do all the words of this law.’¹¹⁹⁵

Dieterlen followed Calvin’s thought of double predestination. He maintained that God is merciful or not merciful according to his pleasure. But His will works together with His righteousness and knowledge. He is merciful for a reason, hardened by a reason. It thus follows that God is merciful to the elect and not merciful to the reprobate for his own reasons or according to his good pleasure or for his purpose and grace. This is determined by his will and is coupled with his righteousness as well as his knowledge. Thus, God can never err. In addition, God, Dieterlen argued, as omniscient and as the Lord, cannot indeed be argued with by man who is but a little creature knowing nothing.¹¹⁹⁶

This resonates with Calvin, who averred, ‘When we attribute foreknowledge to God, we mean that all things have always been and eternally remain under His observation, so that

¹¹⁹⁴ Wendel, *Calvin, origins and development of his religious thought*, p. 281. Emphasis mine (Isaiah 55:8-9.)

¹¹⁹⁵ Duet. 29:29.

¹¹⁹⁶ Molimo e leng ea tsebang tsohle , le morena oa sebele-bele, o ke ke oa tsekisoa ke motho, e leng sebupuo se senyenyanane se sa tsebeng letho (19-21) Dieterlen, *Hlaloso ea Baroma*, p. 140.

nothing is either future or past to His knowledge: he sees and regards them in the truth, as though they were before His face.’¹¹⁹⁷

It thus appears that the foreknowledge of God constitutes not only His prescience but also his omniscience. God’s knowledge is not limited to time; He is all knowing. However, this has no influence on sovereign election, which is independent of human works and faith.¹¹⁹⁸

Calvin insisted, ‘The reprobate is condemned justly and by their fault.’ This is firstly, because it was predestined by God whose will finds expression in His righteousness and secondly because God has designed their reprobation in such a way as to find cause in them. ‘The first man fell because God had judged that to be expedient. But of why he had so judged, we know nothing.’¹¹⁹⁹

It thus follows that God’s sovereignty allows Him to do things according to His pleasure and should not be questioned, as it is a mystery or incomprehensible.

Dieterlen went on to shed more light on divine election, with his exposition on the words, ‘Jacob I loved, but Esau I hated.’ The word ‘hate’ coming from God is a misnomer. Hatred is wickedness, there is no wickedness in God, instead God put Esau aside and Jacob He had put in front. As God did this before the twins were born, we presume He had seen something which, in His wisdom had caused him to choose one above the other.¹²⁰⁰

By this action, Dieterlen elaborated, God was choosing according to His own pleasure. This may make some complain that God is unjust in following his heart without regards to righteousness. Paul answered this by indicating that the Bible states that God has a right to have mercy on those he chooses to, or to harden people’s hearts. Moreover, Paul finds it

¹¹⁹⁷ Wendel, *Calvin, origins and development of his religious thought*, p. 272.

¹¹⁹⁸ *Ibid.* p. 273; Calvin, *Institutes* 3.22. 4.

¹¹⁹⁹ *Ibid.* p. 281.

¹²⁰⁰ Joaloka ha ho ngolie (Malakia 1: 2-3): ‘Ke ratile Jakobo, ke hloile Esau.’ Koana, ha ho boleloa Molimo, lentsoe la ho hloea ha le nepe hantle se teng pelong ea oona. Hloeo ke bobe; ‘me bobe ha bo eo ho Molimo. Empa Molimo o itse, o suthisa Esau, o bea Jakobo ka pele ho eena.’ Me ha o entse joalo, leha o sa ka oa bona liketso ho mafahla ana a e song ho belehuoe, o bone ho hong ka bohlae ba oona bo sa sitoeng ke letho. Dieterlen, *Hlaloso ea Baroma*, p. 133.

unusual that a tiny human being, created by God, can find fault in or blame the almighty God.¹²⁰¹

Calvin and Dieterlen seem to agree that predestination, which consists of election and reprobation, is part of a divine decree. Though God shows His love and mercy by choosing some for everlasting life and His wrath by rejection of others and confining them to everlasting damnation. Election and reprobation are not based on works or merits or faith. They proceed from divine will and it is God's righteousness that ensures that predestination will be just. God's sovereignty allows Him to act according to His good pleasure. However, predestination is a very difficult concept to grasp and to grapple with. Its abstruseness makes it seem unjust, hence the view that Calvin upholds the doctrine of the tyranny of the God.

8.10 Biblical justification of the duty to submit to the authority of the state

Dieterlen noted that a person devoted to God shows His goodness in His relations with the community as well as those outside the Church. He ought to respect those in authority, such as the chieftainship.¹²⁰²

Dieterlen had in mind the chieftainship both in the traditional and the colonial-engineered sense. For instance, in the 1890s, Basuto chiefs were reluctant to convert. This made him to write an article in the *Leselinyana la Lesotho*, titled *Borena le Bokreste* (the chieftainship and Christianity). He complained that chiefs intentionally did not convert to Christianity because of their fear that their positions would be weakened by converting.¹²⁰³

¹²⁰¹Mantsoe a boelang khetho eitsoelang boithatelong ba Molimo a ka belaetsa batho hore Molimo o latela pelo ea oona feela, o sa talime ho loka. Pauluse o araba taba ena ka ho supa hore Bibe e bolela hobane Molimo o na le tokelo ea ho hauhela le ho thatafatsa batho; hape o supa hobane ke mohlolo ha motho, e leng sebupuo se senyenane, a ka re, o ntša Molimo liphoso, e leng o moholohali. Dieterlen, *Hlaloso ea Baroma*, p.134.

¹²⁰²Motho ea ineetseng Molimo, le litabeng tsa phelisano ea hae le ba ka ntle ho kereke le tsa sechaba, o bonahatsa molemo oa hae. O tšoaetse ho utloa borena. Dieterlen, *Hlaloso ea Baroma*, p. 176.

¹²⁰³Ke batla ke re, marena a rona a na le khopolo e tiileng gase tokelo gore morena a fetoge mokreste; etsoe ha a ka fetoga mokreste, o tla timelloa ke borena ba gae. Dieterlen, "Bokreste le Borena," *Leselinyana la Lesotho*, September 1, 1890, pp. 1-2.

He explained what the chieftainship constituted:

A chief is a person who is superior to others by birth which gives him the right to rule others. He maintains peace, guards against war as well as quarrels among his people. Chiefs make treaties to safeguard peace. They also make pacts on issues that can bring good to the people. A good example of this is the work of chief Letsie when he communicates with the leaders of the Boers and the Colony about friendly relations with their people.¹²⁰⁴

Thus, Dieterlen viewed the chieftainship as those holding positions of authority traditionally as well as in the government of the Colony.

It is by the will of God that the chieftainship exists. It is not appointed because it is impeccable, but because God wants it to exist.¹²⁰⁵

Calvin maintained, 'The reason why we ought to be subject to magistrates is, because they are constituted by God's ordination.'¹²⁰⁶

A chief is appointed to give praise to those who do well and to punish those who do wrong. These two functions are given to him by God who appointed him. People must remember this in whatever they are doing.¹²⁰⁷

Calvin noted, '[Magistrates] ought forcibly to repress the waywardness of evil men, who do not willingly suffer themselves to be governed by laws, and to inflict such punishment on their offenses as God's judgment requires.'¹²⁰⁸

¹²⁰⁴Taba kholo ke gore, na morena keng? Morena ke motho ea ka golimo ho ba bang ka baka la go tsualoa ga gae. 'Me o ka golimo go batho, a thle a ba buse. Go busa batho ka mokhoa oa borena keng? Ke ha morena a falimegela khotso ea batho gore e se ke ea senyega ka lintoa kapa ka liphapang tse ka tlagang magareng a lichaba. Marena a bua le marena a mang, a etsa selekane le 'ona, a felisa liphapang tse ka tlhahang, kapa a lumellana holima litaba tse ka tlagisetsang lichaba molemo. Yualoka morena Letsie, ha buisana le marena a Ma-Buru le a Colony, gore phelisano e be teng e monate magareng a Ba-Sotho le Makhooa a mafatše ao. *Ibid.*

¹²⁰⁵Ke ka thato ea Molimo marena ha a le teng kajeno, ao re a bonang; ha se hore a beiloe kahobane a lokile; a mpa a le teng ka hobane Molimo o rata hore borena bo be teng. Dieterlen, *Hlaloso ea Baroma*, pp.176, 177.

¹²⁰⁶Calvin, *Commentary on the Romans*, p. 417.

¹²⁰⁷Morena, 'nge ngoe o beiloe hore a boke ba batle, 'nge ngoe, a khalemele ba babe; ketso tseo tse peli o li neiloe ke Molimo e leng mong a hae; 'me batho ba tsoanetse ho li hopola nthong tsohle tseo ba li etsang. Dieterlen, *Hlaloso ea Baroma*, p. 177.

¹²⁰⁸Calvin, *Commentary on the Romans*, p. 420.

Chiefs are on duty every day and for this reason, it is incumbent upon the people to pay the taxes that, among other things, form part of the chief's livelihood.¹²⁰⁹

Calvin stated, 'For if it be their duty to defend and safely preserve the peace of the good, and to resist the mischievous attempts of the wicked, this they cannot do unless they are aided by sufficient force. Tributes then are justly paid to support such necessary expenses.'¹²¹⁰ It thus appears, that the chieftainship as well as taxes belong together, they are both God ordained.

Dieterlen made these concluding points:

It is the will of God that the chieftainship should exist so that there may be law and order and not disorder. Nations are not made for chiefs but chiefs for nations.¹²¹¹ Any person, who wants to live as he pleases, rebels against God not the chieftainship as such.¹²¹² A chief, who does not rule according to the will of God, rebels against him and should not be surprised when the people also rebel against him.¹²¹³ A chief, who is against Christianity, who has a crooked life before God, whose judgements are unjust, is still a servant of God, but he or she is a wicked servant, rebellious, and guilty.¹²¹⁴ Chiefs judge the people, and they will also be judged by God, who is their master.¹²¹⁵ Taxes must not be paid in ignorance, as that results in them not being paid well and in the people complaining about them. Understanding helps people to pay it well and to be peaceful about it.¹²¹⁶

¹²⁰⁹Ba sebeletsa sechaba ka matsatsi ohle; e ka khona sechaba se ba baballe ka seo ba phelang ka sona; karolo e 'ngoe ea makhetho e sebetsa hona hoo. Dieterlen, *Hlaloso ea Baroma*, p. 178.

¹²¹⁰Calvin, *Commentary on the Romans*, p. 421.

¹²¹¹Ke ka thato ea Molimo ha borena bo le teng, lichaba li tle li phele ka melao, e seng ka meferefere (t. 1). Lichaba ha lia bopeloa marena; marena ke oona a bopetsoeng lichaba (t.1). Dieterlen, *Hlaloso ea Baroma*, p. 179.

¹²¹²Motho ea ratang ho iphelela ka boithatelo ba hae, o ikhantšetsa Molimo, e seng borena feela. *Ibid*, p. 179.

¹²¹³Morena ea busang batho ka mokhoa o fapaneng le thato ea Molimo, e ba o ikhantšelitse Morena oa hae; a se ke a makala ha joale batho ba ikhantšetsa eena. *Ibid*, p. 179.

¹²¹⁴Morena ea loantšang bokreste, ea nang le bophelo bo sa lokang mahlong a Molimo, ea nang le likahlolo tse khopo, e ntse e le mohlanka oa Molimo, empa e le mohlanka e mobe, ea ikhantšang ea molato. *Ibid*, p.179.

¹²¹⁵Marena a ahlola batho, 'me a tla ahloloe ke Molimo. *Ibid*, p. 179.

¹²¹⁶Motho a se ke a ntša lekhetho (kappa khafa) a sa utloisise seo a se etsang. Ho se utloisise ho tsoala ho tsoafa le ho fokola le ho belaela; kutloisise e tsoala khotso le ketso. *Ibid*, p.180.

The foregoing on the chieftainship buttresses what has been discussed in Chapter 7 concerning Dieterlen's perspective of colonialism. He viewed colonialism as constituted and ordained by God. For that reason, it had to be respected and supported at all cost despite the flaws and defects that may be found in it. He found tax as a necessity to support colonialism. That is why he encouraged the Basuto to pay it as well as to be taught about its importance. Calvin and Dieterlen encouraged respect for those in authority. This was, according to them, a biblical duty which every Christian should submit to.

8. 11 Conclusion

A study of text expositions in Calvin's *Commentary on the Romans* and Dieterlen's *Commentary on the Romans* reveals a close expository kinship between the two. Calvin followed an expository style in his expositions while Dieterlen's style was exhortative, direct and persuasive as in a sermon. While they had stylistic differences, the content of their text exposition was always the same. The doctrinal similarities between Calvin and Dieterlen are very obvious regarding justification by faith, the sovereignty of God, man's total depravity as well as the efficacy of the sacrifice of Christ. It is probable that Dieterlen used Calvin's Bible commentaries as well as *The Institutes of the Christian Religion* when he wrote his commentary on the Romans. However, this is plausible but not conclusive as we do not know which French editions of Calvin's *Commentary on the Romans* as well as *The Institutes of the Christian Religion* Dieterlen had on his desk when he wrote his commentary.

Dieterlen's statement of a Gospel that is not European has subtle nuances. Firstly, he uncritically embraced the colonial perspective which implied that the Basuto culture was inferior and had to be replaced by a superior culture even with the use of force if

necessary.¹²¹⁷ Secondly, he genuinely believed that the Gospel was universal. He believed that colonialism or not it should be preached to the Basuto because it concerned people of all cultures. While the two ideas do not oppose each other, they are in tension.¹²¹⁸ The theme of a Gospel that is not European is propounded by the proponents of African Christian theology. Thus, Dieterlen was a precursor in this respect. He was the man of his time, at the same time, he was ahead of his time.

Calvin's theology has elements that are unjust, tyrannical as well as pessimistic in it about God's election. God by his good pleasure chooses some and rejects others. This is his divine plan coupled with his will as well as his righteousness. He is infinite and he should not be questioned. The doctrine of Predestination is very frightening for the weak in faith or those without the knowledge of the scriptures or a serious thinking person. It portrays God apparently as biased, unjust and unkind. However, there is also mercy and optimism about the elect in divine predestination. This makes a good balance or gives equilibrium to divine predestination.

Calvin and Dieterlen's understanding of superstition are coterminous. They viewed it as robbing God of his power by replacing it with supernatural powers. This deserves condemnation. Calvin's detestation of superstition in the Roman Catholic ritual¹²¹⁹ is transferred to the indigenous customs in Dieterlen. The Basuto circumcision is a case in point.

The Christian duty to submit to those in authority such as the chieftainship, in Dieterlen's view, is both traditional and a colonial- engineered sense. Hence his support of colonialism. Calvin's context in Geneva was that of civil authority or the magistrates.

¹²¹⁷ See, *Culture, Religion and Liberation, proceedings of the EATWOT Pan African Theological Conference*, ed, Simon Maimela (Pretoria: South Africa, 1994), p.81.

¹²¹⁸ Dieterlen, *Pourquoi les missions ? Réflexions d'un missionnaire. Les principes, les objections, les moyens d'action et les faits accomplis* (Paris : Maison des missions évangéliques, 1893).

¹²¹⁹ It must be remembered that Calvin used the word catholic in the positive way.

Chapter 9

General conclusions

This study attempts to critically examine Hermann Dieterlen's mission enterprise in Basutoland. I tried to provide a response to the following questions:

How did the mission enterprise of Dieterlen related to colonialism and to what degree did the colonial enterprise with which the Paris Mission was associated coloured the work of the mission and determined its future? How did he behave towards civil authority, the Basuto chieftainship and the colonial government? What was his mission approach or theological framework? What was his position regarding other Christian denominations, did he promote Christian ecumenism? These form the main questions of this study.

The subsidiary questions of the study are about John Calvin to whom I chose to give prominence in this study because the Paris missionaries were trained in the Reformed tradition. The study investigated which parts of Calvin's works were mostly used in Dieterlen. These questions include: How did Dieterlen and his students, in particular, grapple with superstition among the Basuto, when Calvin abhorred it so much? How did Dieterlen grapple with culture, labour, gender inequity and inequality in Basutoland?

In response to the main questions, this study argues that Dieterlen's respect and support for the colonial government in Basutoland was influenced by Romans 13 where Paul laid it down that civil authority is ordained by God. This is seen in the article he published in the *Leselinyana* in 1890 on *Borena le Bokreste* (the Chieftainship and Christianity)¹²²⁰ and in his *commentary on the Romans*¹²²¹ that he understood civil authority in a traditional as well as in a colonial engineered sense. In Dieterlen's view, the colonial and missionary enterprises were not antithetical to each other. While he believed that they were independent of each other,

¹²²⁰Dieterlen, "Bokreste le Borena," *Leselinyana la Lesotho*, September 1, 1890, pp. 1-2.

¹²²¹Dieterlen, *Hlaloso ea Baroma* (Moriya: Morija Sesuto Book depot, 1912).

they had a common goal of establishing the reign of God on earth. Hence, they were inseparable. Nonetheless, Dieterlen believed that the colonial enterprise was responsible for creating a conducive atmosphere for the propagation of the Gospel by maintaining law and order. Thus, supporting the Church and punishing wrongdoers. Tax was thus an essential duty for all people to enable the colonial government to do its work. This explains why he never minded when the Basuto were being taxed heavily under their difficult circumstances of war and poverty as well as animal epizootics. It made him sad to see the colonial power crumble after the Gun War when lawlessness, thievery and drunkenness reigned or became the order of life in Basutoland. He never imagined a missionary enterprise without the support of a colonial government. This situation is discussed in Chapter Seven and Eight of this study.

While Dieterlen supported colonialism, there were certain aspects in it which he did not like. This had to do with the unbecoming behaviour of the colonial agents. Firstly, they were too haughty for his liking. This behaviour was also found among the missionaries. Dieterlen abhorred crude racism. This was one of the reasons why he expounded on the theme of a Gospel that was not European.¹²²² He confronted the missionaries about their superiority in a paper that he presented in a general conference in Johannesburg.¹²²³ Secondly, he pointed out that the colonial agents distributed brandy to the natives and thus, set a bad example to the Basuto whom Dieterlen was responsible to evangelise. The distribution of alcohol, in Dieterlen's view, made his evangelistic work even more difficult. He saw that as an impediment to his ministry. He envisioned a Christian society free from Western civilisations or urban ills. This point is discussed in Chapter Seven of this study. Moreover, Dieterlen came from a rural area free from urban ills. He abhorred drunkenness. He discouraged drunkenness among the Basuto. During good harvest, he dissuaded them from making

¹²²²Dieterlen, "Na batho ba batšo ba tla kena leholimong?" (Will black people enter heaven?) *Leselinyana la Lesotho*, December, 15, 1893, p. 1, *Hlaloso ea Baroma* (Moriya: Morija Sesuto Book depot, 1912), p. 4.

¹²²³Dieterlen, "The preparation of Native Ministers," in *Report of the proceedings of the Second General Missionary Conference* (Johannesburg, 1907).

traditional ceremonies for the harvest where traditional beer was abused. He did not make a distinction between traditional beer and brandy. In his view, they were both intoxicating liquors.¹²²⁴ Thus, Dieterlen supported the colonial enterprise but distanced himself from some of its aspects.

The theory of hegemony, which provided the theoretical framework and whose exponents, among others, are Antonio Gramsci,¹²²⁵ and Jean and John Comaroff¹²²⁶ was a useful tool to put on the spot how Britain controlled Basutoland. Political as well as economic reasons played a major role in Britain's colonisation of Basutoland. No substantive developments were made in Basutoland as highlighted in Chapter Seven of this study.¹²²⁷ As a result, some of the Basuto complained about tax, though anonymously.¹²²⁸ which, as we have seen, Dieterlen unequivocally supported. The effects of hegemony by the colonial government become more evident on the issue of tax which the Basuto had to pay despite their difficult conditions. Initially, they accepted the idea of paying tax for the administration of their country, but they became increasingly unhappy when they realised that the government was not making any necessary improvements in their country. The roads were in bad conditions and not maintained and there were no bridges to cross dangerous rivers in the rainy seasons. Accidents often happened of people being taken by the rivers. They were disgruntled about this situation. The effect of hegemony is also seen in the land that the Boers stole from the Basuto. Moshoeshoe signed a diplomatic relation with Britain hoping that Britain would help and restore his land to him. But instead, Britain connived with the Boers and gave them more land. That ordeal of being cheated by Britain which Moshoeshoe trusted so much affected him badly and harmed his health. Hegemony is also seen in the colonial

¹²²⁴Dieterlen, "Botaoa," *Leselinyana*, October 1, 1895, p. 2.

¹²²⁵Italian Marxist theorist and politician.

¹²²⁶J. and J, Comaroff. *Of Revelation and Revolution, Christianity, Colonialism and consciousness in South Africa*, Vol. 1 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991).

¹²²⁷ See also Hincks, *Quest for Peace*, pp. 314-3-16.

¹²²⁸*Leselinyana la Lesotho*, August 8, 1877, pp.3-4; *Leselinyana la Lesotho*, October 9, 1877, pp.1- 2.

government 's preventive measures, it took against the traditional customs of the Basuto such as circumcision, polygamy, sorcery, traditional marriage and the chieftainship whose power was taken by the magistrates. The Paris mission supported and encouraged the Government in the application of this hegemony in Basutoland. This is discussed in Chapters Two, Six and Seven.

Furthermore, Britain used Basutoland to maintain law and order to enable economic development. This is seen in the wars against the chiefs who resisted the colonial government. For example, in Dieterlen's early life, in 1879, the Basuto were made to fight against Moorosi, chief of the Baphuthi, on the side of the government on the promise that they would be given his country once he was defeated. Moorosi had refused to hand over Dooda, his son, to be imprisoned for horse theft.¹²²⁹

Lerotholi, the Paramount chief, was incited to fight against Masupha, his uncle, who resisted a colonial order to remove him from Thaba-Bosiu. Masupha like Moorosi had resisted a colonial order to hand Moeketsi, his son, over to be imprisoned for abduction.¹²³⁰ During the Anglo-Boer War (1899-1901) Basutoland was used to keep the spoil of war for Britain and to serve as a buffer against enemy troops. The Basuto were made to guard the borders to stop the Free State troops from entering Basutoland.¹²³¹ These examples should suffice to illustrate British hegemony, in Basutoland. This makes it clear that Britain's interest in Basutoland was political as well as economic.

On the other hand, the missionary enterprise, according to Dieterlen, was responsible for making Christ known to all people as this is the great commission of God to the Church. He worked hard during his missionary tenure in Basutoland to reach out to all people with the Word of God. He rode on horseback to visit, the chiefs as well as their subjects. *Shepherding* and *diakonia* were important aspects of his ministry. Dieterlen believed that the Gospel must

¹²²⁹ Sanders, *Throwing Down Whiteman*, p. 97; Burman, *Chieftdom, Politics and Alien Law*, p. 135.

¹²³⁰ Hincks, *Quest for Peace*, pp. 315-316.

¹²³¹ Eldredge, *A South African Kingdom*. p. 176.

be preached to all people of all cultures and under all circumstances. Nonetheless, he believed that the efficacy of the Gospel comes from God hence the evangelical missions were indispensable as God used human agency to achieve his divine plans. He was adamant in his belief regarding divine power, that power comes from God, and it must be sought from him by his servants.¹²³²This is articulated in his *Pourquoi les missions*¹²³³ as well as in his *Commentary on the Romans*¹²³⁴ and in *Bukana ea 'Moleli*.¹²³⁵

Dieterlen was a prolific missionary among his colleagues. His works as a missionary testify to this. For example, his literary works prove beyond doubt that he was a scholarly person. Tim Couzens refers to Dieterlen's habit of writing a letter to his mother every week,¹²³⁶ while David Ambrose maintained that Dieterlen was a frequent contributor to *Le Petit Messager* from 1874 to 1933. Dieterlen also contributed articles in the *'Ami des Missions*. His articles were published posthumously for 15 months. He dominated the *Leselinyana* from 1878 to 1900 by contributing articles often to the extent that one Yosefa Matong complained about it and wondered why one person dominated the newspaper when there were other missionaries.¹²³⁷ Dieterlen wrote biographies of his fellow missionaries,¹²³⁸ and several important Christian books.¹²³⁹ By all this, he translated or

¹²³² Ephesians 6:10.

¹²³³ Dieterlen, *Pourquoi les missions? Réflexions d'un missionnaire. Les principes, les objections, les moyens d'action et les faits accomplis* (Paris : Maison des missions évangéliques, 1893).

¹²³⁴ Dieterlen, *Hlaloso ea Baroma* (Moriya: Morija Sesuto Book Depot, 1912).

¹²³⁵ Dieterlen, *Bukana ea 'Moleli* (Moriya: Morija Sesuto Book Depot, 1912).

¹²³⁶ Couzens, *Murder at Morija*, p. 169.

¹²³⁷ Y. Matong, "Nguan'asalleng o shoelatharing" *Leselinyana la Lesotho*, February 1, 1884, p. 7.

¹²³⁸ Adolphe Mabile Missionare par H. Dieterlen (320 pages); Eugène Casalis (1812-1891) par H. Dieterlen (261 pages) ; D.F. Ellenberger par H. Dieterlen, unpublished work; François Coillard par H. Dieterlen, (85 pages).

¹²³⁹ H. Dieterlen, *Tšokoloho* (Moriya: Morija Sesuto Book Depot 1915), (12 pages); H. Dieterlen, *Palestine Mehleeng ea Morena Jesu* (Moriya: Morija Sesuto Book Depot 1909), (92 pages); H. Dieterlen, *Esau le Jakobo*, (Moriya: Morija Sesuto Book Depot 1927), (81 pages); H. Dieterlen, *Hlaloso ea epistole e ngoletsoeng Baroma* (Moriya: Morija Sesuto Book Depot 1912), (210 pages); H. Dieterlen, *Meqoqo* (Moriya: Morija Sesuto Book Depot 1903), (329 pages); H. Dieterlen, *Bukana ea 'Moleli* (Moriya: Morija Sesuto Book Depot 1912), (116 pages); H. Dieterlen, *Missionnaire 1850-1933, Manuel De L'Évangéliste*, Société Des Mission Évangéliques 102, Boulevard Arago-Paris-XIV ; H. Dieterlen, 'The preparation of Native pastors' in *the Report of the Proceedings of the Second General Missionary Conference for South Africa* (Johannesburg 1906); H. Dieterlen, *Bahlankanaba Fora* (Moriya Sesuto Book Depot 1918); H. Dieterlen, *Lamédecine et Les médecins au Lessuto* (Paris: Société Des missions Évangéliques 102, Boulevard Arago (XIV) 1930), (72 pages) ; H. Dieterlen and A. Mabile, *Sesuto-*

diffused the Gospel not only in Basutoland but also beyond it. His unpublished diaries kept in the Mission House in Paris amounted to 8000 pages.¹²⁴⁰ All these points are discussed in Chapter Three of this study.

His ministry portrays him as a notable educator who was all encompassing. In all his stations he worked, harmoniously with other denominations. For example, while at Leribe he had good relations with an Anglican priest at Tsikoane. He also visited like the Roman Catholic missionaries at St Monica's. He thus promoted *koinonia* (Christian fellowship) and ecumenism.¹²⁴¹ He, thus, translated the message by his life.

Dieterlen's influence is seen in the first Basuto ministers who trained under his hand. They followed his example by being prolific writers who produced literary works in the form of books. These ministers were frequent contributors of articles in the *Leselinyana*. They became the *amakholoa*¹²⁴² who despised their traditional heritage as discussed in Chapter Five of this study. This was Dieterlen's legacy. Thus, Dieterlen's translation of the Gospel message promoted Western culture and attempted to annihilate or suppress Basuto culture. He merged Sanneh's 'mission by diffusion,' and 'translation' by preaching the Gospel to the Basuto in the hope that it would convert them, and at the same time, he disparaged the traditional customs of the Basuto such as polygamy, cattle marriage and circumcision and persuaded them to give them up.

Dieterlen was a model among his colleagues, they looked up to him. He was a point of reference to them. It was claimed that he was a self-effacing and modest person. Thus, he translated or diffused the Gospel by his own life. His amiability provided a congenial

English Dictionary (Morijsa: Morijsa Sesuto Book depot 1911), (515 pages); H. Dieterlen, *Pourquoi les missions? Réflexions d'un missionnaire. Les principes, les objections, les moyens d'action et les faits accomplis* (Paris : Maison des missions évangéliques, 1893)

¹²⁴⁰Varia, XII-XVIII, XX-XXXI, XXXIII-XXXVII, XXXIX-XLII.

¹²⁴¹ Hincks, *Quest for Peace*, p.322.

¹²⁴²The term of Amakholwa is reserved for the educated blacks in the Natal Colony. The word *amakholwa* is Zulu. See, Etherington, *The rise of the Kholwa in Southeast Africa: African Christian communities in Natal, Pondoland and Zululand 1835-1880* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1998); West, *The Stolen Bible: from tool of imperialism to African icon* (Boston: Brill, 2016), p. 4.

atmosphere for the Gospel as well as in creating acquaintances. People in general and his colleagues regarded him affectionately. The Basutoland mission was unhappy when the Mission House in Paris wanted to transfer him from Basutoland.¹²⁴³ It is no wonder the mission trusted him to represent it in academic forums like the General Missionary Conference which was held in Johannesburg.¹²⁴⁴ The Jubilee celebrations which were held in the Bethany Mission near Bloemfontein as well as the American Zulu Mission at Inanda in the Natal Colony.¹²⁴⁵

Concerning Calvin, this study argues that Dieterlen probably used Calvin's works (the *Institute of the Christian Religion* as well as Calvin's *Commentary on the letter to the Romans*). While this view is not conclusive but plausible, as the French copies of Calvin's *Institutes* and his *Commentary on the Romans* could not be found in the Morija Museum and Archives, the doctrinal similarities between Calvin and Dieterlen are very obvious regarding the sovereignty of God, justification by faith and the total depravity of man, among other things. The difference between the two is mainly found in the different contexts and time of their ministries besides their different stylistic approach in biblical text analysis.

Calvin's influence on Dieterlen is not only seen in the similarity of the content of their biblical text expositions, but also in Dieterlen's rejection of the Basuto traditional customs which he disparaged as superstitious and which Calvin so much abhorred. Seemingly, Calvin's abhorrence of the Roman Catholic rituals were transferred to the traditional customs of the Basuto through Dieterlen. It was not all traditional customs that Dieterlen rejected. He upheld a few, especially in the last phase of his ministry. This is discussed in Chapter Four of this study.

¹²⁴³Tim Couzens, *Murder at Morija*, p. 196.

¹²⁴⁴Dieterlen, 'The preparation of Native pastors' in *the Report of the Proceedings of the Second General Missionary Conference for South Africa* (Johannesburg 1906).

¹²⁴⁵Dieterlen, "Jubile ea Bethany," *Leselinyana*, October 23, 1909, pp.2-3; "Bakreste ba Natal," *Leselinyana*, August 12, 1911, p.4.

Regarding ecumenism, Calvin himself was not ecumenical as such. His ecclesiology drove Reformed Churches towards ecumenism. This is discussed in Chapter Five of this study.

Another influence of Calvin on Dieterlen concerns gender. This is seen through his little regard that he had for women. He often argued with his wife about the issue of women's rights or the suffragettes to vote. The Paris Mission did not ordain women to the full ministry of the Word and Sacraments. Women were only considered missionaries when they were single. They served the mission mostly as teachers. Married women in the Paris Mission were not seen as missionaries but were considered as spouses to the missionaries.¹²⁴⁶ This study in Chapter Six argues that this was Calvin's legacy on the Paris missionaries as they trained in the Reformed tradition. While Calvin's position regarding gender was ambiguous as discussed in Chapter Six of this study, it seems that this allowed those who were under his sway to also have an ambiguous position about the role gender. Dieterlen's defence against the voting of women¹²⁴⁷ as well as the Paris Mission not allowing women to be ministers in Church¹²⁴⁸ are the cases in point.

The Paris Mission did not own land in Basutoland, this was not the case in the Republic of South Africa where Christian missions owned land. According to Basuto traditional customs, land was inalienable. It belonged to the nation and the King held it in trust on behalf of the people. Thus, the Paris Mission was granted land under usufruct terms.

It was a known fact that the Christian missions supported the migrant labour system. The Paris Mission was not an exception in this regard, hence its silence about the problems such as keeping husbands away from their families for lengthy periods, as a result of the migrant labour system. The migrant labour system promoted promiscuity, marital infidelity as well as rampant sexually transmitted diseases as well as tuberculosis and other diseases which the men took from the mines to their families at home. The migrant labour system also caused a

¹²⁴⁶ Hincks, *Quest for Peace*, p. 563.

¹²⁴⁷ *Hermann Dieterlen 1884-1932, Varia, XII-XVIII, XX-XXXI, XXXIII-XXXVII, XXXIX-XLII* (Paris Mission Archives)

¹²⁴⁸ Hincks, *Quest for Peace*, p. 563.

decline in agriculture production as well as abject poverty.¹²⁴⁹In pre-colonial times women were involved more in agriculture than men. Therefore, the missionaries accused men of being lazy and not wanting to work in the fields. They misunderstood the division of labour among Africans where men practised animal husbandry, hunted animals and defended the nation in times of war. Besides raising the children and caring for them, women worked in the fields. In post colonial times and after the invention of the plough, men became more involved in agriculture than women. Men's going to the mines in great numbers contributed to the decline of agriculture in post colonial times.¹²⁵⁰

Dieterlen complained about the new or invented sins or bad examples that the mineworkers brought at home. He attributed the problem to the mine workers, not the migrant labour system. This proves that he supported the migrant labour system. According to Philippe Denis, it was the missionaries' wish that men could be separated from the "irrational and ignorant" superstitions that characterised their lives as well as their rulers. The migrant labour system was the answer. The missionaries saw value in it. However, Denis argued that the missionaries should have defended the family.¹²⁵¹

What I found interesting in Dieterlen as a Christian and a minister studying the history of the Church is his theological framework — to take the Gospel to all people, of all cultures under all circumstances — in that the Church has now forgotten about the Great

¹²⁴⁹ P. Denis, "A Case of Pastoral Myopia? The South African Church's Ambiguous Response to the Erosion of Family Life in the Early Years of the Migrant Labour System," *International Journal of African Historical Studies* Vol. 50, No. 3 (2017); M. Epprecht, "Gender and History in Southern Africa: A Lesotho 'Meta-narrative,'" *Canadian Association of African Studies*, Vol. 30, No. 2 (1996).

¹²⁵⁰ J. Guy, "Gender Oppression in Southern Africa's Pre-capitalist Societies," in *Women and Gender in Southern Africa to 1945*, ed. C. Walker (Cape Town: David Philip, 1990), pp. 34, 35; A.B.T. Bryaruhanga-Akiki, "Culture as a source of oppression of women in Africa," in *Culture, Religion and Liberation, proceedings of the EATWON Pan African Theological Conference, Harare, Zimbabwe, January 6-11, 1991*, edited by Simon S. Maimela (Pretoria: Penrose Books printers, 1994), pp. 38-39; Germond, *Chronicles of Basutoland*, p. 325.

¹²⁵¹ Libe li se li le ngata hara batho; empa ba bang ba ba qapela tse ncha, ba li lata makhoeng, Gaudeng, lichabeng tse ling, ba li tlisa hae. Dieterlen, *Hlaloso ea Baroma*, p. 21, P. Denis, "A Case of Pastoral Myopia? The South African Church's Ambiguous Response to the Erosion of Family Life in the Early Years of the Migrant Labour System," *International Journal of African Historical Studies* Vol. 50, No. 3 (2017); M. P. Mohale, "The role of primary health care in the prevention of disability in Lesotho" (England: University of Bristol, 1992), pp. 13-14. (Masters dissertation).

Commission.¹²⁵² Emphasis is now on how much money the Church can collect from its members to be able to pay the ministers and evangelists. This is interesting coming from Dieterlen who lived and worked in Basutoland a century and so ago. May God have mercy on his Church and make it to remember its calling. The Church is not there for its own sake but for God's purpose of bringing salvation to the people.

In order to cover Dieterlen's works and life history, a wide range of secular as well as ecclesiastic sources were consulted and employed in this study. These were in the form of primary and secondary sources. Concerning the primary sources, the *Leselinyana la Lesotho* was an invaluable source published in the Sesuto language with an exception during the Cape rule from 1872 to 1877 when it was also published in English to enable the colonial agents to read it.¹²⁵³ The *Journal des Missions Evangéliques (JME)* was equally important. However, I relied on the *Chronicles of Basutoland* because of language barrier, as generally it has translated excerpts from the *JME*.¹²⁵⁴ *Basutoland records* were another important source. As far as the secondary sources were concerned, several published and unpublished works such as books and studies of all levels on the Paris mission as well as Cape rule and British rule in Basutoland were made use. This study focuses on the work of the Paris mission with Hermann Dieterlen and his context of colonialism in the centre of it. Nonetheless, focus was not only directed to the Paris Mission, other missions' sources in Basutoland at the time of Dieterlen were consulted such as the Roman Catholics and the Anglicans. Neighbouring missions such as Bethany of the Berlin Missionary Society, American Zulu Mission of the American Board Society together with the London Missionary Society in Botswana were used. This was done for benchmarking purposes, to contextualise the study as well as for a

¹²⁵² Matthew 28: 16-20.

¹²⁵³ *Lesotho World Bibliographical Series, vol.3*, Shelagh Willet and David P. Ambrose (Oxford: Clio Press, 1980), p. 293.

¹²⁵⁴ R. C. Germond, *Chronicles of Basutoland, A running commentary on the events of the years 1830-1902 by the French Protestant missionaries in Southern Africa* (Morija: Morija Sesuto Book Depot, 1957).

compressive study on Dieterlen. All these sources together with what Dieterlen wrote in Sesuto framed this study. The conclusions that were drawn were based on these sources.

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Appendix

Comparison of Dieterlen's and Calvin's commentaries on Paul's letter to the Romans

1. Introduction

The main purpose of this appendix is to strengthen the arguments made in Chapter Eight of this study on the similarity of text expositions in Calvin and Dieterlen's commentaries on the Romans.¹²⁵⁵ While they differ in rhetoric, genre and stylistic features, the content of their text exposition is always the same. This appendix is meant to give more clarity between Calvin and Dieterlen's theologies as found in their commentaries on the Romans, among other things.

The last chapter of this study concentrated on the main themes that run through Dieterlen's commentary on the Romans such a Gospel that is not European and the tyranny of Calvin's God. The appendix will compare Calvin and Dieterlen's commentaries and attention will be paid to theological argumentations, genre and stylistic features. This will help establish similarities as well as differences between Calvin and Dieterlen in biblical text expositions.

Since this study investigates Dieterlen's ministry, the selection of the texts that are compared is based on the researcher's choice as well as being guided by the subsidiary research questions such as which parts of Calvin's works were mostly used in Dieterlen, how did Dieterlen relate to the colonial government and the Basuto chieftainship and how he grappled with Basuto culture and superstition abhorred by Calvin.

¹²⁵⁵ H. Dieterlen, *Hlaloso ea Epistole e ngoletsoeng Baroma* (Moriya: Morija Sesuto Book Depot, 1912); J. Calvin, *Commentary on the Romans*, Grand Rapids: Christian Classics Ethereal Library, p. 24, (<http://www.ccel.org>).

2. Selection of extracts from the commentaries

Romans 1:1-7

In the first place, Dieterlen noted that Paul introduced himself to the Romans as an adopted servant, owned by Christ, and taking his orders from Him.¹²⁵⁶

The reformer, John Calvin (1509-1564), on the other hand, explained that Paul had two names, that of Saul and that of Paul. The former was a Jewish name given to him by his parents and the latter was ‘added to show his right to the Roman citizenship.’¹²⁵⁷

Being a servant of Christ, Dieterlen explained, involves many responsibilities that are shared amongst other servants under one master (Christ). Paul was an apostle, a person who was sent or called to plant churches and who cared for them by proclaiming the Gospel of Christ through which God saves people.¹²⁵⁸

Calvin stressed that Paul’s apostleship came by the call of God and that was what underpinned his authority of doctrine. He was not to be seen as an intruder before the Romans. Moreover, the office of an apostle was for all who took upon themselves the responsibility of preaching the Gospel and were thus God’s servants.¹²⁵⁹

The propagation of the Gospel that Dieterlen elaborated, is what God had long planned and which was revealed in the Old Testament, in the law and the prophets when he chose Israel. God did not accidentally bring Jesus on earth. Jesus is the only son of God and there is no other. The name, son of God, is in relation to his relationship with God and son of David is in relation to his earthly descent. He was born from the tribe of David...hence the son of

¹²⁵⁶Paulosi o qala ka hoipolelaseo a lengsona (verse 1) . . . Kabelo ea pele ea Paulosi ke ea mohlanka, ke ho re ea mosebeletsi ea thotsoeng ; o ruiloe ke Morena Jesu, o laeloa ke eena. Dieterlen, *Hlaloso ea Baroma*, pp.1-2.

¹²⁵⁷J. Calvin, *Commentary on the Romans*, Grand Rapids: Christian Classics Ethereal Library), p. 24.

¹²⁵⁸Bohlanka bonabo akaretsa likabelo tsa mefuta-futa, tse aroleloang bahlanka ba mofuta ole mong. Ea Pauluse ke ea moapostola, ke hore ea motho ea romiloeng ho hloma le ho a losa likereke ka ho bolela litaba tsa Jesu . . . tsa morero oa Molimo oa ho pholosa batho ka Jesu. (Lik. 9: 3-19). Dieterlen, *Hlaloso ea Baroma*, p. 1.

¹²⁵⁹Calvin, *Commentary on the Romans*, pp.24-25.

David, the Messiah (the anointed one), whom the prophets talked about in the Old Testament. He has two natures: the divine as well as the human. While his life, holiness, teaching and miracles revealed his divine nature, the Holy Spirit revealed more. This is made evident by his resurrection which made him different from other people. The resurrection made people to believe in him. God's plan of salvation is not only for the Jews but it is for all people who accept the Gospel and believe in Jesus.¹²⁶⁰

Calvin, in accordance, averred,

Christ did not come unexpectedly, the prophets testified to his coming. His Gospel too was not something new; it was promised by the prophets and consummated in his coming. The resurrection of Christ confirmed his divinity and his power as well as the power of the Holy Spirit. The term 'son of God' suggests that Christ is the only begotten son of God. Faith is obedience to God. He calls us by the Gospel to believe.¹²⁶¹

Dieterlen wrote that believing in Christ is a call to all people not only to the Jews. The order of salvation is thus: it is God who, in his love, initiates the work of salvation, then that is followed by the call and holiness, if a person accepts the call. Holiness on the part of a person entails being chosen by God, being set apart in order to fully belong to God in heart, in spirit as well as in action: shunning evil, inclined to doing good and being forgiven sins.¹²⁶²

¹²⁶⁰ Litaba tsena, ha se tseo Molimo o tšohileng o iqapela tsona mohla o li sebetsang ka Jesu. O no o li rere khale-khale . . . Testamenteng ea Khale, molao le Baprofeta, oa li lokisa halelele leholimong le lefatšeng ka ho bopa sechaba sa Israele . . . Jesu ke mora oa Molimo ale mong, eo hoseng oa bobeli ea leng eena joalo (Joh. 1:18; 3:16). Ka lebitso la mora . . . ho lekangoa boleng ba Jesu ka nga ka ho Molimo . . . Empa o ha beli. Ka 'nge nge a botho ba hae ke ea tsoileng lelokong la Davida ka nama . . . ke eena mora Davida, messia (motlotsuo) ea boleloang ke baprofeta ba selekane sa khale . . . O iponahalitse joalo ka bophelo ba hae, ka khalalelo, ka lithuto, ka mehlolo e entsoeng ke eena. Empa haholo ka ketso e matla ea Molimo, ka moea o halaleleng. Ke ka baka leo a bonahalitsoeng ke O ona ka ho tsoha ha hae bafung, e leng mohlolo o mong o neng o supa seo a leng sona le se mokhethang ho batho ba bang kaofela. Tsoho ke bopaki bo ileng ba kholisa batho ba pele hore ba lumele. Paulusi o ipolela . . . hore o neiloe mohau oa ho bolokeha le mosebetsi oa boapostola. Morero oa teng ke hore lichabeng tsohle ho be ba utloang ka ho lumela lebitso la hae. Dieterlen, *Hlaloso ea Baroma*, pp.2-3.

¹²⁶¹ Calvin, *Commentary on the Romans*, pp. 28,30.

¹²⁶² Ba joalo, Molimo o rata hore ba be teng lichabeng tsohle, e seng hara Ba-Jude feela... Taba ea pele ke lerato la Molimo le simollang mosebetsi oa pholoso ea motho (Jon.3:16; 1 John 4:19); ea bobeli ke pitso ea

Calvin asserted that our salvation comes from God's love for us and his goodness. It is on these that our calling depends.¹²⁶³

Paul concluded this part by praying that they would have the grace and peace that comes from God and Jesus. Dieterlen noted that grace resembles the love of God which works in a person, remits sin and bestows the gift of the Holy Spirit. Peace is found by a person who conceives that it is from God. Such a blessing is freely given to a believer by God in his grace.¹²⁶⁴

Dieterlen deduced the following lessons from the foregoing:

Jesus is Lord, saves his people and thus his people must trust, serve and listen to him.¹²⁶⁵ God has enduring plans which he executes in his own good time. He does not hasten or delay carrying them out.¹²⁶⁶ Jesus was not a European or an English speaker and neither was his teaching affected by the manners of others. He was from the Middle East, a Jew. People who claim that Christianity resembles only that which pertains to the European mind set are making a mistake as well as a calumny.¹²⁶⁷

Dieterlen wanted to set the record straight; Christianity did not have its origins in Europe but in the Middle East. Perhaps it was the arrogance of some Europeans in Africa, who behaved as if Christianity was cradled in Europe which made Dieterlen make this clarification. He discouraged haughtiness among his countrymen.

oona;ea boraro ke khalalelo ha motho a entse ka pitso eo. Ho halalela ke ha motho a khethiloe ke Molimo, a ba a ikhetha hoba bang, e tle e be motho oa Molimo ka hohle, pelong le moeeng, le liketsong, a hlobohe le bobe bofe le bofe, a etse bottle bofe le bofe, a tsoareloe le libe tsa hae. Dieterlen, *Baroma*, pp.3-4.

¹²⁶³ Calvin, *Commentary on the Romans*, p. 31.

¹²⁶⁴ Mohau ke lerato le leng teng ka ho Molimo ha le sebetsa pelong ea motho ka tsoarelo ea libe le ka mpho e molemo ea moea. Khotso ke ea motho ea itsebang le ho ikutloa hore o entsoe joalo ke Molimo. Mahlohonolo ana molumeli o a fuoa feela ka mohau. Dieterlen, *Haloso ea Baroma*, p. 4.

¹²⁶⁵ Jesu ke Morena. Morena o boloka batho ba hae, batho ba hae batsoanetse ho motšepa, ho moutloa le ho mosebeletsa. *Ibid.*

¹²⁶⁶ Merero ea Molimo e melele; ha o tate, ha o liehe; o sebetsa ka nako e tsoanelehang. *Ibid.*

¹²⁶⁷ Jesu e ne ese mo-Europe, e ne e se lekhooa; le thuto ea hae ha se sekhoaa; e ne e le mo-Asia, mo-Jode. Batho ba reng bojakane ke sekhoaa ba bolela phoso le ketselletso. *Ibid.*

The resurrection of Jesus testifies that he was the Son of God. This should help us to believe all other things about him.¹²⁶⁸ We are called by God, forgiven our sins and given the Holy Spirit. How can we forget or throw away these gifts or be unequally yoked with the unbelievers?¹²⁶⁹

Romans 1:8-15

Dieterlen pointed out that Paul spoke of God as ‘his God’ because of the special relationship he had with Him, and with thanksgiving because he could reach him through Jesus Christ who is the mediator between God and his people. He gave thanks to God for the Romans, whom he commended for their faith that was praised and well known throughout the world. That good reputation advanced the Gospel, as Rome was the capital of all worlds known to Paul.¹²⁷⁰

Calvin posited that the fact that Paul commended the faith of the Romans ‘implies that it had been received from God. We are here taught that faith is God’s gift. For thanksgiving is an acknowledgment of a benefit.’¹²⁷¹

According to Calvin, faith is a gift from God, and as such needs to be acknowledged with thanksgiving while Dieterlen saw the good faith of the Romans as promoting the cause of Christianity. Rome being the capital, people could easily copy the example of the Romans. Dieterlen explained that while Paul, in his modesty, knew that he had something that could advance the faith of the Romans, he was also cognizant of the fact that the Romans also had

¹²⁶⁸Tsoho ea Jesu ke bopaki bo boholo ba hore e ne e le mora oa Molimo. Ea kholoang hore Jesu o ne a shoele sefapanong o boetse o phela leholimong, a ka lesa joang ho lumela litaba tsohle tse ling tsa hae?

¹²⁶⁹Re bitsitsoe ke Molimo, re tsoaretsoe libe, re neiloe moea o Halalelang. Re ka lumela joang ho leballa le ho lahla limpho tse kale, le ho jara joko ele ‘ngoe le ba sa lumelang? *Ibid.*

¹²⁷⁰Paulusi o bitsa Molimo Molimo oa ka, a tle a supe ka moo . . . a phelisang le Oona, ‘me teboho ea hae o e fihlisa ho Oona ka Jesu Krete, ka hobane ke eena e leng ‘muelli oa batho pela oona (ba-Roma 8:34;ba-Heberu13:15) . . . botumo bo joalo bo ne bo ntšetsa Evangeli pele, haholo ka hobane Roma e ene e le motse oa moreneng oa mafatše oohle a neng a tsejoa ke Pauluse. Dieterlen, *Hlaloso ea Baroma*, p. 5.

¹²⁷¹Calvin, *Commentary on the Romans*, p. 34.

something that could encourage him. The coming together of the believers results in mutual consolation as well as encouragement.¹²⁷²

Calvin noted that Paul wished also to learn from the Romans. The modesty of his pious heart allowed him to do so.¹²⁷³

It thus appears that Christians should not allow envy or pride to hinder them from learning from each other.

Dieterlen felt that Paul's efforts to visit the Romans, which he had told them about, was a clear sign to them that he was a man of his word. Paul was keen to find in the Romans the fruits of conversion as well as that they were advancing in holiness, as was the case in his visit to the Ephesians, Corinthians and elsewhere.¹²⁷⁴

Dieterlen suggested that Paul's failure to visit the Romans might be attributed to the Holy Spirit that forbade it or Satan. What motivated Paul's evangelistic work was that he felt compelled to do it. He took it as a debt to evangelise the heathen worlds of the Greeks as well as the Gentiles. He was commissioned to take the Gospel to them.¹²⁷⁵

Calvin attributed the failure of Paul to visit the Romans solely to God, as he maintained that God sometimes frustrates the plans of his servants in order to humble them as well as to teach them to rely on him.¹²⁷⁶

¹²⁷²Ka baka la boitsebo le boikokobetso bo ho eena, Paulusi o tseba hobane, le ha a ena le seo a ka tiisang ba-Roma ka sona, le bona bana le seo ba ka mokhothatsang ka sona.' Teano ea bona ba nang le tumelo ele 'ngoe e hlaisa tšelisano, keho re, khothatsano. Dieterlen, *Hlaloso ea Baroma*, p. 6.

¹²⁷³Calvin, *Commentary on the Romans*, p.38.

¹²⁷⁴Banab'eso . . . kelekile ha ngata ho ea ho lona. Hojane ha a ka a leka, Ba-Roma ba ka be ba belaela ka mantsoe a hae a hloleho, ba re, ke lipuo feela, ka hobane mantsoe a salateloeng ke liketso ha a na 'nete . . . litholoana tseo a neng a tšepile ho li kha ke litšokoloho, le mea e pholohang, e tsoelang pele khalalelong joaloka ha a ne a li kotutse Efese, Korinthe le hohle. Dieterlen, *Hlaloso ea Ba-Roma*, p. 6.

¹²⁷⁵Ke mpa ke thibetsoe ho fihla joale. Mohlomong o ne a thibetsoe ke moea oa Molimo(Lik.16:6-7), mohlomong a thibeloe ke Satane (1 ba-Thes. 2:18). Se neng se susumetsa Paulusi hore a ise Evangeli hohle-hohle, ke hobane o ne a ikutloa e le seabi se neiloeng leruo matsohong, leo le [a] tšoanetseng ho le abela bohle ba le tšepisitsoeng, se [o] ba tla molato ha a sa se fihlise ho bona. Molato mona ke mokoloto. Ba-Gerike, e leng bo-ntat'a ba-Greece bakajeno, bao e neng ele bahedene ba hlalefileng . . . ba bare-bare ke lichaba tse ngata, tse kholo, tse neng li sa lumetse bohedeneng bo botšo, li sa tsebe letho . . . Paulusi o na itseba hore o khethiloe ke Molimo hore a rute bahetene ba mefuta eohle. Dieterlen, *Hlaloso ea Baroma*, pp.6-7.

¹²⁷⁶Calvin, *Commentary on the Romans*, p. 39.

Calvin here leaned more on the sovereignty of God while Dieterlen added Satan as perhaps having been another cause of the failure.

Furthermore, Calvin explained that Paul by ‘those whom he means by the Greeks and the Barbarians, he afterwards explains adding, both to the wise and to the foolish.’¹²⁷⁷

It thus turns out that the Gospel brings the people of God into harmony and parity regardless of their state of education: learned or unlearned.

Dieterlen, in summary, made the following:

Thankfulness is very important, where it is lacking there is an evil disposition. It should be done verbally and in action. To be thankful is to ask.¹²⁷⁸ A good reputation of a Christian or a church is a great teaching that brings heathens to God.¹²⁷⁹ To take an oath in the name of God should be done with great care. It could be done to confirm the words of a person. But if the name of God is used in vain when taking oaths, this becomes a sin leading to guilt. God who was made the witness then becomes the judge.¹²⁸⁰ A commendable greed is when a Christian desires to win all people and everywhere for God. Christians should take it as a debt to take the Gospel to others. The Gospel is for all, the learned and the unlearned. Education and civilisation do not stand in the way of faith.¹²⁸¹

¹²⁷⁷*Ibid.* p. 40.

¹²⁷⁸Teboho ke ntho ea pele. Moo e leng sieo, ho leng teng ke pelo e mpe. Teboho e be ea molomo le ea liketso. Ho leboha ke ho kopa. Dieterlen, *Hlaloso ea Baroma*, p. 7.

¹²⁷⁹Botumo bo bo botle ba mokreste kapa ba kereke e ‘ngoe, ke thuto e kholo e hulang mahlo a ba salumelang, ba tle ba hlokomele Molimo. *Ibid.*

¹²⁸⁰Ho bitsa Molimo paki hoetsoe ka hlokomelo. Ke tiiso e matla ea mantsoe a motho. Empa ha ho bitsoa paki ba Molimo ka bohata, ke molato o moholo. Paki eo e tla fetoha moahloli. *Ibid.*

¹²⁸¹Meharo e metle ke ea molumeli ea jeoang ke takatso ea ho ruela Molimo batho bohle le hohle-hohle. Na u ikutloa hobane u molato ha u sa abele ba bang bohobe bamoea, boo Molimo o u neileng bona u tle u ba ngoathele na? Evangeli e tsoanela mohlalefi le sethoto. Hlalefo le tsoelo-pele ha li eme bakeng satumelo. *Ibid.*

Romans 1:16-17

Dieterlen posited that Paul, on this part, has written the crux of his message to the Romans.¹²⁸² This view was also shared by Calvin, as he noted that Romans 1:16-17 is ‘the principal point or the main hinge of the first part of this Epistle, that we are justified by faith through the mercy of God alone.’¹²⁸³

Dieterlen maintained that those who are ashamed of the gospel are uninformed, lacking in faith and afraid of the scoffs and reproaches of the world. It follows that a person who is ashamed of the Gospel hides his faith in his words and actions, whereas the Gospel is not something that a true Christian should be ashamed about.¹²⁸⁴

Dieterlen averred that the Gospel is not something weak, but it is the power of God itself and that which is of God is not something which a believer should be ashamed of. It is the power of God for salvation. A person who is saved is set free from the slavery of the flesh and from sin and judgement as well as perdition, and thereby is being made the child of God. A person cannot save himself or be saved by others. Such a mammoth task needs the power of God. The Gospel has the power to save all people, but it does not save unbelievers. People are saved individually, when they believe. This is the work of God. However, God works according to the law and in a fitting order. Initially, salvation was for the Jews, the people whom God chose so that he might bless others through them, and later the Greeks, that is every heathen. In this way, the Gospel is the inheritance of all, as all are from God and He has mercy on them all.¹²⁸⁵

¹²⁸²Joale Pauluse o ngola ee e leng taba-taba eo a ngolang epistole ea haeholima eona. *Ibid*, p. 9.

¹²⁸³Calvin, *Commentary on the Roman*, pp. 43, 45.

¹²⁸⁴[Lihlong] li tsoaloa ke ho se tsebe le ho se kholoe hantle, ke ho tšaba litšomo le litlhoriso tsa ba lefatše. Ke ha motho a pata tumelo ea hae lipuong le liketsong tsa hae. AtheEvangelii ha se ntho eo molumeli oa ‘nete a loketseng ho ba lihlong ka eona. Dieterlen, *Hlaloso ea Baroma*, p. 7.

¹²⁸⁵[Evangelii] hase ntho e fokolang, ke e matla; hape ke matla a Molimo ka sebele sa oona, ‘me ntho eo e leng ea Molimo ha ena ho hlabeleoa lihlong ke motho oa Oona. Pholoso ea motho . . . ke ha motho a lokolloa bohlangeng ba nama, ba sebe, le likahlolong, le timelong, ‘me a etsoa ngoana oa Molimo . . . Motho a keke a ipholosa ele eena, a ke ke a pholoso keba bang. Bakeng sa mosebetsi o kalo ho batleha matla a Molimo . . . Evangelii e na le matla a hopholosa batho bohle, empa ha e pholose ba salumeleng . . . Batho ba pholoso ka

Dieterlen maintained that the righteousness of God, spoken about in this part, is not from within God or that which can be seen in him, but it is within a person and depends on a person's standing before God, which God reckons as righteousness for him or her. It is not the righteousness that a person may seek after by good works. But it is what God has planned to count as righteousness for him or her. People knew the righteousness that resulted from good works. But this new righteousness is revealed in the Gospel, it is revealed in Jesus Christ. This righteousness comes by faith alone and is received by faith alone. It begins and ends with faith. This fact is based on the Old Testament in Habakkuk: 'the righteous shall live by his faith.' A person who pursues self-righteousness will perish. But he, who humbles himself and believes in God will be reckoned as righteous and will be saved.¹²⁸⁶

Calvin largely concurred with Dieterlen asserting that Paul's main points here are that the Gospel is the power of God to save all who believe and that 'faith alone... secures the perpetuity of life.'¹²⁸⁷

bo mong . . . Pholoso e teng e etsoa ke Molimo . . . Batho bohle ba biletsoa poloko eo. Empa Molimo o sebetša litaba ka molao, ka lenane le loketseng. Poloko ke ea mo-Jude pele, ka hobane poloko etsoa hoba-Jude (Jon.4:22), e leng sechaba seo Molimo o neng o se khethepele, o tle o hlohonolofatse lichaba tsohle tse ling ka sona (Gen.18:18) Empa ha morao e tšoanetse ho beheloa le mo-Gerike, ke ho re mohedene, mang le mang eo e seng mo-Jode. Ke lefa la batho bohle, ka hobane bohle ba tsoa ho Molimo, 'me baqeneheloa ke oona. *Ibid*, pp. 9-10.

¹²⁸⁶Mona, mobali, u hloae litsebe, tle u se ke oa fosa hlaloso . . . puo e nge ea Paulosi. Ho loka ha Molimo ha se ho loka ho leng teng ka ho Molimo, kapa bokhabane bo bong bo bonoang ka ho Oona. Ke ntho e leng teng ka ho motho, mokhoa o mongo o a emeng pela Molimo ka oona, boleng bo bocha boo Molimo o ithatelang ho bo bitsa ho loka. Ha se holoka hoo motho a ipatlitseng hona ka liketso tsa hae, ke hoo Molimo o rerileng ho bala hore ke ho loka. Batho ba ne ba ntse ba tseba ho loka ho hlalisoang ke liketso tsa motho; empa ho loka hona ho ho cha ho koahlotsoe ke Evangeli, ke hore, ho senoletsoe batho ke Jesu, e leng bofihla bo botle. Hape ho loka hona . . . ha ho tsoe kae le kae; ho tsoa tumelong feela, hape ho balloa tumelo feela. Qaleho ea hona ke tumelo ea motho ka mong; le qetello ea hona e ntse ele tumelo eo. 'Nete eo e theiloe holima selekane sa khale, empa Paulusi o qotsa lentsoe leo e leng sona, o re: joale ka ho ngoliloe ho thoe: 'Ea lokileng o tla phela ke tumelo.' (Habakuke2:4) . . . Motho ea itšepetseng ho loka le matla a ho iketsa ea lokileng, o tla timela. Empa motho ea ikokobetsang ea beileng tšepo ea hae ho Molimo feela. Molimo o tla mo bitsa motho ea lokileng, 'me o tla mopholosa. Dieterlen, *Hlaloso ea Ba-Roma*, p.11.

¹²⁸⁷ Calvin, *Commentary on the Romans*, pp. 44-45.

Romans 1: 18-23

Dieterlen wrote that the wrath of God is just and holy but that of man is bad, as it is accompanied by evil. God's wrath is often caused by those who do not keep his law and who continue sinning and suppressing his truth; according to Calvin, the truth of God constitutes the true knowledge of God¹²⁸⁸. God's wrath is manifested in God's punishment of every blasphemy and every wrongdoing as well as every transgression of his law. Man, because of his or her finite nature, cannot fully comprehend God and his works. Moreover, God is infinite. All people have a natural or innate knowledge of God. God reveals his knowledge in people's souls as well as in his creation. In this way, no one can claim not to know him. Nonetheless, man did not make use of the knowledge of God. Instead he allowed himself the liberty to ignore the goodness of God and was superstitious as well as idolatrous.¹²⁸⁹ Calvin illuminated this point of the knowledge of God in book one of his *Institutes of the Christian Religion*. Calvin noted that the knowledge of God is intrinsic in every person. A person is born with a sense that there is a Supreme Being or deity that must be worshipped. He maintained that even idolatry alluded to the knowledge of God. Nonetheless, he posited

¹²⁸⁸*Ibid*, p. 47.

¹²⁸⁹Bohale ba Molimo ke khalefo ea Oona. Khalefo ea motho e kopane le bobbe, e mpe; khalefo ea Molimo e hloekile ea halalela . . . O boulela molao oa oona le batho ba oona. O halefela ke hona sebe le ea etsang sebe. . . ba koallang 'nete ea Molimo teronkong ka mekoallo ea bobbe boo ba bo ratang le ho boetsa . . . Bohale bona bo bonahala ka . . . ho o tla nyefolo e ngoe le e ngoe le ho otl'a bokhopo bo bong le bobong, [le] eng le eng eo motho a siteloang molao . . . Motho o sitoa ho tsebisisa Molimo le tsohle tsa oona. Ka hobane Molimo, o mofeta hole-hole. Empa motho a ka 'na a eelloa litaba tse ling tse kholo tsa boleng ba oona, tse ka lemohuoang ke moea oa hae; batho bohle bakholoa ho ba hona le ea ba phahametseng, e leng Molimo; le boleng ba oona ba bo tseba ka 'nqa e 'ngoe ka hobane ba bopetsoe ho tseba tse joalo . . . Batho ba atisa ho hopola matla a Molimo ha ba boha tse bopiloeng ke oona, empa ba lemoha bo molimo ba oona ha ba eelloa ka moo tse sebetsoang ke oona li entsoeng ka bohlale le ka lerato, e leng seo motho a ke keng a se etsa, se fetang motho . . . ba sitoe ho itatola le ho itlhatsoa ka hore, bona ha ba ka ba bontšoa Molimo ka mesebetsi ea oona, ba re ha bana molato ke hona. Ea itlhatsoang joalo o bolela leshano. Tsebo ea Molimo ha ba ka ba e sebelisa bophelong ba bona, ba e nyopisitse, ba phela joalo ka ho ja ba sa o tsebe . . . ha ba ka ba busetsa teboho ho oona . . . ba nahana mafeela, ba tšepa mafeela joale ka ho paka mekhoea ea bahedene. Dietelen, *Hlaloso ea Ba-Roma* pp. 14-15.

that it is a corrupted knowledge of God.¹²⁹⁰ Furthermore, he averred that the knowledge of God is conspicuous in creation. All creation testifies to the existence of God.¹²⁹¹

It thus appears that there is no excuse for the heathens who say they do not know God and condemnation is what they deserve.

Dieterlen underlined the following points in this section:

He maintained that while a person may not blaspheme God by words, he is still guilty of dishonouring Him by his actions. To suppress truth with crookedness is a common thing. It is to kill oneself.¹²⁹²

Dieterlen saw crookedness and self-condemnation in the fact that some of the Basuto, in principle, embraced Christianity, but at the same time behaved differently from the way expected of them.

When you see those who have the true knowledge of God looking at gods as well as *balimo* (the living-dead or departed ancestors), you immediately realise how lost are the people who are attached to the gods or *balimo*. One is astonished by this ignorance.¹²⁹³

The Basuto venerated their departed ancestors, and this was a direct attack on that from Dieterlen. He found it pathetic as well as fallacious that the Basuto were so attached to the *balimo*. For him the knowledge of God was sufficient and desirable for all people.

What a fool is the person who does not commit the things of God to his or her mind or hold them in his or her head. He thinks of the little things of this world, believes in vanities such as divining bones, ghosts and traditional doctors.¹²⁹⁴

¹²⁹⁰ Calvin, *The Institutes of the Christian Religion*, translated by Henry Beveridge (Massachusetts: Hendrickson, 2009), 1.3.1, 4.1.

¹²⁹¹ *Ibid*, 1.5.1.

¹²⁹² Le ha motho a sa nyefole Molimo ka molomo, o ntse a le molato ha a o tlotlolla ka liketso tsa hae. Ho hatella 'nete ka bokhopo ke mokhoa o atileng haholo; ke ho ipolaea. Dieterlen, *Hlaloso ea Ba-Roma*, p.16.

¹²⁹³ Ha u tseba seo Molimo oa 'nete o leng sona, 'me o talima ho bitsoang balimo, u tla lemoha bolahlehi ba batho ba khorametseng melimo le balimo, u tsote bothoto ba bona. *Ibid*.

¹²⁹⁴ A booatla ba motho ea sa kenyeng litaba tsa Molimo kelellong le hloohong ea hae. O nahana tse nyenyane, tsa lefeela, o tšepa mafeela-feelane: litaola, lithotsela, baloi, bongaka bo sa tsebisahaleng. *Ibid*.

Dieterlen was disappointed by the fact that the Basuto would not do away with some of the traditional beliefs such as belief in divining bones, ghosts and traditional medicine practices which, as missionaries, they deemed to be not in line with Christianity. He had expected them to fully embrace Christianity, take pleasure in it and meditate on the Word of God.

A heart that is not discerning, that is not educated is dull and does not function properly. There are many people who are like that. Their good sense of things is dead. But a heart that is continually renewed by the truth as well as the spirit of God, gushes out good and adorns its owner.¹²⁹⁵

According to Dieterlen religious instruction was indispensable. It made people better people and without it life has no meaning. Anyone who continually receives it yields good fruit.

Romans 1: 24-32

Dieterlen believed that God's punishment on heathens, as written in this part, will come to pass on the judgement day, as others believed so. At the same time, he believed that part of the punishment was already taking place. He mentioned the foolishness and dullness of the heart found in heathens as an example. He maintained that Paul here illustrated those who made a joke or a lie of the knowledge of God by giving themselves up to idolatry and superstition and claiming it as wisdom would be more severely punished.¹²⁹⁶

¹²⁹⁵Pelo e hlohang kelello, e sa hlalefisoeng, ea fifala, e be e site ho phetha mosebetsi oa eona. Batho ba lipelo tse joalo ba bangata. Seliba sa maikutlo le sa merero e lokileng se pshele. A the pelo e ntseng e nchafatsoa ka 'nete le moea oa Molimo e kolla botle, e khabisa monga eona. *Ibid.*

¹²⁹⁶Ba bangata ba bolela hobane likotlo tsa ba babe li tla phethahala mohla letsatsi la kahlolo ea la bofelo. 'Nge 'ngoe ho joalo. Empa likotlo tse ling ke tsa mehla ea joale. Re se re bone boeatla le ho fifala ha lipelo, e leng likotlo kapa litholoana tsa bohedene. Pauluse o re bontšatse ling, tse fetisang, tseo Molimo o khalemelang ka tsona batho ba tlolang molao oa boraro o reng: U se ke oa iketsetsa setšoantš[o] le tlolo tse ling. *Ibid*, p.17.

Calvin concurs with this point, but he added, ‘All nations are under consideration here not only the philosophers. He maintained that all people have the propensity to create God according to how they conceived of him as well as ‘their carnal reason’.¹²⁹⁷

Dieterlen further explained that when God abandons a person, his or her life becomes miserable and is exposed to despicable sins that even contravene the order of creation as well as how God had created man. For instance, they are given up to prostitution instead of marriage and the procreation and upbringing of children.¹²⁹⁸

Dieterlen concluded this section by these underpinning points:

When God abandons a person, that person's ruination is all embracing. It affects his or her heart, spirit, and mind as well as actions. The knowledge of the holy God makes a person holy.¹²⁹⁹ A person must strive to learn about God continuously and God must always come first.¹³⁰⁰ There are so many sins among people. Some people invent new ones which they take from other nationalities.¹³⁰¹ Dieterlen observed that the Basuto who worked in the goldmines brought back home some bad habits which they saw there. As a result, new evils were introduced at home. A person who engages in evil is controlled by it; he has no self control and consciously as well as unconsciously runs towards his or her ruin.¹³⁰²

¹²⁹⁷ Calvin, Commentary on the Romans, p.51.

¹²⁹⁸ Molimo . . . ka ho tlohela motho, o honyetsa letsoho la oona le neng le sa ntse le mo tšoere ; joale motho eo . . . o e ketsa ho etsa bobee; ho senyeha ha hae ho tsoela pele . . . ka hlaha liketso tse tšabehang tse fapaneng le molao oa popo le botho. Dieterlen, *Hlaloso ea Ba-Roma*. p. 17.

¹²⁹⁹ Ha Molimo o sutha pela motho, motho o sala a senyeha, a bole pelong, moeeng, kelellong le liketsong. Tseboea Molimo o halalelang e halaletsamotho. *Ibid*.

¹³⁰⁰ Motho o tšoanetse ho ithuta Molimo ka phehello. Oho, Molimo, a nke ke u bee ka pel’a ka ka mehla. *Ibid*.

¹³⁰¹ Libe li se li le ngata hara batho; empaba bang ba ba qapela tse ncha, ba li lata makhooeng, Gaudeng, lichabeng tse ling, ba li tlisa hae. *Ibid*, p. 21.

¹³⁰² Motho ea etsang bobee ho ka thoe, o taoa ke bona; ha a sana boitšoaro; o mathela selomong a ntse a se tseba; tsebo ea hae e hloloa ke botaoa kapa bohanya boo. *Ibid*. pp. 21-22.

Romans 2:1-29

Dieterlen maintained that Paul had revealed how lost the heathens were and now he turned to the Jews. He showed that they were also guilty before God and were condemned.¹³⁰³ Paul criticised the Jews for their pride and for despising others who were not Jews. He asserted that the Jews would be judged by the measure by which they judged others. This was the righteous judgement of God. Additionally, the Jews deceived themselves by believing that God's judgement would not affect them. They perceived themselves as a righteous people who would not be judged.¹³⁰⁴

Dieterlen noted that God had indeed, in his mercy, cared for the people of Israel from the time of their deliverance from Egypt to the times of the apostle Paul, when they had killed Jesus and refused to repent and believe the Gospel. This however did not mean that God turned a blind eye to their sins. God's plan was to save Israel from her sins as well as calling her to repent so, anyone who did not adhere to that, was despising that plan.¹³⁰⁵

While a person who refuses to repent reaps that which is bad (perdition), a person who seeks God reaps what is good (eternal life).¹³⁰⁶

The Jews would be judged first because much was given unto them, they were the first to be taught about God and the heathens would come after them. No one would escape from the judgement of God.¹³⁰⁷

¹³⁰³Paulusi ha a se a senotse bolahlehi ba bahedene, joale o fetela ho ba-Jode, o bontša hobane le bona pel'a Molimo le ka tlasa tsuo ena. Le ha a sa boelele lebitso la mo-Jode qalong ea hlaloso eo, hamorao o le bolela phatlalatsa, temaneng ea 17. *Ibid*, p. 22.

¹³⁰⁴Paulosi o koba mo-Jude, ka ha e ne e le moitšepi ea nyelisang bohle bao e seng ba sechaba sa Israele . . . O tla lekangoa ka tekanyo eo a lekanyang ba bang ka eona (matth.7.2-5). See e leng 'nete, ke hoba kahlolo e teng ea Molimo, e lokileng le hona . . . Fela mo-Juda o ithetsa ka hore, kahlolo e joalo e ke ke ea mofihlela . . . Ba-Jude ba ne baipona e le batho ba lokileng, ba kekeng baahloloa. Dieterlen, Hlaloso ea *Ba-Roma*, pp. 23, 24.

¹³⁰⁵Molimo o ne o fela o ba baretse ba-Iserale ka monono (ke hore ka bongata) oa mohau oa oona, ha esale o bantša Egepeti ho fihlela mehleng ea Pauluse, ha ba-Jude ba ne ba bolaile Jesu le ho hana ho baka le ho lumela, ka moo barutuo ba Jesu baneng ba bakhothatsa ka teng. A the mamelloea Molimo hase hore o feta libe tsa bona feela. O na le morero oa ho ba namolela melatong ea bona, le ho ba bakisa. Motho ea hanag ho baka o nyelisa menono eo... *Ibid*, p. 24.

¹³⁰⁶. . . ha motho a hana ho baka, o kotula bobele bona: u ipokelella bohale bo tlang ho u hlalela . . . Ho etsa ha mpe ho hlalisoa motho lefu le hlompollo; ho etsa hantle ho mohlalisoa mahlohonolo ana: Molimo o mo neha bophelo bo sa feleng. *Ibid*, pp.24-25, 26.

Dieterlen explained how faith is related to the fact that people would be judged according to their works. He maintained that works are a testimony of a person's character. A person who has bad works proves by them that he does not believe in God and has not been moulded by Jesus. In the same way, a person who has good deeds proves by them that he believes in God and is reformed by him. This is accompanied by trust, obedience and faith all of which help a person to shun evil and to follow what is good.¹³⁰⁸

In conclusion, Dieterlen wrote the following:

Judging others brings judgement upon oneself. Doing the things that one condemns in others is a stupid act and is bad.¹³⁰⁹ To accumulate guilt and punishment for oneself is a horrible thing. A person must stop sinning by making confessions of his or her sins. It will be bad for him or her on the day of reckoning.¹³¹⁰ It thus follows that a person will answer for his or her sins on the judgement day.

To continue doing well is a good thing and that earns a person a joyful reward. This is the wisdom found in a true Christian.¹³¹¹ To incite the wrath of the almighty God is to play with fire. The hope of escaping from the hands of God comes from where?¹³¹²

Calvin maintained that 'the day of the last judgment is called the day of wrath, when

¹³⁰⁷ Ba-jude ba tla ahloloe pele, ka hobane ke bona barutiloeng 'nete ea Molimo pele (1 Pet. 4:17) hape ba nehiloe haholo; kahlolo ea bahedene e tla tla hamorao. Empa moea oa motho ka mong o tla ahloloe; ha ho ea tla phonyoha teng. *Ibid*, p.26.

¹³⁰⁸ Empa potso ke ena: Ha batho ba tla a hloloe ka liketso tsa bona, tumelo e ke na ka e litabeng tsa poloke ho ea mo-kreste, ha ele moo ho itsoe ke Pauluse: Ea lokileng o tlaphela ke tumelo, kapa ha a itse ha se ka mesebetsi, ke ka tumelo, ka mohau (ba-Ef. 2:8)? Karabo ke ena: Liketso ke bopaki ba seo motho a leng sona. Ea liketso tse mpe o pakoa ke tsona hobane ha a ka a tšepa Molimo, ha aka a lokisoa ke Jesu. Ea liketso tse ntle o pakoa ke tsona hore o inehetse Molimo ka ho tšepa le hore o nchafatsoa ke Jesu. 'Me boinehelo bona bo kopaneng le tšepo le kutlo, ke eona tumelo. Ke ka ba ka leo bolumeli bona motho a tsebang ho hlobohane le bobele ho khomarela botle. Dieterlen, *Hlaloso ea Baroma*, p.27.

¹³⁰⁹ Ha motho a ahlola ba bang, o se a ikahlola. Hape ha a etsa tseo a linyatsang ho ba bang, o etsa taba e sethoto, e mpe. *Ibid*, p. 27.

¹³¹⁰ Pokello ea melato le ea likotlo ke taba e tšabehang ha ka kang . . . Mohla litaba li sebetsoang, tšoho ea bona etlaba e joang! Motho a se ke a eketsa , a mpe a mpe a fokotse ka boinyatso. Dieterlen, *Hlaloso ea Baroma* ,p.27

¹³¹¹ Pokello ea liketso tse ntle eona ke ntho e molemo ruri, e tla amohelisa motho moputso o monate. Ke bona bohale bo fumanoang ho mokreste oa 'nete. *Ibid*, p.27

¹³¹² Ho halefisa Molimo o matla ohle ke ho bapala ka mollo. Tšepo ea ho phonyoha matsohong a Molimo keefe? *Ibid*.

reference is made to the ungodly; but it will be a day of redemption to the faithful.’¹³¹³

Dieterlen asserted that anyone who does not hearken to the truth - ‘according to Calvin ‘the word truth ... meant revealed will of God’¹³¹⁴- does so unto wickedness. If a person is not righteous, it follows that he is unrighteous. An idle mind is the devil’s workshop.¹³¹⁵ It thus turns out that lack of religious enthusiasm yields a negative result.

Dieterlen averred that some people are striving to perish; they persistently go headlong into ruin and distress. It is important for a person to work hard for his or her salvation.¹³¹⁶ Dieterlen and Calvin are in full agreement in this section in stating that no one will escape the judgement of God. God cannot be cheated. He sees the innermost of a person, as Calvin correctly notes,

God will punish sin without any respect of persons, in whomsoever it will be found; and he will not heed outward appearances, nor be satisfied with any outward work, except what has proceeded from real sincerity of heart... God will take an account, not only of their disguised righteousness, but also of their secret motives and feelings.¹³¹⁷

Dieterlen maintained that Paul was straight forward when he said that God is not unjust in his judgement.¹³¹⁸ Everyone would be judged accordingly. The heathens being without the Law of Moses would be judged without it. Their lack of a written law should not be an excuse. They had a ‘natural light of righteousness.’ Their conscience is a law unto them.¹³¹⁹ Thomas Aquinas and scholastic theology said the same thing.

¹³¹³Calvin. *Commentary on the Romans*, p. 65.

¹³¹⁴*Ibid*, p. 68.

¹³¹⁵Ea sa utloeng ‘nete e ba o utloa bokhopo. Ha u se motle, e ba u mobe. Moo mabele a sa jaloeng teng mobu ha o lule feela, ho mpaho mela lehola. Dieterlen, *Hlaloso ea Ba-Roma*, p.27

¹³¹⁶Ruri ba bang bapheheletse ho timela, ba sebeletsa tahleho le mahlomola a teng ka tiisetso e kholo. Motho a mpe a phehelle ho bolokeha, a tiisetse teng. Dieterlen, *Hlaloso ea Ba-Roma*, p.27

¹³¹⁷ Calvin, *Commentary on the Romans*, p. 62.

¹³¹⁸Paulusi o boletse hobane Molimo ha o etse leeme li kahlolong tsa oona. Dieterlen, *Ba-Roma*, p.28.

¹³¹⁹Bahedene ba bang, le ha ba sa phetha molao kaofela, ba ka tšoha ba etsa litaba tse ling tse ntle tse bapileng le molao ona; ke taba e tse joang le ke rona ba Lesotho. Ba etsisoa hona ke ho itseba ha bona, ba ho rutoa ke ho hong holeng teng [k]a hare ho bona; baithaopa. Liketso tsena tse lokileng li paka hobane bona ba se nang molao oa Moshe, ba na le molao oa bona, e leng oa botho, oa hlaho; ho ka thoe mohedene ke molao ho mohedene; molao oa hae ke letsoalo la hae ...Dieterlen, *Hlaloso ea Ba-Roma*, p. 29.

Calvin, noted, ‘the keeping of the law is within our power...not of the power to fulfil the law, but of the knowledge of it.’¹³²⁰ Furthermore, Calvin maintained,

All the Gentiles alike instituted religious rites, they made laws to punish adultery, and theft, and murder, they commended good faith in bargains and contracts. They have thus indeed proved, that God ought to be worshipped, that adultery, and theft, and murder are evils, that honesty is commendable.¹³²¹

Dieterlen, in agreement with Calvin, wrote that the natural or innate law is made evident in the ways of the Basuto. *Sesuto* (the way of the Basuto) is against adultery, murder, theft and calumny and commands children to respect their parents. When people break these laws, they will be judged by them. Therefore, a heathen should not excuse himself or herself by saying: I did not know. He knew.¹³²²

The above example exemplifies the affinity between Dieterlen and Calvin. Dieterlen applied his expositions to the Basuto and their context, but the content of text analysis is the same as that of Calvin. The knowledge of God is natural, and all people are conscious of God. It is probable that Dieterlen used Calvin’s *commentary on the Romans*.

Romans 2:17-29

In this section Paul turns to the Jews. They would also be judged by the law given to them. Dieterlen wrote that the name ‘Jew’ is a good name and means ‘Jehuda or Juda’ meaning one who is praised or the name of the chosen of God.¹³²³ On the other hand, Calvin maintained that the origin of the name is uncertain. He asserted that it arose after the dispensation. He

¹³²⁰ Calvin, *Commentary on the Romans*, p. 73.

¹³²¹ *Ibid.*

¹³²² Molao oa hlaho o bonahala haholo mekhoeng ea Basuto; Sesotho se nyatsa bofebe, le polao, l[e] bosholu, le ketselletso, se laela bana hohlompha batsoali ba bona. Le ha batho ba tlola melaoeo ea hlaho . . . ba tla ahloloa holima eona. Mohedene a se ke a itlhatsoa ka ho re: Ke ne ke sa tsebe. Oa tseba. Dieterlen, *Hlaloso ea Ba-Roma*, p. 31.

¹³²³ . . . mo-Jude ke lebitso le letle, le reng: ea bokoang (Jehuda, Juda), ha le fetoloa, lebitso la mokhethoa oa Molimo. *Ibid.*, p. 31.

further suggested that Flavius Josephus¹³²⁴ claimed that it was taken after Judas Maccabæus.¹³²⁵

This is not quite true. They were called Jews before the captivity, and during their exile and quite often after exile.¹³²⁶

Dieterlen maintained that the Jews were privileged, being the chosen ones of God as well as having been given the law, but this made them haughty. They looked down upon other nations who were not as privileged as they were. They were conceited and alleged that they were the guides and instructors of the ignorant. However, their knowledge of the law was superficial and superfluous. The very things that they reproved others for, they themselves did.¹³²⁷

Calvin, on the other hand, noted that Paul showed, ‘The Jews that the praise that they appropriated to themselves, turned out to their own disgrace. They relied on the mere knowledge of the law and lived in no way better than if they had no law.’¹³²⁸ Furthermore, Calvin pointed out that Paul illustrated that an uncircumcised Gentile who keeps the law is better than a circumcised Jew who did not. He wrote,

Circumcision looks to the law... It is then a greater thing to keep the law than circumcision...It hence follows, that the uncircumcised, provided he keeps the law, far excels the Jew with his barren and unprofitable circumcision, if he be a transgressor

¹³²⁴ Flavius Josephus was a Jewish general who led the revolt of the Jews against the Romans and then wrote a history of those events (37-100).

¹³²⁵ Judas Maccabaeus was a Jewish leader of a revolt in Judea that covered Jerusalem around 166 BC; hero of the Apocryphal books 1 Maccabees and 2 Maccabees (? 161 BC)

¹³²⁶ For example, see, 2 Kings:16: 6, Esther 4:3, Nehemia 2:16

¹³²⁷ Mo-Jode... lebitso la mokhethoa oa Molimo; u tsepile molao oa Moshe... U ithorisa ka Molimo o itšenoletseng ba-Iseraele... o sa itšenolelang lichabatse ling joalo... U ikutloa hobane o na le matla le kabelo ea ho ruta ba bang ba sa tsebeng thato ea Molimo. Mahlohonolo ana ke bomalimabe bo bo ka kang ha motho a sa sebetse hantle ka 'ona! U mobe, U se thoto liketsong tsa hao u ntse o tšoare tsebo matsohong; uena ea reng ho se ke ha utsua, oa utsoa . . . Dieterlen, *Hlaloso ea Ba-Roma*, pp. 32, 33.

¹³²⁸ Calvin, Commentary on the Romans, p.79.

of the law: and though he is by nature polluted, he shall yet be so sanctified by keeping the law, that un-circumcision shall be imputed to him for circumcision.¹³²⁹

While Dieterlen and Calvin equated circumcision with baptism and intimated that it was important to consider the spiritual or inward meaning of the rite and not only to observe it outwardly, Dieterlen added that three words must be changed in all the verses in this section: the word Jew to that of a Christian; circumcision to baptism and the law to the gospel. He believed that that would help a person to realise who was a true Christian as well as to understand the true meaning of baptism and what the Holy Spirit does in the heart of a person. It is not just an outward symbol of water sprinkled on the forehead.

Lastly, this would also help a person to recognise the marked difference between the circumcision of the Jews and of the Basuto. In both cases what is done with a knife is the same thing, but the spiritual meaning is not the same. To the Jews circumcision symbolised that a person has entered a covenant with God, whereas to the Basuto it symbolised that a person has no covenant with God and his law. While it is alleged that the initiation lodge is the school of Moses and the Basuto are the descendants of Abraham by their circumcision, this is a lie and blasphemy.¹³³⁰

Dieterlen mistook the Basuto initiation schools for the Jewish circumcision. This point is discussed in detail in Chapter Six on his perceptions of the Basuto culture. According to him, the adherence of the Basuto to the initiation school was a rejection of the God of Christianity and his law. He thus worked very hard to discourage and eradicate it.

¹³²⁹*Ibid*, p. 82.

¹³³⁰Ke ntse ke re ...u nke litemana tsena kaofela, 'me ho tsona u fetole mantsoe a mararo feela. Bakeng sa mo-Jode, e re, mokreste; bakeng sa lebollo, e re, kolobetso; bakeng sa molao, e re, Evangeli . . . U tla eelloa hore eo e leng mokreste oa 'nete ke ea joang, le kolobetso . . . seo motho a etsoang mokreste ka sona, ke seo moea oa Molimo o se phethang pelong ea hae, e seng letšoao la metsi le beoang phatleng ea hae . . . Lebollo la ba-Jude e ne e le letšoao la hore motho o kentsoe kapa o kene seleaneng sa Molimo le molaong oa oona. La Basuto ke letšoao la hore motho ha kena seleaneng sa Molimo le molaong oa oona. Se sebetsoang ka thipa kentho e le ngoe; empa se ka lipelong se fapane ha bohloko. Le ha ho thoe mophato ke sekolo sa Moshe, kapa Basuto ke litloholo ts a Abrahama ka lebollo ke leshano feela le nyefolo. Dieterlen, *Hlaloso ea Ba-Roma*, pp.35-36.

Chapter 3: 1-20

Dieterlen adjudged that the first eight verses in this part were incomprehensible as they were so closely packed. For this reason, he wrote that three questions would be considered to help unpack them: firstly, what made a Jew superior to other people, when he was also faced with condemnation like the heathens? And what was the benefit of circumcision? It was to the Jews the Word of God that was entrusted.¹³³¹

Calvin, in agreement, averred, ‘The oracles, the covenant which God revealed first to Abraham and to his posterity and afterwards sealed and unfolded by the law and the Prophets, were committed to them.’¹³³² Moreover, Calvin believed that ordinarily the Jews were on the same level with other men but if the favours of God - the sacrament coupled with God’s word - were taken into account, he admitted that they were superior to other men. However, he maintained, ‘the Jews did not become superior over others through any merit or self worthiness but through the mercy of God.’¹³³³

Secondly, some of them were faithless; so then, could that disturb the faithfulness of God? Of course not, said Dieterlen! If that were the case how would God judge the world? God is the mighty judge of the world; if he could be deprived of that it would be the end of his divinity.¹³³⁴ Calvin maintained, ‘The truth of God does not lose stability through men’s wickedness.’¹³³⁵

Thirdly, if our wickedness advertises the goodness of God, do we feel that God is being unfair to punish us in return? Dieterlen maintained that this question is like the one in verse

¹³³¹ Litemana tse robeli tsa pele tsa khaohanyo ena li thata ka hobane li kopane haholo. Li bolela litaba tse ngata ka mantsoe a se makae . . . Taba ena e hlaisa lipotso tse tharo tseo re eang ho li nahana. Potso ea pele ke e reng: (1) Ha ho le joalo, seo mo-Jode a fetang ba bang ka sona ke ‘ng? Ha ele moo a okametsoe ke tsuo joalo ka mohetene; kapa mol[e]mo oa lebollo ke o fe? Mantsoe a Molimo a itšenolelang batho bohle a tšepetsoe ba-Jode, a neiloe ho bona...*Ibid*, pp.36 - 37.

¹³³² Calvin, *Commentary on the Romans*, pp. 87, 88.

¹³³³ *Ibid*. p. 87.

¹³³⁴ Hleka le ha ba bang ba bona ba sa ka balumela, ho se lumele ha bona ho ka fosisa ho tšepaha ha Molimo? Ho se ke ha thualo, ke phoso e mpe . . . Molimo ke Morena le moahloli oa lefatše, hojane o ka latoleloa kabelo eo bo – Molimo ba oona bo ne bo tla fela ruri. Dieterlen, *Hlaloso ea Baroma*, pp. 37-38.

¹³³⁵ Calvin, *Commentary on the Romans*, p. 89.

eight: ‘And why not do evil that good may come?’ He posited that this question needed no answers and explanations because it was obvious to all people that it was a mistake. He declared that Paul flatly stated that their condemnation is just and added that they deserved a severe punishment because they were wicked.¹³³⁶

Calvin on the other hand, declared, ‘this impious expression deserved to be regarded with horror, and not to be heard...God shall judge the world; he cannot then be unjust.’¹³³⁷

Calvin and Dieterlen’s treatment of these first eight verses of chapter three, to a large degree, are in agreement: that which differentiates the Jews from other people is their covenant with God not their own merits per se. Their faithless as well as their wickedness neither disturbed God’s covenant with them or his judgement and his truth. Where the two differ is on the analysis of the text. Each one of them followed his own hermeneutics as pointed out earlier.

Romans 3: 9-20

Dieterlen wrote that Paul repeated his argument that the Jews and heathens deserved the judgement of God. He maintained that Paul appealed to the scriptures¹³³⁸ to support and confirm his argument. He pointed out that they sinned against God, not only through their mouths,¹³³⁹ but with their feet as well.¹³⁴⁰ He cited Lesotho as an example of where murders were committed over trivial offences.¹³⁴¹

¹³³⁶Empa ekare ha ‘neteea Molimo e bonahatsoa ke leshano la ka, ‘me khanya ea oona e holisoa ke hona, na ke tsoeloang joaloka hoja ke le moetsalibe? Bothoto ba potso ena Paulose o bo hlaisa ka ho ngola lentsoe le leng le a beng le boleloa hoja potso eo e le e nepileng: (8) ‘Me ha re etse bobbe keng botle bo tle bohlahe? Potso e joalo ha ena hofetoloa, ha e fetoloe ka lihlaloso; e bonoa ke motho e mong le e mong hore ke phoso. Karabo ea Pauluse ke e khutšoanyane, e pomang litaba haufi: Tsuo ea bao e lokile, ba lokeloa ke kahlolo e thata, ka hobane ba lonya. Dieterlen, *Hlaloso ea Baroma*, pp. 38, 39.

¹³³⁷ Calvin, *Commentary on the Romans*, p. 93.

¹³³⁸ Psalm 14: 1-3.

¹³³⁹ James 3:1-12.

¹³⁴⁰ Isaiah 59: 7, 9.

¹³⁴¹Joale Paulusi, ha a se a hlalositse hobane ba-Jude le bahedene ba tšoaneloa ke kahlolo ea Molimo, o sa tiisa taba ena ka bopaki bo nkiloeng mangolong a Halalelang (Pes.14: 1-3). U elelloe mona mefuta e mengata-ngata ea liketso tse mpe tsa leleme feela, ‘me u bale Jak. 3: 1-12. Ha se melomo feela e leng mebe, le maoto a joalo (Isaia 59: 7, 8). Ba senyetsa ba bang ha bonolo, ba batšoarela melamu kapa marumo ho se lebaka la nnete,

Dieterlen deduced from this that the law of God must not only be spoken of but God must be talked about as a reality, that is, as a living, sensible, all-seeing and working God. God must be respected and loved. Respect for God is like a wall buffer without which, a person falls into all kinds of sins.¹³⁴²

Dieterlen held that the Jews who believed that the short comings of the unrighteous: the lack of understanding, not seeking after God and doing no good works did not apply to them but to the heathens. He maintained that Paul insisted that the Jews as well as the Gentiles had turned away from the law of God and had become unprofitable. As a result, they deserved God's condemnation. Furthermore, no man can justify himself- as the Jews attempted to do - before God, by a perfect performance of the law's demands. The law always shows how crooked mankind really is.¹³⁴³

Calvin maintained that it was a matter of debate among the learned as to what the works of the law of God meant. He pointed out that some of the church fathers¹³⁴⁴ held that it meant the ceremonies of the law, not the whole law.¹³⁴⁵

Romans 3:21-31

Dieterlen wrote that after Paul had finished explaining that all people were under condemnation, heathens turned to show how people were saved. He noted that Paul explained what God had done for people to be saved.¹³⁴⁶

joaloka ha re bona koano Lesotho ba bang [ba] bolaea motho holima taba e nyenyane. Dieterlen, *Hlaloso ea Baroma*, pp. 40, 41.

¹³⁴²U se ke ua 'na oa bolela molao oa Molimo feela; u bue ka Molimo e leng o phelang, o utloang, o bonang, o sebetsang; 'me o tšabe, u be o rate . . . Ho tšaba Molimo ke lerako; ha le helelitsoe, motho o oela bobeng ka nqa tsohle, ho se thibelo. *Ibid*, pp. 41-42.

¹³⁴³Ba-Jodeba ne ba ka la latola ka ho re, mantsoe a mangata a tsoang hoboaleloa a tšoanela bahedene, e seng ba-Jode. Paulusi o qoba karabo ena ka ho tiisa hore ona le tokelo ea ho a lebisa ho ba-Jode . . . Molao mona ke o ngotsoeng tse estamenteng ea khale; ba molaong ke bapusong ea oona. Linyatso tse nepang bahedene li nyatsa le bona ba-Jode... e sita le hoja motho a ka ba teng ea phethang litaelo tsohle-tsohle tsa molao, o tla 'ne a hloke le se etsang hore a tšoaneloe ke ho bitsoa ea lokileng ka baka la sona, e leng lerato. Dieterlen, *Hlaloso ea Baroma*, pp. 42, 43.

¹³⁴⁴ John Chrysostom (347-407), Origen Adamantius (185-254), and Saint Jerome (347-420).

¹³⁴⁵ Calvin, Commentary on the Romans, p. 103.

Dieterlen averred that things had changed. God has revealed the righteousness which is apart from the Law. This righteousness works in all who have faith in Jesus Christ. It is imparted by God by his grace, and no one earns it. God accomplished it in the redemptive work of Jesus Christ.¹³⁴⁷

Calvin, in accordance, posited that this righteousness ‘flows from him alone, or that its origin is from heaven, but that it is made manifest to us in Christ.’¹³⁴⁸

As a lamb was sacrificed in the Old Covenant for the sins of the people, Jesus was also sacrificed in the same way, to reconcile the sinners to God. While reconciliation between God and a sinner made it imperative for a sinner to be committed to his or her act of making a sacrifice, in the same way, Jesus’ sacrifice is only for those who believe in his shed blood and not for all.¹³⁴⁹

Calvin explained, ‘God is propitious to us as soon as we have our trust resting on the blood of Christ; for by faith, we come to the possession of this benefit.’¹³⁵⁰

Instead of punishing all people on the judgement day, God has made a new way for a person to take part in Jesus’ death so that he may be saved and forgiven sins. By making Jesus our redeemer, God has manifested his holiness and grace. In this way, there is no way one can boast. All are sinners and no one is righteous. However, Paul maintains that righteousness comes through faith. This is the main theme of his teaching. Even though God

¹³⁴⁶Pauluse o qetile ho hlalosa hobane mofuta kaofela oa batho o ka tlasa tsuo. Joale o kena tabeng ea ho hlalosa hore batho ba bolokeha joang. O qala ka ho hlalosa seo Molimo o se entseng batho ba tle ba bolokehe. Dieterlen, *Hlaloso ea Baroma*, p. 44.

¹³⁴⁷Empa joale, tsa khale li fetile, tsa kajeno ke li- sele, ke tse ncha, ho loka ha Molimo ho hlahile, ho bonahalitsoe. Molimo o senoletse batho hore na motho ha a tla boleloa hore o lokile, e ka khona a be joang. Ho na ho etsahala e seng ka mesebetsi ea molao . . . Mokhoa oa ho loka hona ho tla fihlela motho ka ona: E leng ho loka ha Molimo ho bonoang ka tumelo ho Jesu Krete . . . ho loka hona . . . ho reretsoe batho bohle; ho abeloa mang le mang ea lumelang. Ha ho le ea mong ea loketseng ho abeloa khanya e tšoanang le ea Molimo, eo o tsebang ho e roesa batho . . . Ke mpho ea mohau e abeloang motho ea sa kang a etsa mosebetsi o ka mo amohelisang eona ka mokhoa oa moputso. ‘Me ke tso eo Molimo o sebelitseng taba ena ka eona, o e entse ka topollo eleng ho Jesu Krete. Dieterlen, *Hlaloso ea Baroma*, pp. 45-46

¹³⁴⁸Calvin, *Commentary on the Romans*, p. 109.

¹³⁴⁹Jesu o hlabiloa joaloka konyana e neng e hlajoa bakeng sa moetsalibe mehleng ea selekane sa khale. Empa sehlabelo ha se fumantše batho poelano le Molimo, ha ese ha ba ka kena morerong ona ka sebele sa bona; sehlabelo sa Jesu se molemo ‘ho balumelang maling a hae,’ e seng bohle. Dieterlen, *Hlaloso ea Baroma*, p. 46

¹³⁵⁰Calvin, *Commentary on the Romans*, p. 114.

had enlightened the Jews first, his plan was to enlighten others through them. The Good News of Jesus that works through grace and faith, does not put to an end the Law of Moses, but fulfils it.¹³⁵¹

Calvin asserted, 'Faith alone is required ...the faithful are not distinguished by external marks, and ... hence it matters not whether they be Gentiles or Jews.'¹³⁵² Furthermore, he explained that righteousness cannot be found where there is sin, 'until Christ removes the curse; and this very thing is what is said in Galatians 3:10, that all who are under the law are exposed to the curse, and that we are delivered from it through the kindness of Christ.'¹³⁵³

Dieterlen underlined the following points in this section:

A person must not put his trust in the law, as it only exposes his or her sins, but must trust in Jesus who is able to put an end to the sin.¹³⁵⁴

This is in accordance with Calvin, who maintained, one 'Find[s] in the commandments a demonstration of ... iniquity, and from the sacrifices and oblations you may learn that satisfaction and cleansing are to be obtained in Christ alone.'¹³⁵⁵

It follows that Christ is the end as well as the fulfilment of the law.

While salvation is found through faith and not by works, anyone who wants to be saved must stop doing evil. He must strive for doing what is good.¹³⁵⁶ On the other hand, Calvin posited, 'In the righteousness of faith, no merit of works is allowed.'¹³⁵⁷

¹³⁵¹Jesu o hlabiloe joale ka konyana e neng e hlajoa bakeng sa moetsalibe mehleng ea selekane sa khale. Empa sehlabelo ha se fumantše batho poelano le Molimo, ha ese ha ba ka kena morerong ona ka sebele sa bona.; sehlabelo sa Jesu se molemo ho balumelang maling a hae, e seng ho bohle . . . Empa bakeng sa ho otlala batho bohle mohla kahlolo eo, Molimo o theile mokhoa o mocha oa hore, motho ea ikopanyang le Jesu lefung la hae, a lopolloe ke eena, 'me a tšoareloe melato . . . Ka ho beha Jesu pheko, o beilele seling khalalelo ea oona ha mmoho le mohau oa Oona. Ha ho sa le motho, leha e le mohetene, le ha e le mo-Jode, ea ka ithorisang ka ho re, o tla pholoso ka hore, o tla pholoso ka ho loka ha hae . . . Pauluse o . . . akaretsa litaba tsena kaofela ka hore . . . motho o tla beoa ea lokileng ke ka tumelo ka ntle ho mesebetsi ea molao. O pheta taba ena ha ngata ka hobane ke sehlooho sa thuto ea hae kaofela . . . Le ha Molimo o ratile ba-Jodepele, o ne o hopotse ho ruta lichaba tsohle ka bona ba-Jode bao. Evangeli ea Jesu, ea mohau, ea tumelo, ha e felise molao oa Moshe, empa ea o phetha. Dieterle, *Hlaloso ea Baroma*, pp. 46, 47, 48, 49.

¹³⁵²Calvin, *Commentary on the Romans*, pp. 110.

¹³⁵³*Ibid*, p. 111.

¹³⁵⁴Motho a se ke a tšepa molao, e leng se bontšang motho bobae ba hae, a mpe a tšepa Jesu ea felisang bobae bona. Dieterlen, *Hlaloso ea Baroma*, p. 49.

¹³⁵⁵Calvin, *Commentary on the Romans*, p. 108.

It thus turns out that faith alone makes a man righteous not works.

Romans 4: 1-12

Dieterlen wrote that in this section, Paul explicated that what Abraham gained by his faith was righteousness as well as an inheritance for his posterity. Christians too would be saved by faith. Paul explained what this teaching about Abraham, whom the Jews claimed as their father meant. They were proud of him and emulated him.¹³⁵⁸

Dieterlen maintained that what pleased God in Abraham was his faith only. It was reckoned unto him as righteousness. This righteousness, however, is not earned; it is a gracious gift of God. He made an example: when a workman builds a wall for a man, when the man pays him, it is not that he is being gracious to that man, but he is giving him his fair reward. He owes that man. By paying him he is settling what he owes him. On the other hand, a bad person who has done nothing to deserve God's forgiveness, when he believes in Jesus, God reckons his or her faith as righteousness for him or her. This is not a reward but a gracious act on the part of God who looks at the faith of a person not his or her works. This is how God forgives people their sins.¹³⁵⁹

Calvin, too, argued that Abraham was justified by faith and not by works. He noted,

Abraham, by believing, embraced nothing but the favour offered to him, being persuaded that it would not be void. Since this was imputed to him for righteousness,

¹³⁵⁶Le ha poloko e fumanoa ka tumelo, e seng ka liketso, motho ea ratang ho bolokeha e ka khona a tlohele ho etsa bobbe, 'me a phehelle ho etsa botle. Dieterlen, *Hlaloso ea Baroma*, p. 49.

¹³⁵⁷Calvin, Commentary on the Romans, p. 106.

¹³⁵⁸Joale Paulose o ea hlalosa hore seo Abraham a se fumaneng ka tumelo ea hae, ke ho loka, le lefa, le litloholo, hote hobonahale horebalumeli ba selekane se secha ba tla pholoso ke eona tumelo eo, ka ntle ho mesebetsi ea molao. O hlalosa thuto eo ka litaba tsa Abraham, ka hobane ke eena eo ba-Jode ba neng ba 'mitsa ntata bona, eo baneng ba ithorisa ka eena, ba re, ba molekisa. Dieterlen, *Hlaloso ea Baroma*, p. 50.

¹³⁵⁹Seo Molimo o rorisitseng Abraham ka sona, ke tumelo ea hae feela, ke ho Genese 15: 1-6. Empa ho loka ho na ha ho balloe molumeli ka mokhoa oa moputso oa mosebetsi o entsoeng ke eena. Ho balloang eena ke mohau, a sa ka a phetha mosebetsi o entsoeng ke eena. Monna ea nkhahetseng lerako, ha ke mo lefa, ha se hore kea mo hauhela, ke mo fa feela se motšoanelang, kena le molato (sekoloto) ho eena oa mofufutso oa hae, 'me ka ho mo lefa, ke ntša molato ona . . . Ea leng mobe, ha lumela feela ho Molimo o reng o tla mo pholosa, Molimo o re, tumelo eo e tla ema bakeng sa ho loka hoo a ho hlokang. Molimo o tšoarella batho libe tsa bona joalo. Dieterlen, *Hlaloso ea Baroma*, pp. 51-52.

it follows, that he was not otherwise just, then as one trusting in God's goodness, and venturing to hope for all things from him.¹³⁶⁰

Dieterlen maintained that the Jews claimed that Abraham earned this blessing by way of circumcision. They believed that God had declared them righteous, as they also practised the rite, as did their ancestor Abraham. That belief was wrong.¹³⁶¹

In the same way, Calvin argued, 'Abraham was justified freely, his posterity, who claimed a righteousness of their own by the law, ought to have been made silent even through shame.'¹³⁶²

Now, an immediate question arises: was this blessing for the circumcised only? Dieterlen explained, if that was the case, the heathen would be forced to be circumcised first in order to be forgiven their sin. In this way, forgiveness would be based on works (circumcision) not on faith. As earlier said, Abraham's faith was reckoned unto him as righteousness; this happened when he was still uncircumcised. The rite came later as a seal of God's covenant with him. Circumcision was a sign and testimony of the covenant between God and Abraham.¹³⁶³

Calvin, in accordance, noted, 'circumcision was not unprofitable and superfluous, though it could not justify; but it had another very remarkable use, it had the office of sealing and, as it were, of ratifying the righteousness of faith.'¹³⁶⁴

The purpose of God here was that Abraham might be the circumcised or the spiritual father of both the circumcised and the uncircumcised, embracing the same faith which

¹³⁶⁰Calvin, *Commentary on the Romans*, p.126.

¹³⁶¹Dieterlen, *Hlaloso ea Baroma*, p. 52.

¹³⁶²Calvin, *Commentary on the Romans*, p. 124.

¹³⁶³Hleka lehlohonolo leo le tlela ba lebollo ba 'notsi? Hojane ho joalo, bahedene ba ka be ba tlangoa hore ba bolle pele, ba nto tsoareloa libe; hape tsoarelo eo e ne e tla thehoa holima mesebetsi (ka ha lebollo ele mosebetsi le ketso ea motho), e seng holima tumelo feela. Potso ena e boetse ea hlaha: 'Na lehlohonolo leo ha le tlele le ba sabollang?' . . . karabo, . . . re tsoa re, Abrahama o kile a balloa tumelo hore ke ho loka. Ho se ho bonahala ka hoo hore lebollo ha le na taba teng . . . 'A ke ha a se a bolotse kapa ke ha a e so ka a bolla?' . . . e ne ele ha a eso ho ka a bolla. Dieterlen, *Hlaloso ea Baroma*, pp. 52-53.

¹³⁶⁴Calvin, *Commentary on the Romans*, p. 135.

qualified them as righteous before God. In short, this plan included all people. Thus, Abraham became the father of all nations.

In conclusion, Dieterlen made the following points:

A person has nothing to glory in before God. Glorifying over worldly things, before people, as well as to receive it from them is putting trust in vanity.¹³⁶⁵ Salvation is not based on the good works of a person; it is a gift of the grace of God. Moreover, it is the source of good works.¹³⁶⁶ A person is saved through faith in God and thus trusts in Him.¹³⁶⁷ Faith conceives works; he who does not have faith in God does not trust him and thus lacks true faith.¹³⁶⁸ God in his grace does not need anything to save a person other than faith. He does not look at things that make people different from one another, such as people's circumcision state, colour, wealth, and wisdom. What he wants is faith only.¹³⁶⁹ The promise that was made to Abraham and his descendants, that they would inherit the whole world as their possession was based on faith, not works. Thus, all will partake of that inheritance or promise through faith.¹³⁷⁰ The Sesotho traditional circumcision was totally different from the circumcision of Abraham. That of Abraham was a symbol of God's covenant with him so that he might please God by his faith in him. The Sesotho traditional one had nothing to do with God. It signified that a person had no covenant with God. It was a symbol of heathenism. It made it evident how lost the heathens were.¹³⁷¹

¹³⁶⁵ Motho ha a na ho ithorisa ka letho pela Molimo (t.2). Ho ithorisa ka tsa lefatše, ho ithorisa pela batho, le ho rorisoa ke bona, ke ho tsepa lefeela. *Ibid.* p. 54

¹³⁶⁶ Polokeho ha se moputso oa liketso tse ntle tsa motho; ke mpho ea mohau oa Molimo; hape ke seliba sa liketso tse lokileng (t.4-5) *Ibid.*

¹³⁶⁷ Seo Molimo o pholosang batho ka baka la sona ke tumelo ea hae, ka moo a tšepileng Molimo

¹³⁶⁸ Tumelo eo e emere liketso; ea sa utloeng Molimo, ha o tšepa, ha a na tumelo ea 'nete. *Ibid.*

¹³⁶⁹ Molimo, ka mohau oa oona, ha o talime letho, o tle o boloke motho, ha e se tumelo feela. Ha o bale letho la tseo batho ba fapaneng ka tsona, tse kang lebollo, boqai, 'mala, borui, bohlafe; o ba tla tumelo (t.9-12). *Ibid.*

¹³⁷⁰ Le eona pallo e etselitsoeng Abrahama le leloko la hae hore ba tla ruoa lefatše lohle, e theiloe holima tumelo, e seng holima molao oa liketso. Bohle ba ka jalefa leo ke hona. *Ibid.*

¹³⁷¹ Lebollo la Sesotho le fapane le la Abrahama ka mokhoa o tletseng. La Abrahama e ne e le letšoao le pakang hore o entse selekane le Molimo, a tle a o phelele, a o utloe. La Sesotho ha le batle Molimo letho, 'me ke letšoao la hore motho ha itlama ho Molimo ka letho; ke letšoao la bohedene. 'Me bo khelohi ba bahedene bo bonahala ka hoo ka mokhoa o phethehileng (t.11). *Ibid.*

This point has been explained earlier. Dieterlen's making a repetition of it here makes it more evident than ever that he viewed the Basuto Initiation School negatively and that he was determined to eradicate it. This point is another incident that marks the difference between him and Calvin, as explained earlier.

Romans 4: 13-25

Dieterlen averred that God's promise to Abraham was twofold: that he would eventually possess the land of Canaan with his descendants and that he would be a blessing to all nations. This meant that all the nations would be saved through him, by the salvation that came through the Messiah, Jesus. Moreover, the inheritance was based on faith not upon the works of the law wrought by Abraham and his descendants. For it was said that anyone who believed in God would be reckoned righteous by him.¹³⁷²

Calvin, following this thought, maintained, '[The] heirship was promised to Abraham, not because he deserved it by keeping the law, but because he had obtained righteousness by faith. 'Calvin continued,

Paul by speaking of eternal salvation took his readers to the world. Concerning the world, he intimated the restoration that was to come through Christ. Paul asserted the significance of the restoration of life as well as the necessity of the whole world to be repaired. Christ, as the heir of all the good things of God; restores to us all the things that we had lost in Adam. Thus, Abraham was promised a full blessing of God as well as dominion over nations.¹³⁷³

¹³⁷²Pallo ena ke e fe? Ke ea hore lefatše la Kanana le tla ruuoa ke leloko la Abrahama. Empa, e re ha ho itsoe ke Molimo, ho Abrahama:Lichaba tsohle li tla hlonofoalla ho uena (Genesis 12:3), pallo ena hape ke ea hore lichaba tsohle li tla fumana polokeho ka Abrahama le leloko la hae, e leng polokeho e hlakileng ka Mesiah,keho re ka Jesu . . . ha hoa ka ha thoe, lefaleo le tla jeoa ke Abrahama le leloko la hae ha ba ka mpa ba phetha molao o mong o ba o beetsoeng ke Molimo, empa e bile ka ho loka ha tumelo ka moo ho itsoeng , ea lumelang ho Molimo o tla bitsoa ea lokileng ke Molimo . . . Dieterlen, *Hlaloso ea Baroma*, pp.55-56.

¹³⁷³Calvin, *Commentary on the Romans*, pp. 138, 139.

The children of Abraham were of two categories: those who lived by their faith in the Law (the Jews) and those who exhibited a faith like that of Abraham. The latter were the proselyte Christians whose faith made them adopted children of Abraham. Thus, Abraham was the father of the believing Jews as well as the Gentiles. In this way, he was the father of the nations.¹³⁷⁴

Calvin, in accordance, wrote, ‘the Gentiles were become partakers of this grace, inasmuch as by the same oracle, by which the heirship was conferred on Abraham and his seed.’¹³⁷⁵ ‘God who can make the dead live’¹³⁷⁶ was in reference to Abraham’s impotence and Sarah’s barrenness. God restored procreation to them, and Isaac was born to them in their old age. And God ‘who calls into existence the things that do not exist, ‘is seen as he was in the opening chapter of Genesis.¹³⁷⁷ Before a son was born to Abraham God said to him, ‘I have made you the father of a multitude of nations.’¹³⁷⁸ While this was not a future promise, Abraham believed God’s promise.¹³⁷⁹

Calvin explained, ‘A seed was promised to him as though he was in vigour and strength; but he was, as it were, dead. It was hence necessary for him to raise his thoughts to the power of God, by which the dead are quickened.’¹³⁸⁰

¹³⁷⁴ ‘Me leloko la Abrahamana le na le makala a mabeli: . . . ‘nete ea leloko la Abrahamana ke ha ba-Jode e le balumeli joaloka eena (2:25-29); empa le ho leo e leng lona ka tumelo ea Abrahamana, e leng lekala la bakreste ba tsoang bohedeneng, bao tumelo ea bona e ba etsang bana ba Abrahamana, e leng ntat’a rona bohle, ntata ba-Jode ba lumetseng le ntat’a balichaba ba lumetseng. Dieterlen, *Hlaloso ea Baroma*, pp. 56-57.

¹³⁷⁵ Calvin, *Commentary on the Romans*, p. 144.

¹³⁷⁶ Romans 4: 17.

¹³⁷⁷ *Ibid*, Cf. Genesis 1.

¹³⁷⁸ Genesis 17: 5.

¹³⁷⁹ [Molimo] o phelisang ba shoeleng, mona ho ka lekangoa tsoho ea bafu, ho mpa ho lekangoa Abrahamana le mosali oa hae ka moo ba neng ba se ba holile haholo, ba se ba shoele ka nqeng ea ho tsoala bana; Molimo o ne o tsose matla ao ha ba ha hlaha Isaaka. Hape Molimo o bitsa lintho tse sieo joaleka hoja li le teng; le ha ntho e le sieo, oa e bitsa, e tle e hlahe, ‘me ea hlaha (bona Genese 1). (Molimo) o itse; keu beile, e seng ke tla o bea, ka hobane seo o meileng sona ho ne ho le joaloka ha se se se le teng. Abrahamana ha a ka a makala ke polelo ea Molimo e mo tšepisang ntho e sieo, eo hoseng motho ea ka kholoang hobane e ka ba teng. Ka tumelo e tšoanang le e boleloang ho ba-Heb. 11: 1; a tšepa ntho e tšepelang, a sa bone letho le ka mo tšepisang, a ntse a bona hore ‘mele oa hae o sa motšepise letho; a lumela hore o tla fetoha ntat’a lichaba tse ngata. Dieterlen, *Hlaloso ea Baroma*, p. 57.

¹³⁸⁰ Calvin, *Commentary on the Romans*, p. 144.

For that reason, his faith was reckoned as righteousness. God did that for him because of his undaunted faith in him. Paul made this long discourse on Abraham to explain true faith in God so that he might show how Christians were to be saved. Christian's faith would also be reckoned as righteousness by believing in Him who raised Jesus from the dead. The God who raised Jesus from the dead and restored procreation to Abraham also had the power to save anyone dead in his sins.¹³⁸¹

Calvin averred, 'It becomes now clearer how and in what manner faith brought righteousness to Abraham; and that was, because he, leaning on God's word, rejected not the promised favour.'¹³⁸²

Dieterlen concluded this section with the following points:

A good way of pleasing God is to trust in him.¹³⁸³ Anyone who believes in the power of God to raise the dead may also believe in other things pertaining to his commandments. Sincere obedience is a fruit of faith.¹³⁸⁴ A Christian is not supposed to belief in material things, but he must believe in the living God who is at work.¹³⁸⁵ If anyone considers him or herself a hopeless sinner, he must not think that God will be unable to make him or her whole or take him or her to heaven. He must trust in him and believe in the one who wrought miracles for Abraham. He would also, by the same miracle save those who believe.¹³⁸⁶

¹³⁸¹ Tumelo eo, Molimo o itse ke ho loka; o bitsitse Abrahama motho ea lokileng ka baka la hobane Abrahama o ile a o tšepa ka tšepo e kholo, e phethehileng... Le ha Pauluse a buile litaba tsa Abrahama halelele ha kalo, ke hobane o ne a rata ho hlalosa se o tumelo ea 'nete e leng sona, a tle a boele a bue tsa bokreste, a supe hore na ba ka bolokeha joang . . . O fela a etsa joalo ka hore :(23) . . . re tla balloa tumelo ea rona hore ke ho loka, ka hobane re balumelang ho ea tsositseng Jesu, Morena oa rona, bafung . . . Molimo o bileng le matla a ho tsosa matla a Abrahama le a ho tsosa Jesu bafung, le joale o na le matla a hopholosa motho ea ichoeletseng libeng tsa hae. Dieterlen, *Hlaloso ea Baroma*, pp. 58-59.

¹³⁸² Calvin, *Commentary on the Romans*, p. 151.

¹³⁸³ Mokhoa o motle ka ho fetisa oa ho rorisa Molimo ke ho o tšepa. *Ibid*, p. 60.

¹³⁸⁴ Ea tšepang hobane Molimo o na le matla a ho tsosa bafu, a ka 'na a o tšepa le litabeng tse ling tse kang tsa melao ea oona. Kutlo ea 'nete ke ngoana oa tumelo (t, 23). *Ibid*.

¹³⁸⁵ Mokreste ha lumele litaba, o lumela Molimo o phelang (t. 23). U se ke ua re: ke lumela ho re ho itseng; U mpe u re: ke lumela ho Molimo o phelang o entseng ho re ho itseng. *Ibid*.

¹³⁸⁶ Le ha u ipona u le mobe, u shoele libeng, o bolile, u se ke ua re, Molimo o tla hana le ho sitoa ho u ntlafatsa le ho u kenya leholimong. U mpe u o tšepa, u lumele hore ea etselitseng Abrahama le Jesu mehlolo ena a ka 'na a u etsetsa mehlolo oa ho pholosa. O rata ho etsa joalo. U lumele, 'me u tla etsetsoa. *Ibid*.

Dieterlen and Calvin agree that the inheritance of the Kingdom of God is based on faith not on the works of the law. Abraham is a good example of this. In his old age and before his circumcision, God promised him a son. He believed it. That was reckoned as righteousness for him. Faith in God and Jesus is likewise reckoned as righteousness to whoever believes.

Romans 5:1-5

Dieterlen wrote that Paul would now respond to a question which asks if this righteousness, coming from faith, is sufficient to save people on the judgement day. This question will be answered in this section.¹³⁸⁷

Paul averred that initially there was a war, and the wrath of God was directed towards the sinner. Sin had created enmity between the sinner and God. When that person believed and was justified there was a reconciliation, a good, as well as mutual, love. This peace comes through our Lord Jesus Christ who died on the cross for sinners. He maintains it for a believer by his intercession.¹³⁸⁸

Calvin declared that righteousness by faith gives rise to quietness, tranquillity and peace. He claimed that this is a peculiar fruit of righteousness by faith. Anyone who seeks peace with God, reconciliation and ‘tranquillity of the conscience’ through the works of the law labours in vain. Peace with God is opposed to the dead security of the flesh.¹³⁸⁹

Peace and reconciliation with God only come through faith in Jesus Christ according to Dieterlen and Calvin.

¹³⁸⁷JoalePauluse o sa ea araba potso e 'ngoe e reng: Na ho loka ho na ho tsoang tumelong, ho tla hle ho lekane ho pholosa motho mohla letsatsi la kahlolo na? Karabo ea potso ena re tla e fumana khaohanyong 5: 1-11. Dieterlen, *Hlaloso ea Baroma*, p. 60.

¹³⁸⁸Pele e ne e le ntoa, ka ha bohale ba Molimo bo ne botonela moetsalibe mahlo; libe li ne li mofapantse le Molimo habohlolo-hloko. Joale, ha motho eo a lumetse, libe ha li felisitsoe ke tšoarello, ho leng teng ke poelano, ke kutloano, ke thatano, 'me khotso eo e hlaile ka Jesu Krete, Morena oa rona; ka hobane o shoele sefapanong bakeng sa baetsalibe, hape ele eena ea ntseng a bolokela molumeli khotso eo ka ho mo buella pel'a Molimo ka borapeli ba hae. *Ibid*, p. 61.

¹³⁸⁹Calvin, *Commentary on the Romans*, p. 157.

Dieterlen wrote that a believer gloried not in a proud way in the happy certainty of the grace that he has received by faith. He rejoices in the glory of God which he will receive when Jesus exalts people. He rejoices with a spiritual hope as if he has already received it and this helps in enduring troubles and trials. This hope remains, undeterred by difficulties.¹³⁹⁰

Calvin maintained, ‘Paul set before our eyes in Christ a sure pledge of God’s favour that he ...might draw us away from ... confidence of works[and] on the continuance of that favour our salvation becomes certain and sure.’¹³⁹¹ It thus turns out that salvation is made possible by God’s favour or grace, through Christ.

The world brings about several kinds of afflictions that discourage and dishearten an unbeliever, but a believer glorifies and rejoices in afflictions as they bring a lot of good. A person who looks at afflictions with the good heart of a Christian learns how to endure them without being crushed by them.¹³⁹²

Calvin noted, ‘all the sorrows we endure contribute to our salvation and final good.’¹³⁹³ It thus follows that tribulation is a road that brings a Christian to eternity.

Faith must be tested and if it triumphs it shows by that that it is firm. This confirms that it will triumph over other tests that may come to a person, as well as taking that person to heaven. The good thing about hope in the glory of God is that it never fails a person.¹³⁹⁴

Calvin argued, ‘Paul takes probation for the experience which the faithful have of the sure protection of God when, by relying on his aid, they overcome all difficulties, even when they

¹³⁹⁰Ho ithorisa hona ha se ha motho ea ikhohomosang, ke ha motho ea tsebang hobane o filoe ka mohau, ‘me o a mohetse ka tumelo. Ke ha motho a thabela khanya ea Molimo, eo a tsebisang hore le eena o tla e fuoa mohla ho tlotlisoang batho ke Jesu; o mo thabela pele ka tšepo, e seng ka pono ea nama, joaloka ha eka o se a e roetse. E sita le litsietsi tsa bophelo ba joale ha li fokotse tšepo eo. Dieterlen, *Hlaloso ea Baroma*, p. 62.

¹³⁹¹Calvin, *Commentary on the Romans*, p. 158.

¹³⁹²Lefatše le hlaisetsa motho litaba tse ngata tse bohloko tse mohlolisang; li tepeletsa ba sa lumelang, li ba felisa pelo; ha ele molumeli o ithorisa ka tsona, oa li thabela ka ho re, li mohlaisetsa molemo o mongata, o moholo . . . motho ea talimang litsietsi ka pelo e ntle ea bolumeli o ithuta ho li jara li sa moimele, li sa felise pelo ea hae, oa li phahamela. Dieterlen, *Hlaloso ea Baroma*, p. 62.

¹³⁹³Calvin, *Commentary on the Romans*, p.160.

¹³⁹⁴Tumelo e tsejoa ka meloko; ‘me ha e hlola, e iponahatsa ka hona hore e thata . . . Tumelo ha e lekiloe joalo e paka hobane e tla tseba ho hlola meloko e meng e tlang le ho felehetsa motho ho fihlela leholimong. Botle ba khanya ea Molimo ke hobane ke e kekeng ea thetsa motho. Dieterlen, *Hlaloso ea Baroma*, p. 62.

experience whilst, in patiently enduring, they stand firm.¹³⁹⁵ It thus appears, that faith helps Christians to endure and rise over whatever difficulties may come their way.

The love of God is poured into the heart of a person, like water from a big container when it is poured into a small one. The love of God is poured in that way into a person's heart. This is by the Holy Spirit.¹³⁹⁶

Calvin asserted, 'The revelation of divine love towards us is so abounding that it fills our hearts; and being thus spread through every part of them, it not only mitigates sorrow in adversities but, like a sweet seasoning, it renders tribulations to be loved by us.'¹³⁹⁷ It thus follows that the love of God fills up, sustains and strengthens a Christian.

In conclusion, Dieterlen wrote these points:

To be at peace with God instead of being at war with him is a joy and a good attribute. Jesus is called the Lord; the result of this is twofold: The Lord saves a person and provides for all his needs. A person must obey and serve Him.¹³⁹⁸ A Christian fight his or her doubts by joy and faith in Christianity.¹³⁹⁹ Tribulation is a good school where a believer learns a lot of things, such as wisdom and truth.¹⁴⁰⁰ When temptations surround him or her, a Christian must not immediately ask to be delivered from them, but must ask for good forbearance so that he may reap the good results of it. Instead of crying, he should have hope and be not

¹³⁹⁵ Calvin, *Commentary on the Romans*, p. 161.

¹³⁹⁶ Mona ho ka lekanngoa lerato leo motho a ratang Molimo ka lona, empa ke lerato leo Molimo o ratang motho ka lona. Le tšeletsoe pelong ea motho joaloka metsi ha a le ka nkhong e kholo, me a tšelo a nkhong e nyenyane. Lerato le ka pelong ea Molimo le ke ntsoe joalo pelong ea motho, ele ka moea o halalelang. Moea ona o kha seo eleng sa Molimo (1ba-Kor. 2:10-12), 'me o se tlišetsa motho eo o keneng ho eena. Dieterlen, *Hlaloso ea Baroma*, pp.62, 63.

¹³⁹⁷ Calvin, *Commentary on the Romans*, p. 162.

¹³⁹⁸ Ho ba le khotso le Molimo bakeng sa ho loana le oona, ho monate ho molemo. Jesu ha a bitsoa Morena oa motho, litholoana tsa teng li peli: Morena o boloka motho le ho 'maballa ka tsohle tse batlehang bakeng sa bophelo ba hae; motho eena o utloa morena eo, 'me oa mosebeletsa (t. 1). Dieterlen, *Hlaloso ea Baroma*, p. 63.

¹³⁹⁹ Mokreste o loantša lipelaelo tsa hae ka tumelo, thabo le bolumeli (t. 4-5), *Ibid*.

¹⁴⁰⁰ Matšoenyeho ke sekolo se molemo, seo molumeli a ka ithutang ho sona litaba tse ngata le bohale le 'nete.

discouraged. One must encourage self with God.¹⁴⁰¹ The foundation of the hope of a Christian is not his or her faith, but the love of God. He knows that God loved him or her before he could believe. He is much more loved when reconciled with God by Jesus and joined with him by faith.¹⁴⁰² The love of God is the first thing and faith is the second.¹⁴⁰³

Romans 5:6-11

Dieterlen wrote that when we were still powerless and unable to do anything good for God, at the right time, Christ died for those who disgraced, fought and despised him. This kind of love, that is able to do such a big task, is also able to do anything small. Therefore, when we are justified by his blood, we are not weaker or God's opponents. We are, on the contrary, reckoned righteous by believing in His sacrifice. It will then not be difficult for Jesus, on the judgement day, to plead mercy for those reckoned righteous by his death.¹⁴⁰⁴

Calvin posited,

If Christ ... had mercy on the ungodly, if he reconciled enemies to his Father, if he has done this by the virtue of his death, much more easily will he save them when justified, and keep those restored to favour in the possession of it, especially when the influence of his life is added to the virtue of his death.¹⁴⁰⁵

It follows that if redemption was made possible in Christ, then in no way Christ would be unable to save the justified on the judgement day.

¹⁴⁰¹ Mokreste ha a patetsoe ke meleko, a se ke a phaka a kopa hore a namoleloe ho eona, a mpe a kope hore a e mamelle hantle, a tle a kotule litholoana tse ntle tsa eona. Bakeng sa holla, a thabe; bakeng sa ho belaela, a tšepe; bakeng sa ho tepella, a iphe matla ka Molimo. *Ibid*.

¹⁴⁰² Motheho oa tšepo ea mokreste ha se tumelo ea hae, ke lerato la Molimo; o itseba hobane o ratiloe ke Molimo a e-so ho lumele; o ratao haholo ha kakang kajeno, ha a boelantsoe le Molimo ka Jesu, 'me a ikopantse le Molimo ka tumelo (t.5). *Ibid*, pp 63-64.

¹⁴⁰³ Lerato la Molimo ke ntho ea pele; tumelo ea motho ke ntho ea bobeli. *Ibid*, p. 64.

¹⁴⁰⁴ Ha re sale bafokoli, likoka tse sitoang ho etsetsa Molimo letho le letle, Krete a shoa . . . ka nako ea teng, . . . sebakeng sa ba o tlotlolang, ba o loantšang, ba o nyonyang . . . Lerato le tsebileng ho phetha taba e kaalo le keke la hlola le hloloa ke taba e fele efe e nyenyane ho ena e kholo . . . 'Me joale ha re beiloe ba lokileng ka mali a hae, re se re se bafokoli le bahanyetsi, re mpa re bitsitsoe ba lokileng ka ho lumela sehlabelo sa Jesu. Mohla letsatsi la ka hlolo... ho keke ha e bathata ho Jesu ho rapella le ho emela bao a seng a ba beile balokileng ka ho shoa ha hae. Dieterlen, *Hlaloso ea Baroma*, pp. 64, 65.

¹⁴⁰⁵ Calvin, *Commentary on the Roman*, p. 164.

These examples are an indicant of a close expository kinship between Calvin and Dieterlen and make it probable that Dieterlen used Calvin's Bible commentaries when he wrote his *commentary on the Romans*.

Dieterlen underlined the following concluding points:

Some sins are a result of the weakness of a person, but most of them result from wickedness.¹⁴⁰⁶ God loved people while they were yet sinners. A Christian, too, must love sinners. The sight of their sin must fill his heart with compassion not contempt. He must have a desire to help the sinners in the sin that kills them.¹⁴⁰⁷

Romans 5: 12-21

Having noted that since all were under condemnation and that all could be reconciled to God by the death of Jesus through faith, Dieterlen dealt here with the matter of all being lost and all being saved. Sin is when one opposes the will of God by following one's own will. Adam disobeyed God by eating of the forbidden tree. Thus, sin entered the world. It was not there before man's disobedience. Man's sin affected other people. One person put great many people in danger.¹⁴⁰⁸

Calvin maintained, 'But to sin ... is to become corrupt and vicious; for the natural depravity which we bring, from our mother's womb, though it brings not forth immediately

¹⁴⁰⁶Libe tse ling ke tse tsoaloang ke bofokoli ba motho, empa tse ngata ke tse tsoaloang ke bolotsana ba hae. Dieterlen, *Hlaloso ea Baroma*, p. 67.

¹⁴⁰⁷Molimo o ratile batho ba sa le babe. Mokreste le eena a rate ba babe, e seng ba batle feela. Pono ea bobee ba bona e mo kenyetse qenehelo pelong, e seng nyeliso, le takatso ea hoba namolela bobeng bo ba bolaeang. *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁰⁸E re ka ha re ne re le bohle ka tlasatsuo, 'me e re ka ha bohle re boelantsoe le Molimo ka lefu la Jesu ka tumelo, litaba tsa ho lahleha ha bohle le hobolokeha ha bohle ke tsena: Sebe ke ha motho a hanyetsa thato ea Molimo ka ea hae. Ho Adama se ne se le sieo ha a sa tsoa boptjoa ke Molimo. Mohla ho neng ho itsoe a se ke a ja sefateo ne a mamele likeletso tsa noha, 'me a etsa ka tsona bakeng sa ho etsa ka molao oa Molimo . . . Hobane Adama a tlole joalo, sebe se kene lefatšeng. Motho eo a le mong, ea hlahiselitseng lefatše kotsi e tšabehang ke Adama, motho oa pele, eo batho bohle ba tla tsoa ho eena. Dieterlen, *Hlaloso ea Baroma*, p. 69.

its own fruits, is yet sin before God, and deserves his vengeance: and this is that sin which they call original.’¹⁴⁰⁹

It is not that all people are guilty of Adam’s sin, but they are guilty of their own sins and all are crippled by it. Sin entered with its bad result, namely death. The Bible defines death in three ways: physical, spiritual and eternal or the second death. In this context, Paul was talking about physical death. This death was not part of God’s plan when he created things in the beginning. It came through sin.¹⁴¹⁰

Many books have been written on the words, ‘all have sinned’. The Greek word employed here can be understood in two ways: ‘whom in him’ and ‘because’. Firstly, it can mean that death is in all because all people sinned ‘in’ Adam, meaning they took part in his sin. This is the original sin committed with the parent, not inherited from him. The problem with this interpretation is that a person may not understand the punishment inflicted on him or her for the sin he never committed. He may see God as unjust and claim that the salvation which is brought by Jesus should not come with the demand of repentance. Secondly, it can also mean that death is in all ‘because’ they have all sinned. It is a known fact, that a child inherits the habits of the father. One drunkard begets another, according to genetics. This is how Adam’s sin was transferred to the human race. All people are born with the inclination to sin. Sin begets death. However, every person feels guilty for the sin committed by him or her, not those committed by Adam.¹⁴¹¹

¹⁴⁰⁹ Calvin, *Commentary on the Romans*, p. 170.

¹⁴¹⁰ Ha se hore batho bohle ba molato oa sebe sa Adama, empa bohle ba inkela molato ona ka ho iketsetsa libe tseo e leng tsa bona, ‘me bohle ba holofalitsoe ke sona . . . Se kene le tholoana ea sona: lefu le kene ka sebe. Lefu leo le ne le le sieo morerong oa Molimo le boleng ba tse bopiloeng ke Oona tšimolohong. Dieterlen, *Hlaloso ea Baroma*, p. 69.

¹⁴¹¹ ‘. . . Ka hobane ba sitiloe bohle,’ lentsoenyana lena le ngolisitse bahlalosi libuka tse ngata. Bothata ke hobane lentsoe la se-Gerikeleo re le fetotseng ka Sesotho ka hore: “Ka hobane,” le ka ‘na la fetoloa hape ka ho re: “eo ka ho eena.” Ke moo bahlalosi ba bang bangolang joalo: “batho bohle ba sitiloe ka ho Adama,” ba re batho bohle ba ne ba le ka ho Adama, ntat’a bona, ‘me ba bile le kabelo molatong oa hae. Ke sona sebe sa hlalo, e seng bohle bo nkiloeng ho motsoali, e le molato o entsoeng le eena; oo e mong le e mong a loketsoeng ke ho otloa ka lefu ka baka la oona . . . Bothata ba hlaloso eo, ke hobane motho a keke a utloisisa hore o loketse ke kotlo ea molato oo o sa e tsoang ke eena. A ka’na a belaela ka li kahlolo tsa Molimo . . . a ka tseka, a re le ho pholoso a tsoanetse ho pholoso ka Jesu a sa botsoe letho ho eena, ho sa thoe a bake.

The second interpretation goes along with Paul's mind and words. In Jesus, the second Adam, all people obeyed the law of God, even when they were not yet born, the obedience of one man, Jesus Christ, saves all people who believe in him. However, each one is saved by his or her faith.¹⁴¹²

Calvin noted,

For as Adam at his creation had received for us as well as for himself the gifts of God's favour, so by falling away from the Lord, he in himself corrupted, vitiated, depraved and ruined our nature; for having been divested of God's likeness, he could not have generated seed but what was like himself.¹⁴¹³

But how can we say that all people died because of their sins when they were on earth before the Law was constituted? Indeed, they had sin in themselves and were sinning. But sin is not considered for people in the absence of the law. Then how did it come about that they died? They died because they contravened the natural law that is found in all people's consciences.¹⁴¹⁴ This was discussed earlier.

Calvin concurred with this thought, and he declared, 'They had not, like him, the will of God made known to them by a certain oracle: for the Lord had forbidden Adam to touch the

Hlaloso ea bobeli e re: lefu le aparetse batho bohle ka hobane ba sitiloe bohle. Ho tsejoa hantle hore ngoana o futsa ntat'ae, o nka ntho tse ngata ho eena; ha ngata ngoana letaoa ke letaoa. Botaoa ba motsoali bo fetela ngoaneng oa hae. Molao ona o bitsoa oa bojalefa. Bohole ba sebe bo tsoile joalo ho Adama, 'me bofetetse mofuteng oa hae. Motho e mong le e mong o hlaha a sekametse bobeng. Bobe bona botsoala lefu . . . motho o ikutloa molato oa sebe se entsoeng ke eena. A ke ke a re ke molato oa Adama. Dieterlen, *Hlaloso ea Baroma*, p.70.

¹⁴¹²Hlaloso ena ea bobeli ke eona e nepang khopolo ena ea Pauluse le mantsoe a ngotsoeng ke eena. Le bakeng sa bophelo, ho joalo. Ka ho Jesu, e leng Adama oa bobeli, batho ba utloile molao oa Molimo, le ha bae-so ho hlahe lefatšeng; 'me kutlo ea monna a le mong, e leng Jesu, e tla pholosa bohle baikopanyang le eena; e ,empa e mong le e mong ea pholohang, o tla pholoha ka tumelo ea hae. *Ibid*, p.71.

¹⁴¹³Calvin, *Commentary on the Romans*, p. 170.

¹⁴¹⁴Empa ho ka boleloa joang hore batho bohle ba shoele ka ho sitoa ha bona ha ele moo ba bile teng lefatšeng molao o eso hobeoe ke Molimo? . . . Empa ha molao o le sieo, motho le ha a etsa se sa lokang, ha se mo tlolisa molao. Lefu le tletse ba joalo joang? ... Ba tlotse molao oa tlhaho o itlhamisang pelong ea motho e mong le e mong le letsoalong la hae; ba ne ba le molato ke hona. Dieterlen, *Hlaloso ea Baroma*, p.71.

fruit of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil; but to them he had given no command besides the testimony of conscience.¹⁴¹⁵

Adam was a shadow or a type of Jesus, the head of the new generation through whom all were justified and saved. In the former Adam, all people died because of sin. In Jesus we see how the grace of God worked and brought about the generation of people who are saved through faith. The restoration of righteousness wrought by Jesus Christ wipes away all the sins a person has committed besides the sin of Adam.¹⁴¹⁶

Calvin averred,

As then we are all lost through Adam's sin, so we are restored through Christ's righteousness: hence he [Paul] calls Adam, not inaptly, the type of Christ. But observe, that Adam is not said to be the type of sin, nor Christ the type of righteousness, as though they led the way only by their example but that the one is contrasted with the other.¹⁴¹⁷

Paul wrote the word, '*molao*' (the law) repeatedly to illustrate the significance of the work of salvation wrought by Jesus vis-à-vis the law, through which, the Jews believed, all people were justified. The law never functioned as a remedy for man's idiocy as well as his or her sin. It only exposes the power of sin in him or her by showing that his or her deeds are transgressions and deserving of punishment.¹⁴¹⁸

¹⁴¹⁵Calvin, *Commentary on the Romans*, p. 173.

¹⁴¹⁶Adama... ke setšoantšo sa Adama e mong oa bobeli, e leng Jesu, e leng sehlooho sa mofuta o mocha oa batho. Ba tšoana ka ho re, Adama e bile oa pele oa batho ba shoang. Jesu e bile oa pele oa batho ba pholohang. Lentsoe lena le re kenya litabeng tsa mohau oa Molimo, ka moo o sebelitseng ka ho Jesu Krete hore mofuta o be teng oa batho o pholohang . . . Hape tokafatso e phethiloeng ke Jesu e tseba ho hlakola libe tse ngata tseo motho ka mong a li ekelitseng holima sebe sena se le seng sa Adama. Dieterlen, *Hlaloso ea Baroma*, pp.71,72, 73.

¹⁴¹⁷Calvin, *Commentary on the Romans*, p. 173.

¹⁴¹⁸Pauluse o ngotse ha ngata lentsoe le reng: "molao." O tšoanetse ho bontša mona hore, litabeng tseo a tsoang ho li bolela, mosebetsi ke o fe oa molao . . . Mosebetsi oa oona ha ea ka ea e-ba ho phecola bohole bona le ho hlokisa motho libe. Che! E bile ho pepesa matla a sebe a ka ho eena, ka ho supa liketso tse ngata tsa motho hore ke litlolo . . . ka moo tsuo e tšoanelang ho li latela ka baka la oona. Dieterlen, *Hlaloso ea Baroma*, p. 75.

Calvin asserted, 'Our condemnation is not set before us in the law, that we may abide in it; but that having fully known our misery, we may be led to Christ, who is sent to be a physician to the sick, a deliverer to the captives, a comforter to the afflicted, a defender to the oppressed.'¹⁴¹⁹

It thus follows that the law is there to make people conscious of their sin, so that they may make amends and turn to Jesus.

Jesus' new righteousness, reckoned for all who believe in him, is the work of grace so that grace can abound and reign over all the righteous, the believers, on earth as well as in everlasting life.¹⁴²⁰

Calvin maintained, 'He (Paul) ... distinguishes between Adam and Christ and assigns to each his own time. Hence as soon as the grace of Christ begins to prevail in anyone, the reign of sin and death ceases.'¹⁴²¹

It thus appears that the grace of God follows the justified in this earthly life and the one to come. The grace of God does not operate in tandem with sin or death.

Dieterlen concluded this section with the following points:

Any sin committed by a person, like the sin of Adam, is dangerous. It corrupts a person and others.¹⁴²² Some sins may appear small, like the eating of the forbidden tree was a small issue, but that was rebellion against God and had serious consequences.¹⁴²³ Any good that is done by one person may bring about good in other people. Obedience to God is an important

¹⁴¹⁹Calvin, *Commentary on the Romans*, p. 184.

¹⁴²⁰Jesu o tlišitse ho loka ho ho cha, o ho baletse bohle ba tlang ho lumela ho eena. Ke ketso ea mohau e entsoeng ke eena, 'me o ratile hore mohau ona o buse, o sebetse joale ka morena holima ba'o e leng balumeli . . . e be ho loka ho isa bophelong bo halalelang mona lefatšeng le bo sa feleng ka matla a hae. Dieterlen, *Hlaloso ea Baroma*, p. 75.

¹⁴²¹Calvin, *Commentary on the Romans*, p. 185.

¹⁴²²Joaloka sebe sa Adama, sebe se fe le se fe se ka etsoang ke motho o fe le o fe se na le kotsi, se senya monga sona, se senyetsa le ba bang (t.12). Dieterlen, *Hlaloso ea Baroma*, p. 76.

¹⁴²³Sebe se seng u ka re se senyenyanane. Ho jasefate e ne e se taba e kholo. Empa sebe se senyenyanane e ntse e le ho ikhantšetsa Molimo, 'me se ka hotetsa hlaha e kholo ea libe. *Ibid.*

virtue for a believer. Where this obedience is lacking, there is no faith.¹⁴²⁴ A heathen or a person ignorant of the Law of Moses and the Gospel is guilty of his or her sins and will be punished by the law of nature inscribed in his or her heart.¹⁴²⁵

Romans 6:1-8:39

Dieterlen wrote that the question: 'Are we to continue in sin, so that grace may abound' is understood differently by scripture commentators. Some maintain that a Christian with a perfect faith is like one dead to sin. Sin no longer has power over him or her. This position is found even among the Basuto. Dieterlen posited that this position is against the teaching of the Bible. Others claim that to be dead to sin only means a Christians' intent is not to sin anymore. He said this to be correct. In Jesus' death a Christian develops by faith not only the intention to do away with sin but also the power to do that.¹⁴²⁶

Calvin noted, 'He who sins certainly lives to sin; we have died to sin through the grace of Christ; then it is false that what abolishes sin gives vigour to it.'¹⁴²⁷ It thus turns out that living to sin is to continue sinning and dying to it means stopping sinning which Dieterlen associated with a Christians' intent not to sin anymore.

Baptism has a role in this, the Greek word for baptism employed and translated here has the following meaning: to dip into or to immerse. In those days, a person was dipped into the water and his or her whole body was immersed in water and then would come up out of the

¹⁴²⁴Botle bo fe le bo fe bo etsoang ke motho a le mong bo ka 'na ba hlahisa botle bo bongata-ngata le ho batho ba bangata. Ho utloa Molimo ka liketso ke taba e kholohali ea molumeli. Moo kutlo ena e leng sieo, le eona tumelo ha e eo. *Ibid.*

¹⁴²⁵Mohedene, e leng motho ea satsebeng molao oa Moshe le Evangeli, o ntse a le molato oa libe tseo a li etsang, 'me o tla o-tloa ka baka la tsona. O tla ahlolola ka molao oa hlalo, o ngotsoeng pelong ea hae (t.13-14). *Ibid.*

¹⁴²⁶Hleka re tla hlola sebeng hore mohau o tle o ngatafale na? . . . ba bang ba teng ('me re ile ra utloa le mona Lesotho),ba re, mokreste ea nang le tumelo e phethehileng o tsoana le motho ea shoeleng ka 'nqeng ea sebe: ha ho sale ka moo a se etsang, matla a joalo ha a sa le eo ka ho eena. Thuto e joalo e loantšoa ke Bibelet kaofela . . . Ba bang ba re, ho shoa hona ho tsoantš'a morero feela oa mokreste oa hore ha a sa tla hlola a etsa bobele ha bo le bong. 'Nete keena . . . Jesu . . . o shoeleng sefapanong, hore a tle a se ke a etsa sebe sa ho se phethe thato ea Molimo; lefung leo la hae mokreste o kha ka tumelo, e seng morero feela oa ho tlohela libe, empa le 'ona matla a ho li tlohela. Dieterlen, *Hlaloso ea Baroma*, pp. 78, 79.

¹⁴²⁷Calvin, *Commentary on the Romans*, p. 187.

water. That baptismal mode was similar to when Jesus was buried, dead, in the grave and then came out of it alive. It symbolises that in baptism a person participates in Jesus' death. He dies with him in his or her sin and rises with him in a new life.¹⁴²⁸

Calvin maintained, 'The death of Christ is efficacious to destroy and demolish the depravity of our flesh, and His resurrection, to effect the renovation of a better nature, and that by baptism we are admitted into a participation of this grace.'¹⁴²⁹

Dieterlen writes, 'What is our old man? It is an impaired personality that a person is born with and inclined to sin. It is called 'old' because a believer is endowed with a new life by God which is inclined to goodness.'¹⁴³⁰

Calvin, in accordance, averred, 'The old man, as the Old Testament is so called with reference to the New; ...means ... the whole nature which we bring from the womb, and which is so incapable of the kingdom of God, that it must so far die as we are renewed to real life.'¹⁴³¹

One's body is not to be blamed; it is through it that sin accomplishes its desires. Sin has kept the body in bondage. This must be put to an end, so that the body may be freed from the bondage of sin to being inclined towards God.¹⁴³²

Calvin declared,

¹⁴²⁸Le kolobetso e na le taba hona moo . . . Lentsoe la Segerike lefetotsoeng mona ka "ho kolobetsoa," ke le reng:ho inoa, ho qoelisoa; e fela mehleng eo mokolobetsuoa o ne a inoa 'mele kaofela metsing, a likelle, a boele a inohe. Kolobetso eo e ne e tšoana le mohla Jesu a kengoang lebitleng a shoele, a boela a tsoe ho lona a phela; e tšoantsa eona taba eo. Motho ea kolobetsoang o kolobetsoa ho Jesu, o etsoa ea kopaneng le eena, haholo lefung la hae. O iketsa ea shoang le Jesu joale ka Jesu ka 'ngeng ea sebe. Empa litaba ha li felle lefung lena, li mpa li fetela pele, li isa le ho tsoheng bafung . . . re kena metsing joaloka mofu ha a kena lebitleng leo; o kena teng a tle a qale bophelo bo bocha. Dieterlen, *Hlaloso ea Baroma*, p. 80.

¹⁴²⁹Calvin, *Commentary on the Romans*, p. 190.

¹⁴³⁰Motho oa khale keng? Ke botho bona, bohlofalitsoeng ke sebe, bo sekametse sebeng; ho thoe, ke oa khale, ka hobane molumeli o filoe ke Molimo bophelo bo bocha, bo botle, bo sekametseng botleng. Dieterlen, *Hlaloso ea Baroma*, p. 81.

¹⁴³¹Calvin, *Commentary on the Romans*, p. 191.

¹⁴³²'Mele ha o na molato, ha e le 'mele feela oa motho; empa ke ka oona sebe se phethang litakatso tsa sona; hona e ka khona ho felisoa, 'mele ona o tle o tsoe bohlofalela bona bo bobe, 'me bo kene bohlofalela ba Molimo. Dieterlen, *Hlaloso ea Baroma*, p. 81.

The body... does not mean flesh and bones, but the corrupted mass; for man, left to his own nature, is a mass made up of sin... as long as we are children of Adam, ... we are in bondage to sin, that we can do nothing else but sin; but that being grafted in Christ, we are delivered from this miserable thralldom; not that we immediately cease entirely to sin, but that we become at last victorious in the contest.¹⁴³³

Jesus is the source of a holy life, and He will never die again. It is even so with a believer. He will not go back to the life of sin and its bondage.¹⁴³⁴

Calvin wrote, 'Christ, who now vivifies the faithful by His Spirit, or breathes his own life into them by his secret power from heaven, was freed from the dominion of death when he arose, that by virtue of the same dominion he might render free all his people.'¹⁴³⁵

We once again notice a very close affinity between the Genevan Reformer and Dieterlen in the content of text exposition, though the stylistic approach and genre differ greatly.

Dieterlen's genre has a somewhat sermonic undertone while Calvin's is scholarly and evangelical. Dieterlen's is more like an address or a lecture.

Dieterlen summed up this section by the following:

Baptism is a holy practice; through it God bestows those baptised with some of the gifts of his grace. The one baptised makes a pledge to do away with sin and commits him or herself to doing good. A Christian must always regenerate him or herself by remembering his or her baptism.¹⁴³⁶ Fellowship with Jesus makes a person to participate in Jesus' humility and willingness to die on the part of the world and sin. It also brings about a holiness of life that leads to eternal life. This reward surpasses by far the toils and hardships that that go through

¹⁴³³Calvin, *Commentary on the Romans*, p. 93.

¹⁴³⁴Jesu ke seliba se sa psheng sa bophelo bo halalelang: a ke ke a boela a shoa; ha ho le joalo, le molumeli ea ikentseng ntho e le ngoe le eena ka tumelo ha a sana ho shoa, ke hore, ho khutlela bophelong ba libe le bohlangeng ba tsona. Dieterlen, *Hlaloso ea Baroma*, p. 82.

¹⁴³⁵Calvin, *Commentary on the Romans*, p. 195.

¹⁴³⁶Kolobetso ke ketso e halalelang haholo; ka eona Molimo o sita mokolobetsuo ka limpho tse ling tsa mohau oa oona, 'me mokolobetsuo o ipolela le ho itlama hore o hlobohane le sebe, 'me o inehetse botle. Mokreste a 'ne a itsose ka ho ikhopotsa kolobetso ea hae. Dieterlen, *Hlaloso ea Baroma*, p. 83.

in order to get it.¹⁴³⁷ The holiness of life implies two things: firstly, one must be sinless. Secondly, he must do what is good. Many people care only about the former. This is wrong.¹⁴³⁸ Christ died once and that was sufficient. In the same way, a Christian must die once on the part of sin and that should be a perfect death without any backsliding or some doubts.¹⁴³⁹

Romans 6: 12-14

Dieterlen posited that even though some Christians claim that there is no sin in a Christian, that mistake is made evident by Paul's exhortation: 'Let not sin therefore reign in your mortal body...' ¹⁴⁴⁰ Sin is a reality in a Christian's body and must not be allowed to take control and lord it over the body. ¹⁴⁴¹ The body, as it is, has many parts, one of those parts may be conquered by sin and be used by it. Therefore, a Christian must be fully committed to God and must thus declare that initially he was dead to righteousness but now is as if those who have risen from the death of sin and are now leading a Christian life. ¹⁴⁴²

Calvin wrote,

He now bids us to present ourselves wholly to God, so that restraining our minds and hearts from all wanderings into which the lusts of the flesh may draw us, we may regard the will of God alone, being ready to receive his commands, and

¹⁴³⁷Kopano ea motho le Jesu e fela e mokenya le eena boikokobetsong, boitelong, le mosebetsing oa ho shoa ka nqeng ea lefatše le sebe; empa hape e mokenya botleng ba bophelo bo halalelang, e nto mokenya bophelong bo safeleng ; moputso ona o feta ha kakang mosebetsi le bohloko ba oona. *Ibid*.

¹⁴³⁸Khalalelo ke'ng? Ke taba tse peli. Ea pele ke hore motho a hloke bobe; ea bobeli ke hore a etse botle. Batho ba bangata ba hlokomela ea pele feela, 'me ke phoso. *Ibid*.

¹⁴³⁹Jesu o shoele hang feela: ha lekana. Mokreste le eena a ke a shoe hang ka nqeng ea sebe, e be ho shoa ho phethehileng, morero o hlokanang bokoenehi le tikatiko. *Ibid*, p. 84.

¹⁴⁴⁰Romans 6:12.

¹⁴⁴¹Le ha bakreste ba bang ba leka ho itšetleha ka litemana tsa 1-11 hore ba rute thuto e reng , sebe ha se sa le eo ho molumeli, phoso ea bona e bonahatsoa hantle-ntle kelitemana tsa 12-13 . . . ke bopaki ba hore se sa le teng . . . empa e ka khona se se ke sa lumelloa ho busa, ea e ba morena 'meleng oa motho. Dieterlen, *Hlalaoso ea Baroma*, pp. 84, 85.

¹⁴⁴²'Mele o na le lithotsa oona, 'me setho se seng le seng se ka hapuo ke sebe, se tle se etse bobe ka sona . . . le mpe le ipee ho Molimo, le ikhethela oona ka boikhethele boetsoang hona joale, hang, ka mokhoa o tletseng . . . ka ho bolella Molimo hore pele le ne le shoele ka 'nqeng ea ho loka, empa joale le tšoana le ba tsohileng lefung la libe, 'me le qalile ho phela bophelo bo botle ba bolumeli. *Ibid*, p. 85.

prepared to execute his orders and that our members also may be devoted and consecrated to his will, so that all the faculties both of our souls and of our bodies may aspire after nothing but his glory.¹⁴⁴³

A Christian is no longer under the law but is under the grace of God. He is declared righteous and is under the care of the Holy Spirit. He is set free from condemnation by the forgiveness of his or her sin.¹⁴⁴⁴

Calvin maintained, 'being under grace, we are freed from the rigorous requirements of the law.'¹⁴⁴⁵

It thus follows that the grace of God offers redemption and sanctification as well as life, and at the same time, because of our being under the law, it brings forth our trespassing, sin, death and condemnation.

In summary, Dieterlen noted the following points:

One must set whole self apart once and for all for God and then always set other parts apart for God one by one each day.¹⁴⁴⁶ There is a stark difference between sin and righteousness. Sin results in death while righteousness results in life. This is a complete difference that cannot be disputed.¹⁴⁴⁷

Romans 6:15-23

Dieterlen argued that as the Romans were zealous during the time of their unbelieving, they should also be zealous, in the same way, in their time of believing; God does not reward

¹⁴⁴³Calvin, *Commentary on the Romans*, p. 199.

¹⁴⁴⁴Molumeli o tsoile pusong ea molao . . . ka hokena pusong ea mohau oa Molimo: o beiloe ea lokileng, le paballong ea moea oa Molimo; o lokolotsoe tsuong ka tšoarelo ea libe tsa hae. Dieterlen, *Hlaloso ea Baroma*, p. 86.

¹⁴⁴⁵*Ibid*, p. 201.

¹⁴⁴⁶Motho a ikhethela Molimo hang le ka boleng ba hae kaofela; ha morao, a khethela Molimo litho tsa hae ka bonngoe, ka matsatsi ohle, le litabeng tsohle. Dieterlen, *Hlaloso ea Baroma*, p.86.

¹⁴⁴⁷Mahareng a bobele le botle ho fapana ke ho phethehileng, e seng ho ho nyanyene. Bobele ke lefu, botle ke bophelo; ke ho fapana ho tletseng, ho se nang ho latoloa, kapa ho fokotsoa ke motho. *Ibid*.

anyone with death, but sin, as the lord of sinful people, rewards with death. God is not like that; he rewards his servant with good things, namely the gift of his grace.¹⁴⁴⁸

Calvin noted, 'Sin in this life brings the torments of an accusing conscience, and in the next eternal death. We now gather the fruit of righteousness, even holiness; we hope in future to gain eternal life.'¹⁴⁴⁹

It thus turns out that the wages of sin are death and the gift of the grace of God is life in this life and the one to come.

Dieterlen underlined the following points:

A person should not be indecisive about whether he wants to serve God or Satan. He should choose between the two. He should compare the rewards he will receive between God and Satan.¹⁴⁵⁰

A Christian does not serve God with a spirit of servitude because of obligation or fear but he serves him because he believes in his law and loves God.¹⁴⁵¹ Sin is a wicked deceiver; it traps a person by nice words and good promises. Once a person is entrapped, it kills him or her. It, thus, rewards him or her with death.¹⁴⁵² God also promises a person good things; however, he bids a person follow the painful law of self denial. But at the end he gives a

¹⁴⁴⁸Kajeno ha ba faletse bohedeneng le ho khotso bokresteng, e ka khona ba sebeletse ho loka ho isang khalelelong ka cheseho e tšoanang le eo baneng ba sebeletsa bobae ka eona. Litaba tsena li akaretsoa ka lentsoe le leleng le khaolang tsohle tse ling: 'Hobane moputso oa sebe ke lefu . . .' ha se ho re: Molimo o tla putsa sebe ka lefu; hlaloso ea 'nete ke e reng: morena ea busang batho ba babe ke sebe, 'me sebe sena se putsa bahlanka ba sona ka lefu . . . Molimo ha o joalo; o putsa bahlanka ba hae ka ntho e ntle, e molemo . . . Ha se moputso hantle-ntle; ke ntho e fetang moputso, ke mpho ea mohau . . . Dieterlen, *Hlaloso ea Baroma*, p.89.

¹⁴⁴⁹Calvin, *Commentary on the Romans*, p. 208.

¹⁴⁵⁰Motho a se ke a re, o tla itulela feela mahareng a Molimo le Satane. A mpe a ikhethela ho ba babeli ba na eo a tla mosebeletsa. 'Me a khethe a ba hlalobile pele, a ba tseba, a tseba le moputso oo a tla o amohela ho e mong le e mong. Dieterlen, *Hlaloso ea Baroma*, p.91.

¹⁴⁵¹Mokreste ha a sebeletse Molimo ka moea oa bohlanka, ka baka la ho tlangoa le ka baka la ho tšaba; o o sebeletsa ka hobane a khola ke molao oa oona le ka hobane rata Molimo. Dieterlen, *Hlaloso ea Baroma*, p. 92.

¹⁴⁵²Sebe ke mo thetsi ea lonya; se cheha motho ka mantsoe a monate le litšepiso tse ntle; empa ha a se sebeletse, sea mo bolaea; moputso oo se molebohang ka oona ke lefu. *Ibid*, p. 92.

person the richness of heaven and everlasting life. On earth God gives a person peace and happiness which are a good, enjoyable wealth.¹⁴⁵³

Romans 7:1-6

Dieterlen maintained that some of the Romans who came from heathenism were cognisant of the law. They knew that when a person was dead the law had no power over him. Here Paul compares the union of Christ and a believer to a marriage. In this union Christ is the bridegroom and the believer is the bride. He also makes a comparison between the law and a man; he says that the law is a man, and a believer is a woman. When the man (the law) dies the woman (a believer) is set free from the bonds of marriage.¹⁴⁵⁴

Calvin, on the other hand, declared,

He brings a similitude, by which he proves that we are so loosed from the law that it does not any longer, properly and by its own right, retain over us any authority: and though he could have proved this by other reasons, yet as the example of marriage was very suitable to illustrate the subject, he introduced this comparison instead of evidence to prove his point.¹⁴⁵⁵

It follows that by being united to Jesus, a Christian is totally free from the law simply like a woman whose husband has passed away. She is set free from the bonds of marriage. Instead of being controlled by the written law, a believer lives in union with the risen Jesus; this is how he serves God. The outcome of this union is a holy life.¹⁴⁵⁶

¹⁴⁵³Molimo le oona o tšepisa motho ka litaba tse monate, le ha o mo laela molao o bohloko oa boitelo; empa qetellong o mo fa menono ea leholimo le ea bophelo bo safeleng; esita le mona lefatšeng, o mo fa thabo le khotso, e leng leruo le molemo, le monate. *Ibid*, p. 92.

¹⁴⁵⁴Ba-Roma, le ha ba bang ba ne ba e-tsoa bohedeneng, ba ne ba tseba molao, ... 'me e felaho ne hotsejoahobanemotho ha a se ashoele, molao ha o sanamatlaholim'ahae. Tabaena e bonahalalitabengtsamosali, tseoPauluse a tšoantšangtsamolumeli katsona.... Pauluse o buoajoalo a tle a tsebe ho tšoantša kopano ea Jesu le molumeli. Kopanong eo Jesu ke monyali, molumeli ke monyaluo, kemosali; ke ka baka leo Pauluse ha a tšoantša ka molao le ka motho, a reng molao ke monna, molumeli ke mosali, le ka moo mosali eo e leng ea shoeleng ka 'nqeng ea bosali ha monna a shoele. *Ibid*, pp. 95, 96.

¹⁴⁵⁵Calvin, *Commentary on the Romans*, p. 212.

In conclusion, Dieterlen noted that a Christian should not obey God like a servant whose master lords it over him or her but should do so with a heart that hates what God hates and loves what he loves.¹⁴⁵⁷

Romans 7: 7-13

Dieterlen maintained that what Paul wanted to explain to the readers was the reason why the rule of the law should be put to an end and be replaced by the rule of the spirit. It is as if Paul was asking why or where the fault lies for the law to be unable to make a person holy. Paul declared that it was not because of the law itself or a person but that it was because of sin that is hidden in a person.¹⁴⁵⁸

Calvin maintained, 'Sin ... dwells in us and not in the law; for the cause of it is the depraved lust of our flesh, and we come to know it by the knowledge of God's righteousness, which is revealed to us in the law.'¹⁴⁵⁹

It thus appears that sin is an enemy that lives in a person and causes him or her to go astray or against the will of God. The law reveals sin.

A clear sign that one has moved away from God is when one is unable to live according to God's commands and is doing the bad things which one hates; by this, one should know that one is backsliding. At the same time, when one restores union with the Holy Spirit, that weakness goes away; sin no longer has power over you.¹⁴⁶⁰

¹⁴⁵⁶Bakeng sa ho busoa ke molao o ngotsoeng, molumeli o phela kopanong ea Jesu ea tsohileng bafung: ke sona seo a sebeletsang Molimo ka sona; litholoana tsa kopano eo ke liketso tsohle tse akaretsoang ke lentsoe lena: khalalelo. Dieterlen, *Hlaloso ea Baroma*, p. 96.

¹⁴⁵⁷Mokreste a se ke a utloa Molimo joale ka mohlanka ha qophelloa ke monghali oa hae, a mpe a utloe ka pelo eohle e hloileng se hloiloeng ke oona, e ratang tse ratoang ke oona. *Ibid*, p. 98.

¹⁴⁵⁸Seo Pauluse a ratang ho se hlaloesetsa ba bali, ke hore na ke ka baka lang ha puso ea molao e tsoanetse ho felisoa, ho tle ho eme ea moea bakeng sa eona. Ho joaloka hoja a araba potso e reng: na molato ke o fe kapa o ho kae, ha molao o sita ho halaletsa motho. O re, molato ha se oa molao; hape ha se oa motho; ke oa sebe se ikahetseng ka hare ho motho. *Ibid*, p. 98.

¹⁴⁵⁹Calvin, *Commentary on the Romans*, p. 218.

¹⁴⁶⁰Mohla u iponang hobane u atisa ho hlolola ke litaelo tsa Molimo, le ho etsa boboe bonyatsuoang ke eona kelello ea hao, u tle o tsebe o khaohane le moea oa Molimo, 'me ho setse bo uena feela; u bo etse morao, u

Calvin averred,

Man, by his own natural strength, without the aid of Divine grace, can choose what he pleases. But though the will of a faithful man is led to good by the Spirit of God, yet in him the corruption of nature appears conspicuously; for it obstinately resists and leads to what is contrary.¹⁴⁶¹

It thus turns out that man by nature is corrupt, to the extent that anything good cannot come out of him. It is only by the aid of God and through his Spirit that man can do well.

Dieterlen wrote the following concluding points:

It is wrong when a person trusts in the law, believing that it will make him or her live well.

While the law is just, it is, however, unable to set a person free from sin.¹⁴⁶² Take note of the danger of sin which is so hidden in a person that it can disrupt his good intentions and will.¹⁴⁶³ Do not put the blame of your sins or sin and claim that it was not you who committed them but the sin that is in you. You are to blame because you did not seek help from Jesus and the Holy Spirit to get you out of the bondage of sin.¹⁴⁶⁴

Romans 8: 1-11

Dieterlen maintained that Paul explained that a person is in a new condition when united to Jesus by faith. He is made righteous and holy. For this reason, there is no condemnation awaiting him or her. He is set free from sin committed while not believing. He is freed from

khutletse bo malimabeng ba pele. Mohla o tsosang kopano ea hau le Moea o Halalelang, bofokoli le bohlokoa ba hao boa fela, sebe se feletsoe ke borena ba sona holima hao. Dieterlen, *Hlaloso ea Baroma*, p.107.

¹⁴⁶¹Calvin, *Commentary on the Romans*, p. 227.

¹⁴⁶²Ke phoso ha motho a tšepa molao hore o tla mophelisa hantle. Leha o lokile, o sitoa ho lokolla motho matleng a sebe se ahileng ka ho eena. Dieterlen, *Hlaloso ea Baroma*, p. 108.

¹⁴⁶³Elelloa sehloho sa sebe ka moo se ipatileng ka ho motho, se tle se senye merero le lithato tsa hae tse lokileng. Dieterlen, *Hlaloso ea Baroma*, p. 108.

¹⁴⁶⁴U se ke ua bea molato oa libe tsa hau holima sebe, ua re: Ha se 'na ke li entseng, li entsoe ke sebe se ikentseng ka ho 'na. Ho molato uena, ka hobane ha ua ithusa ka Jesu le ka moea oa hae, hore u tsoe bohlangeng ba sebe seo. *Ibid*, p. 108.

the bondage of sin as well as physical death, which is another condemnation. It no longer binds him or her.¹⁴⁶⁵

The Holy Spirit, which is life and which begets a life which is in Jesus, implants a new law in a believer, a new way of life that influences his or her will.¹⁴⁶⁶

Calvin maintained, 'He [Paul] designates the Spirit of God, who sprinkles our souls with the blood of Christ, not only to cleanse us from the stain of sin with respect to its guilt, but also to sanctify us that we may be really purified.'

It turns out that the Holy Spirit gives a Christian a new life that is bent to the will of God. A person whose inner being is full of the will of the flesh is controlled by it and the ultimate end is death. But those who are transformed by the spirit are controlled by it and their final end is life.¹⁴⁶⁷

Truly, it cannot be said that there is an inheritance from God that will be given to his children. God will never die, but what is called an inheritance is the blessing of being with God in eternity that believers will receive.¹⁴⁶⁸

Following this thought, Calvin noted, 'It is for children that inheritance is appointed: since God then has adopted us as his children, he has at the same time ordained an inheritance for

¹⁴⁶⁵Pauluse, o supa hobane motho oa Molimo o kene litabeng tse ncha; ha motho a ikopantse le Jesu ka tumelo, o beoa ea lokileng, oa halaletsoa. Ka baka leo. Ha ho sale tsuo le ha ele 'ngoe e motjametseng, o jarolotsoe molato oa libe tse e ntsoeng ke eena e sa ntse e le ea salumelang; o lokolotsoe bohlangeng ba sebe, e sita le lefu la 'mele, e leng tsuo e 'ngoe, ha le sa na ho mo tlama. *Ibid*, pp. 109-110.

¹⁴⁶⁶Moea o Halalelang, e leng bophelo, o tsoalang bophelo, o leng ka ho Jesu, o hlomile ka ho molumeli molao o mocha, mokhoa o mocha oo motho a phelang ka oona, o hanang thato ea hae. *Ibid*, p. 110.

¹⁴⁶⁷Ho a bonahala . . . hore batho bao boleng ba bona bo ka ha re bo topetsoeng ke thato ea nama bo busoa ke eona . . . Empa ba tsamaeang ka moea, bao meea ea bona e fetotsoeng ke moea oa Molimo, le ho busoa ke oona, ba ithatela tsa moea, ba isoa ho tsona ke lipelo tsa bona, bathabela ho li fumana le ho li etsa . . . thato ea nama moo e habileng . . . ho finyeletsa mohlanka oa eona ke lefu . . . empa thato ea moea, se lakatsoang ke eona le moo e isang teng, ke bophelo. Dieterlen, *Hlaloso ea Baroma*, p. 112.

¹⁴⁶⁸Koana ho ke ke ha thoe, lefa le teng la Molimo le tla abeloa bana ba oona. Ka hobane Molimo o ke ke oa shoa le ka mohlala o le mong. Empa se bitsoang lefa la Molimo, ke mahlohonolo ao balumeli batla a abeloa ke oona ontse ole teng, e leng a ho lula le oona ka ho sa feleng khanyeng ea oona. Dieterlen, *Hlaloso ea Baroma*, p. 117.

us. He then intimates what sort of inheritance it is...that it is heavenly, and therefore incorruptible and eternal...'¹⁴⁶⁹

It thus appears that the promise that true Christians will be with God in heaven is a blessing and an inheritance for them. However, this is not to be understood as an inheritance in the sense of a wealth that a father leaves behind for his son when he dies. God will never die.

Romans 8: 18-39

Dieterlen noted that Paul explained how a person is made righteous¹⁴⁷⁰ and holy.¹⁴⁷¹ He now explains his or her glorification.¹⁴⁷²

He averred that 'the sufferings of this present time' are the weakness of the body, the troubles of this life, persecution from adversaries, sin and all that hurts a believer. All these cannot compare with the glory that a believer will receive when Jesus comes again.¹⁴⁷³

Calvin noted, 'The Apostle indeed compares not the worthiness [congruity or contiguity] of the one with that of the other, but only lightens the heaviness of the cross by a comparison with the greatness of glory, in order to confirm the minds of the faithful in patience.'¹⁴⁷⁴

It thus follows that the promised glory for believers in heaven, is a consolation that helps them to stand firm to the end amidst the tribulations of this world.

¹⁴⁶⁹Calvin, *Commentary on the Romans*, p. 261.

¹⁴⁷⁰Romans 1:18-5:21.

¹⁴⁷¹*Ibid*, 6: 1-8:17.

¹⁴⁷²*Ibid*, 8: 18-39. Pauluse o hlalositse ka moo motho a beoang ea lokileng (1:18-5:21), le ka moo a ka halaletsoang (6:1-8:17). Joale o sa ea hlalosa ka moo motho a ka tlotlisoang ka oona (8:18-39)

¹⁴⁷³Mahlomola a kajeno ke mefokolo eohle ea 'mele, le tsietsi tsa bophelo bona, le lihloriso tse tsoang ho bahanyetsi, le libe, le tsohle tse utloisang molumeli bohloko (2ba-Kor. 4:17). Ha a ka beoa sekaleng . . . ha a lekane le khanya eo molumeli a tla e fua mohla ho phethehileng merero le lipallo tsa Molimo ka ho khutla ha Jesu. Dieterlen, *Hlaloso ea Baroma*, p.119.

¹⁴⁷⁴Calvin, *Commentary on the Romans*, p. 262.

This glory is anticipated by all creatures who have been subjected to ‘the suffering of the present time’ by the fall of Adam. For this reason, the regeneration of all things will include believers and all creatures, for they have all suffered.¹⁴⁷⁵

Calvin averred, ‘For in the sad disorder which followed the fall of Adam, the whole machinery of the world would have instantly derange and all its parts would have failed had not some hidden strength supported them.’¹⁴⁷⁶

It thus appears that the fall of Adam brought disaster to all creation not only to humankind.

While a Christian suffers because of the troubles of this world, he is comforted by the knowledge that the end will not be painful, but good and glorious.¹⁴⁷⁷

Anyone who loves God has not initiated it, but he is in that way because of the plan of God which he made before he could believe. Those that God chose to be saved are those whom he saw beforehand as those who would believe. ‘Those whom he justified he also glorified’ means he has received them into his glory in heaven. This belief had already happened to apply it to all the Christians because it had already been received by every believer in whom holiness was accomplished.¹⁴⁷⁸

¹⁴⁷⁵ ‘Me nako eo ea tlotliso e lebeletsoe ruri ke libopuo a tsohle . . . ka hobane ha lia ka tsa ipatlela litsietsi tse o e le tsa tsona... ‘empa ele ka baka la ea li beileng ka tlasa eona.’ Eo ea kentseng libupuo a tsietsing eo ke mang? . . . ke Adama eo lefatše le rohakiloeng ka baka la hae . . . Nchafalo ea lintho tsohle e tla akaretsa balumeli le libupuo a kaofela ha mmoho, ka hobane li utloile bohloko ha mmoho. Dieterlen, *Hlaloso ea Baroma*, pp. 119,220.

¹⁴⁷⁶ Calvin, *Commentary on the Romans*, p. 264.

¹⁴⁷⁷ Mokreste leha a ntse a hlora har’a matšoenyeho a lefatše, o khothatsoa hape ke tsebo ea hore qetello ea oona e ke ke ea eba e bohloko, e tlampe e be e ntle, e khanyang. Dieterlen, *Hlaloso ea Baroma*, p. 122.

¹⁴⁷⁸ Ea ratang Molimo, ha se ea iqaletseng taba ena . . . o joalo ka baka la morero o entsoeng ke Molimo khale, pele, a eso ho lumele . . . Bao Molimo o ba khethelang ho bolokeha, ke bao a ba boneng pele hore ba tlalumela . . . Taba ena e ne e se e etsahetseng bakeng sa balumeli ba bangata ba neng ba shoetse tumelong mohla Pauluse a ngolang lengolo la hae. Empa o ne a ka ‘na a bolela le bakeng sa bakreste bohle, ka hobane ena e se e qalile ho ruuo a ke molumeli e mong le e mong eo khalalelo e seng e sebetsoa ka ho eena . . . Dieterlen, *Hlaloso ea Baroma*, pp.123, 124.

When a person is in a steadfast relationship with Jesus, nothing in this world can remove him from it. He remains triumphant. Paul is not conjectural; he is stating a fact which he knows from experience as he has passed through temptations which he has already enumerated.¹⁴⁷⁹

Romans 9:1-11:36

At the onset, Dieterlen explains that this part does not deal with the whole plan and mode of God's salvific work for individual persons but that what Paul wrote concerned the Jews only. Chapter 9:1-29 explains the right of God over a person's affairs, to plan them as he pleases. Chapter 10: 1-21 indicates the way God operated with this right in the affairs of the Israelites. Chapter 11: 1-36 illustrates the goodness that is brought about by that work of God.¹⁴⁸⁰

Romans 9: 1-29

Dieterlen noted that of all the descendants that Abraham would have, God loved and planned that only those from Isaac should be reckoned as his tribe. Among this true descendant of Abraham there is another election. Of the twins that were born to Isaac and Rebecca, one was chosen over the other. This was done by God, according to his good pleasure.¹⁴⁸¹

Calvin averred,

The difference as to the possession of the promise may not only be seen in the children of Abraham, but . . . in Jacob and Esau ... these were of the same mother, and

¹⁴⁷⁹Motho ha a haneletse leratong la Jesu, a ke ke a ntšuo a ho lona ke taba e fe le efe ea lefatše, o tla mpe a e hlole. Pauluse ha a hakanye, o bolela taba eo a e tsebang, ka ha a ile a phela hara meleko eohle eo a tsoang ho e bala. *Ibid*, p. 127.

¹⁴⁸⁰Motho a mpe a se kea re, hohlaloso a mona merero le mekhoha eohle eo Molimo o sebetsang ka eona poloko ea motho e mong le mong. Seo Pauluse a se hlalosing ke se amanang le ba-Jude feela. Khaohanyong ea 9:1-29 ho boleloa tokelo eo Molimo o nang le eona ea horera ka moo o ratang litaba tseo motho a reng ke tsa hae. Ho ea 10:1-21 hosupjoa mekhoha oo Molimo o sebelitseng ka oona ka tokelo eo litabeng tsa ba-Iseraele. Ho ea 11:1-36 ho boleloa molemo o hlalisoang ke tšebetso eo ea Molimo. *Ibid*, p. 129.

¹⁴⁸¹Molimo o ithatetse hore ka hobane hara litloholo tsohle tseo Abraham a tla ba le tsona ho tla baloa feela ba tsoang ho Isaaka hore ke leloko la Abraham . . . Har'a bao e leng leloko la Abraham hantle-ntle, le khethiloeng, ho boetse ho hlaile khetho e ngoe hape. Rebeka o ne a a le mong, le Isaaka le eena o ne a a le mong; bana ba tsoaloang ke bona ho ka thoe ba ne balekana hantle, etsoe hape e ne ele mafahla . . . le ha ho le joalo, ho ile ha khethoa e mong ho e mong . . . litaba li sebelitsoe ke Molimo ka boithatelo ba oona. *Ibid*, p.132.

were even twins: yet one was rejected and the other was chosen by the Lord. It is hence clear, that the fulfilment of the promise does not take place in all the children of the flesh indiscriminately.¹⁴⁸²

God did not choose Jacob because of good works wrought by him. But he chose him in his good pleasure. This is a firm right of God which he uses wherever he pleases.¹⁴⁸³ It follows that the sovereignty of God allows him to do things according to his good pleasure. 'As it is written, Jacob I loved, but Esau I hated.' Truly speaking, the word 'hate' coming from God is a misnomer. Hatred is wickedness there is no wickedness in God. Instead, God had said that he had put Esau aside and that Jacob he had put in front. While God did this before the twins were born and were without any works, he had seen something which in his wisdom had caused him to choose one above the other.¹⁴⁸⁴

Dieterlen maintained that this action of God, his choosing according to his own pleasure, may make some complain that God is unjust in following his heart without regards to righteousness. Paul answered this by indicating that the Bible states that God has a right to have mercy on those he chooses to, or to harden people's hearts. Moreover, Paul finds it unusual that a tiny human being, created by God, can find fault in or blame the Almighty God.¹⁴⁸⁵

Dieterlen concluded with the following points:

¹⁴⁸²*Ibid*, p. 300.

¹⁴⁸³Molimo ha oa ka oa khetha Jakobo ka ba ka la mesebetsi e meng e metle e entsoeng ke eena. O mo khethile ka baka la boithatelo ba pelo ea oona feela. Ke tokelo e tiileng ea Molimo, eo o sebetsang ka eona hohle moo o ratang. *Ibid*, p.133.

¹⁴⁸⁴Joaloka ha ho ngoloe (Malakia 1: 2-3): 'Ke ratile Jakobo, ke hloile Esau.' Koana, ha ho boleloa Molimo, lentsoe la ho hloea ha le nepe hantle se teng pelong ea Oona. Hloeo ke bobe; 'me bobe ha bo eo ho Molimo. Empa Molimo o itse, o suthisa Esau, o bea Jakobo ka pele ho eena.' Me ha o entse joalo, le ha o sa ka oa bona liketso ho mafahla ana a e song ho belehuoe, o bone ho hong ka bohale ba oona bo sa sitoeng ke letho. *Ibid*, p. 133.

¹⁴⁸⁵Mantsoe a boelang khetho e itsoelang boithatelong ba Molimo a ka belaetsa batho hore Molimo o latela pelo ea oona feela, o sa talime ho loka. Pauluse o araba taba ena ka ho supa hore Bibe e bolela hobane Molimo o na le tokelo ea ho hauhela le ho thatafatsa batho; hape o supa hobane ke mohlolo ha motho, e leng sebupua se se nyenyane, a ka re, o ntša Molimo liphoso, e leng o mo holohali. *Ibid*, p.134.

While all people were created by God and came from Adam and Eve, true children of God are those in whom the promises of God are fulfilled. They have the same Spirit as him.¹⁴⁸⁶

God is merciful or not merciful, as he pleases. But the will of God works together with his righteousness and knowledge. He is merciful for a reason, hardened by a reason.¹⁴⁸⁷ God hardens one who hardens her or himself. This hardening is a punishment for those who rebel against him.¹⁴⁸⁸ God, as omniscient and as the Lord cannot be disputed by man who is but a little creature knowing nothing.¹⁴⁸⁹

God's election of man is not based on merit, but on God's good pleasure. He exercises his right of choosing according to his own pleasure. Both Calvin and Dieterlen are in concord with this thought. Their differences are accounted for by their rhetoric as well as genre, as pointed out earlier.

Romans 10:1-21

Dieterlen declared that the words 'For Christ is the end of the law,' implies that his coming has put an end to righteousness by works as well as by adherence to the law of Moses. Jesus brought to all people a righteousness wrought by him, which he wants them to receive by faith, not the one brought by the law of Moses which was meant only for the Israelites. The time of the law of Moses has passed and it is the time of Jesus and faith¹⁴⁹⁰

¹⁴⁸⁶Le ha batho bohle ho ka thoe, ba bopilo ke Molimo ka hore ba tsoile ho Adama le Eva eleng ba bopiloeng ke Oona, bao e leng bana ba Molimo ruri ke bao ho phethahetseng ka ho bona lipallo tsa Molimo: ke ba tsoanang le Molimo ka moea (6-8). *Ibid*, p. 140.

¹⁴⁸⁷Molimo o hauhela le ho se hauhele ka moo o ratang, empa ho rata ha Oona ho sebelisana le ho loka le ho tseba ha oona. O hauhela ka lebaka, o thatafatsa ka lebaka (11-12). Dieterlen, *Hlaloso ea Baroma*, p. 140.

¹⁴⁸⁸Molimo o thatafatsa ea ithatafatsang. Thatafatso ke kotlo e lokelang baikhantšetsang Molimo (18). *Ibid*, p. 140.

¹⁴⁸⁹Molimo e leng ea tsebang tsohle, le morena oa sebele-bele, O ke ke Oa tsekisoa ke motho, e leng sebopuo a se senyenyane se sa tsebang letho (19-21). *Ibid*.

¹⁴⁹⁰Hobane Krete ke phetho ea molao; 'ho tla ha hae ho felisitse mokhoa oa hore motho a iketse ea lokileng ka liketso tsa hae le ka ho utloa molao oa Moshe o beetsoeng ba-Iseraele feela, empa ho loka ho sebelitsoeng ke eena, hoo a ratang hore ho amoheloe ke motho ka tumelo . . . Nako ea molao oa Moshe e felile; kajeno ke nako ea Jesu le ea tumelo. *Ibid*, p. 144.

Calvin wrote, ‘For though the law promises rewards to those who observe its righteousness, after having proved all guilty, it yet substitutes another righteousness in Christ, which is not attained by works but is received by faith as a gift.’¹⁴⁹¹

How did the righteousness of the law come about? Moses taught an Israelite to trust in God and to seek his help; to know the will of God was simple: the word was near, in the mouth and in the heart. Similarly, in the righteousness taught by the Gospel, Jesus has brought it nearby. It is in the heart. God expects people to believe with the heart and declare with the mouth their faith in Jesus in order to be saved.¹⁴⁹²

Calvin posited, ‘The contrast, by which the difference between the law and the gospel appears, is indeed to be understood and from this distinction we learn, that as the law demands works, so the gospel requires nothing else, but that men bring faith to receive the grace of God.’¹⁴⁹³

It thus follows that the righteousness brought by Jesus was based on faith alone, contrary to that of Moses which was based on works as well as the keeping of the law.

Romans 11: 1-36

The heathens would not have received the Gospel, if the Jews, who were exceedingly fond of the law, had been made evangelists. The Jews were made enemies, cut off from God for the Gospel's sake in order that the Gentiles could get it. But the Jews were separated from God for a time, and that did not put an end to God's former plans concerning Israel, as a chosen

¹⁴⁹¹Calvin, *Commentary on the Romans*, p. 333.

¹⁴⁹²Empa ho loka ha molao ho reng? Moshe o ne a a re, mo-lsraele a ke a tšepe Molimo, a bitse thuso ea Oona., ho tseba thato ea Molimo ho bonolo: polelo e hau . . . e molomong . . . e ka pelong. Ho joalo le bakeng sa ho loka ho boleloang ke Evangeli: ho haufi, ho beiloe pela hau ke Jesu . . . ho ka pelong ea hau, ka moo Molimo o reng, u lumele ka pelong ea hao; ho molomong oa hao, ka ha ho itsoe, u tla fumana poloko ha u bolela tumelo ea hau le Jesu. Dieterlen, *Hlaloso ea Baroma*, p.146.

¹⁴⁹³Calvin, *Commentary on the Romans*, p. 338.

people. God chose the patriarchs and their descendants to be the loved ones; because of Abraham the Jews are still loved.¹⁴⁹⁴

Calvin noted, ‘The worst thing in the Jews ought not to subject them to the contempt of the Gentiles. Their chief crime was unbelief: but Paul teaches us that they were thus blinded for a time by God’s providence that a way to the gospel may be made for the Gentile.’¹⁴⁹⁵ It thus appears that the unbelief of Israel benefited the Gentiles, as they were able to get the Gospel. But God’s promises to Israel were firm and to be fulfilled in the future.

Romans 12-14

Dieterlen noted that after explaining the doctrines of Christianity and their truth, Paul then moved on to illustrate the way a person who believes in Jesus Christ must live his or her life. According to Him, the beginning of the Christian life is when a person dedicates his or her body for God. This is the first reason why he begins to change and to live accordingly. Secondly, he awaits the coming of Jesus Christ and prepares for that.¹⁴⁹⁶

Paul maintained that the most important thing in the old way of worship was the practice of sacrifices, some of which were for the forgiveness of sin, others for thanksgiving and devotion. God made an important provision for a sacrifice for sin by all that Jesus did when he was sacrificed for the sins of the people. A person responds to God by sacrificing and devoting his or her body to him. As a lamb was presented for sacrifice on the altar, a

¹⁴⁹⁴Bahedene ba ka be ba sa ka ba fihlisoa Evangeling, hojane ba-Jode e leng bahlanyang molaong feela, babeiloe baboleli ba Evangeli;ho ratiloe ke hona hore ba-Jode ba etsoe lira, bakhaohane le Molimo ka baka la Evangeli, balichaba batle ba e abeloe. Empa khaogano eo ke ea nako ele ‘ngoe, hape ha e felise merero ea Molimo ea pele . . . Molimo o no o ikhethela bapatriareka, e tle e be baratuo Ba hae, le litloholo tsa bona lit le li be joalo; le kajeno, ka baka la Abrahama, ba-Jode e ntse e le baratoang. Dieterlen, *Hlaloso ea Baroma*, p. 161.

¹⁴⁹⁵Calvin, *Commentary on the Romans*, p. 380.

¹⁴⁹⁶Pauluse ha a se hlaositse thuto ea bokreste le linnete tsa eona, o fetela pele, o bontša mokhoa oo motho ea lumetseng ho Jesu Krete a tšoaetseng ho phela ka oona... Ho Pauluse qaleho ea bophelo ba bokreste ke ha motho a khethela Molimo ‘meleoahae: kelebaka la peleleo a phelanghantle ka lona. La bobeli ke hobane o lebeletse ho khutla ha Morena Jesu, ‘me oitokisetsa hona. Dieterlen, *Hlaloso ea Baroma*, p. 165.

Christian must consecrate his body to God. By doing so, he makes a living sacrifice, not a dead one, but a living, working one and of service to God.¹⁴⁹⁷

Calvin averred,

We are consecrated to the Lord; for it hence follows, that we must cease to live to ourselves, in order that we may devote all the actions of our life to his service...In bidding us to *present* our bodies, he alludes to the Mosaic sacrifices, which were presented at the altar, as it were in the presence of God... Paul recommends to the Christian Church for being reconciled to God through the one only true sacrifice of Christ, we are all, through his grace, made priests, in order that we may dedicate ourselves and all we have to the glory of God.¹⁴⁹⁸

It thus follows that devoting one's whole being to God is a pleasing sacrifice to him. Christians should also not conform to the ways of the world, imitate it or look for examples in it as the world is wicked. They are not of the world. They should be different and maintain a new personality as well as transformed minds. The mind makes a person to discern between right and wrong. The work of a Christian mind is to direct a person to the will of God and make him or her see it as good, adorable and complete; not as something which torments or is wicked or unreliable.¹⁴⁹⁹

Calvin, in accordance, maintained,

¹⁴⁹⁷Taba e kholo ea borapeli ba khale e be ele mahlabele, a mang e be e le a etsoang motho a tle a tsoareloe melato ea hae, a mang e le a teboho le boinehelo. Molimo o entse sehlabelo se seholo sa libe ka hohle ho entsoeng ke Jesu, ea hlabetsoeng melato ea batho (3: 25-6). Motho o araba Molimo ka ho etsa sehlabelo sa boineelo ka 'mele oa hae . . . Joaloka nku ha e hlalisoa sehlabelong sa aletara, ka mokhoa o joalo, mokreste o tsoanetse ho khethela Molimo 'meleoa hae . . . e tle ebe sehlabelo se phelang, e seng ntho e hlabiloeng, bolailoeng . . . empa e le ntho e phelang, e sebetlang, e sebeletsang Molimo. Dieterlen, *Hlaloso ea Baroma*, p. 166.

¹⁴⁹⁸Calvin, *Commentary on the Romans*, pp. 391, 392.

¹⁴⁹⁹'Hape le se ke la ipapisa le lefatše lena,' le se ke la etsisa lefatše, kapa ba lefatše; le se ke la batla teng mehlala kapa lithuto, ka hobane lefatše le lebe; lona ha le sa le ba lefatše. 'Le mpe le fetohe,' le be batho basele, ba nang le botho bo bocha ka 'nchafalo ea kelello tsa lona,' ka ha kelello ke eona e bontšang motho botle le bobele, se tsoanelehang le se sa tsoanelehang . . . Mosebetsi oa kelello ea bokreste ke hore e bontše motho thato ea Molimo hore na ke e fe; hape e montše eona e le ntho e molemo, e khahlehang, e phethehileng, e seng e bohloko, e mpe, e sa tšepahaleng. Dieterlen, *Hlaloso ea Baroma*, p. 167.

The term *world*. . . means the sentiments and the morals of men; to which, not without cause, he forbids us to conform. For since the whole world lies in wickedness, it behoves us to put off whatever we have of the old man, if we would really put on Christ...

It thus turns out that Christians should not be under the sway of the world but should allow themselves to be guided by the Holy Spirit that is able to transform their minds or outlooks. This devotion must happen among Christian assemblies in this way: each one is instructed not to be haughty, instead to be content with what is given to him or her by God. God has given to all people gifts and works in matters pertaining to faith.¹⁵⁰⁰

Calvin posited, ‘For as distribution of graces is various, so everyone preserves himself within the due boundaries of wisdom, who keeps within the limits of that grace of faith bestowed on him by the Lord.’

An understanding of ‘the priesthood of all believers’ can help Christians to work harmoniously. A person who is devoted to God gives love to others.

Where the reality of Christianity is made evident is in how a believer relates with those who have wronged him or her. Doing evil to the one who did it to you implies that evil has defeated you. This does not suit a Christian. The wickedness of your brother should be overthrown by your goodness.¹⁵⁰¹

Romans 13: 1-7

Dieterlen noted that a person devoted to God shows his goodness in his relations with the community as well as those outside the church. He ought to respect those in authority, such as

¹⁵⁰⁰Boineelo bona bo tšoanetse ho phethahala liphuthehong tsa bakreste ka mokhoa ona:e mong le e mong o rutoa joalo hore a se ke a iphahamisa holim’a ba bang, a mpe a kholoe ke seo a se filoeng ke Molimo . . . Batho bohle, litabeng tseo e leng tsa tumelo, ba neiloe ke Molimo limpho le mesebetsi. *Ibid*, pp. 167, 168.

¹⁵⁰¹Motho ea ineetseng Molimo o phelisa ba bang ka lerato . . . Hape moo ‘nete ea bokreste e bonahalang teng ke phelisanong ea molumeli le ba mo entseng hampe . . . ha o etsa bobbe ka hobane e mong o entse bobbe, e tla ba o hlotsoe ke bobbe ba hae; ‘me hona ke taba e ronang mokreste; bobbe ba ngoaneno bo mpe bo felisoa ke botle ba hao. *Ibid*, pp. 171,173,174.

the chieftainship.¹⁵⁰² It is by the will of God that the chieftainship exists. He did not appoint it because it is impeccable but it is because he wanted it to exist.¹⁵⁰³

Calvin maintained, 'The reason why we ought to be subject to magistrates is, because they are constituted by God's ordination.'¹⁵⁰⁴

A chief is appointed to give praise to those who do well and to punish those who do wrong. These two functions are given to him by God who appointed him. People must remember this in whatever they are doing.¹⁵⁰⁵

Calvin noted, 'they ought forcibly to repress the waywardness of evil men, who do not willingly suffer themselves to be governed by laws, and to inflict such punishment on their offenses as God's judgment requires.'¹⁵⁰⁶

Chiefs are on duty every day and for this reason, it is incumbent upon the people to pay the taxes that contribute, among other things, to their livelihood.¹⁵⁰⁷

Calvin stated, 'For if it be their duty to defend and safely preserve the peace of the good, and to resist the mischievous attempts of the wicked, this they cannot do unless they are aided by sufficient force. Tributes then are justly paid to support such necessary expenses.'¹⁵⁰⁸

It thus appears, that the chieftainship as well as tax belong together, they are both God ordained.

Dieterlen made these concluding points:

It is the will of God that the chieftainship should exist so that there may be law and order and not disorder. Nations are not made for chiefs but chiefs for nations.¹⁵⁰⁹ A person, who wants

¹⁵⁰² Motho ea ineetseng Molimo, le litabeng tsa phelisano ea hae le ba ka ntle ho kereke le tsa sechaba, o bonahatsa molemo oa hae. O tsoanetse ho utloa borena. Dieterlen, *Hlaloso ea Baroma*, p. 176.

¹⁵⁰³ Ke ka thato ea Molimo marena ha a le teng kajeno, ao re a bonang; ha se hore a beiloe ka hobane a lokile; a mpa a le teng ka hobane Molimo o rata hore borena bo be teng. Dieterlen, *Hlaloso ea Baroma*, pp.176, 177.

¹⁵⁰⁴ Calvin, *Commentary on the Romans*, p. 417.

¹⁵⁰⁵ Morena, 'nqe 'ngoe o beiloe hore a boke ba batle, 'nqe 'ngoe, a khalemele ba babe; ketso tseo tse peli o li neiloe ke Molimo e leng mong a hae; 'me batho ba tsoanetse ho li hopola nthong tsohle tseo ba li etsang. Dieterlen, *Hlaloso ea Baroma*, p. 177.

¹⁵⁰⁶ Calvin, *Commentary on the Romans*, p. 420.

¹⁵⁰⁷ Ba sebeletsa sechaba ka matsatsi oohle; e ka khona sechaba se bababalle ka seo ba phelang ka sona; karolo e 'ngoe ea makhetho e sebetse hona hoo. Dieterlen, *Hlaloso ea Baroma*, p. 178.

¹⁵⁰⁸ Calvin, *Commentary on the Romans*, p. 421.

to live as he pleases, rebels against God not the chieftainship as such.¹⁵¹⁰ A chief, who does not rule according to the will of God, rebels against him and should not be surprised when the people also rebel against him.¹⁵¹¹ A chief, who is against Christianity, who has a crooked life before God, whose judgements are unjust, is still a servant of God but he is a wicked servant, rebellious, and guilty.¹⁵¹² Chiefs judge the people, and they will also be judged by God, who is their master.¹⁵¹³ Tax must not be paid without understanding, as that results in it not being paid well and in the people complaining about it. Understanding helps people to pay it well and to be peaceful about it.¹⁵¹⁴

The foregoing on the chieftainship buttresses what has been discussed in chapter 7 concerning Dieterlen's perspective of colonialism. He viewed colonialism as constituted and ordained of God. For that reason, it had to be respected and supported at all costs despite the flaws and defects that may be found in it. He found tax as a necessity to support colonialism. That is why he encouraged the Basuto to pay it as well as to be taught about its importance. Calvin and Dieterlen encouraged respect for those in authority. This was, according to them, a biblical duty which every Christian should submit to.

¹⁵⁰⁹Ke ka thato ea Molimo ha borena bo le teng, lichaba li tle li phele ka melao, e seng ka meferefere (t. 1). Lichaba ha lia bopeloa marena; marena ke oona a bopetsoeng lichaba (t.1). Dieterlen, *Hlaloso ea Baroma*, p. 179.

¹⁵¹⁰Motho ea ratang ho iphelela ka boithatelo ba hae, o ikhantšetsa Molimo, e seng borena feela. Dieterlen, *Hlaloso ea Baroma*, p. 179.

¹⁵¹¹Morena ea busang batho ka mokhoa o fapaneng le thato ea Molimo, e ba o ikhantšelitse Morena oa hae; a se ke a makala ha joale batho baikhantšetsa eena. *Ibid*, p. 179.

¹⁵¹²Morena ea loantšang bokreste, ea nang le bophelo bo sa lokang mahlong a Molimo, ea nang le likahlolo tse khopo, e ntse e le mohlanka oa Molimo, empa e le mohlanka e mobe, ea ikhantšang ea molato. *Ibid*, p.179.

¹⁵¹³Marena a ahlola batho, 'me a tla ahloloa ke Molimo. *Ibid*, p. 179.

¹⁵¹⁴Motho a se ke a ntša lekhetho (kapa khafa) a sa utloisise seo a se etsang. Ho se utloisise ho tsoala ho tsoafa le ho fokola le ho belaela; kutloisiso e tsoala khotso le ketso. *Ibid*, p.180.

Romans13:8-10

Dieterlen asserted that if one wants to do good to his or her neighbours, he must love them first.¹⁵¹⁵ Love begets all good works and overthrows all the wicked ones.¹⁵¹⁶

Calvin declared, 'Paul teaches us that the law is fulfilled when we love our neighbour.'¹⁵¹⁷

It thus follows that love is the most important virtue among the Christians and that it should characterise their lives.

Romans 13: 11-14

Dieterlen averred that a Christian must seek holiness in Christ.¹⁵¹⁸

The flesh must be tamed, opposed and suppressed so that it may not take control, but the spirit should take control.¹⁵¹⁹

Calvin wrote, 'Now to *put on* Christ, means here to be on every side fortified by the power of his Spirit and be thereby prepared to discharge all the duties of holiness.'¹⁵²⁰

Romans14-15:13

Dieterlen noted that Paul now expounds an issue which puzzled the Romans; there were some Christians who abstained from meat and wine because of their faith. They were not many.¹⁵²¹

Dieterlen maintained that even if we do not see eye to eye with a brother, we must love him or her and live-in peace with him or her.¹⁵²²

¹⁵¹⁵Ha u rata ho etsa banab'eno hantle ka mehla le ka hohle, u ithute hoba rata pele (t. 8). Dieterlen, *Hlaloso ea Baroma*, p. 181.

¹⁵¹⁶Lerato le tsoala liketso tsohle tse molemo, le felisa tsohle tse mpe (t. 8). *Ibid.*

¹⁵¹⁷Calvin, *Commentary on the Romans*, p. 423.

¹⁵¹⁸Ho ipatlela khalalelo ho Jesu ke hona ho tšoanelang mokreste (t.14). Dieterlen, *Hlaloso ea Baroma*, p. 183.

¹⁵¹⁹Nama etšoanetse ho thapisoa, ho hanyetsoa, ho tingoa, e tle e se ke ea ipha matla, ho tle mpe ho phahame moea (t.14). Dieterlen, *Hlaloso ea Baroma*, p. 183.

¹⁵²⁰Calvin, *Commentary on the Romans*, p. 428.

¹⁵²¹Joale Pauluse o fetela tabeng e 'ngoe e neng e tsietsa ba-Roma, e leng ea bakreste ba bang ba neng baila nama le veine ka baka la tumelo ea bona. E ne e se batho ba bangata. Dieterlen, *Hlaloso ea Baroma*, p. 184.

Calvin declared, 'It is not right that he who freely eats all things, as he believes them to be lawful, should require those, who are yet tender and weak in faith, to walk by the same rule.'¹⁵²³

It, thus, appears that Christians should tolerate one another about their consciences and judgements of right and wrong in as far as food is concerned.

Some foods are not good, especially those that intoxicate a person or those that are stolen or that have some association with the gods; a Christian must detest and abstain from them. Some foods do not have a problem; to eat them is not a sin; to abstain from them too is not a sin.¹⁵²⁴ Sunday must be kept holy and respected, but even on other days a person must work for God.¹⁵²⁵ In all the days of his or her life, until death, a Christian belongs to Christ and must always work and glorify his or her Lord in all things.¹⁵²⁶

This resonates with Calvin, as he maintained, 'only is the life of a Christian rightly formed, when it has for its object the will of God.'¹⁵²⁷ It thus follows, that a Christian lives to glorify God.

If you know that you will have to answer before God for all that you have done, you must be more careful about what you do (vs.12)!¹⁵²⁸

¹⁵²²Le ha re sa bone litaba tsohle joaloka ngoana'bo rona, re tsoanetse ho mo rata le ho phelisana hantle le eena (t.1). Dieterlen, *Hlaloso ea Baroma*, p. 188.

¹⁵²³Calvin, *Commentary on the Romans*, p. 432.

¹⁵²⁴Lijo tse ling li na le molato; tseo motho a tahoang ke tsona, kapa tsa bosholu, kapa tse nang le taba le tsebeletso ea melimo, mokreste o loketse ho linyatsa le ho li ila. Tse ling ha li na molato: ho li ja ha se sebe; ho li ila ha se sebe (t.2-3). Dieterlen, *Hlaloso ea Baroma*, pp. 188-189.

¹⁵²⁵Letsatsi la Sontaga e ka khona le 'ne le khethoe, le hlomphuoe, empa le matsatsi a mang e ntse ele matsatsi ao motho a tsoanetseng ho sebeletsa Molimo ka oona (t. 6). *Ibid*, p.189

¹⁵²⁶Bophelong ba hae kaofela ho fihlela ho shoeng ha hae, mokreste ke motho oa Jesu; o tsoanetse ho sebeletsa le ho tlotlisa morena oa hae litabeng tsohle le ka mehla eohle (t. 7-9). *Ibid*, p.189.

¹⁵²⁷Calvin, *Commentary on the Romans*, p. 437.

¹⁵²⁸Ha u tseba hobane u tla tlangoa hore u ikarabele pela Molimo ka tsohle tse e ntsoeng ke uena, u tsoanetse ho hlokomela hakakang seo u se etsang (t.12)! Dieterlen, *Hlaloso ea Baroma*, p.189.

Romans 14:13-23

Dieterlen observed that Paul had talked about the strong in faith and the weak regarding food. But here the strong are given more advice as to how they should work with their God given power still maintaining the precept of love.¹⁵²⁹

He maintained that the weak must be tolerated lest they be destroyed by being pushed to do things that their consciences tell them not to be right.¹⁵³⁰

There is no food that by itself can be said to have a problem. Meat is just meat. In no way can it be said to have a problem. It has a problem for a person who in his or her heart has concluded that it has a problem.¹⁵³¹

Eating and drinking are small matters; a person is in the kingdom of God whether he eats certain foods or drinks intoxicating drinks. What makes up the kingdom of God and what proves that a person is in it is righteousness.¹⁵³²

Dieterlen wrote the following concluding points:

To make another person to stumble, or to cause him or her to err and thus destroy his or her faith is a great fault.¹⁵³³

An important thing is for a person to be in the kingdom of God; people should not cling to or be unwilling to part with trifling worldly matters.¹⁵³⁴

¹⁵²⁹Ho builoe tsaba matla le tsa bafokolang bakeng sa taba tsa lijo. Empa bao ho thoeng ke ba matla ba tšoanetse ho eletsoa hape, ba tle ba sebetse ka litokelo tsa bona ba ntse ba eme molaong oa lerato. Dieterlen, *Hlaloso ea Baroma*, p. 189.

¹⁵³⁰Ea tšabang lijo tse ling; ha le sa ba balle ea joalo, le tla mofahla, le mo utloise bohloko pelong ea hae, mohlaope le molihela bobeng ka ho mo ruta ho etsa seo moea oa hae o se nyatsang. *Ibid*, p. 190.

¹⁵³¹Ha ho sejo seo, eka reng ha u talimile bo-sona feela u ka reng se sebe, se na le molato; nama ke nama feela, ha ho ka moo ho ka thoeng e na le molato oo ho ka thoeng ke oa eona. E na le molato ka ho eena ka ho e ja, ka hobane ka pelong o e bona molato. *Ibid*.

¹⁵³²Ho ja le ho noa ke taba tse nyenyane, 'me motho ha a 'musong oa Molimo ka hobane a ja eng le eng, o noa le tse bolila; seo eleng 'muso oa Molimo, se pakang hore motho ke oa teng, ke ho loka. *Ibid*, p. 191.

¹⁵³³Ho khopisa motho, ho moetsisa molato, ho senya tumelo ea hae, ke molato o mo holohali (t. 13). *Ibid*, p. 192.

¹⁵³⁴Ntho e kholo ke hore motho a be 'musong oa Molimo; ho se ke ha khomareloa le ho qeneheloa litabanyana tsa lefatše (t. 17). *Ibid*, p. 193.

Romans 15: 1-13

Dieterlen noted that the issue of those who eat all foods and those who abstain from certain foods will continue to be expounded to show how Christians should live in harmony and in peace.¹⁵³⁵

He maintained that unity, harmony and peace must be sought earnestly. On the other hand, the wicked heart of a person likes quarrels and entertains them.¹⁵³⁶ Just as God has a fatherly care over all people despite differences amongst them, the children of God, in the same way, must rise above their differences and care for one another.¹⁵³⁷ Faith must beget happiness and peace.¹⁵³⁸

Romans 15: 14-16: 27

Dieterlen declared that Paul's book on doctrines ends here. What is left is for the author to tell the readers his plans and bid them farewell. This is what he is doing in this last part that we are reading. He begins by telling his plans about his work and the journeys.¹⁵³⁹

The church is blessed when full of goodness and all knowledge it is instructing itself. It is a good thing when the church is growing, becoming educated and when it produces suitable shepherds for it.¹⁵⁴⁰

A minister is a minister; he is a priest who prays for the church of God. The soul of the people who believe in Jesus is the sacrifice that he offers to God.¹⁵⁴¹

¹⁵³⁵Taba ea ba jang tsohle le ea ba tšabang lijo tse ling ha e sa na ho boleloa, ho tleho bonahatsoe ka moo batho ba phutheho ea Jesu ba tšoanetseng ho phelisana hantle le ho utloana. *Ibid*, p. 193.

¹⁵³⁶Bonngoe. Kutloano, khotso li tšoanetse ho batloa ka matla, le ha liphapang li na le monate oa tsona, 'me liratoa ke hona k epelo ea motho (t. 5). *Ibid*, p. 196.

¹⁵³⁷Ereka ha Molimo o ba balla batho bohle, le ha ba fapane ka litabatse ngata, le bona bana ba Molimo ba tšoanetse ho feta tse ba fapanyang, le ho ba baballa (t.8-9). *Ibid*, p. 197.

¹⁵³⁸Tumelo e tšoanetse ho tsoala thabo le khotso (t. 13). *Ibid*, p. 197.

¹⁵³⁹Ho ka thoe, buka ea lithuto tsa Pauluse e felile hona mona. Ho sa setseng ke hore mongoli a phetele ba ngolloa litaba tse ling tseo e leng tsa merero ea hae, a be a balumelise. Ke hona hoo a ho etsang karolong ea ho qetela eo re tlang ho e bala. O qala ka ho pheta tsa mosebetsi oa hae le ka ho bolela maeto ao a a rerileng. *Ibid*, p. 198.

¹⁵⁴⁰Kereke e lehlohonolo hakakang ha e tletse molemo le tsebo, 'me e iphepa e le eona! Botle ke ha kereke e hola, e be e hlalefe, 'me ho tsoe ho eona balisa ba e tšoanelang (t. 14). *Ibid*, p. 200.

Self-praise is a mistake; to praise Jesus is a good thing because a person cannot do anything good. It is Jesus who does it through him and in him.¹⁵⁴²

Dieterlen stated that Paul in his evangelism had made a law not to reap where others had sown. He posited that it is a bad thing when one church takes the Christians of another church.¹⁵⁴³ This had to do with the Roman Catholic Mission which took the Christians from the churches of the Paris Mission. Moreover, it was the policy of the Paris Mission not to start work where others had begun work.¹⁵⁴⁴

Calvin averred, ‘The Apostles then were the founders of the Church; the pastors who succeeded them, had to strengthen and amplify the building raised up by them.’¹⁵⁴⁵

Dieterlen noted that before going to Rome and Spain, Paul planned to go to Jerusalem so that he might give to the Christians there the money he had collected from the Christians of Greece.¹⁵⁴⁶ He maintained that Christians should help each other in all matters, material and spiritual.¹⁵⁴⁷ He asserted that a minister must provide for the spiritual needs of the people but should not expect payment. He does not earn a salary but is maintained.¹⁵⁴⁸

¹⁵⁴¹ Moruti ke moruti, e bile ke moprista ea rapellang kereke ho Molimo. Sehlabelo seo a se hlaisetsang Molimo ke meea ea batho ba lumetseng ho Jesu (t. 16). *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁴² Boithoriso ke phoso, ho rorisa Jesu ke nepo, ka hobane motho ha a etse letho le letle, le mpa le etsoa ke Jesu ka eena le ka ho eena (17, 18). *Ibid.*, p. 200.

¹⁵⁴³ Ke taba e mpe ha kereke e ‘ngoe e leka ho amoha e ‘ngoe ba lumeli ba eona (t. 20).

¹⁵⁴⁴ Basutoland mission, Barotseland mission and Valdesia or Swiss Romande mission are typical examples. There were no missionaries among the Basuto, Barotse as well as in Valdezia among the Magwambas of Spelonken when the Paris missionaries started their work. See, T. S Maluleke, “The Valdezia Mission Station, Then and Now: A Missiological appraisal”; Ellenberger, *A Century of Mission Work*, pp.11-12,198-200, 201-202; F. Coillard, *On the Threshold of Central Africa, A record of Twenty Years Pioneering among the Banyai and Barotse* (London: Paternoster Row, 1897); *The Recollections of Elizabeth Rolland 1803-1901*, edited by Karel Schoeman pp. 71-72.

¹⁵⁴⁵ Calvin, *Commentary on the Romans*, p. 467.

¹⁵⁴⁶ A e-so ho ee Roma le Spania, Pauluse o se ae-na le morero oa ho etela Jerusalema, a tle a ise teng chelete eo a e kopileng ho bakreste ba Greece. Dieterelen, *Hlaloso ea Baroma*, p. 202.

¹⁵⁴⁷ Bakreste ba ke bathusane litabeng tsohle, hotsa ‘mele le ho tsa moea (t. 26). *Ibid.*, p. 202.

¹⁵⁴⁸ Moruti a fane ka tsa moea empa a se ke a batla moputso ho batho bao a barutang. Moruti ha a lefshoe, oa feptja (t. 27). *Ibid.*

3. Conclusion

The comparison of Calvin and Dieterlen's commentaries on the letter to the Romans reveals a marked similarity between the two of them. This is particularly seen in the content of their text expositions which are always the same but differ in the way they are articulated.

Dieterlen adopted a sermonic or exhortative style most of the time with the Basuto in his mind as his audience. He was very persuasive and harsh sometimes. He wanted the Basuto to do away with their traditional customs and to convert and embrace the Christian faith. His attitude towards the Basuto customs owes much to Calvin's influence. Calvin abhorred what he calls superstitions in the rituals of the Roman Catholics. Dieterlen followed his example regarding the Basuto customs which he also viewed as superstitious. Calvin, on the other hand, generally followed an expository style. He limited his interpretations to the text itself and often challenged other interpretations in the likes of his peers as well as the Church Fathers. The same concern and emphasis on sinfulness and the need to convert and be saved that marks Protestant theology is also found in Dieterlen's commentary on the Romans that it can be surmised that Dieterlen used Calvin when he wrote his work. However, this is plausible, not conclusive, as we cannot prove it. Suffice it to state that this Appendix confirms the conclusions drawn in Chapter Eight, the foregoing only being just examples. Additionally, and more importantly, the Morija Museum and Archives houses a Protestant theological heritage in its collections in the Sesotho language. There is more to be uncovered.