BIOGRAPHICAL STUDY OF H.-A. JUNOD: THE FICTIONAL DIMENSION

by

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CONTENTS

PREFACE

Henri-Alexandre Junod was a missionary and a prolific student and writer, whose interests also included the natural sciences and anthropology. In the last two decades he has increasingly come under the spotlight of scholarly studies as a worthy point of reference for his era and a significant individual. This study approaches Junod's life and work from a biographical perspective, attempting to identify aspects of his work, in particular his fiction, that have not been studied and therefore to shed new light on him.

This study begins by considering the nature of biography, its features and problems, and missionary biography in particular. It then examines the literature available on Junod in order to establish the prevailing view of him and his work. This historiographical overview of Junod is then weighed against the available sources on Junod in order to determine whether any areas of study have been overlooked. From the examination of the sources, Junod's only novel, *Zidji: étude de mœurs sud-africaines*, is highlighted as one which has never been studied in the literature on Junod. In this novel Junod attempts to give a complete picture of South Africa at the beginning of the twentieth century by telling the story of a black convert's experiences of tribal life, the mission station and white society. This study examines his use of fiction in presenting this picture and also considers whether this novel adds insight to the understanding of Junod himself, in light of what has already been written about him. Thus, this study aims at contributing to a more complete picture of Junod by unlocking his perspective as it is shown in his novel.

VOORWOORD

Henri-Alexandre Junod was 'n sendeling en 'n ywerige student en skrywer, wie se belangstellings die natuurwetenskappe en antropologie ingesluit het. Oor die afgelope twee dekades het hy, as 'n waardige verwysingspunt vir sy era en as 'n noemenswaardige individu, toenemend in die kollig van wetenskaplike navorsing gekom. In hierdie studie word Junod se lewe en sy werk vanuit 'n biografiese perspektief benader. Daar word gepoog om aspekte van sy werk, in besonder sy fiksie, wat nog nie bestudeer is nie, te identifiseer om sodoende nuwe lig op hom te werp.

Die studie begin met ‘n betragting van die aard van biografie, die kenmerke en probleme daarmee geassosieer en sendingbiografie in besonder. Daarna word die literatuur wat oor Junod beskikbaar is ondersoek om die heersende siening van hom en sy werk te bepaal. Hierdie historiografiese oorsig van Junod word dan opgeweeg teen die beskikbare bronne oor Junod, om sodoende te bepaal of enige van die navorsingsareas oor die hoof gesien is. Uit die bronneondersoek word Junod se enigste roman, *Zidji: étude de mœurs sud-africaines*, uitgelig as die een wat nog nooit in die literatuur oor Junod bestudeer is nie. In hierdie roman poog Junod om ‘n geheelbeeld van Suid-Afrika aan die begin van die twintigste eeu te skets deur ‘n swart bekeerling se ervaring van stamlewe, die sendingstasie en die blanke gemeenskap te verhaal. In hierdie studie word daar ondersoek gedoen na die gebruik van fiksie in die weerspieëling van hierdie beeld en word daar oorweeg of die roman, in die lig van dit wat reeds oor hom geskryf is, tot die begrip van Junod self bydra. Deur die ontsluiting van Junod se perspektiewe in sy roman, word daar dus in hierdie studie gepoog om tot ‘n meer omvattende beeld van Junod by te dra.

KEYWORDS
H.A. Junod, missionaries, biography, Swiss Mission, H.P. Junod, *Zidji*, fiction, Christianity, anthropology

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"The measuring lines have fallen on pleasant places for me;
Indeed the inheritance is beautiful to me." Psalm 16:6

I. INTRODUCTION

According to historian and theorist Thomas Carlyle, history is "the essence of innumerable biographies".[1] This notion of the importance of individual people in the study of the past is familiar to the historian. Another historian, C.F. Mullet, defends the exercise of biography as a part of historical writing by stating that,

> First and last history is about people, what they do, what they think, what happens to them, and how they influence the world in which they live. No matter the attention to deeds, institutions and ideas, the historian comes back to the men who performed the deeds, ran the institutions, and conceived the ideas. Without people history is inconceivable; the history of a country, an idea, a policy means the men who built it, or thought it, or carried it through.[2]

The individual therefore is significant to the historian, both as an individual and as a member of a certain society in a certain period, under the influence of the ideas, processes and events of that period. The study of biography is thus a celebration of an individual life as well as an opportunity to concentrate on the many facets of the context in which an individual lived. With this purpose in view, the study of Henri-Alexandre Junod offers many dimensions to the historian. As a missionary and a prolific student and writer, whose interests also included the natural sciences and anthropology, H.A. Junod is a worthy point of reference for his own era and a significant individual.

This chapter outlines the content of the thesis, and is followed by a general chapter which briefly examines the nature of biography, its definitions and purpose, as well as the features and problems related to biographical writing. As a genre of writing claimed both by novelists and historians, biography is not merely the retelling of the facts of an individual's life, but involves a narrative process worthy of consideration. In addition, the sources used in the construction of biography will be considered. As this study will focus on H.A. Junod, the sources which will be focused on are those which are applicable to him. Thus, this chapter will consider the use of the letters and publications of a subject, previous biographies written regarding the subject, as well

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[1] A. Shelston, *Biography*, 1977, p. 7.
[2] C.F. Mullet, *Biography as history: men and movements in Europe since 1500*, 1963, p. 3.

as sources written by contemporaries regarding the subject. In the case of H.A. Junod, his missionary status justifies and requires an examination of the trends in missionary biography as a branch of the biographical genre. This chapter will therefore attempt to elucidate some of the characteristics of missionary biography and some recent developments in this field.

With the above considerations in mind, chapter three will examine what has been written about H.A. Junod since the time of his death in 1934. This will include a study of the biography of Junod, *Henri-A. Junod, Missionaire et Savant, 1863-1934*, written by his son Henri-Philippe Junod, as well as the various disciplines in which H.A. Junod has been studied and presented. The changing concerns and angles in the study of this man's life and work will be considered. Junod was a man of many dimensions and interests, with views that both matched and challenged the time in which he lived. From this discussion an attempt will be made to synthesise the image of H.A. Junod created in the literature concerning him and a discussion of its validity.

Chapter four will explore the available sources on H.A. Junod, including his own writings and publications. Due to practical limitations, this study of biographical material will be limited to sources that are available in South Africa. This chapter will also identify the sources that have been used in the creation of the present literature on H.A. Junod. This study will attempt to show which areas of study still need to be approached and how a more comprehensive picture of H.A Junod could be compiled. This chapter will highlight Junod's fictional writing as a source that has not been adequately examined in the literature on Junod.

The preceding chapters will lay the foundation for the penultimate chapter five, which will focus on Junod's only novel, *Zidji: étude de mœurs sud-africaines* (Zidji: a study of South African customs). In this novel Junod attempts to give a complete picture of South Africa at the beginning of the twentieth century by telling the story of a black convert's experiences of tribal life, the mission station and white society. This discussion of South African social issues makes the novel unique among Junod's writing. This chapter will present a new perspective by examining his use of fiction in presenting this picture and also consider whether this novel adds insight to the understanding of Junod himself, in light of what has already been written about him.

It will therefore attempt to shed new light on H.A. Junod by examining his presentation of South African race relations and thus contribute to a fuller understanding of him.

This study will conclude with a synthesis of the study of *Zidji* and the study of the literature on Junod. In this way, it will attempt to demonstrate how the novel either confirms or challenges the various interpretations of Junod's writing and the image which has been created of Junod.

II. MISSIONARY BIOGRAPHY

1. Introduction

According to a report regarding a colloquium held on biography at the University of the Witwatersrand in May 2003, "Biography has in recent decades become one of the most popular varieties of non-fiction literature and it has also become an increasingly prominent form of historical writing."[1] British sociologist, Mary Evans, supports this view by terming biography "a flourishing literary genre".[2] This chapter will begin by introducing some general features and trends in biography. It will be followed by a discussion of the biographer's task, taking into account particularly the role of fact and fiction in the construction of biography. It then considers some of the sources available to the biographer and the problems and characteristics of these sources. The object of this chapter is not only to understand the nature and purpose of biography in general, but also to explore missionary biography as a field. For this reason, this chapter will also present some features of the historiography of missionaries, followed by a discussion of the characteristics and developments of missionary biography in South Africa.

The popular appeal of biography as a genre of writing is not a new phenomenon. Throughout several centuries, biographies have fascinated a wide audience. Literary theorist Alan Shelston explains that,

> The immediate attraction of biography for the reader is two-fold: it appeals to our curiosity about human personality, and it appeals to our interest in factual knowledge, in finding out 'what exactly happened'.[3]

Historians have regarded biography with more suspicion and approached it with more caution than students of literature. Historian R.J. Shafer points out two weaknesses of biography as a form of historical writing. Firstly, biographies display "excessive sympathy with the subject"[4] and secondly, their emphasis on the life of an individual

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[1] D. Posel (ed.), "Life/writing: a colloquium on biography", *Wiser in brief* 2(1), June 2003, p. 1.
[2] M. Evans, *Missing persons. The impossibility of auto/biography*, 1999, p. 1.
[3] Shelston, *Biography*, p. 3.
[4] R.J. Shafer, *A guide to historical method*, 1980, p. 13.

tends to colour their perspective. Despite its flaws, Shafer also mentions the popularity of historical biographies and the wider readership they enjoy in comparison to other forms of historical writing. Historian J. Tosh too points out the popular appeal of biography which throughout the centuries of historical writing has indulged human curiosity. He also mentions the shortcomings of biography in that "it has … often been overlaid by intentions which are inconsistent with a strict regard for historical truth."[5] He does, however, defend biographical study as a means towards the critical use of primary sources. He explains that without a proper understanding of the background and circumstances of the authors of primary sources, it would be impossible to give a fair interpretation of these sources.[6]

While the present time shows a growing interest in biography and the continued appeal of writing focused on individuals, whether famous or not, the origins of the so-called "golden age of biography"[7] can be situated in the mid-eighteenth century. In 1810 Samuel Taylor Coleridge referred to the contemporary age as "the age of personality"[8] and certainly the fascination with individual lives has continued and grown into the early twenty-first century where the lives of politicians, royalty and the famous still provide material for discussion and study.

A discernable development in biography in the last century, however, has been the democratisation of the genre. Noticeable especially after the First World War, is the inclusion of "ordinary" individuals in biography. Evans comments that "[t]he reclamation of the past by those outside the circle of great and good has been one of the more striking features of the twentieth century."[9] The individual has become a means to represent a particular historical context and historical processes, in a growing number of studies of the "average" and unknown. In the context of South African historiography, one such

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[5] J. Tosh, *The pursuit of history. Aims, methods and new directions in the study of modern history*, 1991, p. 77.
[6] *Ibid*., pp. 78-79.
[7] J. Kaplan, "The "real life"", in D. Aaron (ed.), *Studies in biography*, 1978, p. 1.
[8] Quoted in J.L. Clifford (ed.), *Biography as an art. Selected criticism, 1560-1960*, 1962, p. 58.
[9] Evans, *Missing persons*, p. 9.

biography is Charles van Onselen's *The seed is mine*, relating the life of Kas Maine a South African sharecropper – "a man who, if one went by the official record alone, never was."[10] Using the life of Maine as a framework, the historical context of rural South Africa and sharecropping in the twentieth century are brought to light. Maine fits the profile of an individual worth studying by being both "a very ordinary man and an extraordinary countryman".[11] Evans notes that,

> In this exercise, it is both the ordinary and the extraordinary event which appears: the uneventful life becomes worthy of notice as the chronicle of the individual who has lived through massively dramatic or traumatic events.[12]

Therefore biography of the average person can be used as a vehicle for explaining or representing the past, and particularly the past of groups previously neglected by traditional historical narratives. John Matshikiza, currently writing his well-known father Todd Matshikiza's biography, states, "I am not only writing a life, I am also re-examining and writing a well-known period from a partly unexplored perspective."[13] But, it seems, that even with the average person there must be some claim to the extraordinary, either in the persons themselves or in the events they lived through. Thus the candidate for the subject of a biography must invite interest. Biographer and travel writer, Richard Holmes, calls this the "magnetism of celebrity"[14] which refers to the appeal of the extraordinary and the glamorous in favour of the mundane and average aspects of ordinary everyday life. He explains that, "Biography finds it difficult to deal imaginatively with the mundane."[15]

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[10] C. van Onselen, *The seed is mine. The life of Kas Maine, a South Africa sharecropper. 1894-1985*, 1996, p. 3.
[11] *Ibid*., p. 11.
[12] Evans, *Missing persons*, p. 11.
[13] Interview with S. Nuttall, "Writing a life. Notes on biography-making", *Wiser in brief* 2(1), June 2003, p. 3.
[14] R. Holmes, "Biography: inventing the truth", in J. Batchelor (ed.), *The art of literary biography*, 1995, p. 18.
[15] *Ibid*., p. 19.

2. The biographer: "creative writer of non-fiction"[16]

In this section we will consider the nature of biography and the biographer's task. Historian J.A. Garraty defines biography simply as "the record of a life".[17] As such, Garraty claims biography as a branch of history in that, according to him, each life is a small part of a greater picture. Biography is also claimed and defined by the domain of literature. South African writer Stephen Gray defines biography as primarily a literary form. He makes a distinction between biography and life-history, the latter being an oral form "as told to someone". Furthermore he defines the genre of literary biography as "a work by a writer of a writer".[18] Biography is a genre that can therefore be situated between history and literature. We will thus contemplate how the elements of both these fields are combined in biography and examine the roles played by fact and fiction in the construction of biography.

In spite of the different claims made on biography by historians and the literary world, there is an implicit understanding regarding biography in both fields. This is the notion that biography has a duty to the truth. From the literary perspective Evans comments that biography "is generally assumed at least to aspire to some version of absolute and inclusive truth."[19] From the historian's point of view Garraty highlights the responsibility of biography to the truth. He quotes biographer Marchette Chute who states, "There is no fun in a thing unless you play the game according to the rules. … The basic restriction upon any biographer is that he must be trying to tell the truth."[20]

From the above quotes, however, it is evident that the historian's pursuit of as accurate an account of the truth as possible is a basic element of the historian's task, while the literary author is merely assumed "to aspire to some version of … truth." This assumption has not always been met, evidenced by biographies such as Lytton Strachey's *Eminent Victorians*. In this collection of imaginative and ironic biographies of famous personages

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[16] I.B. Nadel, *Biography: fiction, fact and form*, 1984, p. 11.
[17] J.A. Garraty, *The nature of biography*, 1957, p. 3.
[18] S. Gray, Life/writing: a Wiser colloquium on biography, 31 May 2003.
[19] Evans, *Missing persons*, p. 2.
[20] Quoted in Garraty, *The nature of biography*, p. 21.

the facts are liberally interpreted resulting in the creation of caricatures.[21] Virginia Woolf also advocated freedom for the biographer, regarding biography as a form of art in its own right. In her mind, the facts were not sufficient in themselves; the biographer was responsible for presenting "the creative fact".[22]

While it is easy for the historian to condemn the blatant departure from factual biography recommended by the above cases, the nature of biography and the biographer's task make the genre rather problematic. Literary theorist I.B. Nadel states that "[o]bjective biography is logically and artistically impossible."[23] He examines the role played by fact in biography and gives it a threefold function: "to establish information, verisimilitude and truthfulness." He states that the first role is rather simple, while the second role involves the creation of atmosphere and is thus more evocative. In the third role, fact is used in the biographer's most challenging work: the establishment of the sense of the subject's character and personality. He concludes that "[a]n understanding of biography in these terms necessarily redefines the role of the biographer, transforming him … into a creative writer of non-fiction."[24] Holmes sums up this puzzling genre as follows:

> The problematic, delightful, and disputed nature of biography derives from its original two forebears, who one secret, sultry morning formed an Unholy Alliance. Fiction married Fact, without benefit of clergy. Or as I prefer to say, Invention formed a love-match with Truth. … The result was a brilliant, bastard form – Biography – which has been causing trouble ever since.[25]

It is precisely the dichotomous nature of biography that has made the genre the territory of both the novelist and the historian, combining fiction and fact, and juxtaposing the individual and society. The degree to which these elements are balanced and integrated depends upon the biographer's project and determines the character of the biography in question.

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[21] Shelston, *Biography*, pp. 62-67.
[22] Quoted in Clifford (ed.), *Biography as an art*, p. 134.
[23] Nadel, *Biography: fiction, fact and form*, p. 10.
[24] *Ibid*., p. 11.
[25] Holmes, "Biography: inventing the truth", p. 15.

The concern for the presentation of context as background to the individual life seems to lie more with historians. Garraty points out the importance of treating an individual within the framework of his surroundings. He states that "[t]o tell the story of any man, one must say something about the stage on which he acts out the drama of his life."[26] He comments on variations in the amount of background information which is included. In this regard, the historian's point of view concerning the role of the individual in history is apparent by how much emphasis is placed on the role of context in biography. Garraty presents three different views of the relationship between the individual and his historical context. The first view holds that great men are a product of their circumstances. According to this perspective, individuals are "significant only because the times in which they live make them so."[27] The second view, however, tends to the other extreme, claiming that it is individuals who change the course of events. This was Thomas Carlyle's view when he proclaimed that history is the sum of countless biographies. The third view argues the role of luck or fate in history – something controlled neither by men nor by the time in which they live. Garraty suggests that historians take all three factors – men, their time and luck – into account, warning against an over-simplified view of historical processes. The historian's perspective will necessarily colour his approach to biography.[28]

Another question related to the role of the individual is the matter of how to place the individual within his environment. The individual has been compared to the centre of an hour glass. From above, forming an apex, is the influence of "ancestors"; the individual is at the focal point, incorporating into himself the influence of factors that have come before. Spreading out from this focal point are the "descendants", the widening sphere of the individual's influence. This view of the place of the individual means that the biographer must consider not only the life and work of the person in question, but should consider the scope of their influence and the influences which acted upon them.[29]

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[26] Garraty, *The nature of biography*, p. 4.
[27] *Ibid*.
[28] *Ibid*., pp. 4-7.
[29] *Ibid*., pp. 7-8.

Garraty concludes, however, that this consideration of the individual is still insufficient. The matter of personality and character must still be addressed, and it is this aspect of the biographer's work that brings the genre into the realm of fiction. He states,

> The biographer, however, must not deal only with the facts of his subject's career, with what he did, why he did it, and how he influenced his times and was in turn affected by them. He must also describe the man himself – his personality and character, his individuality. This aspect of biography is of fundamental importance; indeed, it explains the enduring popularity of the biographical form. For people are interested primarily in people. … And the convincing description of personality involves problems distinct from the accurate description of facts. It is this which makes the writing of biography a technique apart from that of history.[30]

Evans also demonstrates that it is the attempt to portray the individual that brings biographical writing into the realm of narrative fiction. She comments on the "strongly internalised sense of the possibility of defining and knowing the individual"[31] that is present in biographical endeavours. She continues that,

> What goes with this view is an equally powerful tacit understanding of human lives as lived according to a narrative model, in which our hero or heroine sets out on a journey, is educated through the events of his or her life, and reaches a point of reconciliation with circumstance.[32]

She thus proposes that what biography often cannot do is to "sever its links with narrative fiction."[33] Narrative fiction here implies the selection and ordering of facts according to a narrative model. This often results in a form which creates a sense of progression and growth on the part of the subject of the biography. Evans further comments that in this process it is easy for the biographer to confuse the facts related to the individual with strong fictional stereotypes, resulting in a narrative that borders on fantasy or that is largely unreliable and one dimensional.[34]

According to Nadel, narrative structures became more important in biography from the mid-nineteenth century. He states that biographers "are in danger of suffocating from the

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[30] *Ibid*., pp. 8-9.
[31] Evans, *Missing persons*, p. 23.
[32] *Ibid*., p. 24.
[33] *Ibid*.

collected mass of material, becoming lost in minor details, adhering too strictly to chronology and failing to separate what is important from what is trivial."[35] In an effort to counter these problems, a new tradition of biography arose from the mid-nineteenth century that exchanged the "compendious life" for the "interpretative life where perspective, dimension and a point of view control the material."[36]

Nadel goes further to say that "[n]ot facts, but the presentation of those facts establish the value of biographical writing."[37] Biographers must make sense of their subject's life through the careful construction of a narrative formed around the available facts.[38] Nadel summarizes this aspect of the genre well when he says that,

> A biography is a verbal artefact of narrative discourse. Its tool, figurative language, organizes its form. A biographer constitutes the life of his subject through the language he uses to describe it and transforms his chronicle to story through the process of emplotment. This occurs through uniting discrete facts of the life with certain modes of plot structure so that the parts form a new whole identified as 'story'.[39]

The narrative devices used in biography create the aesthetic appeal of the form. These constitute the fictional aspect of the genre and are often responsible for its atmosphere or subtext. It is the animation of the subject of a biography through techniques belonging to the world of fiction that also gives the genre a popular appeal. Historical theorist Hayden White comments that in historical writing,

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[34] *Ibid*.
[35] Nadel, *Biography: fiction, fact and form*, p. 7.
[36] *Ibid*.
[37] *Ibid*., p. 9.
[38] Postmodern concerns and the 'linguistic turn' in historical theory have brought to light the role of narrative devices in historiography. Historian W. Thompson highlights Hayden White's groundbreaking work *Metahistory: the historical imagination in nineteenth century Europe* (1973) which introduced the notion that historiography is similar to fictional composition in W. Thompson, *What happened to history?*, 2000, pp. 111-118. Other sources which deal with the role of literary theory in historical theory are F.R. Ankersmit, "The linguistic turn, literary theory and historical theory", *Historia* 45(2), November 2000, pp. 271-311; and N. Partner, "Historicity in an Age of Reality-Fictions", and R.T. Vann, "Turning linguistic: history and theory and History and Theory, 1960-1975", in F. Ankersmit and H. Kellner (eds.), *A new philosophy of history*, 1995, pp. 21-69.
[39] Nadel, *Biography: fiction, fact and form*, p. 8.

> The events are *made* into a story by the supression or subordination of certain of them and the highlighting of others, by characterization, motif repetition, variation of tone and point of view, alternative descriptive strategies, and the like – in short, all of the techniques that we would normally expect to find in the emplotment of a novel or a play.[40]

In the same way the biographer selects, interprets and even invents,[41] while as Nadel also comments, "[r]eaders of biography … often receive a text too passively; they are unaware of being placed in an interpretative position, although the very nature of biography demands it."[42]

Garraty encapsulates the biographer's task as follows:

> In sum, biography is the reconstruction of a human life. It attempts to describe and evaluate one individual's career, and also to reproduce the image of his living personality, analyzing its impact upon his actions and the world in which he lived. All biographies must be historical and scientific in that they aim at truth and depend upon verifiable evidence. At the same time they must be imaginative and artistic, because insight and felicity of expression are essential if the full three-dimensional truth is to be transferred to the flat surface of a printed page. The biographer's responsibility is large. He assays the role of a god, for in his hands the dead can be brought to life and granted a measure of immortality.[43]

Thus, the biographer is required to combine creative powers with scientific objectivity, in an activity which spans the domains of history and literature, fact and fiction.

3. Gathering the details: biographical sources

In this section we will investigate the possible sources available to the biographer, considering the specific problems and features of each. The biographer's need of evidence roots biography into the historical domain. In her chapter, "Evidence: 'Bare patches and profusions'", biographer Paula Backscheider, outlines features of biographical research from her own experience of writing the biography of Daniel Defoe

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[40] H. White, "The historical text as literary artifact", in B. Fay, P. Pomper and R.T. Vann (eds.), *History and theory: contemporary readings*, 1998, p. 18.
[41] Shelston, *Biography*, pp. 13-14.
[42] Nadel, *Biography: fiction, fact and form*, pp. 2-3.
[43] Garraty, *The nature of biography*, p. 28.

and from the cases of other biographers. She notes that "[o]ne of the peculiarities about writing biography is that only about 20 per cent of the time taken to 'write' is spent writing. The rest is spent collecting evidence, organizing and filing it."[44] Following this statement is a description of her filing technique (because "biographers may be only as good as their filing systems"[45]) and accounts of time spent in various archives as she attempted not only to track down documents related personally to Defoe, but also to recreate the context in which he lived. The painstaking pursuit of evidence is one that the historian is familiar with. In addition this process can yield either an overwhelming abundance or a complete lack of sources. The evidence in these sources must then be evaluated and arranged into a logical harmonious structure. Backscheider quotes biographer Catherine Drinker Bowen who remarks that "[a] biography is not an encyclopedia, it is the story of a life."[46] Thus the biographer is faced with the task of not only uncovering as many sources as possible, but also of using the evidence in a way that gives life to the subject.

In many senses, it is the evidence contained in a biography that contributes to its legitimacy. In discussing the role of fact in biography Nadel comments that "[f]act, evidence, establish the authenticity of a life".[47] One of the earliest advocates of biography, Samuel Johnson, felt that it was the duty of the biographer to "display the minute details of daily life".[48] Thus a large part of the success of biography depends on evidence which the biographer has managed to gather, and this in turn requires the biographer to know what sources are available and how to handle them.

In his chapter, "The materials of biography", Garraty discusses the various sources which can be used in the construction of a biography. Beginning with sources in the category of "personal documents",[49] he proceeds to identify the range of possible sources, including physical evidence, photographs, the writings of contemporaries and oral evidence. For

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[44] P.R. Backscheider, *Reflections on biography*, 1999, p. 62.
[45] *Ibid*., p. 63.
[46] *Ibid*., p. 85.
[47] Nadel, *Biography: fiction, fact and form*, p. 6.
[48] Quoted in Shelston, *Biography*, p. 5.

Garraty, the subject's own writing and documents are the point of departure, from which the biographer can move into a widening sphere of sources. Thus after the subject's personal documents, family sources have the most significance, followed by documents written by contemporaries and other biographies of the subject.[50] This process of source identification obviously depends on the specific subject and on what sources are available.

Van Onselen's methodology, while being primarily based on oral evidence, embodies a similar process. He describes his objective as "the desire to describe and analyse the behaviour of a single person within an appropriate class context, whilst at the same time doing justice to the peculiarities of personality and the psychology of the individual".[51] In the case of van Onselen's study, the subject, Kas Maine, had written no autobiography or any other publication, and very few letters existed; therefore the collection of evidence was done mainly through interviews with the subject and related persons. Nonetheless, van Onselen's methodology resembles Garraty's widening sphere of sources. Based on Jean-Paul Sartre's notion of "a hierarchy of mediations",[52] van Onselen situated his subject within a system of relationships which he likened to the layers of an onion. The subject is at the core, followed by his family and then extended family and peers. The more "objective" sources (archives, registrar of deeds, banks and co-operatives) make up the outermost layer.[53]

Thus, one can conclude that the most significant and useful sources available to the biographer are those related most closely to the subject. Garraty includes in this first category of personal documents autobiographies, journals and diaries, letters, published works and personal remains.[54] In this study, the only personal documents which were

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[49] Garraty, *The nature of biography*, p. 177.
[50] *Ibid*., pp. 177-214.
[51] C. van Onselen, "The reconstruction of a rural life from oral testimony: critical notes on the methodology employed in the study of a black South African sharecropper", *The Journal of Peasant Studies* 20(3), April 1993, p. 498.
[52] Quoted in Van Onselen, "The reconstruction of a rural life from oral testimony", p. 498.
[53] *Ibid*., p. 500.
[54] Garraty, *The nature of biography*, pp. 177-179.

accessible are letters and the subject's publications. In addition to personal documents, other categories of source material will be examined.

Garraty warns the biographer to handle personal documents with great care as they may be purposefully or unconsciously deceptive. He explains that while personal documents hold value for the biographer through the personal sentiment they convey, the nature of people is so complex that their explanation of their actions may not be trustworthy as they themselves might not properly understand the way they act. Furthermore, the weakness of human memory is another factor that complicates the use of personal documents. Inaccuracies and distortions due to memory should be corrected if contemporary evidence is available. Finally, certain other factors complicate the use of personal documents. For example, the mood of the writer and his aesthetic considerations can lead to distortions.[55]

Tosh points out the value of letters as a historical source. He states that "[t]here are no other sources which bring to life so clearly the family and social relationships of people in the past."[56] Letters allow the biographer to go beyond the public realm of the individual and give a glimpse of private lives and private motives. They have been described as the "fossils of feeling which biographers prize".[57] Biographer Mark Gevisser responds to this statement by pointing out that "letters are incredibly important to biographers, because they give us unique access into our subjects' interior world … but they are also very dangerous, because they freeze a moment in time, often a throwaway moment, and we biographers then come along and imbue it with all this timeless significance."[58]

Garraty describes letters as a less self-conscious record than autobiographies and diaries. He explains the possible advantages of letters for the biographer as follows:

> Letters generally have the aim of transmitting information from one person to another for some *immediate* purpose. The letter-writer looks

[55] *Ibid*., pp. 179-183.
[56] Tosh, *The pursuit of history*, p. 44.
[57] J. Malcolm, biographer of Sylvia Plath, quoted in interview with S. Nuttall, "Writing a life. Notes on biography-making", p. 6.
[58] Interview with S. Nuttall, "Writing a life. Notes on biography-making", p. 6.

> outward rather than inward, and is therefore less likely to traffic in rationalizations. This, of course does not mean that letters tend to be written with greater frankness than more personal records. It means only that the letter-writer is not often … history-minded as he writes. He is concerned with the present even more than the diarist, and much more than the autobiographer. Letters show a man in one form of interaction with his contemporaries, and thus offer insights into his personality that more self-centered personal documents do not.[59]

Garraty points out that it is vital for the biographer using letters as a source to consider the relationship between the writer and the correspondent. In addition, he shares Gevisser's view of the possible misleading nature of letters that may be written in "throwaway moments" when the writer has had a change of mood. In this regard he mentions that the most useful letters for a biographer are those written over a long period of time, preferably to the same correspondent. These will give the biographer a more balanced view of the subject.[60]

Also of interest in the category of personal documents are the subject's own publications. Garraty points out that it is "the statesman's speeches, the novels or short stories of the writer of fiction, the essayist's criticism … [that] are the *raison d'être* of the biography, the cause of the subject's present-day significance."[61] Garraty merely regards these writings as a possible source of personal information regarding the subject's background. For him, non-fictional writings may contain reminiscences or references to background, while fictional writing may have an autobiographical quality.[62] This view, however, is rather superficial, as a person's writing contributes much more than hints at their upbringing or the past, but manifests aspects of their character and their view of the world. The nature of a person's writing, the subjects covered and the arguments lodged therein, reveal much regarding the individual and provide the biographer with a point of departure for considering the individual in his contemporary context. A person's writings are mainly directed at his contemporaries and thus provide a bridge between the individual and the era in which he lived, either showing an agreement with the present

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[59] Garraty, *The nature of biography*, p. 195.
[60] *Ibid*., pp. 195-199.
[61] *Ibid*., pp. 202-203.

condition of society or, as is more often the case, showing how the individual differed and challenged the prevailing trends of his time.

After the subject's personal documents, records left by other family members are of great significance in constructing a biography. Family diaries, memoirs, letters and personal documents can without a doubt be extremely useful to the biographer, and possibly shed some light on the subject's everyday life. Garraty mentions that family memoirs can be extremely biased and inclined to excessive sentiment, yet nonetheless these accounts offer useful material in the way of personal facts and insights. He explains that "[p]ersonal details, anecdotes, characterizations of contemporaries, and similar information can be syphoned off from the mass of eulogy. What the perceptive biographer objects to most in these works is not their biases, which though annoying are obvious enough, but what they could say and do not."[63] Thus, the biographer must be aware of the possible excesses in family sources, but should not completely discount these sources should strong bias be apparent.

Closely related to family sources, are the sources left by contemporaries. These include letters, autobiographies, memoirs, recollections, newspaper articles, obituaries, and other printed material. Garraty cautions again that the relationship between the writer and the subject should be borne in mind when handling these sources. He further points to the principle of glorifying a person once he is dead. He concludes that "[t]he assessment which a biographer makes of contemporary opinions about his subject is a good test of his own integrity and judgment, for few men of any historical importance have failed to evoke a whole range of characterizations from saintliness to devilishness."[64]

Shafer states that the use of evidence requires both external and internal criticism. External criticism establishes the authenticity of a source through determining its authorship and date. This is carried out by either analysing the content of the evidence, comparing the evidence with other evidence or testing the physical properties of the

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[62] *Ibid*., pp. 203-204.
[63] *Ibid*., p. 205.

evidence.[65] Once a source has been authenticated, it should be subject to internal criticism. This involves determining the credibility of evidence. Intentional or accidental errors may occur in sources due to ignorance, bias, falsification, failure of senses, cultural differences, and mutilation or misuse of evidence, to name a few causes. Internal criticism involves examining the author's observation of detail and reporting of detail in order to determine the reliability of the source.[66]

In the pursuit of evidence, the biographer needs to be persistent and relentless. Backscheider warns that "[m]any beginning researchers do not realize that records are in layers; they may find one item, rush out of the archive thrilled, and leave behind many related documents."[67] The quest for related documents is both horizontal and vertical. To search horizontally involves considering what is immediately related to the document and thereby to deduce what other categories of documents need to be investigated. The vertical search consists of examining what happened before and after a certain action, in order to determine motivating factors and to identify the effects.[68]

A final source for biography are previous biographies written about the subject. Some biographers feel that it is not good to read the work of other writers due to the possible influence of other interpretations.[69] Garraty, however, points out the value of other biographies and encourages the biographer to "take advantage of the information and insights they may offer."[70] He points particularly to the value of biographies written by contemporaries of the subject when he states,

> Earlier works frequently contain valuable evidence not obtainable elsewhere, even though they may be poor biographies. The author, for example, may have known the subject himself, in which case his book will probably by full of firsthand accounts of great potential importance. Such material may be suspect, and should be checked, but it ought not to be ignored. If the writer did not know the subject, he may have talked to

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[64] *Ibid*., p. 207.
[65] Shafer, *A guide to historical method*, pp. 128-130.
[66] *Ibid*., pp. 149-158.
[67] Backscheider, *Reflections on biography*, p. 68.
[68] *Ibid*., p. 69.
[69] Garraty, *The nature of biography*, p. 212.
[70] *Ibid*.

> persons who did. Or he may have had access to letters and other documents since lost.[71]

Backscheider also recommends the use of earlier biographies in the gathering of evidence. In her opinion the notes of earlier biographers are also of particular interest as they may include material that never made it into print or information on how to locate sources.[72]

It is interesting to note the existence of multiple biographies for particular individuals. These different "versions of a life"[73] seem not to exist in competition with each other, (although they are usually revisionist), but are usually the result of the discovery of new evidence or of the changing concerns of society. According to scholar Richard Altick, "[t]here is not a single figure in the history of English or American literature whose biography may be sealed up and labeled "Completed"".[74] Backscheider also comments that "[r]ecently biographers have become aware of how the time in which the biography is written influences it and also how each era has new questions and needs."[75] Nadel sums up this situation well by stating,

> Today, new demands are placed on biography from psychology, anthropology and history; as a literary enterprise, biography must respond by registering in its form and content new means of expressing human experience.[76]

He continues by explaining that it is not only outside demands, resulting from new developments in the realm of knowledge, that necessitate new biographies. The nature of biography as a literary genre is also responsible for multiple versions of an individual's life. He writes,

> Versions of a life exist not because the facts may differ but because of differing conceptions of what form of story-telling, of narrative, is best suited to the facts. The configuration of the life, not the facts, alters. Shifting ideological, psychological or aesthetic imperatives prefigure the

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[71] *Ibid*., p. 212.
[72] Backscheider, *Reflections on biography*, p. 65.
[73] Nadel, *Biography: fiction, fact and form*, p. 103.
[74] Quoted in Backscheider, *Reflections on biography*, p. 70.
[75] Backscheider, *Reflections on biography*, p. 70.
[76] Nadel, *Biography: fiction, fact and form*, p. 102.

> form of plotting to be followed, which changes with each 'reading' of the life by a biographer. Through alternate plots, each biography of the same person demonstrates the multiple meanings and interpretations possible which the form (biography) does not limit.[77]

Author Stephen Gray calls literary biography the "business of rewriting".[78] In his opinion biography is always revindicatory in that biography always contests what has been written, known and said before. In this regard Garraty also comments that previous biographies give an indication of what new angle is needed and also may aid in presenting a more impartial view. To conclude he states that "earlier studies should be mined for information, and should serve as a guide to what should and should not be done."[79] Thus it can be concluded that previous biographies are indeed a useful tool in the rewriting of a subject's life.

Finally, research is also necessary into the subject's context, and thus cannot be confined to sources which merely concern the subject. Garraty warns however that "[d]eep investigation of the surroundings of every incident in the subject's life could lead the author far astray."[80] He recommends the use of trustworthy secondary sources for context information. Backscheider, however, illustrates the merit of in depth research into a variety of aspects surrounding the subject's life. In her study of Defoe she conducted research on such varying topics as the price of ink, and eighteenth-century crime and punishment.[81] Bearing in mind that without proper care the search for sources could be endless, there is a certain gratification in the uncovering and use of primary sources.

4. Missionaries in South African historiography

Missionary biography is a particular variant of the biographical genre with its own features and characteristics. In order to properly understand the nature of this form of biography, and for the purposes of this particular study, it is worthwhile considering the way in which missionaries have been treated in the context of South African

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[77] *Ibid*., p. 103.
[78] S. Gray, Life/writing: a Wiser colloquium on biography, 31 May 2003.
[79] Garraty, *The nature of biography*, p. 213.
[80] *Ibid*., p. 214.

historiography. Many issues related to missionaries in general South African historiography can be applied to an examination of the missionary biography genre. It is therefore useful to highlight some of the main questions and developments arising out of the field of historiography before considering more specifically the nature of missionary biography.

It is undeniable that Christianity has played an influential role in the South African past, but as historians J. Du Bruyn and N. Southey comment,

> The paucity of entries for subjects such as 'religion', 'Christianity' or 'the churches' in the indices of any recent general surveys of South African history is indicative of just how little impression studies of religion and the history of Christianity have made on the mainstream of South African historical writers.[82]

Historians, H. Bredekamp and R. Ross demonstrate, however, that the study of missionaries and Christianity allows the historian to reach into both the public and private spheres of life, as the missionaries' personal convictions were complimented by their public actions and attitudes. They conclude that the scarcity of missionaries and related themes in South African historiography is a real void that leaves an unbalanced impression of the South African past.[83]

Despite this apparent lack of interest in religious phenomena, in general, mainstream South African historiography has paid a fair amount of particular attention to the Christian missionaries of the nineteenth century. This greater interest in the missionaries could be attributed to both the large number of sources available on missionaries and the importance of these sources in the study of pre-industrial African societies. But although discussions on the nature and impact of missionary work are more thorough and take care

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[81] Backscheider, *Reflections on biography*, p. 64.
[82] J. du Bruyn and N. Southey, "The treatment of Christianity and Protestant missionaries in South African historiography", *in* H. Bredekamp and R. Ross (eds.), *Missions and Christianity in South African history*, 2001, p. 27.
[83] H. Bredekamp and R. Ross (eds.), *Missions and Christianity in South African history*, p. 3.

of many levels of meaning, they are still relatively brief and leave many specialists dissatisfied.[84]

The apparent lacuna of religious topics in South African historiography can be explained by what has traditionally been considered to count as history. Until the 1960s the different schools of history focused primarily on political issues. Under the liberal historians, social questions began to appear in South African historiography, and under the revisionists the matter of political economy gained importance. While among religious topics the missionaries have featured the most, they have been studied mainly from a political point of view. According to historian Richard Elphick, South African historiography still needs to catch up with that of Europe and North America as far as these issues are concerned.[85]

The dominance of missionaries, as opposed to other religious themes, in South African historiography can be attributed to the strong and often subjective reactions that they have generated in both politicians and historians. According to Du Bruyn and Southey, their unusual position has made them appear as either saviours or as instruments of colonial conquest.[86] They are therefore not usually treated with neutral feelings by historians. As church historian Philippe Denis states, "Missionary history has long been the focus of bitter ideological disputes."[87] It is also apparent that in general the views of the missionaries presented by various historians have been negative, according to the ideological purposes of the respective historians. Therefore, the missionaries were at first criticised as meddlesome for their philanthropic pro-black tendencies. Later, they were made symbols of imperialism and held responsible for aiding European expansion and the destruction of African culture. At each time these views matched the current political

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[84] Du Bruyn and Southey, "The treatment of Christianity and Protestant missionaries", p. 27.
[85] R. Elphick, "Writing religion into history: the case of South African Christianity", *in* H. Bredekamp and R. Ross (eds.), *Missions and Christianity in South African history*, p. 13.
[86] Du Bruyn and Southey, "The treatment of Christianity and Protestant missionaries", pp. 27-28.

debate and ideological standpoint of many historians. The missionaries are thus understandable victims of this dispute as the position they occupied interacting between black and white society, set them up for political debate.

Du Bruyn and Southey identify five trends or phases in the historiography of Protestant missions and missionaries. The first phase is a reverential phase. Here missionary zeal and activities were promoted through missionary biographies and studies of missions. The second phase, which arose in the 1950s and 1960s presented missionaries as agents of colonial conquest. Closely related to this was the third trend in which the importance of African initiative and African religions was emphasized. The fourth trend, emerging in the 1970's, paid attention to symbol, myth, and theology in the encounter between missionaries and Africans. A more recent fifth trend has incorporated these concerns with a greater interest in the social, cultural and symbolic context.[88]

According to Denis, "The area which has benefited most from the renewal of South African historiography is missionary history," and more precisely, nineteenth century missionary history.[89] Du Bruyn and Southey also comment on the increase in interest in this subject:

> Recently the flame has been flickering more brightly. It would appear that missions and missionaries hold a strong fascination for modern scholars, for there has been a definite increase in the number of historical studies on missionaries. This interest is unusual given the long list of gaps in South African historiography…but hardly surprising.[90]

As interest grows in the field of missionary history, various historians have pointed out the challenges facing the historian as well as the areas of this topic that need to be addressed. One of the main challenges is to present a balanced picture of the missionary

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[87] P. Denis, "From church history to religious history: strengths and weaknesses of South African religious historiography", *Journal of Theology for Southern Africa* 99, November 1997, p. 89.
[88] Du Bruyn and Southey, "The treatment of Christianity and Protestant missionaries", p. 35.
[89] Denis, "From church history to religious history", p. 89.
[90] Du Bruyn and Southey, "The treatment of Christianity and Protestant missionaries", p. 29.

encounter that takes all the participants into account. Anthropologists Jean and John Comaroff, in their renowned publication *Of Revelation and Revolution: Christianity, Colonialism and Consciousness in South Africa*, express this as follows:

> We are challenged to write a historical anthropology of colonialism in southern Africa that takes account of all the players in the game, the motives that drove them, the awareness that informed them, the constraints that limited them.[91]

This challenge needs to be met despite the fact that most of the sources available were written by missionary observers. Elphick emphasizes that even in these circumstances the historian's task cannot be compromised. A broad cross-section of society needs to be included in order to answer in a relevant way the call for a religious history of South Africa. He states,

> Thus, a major challenge facing historians of South Africa is to affirm that the history of most South African communities is incomplete without religious history. Conversely, they should affirm that much (not, of course, all) of religious history is 'people's history'. To specialize in religious history is not to confine oneself to obscure studies of interest only to nostalgic élites or pious minorities. The subject is of immense importance to anyone seriously concerned to understand the South African past.[92]

Elphick outlines two criteria for successfully bringing religion into the mainstream of history. The first is that religious topics be studied seriously and interpreted empathetically. He states that many secular historians present incomplete pictures of religious topics, such as the missionary encounter, because they lack empathy for religious thought and action. His second criterion is that such religious phenomena be placed in the context of their time. This principle of contextualisation is often missing among church historical studies where there seems to be little awareness of the overlap between religion and other aspects of life.[93] He summarises his point of view as follows:

> The 'job', in my view, is twofold: to study the substance and inner logic of past religious consciousness, its 'otherworldly' side included; but then to

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[91] J. Comaroff and J.L. Comaroff, *Of revelation and revolution: Christianity, colonialism, and consciousness in South Africa* I, 1991, p. 9.
[92] Elphick, "Writing religion into history", p. 18.
[93] *Ibid*., p. 11.

> situate this consciousness in 'mainstream' history, to make appropriate connections to contemporary events and to socio-economic structures.[94]

The advent of postmodernism has also led to an increase in interest in missionary studies. The definition of postmodernism is elusive and its sceptical premises regarding the possibility of a realistic historical reconstruction of the past have disrupted traditional historical methods and have been the subject of much debate. And yet, postmodern concerns have stirred up new interests among historians. These include a renewed focus on culture and ideas, concerns with the way in which historical knowledge is produced, the question of historical representation, and a tendency to sharpen an analysis of texts, discourse and language. With these interests in mind, historians have turned their gaze on certain themes. One such theme that has benefited from growing interest is Christianity and the missionary encounter.[95] Elphick explains how postmodern insights have affected the study of religion in history:

> …postmodernist insights…have somehow locked in the cumulative achievements of recent decades. Above all, this has happened because postmodernism has authorized historians to define 'history' in a way congenial to the study of religion. Postmodernists have tended to celebrate boundary straddling…thus integrating spheres in which religion is often weak to spheres in which it is often strong. They have focused on meaning, a central issue for religious people. They have cultivated a tolerance of ambiguity and multiple meanings, thus enriching our understanding of religious symbols and affirmations. They have stressed the interconnectedness of symbolic power (including that of religion) with political and social power. And, perhaps most important for historians of South Africa, they have undercut the naïve but once common conviction that 'idealist' explanations must always be wrong.[96]

One of postmodernism's premises is the notion that knowledge is intimately related to power. Knowledge, included in such things as symbols, narratives and language, allows the exercise of power over others. Thus, knowledge is a contested item, something that

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[94] R. Elphick, "South African Christianity and the historian's vision", *South African Historical Journal* 26, 1992, p. 190.
[95] P. Maylam, "Dead horses, the baby and the bathwater: 'Post-theory' and the historian's practice", paper presented to the South African Historical Society, July 1999, p. 7; J. du Bruyn, "Of muffled southern Tswana and overwhelming missionaries: the Comaroffs and the colonial encounter", *South African Historical Journal* 31, November 1994, p. 295.
[96] Elphick, "Writing religion into history", pp. 21-22.

the various players will struggle over. Elphick explains that it is for this reason that in the postmodern spotlight the missionaries and the Africans involved in the missionary encounter gain more importance in South African history. They are not merely the symbols of the struggle or agreement between colonial powers and indigenous Africans; rather, the missionaries and the Africans each have meaning because of the discourses they convey and contest in their struggle over the power in their relationship.[97]

The postmodern notion of power related to knowledge has enriched the study of the missionary encounter by attempting to grasp the complexities of such an event. For postmodernists, "power relations are multiple, widely diffused through society, and often do not correspond neatly to the 'big' divides of class versus class, nation versus nation, or sex versus sex."[98] The meeting of individuals and groups is therefore not taken as a simple matter. Inherent to this is the thought that "two systems of thought do not "collide"; rather, real people negotiate their way through life".[99] Bearing such considerations in mind, Elphick mentions the Comaroffs' study of the Tswana and Christianity, *Of Revelation and Revolution*, as an illustration of "how the postmodern moment enables religious history to escape the ghetto to which some previous theories have tended to confine it."[100]

Another benefit to the study of missionaries that has been brought in by postmodernist thinking is the deconstructive study of texts. Theorist Leon de Kock points out the difficulties of using missionary sources which are written from the European perspective and thus are not entirely reliable. He argues that this problem can be dealt with through a deconstructive analysis of these texts, taking into account their implicit silences, ironies and implied meanings. Postmodernism also provides the historian with the awareness and

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[97] Elphick, "South African Christianity and the historian's vision", p. 184.
[98] Elphick, "Writing religion into history", p. 21.
[99] *Ibid*.
[100] *Ibid*.

recognition of the shortcomings of such an endeavour, leading to what he terms a more self-critical and reflexive study of the subject.[101]

From the above discussion it is apparent that the missionaries have generally not featured prominently in South African historiography and where they have appeared, they have been considered mainly for their political role. Despite the greater volume of work on this field produced by church historians, there is still a critical need for further studies as the weaknesses of this discipline mean that its contributions to the study of missionary history are of limited value in the greater historical context. More recently, however, interest in the missionaries has been awakened and is developing among secular historians. New questions are being posed and new approaches adopted in this field, some of which have been opened up by new concerns that have arisen out of postmodernism. With the increased emphasis on interdisciplinary studies, the area of missionary history promises to provide many new angles and challenges.

5. Missionary biography

While South Africanist historians are beginning to pay more attention to the missionary encounter in mainstream historiography, the missionary biography is a genre which has yet to be fully exploited. In light of recent historiographical developments, missionary biography needs to be considered as a genre which could further contribute to the widening field of missionary historiography. In 1989 historian D. Williams, whose field of interest includes the missionaries of Caffraria, pointed out a significant lack in the historiography of Christian missions due to a shortage of the presence of missionary biographies. He stated that "it is curious that in an area of research which by virtue of its important legacy for the present demands an intensive study of all contributing factors, little work has been done on the missionary personality."[102] In this section the forms which biographies of nineteenth century missionaries have taken will be explored. An attempt will be made to highlight some characteristics and features of this genre,

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[101] L. de Kock, Review of *Of revelation and revolution: Christianity, colonialism and consciousness in South Africa, South African Historical Journal* 26, 1992, p. 263.
[102] D. Williams, "The missionary personality in Caffraria, 1799-1853: a study in the context of biography", *Historia* 34(1), May 1989, p. 15.

particularly the manner in which it has been treated by missionaries and church historians. Finally, some recent developments and stimuli in the field of missionary biography will be considered.

Williams's article points out the necessity of biography in the study of missionaries as a means to balance and understand more comprehensively the missionary encounter. According to him, "[w]ithout the leavening influence of biographies, current historical studies on southern Africa which incorporate Christian missions mainly lean towards the material achievements of the missionaries in their relationship with Black societies."[103] He calls for a "restoration of personality" and a greater understanding of its role, through the medium of biography, "as a counterweight against theories of history which often see people as part of an inevitable process."[104] For Williams, "humanizing history by the added dimension of personality adds to the depth as well as the enjoyment of the discipline"[105] and thus biography adds colour, dimension and pleasure to history.

Williams points out "the hostility of twentieth-century historiography to biography"[106] but further adds that "biography thrives … in spite of an allegedly adverse climate of opinion".[107] He acknowledges the popular appeal of the genre and the growing interest in biography as a discipline. "Yet, [he states,] against this strong prevailing tide of interest in biography, which flows in spite of attempts to deny its existence, biographies of missionaries in Africa in the nineteenth century continue to languish."[108] The paucity of missionary biography can be explained by the rise of African independence and anti-colonialism, causing the missionaries to be bypassed and to risk "slipping into obscurity".[109]

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[103] *Ibid*., p. 16.
[104] *Ibid*., p. 19.
[105] *Ibid*.
[106] *Ibid*., p. 17.
[107] *Ibid*., p. 19.
[108] *Ibid*., p. 20. A notable exception is missionary David Livingstone. For example, the shelves of the University of South Africa's library reveal at least fifty versions of Livingstone's life.

Williams's article paints a picture of poverty in the fields of both missionary historiography and missionary biography. A brief search into church history, however, reveals that there is a wealth of information – both primary and secondary – on the study of congregations, churches and missionaries in South Africa. Church historians J.W. Hofmeyr and K.E. Cross's bibliography of church history, published in 1986, lists 6 491 primary and secondary sources,[110] and since that time historiographical production in the field has continued steadily.[111] According to Denis, "This impression of abundance, however, is deceptive."[112] The division between mainstream historians and those of Christianity and the church has meant that, despite its abundance, "[t]he work of many church historians…has…proved to be of limited value for historians."[113] Elphick explains the situation as follows:

> …few church and mission historians have successfully situated their subjects in the broader history of their times. Mainstream historians, for their part, have paid some attention to religious figures and institutions. But rarely have they shown interest in the religious side of such persons and organizations, preferring to explain their historical role in economic or political terms familiar to modern, and mostly secular, academics. The upshot has been a near complete divorce between the study of the history of religion and the concerns of mainstream historians.[114]

In 1976 church historian H.T. Hanekom identified four characteristics of church histories: they were polemical, culturally restricted, ethnically bound, and narrowly based geographically.[115] He has not been the only one to draw attention to the inherent weaknesses of church history and yet there is not much evidence of a response within the discipline. Southey comments that, "Many writers have perhaps been too captive to their own denominational positions to form sufficient historical distance between themselves

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[109] Williams, "The missionary personality in Caffraria", p. 21.
[110] J.W. Hofmeyr and K.E. Cross, *History of the church in southern Africa* I, 1986.
[111] Denis, "From church history to religious history", p. 84; Elphick, "South African Christianity and the historian's vision", p. 182.
[112] Denis, "From church history to religious history", p. 84.
[113] Du Bruyn and Southey, "The treatment of Christianity and Protestant missionaries", p. 31.
[114] Elphick, "South African Christianity and the historian's vision", pp. 182-183.
[115] Denis, "From church history to religious history", p. 87.

and their object of study."[116] Denis underscores this by pointing out that even the way the subjects are divided in Hofmeyr and Cross's bibliography, mainly under the titles of "denominations" and "missions", is an indication of the focus on denominations and thus of the limited focus and purpose of these texts.[117]

Another strong criticism of the works of church historians is that they are generally isolated studies that do not take context into account. Du Bruyn and Southey are of the opinion that there seems to be an unawareness and neglect of the society and times in which the events that are described took place.[118]

Much of the criticism leveled at church history can be applied to earlier missionary biographies, namely, that of being narrow and polemical, and of ignoring context. Historian Andrew Ross comments on "the flood of popular missionary literature, consisting primarily of biographies, that swept Britain from around 1880 until the 1920s".[119] These biographies fall into Du Bruyn and Southey's "reverential phase" of missionary historiography mentioned in the previous section. This phase favoured the missionary biography as a form and can be termed the "missionary school" of missionary biography.

A brief survey of a few early missionary biographies reveals that these biographies were usually written by a family member or a member of the same missionary society.[120] (At the minimum, they were written by someone who shared the same beliefs as the subject regarding the missionary endeavour.) While many biographers feel that personal or close

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[116] N. Southey, "History, church history and historical theology in South Africa", *Journal of Theology for Southern Africa* 68, September 1989, p. 11.
[117] Denis, "From church history to religious history", p. 87.
[118] Du Bruyn and Southey, "The treatment of Christianity and Protestant missionaries", p. 30.
[119] A. Ross, *John Philip (1775-1851): missions, race and politics in South Africa*, 1986, p. 2.
[120] For example, Hudson Taylor's biography was written by Dr. and Mrs. Howard Taylor and published by the China Inland Missionary Fellowship. Missionary to China and Africa, C.T. Studd's biography was written by his fellow missionary and son-in-law,

acquaintance with the subject is a great advantage,[121] in the cases of missionary biographies, the admiration of the writer for his subject, and the membership of the same mission, can lead to distortions. Such accounts were usually a celebration of the achievements of an individual missionary or of a missionary society.

Missionary biographies of this school fall into the category of writing criticised by historian F.K. Ekechi. He points out two features of the missionary school of mission history. Firstly, he describes missionary accounts as being ethnocentric and biased towards the missionaries; and secondly, he highlights their emphasis on the heroic elements of the missionary endeavour.[122] These early descriptions are responsible for the courageous image of the missionary in Africa. They are full of accounts of altruism and sacrifice in the face of danger. The missionary is a "zealous" and "devoted man", with no concern for his own comfort and safety. In the pursuit of his ideals he would cross oceans and continents, relentlessly pursuing the spread of the gospel. He is a breed apart from the ordinary man, a fearless adventurer not afraid of martyrdom.[123] An additional feature is the optimism and the infallible sense of rightness of these accounts. The writer and his subject both believed Christianity to be the only true religion and expected the African people to be ready and willing to accept and embrace it.[124]

While the more than obvious bias of many biographies emerging from the missionary school can easily be despised by serious historians, the nature and purpose of these biographies need to be taken into consideration before fair criticism can be made. As mentioned previously, these biographies were usually written by close acquaintances of the subject, not by historians or scholars committed to presenting an accurate historical account. As such these early biographies can offer personal details and impressions, as well as insight into the missionary perspective.

Norman Grubb. The biography of the founders of the Swiss Mission in South Africa, E. Creux and P. Berthoud, was written by fellow Swiss missionary H.A. Junod.
[121] Garraty, *The nature of biography*, p. 25; Shelston, *Biography*, p. 10.
[122] F.K. Ekechi, "Studies on missions in Africa", *in* T. Falola, *African historiography. Essays in honour of Jacob Ade Ajayi*, 1993, p. 146.
[123] Ekechi, "Studies on missions in Africa", p. 147.
[124] *Ibid*., p. 149.

In addition, many of these biographies were written with the purpose of inspiring the reader to spiritual service. Their goal was not foremost to leave an accurate historical portrayal for the sake of posterity, but to serve religious interests. In the preface to his biography of missionary Henry Martyn, John Sargent explains his purpose as follows:

> One principal object with me has been, to render it beneficial to those disinterested ministers of the Gospel, who, "with the Bible in their hand, and their Saviour in their hearts," devote themselves to the great cause for which Mr. Martyn lived and died: and, truly, if the example here delineated should excite any of those servants of Christ to similar exertion, or if it should animate and encourage them, amidst the multiplied difficulties of their arduous course, my labour will receive an eminent and abundant recompense.[125]

Shelston comments that curiosity has rarely been considered to be justification enough for the practice of biography. Biography has also been defended as a means of instruction. From medieval times, "the lives of great and worthy men"[126] have been didactic vehicles for the transmission of moral values. The commemorative or exemplary biography, often tending towards hagiography,[127] is often characteristic of the missionary school of biography. It is not however common only to the missionaries, but rather fits into the paradigms for biography given by Nadel. He explains that,

> Biographers have a … set of paradigms that organize the representation of lives. Three dominant paradigms are (1) the idea that a biography is the history of an individual, functioning as a record or commemoration of a life; (2) the idea that a biography presents an example, a model of moral and didactic value for readers; (3) the idea that biography is a discovery, revealing previously unknown aspects of the subject often through detail or anecdote.[128]

As previously mentioned, the third case is often the reason for new biographies on the same subject. The case of early missionary biographies falls mainly into the second

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[125] J. Sargent, *The life and letters of Henry Martyn*, 1985, p. vi.
[126] Bishop Burnet quoted in Shelston, *Biography*, p. 6.
[127] According to P. Procter (ed.), *Cambridge International Dictionary of English,* 1996, hagiography refers to biographical writing that presents the subject as perfect or much better than they are in reality. It can also refer to the writings about the lives of holy people.
[128] Nadel, *Biography: fiction, fact and form*, p. 104.

paradigm, while also involving aspects of the first. Shelston notes that exemplary and didactic biographies entail a greater process of selection and manipulation in order for the desired portrait to be produced. Missionary biographer, Sargent, quite readily admits to this process when he states, "[i]n making a selection from a mass of such valuable matter, it has been my anxious wish and sincere prayer that it might prove subservient to the interests of true religion."[129]

Evans also comments on the didactic aspect of biography by pointing out how culture "depend[s] heavily on mythologised accounts of individual lives for the transmission of moral and cultural values."[130] She comments that

> throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries there has been a steady production of autobiographies and biographies which are organised as moral tales: overcoming specific hardships or illnesses, living through difficult times or finding personal happiness all have much in common with the narrative of Grimm's *Fairy Tales* or Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*.[131]

The missionary school of biography falls precisely into this category of "moral tales". Even the progressive structure of most of these biographies, using the imagery of a journey or of growth, is an indication of this style of writing. Chapter headings such as "The crisis"[132] and "March to martyrdom"[133] bear testimony to the subject's triumphs and path to maturity in the face of trials. Ross points out how missionaries not conforming to the heroic image demanded by this form of biography and how undesirable factors, such as ecclesiastical conflicts, did not feature in these missionary biographies.[134]

Another common feature of this school of missionary biography is related to sources and the manner in which they are used. Most of these missionary biographies make extensive use of letters and journals. These are not only referred to or used as sources of

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[129] Sargent, *The life and letters of Henry Martyn*, p. vi.
[130] Evans, *Missing persons*, p. 3.
[131] *Ibid*., p. 4.
[132] N.P. Grubb, *C.T. Studd: cricketer and pioneer*, 1982, p. 31.
[133] R. Mackenzie, *David Livingstone: the truth behind the legend*, 1993, p. 355.
[134] Ross, *John Philip*, p. 2.

information, but in many cases make up the majority of the text.[135] Thus, despite the bias of these biographies towards their subjects, the voice of the narrator is often exchanged for the voice of the subject. Norman Grubb explains his construction of C.T. Studd's biography as follows:

> Nothing can really take the place of an honest autobiography. Unfortunately "C.T." has left no written record of his life. However, his mother and wife did the next best thing by preserving all his correspondence from boyhood. My object has been to weld these letters into the nearest thing to an autobiography.[136]

The result of this technique of patching together primary sources is that these biographies become useful as sources themselves. The future biographer can consult these works as a point of departure in the search for sources. Especially those works written by close family or associates may also contribute aspects of autobiography and aid in understanding the subject and his convictions. Thus, in spite of their apparent weaknesses, these biographies still hold much value for the study of the missionaries concerned.

More recently, however, the missionary biography has come into the hands of historians, such as Andrew Ross. He explains the shift in the nature and purpose of missionary biography by referring to the aim of his biography of missionary John Philip as an "attempt to understand Philip in the context of his own day." He notes in this regard that "writers have tended to use their study of Philip as a means towards an end other than presenting Philip to the reader."[137] This end depended on their sympathies which, in the case of Philip, often arose from their political orientation.

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[135] A good example is Dr. and Mrs. Howard Taylor, *Biography of James Hudson Taylor*, 1965. This biography mainly consists of direct quotes from primary sources, i.e., letters, missionary reports, Hudson Taylor's journal and reminiscences of acquaintances. Sargent, *The life and letters of Henry Martyn*, and Grubb, *C.T. Studd: cricketer and pioneer*, use a similar technique.
[136] Grubb, *C.T. Studd*, p. 5.
[137] Ross, *John Philip*, p. 215.

Ross's interest in Philip also arose from the fact that Philip has been largely overlooked in missionary literature. According to Ross, Philip "did not fit the bill"[138] of missionary figures portrayed in the reverential phase of missionary biographies and was thus omitted. South African historians have been the only ones interested in Philip but, according to Ross, "these writers have paid little attention to the particular Scottish background and the form of evangelicalism that shaped his life and thoughts."[139] Thus, Ross attempts in his study of Philip, to paint the background of Philip's life and thus contribute to a greater understanding of his role. This "new" style of missionary biography has a greater concern therefore for historical context and attempts to break away from the one-sided interpretations of the missionary's life. Ross's study of Philip is, however, a "study of his public life"[140] and is therefore also less concerned with the man himself than with his public image and actions. Thus, while producing a work which is of possibly greater value to the historian, Ross for the most part leaves aside the element of personality.[141]

Williams also highlights the value of missionary biography for the historian in his article, "The missionary personality in Caffraria, 1799-1853: a study in the context of biography". He praises Ross for his study of Philip and encourages historians to embark on similar studies of other missionaries. Furthermore, he demonstrates how "small-scale collective biography is useful, enabling the historian to identify common features within the context of generalization while allowing for some careful scrutiny of individuals."[142] By examining briefly the biographical backgrounds of various missionaries active in Caffraria, he illustrates how various conclusions can be drawn regarding the nature of missionary activities at the time.

Thus, historians like Ross and Williams, are elevating the genre of missionary biography by attempting to give a more complex and contextualised picture of the missionaries.

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[138] *Ibid.*, p. 2
[139] *Ibid.*
[140] *Ibid.*, p. 10.
[141] Ross does discuss Philip's personality and the different impressions he created in his introduction.
[142] Williams, "The missionary personality in Caffraria", pp. 24-25.

Ross has also written a biography of famous missionary David Livingstone.[143] His choice of southern Africa's better known missionaries who have been the subjects of numerous studies is an indication of his desire to break with past traditions of missionary biography and present a more complete picture of the missionaries.[144] Furthermore, the advances in general missionary historiography are also an encouragement to historians to embark on more in depth studies of the missionary encounter and the missionaries themselves.

6. Conclusion

Biography is both a popular and problematic genre, combining the roles of historian and novelist in its use of fact and fiction. In the above discussion it is apparent that in spite of the restrictions and demands of this genre, it is an important component not only of literature, but also of history. Biography lends a personal dimension to historical studies and also is a means to understand the context of a specific era through the eyes of an individual. We have also seen that biography's need of facts involves the biographer in the task of the historian, seeking evidence from personal and contemporary documents. These sources become the material which the biographer will then fashion into a biography.

Missionaries are a particular subject of biography and missionary biography has been treated in different ways with the changing concerns of society. In order to better understand missionary biography, a study of the historiography of missionaries introduces some of the main characteristics and problems related to the treatment of missionaries. From this study we see that there is a shortage of religious themes in mainstream historiography which is beginning to be addressed by new developments in historical studies. We also see that the genre of missionary biography specifically was more prevalent in the reverential phase of missionary historiography which portrayed missionaries in heroic terms. Apart from this school of missionary biography, which has many weaknesses, there is a continued need for more scholarly missionary biographies.

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[143] A. Ross, *David Livingstone. Mission and empire*, 2002.
[144] Other recent missionary biographies are J. Guy, *The view across the river. Harriette Colenso and the Zulu struggle against imperialism*, 2002, and T. Couzens, *Murder at Morija*, 2003, which is a biography of Paris missionary Édouard Jacottet.

These add an important dimension to the study of missionary endeavours and the colonial era. A number of historians have begun work to overcome this shortage of biography in missionary studies and are setting a standard for missionary biography as a historical enterprise.

III. BIOGRAPHICAL AND HISTORIOGRAPHICAL OVERVIEW

1. Introduction

Henri-Alexandre Junod was a man of diverse interests and activities, and his writings have significance related to a wide range of southern African studies. This chapter will begin by briefly considering the main events of his life as a background to understanding his work and his influence. This will be followed by an examination of the literature on him. This historiographical overview will begin with the missionary writing concerning him, including in particular, the only official biography of Junod written by his son Henri-Philippe. It will also consider the anthropologist's view of Junod and then analyse the various entries related to him in biographical dictionaries and encyclopedias. Finally, it will consider his emergence as a subject of historical study, beginning in the 1980s. It will explore the image of Junod that has been constructed in these texts, taking into account the variety of perspectives offered by each author.

2. Biographical sketch

Henri-Alexandre Junod was born on 17 May 1863 in Chézard-Saint-Martin in the canton of Neuchâtel in Swizterland. He was the eldest child of Henri Junod and his wife Marie Dubied. Both parents were devoted Swiss Protestants. His father was a pastor in the Independent Church and his mother had a keen interest in the Moravian missions.[1] On the occasion of his birth and baptism, Henri Junod senior wrote in the family Bible:

> 17 May 1863, another Sunday; but this time about half an hour after the service, the Lord deigned to give us a son, whom we have consecrated to Him like Samuel and by baptism on 7 June following under the name of Henri-Alexandre. May he himself ratify this consecration as soon as possible by the devotion of his whole life to the service of his God and of his brothers. His godfather is his uncle, Gustave Dubied, and his godmother is his aunt Rose, widow of Alexandre Houriet. Hallelujah![2]

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[1] V. Junod, "Junod, Henri Alexandre", in D.L. Sills (ed.), *The International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences* VIII, 1968, p. 330; W.J. de Kock and D.W. Kruger (eds.), "Junod, Henri-Alexandre", *Dictionary of South African Biography* II, 1972, p. 349; P. Loze, "The late Dr. Henri Alexander Junod", *The South African Outlook* 64(6), 1 June 1934, p. 121.
[2] Archival and Special Collections, Unisa Library, Pretoria: Junod Archives, 1.1: Biographical notes compiled by his sister Elisebeth, 1863-1921, p. 1. (All translations from French are my own.)

From the outset it was as though Henri-Alexandre was destined for a missionary career. However, various sources also testify to Henri-Alexandre's love for the natural sciences, an aspect which was also apparent in his childhood. His father had a great love for botany and during outings the family was educated in the uses of herbs. The young Henri-Alexandre also showed a keen interest in putting together collections. At school, he displayed a genuine gift for the natural sciences and his professors believed him to have a brilliant future career in science and natural history.[3] H.P. Junod explains however that,

> …despite these pronounced tastes for study, Henri-Alexandre Junod could not escape the profound influence which his father exercised over him. The latter was a pastor in every sense of the word, and his life of complete devotion, and holy life in many respects, his love for souls and his courageous attitude at the time the ecclesiastical crisis arose in the canton of Neuchâtel: all of this made a deep impression on the adolescent Henri-Alexandre.[4]

Thus, by the age of fifteen, while carrying out his religious instruction with his father (a practice called his "six weeks" which was typical for his age), Henri-Alexandre made the decision to pursue a pastoral career.[5]

Junod also showed a keen pleasure in literary pursuits, turning out lines of poems and plays.[6] As a theological student, he was an active member of the Société de Belles-Lettres (literary society), and eventually its president. A copy of a poem written in four movements for his parents' silver wedding anniversary, as well as a printed copy of one of his plays written for performance by the literary society, is available in the Junod Archives at Unisa.[7] Both bear witness to his literary tendencies which would later be manifested in the writing of plays, stories and a novel depicting the African landscape.

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[3] H.P. Junod, *Henri-A. Junod, missionaire et savant, 1863-1934*, 1934, p. 8; Loze, "The late Dr. Henri Alexander Junod", p. 121; Junod, "Junod, Henri Alexandre", p. 331.
[4] Junod, *Henri-A. Junod*, p. 8.
[5] *Ibid.*; Junod Archives, 1.1: Biographical notes, p. 1.
[6] Junod, *Henri-A. Junod*, p. 10.
[7] Junod Archives, 1.3: Poem: *À nos parents*; Junod Archives, 2.2: *Prologue saynète pour la soirée litteraire de la Société de Belles-Lettres*.

In 1881 Henri-Alexandre began his studies at the faculty of theology of the Independent Church of Neuchâtel in Neuchâtel. He completed two semesters in Basel and Berlin before being ordained in 1885.[8] In 1886 he took up a position as interim pastor at Môtiers-Travers, a position he occupied for two years. During this time he met and became engaged to his cousin, Emilie Biolley. Also in 1886, Junod made an application to the Council of the Romande Mission, and was accepted as a missionary candidate. He therefore took leave of his parishioners and travelled to Scotland where he studied English, medicine and surgery. After his return to Switzerland, a call came from the Romande Mission for Junod to join his brother-in-law and fellow missionary, Paul Berthoud, at Delagoa Bay. Henri-Alexandre was married on 19 May 1889 to Emilie Biolley and the couple departed for Africa two months later.[9]

The Junods took up a position at the Rikatla mission station, about 25 km north of Lorenzo Marques. One of the first tasks which Henri-Alexandre tackled was the mastering of the Tsonga language. With the help of a native speaker, Calvin Mapope, he set about uncovering the system of grammatical rules and constructions.[10] In retrospect, H.P. Junod gives an account of the range of his father's activities during this period which included:

> Evangelism journeys, which are magnificent opportunities to observe, to take notes, to be instructed. School exams, sermons, collections of beetles and butterflies, study of herbs, etc. Enthusiasm grew in the heart of the young missionary who was beginning to understand the wonderful development Africa was offering to his scientific talents.[11]

This was the first of four tours which H.A. Junod would undertake to Africa. During this first one (June 1889 – July1896) Junod was stationed in Mozambique by the Swiss Romande Mission Society, taking occasional vacations in South Africa. In 1893, the school for evangelists was transferred from Valdezia, in the Northern Transvaal, to

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[8] Junod Archives, 1.1: Biographical notes, pp. 1-2; De Kock and Kruger (eds.), "Junod, Henri-Alexandre", p. 349.
[9] Junod Archives, 1.1: Biographical notes, pp. 3-4; Junod, *Henri-A. Junod*, p. 13.
[10] Junod, *Henri-A. Junod*, pp. 15-16; De Kock and Kruger (eds.), "Junod, Henri-Alexandre", p. 349.
[11] Junod, *Henri-A. Junod*, p. 17.

Rikatla, and Junod became its principal. In the following year he moved to Lorenzo Marques to take over the direction of the mission station there from his brother-in-law Paul Berthoud who was returning to Switzerland on furlough. Shortly afterwards, the Ronga-Portuguese war broke out (1894-1895) during which the mission station at Rikatla was burned to the ground.[12]

In this first period in Africa the Junods faced many of the difficulties common to missionaries of the time. Emilie Junod suffered frequent illnesses, forcing the couple to move to the milder climate of Natal to aid her recuperation. In 1891 their first child, Anne-Marie, was born. She also quickly succumbed to illness, so that her parents decided to let her accompany the Berthouds on their return to Switzerland in 1893 where she would be placed in the care of family. Shortly before their departure in 1893 the Junods had a son who died prematurely. In 1895 another daughter, Elizabeth, was born, and in 1896 the Junods returned to Switzerland for a visit. Unfortunately Elizabeth caught dysentery as they were passing through Paris and died before they reached Switzerland.[13]

Many authors regard 1895 as a significant year in Junod's life, as it was in this year that Junod had a meeting which had a significant influence on his view of the importance of ethnographic work in southern Africa.[14] This was his meeting in Lorenzo Marques with Lord James Bryce, the British statesman and scholar who was touring southern Africa at the time. Bryce remarked to Junod how grateful the British would have been had the Romans documented the customs of their Celtic forefathers at the time of their occupation of Britain. Junod realised that no such records existed for any African people and this became part of the goal of his ethnographic studies. Bryce was also a good friend of British social anthropologist, James Frazer, and he pointed out Junod's valuable role as

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[12] De Kock and Kruger (eds.), "Junod, Henri-Alexandre", p. 349; Junod, *Henri-A. Junod*, pp. 19-21; P. Hassing, "Junod, Henri-Alexandre", in S. Neil, G.H. Anderson and J. Goodwin (eds.), *Concise Dictionary of the Christian World Mission*, 1971, p. 315.
[13] Junod, *Henri-A. Junod*, pp. 16-22; Junod Archives, 1.1: Biographical notes, pp. 5-6.
[14] E.W. Smith, "Obituary. Henri Alexandre Junod: born 17 May, 1863 : died 22 April, 1934", *Man* 34, 1934, p. 111; Hassing, "Junod, Henri-Alexandre", p. 315; P. Harries, "The anthropologist as historian and liberal: H-A. Junod and the Thonga", *Journal of Southern African Studies* 8, 1981, p. 37.

a "man on the spot", with access to ethnographic data which would expand the field of anthropology by providing men like Frazer with material which they could interpret and synthesize.[15]

Junod himself comments on this meeting with Bryce as the decisive factor in his turn to ethnography in his introduction to the first volume of *The life of a South African tribe*. He explains his reactions to Bryce's suggestions as follows:

> This observation [regarding the Romans and the Celts] was quite a revelation to me. It was possible then, that these Natives, for whose sake we went to Africa, would themselves benefit by such a study, and that, in the course of time, they would be grateful to know what they had been, when they were still leading their savage life… This argument, in addition to so many others, had never occurred to me. Up to that date I had already collected some Ronga tales and studied some curious customs of the tribe. But the science which I was pursuing as a favourite pastime was Entomology. … Since that time Ethnography has more or less supplanted Entomology. I started on the systematic and thorough investigation which Lord Bryce recommended to me, and I very soon found that, after all, Man is infinitely more interesting than the insect![16]

Junod's first return stay in Switzerland (1896-1899) was, like many of his visits to follow, a period of intense literary activity. In 1896 his *Grammaire Ronga* (Ronga Grammar) appeared, fruit of his linguistic studies in Mozambique, followed in 1897 by *Les chants et les contes des ba-Ronga de la baie de Delagoa* (The stories and songs of the ba-Ronga of Delagoa Bay), an anthology of Ronga stories and songs. Junod also worked on a translation of the Bible. It was the appearance of a volume entitled *Les ba-Ronga: étude ethnographique* (The ba-Ronga: ethnographic study) in 1898, which was hailed as "one of the very best enthnographical publications ever issued"[17] at the time, which laid Junod's foundation in the field in which he would specialise and become renowned. This

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[15] J. Stanley Friesen, *Missionary responses to tribal religions at Edinburgh, 1910*, 1996, pp. 54-55; R.F. Kennedy, "Bryce, James", in D.J. Potgieter (ed.), *Standard Encyclopedia of Southern Africa* II, 1974, p. 545; Harries, "The anthropologist as historian and liberal", p. 37; W.D. Hammond-Tooke, *Imperfect interpreters: South Africa's anthropologists, 1920-1990*, 1997, p. 72.
[16] H.A. Junod, *The life of a South African tribe* I, 1927, p. 1.
[17] De Kock and Kruger (eds.), "Junod, Henri-Alexandre", p. 350.

volume presented the customs, industry and beliefs of the Ronga and became the basis for Junod's best known work *The life of a South African tribe*. [18]

In 1898 the council of the Swiss Romande Mission decided to establish a school for evangelists at Shiluvane in the Transvaal, and Junod was named as the director. In 1899, therefore, Junod, his wife and their young son, Henri-Philippe, born in 1897 during their stay in Switzerland, departed for Africa.[19]

At almost the same time as the opening of the evangelists' school the South African War (1899-1902) broke out. At first the war left the missionary and his school undisturbed, but as the centre of activity approached the Transvaal, disturbances took place in the area around Shiluvane. The school continued uninterrupted, however, and was mainly affected by a shortage of supplies.[20] In 1901 Henri-Alexandre suffered two great losses: firstly the death of his sister, Ruth Berthoud, in Durban and shortly afterwards, the death of his own wife, Emilie. Junod's mother related all these events in the family Bible.

> The 10th of July at Shiluvane [she wrote] God took from my dear son Henri his beloved companion Emilie. The news of the death of Ruth, learned of on 29 June, was too strong a blow for her. She had to undergo an operation (a stillborn child) which led to a death in complete peace. A widower at 33 years! after a very happy union of 12 years. And several days after this painful departure, Henri conducted his little Henri to the Rossets, missionaries who were leaving for Europe.[21]

In May 1902 the South African War came to an end after a period of two and a half years and, as a result, the situation in the Transvaal was less turbulent. At this time Junod received a letter from the Independent Church of Neuchâtel offering him a position as pastor. When he received the letter he was en route between Shiluvane and Lorenzo Marques and thus had sufficient time to contemplate the offer and the possibility of settling in Switzerland again. The call from his home church carried emotional weight, but Junod's perception of the importance of the missionary task in South Africa prevailed

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[18] *Ibid*.; Junod, *Henri-A. Junod*, pp. 23-24.
[19] Junod, *Henri-A. Junod*, p. 24.
[20] *Ibid*., pp. 26-27.
[21] Junod Archives, 1.1: Biographical notes, p. 7.

in this situation.[22] In his letter of refusal he wrote describing his view of the position of the mission in the resolution of the racial question in South Africa. He explained that,

> In the new situation into which South Africa has just entered, the indigenous races will be required even more strongly than ever to acquire civilisation and instruction. It is the duty of the Mission to direct the evolution of these tribes in such a way that instruction does not become an instrument of death to them, but a means of real progress in morality and a superior life.[23]

In 1903 Junod returned to Switzerland in order to rest. During this time he met Hélène Kern-de Schultess and they were married the following year. Miss Kern had herself had missionary experience in Africa – she had twice gone as a missionary aide to the Congo. In May 1904 the couple departed for South Africa, traveling to the Shiluvane mission station. It would be Henri-Alexandre's third tour in Africa.[24]

For H.P. Junod 1903 marked the beginning of a new phase in his father's life which he dubbed "maturity". Accoring to him, the experiences of the preceding few years, and especially his father's second marriage, represented the start of a new chapter in H.A. Junod's life.[25] Certainly, H.A. Junod was more experienced than in his previous tours to Africa and returned to the field as somewhat of a veteran. This phase would also be a time in which his ideas and thoughts concerning the South African situation would become clearer and stronger.

The Junods were stationed at Shiluvane until 1907 when the evangelists' school was moved to Rikatla. In 1905 they had a daughter who died shortly after birth and in 1908 a son was born, Blaise Edouard. During his tour in Africa, Junod had the opportunity to visit various places and participated in conferences. He visited the Natural Sciences Society in Johannesburg in 1905, and on his return to Switzerland in 1909, he visited

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[22] Junod, *Henri-A. Junod*, pp. 30-31.
[23] H.A. Junod, "Manuscript letter of 6 August 1902", quoted in Junod, *Henri-A. Junod*, p. 32.
[24] Junod Archives, 1.1: Biographical notes, p. 8; Junod, *Henri-A. Junod*, pp. 34-37.
[25] Junod, *Henri-A. Junod*, pp. 34-36.

Lovedale college, a training college for black teachers and clergy in the Cape,[26] and attended the General Mission Conference in Bloemfontein.[27]

In 1909 the Junods returned to Switzerland where they would spend four years before coming back to Africa. The stay in Switzerland was again a period of literary production and it was during this time that Junod began to write his most famous work *The life of a South African tribe*. H.P. Junod describes his father's faculties as being at full maturity. In addition, H.A. Junod had a large reserve of unedited notes which needed to be processed and compiled.[28] H.P. Junod presents a personal recollection of his father working during this period. He describes how,

> He was there standing up, in front of his very high desk, because he liked to work while standing up, his plume in his hand, his inkpot filled with purple ink; he was so absorbed by his writing that he forgot his hair, now almost entirely white, and he would inadvertently wipe his plume full of purple ink across it, to the great despair of his companion.[29]

The first edition of the two volumes of *The life of a South African tribe* appeared during this time, as well as the only novel written by Junod, *Zidji: étude de mœurs sud-africaines* (Zidji: a study of South African customs). The former won Junod an honorary fellowship of the Royal Anthropological Institute. During this stay in Europe, Junod and his wife attended the First World Missionary Conference in Edinburgh in 1910. In 1911, Junod took up the position of pastor at Rochefort and in 1913 he returned to Africa for the fourth and final time.[30]

H.A. Junod was stationed again at Rikatla in Mozambique as the principal of the school for evangelists. In 1914 his third son, Etienne-Alexandre, was born. Three years later

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[26] N.T. Childs, "Lovedale", in D.J. Potgieter (ed.), *Standard Encyclopedia of Southern Africa* VII, p. 44.
[27] Junod Archives, 1.1: Biographical notes, pp. 8-9; Junod, *Henri-A. Junod*, pp. 39-44.
[28] Junod, *Henri-A. Junod*, p. 44.
[29] *Ibid*., pp. 44-45.
[30] De Kock and Kruger (eds.), "Junod, Henri-Alexandre", p. 350; Junod Archives, 1.1: Biographical notes, pp. 9-10.

Hélène Junod passed away in Lorenzo Marques following an operation.[31] Henri-Alexandre reveals his devastation as a result of the deaths of his two wives as follows:

> For me, I was like a tree struck a first time by lightening which, thanks to her, sprouted again, recovering strength and joy. But the lightening has struck again, breaking the trunk and the branches.[32]

After Hélène's death Henri-Alexandre remained in Africa for three more years. His daughter, Anne-Marie, traveled from Switzerland to take over the management of his household. In 1917, the year of Hélène's death, a school for pastors was opened at Rikatla under H.A. Junod's direction. A large part of these last years in Africa were spent traveling, studying and attending various conferences. Shortly before Junod's final return to Switzerland in 1920, he delivered a series of lectures at the University of the Witwatersrand in Johannesburg.[33]

According to H.P. Junod, Junod's return to Switzerland in 1920 marked the beginning of the third phase of his life, which he entitled "the synthesis". This is a fitting name for a time in which Junod would organise all the material he had collected over the past years in Africa. From 1920 until his death in 1934, Junod worked uninterruptedly, writing books and pamphlets, giving lectures and attending conferences. H.P. Junod comments that,

> Few men have the rare privilege that was granted to him to gather together all the material accumulated during childhood, adolescence and adulthood, and to give them a form, which, if it was not definitive, was at least as complete as possible.[34]

In 1921 H.A. Junod left Neuchâtel for Geneva where he was appointed as an agent for the Swiss Romande Mission. In Geneva he acted as a consultant to the Mandates Commission of the League of Nations and was later also the president of the *Bureau International pour la Défense des Indigènes* (International Bureau for the Defence of Aborigines). During these last years Junod also gave various lecture series, on subjects

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[31] Junod, *Henri-A. Junod*, pp. 49-50 & 54.
[32] *Ibid*., p. 58.
[33] Junod Archives, 1.1: Biographical notes, p. 11; De Kock and Kruger (eds.), "Junod, Henri-Alexandre", p. 350.

related either to anthropology or missionary science, at different European universities including the University of Lausanne (1921, 1923, 1928), the University of London (1924) and the University of Geneva (1924). In 1925 the University of Lausanne awarded H.A. Junod an honorary doctorate of literature.[35]

During this period of intense activity, apart from various pamphlets and essays related to the race question in South Africa, Junod also completed a second edition of *The life of a South African tribe*. His final work was a combined biography of the two founders of the Swiss Mission in South Africa, *Ernest Creux et Paul Berthoud, les fondateurs de la mission Suisse dans l'Afrique du Sud* (Ernest Creux and Paul Berthoud, the founders of the Swiss mission in South Africa), published in 1933, the year before his death.[36] This biography has yet to be studied, but a preliminary glance reveals many of the characteristics of the reverential missionary biography. Junod presents Creux and Berthoud as exceptional individuals, but his goal matches the nature of the genre –

> to show what great things servants of Christ can accomplish when they are completely surrendered to the will of their Master and what spiritual benefit the Church can draw from similarly consecrated lives.[37]

Thus, in this final work Junod's devotion to Christian service and the missionary cause is strongly demonstrated.

Towards the end of his life, Junod's health began to decline. He suffered from arteriosclerosis and in 1931 this led to a cardiac and nephritic attack, from which time he was nursed by his sister, Elisebeth. His son, H.P. Junod, had subsequently also gone to South Africa as a missionary and when he realised that his father's health was failing he sent his wife and his son Henri-François to visit him in Switzerland. The last days of Henri-Alexandre's life are described in a letter written to H.P. Junod by his wife. He died on 17 May 1934 and, according to his request, his ashes were placed in the cemetery at

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[34] Junod, *Henri-A. Junod*, p. 63.
[35] De Kock and Kruger (eds.), "Junod, Henri-Alexandre", p. 350; Hassing, "Junod, Henri-Alexandre", pp. 315-316.
[36] De Kock and Kruger (eds.), "Junod, Henri-Alexandre", p. 350.
[37] H.A. Junod, *Ernest Creux et Paul Berthoud, les fondateurs de la Mission Suisse dans l'Afrique du Sud*, 1933, p. 7.

Rikatla.[38] At his death he was called "the third of the pioneers of the Swiss Mission in Portuguese East Africa".[39] Certainly, he had left a mark in the extensive sphere of his interests and activities, and particularly in the wealth of his publications.

3. Missionary authors: H.P. Junod and others

This section will consider what has been written on H.A. Junod, and in particular the contribution of missionary authors. In carrying out a biographical study of Henri-Alexandre Junod, the most extended work available is a biography written by his son, Henri-Philippe Junod, in the year of H.A. Junod's death. This biography, *Henri-A. Junod, Missionaire et Savant, 1863-1934*, is the main source used in most of the entries related to H.A. Junod in various biographical dictionaries and encyclopedias.[40] H.P. Junod appears to have had a monopoly over the biographical details of his father's life. Even an obituary written about Junod in *The South African Outlook* shows evidence of the influence of the son in the bibliographical comment: "*Written by Pierre Loze, Beira 14th May, 1934, with a few additions by H.P. Junod, Pretoria, 18th May, 1934.*"[stet][41] But in 1996, church historian and missiologist, J. Stanely Friesen, makes a comment in a footnote on Junod in his book *Missionary responses to tribal religions at Edinburgh, 1910*, a study of the First World Missionary Conference:

> Junod still awaits a biographer and a scholarly analysis of his missiology and anthropology. There are several sketches of his life. The fullest, but more from a family perspective, is the work by his son, Henri-Philippe Junod, *Henri-A. Junod: Missionaire et Savant* 1863-1934.[42]

As H.P. Junod's biography of his father is the primary source of biographical information, it needs some careful consideration. It is the only official biography of H.A. Junod, covering in detail the events of his life from his birth to his death. The biography

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[38] Junod, *Henri-A. Junod*, pp. 84-89.
[39] Loze, "The late Dr. Henri Alexander Junod", p. 121;
[40] This is the case with De Kock and Kruger (eds.), "Junod, Henri-Alexandre", *Dictionary of South African Biography* II, pp. 349-350, and Hassing, "Junod, Henri-Alexandre", pp. 315-316. F.H. Boot, "Junod, Henri-Alexandre" in D.J. Potgieter (ed.), *Standard Encyclopedia of Southern Africa*, pp. 247-248, cites another of H.P. Junod's works, *Bantu Heritage*, under bibliographical information.
[41] Loze, "The late Dr. Henri Alexander Junod", p. 122.
[42] Stanley Friesen, *Missionary responses*, p. 170.

is structured around two main lines: the first focuses on personal events in Junod's life, while the second is concerned with his writings. Together these make up the structure of H.P. Junod's presentation of his father's life. The personal events are mainly related to family matters: births, deaths, marriages, illness, education and the movement of various family members. Appearing alongside these events are brief expositions of a wide range of Junod's publications. H.P. Junod uses his father's writing as a means to present and unlock his views and character.

As already indicated, H.P. Junod divided the biography of his father into an introduction and three parts: "the preparation" (1863-1903), "maturity" (1903-1920), and "synthesis" (1921-1934). Each of these chronological parts is then divided into sections, mainly according to Junod's location, either in Switzerland or in Africa. The division is therefore based on personal events in H.A. Junod's life and particularly on his movement between Africa and Switzerland. It would be possible, however, based on other criteria, such as H.A. Junod's scientific and ethnographic studies, to offer other possibilities for periodization.

H.P. Junod's choice of titles for the various phases of Junod's life are indicative of his narrative model – a plot structure conveying notions of growth, purpose and fulfillment. These notions are reinforced by the strong sense of destiny conveyed in this account of Junod's life. Great emphasis is laid on Junod's roots and his heritage. His career and his success seem ordained, based not only on his background but also on some higher purpose. This sense of destiny underlies the whole biography, but is particularly evident in the introductory chapter – a romanticised genealogy of the Junod family, who are desribed as a "proud", "faithful" clan from the "solid race of Celts".[43]

Throughout the text, H.P. Junod's literary style is significant as his biography reads like a novel rather than being a bland chronological account of events. By employing markedly evocative language, he creates a certain atmosphere in his account. The text is peppered with descriptions of the landscape, and each house in which the Junods lived is bestowed

[43] Junod, *Henri-A. Junod*, p. 5.

with emotional appeal. In addition, Junod is not reserved in his portrayal of what he imagines would have been the feelings of those involved in his story. His style causes this text to fall more into a literary genre than into that of an historical account.

The question must be asked whether H.P. Junod's biography of his father contributes to an accurate understanding of H.A.Junod. This is not easy to answer, and in this regard H.P.Junod's own admissions in the foreword need to be considered. Here he states that those who knew his father would find in his book,

> an insufficient testimony, but a testimony in good faith. They will perhaps see a painting that is too beautiful (how could it be otherwise when a son must paint the portrait of a venerated father?); may they be assured that the painting is as true to life as possible for he who has painted it.[44]

H.P. Junod continues to excuse his rendition of his father's life by stating that many people who had known H.A. Junod may have things that they would have added to the picture of his father, and that many may find his description too short. Without doubt, he is aware of his problematical position as a son describing a father, added to which he is also a missionary in the same service. Regardless of his opening declarations, however, H.P.Junod's text more than just praises his father. It is also a vehicle for H.P.Junod's own missionary sentiments. His aim is not merely to paint a picture of a father, but of a man who is "worthy of the greatest missionary tradition."[45] Much attention is given to the sacrifice, devotion and piety of not only H.A. Junod, but of all the missionaries and missionary wives who appear in the narrative. This biography is therefore brimming with inspirational intention, a fact which is particularly evident in its final words:

> On the sandy hill of Rikatla, in the little abandoned cemetery under the trees of the bush which he loved so much, alongside the remains of Paul Berthoud, and the tomb of his beloved, rest the ashes of Henri-Alexandre Junod. The great statement of saint Paul floats above them all: "Lirandu a li lahleki" (Love never falls away). The final testimony of sacrificed lives, these tombs proclaim the eternal Gospel of charity. God speaks! The martyrs of today unite their voices to the martyrs who have gone before. May the younger generations hear this call! The silence of infinite spaces

[44] *Ibid*., p. 3.
[45] *Ibid*., p. 4.

> has become the voice of the Father! Let us also hold fast, as those seeing Him who is invisible.[46]

This intention is one aspect of this biography that identifies it with the school of early missionary biographies. H.P. Junod's text ascribes an inspiring grandeur to H.A. Junod and each of the other personalities is shown to be of an elevated nature. As H.A. Junod's son, H.P. Junod's intention is not merely to give as accurate a picture as possible of his father, but while at the same time revering him as a fellow missionary it is also to inspire the reader to missionary service through his portrayal of the life of H.A. Junod.

Much of the criticism leveled at this type of inspirational missionary biography can be directed at H.P. Junod's work. Firstly, he is not too concerned with historical context and historical processes. The centre of his text is his father, and external events are only mentioned where they have direct bearing on H.A. Junod's life. For example, even developments in the missionary movement and in the Swiss Mission itself are absent from this account, not to mention political and socio-economic factors. It is taken for granted that the reader would have some knowledge and understanding of the significance of events such as the South African War, the Mahazulu or Ronga-Portuguese War (1894-1895) and the First World Missionary Conference held at Edinburgh in 1910. The commentary given on the context is either anecdotal or used as a means to convey H.A. Junod's perspective. For example, there is a long passage on the reaction of black converts to the outbreak of the First World War,[47] but this is given more as an illustration of black mentality than a comment on the war. Thus, H.P. Junod's text looks inward and is in this sense quite narrow.

In the second place, the progressive structure of the text and its inspirational intention, both already mentioned, give this biography a didactic quality. H.P. Junod's biography falls into a category described by Evans as "moral tales"[48] due to the manner in which it uplifts H.A. Junod as an example worthy of imitation. This text can quite easily be

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[46] *Ibid*., p. 89.
[47] *Ibid*., pp. 50-51.
[48] Evans, *Missing persons*, p. 4.

classified among reverential missionary biographies due to its uncritical portrayal of Junod's life. The only persons to whom some criticism is directed are those who do not agree with H.A. Junod's ideas. For example, general criticism is directed at scholars and statesmen who regarded black customs and languages as inferior.[49] Any possible criticism that could be leveled at Junod is explained away or excused. A good example of this is related to Junod's view of the various dialects of the Tsonga[50] language. H.P. Junod explains the situation as follows in the biography:

> The linguistic studies of H. Junod had led him to a profound examination of the different dialects of Thonga,[51] today collectively known as "Shangaan" in South Africa. In 1894, he drew up a summary of the situation as he saw it then, in order to direct the Mission in its literary activities. Unfortunately, he could not have an exact idea of the extent of Thonga territory at that time. This is what led him to make a defense of the Ronga dialect, and to make of it a written language. The discussions between missionaries, during this period, were rather difficult. If Henri-A. Junod had better understood the question in its entirety, if he had been able, in knowing correctly, to lend more attention to the observation of his colleagues from the North, and particularly the observations of the late Henri Berthoud, if he had been able to verify by great journeys, like the latter, the information given by the natives, it is probable that today we would have a single Thonga language.[52]

Thus no possible blot is allowed to rest on the reputation of the great missionary, and the result is an unbalanced and obviously biased text.

Despite the apparent prejudice in H.P. Junod's text, it does offer some unique insights on H.A. Junod and its portrayal of the latter deserves some consideration. H.P. Junod places great emphasis on certain of his father's traits, among which the two most underlined aspects are Junod's scientific interests and his missionary devotion. H.A. Junod's aptitude

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[49] *Ibid*., p. 82.
[50] The Tsonga-Shangaan inhabited the former Northern and Eastern Transvaal, a part of Zimbabwe and Mozambique. The question of Tsonga identity holds many complexities and has been a source of scholarly debate. See for example, I. Niehaus, "Ethnicity and the boundaries of belonging: reconfiguring Shangaan identity in the South African Lowveld", *African Affairs* 101, 2002, pp. 557-583.
[51] H.A. Junod and H.P. Junod use the spelling "Thonga". The more accepted spelling today is "Tsonga".
[52] Junod, *Henri-A. Junod*, p. 20.

for science is ascribed to his background and to interests originating in his childhood. This "scientific spirit"[53] is later manifested in his work in the natural sciences and also in his manner of handling affairs and approaching his ethnographic work. Junod is thus consistently portrayed as diligent and gifted.

H.A. Junod's devotion to the missionary endeavour appears in the text both in contrast and as a compliment to his scientific tendencies. In taking up the role of missionary, Junod apparently placed his promising scientific career to one side,[54] but as he began what he refers to as his "essential work", that of ethnography, H.P. Junod comments that "one could discern that which would make this life an exceptional life: a complete equilibrium between the gifts of intelligence and the gifts of the heart."[55] Thus, in his ethnographic work, Junod could combine his taste for science with his devotion to the missionary endeavour in Africa. Junod's dedication as a missionary and his devoutness are also strongly emphasized in the text in their own right. One example of this is the inclusion of Junod's entire letter of reply to the Independent Church in Neuchâtel, in which he gives his reasons for remaining in Africa rather than taking up a position as pastor in Neuchâtel.[56]

H.P Junod's text also presents Junod as a man ahead of his time, an independent and liberal thinker who, while being well-informed of contemporary thought, tested and challenged accepted theories. H.P. Junod reveals, for example, his father's thoughts on communism. It must be noted, however, that these views and their presentation in the biography existed before the advent of the Cold War. H.P. Junod recounts,

> I remember having had a conversation with him about communism. I was struck by his complete freedom of thought. He without a doubt abhorred the bolshevist methods and their contempt of spiritual things. But he clearly saw the rout of capitalism and understood the fundamental errors of this economic system. He did not believe in extremes which were

[53] *Ibid*., p. 80.
[54] *Ibid*., pp. 13-14.
[55] *Ibid*., p. 24.
[56] *Ibid*., pp. 31-33.

> repugnant to his ideas of balance. He was completely, as Gide stated, "available".[57]

According to Shelston, a biography can be not only a record of a life, but also a record of a relationship, particularly where the biographer was an intimate acquaintance of the subject.[58] In this regard, H.P. Junod's biography of his father offers further insight into H.A. Junod because, through the son's portrayal of his father, it gives the reader an idea of the way in which they related to each other. As H.P. Junod stated in his preface, he is "a son who must paint the portrait of a venerated father".[59] He stands unashamedly in his position as a son, though he is aware of its possible problems, and thus his place as a son becomes the point of departure for this biography. But this is not merely the biography of a beloved father, it is a "portrait of a *venerated* father".[60] H.P. Junod's biography is emotional but reserved in its portrayal of Junod. Junod is presented in a dignified way as being "worthy of the greatest missionary tradition"[61] and the relationship between Junod and his son, while not cold, is characterised by duty, responsibility and reverance. A good illustration of this relationship is H.P. Junod's farewell to his father before his departure for Africa. It would be the last time that they would see each other and in retrospect H.P. Junod describes the events as follows:

> But this wonderful time came to an end. We had to resign ourselves to our departure. Henri Junod was admirable in these circumstances. I will never forget his speech during our farewell gathering at the Central Hall. He spoke after we had spoken and caused the audience understand that the Mission was great due to accepted and willingly consented sacrifice. …
> He was very weak, his strengths consumed by an unforgiving illness, or rather by a wearing away of his body which could not longer be arrested. Our departure will remain in our memory all our lives. Henri Junod was in his large Italian bed, in his room, and we gathered around him to receive his blessing.
> When we had each had a turn to pray, I sat on the edge of his bed, and looked at that dear white head in order to inscribe it for always on my memory, and we embraced each other.
> … It is precious to say that your dearest friend is your father. We can say that in truth. From the educator in our childhood and adolescence, he

[57] *Ibid*., p. 47.
[58] Shelston, *Biography*, p. 40.
[59] *Ibid*., p. 3.
[60] *Ibid*. My emphasis.
[61] *Ibid*., p. 4.

> became the counselor of our beginnings in the Mission, then the dearest friend, from whom we had nothing to hide, the one who understood and corrected by love, the one who guided, counseled, and consoled.[62]

H.P. Junod's admiration and respect for his father is further illustrated in his own life by the manner in which he followed his father's path so closely. He not only joined the Swiss Mission as missionary to Africa, but also championed many of the causes which had interested his father, even writing his own ethnographic works.[63]

Thus, H.P. Junod's reverential biography of his father was an interesting beginning to the historiography of Junod. In a sense it can also be regarded as an extended obituary of Junod, written in the year of Junod's death, and perhaps also as a means for H.P. Junod to come to terms with the death of his father. It offers a detailed and personal account of Junod's life, while at the same time being an example of the reverential phase of missionary biography. Its missionary partisanship and inherent biases leave it open to much criticism and also make a more scholarly rewriting of Junod's life a necessity.

Henri-Alexandre Junod's life was also celebrated by missionary authors other than his son, mainly in the form of obituaries that appeared in the year of his death. The obituary in the missionary journal *The South African Oulook*, was written by a missionary colleague, Pierre Loze. It is a Loze's personal recollection of Junod, although, as mentioned above, in the reference following the obituary it is indicated that H.P. Junod made additions to it.[64] This may explain some common points between this obituary and H.P. Junod's biography. The tone of this obituary is sentimental and familiar and its praise of H.A. Junod is unreserved. He is even given the title of "the third of the pioneers of the Swiss Mission in Portuguese East Africa",[65] missionaries P. Berthoud and A. Grandjean ranking as the first two.

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[62] *Ibid*., pp. 78-79.
[63] H.P. Junod, *Bantu heritage*, 1938; H.P. Junod wrote an introduction entitled "The Vathonga" in A.M. Duggan-Cronin's photographic collection, *The Bantu tribes of South Africa* IV, 1935.
[64] Loze, "The late Dr. Henri Alexander Junod", p. 122.

Many of the characteristics of Junod which were highlighted in H.P. Junod's biography are also brought out in this lengthy obituary. Junod's missionary background is emphasized by references to missionary interest on both his father and his mother's side. His gift for the sciences is also brought to light, along with the apparent contradiction of this talent and his calling to the mission field. The combining of these two pursuits in Junod's ethnographic work is also alluded to as Loze states, in a comment on *The Life of a South African Tribe*, that "the originality of the method, combining in the happiest way possible the scientific and the missionary approach, is one of the greatest tributes to the author, to his scientific accuracy as well as to his loving heart."[66]

The obituary briefly gives the events of Junod's life and emphasizes some of his more renowned work. His contribution to the study of the fauna and flora of Mozambique, his linguistic work and particularly his anthropological achievements are presented and praised. This obituary also comments on Junod's musical talents – an aspect which is not highlighted elsewhere.[67] Junod's work is called "great and tactful",[68] indicating a certain depth and perhaps also reticence in his endeavours. This comment may be more enlightening than the author had intended, as its implications shed light on Junod's character. The evidence suggests that he was meticulous, devoted and thorough in all his undertakings, yet this comment implies that he was also not confrontational.

Finally, this obituary presents Junod as a champion of the "natives" – the black peoples of southern Africa. Included is the brief recollection of a black minister in which he refers to Junod as a "real father". Loze describes Junod as affectionate and concerned for the future of the black race.[69] He writes,

> He [Junod] wished the Europeans to understand the African people. He had gone so deep into the soul of the Bantu that he foresaw the great future of the Black people, left behind for so many centuries. He shows everywhere that this race is capable of real development, as well as we are.

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[65] *Ibid*., p. 121.
[66] *Ibid*.
[67] *Ibid*.
[68] *Ibid*., p. 122.
[69] This term is used in the context of the literature of Junod's time and does not have the negative connotations which it later acquires.

> He understood that there is a greatness in the Bantu soul, which proves well its divine origin, and nevertheless he saw also the hindrances and drawbacks of many ideas and customs of these people.
> H.A. Junod loved the Natives, and the Natives loved him.[70]

Following the obituary of H.A. Junod in *The South African Outlook*, is Rev. J. Lennox's personal recollection of Junod's visit to Lovedale. He commented on Junod's varied interests which were manifested in his time at Lovedale. Apart from engaging in discussions regarding the medium of instruction used in "native" education and the place of the vernacular, he also used the opportunity to extend his insect collections. Lennox noted that, "Equipped with his butterfly net he [Junod] might be seen anywhere throughout the Institution grounds."[71] His visit inspired many of the children at Lovedale to begin collections. Lennox also remembers Junod explaining the art of divination to members of staff, using a bag of bones which had been given to him by a diviner, thus displaying his impressive anthropological knowledge.[72] The account displays Junod's sympathetic understanding of African customs. Instead of condemning the African practice of divination as superstitious, Junod explains the logic behind the practice to his audience.

We see from the above discussion, that some commonalities exist in the way in which Junod was portrayed by these three missionary authors.[73] Firstly, all of these missionaries were his contemporaries and wrote from a personal knowledge of Junod. Their accounts thus offer particular insight into his character and personality, but also reflect on the respective authors' relationships with Junod. In addition, these accounts are all uncritical views of Junod, praising and celebrating his achievements. From these recollections we are left with the image of Junod as a devoted missionary and a gifted scholar of wide talents.

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[70] Loze, "The late Dr. Henri Alexander Junod", p. 122.
[71] J. Lennox, "A personal recollection of the late Rev. Dr. H. Junod", *The South African Outlook* 64(6), 1 June 1934, p. 122.
[72] *Ibid*., pp. 122-123.
[73] An obituary for Junod would certainly have appeared in the Swiss Mission's bulletin, but unfortunately copies of the 1934 bulletins are not available in South Africa.

4. Anthropological studies

Due to his extensive ethnographic work, H.A. Junod became renowned not only as a missionary, but as a pioneering anthropologist who had made significant contributions to the field. Aspects of his life and work have thus also been covered by writers of anthropology.

In 1934, the journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, *Man*, also carried an obituary to H.A. Junod. He is introduced as a fellow of the Institute and his scientific work and ethnographic contributions are clearly emphasized after a brief presentation of the major events of Junod's life. This factual piece recounts Junod's achievements in a rather detached manner, thus markedly lacking the sentiment of the missionary writers. The greatest praise offered in the obituary is directed at his two volume *The life of a South African tribe* which would be Junod's landmark addition to the field of anthropology. Of this publication the author, Edwin Smith, states that "[i]t at once took, and has maintained, a foremost place among the books which describe African life."[74] Thus, it is possible to say that for Smith, the significance of Junod's life is based on his scholarly achievements and that further praise is unnecessary as these achievements speak for themselves.

Apart from Junod's *The life of a South African tribe* which would become a monument of ethnography[75] in the twentieth century and be considered as the authoritative work on the Tsonga,[76] Junod was also the subject of anthropological writings due to his explanation of the notion of "the mother's brother". In *The life of a South African tribe* Junod commented on the special relationship between a man and his mother's brother among the Tsonga. Using evolutionary theories, he came to the conclusion that this relationship was the result of the survival of a previous matrilineal stage in Tsonga history. This explanation came under heavy fire from the structural-functionalist anthropologist A.R.

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[74] Smith, "Obituary. Henri Alexandre Junod", p. 111.
[75] Hammond-Tooke, *Imperfect interpreters*, p. 72.
[76] For example H.A. Junod and *The Life of a South African Tribe* are cited in I. Schapera, *The Bantu-speaking tribes of South Africa: an ethnographical survey*, 1937; M. Wilson and L. Thompson (eds.) *The Oxford history of South Africa* I, 1969.

Radcliffe-Brown in a famous paper entitled "The mother's brother in South Africa" published in 1924. Junod's later editions of *The life of a South African tribe* addressed Radcliffe-Brown's criticism and the whole issue became a point of anthropological debate in the twentieth century.[77] In particular, anthropologist Adam Kuper revisited the question of the "mother's brother" in the 1970s. His writing attempts to balance Radcliffe-Brown's criticism of Junod's theory and his arguments come to Junod's defence.[78]

The above discussion gives an idea of Junod's place in South Africa anthropology up until the end of the 1970s. His work was considered highly significant and thus became an object of study, but he himself did not come under much scrutiny. Perhaps anthropology was not yet so interested in the study of its practitioners. Due to the groundbreaking status of his ethnographic work, he would later be given a place among the fathers of anthropology in South Africa.[79]

5. Biographical dictionaries

In the late 1960s and early 1970s various biographical dictionaries and encyclopedias containing entries on Junod began to make their appearance. In 1968 *The international encyclopedia of the social sciences* was published, with entries related to subjects and persons involved in the social sciences.[80] In 1971 the *Concise dictionary of the Christian world mission* appeared, also containing an entry on H.A. Junod in its first edition.[81] In the following year in South Africa the *Dictionary of South African biography* was published,[82] followed by the *Standard encyclopedia of Southern Africa* in 1974.[83]

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[77] Hammond-Tooke, *Imperfect interpreters*, pp. 27-28.
[78] A. Kuper, "Radcliffe-Brown, Junod and the mother's brother in South Africa" in *South Africa and the Anthropologist*, 1987, pp. 105-109.
[79] P. Harries, "Field sciences in scientific fields: entomology, botany and the early ethnographic monograph in the work of H.-A. Junod", in S. Dubow (ed.), *Science and society in southern Africa*, 2000, p. 34.
[80] D.L. Sills (ed.), *The International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, 1968.
[81] S. Neil, G.H. Anderson and J. Goodwin (eds.), *Concise Dictionary of the Christian World Mission*, 1971.
[82] W.J. de Kock and D.W. Kruger (eds.), *Dictionary of South African Biography*, 1972.
[83] D.J. Potgieter (ed.), *Standard Encyclopedia of Southern Africa*, 1974.

The entry in the *The international encyclopedia of the social sciences*, which appeared in 1968, was written by Junod's granddaughter, Violaine Junod, and is the longest of the entries on Junod in the category of biographical dictionaries. Due to the nature of this encyclopedia, the emphasis of the entry lies on the nature of Junod's anthropological work and the theories which he either supported or challenged. He is introduced as a "missionary and anthropologist"[84] and a brief account is given of his schooling and career, with particular emphasis on his scientific background and ethnographic writing.[85]

This entry gives an explanation of Junod's progression towards anthropology and ethnography. V. Junod describes how Junod first studied the Tsonga language and kept records of Tsonga folklore. She comments on the fact that Junod's interest in natural history dominated in his early years in Africa, mentioning his collections of plants, insects and butterflies. Despite the successes of his pursuit of the natural sciences and his love for the field, Junod soon shifted his interests towards ethnography.[86]

V. Junod highlights Junod's knowledge of contemporary anthropology. She states, "Junod was familiar with the work of his major contemporaries in anthropology, that of Frazer, Tylor, Herbert, Spencer, Gobineau, Frobenius, Schmidt, Boas and Lévy-Bruhl, and he corresponded with many of these men."[87] She presents Junod as a scholar who was *au fait* with developments in anthropology, and who tested and applied prevailing anthropological theories with the findings he made in his fieldwork among the Tsonga. She comments that "Junod's aim was to test general theories against the body of factual material that he was accumulating".[88] She mentions various points on which Junod differed with his contemporaries, namely J.A. Gobineau's theory on racial inequality; the widely held belief that African languages were inferior; and L. Lévy-Bruhl's theory on the prelogical mind of primitive man.

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[84] Junod, "Junod, Henri Alexandre", p. 330.
[85] *Ibid*., pp. 330-332.
[86] *Ibid*., p. 331.
[87] *Ibid*.
[88] *Ibid*.

V. Junod's entry on Junod not only comments on Junod's conclusions, but also introduces some commentary on Junod's methodology. She attributes to him the status of pioneer based on his methodology which was groundbreaking in that "[h]e was among the first Africanists to concentrate on the details of the life of a single people".[89] In order to produce scientific work, she claims that Junod was meticulous in classifying his data geographically. She also comments on the attention he paid to details and attributes to Junod "an eye for what was significant".[90]

Thus, the impression created by this entry is that Junod was an anthropologist with a sound methodology and a critical approach to his work. In the final paragraph of the entry, however, V. Junod balances this portrait of her grandfather by reminding the reader of his missionary interests. She demonstrates that Junod's interest in studying the Tsonga was inspired by his desire to help them. The example she gives is of Junod's view of ritual sacrifice. Junod challenged scholars who considered ritual sacrifices to be without meaning, arguing that they were primitive man's attempts to reach God. He thus saw them as a phase in man's evolution toward the notion of God, and regarded them as "meaningful and necessary".[91] V. Junod comments that "[t]he scientists of Junod's time had little use for the transcendental dimensions he constantly introduced into scientific discussions, and Junod was well aware of their views."[92] A book review of *The life of a South African tribe* published in *La Nouvelle Revue Française* in 1937 demonstrates this horror at the evangelical commentary Junod gives in his text. The author states that Junod's philanthropic considerations "are completely out of place in a work of this genre and should be totally banned from it."[93]

P. Hassing's entry in the *Concise dictionary of the Christian world mission*, published in 1971, is much shorter than V. Junod's and also has a slightly different angle, mainly due

[89] *Ibid*.
[90] *Ibid*.
[91] *Ibid*., p. 332.
[92] *Ibid*.

to the nature of the publication in which it appears. The emphasis of this entry is, as would be expected, on Junod's career as a missionary. It highlights the different positions he held in South Africa and Switzerland and some of the challenges he encountered, such as the Ronga-Portuguese War (1894-1895), the burning of the Rikatla mission station and the deaths of his wives. Junod's entomological and anthropological work is mentioned briefly, and a few titles of his more renowned works are given.[94] This rather concise record of Junod's life and work gives the essential events with little commentary.

There is a lengthy and detailed entry on Junod in the *Dictionary of South African biography* written by A.J. Lamont-Smith and published in 1972. An almost comprehensive chronological account of the details of his life is given, as well as an extended list of his publications, with brief accompanying explanations. This dense entry also offers little commentary, only stating that Junod was a "devout man who gave and inspired affection" and "a brilliant scholar of wide interests and sympathies apart from his missionary vocation."[95]

The *Standard encyclopedia of southern Africa*, published in 1974, also contains a brief entry on Junod. The author, F.H. Boot, gives a short account of the events of Junod's life and comments on his interest in entomology, linguistics and ethnography. Junod is also attributed the status of "pioneer" in this entry based on his approach to ethnography in *The life of a South African tribe*. His dual role of missionary and anthropologist is highlighted and the entry states, concerning the latter publication that,

> it is still regarded as one of the best descriptions of the culture of an African people. Junod manifests percipient and sympathetic powers of observation. It is a pioneering work also from the missionary point of view, as an attempt is made not to condemn the indigenous culture, but rather to implant the teachings of the gospel with an understanding of the tribe's cultural background.[96]

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[93] R. Caillois, "Book review: *Mœurs et coutumes des Bantous. La vie d'une tribu sud-africaine*", *La Nouvelle Revue Française* 25(280), 1 January 1937, p. 118.
[94] Hassing, "Junod, Henri-Alexandre", pp. 315-316.
[95] De Kock and Kruger (eds.), "Junod, Henri-Alexandre", p. 350.
[96] Boot, "Junod, Henri-Alexandre", pp. 247-248.

From the above discussion it is apparent that while the biographical dictionaries and encyclopedias offered brief commentary on Junod's work, they are not yet critical analyses. These entries, which hold Junod in high esteem, are mainly accounts of his achievements. The angle of each of the entries is slightly different, depending on the nature and concerns of the publication in which they appear. A characteristic of all of these entries is their prescribed brevity and thus they do not offer much depth and insight into Junod. His granddaughter's entry in *The international encyclopedia of the social sciences* offers the most commentary and context related to Junod's work, while the entry in the *Dictionary of South African biography* is the best source of biographical information.

6. Recent perspectives

From the 1980s H.A. Junod became the subject of studies of various scholars, and most notably, revisionist historian Patrick Harries who began to shed scholarly light on Junod and his anthropological work. He used Junod's work as a point of departure for a variety of articles and papers which attempted to unlock the period in the South African past in which Junod lived and wrote, and to analyse his anthropological and missionary discourse. In Harries's studies, Junod has begun to make his appearance as a subject of study for the historian. The emphasis has shifted from a mere study of his life and works, to both the man behind the works and to what he can tell the historian about the era he lived in, with diverse criticism of both the positive and negative aspects of his work. This section discusses, in chronological order, the academic writing regarding Junod which began to appear from the 1980s.

Harries's article on Junod, dated 1981, "The anthropologist as historian and liberal: H.A. Junod and the Thonga" evaluates Junod's anthropological methodology and findings, pointing out the characteristics and shortcomings of his work.[97] Harries begins by giving various reasons for Junod's "conversion to anthropology",[98] the first of which is the well-known meeting with Lord Bryce. Harries also attributes Junod's interest in anthropology

[97] Harries, "The anthropologist as historian and liberal", pp. 37-50.
[98] *Ibid*., p. 37.

to the cultural climate in which he grew up in in Switzerland, that is a climate of change and transformation due to industrialisation resulting in the reduction of regional cultures and languages under the strain of nation states and national standardised languages. According to Harries, this background resulted in Junod realising the necessity of preserving "for posterity the simple and uncluttered daily life of these non-literate peoples who were untainted by the strains and pressures of industrial and urban life."[99] Harries thus identifies three intended groups of readers for Junod's anthropology:

> For their [the Tsonga] descendants his work would provide a record of, and an attempt to understand, their past. For European and American readers, he believed his work would offer a glimpse of a forgotten stage in man's evolution … The third category of reader for whom Junod wrote was that of the missionary and administrator who were to find some practical use for his work.[100]

Harries outlines possible influences on Junod's work. Among these he identifies "current ideas on social evolution"[101] as having the strongest influence. Junod's interest in evolutionism led him to constantly seek for the origins of various social institutions, causing the historical aspects of his work to be criticised as speculative and consequently vain. Diffusionism was another influence on Junod, attributing progress and change to outside influences, such as contact with other tribes. Finally, Harries identifies Junod's use of the theory of biological determinism which linked progress and growth to factors in their environment, such as the climate and their geographical location.[102]

After identifying these influences on Junod's work, Harries proceeds in this article to point out the shortcomings and weaknesses of Junod's ethnography. He begins by criticising Junod for his propensity to interpret his material. He states,

> Junod's avowed aim was to record ethnographic data which would then be analysed by the anthropologist and the historian. But despite this intention he was unable to resist the temptation to interpret his material by way of current theories on social evolution and diffusion. Hence the functionalist criticism of his 'pseudo-history'.[103]

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[99] *Ibid*., p. 38.
[100] *Ibid*.
[101] *Ibid*.
[102] *Ibid*., pp. 38-39.
[103] *Ibid*., p. 39.

Here Harries refers to the famous criticism of Junod's work by functionalist anthropologist Radcliffe-Brown.

A further criticism leveled at Junod's work by Harries is his failure to describe the social change taking place within black society with the advent of colonialisation, industrialisation and urbanisation. According to Harries, Junod was in a prime position to describe the influence of these forces on black society, but he "expressed no interest in colonialism and in the social change that it engendered; this was an 'unscientific' task for the ethnographer to perform and information on social change was relegated to the appendices of *Life*."[104]

Harries ascribes Junod's unwillingness to describe social change to his romantic view of Africa. His task was "to document a civilisation about to disappear, to record what already existed and hence was 'normal'".[105] He explains that,

> His romanticisation of the old social order gave Junod's writing a reactionary ring in that he wished to maintain and preserve the tribe and separate it from the European civilisation that was causing its disintegration. But here Junod the Romanticist and Junod the Evolutionist clashed and presented all the ambiguities and contradictions of humanism. Thus, while decrying the collapse of the old social relations, Junod fostered the creation of Christian communities which fed off, and lived separately from, the indigenous population.[106]

Thus, Harries points out the often contradictory and conflicting views embodied in Junod's work. He further comments that Junod's social criticism was absent from most of his anthropological works, only finding an expression in his 'unscientific' works, such as his personal correspondence and his fiction.[107]

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[104] *Ibid*., p. 40. Harries is referring here to Junod's two volume ethnographic monograph, *The life of a South African tribe*.
[105] Harries, "The anthropologist as historian and liberal", p. 40.
[106] *Ibid*., p. 41.
[107] *Ibid*., pp. 41-42.

Finally, in this article Harries comments on Junod's research methodology and highlights some of its flaws. He points out that Junod preferred an oral methodology and avoided using documents that could have strengthened his findings. In addition, Harries brings into question Junod's choice of informants and thus demonstrates how the unrepresentative selection of informants casts a shadow over Junod's findings. [108] Harries also refers to Junod's rationalist propensity to classify, his background in the natural sciences and "the influence of 19th century concepts of nationalism and the central role of language in the classification of national groups and characteristics."[109] Harries specifically criticises Junod for simplifying and obscuring the realities of Tsonga ethnicity through his need to order and classify. He explains that,

> Junod's attempt to create clarity where clarity did not exist, through his classification of the Thonga, has tended to obfuscate for the historian the many very real political, cultural, linguistic, and historical factors dividing the various pre-colonial Thonga chiefdoms; … Largely due to Junod's work, anthropologists have come to view the Thonga as a common social aggregate.[110]

In conclusion, Harries does credit Junod's work for manifesting many of the achievements of his time.[111] He evaluates the value of Junod's work for the historian and points specifically to Junod's unique concentration on the 'common' man at a time when history was focused on European expansion in Africa.[112]

In another article, "The roots of ethnicity: discourse and the politics of language construction in south-east Africa", published in 1988, Harries's goal is to show that "the delineation and codification of Tsonga as a written language was a product of nineteenth century European discourse rather than a reflection of local reality."[113] Here he traces in a technical way the history of Tsonga ethnic and linguistic identity. He argues that the present notions of Tsonga ethnicity were a result of a controversy between Swiss

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[108] *Ibid*., pp. 42-45.
[109] *Ibid*., p. 48.
[110] *Ibid*.
[111] *Ibid*.
[112] *Ibid*., pp. 48-50.
[113] P. Harries, "The roots of ethnicity: discourse and the politics of language construction in south-east Africa", *African Affairs* 87(346), January 1988, p. 26.

missionaries. On one side was Henri Berthoud in the Spelonken area who was the proponent of a homogenous Tsonga identity, while H.A. Junod, stationed on the coast of Mozambique, took the lead to establish Ronga as a separate language. Harries explains that,

> It became obvious in the ensuing debate that the division between Ronga and Gwamba/Thonga was a product of the rivalry between the Spelonken and Coastal branches of the Swiss Mission and that their two linguistic representatives, Henry Berthoud and Henri Junod, represented the two poles of contemporary linguistic classification.[114]

Harries traces the arguments on either side of the debate surrounding Ronga's classification as a separate language from Tsonga. Junod is presented as logical, scientific and bold, but as also rather short-sighted. He is not the focus of this article, but merely a participant in the debate. Harries concludes that the current linguistic situation in Mozambique "is a classic instance of ethnic differences whose roots may be traced to an obscure linguistic debate between two Swiss missionaries."[115]

In his chapter "Exclusion, classification and internal colonialism: the emergence of ethnicity among the Tsonga-speakers of South Africa" in L. Vail's *The creation of tribalism in southern Africa* published in 1989, Harries again touches on the question of Tsonga ethnicity, giving a detailed account of its origins and development. The role of Junod and Berthoud in the Ronga/Tsonga debate are discussed briefly, as the missionaries were the first to try to systematically define the Tsonga. The influence of the natural sciences on Junod's perspective is again emphasized. Harries explains that

> Without the orderly structuring of detail there could be no clarity and no understanding, a factor that was reflected as much in Junod's entomological studies as in his desire for social classification. Junod was particulary influenced by nineteenth century concepts of nationalism and the central role of language in the classification of national groups and characteristics.[116]

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[114] *Ibid.*, p. 48.
[115] *Ibid.*, p. 52.
[116] P. Harries, "Exclusion, classification and internal colonialism: the emergence of ethnicity among the Tsonga-speakers of South Africa", in L. Vail (ed.), *The creation of tribalism in southern Africa*, 1989, p. 87.

In this study, Harries mentions Junod's strong criticism of Dudley Kidd's study of African customs, *The Essential Kaffir* (1904). Kidd's work made no distinction between different tribes or linguistic groups, but made generalizations on the basis of race alone. Junod's approach on the other hand, was to attempt to classify the local population, and for him the common language of the Tsonga was a justification for recognising the Tsonga as a tribe.[117]

In "Sex and sokisi: interpreting homosexuality in the compounds on the goldmines of the early Witwatersrand" (1989)[118] and "Symbols and sexuality: culture and identity on the early Witwatersrand gold mines" (1990),[119] Harries discusses life on the mining compounds of the Witwatersrand and homosexual practices in particular, using Junod's writing as a point of departure. In these studies, Harries traces some of the writing on compound life, among which Junod's is one of the earliest. Junod's stance is explained in terms of his generation – he is an anthropologist who has witnessed industrialisation in Europe and Africa. For example, Harries comments that,

> First generation anthropologists like Junod viewed black workers in sharp contrast to tribesmen, as being stripped of a sustaining culture. Torn away from the traditions and beliefs that structured tribal life, the worker was viewed as easy prey for the social evils of industrialism; without the protection of a familiar set of values, he was swiftly corrupted by alcohol, ambition and avarice.[120]

Thus Junod is presented as a social reactionary and a product of contemporary anthropological thought. Harries also likens Junod to nineteenth century social thinkers. He states that,

> Junod, Bourquin and others who paid only fleeting visits to the workers' quarters were influenced in their portrayal of the industrial city by a narrative tradition stretching back to writers like Dickens and Zola. They reproduced the images of an alien, engulfing industrial landscape that was

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[117] *Ibid*.
[118] P. Harries, "Sex and sokisi: interpreting homosexuality in the compounds on the goldmines of the early Witwatersrand", paper presented to the International Mining History Congress, German Mining Museum in Bochum, September 1989.
[119] P. Harries, "Symbols and sexuality: culture and identity on the early Witwatersrand gold mines", *Gender and History* 2(3), 1990, pp. 318-336.
[120] Harries, "Symbols and sexuality", p. 318.

> repugnant to the senses; like Coketown and Montsou, the Witwatersrand towns were malodorous, discoloured and unsightly, and human life was subject to the rythyms of monotonous and deafening machinery.[121]

In an 1993 article entitled ""Apostles of civilised vice": 'immoral practices' and 'unnatural vice' in South African prisons and compounds, 1890-1920", activist Z. Achmat counters both Harries and Junod concerning the historical view of homosexuality among blacks in South Africa. He describes Junod's appendix "Unnatural vice in the Johannnesburg compounds" in *The life of a South African tribe*, as "[t]he most influential historical document on male homosexuality in the compounds".[122] Achmat identifies three factors which lend authority to Junod's text. Firstly, it is appended to an anthropological publication, secondly, its theological discourse gives it "institutional and pastoral religious authority",[123] and finally, Junod employs a native informant to verify customs and traditions. Achmat then explains how Harries's authority is based on his use of Junod's work. He demonstrates how Harries reestablishes Junod's authority as an observer by presenting him "at the source of the events described"[124] and by "establishing a clear line of succession and authority"[125] between Junod and anthropologists who would succeed him. Achmat criticises both Junod and Harries for creating and perpetuating the notion that black homosexuality is an unnatural practice that is foreign to traditional tribal customs.

Harries's 1993 article "Through the eyes of the beholder: H.A. Junod and the notion of primitive" focuses on Junod, presenting him as "a European in Africa"[126] and a product of his age. According to Harries, Junod was "an intellectual engaged in ordering the African world in such a way as to make it comprehensible to Europeans."[127] As such he

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[121] *Ibid*., p. 319.
[122] Z. Achmat, ""Apostles of civilised vice": 'immoral practices' and 'unnatural vice' in South African prisons and compounds, 1890-1920", *Social Dynamics* 19(2), 1993, pp. 101-102.
[123] *Ibid*., p. 102.
[124] *Ibid*., p. 103.
[125] *Ibid*.
[126] P. Harries, "Through the eyes of the beholder: H.A. Junod and the notion of primitive", *Social Dynamics* 19(1), 1993, p. 1.
[127] *Ibid*., p. 1.

"employed the preconceptions and prejudices of his age to arrange and give meaning to what he saw in Africa."[128] In this article, Harries attempts to illustrate how Junod's description and interaction with Africa corresponded with contemporary theories and perspectives. He points out notions of social Darwinism, romanticism, evolutionism, humanism and scientific discovery in Junod's writing. In this way he attempts to disclose Junod's perspective as "the beholder"[129] of the African reality, in much the same way as Achmat classified him and Junod.

Junod also became an object of study in church historian and missiologist J. Stanley Friesen's *Missionary responses to tribal religions at Edinburgh, 1910*. In this 1996 study of the First World Missionary Conference held at Edinburgh in 1910, Stanley Friesen's goal is to counter the stereotypes of missionaries of the imperialist era, and particularly, the view that missionaries condemned tribal religious systems. His book attempts to indicate "that the participants at Edinburgh 1910 had a more independent and prophetic stance, distinct from the mainstream of nineteenth-century western society, than they have been given credit for."[130]

Junod enters this study in the context of his contribution to the report given on animistic religions at the conference. He is considered for his role as a missionary and anthropologist at the time of the Edinburgh conference. As such, he falls into a category of missionaries with a university education who were aware of current theories of anthropology and comparative religion. He also falls into the category of a missionary informant, providing European theorists with anthropological data from the field.[131]

Stanley Friesen's discussion of Junod's background does not shed much new light on him as a person. Many familiar themes are introduced. For example, Junod is presented as a person who "brought to his missionary calling not only a devout and spiritual life, but

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[128] *Ibid*.
[129] *Ibid*.
[130] Stanley Friesen, *Missionary responses*, p. xiii.
[131] *Ibid*., pp. 31-32.

also a scientific perspective of broad interests and an inquiring mind given to detail."[132] Junod's knowledge of contemporary anthropology is referred to, as well as his practice of "testing general anthropological theories against the factual material he was accumulating."[133] He is called "a product of his times"[134] and Stanley Friesen comments that "Junod's use of evolutionary language reflects the care of an experienced researcher trying to combine his research with the predominant theoretical framework of the times."[135] In addition, Stanley Friesen also comments on Junod's philanthropic interest in the Tsonga. Thus Junod is presented as primarily a missionary in that he "combined his scientific observation with both his moral and religious perspective."[136]

Stanely Friesen also presents Junod as a "pioneer" when he states that,

> Junod's detailed knowledge of an African people has not been frequently attained by a white person. The great value of Junod's work is that it sets down a benchmark in the first decade of this century for the historical and comparative study of African religions.[137]

Stanely Friesen's focus is therefore on Junod's view of tribal religions. He presents Junod as an open-minded observer of African traditions, who viewed tribal religious practices as a stage in the development of the African races. As such, he did not condemn tribal religions, but held a rather paternalistic attitude towards their practitioners. In his mind the Christian gospel was the fulfillment of the desires manifested in tribal religions. Stanley Friesen explains that "[t]he gospel, Junod contended, ought to be presented not merely as antagonistic to pagan error but also as a fulfillment of former aspirations."[138]

Anthropologist W.D. Hammond-Tooke includes a brief section on Junod in his 1997 historical study of South Africa anthropologists, *Imperfect interpreters: South Africa's anthropologists, 1920-1990*. Junod appears in his chapter on "The ethnographic

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[132] *Ibid*., p. 50.
[133] *Ibid*., p. 53.
[134] *Ibid*.
[135] *Ibid*., p. 54.
[136] *Ibid*., p. 56.
[137] *Ibid*., p. 57.
[138] *Ibid*., p. 61.

monograph"[139] and his *The Life of a South African Tribe* is hailed as "[t]he first, and by far the most distinguished, of these [ethnographic monographs]".[140] Hammond-Tooke mentions Junod's early interest in entomology and his meeting with Lord Bryce. He evaluates Junod's anthropological work, pointing out its weaknesses and strengths, as follows:

> Although based on information obtained from two or three key informants, and slightly marred by the use of the term 'clan' (the term for a descent group) for political groupings under chiefs, Junod's account is remarkably detailed and insightful.[141]

Hammond-Tooke refers to Harries's criticism of Junod's work and particularly of Junod's classification of the Tsonga. He points out that Harries's arguments are exaggerated and that Junod was not too far off in his understanding of Tsonga ethnicity.[142]

In 1997 Harries published another article, the seventh which uses Junod as a partial focus point: "Under alpine eyes: constructing landscape in late pre-colonial South-East Africa". This article examines the way in which Swiss missionaries viewed landscape by examining their "perception and representation of the landscape in Africa".[143] Harries begins by discussing the developing importance of landscape in Swiss culture. He then presents some of the earlier impressions of the African landscape before examining the discourse of the Swiss missionaries related to the southern African landscape. Junod appears alongside many of his missionary compatriots in this article, although his writing is one of the primary sources employed by Harries. He is credited with "literary and scientific empathy"[144] for the landscape and is considered as a representative of the Enlightenment.[145]

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[139] Hammond-Tooke, *Imperfect interpreters*, p. 70.
[140] *Ibid*., p. 72.
[141] *Ibid*., pp. 72-73.
[142] *Ibid*., p. 73.
[143] P. Harries, "Under alpine eyes: constructing landscape in late pre-colonial South-East Africa", *Paideuma* 43, 1997, p. 171.
[144] *Ibid*., p. 181.

In "The theory and practice of race: the Swiss Mission in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries", published in 2000, Harries approaches Swiss perception of race, using Junod as a point of departure. In a similar manner to his other articles, Harries begins by presenting the background to the notion of race in Switzerland, discussing some of the main theories which would have informed Junod. He then presents Junod's first impressions of Africa and shows how these coincided with contemporary thought that considered Africa as a place of "darkness" and "degradation". Harries traces the progression of Junod's view of race, through his initial contact with the black population, his use of informants for his botanical and entomological studies and through his study of the language. Through his experience in the field, Junod came to disagree with many racist thinkers of the time. Harries comments that "Junod stressed that Africans had a great deal to teach Europeans."[146]

In this instance, Harries highlights the importance of Junod's work by stating,

> Junod's fame as an anthropologist is derived from the modernism with which he approached his subject. He gathered his evidence through the personal observation of fieldwork, and most importantly, used evolutionist and diffusionist theories to organise and explain his facts.[147]

Harries also points out that while Junod believed in the essential unity of humanity, he "opposed the unrestricted assimilation of Africans into colonial society."[148] Junod was in favour of the maintenance of the rural African way of life and saw urban life as a cause of degeneration. This leads Harries to state that in their way, Junod and the Swiss missionaries contributed to segregation and the notion of racial differences. He concludes, that

> Although they rejected biological notions of race, these European intellectuals provided politicians first-hand evidence of rural Africans and of the importance of race as a social category. In so doing, they

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[145] *Ibid*., p. 171.
[146] P. Harries, "The theory and practice of race: the Swiss Mission in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries", *Le Fait Missionaire* 9, June 2000, p. 50.
[147] *Ibid*., p. 49.
[148] *Ibid*., p. 53.

> contributed to the history of race as a genre of explanation in South Africa; and to an inequality based on race that has yet to be dismantled.[149]

In yet another study, Harries gives an in depth study of Junod's methodological background and approach. In "Field sciences in scientific fields: entomology, botany and the early ethnographic monograph in the work of H.-A. Junod", which is a chapter in S. Dubow's *Science and society in southern Africa* published in 2000, he "examine[s] ways in which the methodology of entomology and botany influenced the beginnings of anthropology in southern Africa."[150] Harries attempts to demonstrate that "[a]lthough Junod claimed to be a simple man-on-the-spot, his ethnography was built on innovative notions of fieldwork and theory that were deeply rooted in the experiences of natural scientists in Switzerland and Germany."[151] Harries thus paints a detailed portrait of the scientific climate in which Junod was raised in Switzerland, drawing parallels between contemporary thought and Junod's work.

In this study, Harries traces the scientific influences in Junod's background. He describes the development of interest in the natural sciences in Junod's father's generation and also Junod's father's own love for botany. Junod's interest in the natural sciences thus appears as a natural result of his upbringing and the intellectual climate in which he was raised. He is also pictured as part of the "many eminent evangelicals in French-speaking Switzerland"[152] who were devoted to the study of nature. Harries explains that "[f]or these men the study of nature was a means of discovery, a source of virtue, a mark of good taste and an emotional release from an otherwise rigorous lifestyle."[153] Harries sums the young Junod up as carrying with him to the mission field "a love of the natural and theological sciences typical of the dominant male figures in his life."[154]

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[149] *Ibid*., p. 54.
[150] Harries, "Field sciences in scientific fields", pp. 11-12.
[151] *Ibid*., p. 12.
[152] *Ibid*., p. 15.
[153] *Ibid*.
[154] *Ibid*., p. 16.

Harries describes Junod's early botanical and entomological fieldwork in Mozambique. He mentions the various species of plants and butterflies discovered by Junod, and also gives an account of Junod's relationship with William Barbey, the director of the Boissier Herbarium in Geneva, who sponsored much of Junod's botanical work. In sum, Harries presents Junod as a natural scientist who left his mark on both botanical and entomological studies in southern Africa.[155]

Harries then proceeds to present Junod's transition to anthropology, analysing the various influences on his approach to anthropology. He explains the underpinning of Junod's point of view as a mixture of Darwinian ideas and Christian humanism, and explains that Junod "would carry this combination of natural science, philosophy and theology into his understanding of anthropology."[156] Harries again emphasizes these various aspects of Junod's approach to anthropology when, for example, he comments on the conflict between Junod's "disengaged scientific style",[157] resulting from his background in the natural sciences, and "his deep concern for the welfare of the local population."[158]

Harries presents Junod as a leader in anthropological methodology with a deep sympathy and respect for the black population. He comments on the fact that Junod's work became a standard reference in most South African universities' anthropology departments. He also again mentions in this study the idea that work, such as Junod's, might have provided evidence for the need of protective segregation.[159] He also gives an indication of the way in which anthropology would respond to Junod later in the twentieth century. He states,

> Perhaps ironically, just as Junod's salvage anthropology provided segregation with an intellectual underpinning, his scientific work came under fire from a new generation of professional anthropologists. These university-based intellectuals were concerned to turn anthropology into a 'natural science of human society' by ridding it of the conjectural and speculative history associated with notions of cause and effect. The

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[155] *Ibid*., pp. 16-23.
[156] *Ibid*., p. 27.
[157] *Ibid*.
[158] *Ibid*.
[159] *Ibid*., pp. 12, 34.

> revolution brought to the discipline by Radcliffe-Brown and Malinowski, and the stark political implications of representing Africans, as primitive tribespeople, pushed the work of Junod's generation into the shadows of the discipline.[160]

In light of the downfall of apartheid, Harries feels that Junod's work deserves a fresh glance. He concludes that "[i]n today's open intellectual climate, scholars will return with a fresh approach to the writings of Junod's generation, writings that employed the authority of science to build the foundations of a modern image of African society."[161]

In 2002 anthropologist I. Niehaus revisited the question of Tsonga/Shangaan identity, in response to Harries's 1989 study "Exclusion, classification and internal colonialism: the emergence of ethnicity among the Tsonga speakers of South Africa".[162] In this article, "Ethnicity and the boundaries of belonging: reconfiguring Shangaan identity in the South African Lowveld", Niehaus counters Harries's revisionist argument that "Swiss missionaries, such as Henri Junod, crafted a 'classificatory ethnicity' among the diverse groups of east coast refugees to South Africa" and that "[b]y reducing the rich variety of spoken language forms into a single written Tsonga language, these missionaries produced firm boundaries, delivering to the new Shangaan tribe a pedigree for acceptance."[163] Niehaus argues that this point of view obscures the many dimensions of ethnic identity and the agency of those who have been "classified" in the creation of their own identity. He then demonstrates from his own research the changing nature of Shangaan ethnic identity over time.

Historian R. Thornton's paper, which is still in progress, "Henri-Alexandre Junod and *The life of a South African tribe*",[164] testifies to the renewal of interest in H.A. Junod's writings predicted by Harries. In this study Thornton addresses notions of time in relation

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[160] *Ibid*., p. 34.
[161] *Ibid*., p. 35.
[162] I. Niehaus, "Ethnicity and the boundaries of belonging: reconfiguring Shangaan identity in the South African Lowveld", *African Affairs* 101, 2002, pp. 557-583.
[163] *Ibid*., p. 558.
[164] R. Thornton, "Henri-Alexandre Junod and *The life of a South African tribe*", paper in progress, used by permission.

to historical and anthropological studies. He identifies Junod's temporal awareness through an examination of *The life of a South African tribe*. Like Harries, he also highlights Junod's evolutionary perspective which he applied to "both the development of the individual and to the long term and hypothetical history of the people."[165] In this way Thornton points out the influence of temporal considerations on Junod's view, shown in his concerns with both the past and the future of the Tsonga. He states that Junod's interest was in "the origin and the culmination"[166] of the process of evolution, hence his interest in ethnography and in the salvation of the Tsonga respectively. Thornton's study also contextualises Junod's world view by presenting the contemporary perspectives of time shown in scholars, scientists and writers of his generation.

7. Conclusion

It is striking that a historiographical overview of the studies on Junod over the last three decades reveals that each study presents only a fragment or facet of Junod's life and work. He has been studied in relation to a wide range of subjects, from tribal religion to ethnography to entomology to sexual life on the Johannesburg mines. The list of topics is diverse and points significantly to Junod's multifaceted nature. Many of the above-mentioned studies consequently do not concentrate on Junod himself, but on some aspect of his work within the framework of a broader topic. He is sometimes used as a point of departure, but is not the main focus. This is particularly true of Harries's writing, in which more often than not, a broad theme has been applied or sought out in Junod's work and this becomes the focus. In fact, only two of Harries's nine works discussed above are concerned solely with Junod.[167] In all of Harries's other studies Junod is a starting point for a discussion of a particular historical or anthropological theme. It is interesting to note that in these articles Junod is presented in both a positive and negative light, as the subject of a diversity of praise and criticism.

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[165] *Ibid.*, p. 6.
[166] *Ibid.*, p. 7.
[167] Harries, "The anthropologist as historian and liberal"; Harries, "Through the eyes of the beholder".

Harries's concern is with the period in which Junod lived and with what Junod can tell us about it. For this reason, he presents Junod as a representative of his time and tries to identify traits of the intellectual climate in which Junod lived in Junod's writing. These "background" discussions can be very dense, with multiple links being drawn between past and contemporary thinkers and Junod's work. By presenting Junod as a product of his time, it is justifiable for Harries to use him as a representative and thus source of his time.

But the evidence shows that Junod was a free thinker and even Harries himself ultimately demonstrates how Junod challenged contemporary theories. Therefore, he cannot be considered as a simple "product of his time" and a more complex portrait should therefore be drawn. Harries does to some extent touch on the complexities of Junod's work by pointing out some contradictions in his thinking,[168] but for the most part he is content to label him a product of his time.[169]

Harries identifies Junod with the theory of his time, by associating his writing with philosophies such as evolutionism, rationalism, the Enlightenment, nationalism and humanism. The result is that Junod appears confined within nineteenth century thought. It is ironic that Harries falls into the same trap for which he criticised Junod, namely that in trying to classify and "to create clarity where clarity did not exist",[170] Harries obscures the reality of Junod's uniqueness. Junod was a free thinker, a remarkable and unique individual, worthy of study in his own right. While he was informed by the prevailing theories of his time, he did not always reflect them in his work, but showed himself in many respects to be an individual who was ahead of his time. This thought does exist in Harries writing, but is sometimes dominated and obscured by his focus on the context. Certainly, through Harries' contribution, the study of Junod has been reopened and brought central into scholarly debate.

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[168] Harries, "The anthropologist as historian and liberal", p. 41.
[169] Harries, "Through the eyes of the beholder", p. 2.
[170] Harries, "The anthropologist as historian and liberal", p. 48.

In sum, the variety of authors and publications which have touched on Junod's life and work, testify to a man of diverse interests who left a significant contribution in many fields. From the missionary accounts, we have a personal portrait of a devoted and gifted man, while the anthropologists bear witness to his mastery of their field, in which his ethnographic work has landmark status. The variety of biographical dictionaries and encyclopedias in which he appears also demonstrates the wide sphere of his influence and significance, as a missionary and anthropologist. This diversity is again apparent in the specialised studies of Junod emerging in more recent decades from the fields of missiology, history and anthropology. As yet, nothing has been written that would qualify as a scholarly biography and on a smaller scale, it seems certain that there are still angles of study of this unique man which merit attention. One such dimension is the literary work of fiction which Junod produced – an aspect which forms a central concern of the latter part of this study.

IV. SOURCE MATERIAL

1. Introduction

A large part of the task of both the historian and the biographer is involved with the collection and exploitation of sources. These include the full range of evidence left of human activities, from written and spoken sources to material artefacts, making up the "raw materials"[1] of the historian's craft. Historian J. Tosh has highlighted some of the challenges of handling sources as follows:

> …historical research is not a matter of identifying *the* authoritative source and then exploiting it for all it is worth, for the majority of sources are in some way inaccurate, incomplete or tainted by prejudice and self-interest. The procedure is rather to amass as many pieces of evidence as possible from a wide range of sources – preferably from *all* the sources which have a bearing on the problem in hand. In this way the inaccuracies and distortions of particular sources are more likely to be revealed, and the inferences drawn by the historian can be corroborated. Each type of source possesses certain strengths and weaknesses; considered together, and compared on against the other, there is at least a chance that they will reveal the true facts – or something very close to them.
> This is why mastery of a variety of sources is one of the hallmarks of historical scholarship.[2]

Tosh brings some important matters to light here. Firstly, he emphasizes the necessity of gathering and using the widest possible range of sources. This necessitates a thorough research process in which every possible avenue of evidence is explored. Secondly, he points to the value of comparing and evaluating sources, or, in other words, the importance of external and internal criticism which establishes the authenticity and credibility of evidence.[3] It is thus extremely valuable to assemble all the sources available on a subject in order to gain as accurate an understanding as possible of the subject.

In the case of biography, Tosh explains that "[o]ne of the reasons why biography is often disparaged by academic historians is that too many biographers have studied only the private papers left by their subject, instead of weighing these against the papers of

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[1] Tosh, *The pursuit of history*, p. 30.
[2] *Ibid*., pp. 65-66.
[3] Shafer, *A guide to historical method*, pp. 127-170.

colleagues and acquaintances".[4] Thus, the biographer should endeavour to assemble the largest scope of sources possible, from those most personally related to the subject to sources which shed light on the context in which they lived.

This chapter will investigate the available sources related to H.A. Junod. It will then consider which sources have been used in the literature on Junod to date. Finally, this chapter will point to the lack of attention given to Junod's fictional work, and in particular to his novel *Zidji: étude de mœurs sud-africaines*.

2. Available sources

As indicated in chapter two, an effective method of source investigation is to begin with an examination of evidence closest to the subject and to expand gradually to include family, contemporary and context sources – what van Onselen has referred to as the layering of an onion. This study of H.A. Junod's case will firstly examine available primary sources, beginning with those most personally related to him.[5] It will then consider the widening sphere of sources by looking at his own writings, family sources and contemporary sources. It will also briefly consider some sources related to the context in which Junod lived and worked.

The richest collection of primary sources in South Africa related directly to H.A. Junod is housed in the Junod Archives in the University of South Africa's (Unisa) Archival and Special Collections Section.[6] This collection contains the papers and books of both H.A. Junod and H.P. Junod, donated to the university's library in 1974 by the Junod family. These papers include some manuscripts of H.A. Junod's published articles and books, copies of some of his publications, lecture notes and sermons. Of particular interest for a biographical study of Junod are the biographical notes compiled by his sister Elizabeth from the family bible. The collection also comprises some of Junod's correspondence and notes, including items that date from Junod's student years, drafts of lectures and articles,

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[4] Tosh, *The pursuit of history*, p. 66.
[5] Due to practical limitations, this study will focus on sources available in South Africa.
[6] Archival and Special Collections, Unisa Library, Pretoria: Junod Archives.

and documents relating to the Tsonga and the Swiss Mission.[7] All of these documents, which are either written in French or English, merit a thorough study.

In addition, the Junod Collection in Unisa's Archival and Special Collections consists of the libraries of H.A and H.P. Junod, which comprise a fascinating assortment of books, particularly on anthropological subjects. An interesting study could be made of Junod's ideas in the light of the literature contained in this collection, although it is not absolutely clear which books belonged specifically to H.A. Junod and which belonged to his son.

The Historical Papers section of the University of the Witwatersrand Library houses the Swiss Mission collection consisting of documents from the years 1878 to 1976.[8] The documents make up the South African archives of the Swiss Mission which was transferred to the University of the Witwatersrand in 1976. The collection includes correspondence, memoranda, minutes, reports and other files related to the various missionaries, presbyteries, churches, schools, hospitals and activities of the Swiss Mission in South Africa.[9]

The majority of the records in this collection appear to fall into a period from the early to the middle twentieth century, and thus many of the records were produced after H.A. Junod's missionary career. Some of his correspondence and reports can be located however in the files of the mission stations and schools where he was situated, and there is a file dedicated specifically to his correspondence.[10] Most of the documents in this collection were produced in an official capacity for the Swiss Mission and contain information related to the running of the mission stations and evangelists' schools. They thus shed light on Junod's missionary career, his manner of handling affairs on the mission station and his views regarding matters related to the mission. Examples include

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[7] M. Coetzee, *Junod Archives. Henri Alexandre Junod 1863-1934 & Henri Phillipe Junod 1897-1987. Inventories*.
[8] Historical Papers, University of the Witwatersrand Library, Johannesburg: The Swiss Mission.
[9] J. Knoesen, *The Swiss Mission*, 1987.
[10] Historical Papers, University of the Witwatersrand Library, Johannesburg: The Swiss Mission, 80.3.12: H.A. Junod, 1890-1933.

his detailed description of his plans for the evangelists' school at Shiluvane in a report to the mission council, and the handling of conflict among the students of the school.[11]

MuseuMAfrica in Johannesburg also houses a Junod collection.[12] This collection, compiled by Junod and his son, was purchased from H.P. Junod in 1939. It consists of tribal artefacts and rarities, representing mainly the Shangaan-Tsonga. It includes Pedi jewellery and beadwork, Tsonga beadwork, weaponry, basketwork and carvings, as well as costumes, musical instruments, medical remedies and divination equipment. Many of the items are accompanied by documentation written in Junod's hand, giving their provenance and use.[13]

The State Archives of South Africa contains a handful of documents related to Junod. The majority of these documents are found in the Archives of the Secretary for Native Affairs (SNA) and deal with matters related to land and requests for permission for black converts from Mozambique to be educated in South Africa by the Swiss Mission. There is also a document from the Central Judiciary Commission related to a claim for compensation by Junod for a horse that was commandeered during the South African War. These documents therefore deal mainly with official matters and thus do not offer much personal insight on Junod. However, one document of particular interest is a letter found in the SNA in which Junod gives a detailed description of tribal conflict near the mission station.[14] The Treasury contains one document related directly to Junod's ethnographic work. It is a request by the Secretary of Native Affairs to assist Junod

[11] Historical Papers, University of the Witwatersrand Library, Johannesburg: The Swiss Mission, 24.1: Shiluvane reports, 1900-1960.
[12] MuseuMAfrica, Johannesburg: Junod Collection.
[13] Written information: S. de Wet, Senior curator MuseuMAfrica, P. O. Box 517, Newtown, 2003-09-12.
[14] Transvaal Archives Depot (TAB), Pretoria: SNA. 1, R. N.A. Pret11/01, pp. 86-94: Revd. Henri A. Junod; Swiss Missionary. Report on tribal fighting between Chiefs Mafefe and Nwanamokhube, the latter aided by Sikukuni, Sikororo-Rios, Masume and Matcheke, 1901-06-19.

financially with the publishing of his ethnographic work.[15] From the file in the Treasury, it is appears as if this proposal was not accepted, although this is not clear.

Following these primary sources, Junod's own writings and publications are a rich source of evidence related to him. As mentioned in chapter two, a person's work, which in the case of H.A. Junod is manifested largely in his writing, is the *raison d'être* of biography as it is usually the basis of the significance of the individual. Junod's life was one of writing and publishing as his interests and knowledge increased and thus he left a diverse and extensive bibliography behind him.

H.P. Junod published a bibliography of his father's works in 1965, an examination of which highlights Junod's varied interests and activities.[16] The subjects range from entomology, botany and meteorology, to ethnography, linguistics, anthropology, African folklore, history, social criticism, missionary biography and theology. The bibliography lists 51 works, but H.P. Junod attached a comment stating that the list was not inclusive of articles written by H.A. Junod for certain journals such as the *Bulletin missionnaire mensuel de la Mission suisse* (Monthly bulletin of the Swiss Mission).[17] Among Junod's writing, the foreword of his most famous work *The life of a South African tribe* is of particular interest as a biographical source, as it is here that Junod explains his transition to anthropology and outlines the motivation for this work.[18]

As already discussed, probably the most significant family source regarding H.A. Junod is the biography written by his son Henri-Philippe. It is not only H.P. Junod's personal account of his father's life, but also is the only comprehensive biography of Junod and therefore deserves particular attention. As stated in chapter two, an earlier biography is a good starting point for research as it can offer information regarding primary sources.

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[15] South African Archives Depot, Pretoria: TES 7079, R. F63/5: Publications. Transvaal. Native Affairs Department proposal to assist the Rev. H. A. Junod in publishing an ethnographic work on the natives of the northern Transvaal, 16-08-1910.
[16] H. P. Junod, "Henri-Alexandre Junod (1863-1934). Bibliographie de ses ouvrages", *Geneva-Africa* 4(2), 1965, pp. 271-277.
[17] *Ibid*., p. 277.
[18] Junod, *The life of a South African tribe* I, pp. 1-12.

In the foreword to *Henri-A. Junod, missionaire et savant*, H.P. Junod explains:

> This little book was written in solitude, far from the beloved fatherland, without the possibility of seeking advice or support. – It was written in Africa, that second homeland of my father…[19]

The credibility of the information which this biography offers is immediately brought into question by such a declaration. H.P. Junod makes this statement as an apology for what might have been a more complete text had he had access to a greater number of sources and witnesses. On reading this biography, however, it is striking how many sources he consulted in its writing. In fact, much of this biography is made up of direct quotations from sources such as letters, missionary bulletins, oral testimony and H.A. Junod's books and articles.[20] This biography is therefore a rich source of primary evidence. On closer inspection, it is a patchwork of quotations arranged and supplemented by H.P. Junod. Thus, to a certain extent, H.P. Junod's voice, which can be regarded as rather biased, is masked or quietened by the array of witnesses he draws into this biography and by allowing his father to speak through his letters, reports and publications.

A noticeable feature of H.P. Junod's account is his familiarity with the events and persons described. Particularly in the first pages of the biography, one is struck by the ease at which he tells the early history of the Junod family; the introductory chapter is dedicated to presenting a brief overview of the Junod clan – Celts who settled in the Swiss region before the Reformation. The story is told with the pastoral touches of the opening of a fairy tale with a romantic emphasis on the countryside from which the Junods originated and a great deal of praise for the Junod heritage.[21] This section of the Junod story has the ring of a familiar tale told by father to son so that it has become part of an oral tradition. One can almost hear the echo of the father in the details of this story told by the son.

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[19] Junod, *Henri-A. Junod*, p. 3. (All translations from French are my own.)
[20] There is some form of quotation on at least every third page of *Henri-A. Junod, missionaire et savant*. Some quotations are four or five pages long.
[21] Junod, *Henri-A. Junod*, pp. 5-6.

H.P. Junod's sometimes heavy-handed selection and interpretation of evidence lends to a particular portrait of his father. He not merely presents the evidence, but frames each presentation with what is often a quite overstated interpretation. While this means that H.P. Junod's voice can be detected strongly in the background of the account, it also makes it easier for the reader to identify this voice and thus there is little risk of being unwittingly influenced by H.P. Junod's views. In addition these views should not be discounted too quickly, as certainly the son has a valid, though perhaps slanted, interpretation of his father's life. As indicated in chapter three, this biography can be viewed as a record of H.A. Junod's relationship with his son, a point which adds value to it as a source.

Other family sources include surviving family members. Two of Junod's grandchildren, Henri-François and Manon, have homes in Pretoria. The six year old Henri-François was present at the time of his grandfather's death in Switzerland, while Manon never met her grandfather.[22] Henri-François has a wide knowledge of many of the areas in which his father and grandfather were stationed as missionaries. He is a source of anecdotal family and mission history, possessing also documents, photos and artefacts relating to his father and grandfather.[23]

Following family sources, are contemporary sources which give indications as to how Junod was received by his peers. These include reviews of Junod's books and missionary bulletins. Junod's *The life of a South African tribe* received particular acclaim in the intellectual world. The 1928 review in the anthropological journal *Africa*, praises it as "the finest monograph written on any African tribe",[24] giving specific strengths and features of the work. A 1937 review of the French edition, entitled *Mœurs et coutumes des Bantous. La vie d'une tribu sud-africaine*, also describes Junod's work as the best African ethnographic text. Junod's method is praised, but his philanthropic missionary

[22] *Ibid*., p. 86.
[23] Personal information: H.F. Junod, 341 Victoria Street, Pretoria, 2003-09-15.
[24] E.W. Smith, "Book review: *The Life of a South African tribe*", *Africa* 1(3), July 1928, p. 391.

point of view is severely criticised.[25] Thus, these sources offer some information on Junod's place within the contemporary anthropological and intellectual world.

The monthly bulletins of the Swiss Mission are also an indispensable source for the study of Junod. These bulletins were published in order to inform the patrons of the Swiss Mission in Switzerland regarding the situation in Africa and the activities of missionaries. As such the bulletins contain information about the movement, health, families, journeys and other news of the missionaries in the society. Missionary letters and reports appear in the bulletins, recounting stories or reflections from the mission field. For example, Junod and his first wife's departure for Africa appears in an issue of the bulletin, along with a brief biography of Junod and sections of Junod's letter written during their voyage to Africa.[26]

Finally, in order to gain a complete understanding of H.A. Junod we need to understand the context in which he lived. This requires the investigation of a wide spectrum of sources, and given Junod's varied activities, this would be even larger than for most subjects. As far as his work in the natural sciences and anthropology is concerned, the work of those directly preceding him and of his contemporaries are of interest as he certainly did not pursue these studies in an intellectual vacuum. In fact, much of the writing on Junod testifies to his familiarity with the anthropological theories and works of scholars such as J. Frazer, E.B. Tylor, H. Spencer, J.A. Gobineau, L. Frobenius, and L. Lévy-Bruhl.[27]

Much of the anthropological theory with which Junod was familiar falls under the comparative method of anthropology – a category of anthropological writing focusing on cross-cultural comparisons. From the British school of social evolutionists, Junod used James Frazer's *The golden bough* as a framework for the questions raised in *The life of a*

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[25] Caillois, "Book review: *Mœurs et coutumes des Bantous. La vie d'une tribu sud-africaine*", pp. 116-118.
[26] P. Leresche (ed.), *Bulletin Missionnaire des Églises Libres de la Suisse Romande* 7(83), April 1889, pp. 207-209, 284-287.

South African tribe.[28] Junod's writing also challenged many widely accepted anthropological theories of his time. In *Noir Africain. Comment faut-il le juger?* Junod states that racist thinker, Gobineau, might have changed his treatise on racial inequality had he known that blacks share the dolichocephalic characteristic, a physical feature, ascribed to the "noble Aryan." He also questioned contemporary French anthropologist, Lucien Lévy-Bruhl's, theory of primitive or prelogical mentality.[29] Thus a study of the works of these anthropologists would lend to a better understanding of Junod by unlocking the intellectual influences that informed him or which he reacted to.

Clearly an understanding of Junod's missionary background, which can be obtained through the study of secondary sources, is also necessary. The Swiss Mission in South Africa traces its origins to the Swiss revival and the formation of the Independent Church of the Canton of Vaud. Sources like church historian T.C.F. Stunt's "Diversity and strivings for unity in the early Swiss *réveil*"[30] and J.F. Maclear's *Church and state in the modern age*[31] shed some light on the atmosphere in Switzerland leading to the establishment of the Swiss Mission. The history of the Swiss Mission in South Africa has been recorded in a handful of texts. The most complete works are those by missionary A. Grandjean, who wrote a general history of the mission society in 1917,[32] and by J. van Butselaar, whose work mainly covers the history of the mission in Mozambique.[33] Shorter histories of the Swiss Mission include a booklet by E.H. Brookes written at the

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[27] Junod, "Junod, Henri Alexandre", p. 331; Stanley Friesen, *Missionary responses*, p. 53; Harries, "The theory and practice of race", p. 49.
[28] E.R. Leach, "Anthropology: comparative method", in D.L. Sills (ed.), *The international encyclopedia of the social sciences* I, p. 342; Hassing, "Junod, Henri-Alexandre", p. 315; R.G. Lienhardt, "Frazer, James George", in D.L. Sills (ed.), *The international encyclopedia of the social sciences* V, pp. 550-551.
[29] Junod, "Junod, Henri Alexandre", p. 331; J. Cazeneuve, "Lévy-Bruhl, Lucien", in D.L. Sills (ed.), *The international encyclopedia of the social sciences* IX, p. 264.
[30] T.C.F. Stunt, "Diversity and strivings for unity in the early Swiss *réveil*", in R.N. Swanson (ed.), *Unity and Diversity in the Church*, 1996, pp. 351-362.
[31] J.F. Maclear (ed.), *Church and state in the modern age. A documentary history*, 1995.
[32] A. Grandjean, *La Mission Romande: Ses racines dans le sol suisse romand. Son épanouissement dans la race thonga*, 1917.
[33] J. van Butselaar, *Africains, missionaires et colonialistes: Les origines de l'Église Presbytérienne du Mozambique (Mission Suisse), 1880-1896*, 1984.

time of the jubilee of the mission society in 1925,[34] and a publication celebrating its centenary entitled *Rejoice Dzunisani*.[35] Another useful source in understanding the missionary context, is the anthology of letters of founding Swiss missionary Paul Berthoud and his wife.[36] These sources make it possible to situate Junod within the context of the Swiss Mission in South Africa, contributing to an understanding of the missionary influences and experiences that were present during his time.

3. Sources used in the literature on Junod

As demonstrated in chapter three, H.A. Junod has received growing attention from a variety of scholars and there is a diverse literature related to his life and work. This section will examine the sources used in the different studies related to Junod.

As mentioned earlier, a striking feature of H.P. Junod's biography of his father is its extensive use of primary sources. A main source of biographical information, in H.P. Junod's text, is the Junod family Bible in which H.A Junod's parents, and later H.A. Junod himself, recorded major events.[37] H.P. Junod also relies heavily on letters and missionary bulletins. Each of the quotes in the biography has a reference, but these are usually very brief and could have been more complete as it is also not always clear where all the original documents can be located.

In addition to his considerable use of original documents, H.P. Junod also relies on his own recollection of events. This causes his text to fall into the category of a source, as indicated in the above section, and also demands a careful examination of possible errors in H.P. Junod's reporting.

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[34] E.H. Brookes, *Swiss Mission to Shangaan tribes. A retrospect and a forecast*, 1925.
[35] S. Ngobe (ed.), *Rejoice Dzunisani*, 1975.
[36] G. de la Rive (ed.), *Lettres missionaires de M. et Mme Berthoud de la Mission Romande*, 1900.
[37] The notes from the family Bible are available at Archival and Special Collections, Unisa Library, Pretoria: Junod Archives, 1.1: Biographical notes compiled by his sister Elisebeth [sic], 1863-1921.

The anthropologists who wrote about Junod were more concerned with his contribution to anthropology than with the details of his life and work. As such, the main sources employed in their writing were Junod's anthropological publications. *The life of a South African tribe* features most prominently among their references, as the work which won Junod recognition in the field of anthropology.[38]

The entries in the biographical dictionaries and encyclopedias reveal diverse approaches to the sources available on Junod, as most of the authors have strikingly different sources cited in their bibliographies. The selection of sources in each case is often indicative of the angle which the author has taken and of the focus of the publication.

V. Junod's entry in *The international encyclopedia of the social sciences* is accompanied by a list of "works by Junod" and a "supplementary bibliography".[39] The list of Junod's works gives a selection of eight titles by Junod. It includes ethnographic works, grammars, anthropological papers, an anthology of folklore and his novel *Zidji: étude de mœurs sud-africaines*. In this way, V. Junod directs the reader to a broad selection of Junod's more renowned works. The supplementary bibliography lists C.W. Chatelain's *Pocket dictionary: Thonga (Shangaan)-English, English-Thonga (Shangaan)* which contains an elementary grammar written by Junod, and A. Loisy's *Essai historique sur le sacrifice* (Historical essay on sacrifice). H.P. Junod's biography of Junod also appears on the list – the only reference of an explicitly biographical nature. Thus, as indicated in chapter three, the emphasis of this entry lies on the nature of Junod's anthropological work and its place in contemporary anthropology – a fact also manifested in the selection of sources, which presents Junod's anthropological viewpoint and situates him among his contemporaries.

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[38] Kuper, "Radcliffe-Brown, Junod and the mother's brother"; Hammond-Tooke, *Imperfect interpreters*.
[39] V. Junod, "Junod, Henri Alexandre", in D.L. Sills (ed.), *The international encyclopedia of the social sciences* VIII, 1968, p. 332.

P. Hassing's entry in the *Concise dictionary of the Christian world mission* cites H.P. Junod's biography of Junod as its only source.[40] It is not surprising that the entry in this dictionary, which is focused on the careers of missionaries, uses H.P. Junod's missionary biography as its source. It is interesting, however, that some of the information presented in the entry is not found in H.P. Junod's biography. For example, Junod's meeting with Lord Bryce is mentioned in the entry, but this does not appear in the biography by H.P. Junod. This entry also states that Junod was guided by anthropologist James Frazer's questions as a framework for his research – a fact which does not appear in H.P. Junod's text. These details do appear, however, in Junod's foreword to *The life of a South African tribe,*[41] giving the impression that this was another source used in the compilation of the entry.

A.J. Lamont-Smith's entry on Junod in the *Dictionary of South African biography* is without a doubt the most comprehensive in terms of biographical information. The list of bibliographical references following the entry is also the most extensive of all the entries, including the greatest number of primary sources.[42] Lamont-Smith's research notes, made during the compilation of entries for the *Dictionary of South African biography*, are available in the Historical Papers section of the University of the Witwatersrand Library,[43] and offer information on her use of sources. From a study of these notes, it is evident that certain sources formed a basis of the entry. Firstly, the events of Junod's life, as they were presented in H.P. Junod's biography, were summarised and the list of footnotes reveals that this formed the backbone of the entry. Secondly, she compiled a chronological list of Junod's publications, with brief summary notes accompanying some publications. The third main source is the *Bulletin de la Mission Suisse dans l'Afrique du Sud*.

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[40] P. Hassing, "Junod, Henri-Alexandre", in S. Neil, G.H. Anderson and J. Goodwin (eds.), *Concise dictionary of the Christian world mission*, 1971, p. 316.
[41] Junod, *The life of a South African tribe*, pp. 1 & 6.
[42] W.J. de Kock and D.W. Kruger (eds.), "Junod, Henri-Alexandre", *Dictionary of South African biography* II, 1972, pp. 350-351.
[43] Historical Papers, University of the Witwatersrand Library, Johannesburg: A.J. Lamont-Smith, "Junod, H.A.".

Apart from these sources, which are the foundation of the entry, Lamont-Smith also referred to annual reports of the Swiss Mission and to various histories of the Swiss Mission in South Africa. P. Loze and J. Lennox's obituary also features on the source list, as well as C.M. Doke's *Bantu: Modern grammatical, phonetical, and lexicographical studies since 1860*, which gives a history of linguistic studies of African languages. Junod features in the latter for his linguistic work on the Ronga and Tsonga languages.[44]

F.H. Boots' entry in the *Standard encyclopedia of southern Africa* cites H.P. Junod's *Bantu heritage* in its bibliography.[45] It is unclear, however, why this text is given as a reference, as it seems to offer very little information regarding Junod. Rather, it is an anthropological work dealing with aspects of African languages and customs. H.A. Junod is referred to extensively as an authority on many of these matters, but the text is by no means a discussion of his work and it certainly contains no biographical information regarding him.[46]

Harries's contributions to the study of Junod reveal his comprehensive and detailed research in both South Africa and Switzerland. His articles generally give a great deal of importance to Junod's writing, especially his anthropological and scientific works. Harries uses *The life of a South African tribe* in particular as a means to unlock Junod's perspective. Harries located a large number of Junod's articles, especially his scientific articles published in *Bulletin de la Société Neuchâteloise de Geographie* (Bulletin of the Neuchâtel Geography Society).

In addition, Harries makes extensive use of primary sources. These include correspondence and reports available at the Swiss Mission Archives in Lausanne, Switzerland, as well as biographical sources available at Unisa's Junod Archives. Interesting correspondence used in Harries's work is that between Junod and botanist

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[44] C.M. Doke, *Bantu: Modern grammatical, phonetical, and lexicographical studies since 1860*, 1945, pp. 95-96.
[45] F.H. Boot, "Junod, Henri-Alexandre" in D.J. Potgieter (ed.), *Standard encyclopedia of southern Africa*, 1974, p. 248.
[46] Junod, *Bantu heritage*.

William Barbey of the Boissier Herbarium, which is available at the Botanical Conservatory in Geneva. H.P. Junod's text is also a consistent source in Harries's writing.

While Junod usually plays a central role in Harries's studies, he is often used as a means to unlock the context in which he lived. Thus, Harries's work employs a great deal of context sources. There is therefore a great emphasis on the writings of other Swiss missionaries in Harries's sources. The correspondence of Junod's fellow missionaries, Paul and Henri Berthoud, as well as the published letters of Paul Berthoud and his first wife Eugenie,[47] often appear among Harries's references. In addition Harries also makes frequent use of the Swiss Mission histories of Grandjean and Van Butselaar.

As indicated in the previous chapter, Harries's work also often focuses on a theme prevalent in Junod's writing. In order to unlock the intellectual climate in which Junod lived, Harries's studies make extensive use of the writings of Junod's contemporaries. In addition, Harries also uses the work of renowned authors to approach the particular themes which make up the focus of his studies. For example, he uses linguist C.M. Doke's work when dealing with the subject of language and ethnicity. Anthropologists I. Schapera and N.J. van Warmelo are also brought into the ethnicity debate. For life on the mining compounds of Johannesburg, Harries consults historian C. van Onselen's work, and author J.M. Coetzee is used as an authority on landscape. Harries's work thus bears the authority of these recognised experts in their fields, and also has an important bibliographic aspect. Finally, Harries has also counted among his references theoretical texts related to the subjects of his studies. Examples include works by S. Dubow, John and Jean Comaroff, C. Geertz, M. Foucault and J. Vansina.

Stanely Friesen's study of Junod concentrates on Junod's anthropological writing. *The life of a South African tribe* features prominently, along with a handful of Junod's pamphlets dealing with tribal religion. For biographical information, Stanely Friesen relies most heavily on H.P. Junod's text, but also includes references to the entries on

[47] De la Rive (ed.), *Lettres missionaires*.

Junod in the *Dictionary of South African biography*, the *Concise dictionary of the Christian world mission* and *The international encyclopedia of the social sciences*.[48]

Junod only features briefly in Hammond-Tooke's *Imperfect interpreters: South Africa's anthropologists, 1920-1990*. For biographical information he refers to the writings of H.P. Junod, V. Junod, P. Loze and J. Lennox. Hammond-Tooke also mentions Harries as a source of critical appraisal for Junod's work.[49]

From the above discussion, it is apparent that studies of Junod have been steadily increasing and have resulted in a widening search for sources. Harries's work, in particular, has uncovered an increasing number of relevant sources. Several sources appear, however, as "standard" points of departure, most obviously H.P. Junod's biography of his father and Junod's *The life of a South African tribe*. It appears that Junod is attracting the fresh glance called for by Harries[50] and the diverse studies in which he appears, point to the many sides of this man. But it must be asked whether there are dimensions which still require consideration. It is apparent that his anthropological writings have received a good deal of attention, while aspects of his missionary work have been covered in the study of tribal religions and the missionary biography. But, it seems that a only a handful of his publications have been studied in depth, and these are generally his scientific and anthropological works. In the study of this man, who seems to be inviting growing interest, perhaps the fresh glance should be cast at some of his other work.

4. Junod's fiction as a source

A notable gap in the studies of this man is the fiction he wrote, and in particular the only novel. It is interesting to note, however, that this novel, *Zidji: étude de mœurs sud-africaines*, has been briefly alluded to by several of the writers who have studied Junod. The entry in the *Concise dictionary of the Christian world mission* refers to Junod's

[48] Stanley Friesen, *Missionary responses*, pp. 170-173.
[49] Hammond-Tooke, *Imperfect interpreters*, p. 201.
[50] Harries, "Field sciences in scientific fields", p. 35.

"missionary novel",[51] while E.W. Smith's obituary of Junod ends by mentioning "*Gidji* [sic], in which, under the form of a novel, he [Junod] portrayed the growth of a young African."[52] H.P. Junod points to the value of this text on several occasions. In the bibliography of his father's work, *Zidji* is among the works highlighted for special attention,[53] and a short discussion regarding this novel also appears in *Henri-A. Junod, missionaire et savant*, where H.P. Junod states that "it is a book of the highest interest which deserves to be known better."[54] In his introduction to A.M. Duggan-Cronin's volume on the Tsonga, H.P. Junod refers again to *Zidji*, stating that it is "full of useful ethnographic matter"[55] and further, that "this book is especially valuable as a description of race contact and the ethnography of transition."[56]

A book review of *Zidji*, published in 1911 in the *Journal de Genève*, praises Junod's novel for contributing to a better understanding of the complex situation in South Africa. The writer of the review, Eugène Pittard, points to Junod's qualifications manifested in his text by stating that Junod "has a scientific culture and curiosity. He has the necessary patience to penetrate the unimaginable complexity of the Bantu soul. And to interpret the latter, he knows how to disengage his European prejudices and preconceived ideas."[57] Thus, Pittard's comments indicate that Junod's novel offers valuable insights into Junod. Pittard also comments in a very telling manner on the uniqueness of Junod's novel when he calls it "a book of courage"[58] and states that "[n]ot everyone – I was going to say not every missionary – would have dared to write it."[59]

The fact that Junod's novel was translated and published in German, is also indicative of its perceived value. In the foreword to the German edition, C. von Drelli, welcomes

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[51] Hassing, "Junod, Henri-Alexandre", p. 315.
[52] Smith, "Obituary. Henri Alexandre Junod", p. 111.
[53] Junod, "Henri-Alexandre Junod (1863-1934). Bibliographie de ses ouvrages", p. 273.
[54] Junod, *Henri-A. Junod*, p. 47.
[55] Junod, "The Vathonga", p. 27.
[56] *Ibid*.
[57] Archival and Special Collections, Unisa Library, Pretoria: Junod Archives, 5.3: *Zidji, étude de mœurs sud-africaines*, book review in *Journal de Genève*, 29-12-1911.
[58] *Ibid*.
[59] *Ibid*.

Junod's text in the German language, commenting on the promotion of sympathy and understanding for the black race in Junod's writing. Junod is praised for his scientific knowledge and his concern for the future of blacks in South Africa.[60]

Junod's novel offers a particular perspective on Junod which should not be overlooked. In relation to his other work, it is a unique piece of writing and therefore its study is essential. The distinct quality of this text is alluded to by Junod himself in its preface, where he states,

> It is not always open to missionaries to tell all they know or to print the whole truth in their magazines. Three factors are exerting their influence on the development of the Bantu people in South Africa: Paganism, Missionary work, and Civilization. Now, as regards any of these, what is set forth in our ordinary publications is not, and cannot be, complete. Naturally so; since the object of such writings is, before all, religious; and we do not look for information of any other kind there.[61]

Junod therefore clearly indicated that his missionary writing could not convey in full his perspective of the true situation in South Africa. In addition, as discussed in the previous chapter, Junod did not view his anthropological writings as a means to express his thoughts on the position of blacks in South Africa. The fact that his social criticism had no place in these 'scientific' works is demonstrated by the strong criticism levelled at him for the meagre amount of social commentary which he did include in his appendices to *The life of a South African tribe*.[62] Harries comments that,

> Junod's sympathies lay largely with the exploited and his documentation of the evils of Portuguese and South Africa colonialism is to be found in his non-ethnographic and 'unscientific' works and in his private correspondence.[63]

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[60] C. von Drelli, "Borwort", in H.A. Junod, *Gidschi: Kultur, Christentum und das problem der schwarzen rasse*. Leipzig, 1911, pp. iii-iv. (Free translation from German by E. Strydom.)
[61] H.A. Junod, *Zidji, étude de mœurs sud-africaines*, 1911, p. v. All translations have been taken or adapted from Archival and Special Collections, Unisa Library, Pretoria: Junod Collection, 5.3: Theodor L. Clemens, manuscript of English version.
[62] Caillois, "Book review: *Mœurs et coutumes des Bantous. La vie d'une tribu sud-africaine*", p. 118.
[63] Harries, "The anthropologist as historian and liberal", pp. 41-42.

In the same article, Harries also identifies *Zidji* as one of these outlets for Junod's criticism of European colonialism,[64] but does not develop this any further.

In another article Harries comments,

> To resolve the conflict between the romantic and the objective scholar, he placed his subjective commentaries in passages 'carefully separated from the scientific treatise'. It was 'out of respect for science' that he relegated topics such as 'alcoholism and the South African tribe' or 'the place of the vernacular in native education' to the appendices of his ethnographic monograph. Junod also wrote extensively about social change in his private correspondence, mission reports and essays; and treated the topic in various works of fiction, including short plays and a full-length novel. But in his published, scientific work he excluded any references to the traumatic effects on indigenous society of capitalism and colonialism.[65]

Thus, it appears that Junod's fictional endeavour was a means for him to express freely his sentiments regarding South Africa. Furthermore, *Zidji* was published by the socialist publishing house Foyer Solidariste, and therefore the novel was not bound to express the official views of the mission society. In this text we are given a unique view of Junod, beyond the limits of both his role as a missionary and the scientific trappings of his ethnography.

5. Conclusion

The literature regarding Junod reveals that he was a man of diversity with sometimes even apparently contradictory inclinations.[66] The wide variety of studies, discussed in the previous chapter, seem to point to a man of many sides who is difficult to define, and this chapter has shown that he was not content to be confined to academic and scholarly writing. And yet, despite the consistent references to it, his novel *Zidji* has never been studied. Certainly, there is a wealth of sources available for the study of Junod, and many that also require attention, but this novel is significant in the quest to unlock another dimension of Junod. Even Junod himself saw this fictional endeavour as the means to

[64] *Ibid*., p. 42.
[65] Harries, "Field sciences in scientific fields", p. 27.
[66] Harries, "The anthropologist as historian and liberal", p. 41.

freely express his thoughts.[67] It can thus be concluded that the study of this text would contribute to a more complete understanding of this unique man.

[67] Junod, *Zidji*, p. v.

V. THE FICTIONAL DIMENSION

1. Introduction

It has been shown in the previous chapter that Junod's only novel *Zidji* has not received adequate attention. This chapter will explore a few aspects of this novel and thus attempt to shed some new light on Junod. It will first consider Junod's choice of the novel as a form of expression, examining the effect of his use of fiction. It will then investigate the presence of Junod's voice in the novel, both implicitly and explicitly. Finally, this chapter will present the main elements of Junod's depiction of South Africa in the novel. These aspects will be considered, in the light of contemporary theories regarding the missionary endeavour, as a means to understand Junod's perspective of the missionary encounter and of race relations in South Africa. As the novel happens to take a biographical form, the primary emphasis of this study is the biographical value of the text as it relates to Junod.

Zidji: étude de mœurs sud-africaines was published in 1911 by the Foyer Solidariste publishing house in Saint Blaise Switzerland. The novel, which is 333 pages long, is set in the mountains of the Wolksberg in the Lowveld region of the former eastern Transvaal around the turn of the twentieth century. It begins when the hero, Zidji, is about to enter the *Ngoma*, or initiation school. He is the son of one of the chiefs of the Tsonga tribe. The first section of the book, entitled "At the school of circumcision", describes in detail the customs surrounding the circumcision school. The hero is a witness to both the positive and negative aspects of this experience. He sees the brutalities of this custom as well as experiences the sense of manhood it gives.[1]

The second section, "At the station school", begins with the death of Zidji's sister. As she can no longer bring her lobola to the family, Zidji is forced to look for work. He goes to the mission station where he is employed in various temporary positions and eventually joins the school. While at the station various events and circumstances lead to Zidji's conversion and he enrolls for the evangelists' training. But, before his training is finished

[1] Junod, *Zidji*, pp. 1-109.

he meets a young girl and after the missionary forbids the relationship, he decides to run away.[2]

This leads to the third part of the novel entitled “At the school of civilization”. In this section Zidji first works in Pietersburg. He is employed as a “houseboy” with a poor Afrikaner family, but after a dispute with his “boss” he works for a while with an English transport rider before leaving to find employment in Johannesburg. He intends to find a job as a cook or a domestic, but he is not successful. He is therefore forced to take a six month contract at a gold mine, where he experiences life in a compound. Once his contract is finished he manages to find domestic work in Johannesburg: first in a Scottish couple’s house and later in the home of a wealthy Jewish businessman. At this point he hears about the school for black theologians in the Cape. Over the next few years he earns enough money to join this school where he spends two years. The enlightened atmosphere and debates at this school inspire Zidji to pursue a journalistic career as a means to uplift and empower the black population. He returns to the Transvaal to pursue this dream and to take up a position as interpreter in the court in Pietersburg. On his way he visits the mission station to see the missionary, *Moneri*. The old missionary offers Zidji some last advice for the missionary dies soon afterwards. The final scene sees a hopeful Zidji on his way to embrace the future.[3]

2. The novel as a fictional form

It has been demonstrated in previous chapters, that Junod was a prolific writer, earning recognition in the intellectual world for his entomological, botanical, linguistic and anthropological writing. It is therefore interesting that, despite the many different avenues of expression open to him, he should turn to fictional writing. This section will attempt to offer reasons for Junod’s choice of the novel as a form, and examine the implications of his use of fictional writing.

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[2] *Ibid*., pp. 111-233.
[3] *Ibid*., pp. 235-333.

Junod's foreword to *Zidji: étude de mœurs sud-africaines*, offers a great deal of insight into his purpose in writing this novel. As noted in the previous chapter, he begins by explaining that it is not always possible for "missionaries to tell all they know or to print the whole truth in their magazines" because "what is set forth in our ordinary publications is not, and cannot be complete."[4] He continues by explaining,

> At the same time, it would be of advantage, and it is only fair, that a section of the public should be admitted to the truth, in its entirety, in regard of these three great forces [paganism, Christianity and civilization] which are forming the heart and soul of the Bantus. A view of this picture of vivid life, in which black darkness and light appear side by side, would help intelligent Christians to understand better, and realise more completely, the magnitude of the missionary's task, and to take a deeper interest in it.[5]

He goes on to say, "I have endeavoured in this book to portray this picture."[6] Junod therefore had an ambitious goal with *Zidji* – to paint a portrait of the truth of the South African situation. His aim was a "complete" picture, and it is for this reason that he favoured fiction, a form without restrictions. As a novelist, Junod had the complete freedom to express his views, which, as mentioned in the previous chapter, he did not have in his scientific and missionary publications. Thus, for Junod, fiction was a means of presenting the truth, something which ironically the mission world did not accommodate.

At the time Junod wrote *Zidji*, he had already completed three of his four missionary tours to Africa, and had entered the phase dubbed "maturity" by H.P. Junod. He had therefore had sufficient experience of the mission field and of life in South Africa to have observed, contemplated and formulated some impressions regarding the South African situation.

In addition, Junod published his novel in the year following the formation of the Union of South Africa. He had therefore witnessed the transfer of power from the Boers to the British after the South African War and the joining of the South African colonies into a

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[4] *Ibid*., p. v.
[5] *Ibid.*
[6] *Ibid*.

single entity. There is a great emphasis on government policy in *Zidji* – for example, the novel comments on government policy regarding black education,[7] the qualified black franchise[8] and black representation in the South African parliament.[9] Junod might have felt that South Africa had entered a crucial phase in terms of its racial policies and wrote *Zidji* to voice his concerns and suggestions. His Swiss nationality adds an interesting dimension to his social commentary. He evidently felt that there were shortcomings in the South African authorities' treatment of the question of race that needed to be addressed, particularly in the early formative years of the Union. At this time he felt that there was a need for some "to understand better and realise more completely, the magnitude of the missionary's task and to take a deeper interest in it."[10]

It is also noteworthy that *Zidji* was written at the same time as Junod's most renowned work *The life of a South African tribe*. The latter was a summation of Junod's anthropological findings, collected in the field over almost two decades. And yet after publishing this monumental two volume study, Junod still felt the need to write a novel in order to give a "complete"[11] picture of South African life. Harries has stated, in relation to Junod's anthropological writing, that "his disengaged, scientific style inevitably came into conflict with his deep concern for the welfare of the local population."[12] It appears that his novel was a means for him to reconcile this conflict – on the one hand it was another means for him to present his wide knowledge of South African life, while on the other hand it was a channel for his sentiments and his "unscientific" points of view, thus offering a unique window on Junod's feelings.

It is significant that *Zidji* was not published by the Swiss Mission, but instead by Foyer Solidariste, a publishing house which promoted ideas of solidarity.[13] Perhaps it was not considered proper for a mission society to publish a novel, or perhaps Junod's point of

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[7] *Ibid*., p. 315.
[8] *Ibid*., p. 305.
[9] *Ibid*., p. 320.
[10] *Ibid*., p. v.
[11] *Ibid*.
[12] Harries, "Field sciences in scientific fields", p. 27.
[13] Junod, *Henri-A. Junod*, p. 47.

view in *Zidji* was too extremist for the Swiss Mission. Nonetheless it is significant that Junod published this novel in his own right, and not under the auspices of the Swiss Mission. This fact highlights his independence of thought, and opens the novel to a wider audience, thus rendering it a general appeal to an audience larger than just the patrons of the Swiss Mission.

Junod states, "[h]owever paradoxical it may seem, if this picture is to be a true one, fiction must have its share in it."[14] Literary scholar S. Clingman, in demonstrating the value of fiction as historical evidence, states that "fiction writes out, within its hypothetical and potential frame, the normally hidden issues, complexities, and deeper perturbations of society."[15] While Junod's turn to fiction was significant, it was not completely unexpected. As mentioned in chapter three, he had experimented with various forms of fictional writing as a student. This penchant for fictional writing points to a sensitive imaginative element of Junod's character, and to a desire to express his sentiments.

The difference between *Zidji* and Junod's other writing is the personal element brought in by the biographical form of the text. At the centre of the events described in the novel is the main character Zidji, whose life is the framework for Junod's descriptions and discussions. Junod brings South African customs and realities closer to the reader by relating them to human experience. In this way, the novel presents objective information in a subjective way. This is what Junod means when he says that he has made use of the literary technique of invention "in order to make more vivid the impression of truth to life."[16]A good example is Zidji's exposure to work on the gold mines in Johannesburg. After a detailed description of the mining process, Junod places Zidji in the context of the mine. The abstract information becomes more tangible as the very human Zidji appeals to the reader's own humanity. Or in other words, as historian M. Phillips points out, "historical enquiry can only move towards understanding by imaginative, empathetic,

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[14] Junod, *Zidji*, p. vi.
[15] Quoted in M. Green, "Fiction as an historicising form in modern South Africa", in M.H. Msiska and P. Hyland (eds.), *Writing and Africa*, 1997, p. 91.
[16] Junod, *Zidji*, p. vi.

intuitive means. This makes it nonsensical to ask the historian to aspire to absolute objectivity, requiring distance and noninvolvement".[17]

Junod also explains that one of the main reasons he chose the fictional form, was to not implicate any real persons in his account. He states,

> Every care has been taken to avoid any identification which might lead to unpleasantness. For this reason the chief characters – all actual people – have been introduced under fictitious names; and the events, which are almost all authentic, have been grouped in a way that is not strictly historical.
> For instance, Zidji, the young man who bore our hero's name, and who, in real life, was one of the best pupils in one of our Secondary Schools, died at the beginning of his studies, and in fact, never experienced the relapse which our story recounts. But others, alas! have done so. In our narrative, then, the part played by fiction lies, chiefly, in the grouping of facts, and I have used this literary artifice, in order to make more vivid the impression of truth to life.[18]

Thus the fictional form offered Junod a means to present the truth without offending or implicating people in his account, highlighting his sensitive and non-confrontational character. His desire to convey what he saw as the truth concerning matters in South Africa was channeled into a less aggressive form.

The above quote also refers to the primary technique of fiction used by Junod in his novel, namely that of "emplotment".[19] In many senses Junod's fictional endeavour resembles the writing of biography. In much the same way as a biographer combines fact and fiction through the selecting and ordering of facts according to a narrative model, Junod took authentic events and restructured them in his text according to his own model. As indicated in chapter two, it is the narrative structure of biography which most strongly roots this genre in the domain of fiction. This structure is usually based on notions of progression, development and growth in the course of the events described in the text.

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[17] M. Phillips, "Absolute Objectivity the Ideal: Perspectivism the Reality", *Kleio* 27, 1991, p. 36.
[18] Junod, *Zidji*, p. vi.

Zidji is thus a combination of events into a structure that, in Junod's eyes, best illustrates the real situation faced by black people in South Africa at the turn of the twentieth century.[20]

Also in a similar fashion to biography, Junod's text weaves fact into this fictional structure. While the actual course of the events is not strictly correct, Junod very pointedly explains that the main characters in *Zidji* have all been modeled on real people and the events on real events. This is emphasized by the use of photos and authentic documents in the text. Junod's aim with *Zidji* was to create a "portrait of life", and thus the text falls into the category of the historical or social novel which aim is, as stated by literary theorist Georg Lukás, "the portrayal of a total context of social life, be it present or past, in narrative form."[21] In exposing the nature of the influences on contemporary black society, Junod favours this form in order to make it both more readable and personal. The novel also provided him with the opportunity to combine his anthropological knowledge and observations of life in South Africa with his own experience and perceptions of life and imagination.

In *Zidji* fiction and fact can sometimes form a strange blend in order to convey Junod's message. For example, a very noticeable intervention of fiction is the name given to the school where Zidji studies in the Cape. This school can only be a reference to the Lovedale College in the Eastern Cape which at the time provided black and white students with a classical academic education.[22] This is clear from the fact that the Scottish directors of the school and the first black university, Fort Hare, which was established close by, are both mentioned in Junod's narrative. Junod calls the school Hopevale – evidently a symbolic name, but also a play on the actual name.

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[19] Historical theorist Hayden White introduced the notion of emplotment in historical narrative. He stated that historical work is "a verbal structure in the form of a narrative prose discourse." Quoted in Thompson, *What happened to history?*, p. 113.
[20] Junod, *Zidji*, pp. v-vi.
[21] Quoted in Green, "Fiction as an historicising form", p. 93.
[22] M.M. Goedhals, "The expansion of Christianity in the nineteenth century" in J.W. Hofmeyer and G.J. Pillay (eds.), *A History of Christianity in South Africa* I, 1994, p. 131.

The value of *Zidji* therefore does not lie in the accurate details of the events that it describes, but rather in its notions regarding the depicted period. Junod may not write a true story, but that does not mean that the context is not authentic. This context is depicted by the three sections of *Zidji*, each relating to a different period in Zidji's life and also to each of the three influences identified by Junod as being central to the life of a black South African. Thus Zidji starts at the "school of circumcision" and then moves to "the [mission] station school" and finally to the "school of civilization". Junod uses these different phases in Zidji's life to present and illustrate various aspects of South African life. At some points the events of Zidji's life are merely used as a framework to elucidate a certain detail of South African society. Thus, this is not merely a piece of fiction, but an educational journey.

The pedagogic purpose of *Zidji* is evident from the first chapter. Junod introduces the *kraal* of Zidji's father Mankelu:

> In one of the small forests, which are to be found on this plain, lay the village or kraal of Mankelu, consisting of not more than eight or ten round huts, arranged in a circle, with their conical tops surmounted by a crown of plaited straw. In the centre was the cattle kraal, the stockade within which during the night, was enclosed the herd of oxen, the pride and wealth of Mankelu. Between the huts, which almost touched on the forest, and the cattle kraal, the earth – of brown ochre – was carefully weeded. Three or four trees stood on this space; and their dense shade added great to comfort of the inhabitants. One of them, especially, with its canopy of dark leaves, glistening like plates of metal, kept the air cool beneath its immense branches, even during the hottest days, when the temperature rose to 38 º or 40 º. This was "the village tree", which the divinatory bones had designated long ago as that under which Mankelu should build the hut of his chief wife. The villagers were forbidden to break off even the smallest branch.[23]

This description sets the tone for the rest of this "study of South African customs" – a text clearly aimed at a European audience. By reason of this audience, Junod leaves very little unexplained and his descriptions are characterised by a great deal of rigourous detail. This is true not only for the discussion of tribal customs, a subject he covered in detail in many other academic works, but also in the description of life on the mines in

[23] Junod, *Zidji*, pp. 1-2.

Johannesburg, the explanation of race relations and the exposition of the different religious denominations that Zidji encounters. *Zidji* therefore manifests Junod's meticulous nature referred to by V. Junod.[24] By this careful attention to detail the novel again shows itself as a means for Junod to combine "his scientific accuracy" with "his loving heart"[25] - aspects of his character which have been highlighted by various writers.

Zidji is therefore also a record of Junod's multiple interests which those who knew him had noted.[26] The novel displays his impressive and varied knowledge of a diverse range of subjects related to the South African context. In fact, *Zidji* is a suitable form for Junod to include all his thoughts and his detailed knowledge on every aspect of South African life. The novel therefore emphasizes the fact that Junod was well-informed and critically knowledgeable on a variety of subjects, from local geography to government policies.

Junod is very conscious of his European audience, as comparisons such as this one testify:

> Carrying with him the carved wooden pail, ornamented with black triangles burned into the wood, he went to milk the three cows. This is not so easy a business in Africa as in Europe. The cows of the Dark Continent agree to give their milk only after the calf has sucked for a moment, and thus set the maternal heart at ease.[27]

The nature of Junod's audience thus demands and justifies his detailed explanations. In fact, it seems that every new scene is an opportunity for Junod to present some of his knowledge of the South African way of life and thus there are many descriptions similar to the following:

> Gouanazi took between his fingers the ornaments of the young woman; two steel blades which hung from her neck, and which served for pocket handkerchiefs when the perspiration dropped down her face. He played with a curious circular object which she also wore, a black disc inlaid with concentric triangles. This was the seed of a large white flower which blossoms on a bush in the mountains, the sugar-tree of the Boers, the Protea of the botanists.

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[24] Junod, "Junod, Henri Alexandre", p. 331.
[25] Loze, "The late Dr. Henri Alexander Junod", p. 121.
[26] Lennox, "A personal recollection of the late Rev. Dr. H. Junod", p. 122.
[27] Junod, *Zidji*, p. 5.

> As these inlaid marks look a little like the luminous rings which one sees when suffering from migraine, this object has become the great remedy for giddiness, and for vertigo and anaemia. Without knowing the famous therapeutic maxim "similia similibus curantur", Sabulana always wore this ornament around her neck.[28]

Harries labeled Junod "a European in Africa"[29] making the continent comprehensible to other Europeans. He argued that Junod used European preconceptions to order and understand the African context, and certainly the above quotes bear witness to the fact that Junod's view was filtered by both his European and his scientific frame of reference. Junod, however, identifies his audience as "intelligent Christians" whom he intends to help "to understand better, and realise more completely, the magnitude of the missionary's task, and to take a deeper interest in it."[30] His text is therefore not aimed at a general secular European audience, but is an appeal to Christians. Furthermore, his text is aimed at "intelligent" Christians, thus demanding an open-mindedness on the part of his reader. He also states concerning his audience,

> Since this work is a study, and a study dealing with real life, and life in all its bearings, it is not intended for very young people, but for those who know life with its noble ideals, but also with its dark realities…[31]

From this statement, it is apparent that Junod viewed *Zidji* as a serious work. This is not a children's story or even a mere attempt to stir or inspire emotional Christians concerning "heathen" Africa. Rather, in Junod's eyes, he has attempted a "study" in which to unlock in an unhindered way the positive and negative realities of the South African situation. The prospect of such an audience, of thoughtful and experienced – "intelligent" – Christians, also allows Junod to express his feelings freely.

Von Drelli's foreword to the German edition of *Zidji* also gives an indication of Junod's audience and also of their response. Von Drelli emphasizes Junod's extensive knowledge of tribal customs, praising him as an expert in anthropology and calling *Zidij* "a faithful

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[28] *Ibid*., p. 75.
[29] Harries, "Through the eyes of the beholder", p.1.
[30] Junod, *Zidji*, p. v.
[31] *Ibid*., p. vi.

picture"[32] of African life. His foreword shows a European fascination with the curiosities of Africa, and indicates that perhaps Junod's text was not received in the manner in which he intended. Von Drelli does not comment at all on the presentation of white society in the novel, an aspect which contributes to the novel's uniqueness, but focuses on Junod's treatment of black people. He points out the "darkness of paganism"[33] and the need to provide "a better future"[34] for the communities of South Africa, allowing them to develop and protecting them from the harmful influences of modern European culture. Von Drelli does however echo Junod's call for those who would pay an interest in promoting the interests of blacks in South Africa by realising that it is not enough just "to pull a few individual souls out of the night of paganism".[35] Here we see Junod's notion of "intelligent Christians", as the appeal is not just to convert the blacks, but also to further the understanding of them in order to give them suitable help. Thus, Junod's novel is not simply aimed at the promotion of missionary interests, but is also an attempt to combat European ignorance of the situation in South Africa and to thus enlist support for blacks from an informed audience. This sets Junod's novel apart from much of his other writing, as it is an appeal for action and not merely a description of African life.

3. The voices of Junod and Zidji

Junod's novel is focused on one black man's experience of the influences of paganism,[36] Christianity and civilization at the beginning of the twentieth century. Furthermore, it is this black man's story told by a missionary, thus shedding light on the missionary perspective. Junod's presentation of an individual is rather unique with respect to studies of the missionary encounter which generally depict the black experience of these influences in collective terms. For example, historian P. Landau's study of the Ngwato experience of Christianity approaches them collectively, analyzing their response in the

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[32] Von Drelli, "Borwort", p. iii.
[33] *Ibid*., p. iv.
[34] *Ibid*.
[35] *Ibid*.
[36] This term is used in the context of the literature and does not have the derogatory connotation which it later acquires.

broad terms of language and power manifested in politics, gender and status.[37] The Comaroffs' also approach a whole society in their description of the "long conversation"[38] between missionaries and the Southern Tswana. This section will examine the role played by Junod's hero Zidji, and the effect of Junod's presentation of this individual experience.

As Junod indicated in his foreword, Zidji was an actual person who died at the beginning of his studies and could not pass through all the events described in the text. The January 1908 edition of the *Bulletin de la Mission Romande* contains an obituary for a student of the Lemana Normale School, Zitchi Mafemane.[39] An examination of this obituary reveals that this Zitchi was the young man around whom Junod structured his text. The account of Zitchi's life given in this obituary is strikingly similar to Junod's *Zidji*, and it is apparent that his experiences were used as a source for many of the "authentic"[40] events described in *Zidji*.

Zitchi Mafemane was described as "an assiduous and model pupil", Lemana Normale School's "most gifted", in whom "the greatest hopes"[41] were placed. His life parallels Junod's Zidji: from a "pagan" family, he was educated at the mission school at the Shiluvane station where he was top of the class. After working in the missionary Lenoir's home, he went to Johannesburg to find employment, where he was a cook for an Afrikaner family and also worked for a Jewish man. He returned from Johannesburg "matured and tempered, more desirous than ever to work for the good of his people",[42] having earned enough money to enroll in the Lemana Normale School. During his studies, he caught pneumonia and died suddenly.

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[37] P.S. Landau, *The realm of the word. Language, gender, and Christianity in a southern African kingdom*, 1995.
[38] Comaroff, *Of revelation and revolution* I, p. 171.
[39] D.P. Lenoir, "Zitchi Mafemane", *Bulletin de la Mission Romande* 21(262), January 1908, pp. 21-26.
[40] Junod, *Zidji*, p. vi.
[41] Lenoir, "Zitchi Mafemane", p. 21.
[42] *Ibid*., p. 23.

Thus, there are many similarities between the real Zitchi and the fictitious character of Junod's novel, from their different employments to their pursuit of education as means to help their race. Zidji's experiences are, however, not meant to be a personal history, but a picture of the "typical" experiences of someone in his situation, that is, the experiences of a black youth from a pagan background as he responds to the influences of the mission station and white culture. From the obituary of Zitchi, it appears that he was not such a "typical" young man, but was someone with exceptional qualities who was not seduced by the "evils" of Johannesburg as so many of his generation were.[43] Thus the main differences between the real Zitchi's story and that of Junod's hero is the "relapse"[44] suffered by Zidji when he fled the mission station. This element brings Zidji's story into the realm of the "typical" experience.

A closer inspection of the text, however, reveals that even before his conversion and his various adventures, the fictitious Zidji was far from ordinary. In this first description of Zidji given in the novel, he appears to be a young man with distinctive qualities:

> Zidji was a truly handsome boy; he was tall for his sixteen years, with regular features, narrower lips, and a less flat nose than is generally the case; he had an ease of movement, and a graceful walk which struck one at first sight. His look was calm, with the same calmness as the cattle he led out to pasture, but with an expression of authority and self-confidence. This peaceful and uncontested air of superiority distinguished him from his brother Masaka and from Ngomane, and made him stand out among the boys of Mankelu's village and the neighbouring villages.[45]

Junod's attempt to portray the scope of South African life through the eyes of an ordinary and, in his view, "typical" young black man brings his text into the realm of social history and even literary realism. Literary theorist M. Green explains that "in both content and form, social history shares literary realism's interests: its selection of subject matter privileges the average, the ordinary, the everyday – 'the history of the person in the street' … or the much vaunted 'view from below'."[46] Harries comments that,

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[43] *Ibid*.
[44] Junod, *Zidji*, p. vi.
[45] *Ibid*., p. 6.
[46] Green, "Fiction as an historicising form", p. 89.

> Junod's ethnography concentrated on the common man and woman and consequently laid the basis for a de-masculanised 'people's history' or 'history from below' at a time when African history was restricted to the history of European exploration and colonisation.[47]

Therefore, in *Zidji* Junod attempted to give the view of a typical individual in order to unlock the particular historical context and historical processes in which he lived. This focus on an ordinary man would become a trend in social history later in the twentieth century with studies such as Van Onselen's *The seed is mine*, also relating the life of a ordinary man in order to shed light on rural South Africa and sharecropping in the twentieth century. The experience of the individual therefore becomes a means to understand and access the world in which they lived. Junod's approach can be considered rather unique for his time.

Harries also identifies the influences of realist authors Charles Dickens and Emile Zola in Junod's work,[48] and compares Junod's fictional writing to Thomas Hardy's descriptions of English rural life, in that it gives an "important insight into the popular culture and consciousness of a non-literate people".[49] In addition, Junod's presentation of an individual life also lines up with the Protestant evangelical promotion of what historian R. Dunch terms "the autonomous individual"[50] and individual experience.

An interesting feature of *Zidji* is the interaction of voices and subjectivity in the text. Various voices can be identified in the novel, the most significant of which are Junod's own voice and the voices of Zidji and the missionary, *Moneri*. All of these voices originate in Junod as the author and thus shed light on his position and subjectivity.[51] In a

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[47] Harries, "The Anthropologist as Historian and Liberal", p. 49.
[48] Harries, "Symbols and sexuality", p. 319.
[49] Harries, "The Anthropologist as Historian and Liberal", p. 50.
[50] R. Dunch, "Beyond cultural imperialism: cultural theory, Christian missions, and global modernity", *History and Theory* 41, October 2002, p. 321.
[51] The role of subjectivity and objectivity in historical writing has been a great point of debate. Fay, Pomper and Vann's compilation of articles on the subject in *History and theory: contemporary readings* are evidence of the discussion surrounding objectivity. L. Orr, "Intimate images: subjectivity and history: Staël, Michelet and Tocqueville", in

novel which makes a claim to the truth, it is necessary to examine the inherent subjectivity and voice of the author.

An aspect of Junod's voice is the unavoidable elements of subjectivity in the novel. Junod's aim was to tell a story and thus like every other story *Zidji* is focused and structured around the ending. As historian T. Nipperdey states, "the structure of a story, the main characters, important and unimportant points, the sequence of events, the interdependence and causal connections are all dependent on the ending of the story".[52] Every event and character that Junod describes is part of a series leading to Zidji's final destination. The Biblical allusions reinforce this notion of progression and *Zidji* can be compared to Bunyan's *Pilgrim's progress*, as Zidji passes through various tests and lessons on the way to his destination. For example, Zidji is compared to Moses as he leaves Johannesburg to start his studies at Hopevale:

> Zidji remained eighteen months in the Jacobson palace, well paid, well fed, but his heart did not grow fat on these delicacies of Capua. He made fast progress under Kimbe's tuition, and when he had his hundred pounds, he left Pharaoh's palace to go and work for the salvation of his brethren. He knew both the Whites and Blacks better now. The problem of the co-existence of the races began to stand out before him; and he set out for Hopevale saying to himself "I am going to forge weapons for the combat!"[53]

Very closely related to the subjectivity that comes from retrospect, is the subjectivity inherent in selecting and ordering facts. As Nipperdey explains:

> We select from the endless amount of information about a past object. We select what belongs to this object and what does not, what is important and what is not. This applies already to the ascertainment of the facts which we reconstruct out of the sources. This applies all the more the bringing together of certain facts and finally to the question what weight or meaning we ascribe to the facts. This selection is logically unavoidable and depends on the standpoint, the perspective of the historian; it is subjective.[54]

Ankersmit and Kellner (eds.), *A new philosophy of history*, pp. 89-107, shows the postmodern consideration of the value of subjectivity in historical texts.
[52] T. Nipperdey, "Can history be objective?", *Historia* 23(1), 1978, p. 5.
[53] Junod, *Zidji*, pp. 303-304.

Phillips also explains that it is in the choice of facts that subjectivity is evident.[55] Junod is certainly a victim of this aspect of subjectivity. The explicit aim of Zidji – "encouraging and stimulating others" as to "the grandeur and the supreme necessity of the missionary work"[56] – means that the events and details included in the text are not an accident, but have been carefully chosen to serve this specific purpose. Junod used this novel as a platform to voice his views regarding the situation in South Africa and thus all the events, characters and details in the novel have been carefully chosen and presented. The presence of this kind of subjectivity allows the reader access to Junod's perspective.

Finally, Junod is inevitably limited by time and place and cannot separate himself from his present-mindedness and world view,[57] which is that of a European missionary in the nineteenth century. He must be faithful to the calling of his vocation, while at the same time he is naturally tainted by the European concept of Africa at the time and by his limited view of the period. As already mentioned, when Junod wrote *Zidji* he had completed three tours to Africa and thus "his organizing gaze"[58] of the African landscape had caused him to abandon the common European perception of Africa as a place of wild passions and darkness, in favour of a more picturesque depiction. An example is the pastoral description of life in Mankelu's village:

> The two women worked silently at their chores, when suddenly, in the bush outside the little forest, rang the joyous sound of a shepherd's flute. Soon black and white, brown and red goats darted into the village, driven by three or four naked boys of between and six and ten years of age.[59]

Apart from its inherent subjectivity, *Zidji* is also a text in which the presence of the author is extremely apparent. Junod quite openly announced his intention with respect to his text in the foreword and he is thus not aiming for impartiality.[60] He had a personal interest in what he wrote linked to specific motives. Although this very blatant admission of

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[54] Nipperdey, "Can history be objective?", p. 4.
[55] Phillips, "Absolute objectivity the ideal: perspectivism the reality", p. 34.
[56] Junod, *Zidji*, pp. v-vi.
[57] Nipperdey, "Can history be objective?", p. 3; Phillips, "Absolute objectivity the ideal: perspectivism the reality", p. 35.
[58] Harries, "Under Alpine eyes", p. 189.
[59] Junod, *Zidji*, p. 3.

partisanship warns against Junod's credibility, his intrusions in the text are rather obvious and therefore indubitable and thus seem more excusable. Missiologists D. Arnold and R.A. Bickers comment that,

> the biases of the missionary reporter are often more clearly acknowledged and better known than those of other writers, which adds to their usefulness. Once their prejudices and assumptions are recognised … missionary sources offer valuable insights into social developments.[61]

Junod's presence is often announced openly. He even explains the progression of logic in the text and outlines his plan. For example:

> The continuation of our story will show in what way these different features are combined during the three months of the School of Circumcision.[62]

But more often Junod intrudes on the text in order to express his opinion on matters at hand. This, after all, is what should be expected in a book that was written to "encourage and stimulate". These statements of opinion deal with both the actions of the characters as well as with social and political issues. An example is his opinion on the contents of education offered to blacks. He criticizes government inspectors for not adapting educational programmes to the needs of the black population and he expresses himself quite strongly by saying:

> They do not take much trouble to adapt their programme to the capacities of the students, so different in mentality and coming from such surroundings as they do. This is the radical fault of the education of the natives in South Africa, a fault against which, however, we are struggling, and which will be remedied one day, let us hope.[63]

But sometimes Junod's opinions are more subtly offered. They appear to be subconscious additions to the text. In some instances Junod's point of view is perceptible in his choice of words or his use of figures of speech. The mining gear, for example, is described as

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[60] *Ibid*., pp. v-vi.
[61] D. Arnold and R.A. Bickers, "Introduction", in R.A. Bickers and R. Seton (eds.), *Missionary encounters: sources and issues*, 1996, p. 4.
[62] Junod, *Zidji*, p. 33.
[63] *Ibid*., p. 315.

"some huge monster"[64] and the mission bell "sounded clear and joyous, as if it were conscious of the glad message it pealed to all the winds".[65] These figures of speech often use Biblical references. A good example is the comparison of Zidji's flight from the mission station to the flight of Jacob in the Old Testament:

> Moneri had told them the story of the patriarch Jacob, far from his home, and the marvelous dream of Bethel, the ladder set up from earth to heaven, and the angels of God ascending and descending, the striking symbol of communication with the Deity, the powers from on high which come down to us, the earthly prayers which ascend. A fugitive, like Jacob, Zidji was sad. He did not feel the favour of God as his. He tried to raise his mind above the clouds towards the throne of Eternal Light. But "the angel" fell down powerless to earth, and Zidji, really at heart a godfearing soul, was in anguish.[66]

In each case Junod's evocative imagery make it quite clear what subtext Junod is trying to convey. The mining industry is grotesque and inhumane, while the mission station and Christianity are represented by the positive images of happiness and light.

Junod also uses symbols in order to reinforce his message. One of the more obvious symbols is used during the description of the initiation school. Gouanazi, a deceitful character who gives Zidji a hard time, is described as having hair that grew in the shape of two horns on his forehead.[67] Finally, Junod uses the voices of his characters as a channel for his opinions and feelings. The inner thoughts of his main character, Zidji, are often the platform for this intrusion by the author. One example is the description of Zidji's reaction when he first attends the mission school:

> School! Books! Letters! Teacher! A slate! A slate pencil! What deep feelings all awaken in the heart of a young heathen who comes little by little to the light! Nothing of it appeared in Zidji's face, for it was good manners to remain impassive.[68]

Another example is Zidji's realisation as he begins his studies at Hopevale:

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[64] *Ibid*., p. 262.
[65] *Ibid*., p. 125.
[66] *Ibid*., pp. 235-236.
[67] *Ibid*., p. 78.
[68] *Ibid*., p. 135.

> And he suddenly had this clear feeling: Zidji, your race cannot conquer its savagery without the collaboration and help of the white race.[69]

Thus, it is evident that Junod is very present in this text, both in its inherent subjectivity and in his intrusions. This makes *Zidji* a valuable source in the study of Junod as his presence and commentary shed light on him and his opinions. Junod used *Zidji* as a platform to express himself freely, and thus this subjective text lends to a deeper understanding of him.

4. Junod's South Africa

This section will explore Junod's point of view regarding South African race relations and the missionary endeavour as presented in *Zidji*. This view of the different influences acting upon black society and his solution to South African race relations have not been covered in the literature on him. Junod offered some of his thoughts on these matters in his appendices to *The life of a South African tribe*, but *Zidji* was written with the particular purpose of addressing the social situation in South Africa. In addition, the novel is longer and more dense than Junod's other references to social issues, and his attempt at a complete recreation of South African life makes it a unique text. Furthermore, to date Junod has been studied and presented more in his capacity as an anthropologist and thinker than as a missionary. *Zidji* presents Junod as a missionary with a missionary point of view and an absolute belief in the necessity of missionary endeavours. His missionary perspective of the various aspects of the black experience are summarised as follows in his preface to *Zidji*:

> I have not hesitated to describe Paganism under one of its least ideal forms, the life at a Mission Station with its pleasant and attractive features, and also with its depth of sadness, and civilisation with its dangers and brutalities, assured that a truthful revelation of the conditions under which the evolution of the black race is being worked out, would emphasize all the more forcibly the grandeur and the supreme necessity of missionary work.[70]

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[69] *Ibid*., p. 309-310.
[70] *Ibid*., p. v.

4.1. Paganism

Junod's text presents what he considered to be the three main influences on black society of the time: paganism, Christianity and civilization. Paganism is mainly presented in the form of the initiation rites or the circumcision school. The first section of *Zidji*, dedicated to depicting this aspect of African life, tells the story of Zidji's initiation by recounting his experience of the *Ngoma*. This aspect of *Zidji* appears to have attracted the most interest from readers. In his review of *Zidji* Pittard states, "I must admit that the first [section] … interested me intensely. … There the author describes rarely observed ceremonies of considerable ethnographic interest."[71] Von Drelli uses most of his foreword to praise Junod for his exposition of tribal life and for the rare view he gives of the circumcision school.[72] From these comments it appears that *Zidji* was proof of Junod's "detailed knowledge of an African people … not … frequently attained by a white person."[73] Thus *Zidji* was further evidence of Junod's extensive and detailed ethnographic knowledge.

In choosing the circumcision school as a representation of paganism, Junod uses what is regarded as one of the more fantastic and gruesome manifestations of pagan practice in Africa. This impression is emphasized by the grim stories Junod relates regarding the circumcision school such as the incident in which two boys try to escape - before white civilization made it illegal, the penalty for this would have been death. In this case, the guilty party is given a potion that induces madness.

But while it is clear that Junod regarded paganism as the "fruit of corruption",[74] his position is rather ambivalent. On the one hand, he is very critical of aspects of the initiation school which he regards as immoral, but on the other hand he points out aspects of this ritual "which may be approved of and admired without reserve".[75] This corresponds with Stanely Friesen's presentation of Junod's approach to tribal religions, in

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[71] Archival and Special Collections, Unisa Library, Pretoria: Junod Archives, 5.3: *Zidji, étude de mœurs sud-africaines*, book review in *Journal de Genève*, 29-12-1911.
[72] Von Drelli, "Borwort", p. iii.
[73] Stanley Friesen, *Missionary responses*, p. 57.
[74] Junod, *Zidji*, p. 32.

which he depicts Junod as an open-minded and uncondemning observer of tribal practices.[76]

Junod also points out the disparity between the cruel ceremonies of circumcision and the generally gentle morals of the black race.[77] In general *Zidji* shows that Junod had great respect for tribal morals, and passages such as the following, in which Zidji's father Mankelu hears of Zidji's flight from the mission station, illustrate this well:

> The missionary was relieved to see Mankelu take it so quietly. He had thought it would have affected him greatly. In the simple mind of the pagan counsellor, Zidji was in the wrong. Since he had been placed in Moneri's hands, he owed obedience to Moneri. The Church had its rules, as the army and the tribe had theirs. Zidji should have submitted to regulations which he had accepted, and that was the end of it![78]

In fact, in Junod's presentation of paganism two contrasting pictures emerge. Thus, while on the one hand Junod gives the reader access to some of the more so-called "barbarous" aspects of tribal life such as the *Ngoma* and incidents of tribal warfare and infanticide, on the other hand, however, he portrays the life of the tribal village in picturesque and pastoral terms. He highlights the simplicity, beauty, and structure of African life and therefore can be quite rightly criticised by Harries for romanticising African life.[79] He describes with great respect the various routines and objects used in the daily life of the community, and its members are all presented as peaceful or simple souls. Historian R. Dunch, in addressing missionary stereotypes, comments that,

> The popular image of the finger-wagging missionary condemning a host culture wholesale and seeking to replace it in its entirety is, to say the least, implausible as a general type; such a person would soon have proved useless as a missionary and been recalled.[80]

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[75] *Ibid*., p. 33.
[76] Stanley Friesen, *Missionary responses*, pp. 57-61.
[77] Junod, *Zidji*, p. 30.
[78] *Ibid*., pp. 227-228.
[79] Harries, "The anthropologist as historian and liberal", p. 41.
[80] Dunch, "Beyond cultural imperialism", p. 322.

The contradiction in Junod's position is that in spite of his romantic admiration for tribal life, his very presence is a factor of change. In arguing that the missionaries were not primarily agents of cultural imperialism, historian A. Porter states,

> As long as missionaries held closely to the belief that their own role was no more than to unlock an inevitable transformation, they could not but remain distant from local societies, and their impact was slight. Only as they attended to the diversity of local cultures, adapting their message to the needs expressed by local peoples, did their impact grow.[81]

Thus, from this statement, it possible to say that Junod's increasing knowledge and interest in Tsonga society aided his impact on them

Harries's criticism of Junod romanticisation of tribal life does not take into account, however, Junod's awareness of the inevitable social change brought about by colonisation. While the novel certainly gives evidence of Junod's nostalgia for the old way of life untainted by European civilization, he is more practical and pragmatic than to imagine that it could have lasted. In fact in the hero's progression in the novel there is no sense of regret for his having given up his tribal life. There is rather a sense of evolution and growth creating hope in a new and brighter future for his race.

Zidji's father Mankelu emerges as a symbol of the changing state of paganism in the novel. Despite having welcomed the missionaries into his region, and even having heard the Christian message, he is never converted, but remains as a reminder of the old order of tribal society that is coming to an end. Junod's descriptions of Mankelu reveal nostalgia for this aging chief and even respect for his holding to his customs without being converted. But while Junod's admiration for Mankelu is apparent, the chief's inability to keep up with social changes adds an element of pathos to his presence in the novel. Mankelu's acceptance of the missionary presence and his simultaneous refusal to convert also indicate that Junod had an awareness of the agency of the local population. This view lines up with Dunch's criticism of cultural imperialist discourse in which he states that "to view … restructuring simply as a process of imposition in which

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[81] A. Porter, "'Cultural imperialism' and Protestant missionary enterprise, 1780-1914", *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 25(3), September 1997, p. 376.

individuals play no active role would be a profoundly determinist conception of human social life."[82] Thus Junod's text reveals his consciousness of missionary efforts being "constrained and directed in significant ways by the host society."[83]

The final description of Mankelu's kraal in the novel reveals Junod's awareness of the disintegration of tribal life:

> It was still in the same place, the village of his childhood. But it has grown smaller. The cattle kraal was crumbling. Sickness has killed all the horned animals and the pleasant odour of fresh dung no longer greeted the visitor. Mankelu, with a stooped back, leaning on a long brown stick with a sculpted head, came to meet him.[84]

During this final interview Mankelu's exhortation to his son is also telling. He charges Zidji,

> Try to show them [the whites] that they are crushing us with their taxes! Two pounds a year for every wife! It's terrible… And say that, on top of that, they have taken our guns. No way to kill the antelope that destroy our potato fields! The whites are murdering us. We were happier before.[85]

Essentially Junod was a follower of the evolutionist theory which he regarded as being a "useful"[86] hypothesis. Within this framework the South African black people were "of a weak character"[87] which needed to evolve through the acceptance of Christianity and education, thus breaking the bonds of the pagan world. Junod illustrates this symbolically with Zidji's return home - at a fork in the road he has to choose whether he will first visit his father's village or the mission station. In choosing the latter he realises that his ties to the whites, Christianity and civilisation are stronger than those to his pagan background,[88] and in a sense his decision bears witness to the Comaroff's notion of "a new hegemony"[89] created by the process of colonialism.

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[82] Dunch, "Beyond cultural imperialism", p. 307.
[83] *Ibid*., p. 323.
[84] Junod, *Zidji*, pp. 324-325.
[85] *Ibid*., p. 325.
[86] H.A. Junod, *The life of a South African tribe* II, 1927, p. 595.
[87] *Ibid*., p. 609.
[88] Junod, *Zidji*, p. 323.
[89] Comaroff, *Of revelation and revolution* I, p. 18.

4.2. Christianity

In contrast to paganism is Christianity and the life of the mission station, usually presented from a very positive point of view, such as in the following description:

> They rounded the hill on to the raised ground, on which stood the pretty mission house, protected by its large grass roof against the extreme heat of the African climate. From this spot the view suddenly expanded and became very beautiful. The hill commanded the plain which stretched towards the north… It seems too, as if from this point a new prospect opened itself out, from a moral point of view, no longer the shut-up valley, but broad day, space, and liberty.[90]

For Junod, the mission station was a place of peace and liberty that offered blacks refuge and the chance to improve themselves by adopting a Christian life, rejecting immorality and gaining an education. In the mission station were all the answers to the race 'problem' in South Africa and Junod saw the mission's task as being of "extreme importance".[91] Thus in his descriptions of the mission station Junod's subjectivity is most evident through his creation in the text of a picturesque terrestrial paradise.

A striking feature of Junod's presentation of the mission station is the paternalistic relationship between the missionary and his converts. The missionary as the "spiritual father"[92] regulated life at the mission station. This was based on the idea of "teaching them (blacks) that to submit and to obey are essential to their own welfare, as well as to that of others".[93] As his 'children' the missionary expressed pride and love for his converts, but he tolerated no rebellion or loosening of his control. This is particularly evident when Zidji goes against the code of the mission station by courting a girl before his training as an evangelist is finished. The missionary reacts by warning Zidji and eventually by threatening to banish him. The passage in the text illustrates the paternalistic attitude well:

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[90] Junod, *Zidji*, p. 69.
[91] H. A. Junod, *Le problème indigène dans l'Union sud-africaine,* 1931, p. 34.
[92] Junod, *Zidji*, p. 163.
[93] A. Wilmot and J. Chase, *History of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope*, as quoted in K. Smith, *The changing past: trends in South African historical writing*, 1988, p. 23.

> "...The rule of the school cannot be done away with on your account; and if you wish to break it, you will be expelled. Do you hear?"
> Moneri's tone was severe. He deeply loved his pupil, but his patience was at an end.[94]

This paternalistic administration of mission stations was an element that caused resentment among black converts and led to many defections during the second half of the nineteenth century.[95] This fact is mirrored in Zidji's reaction to the tightening of discipline – he decides to flee.

This paternalistic attitude may have been at the root of Junod's fierce dislike of the emerging tide of Ethiopianism. The ordination of blacks had had a slow start and the missionaries' unwillingness to hand over responsibility and racially discriminating church policies caused blacks to want to bring Christianity under their own control.[96] This resulted in the founding of the Ethiopian Church in 1892, "Ethiopia" referring to the whole of black Africa.[97] Historian G. Cuthbertson remarks that missionaries appeared more concerned about this religious challenge than about the South African War.[98] The relative importance of these two occurrences is very apparent in *Zidji*, as the war is mentioned in passing as background to other events, while the existence of the Ethiopian threat is dealt with on various occasions: an Ethiopian minister appears in the region of the mission station and Zidji hears him speak about the benefits of Ethiopianism and the crimes of white missionaries, and later Zidji attends an Ethiopian tea-meeting in Johannesburg.

Junod certainly paints a negative picture of Ethiopianism. The visiting Reverend Jonathan Matsimo is given an incongruent caricatural portrait:

> Short, thickset, chubby, upon his face the sanctimonious look of a man well pleased with himself, he wore a long black coat, turned green by the

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[94] Junod, *Zidji*, p. 225.
[95] Goedhals, "The expansion of Christianity in the nineteenth century", p. 132.
[96] *Ibid*.,p. 131.
[97] D.M. Balia, "Ethiopianism in South Africa: roots of black theology", *Missionalia* 25(4), 1997, p. 591.
[98] G.C. Cuthbertson, "Christianity, imperialism and colonial warfare" in Hofmeyr and Pillay (eds.), *A history of Christianity in South Africa*, p. 161.

> weather and a clergyman's hat of the same hue. When he arrived at the Thabina ford he was somewhat perplexed. The river was rather wide, and thirty to forty centimetres deep. The Whites who generally travel by wagon, do not get their feet wet. The Blacks who go about with bare feet, hardly trouble themselves about it. A row of large stones, rather far away from each other, is quite a good enough bridge for them. They jump from one to the other with the greatest ease. But for Jonathan Matsimo, who naturally wore shoes, in his character of Reverend, the situation was perplexing. He determined to try the driest way and set himself to jump with some awkwardness across the watery spaces. But the inevitable happened. He slipped upon one of the rounded stones and sank into the water up to his knees. The tails of his ecclesiastical coat dipped into the disrespectful stream, getting wet, and his hat very nearly followed the course of the stream towards the desert. [99]

Junod presents Ethiopianism as a danger to the advancement of black Christians. Matsimo's visit to the area sows seeds of dissension among the black Christians of the mission station and it is after hearing him speak that Zidji begins to adopt a rebellious attitude toward the mission's authority which leads to him ultimately leaving the mission station. The Ethiopian tea-meeting which Zidji attends is a scene of debauchery and drunkenness. Junod felt very strongly that this type of gathering was a "low class tea-meeting...of men with no respect for any one, addicted to drink and immorality, having rejected the authority of White missionaries because they believe themselves to be so much better informed".[100] It is this tea-meeting that causes Zidji to see the profound immorality of his race.

Junod's rejection of the Ethiopians could be labeled Eurocentric. The solution to the racial situation in South Africa, in Junod's eyes, lay in the two European forces of civilization and religion working together. The mission's task was to call blacks to a spiritual life, form their character, instruct them, care for them physically, while at the same time to encourage them to be patient and to turn away from revolutionary ideas by giving blacks confidence in the white race.[101]

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[99] Junod, *Zidji*, p. 183.
[100] Junod, *The life of a South African tribe* I, p. 543.
[101] Junod, *Le problème indigène dans l'Union sud-africaine,* pp. 34-35.

The centrality of the mission station in the true upliftment of blacks in South Africa is apparent in *Zidji*. While Zidji is successful in establishing himself in white civilization after he leaves the mission station, it is only after he returns to Christianity that he finds direction and purpose: to study and to work towards improving the future of his race. Junod explains his belief in the necessity of Christianity in South Africa as follows:

> My conclusion is that the only means of salvation for the South African tribe is to be found in a regeneration achieved by Christianity, while education should, at the same time, provide the enlightenment of mind which is also a primary necessity....I am convinced that Christianity is the only true solution of the problem; not merely a new set of rites which should take the place of the old animistic rites, but a spiritual Christianity, combining in perfect harmony religious belief and moral duty.[102]

A feature of Junod's presentation of the mission in *Zidji* is its superiority, particularly over other forms of European civilization. For example, Zidji is impressed to hear the missionary aide Miss Clara speaking his mother tongue, illustrated in the following passage:

> Zidji was completely dumb-founded as he watched, with big eyes, this white lady speaking his language so well. He had already heard some whites speak to him at the neighbouring general dealer when he went to sell his honey and buy beads for Fazana. Those merchants distorted the words in a very strange manner, they spoke with such a profound ignorance of bantu grammatical elements that their language was completely ridiculous. Zidji would have laughed in their faces if he had dared. But Miss, spoke with ease and correctness; one could understand all the words.[103]

4.3 Civilization

The third influence, civilization, is represented in *Zidji* by white South African society. As an employee in various situations, Zidji experiences a variety of different representatives of white South Africa: from the liberal English transport rider to the poor Afrikaner family, from a middle-class Scottish couple to a wealthy Jewish household, from the racist mine foreman to the enlightened director of the Hopevale college. From this extensive cast of characters we see that Junod was a keen observer of all levels of white South African society and that, contrary to what Harries has stated, he was

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[102] Junod, *The life of a South African tribe* II, p. 631.

interested "in colonialism and the social change that it engendered".[104] Junod not only uses the novel to portray a wide range of the members in South African society, but comments on racial interaction through Zidji's experiences. Thus H.P. Junod's statement that *Zidji* is a "description of race contact and the ethnography of transition" [105] is quite valid.

But Junod is not so interested in presenting white society as he is in elucidating the effect of civilization on black South Africans. This effect, according to Junod, is rather obvious as Zidji's first encounter with civilization is to be cheated out of money by a corrupt black policeman as he enters Pietersburg. Immediately after this incident he is conned into a job by another lying black man. Thus, the negative influence of civilization can be seen to have corrupted the simple morals of blacks who have come into contact with it. Junod states this more openly earlier in the text:

> It is a very rare thing for one black man to kill another in cold blood. For him to do so means that he has been drinking or that he has learned crime in towns, in company with white desperadoes![106]

Junod's representation of the white population is very interesting and demonstrates the "courage"[107] praised by Pittard. In fact many of the white characters in *Zidji* are presented in an extremely negative and sometimes ridiculous light. The first whites Zidji encounters when he leaves the mission station is the Afrikaner couple, Piet Viljoen and his wife. Mrs Viljoen is described as follows:

> She had on her head the characteristic big "kappie" of Boer women, but on her bloated, sickly face, one could discern only a little intelligence and not much charity.[108]

Piet Viljoen is one of twelve children sent into the world to support himself – something he attempts to do with little success. At one point in the novel there is an incident

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[103] Junod, *Zidji*, p. 117.
[104] Harries, "The anthropologist as historian and liberal", p. 40.
[105] Junod, "The Vathonga", p. 27.
[106] Junod, *Zidji*, p. 82.
[107] Archival and Special Collections, Unisa Library, Pretoria: Junod Archives, 5.3: *Zidji, étude de mœurs sud-africaines*, book review in *Journal de Genève*, 29-12-1911.
[108] Junod, *Zidji*, p. 238.

involving some geese. The prospects of the Viljoen family looked set to improve on the acquisition of a mother goose and some young. Unfortunately, several of the goslings drowned when a sluice gate was opened in the canal where they were swimming. Junod describes the events which followed as follows:

> That evening, Viljoen made a terrible scene. But it wasn't the end of his troubles. The next morning, the mother goose, overcome by the nervous excitement of the previous day, died of grief right under the veranda of Mrs Viljoen née Marais, and on awaking, that respectable lady discovered the distressing sight.
> It was too much for the landdrost's son.
> "The dirty nigger must have poisoned it! He let the little ones die; he killed the mother! These blacks are not afraid of dead or poisoned meat, he was probably counting on great feast … I'll sort him out."[109]

The harshness and ridiculousness associated with this couple is in stark contrast to the calm and logical Zidji. As he leaves the Viljoens Zidji reflects,

> "Are they all like this?" wondered Zidji after having had his first experience of whites in this country. No, certainly not! All South African colonists, and all Boers are not like this crude ill-tempered landrost's son, who was bitter due to his misfortune and had been accustomed to treating blacks like cattle from his childhood. And yet it must be conceded that a great number of whites in South Africa proceed according to exactly the same principles, with perhaps some moderation in their manner.[110]

Junod continues in this section to give some further commentary on race relations in South Africa. He states,

> How can you explain such an attitude in people who are after all of moderate intelligence and who conduct themselves like normal human beings in other situations? It is the black man who is without defense. He has no advocate to plead his cause. Thus one can insult and beat him with impunity.[111]

Thus, Junod shows himself to be relatively critical of white South Africans. This novel is therefore his opportunity to expose and censure white attitudes and behaviour. While none of the other white characters receive as harsh a portrait as the Viljoens, nonetheless each receives a critical, almost stereotypical, appraisal. Following the Viljoens, Zidji

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[109] *Ibid*., p. 245.
[110] *Ibid*., pp. 246-247.

works for a transport rider, Bob Fraser who is a shrewd man with two black wives. Thus, while he is more humane than the Viljoens, he is shown to be a man of low morals. In uncovering Fraser's unusual domestic arrangement, Junod again highlights some of the complexities and contradictions of South African society. Junod explains Fraser's situation as follows:

> In the Transvaal Europeans who marry Negro women are rare. Customs like this are absolutely condemned by the upper classes of the white population. A white man who keeps a black woman is not received in society. I say "keeps" because these marriages are always or almost always illegitimate. Bob worried very little about society. Born in Natal of rather miserable parents, he never possessed the finesse which is characteristic of the English gentleman; in addition, having always lived close to the indigenous population, he did not have the same disgust towards them which had saved the Boers from promiscuity. There was no real intimacy between him and his wives. But, for forty pounds sterling, he had acquired a cook for life and her replacement, without mentioning the fact that he did not have a taste for celibacy. He reckoned himself to have made one and even two very good deals, and to his friends who sometimes teased him regarding his bigamy he said… "Look at it this way, I am carrying out the "amalgamation" of the races like Cecil Rhodes and his diamond companies! I am working in my way to resolve the native problem."[112]

The Jewish businessman Jacobson and his wife also receive a rather ridiculous but prevailing stereotypical and caricatural portrait from Junod, despite the fact that they represent a more intelligent and wealthier class of society than the Viljoens and Fraser. Mr Jacobson is "the type of financier involved in big business who lived only for the glory of amassing millions."[113] He is described as having a life of luxury, owning horses and jockeys at the race track. Furthermore "[h]e was completely free from scruples and had no religious conviction. Concerning blacks, he would have been a convinced slave owner if the mentality of the twentieth century had not forbidden him".[114] Jacobson's racism has an intellectual base, unlike the Viljoen's irrational mistrust and dislike of blacks, as Zidji overhears Jacobson one day expressing his views:

> "The blacks are a useful variety of the anthropoid family."

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[111] *Ibid*., p. 247.
[112] *Ibid*., pp. 250-251.
[113] *Ibid*., p. 300.
[114] *Ibid*.

> He [Zidji] did not understand exactly what that meant, but Jacobson explained his point of view with an illustration borrowed from Darwinism. "In my opinion, said the great Jewish financier, inhaling the aroma of a bronze Havana, the horse and the black resemble each other. They are inferior products of evolution. We have domesticated the former for our use and according to Buffon it was the noblest conquest made by man. Then we made the black go down the mines to dig out gold. The principle is the same. But we cannot say that the conquest of the black is more noble than that of the horse!"[115]

Mrs Jacobson is as an extravagant woman dripping with diamonds. She and her lady friends are presented as spoilt, superficial and racist. Junod describes Mrs Jacobson's daily routine as follows:

> When her husband had returned to the office, after the two hour lunch, she would receive her friends to play bridge. As it is more amusing to play bridge by the artificial light of lamps than by daylight, the shutters would be closed and the electric lights turned on, and they would play all afternoon.
> Around five o'clock, Zidji, upright in his long immaculate Zanzibarian shirt, would serve tea and pastries…. The ladies would interrupt their party and chat.[116]

The tea party conversation revolves around the ladies' domestic workers, with absolute disregard for Zidji's presence in the room. Disgust is expressed for "white mistresses who get it in their head to spoil their domestics".[117] Following his observations of life in the Jacobson household, Zidji comes to the conclusion that these whites "are without a doubt pagans".[118] He shares this idea with Jim the groom, who then proceeds to recount the murder of Jacobson's cousin as proof of the pagan state of whites in Johannesburg.[119]

In a sense Junod highlights the common humanity of whites and blacks, as *Zidji* presents the reader with a variety of good and bad representatives of both societies, subscribing to prevailing stereotypes. In the light of the unscrupulous, racist, and often unreasonable

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[115] *Ibid.*
[116] *Ibid.*, p. 301.
[117] *Ibid.*, p. 302.
[118] *Ibid.*
[119] *Ibid.*

whites in the novel, Zidji appears strikingly honest, innocent and intelligent. This is rather remarkable in a novel written for a white audience, albeit a European audience.

Pittard congratulated Junod for distancing himself from "European prejudices and preconceived ideas"[120] and certainly Zidji shows Junod to be an open-minded and liberal thinker. Pittard's review opens with the following comment: "Contemporary ethnography has considerably altered the ideas held by Whites concerning other "races"."[121] He continues by stating his belief that whites represent "the sample of a humanity whose evolution is very incomplete and that, below the film of their civilization, incredible reserves of savagery remain."[122] These statements point to a changing intellectual view of racial differences at the time Junod wrote *Zidji*, in which ethnography had begun to show that whites were not necessarily superior to blacks. Junod's text, it has been demonstrated, illustrates this point of view well, as often Zidji is shown to be superior to his white employers. Junod can be regarded, however, as being ahead of his time as his text is not only made up of academic notions regarding race, but grounds these ideas in social realities. *Zidji* clearly shows that racial superiority on the part of whites is completely unfounded and unjustified.

Evidence of Junod's awareness of the potential of his novel to offend white readers is contained in a note written in Junod's hand on the manuscript of the English translation of *Zidji*:

> I may add that, if the part played by the representatives of the White race in this book is not always to its credit, I am not one of those who consider that, in the conflict between the races, Whites are always wrong and Blacks are always right. I am happy, on the contrary to note that there is an increasing number of Europeans in South Africa, who believe in the Native, work towards his welfare, and interest themselves in his material and spiritual progress.[123]

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[120] Junod Archives, 5.3: *Zidji, étude de mœurs sud-africaines*, book review in *Journal de Genève*.
[121] *Ibid*.
[122] *Ibid*.
[123] Archival and Special Collections, Unisa Library, Pretoria: Junod Collection, 5.3: Theodor L. Clemens, manuscript of English version, p. 3.

Here Junod points to another kind of white person also present in the novel – those who are interested in the welfare of the black population. The most obvious example of such a white man is the missionary, while the directors of Hopevale college also prove to be enlightened philanthropists. Taking into consideration the audience Junod aimed his novel at, this is the group which he would have wanted to present in the most favourable light as his goal was to inspire Europeans to be those who would work for the benefit of blacks and their future. It is this section of the white population which is held up as the example and the solution to the future of South Africa. These are the intelligent Christians at whom Junod's text is aimed, those who would not just sympathise with black needs, but take action for their upliftment and empowerment.

In light of the many other negative views of white society presented in *Zidji*, this group of benevolent whites adds an element of hope to the novel. Junod's belief in "the grandeur and the supreme necessity of missionary work"[124] equaled his faith in the ability of this group of people to enact positive change in South Africa. In this way he appears not only as a passive observer of South African society, as he did in so many of his other publications, but promotes an active and engaged stance towards the racial situation. He therefore moves away from being the removed intellectual and shows his willingness to participate and act on his beliefs. The novel is thus a vivid illustration of Junod's desire to help the local population, a fact that has been commented on by various authors.[125] It is interesting to note his belief in white agency in the carrying out of change in South African society, a notion also present with Pittard when he commented that "[t]he manner in which we will shape the souls of the conquered peoples will determine the happy or unhappy solution."[126] Junod therefore cannot be regarded merely as a "beholder"[127] but also as an advocate of an active role in effecting change.

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[124] Junod, *Zidji*, p. v.
[125] Junod, "Junod, Henri Alexandre", p. 332; Loze, "The late Dr. Henri Alexander Junod", p. 122.
[126] Junod Archives, 5.3: *Zidji, étude de mœurs sud-africaines*, book review in *Journal de Genève*.
[127] Harries, "Through the eyes of the beholder", p.1.

Thus, from the above discussion it is clear that Junod does not present a homogeneous view of the white South Africans in his novel. The same is true of his depiction of black South Africans. In all the contexts in which Zidji finds himself, he either encounters those who are scoundrels or those who are naturally noble. Mankelu is an example of a noble pagan who, despite his adherence to his culture, possesses principles worthy of admiration. In contrast is the deceitful Gouanazi of the circumcision school who, even after his conversion later in the novel, is associated with the debauchery of the Ethiopians. Among the Christians on the mission station there are also distinctions. On the one side, there is Bartimeus, the evangelist whose example eventually moves Zidji to conversion. On the other side is Shilote, the son of a convert, who continually mocks Zidji for his pagan status and who eventually is caught stealing from the missionary's wife. In town Zidji meets blacks from a wide range of backgrounds, from the cultivated scholar Kimbe to the more "savage" men of the mining compound.

Zidji therefore shows that Junod was aware of the complexities and subtleties of South African society. Undoubtedly his account bears his own prejudices, but he shows himself to be free of notions of white supremacy. As stated earlier, he presents a common humanity where both races have good and bad representatives. It is therefore perhaps too extreme to say, as Harries does, that he contributed to the notions of "race as a social category".[128] Instead in the novel he shows fissures and differences within racial categories, creating a portrait of the multiplicity of the South African population.

While *Zidji* presents a picture of hope in the future of South Africa, it is also very critical of European colonialism. Through Zidji's experiences, the faults of squatter farming, sharecropping, and the pass system are exposed. Working on the mine, Zidji encounters the horrors of the mining compound with its police, male rape and poor living conditions. Junod felt strongly about the detrimental effect of civilization as he stated in *The life of a South African tribe* II:

> But the *curses* of civilization far exceed its blessings for the South African Native: he has lost far more through it than he has gained. Amongst them are the loss of political interest and responsibility; the loss of hierarchic

[128] Harries, "The theory and practice of race", p. 54.

> respect for the chiefs and elder brothers; the loss of personal dignity; in addition may be noticed a decrease of religious faith and respect for taboos.
> Further, the vices of Civilisation have found a lamentably ready welcome on the part of these Primitives: alcoholism of a degraded type, onanism, sodomy, looseness of morals,- and these have caused new and very dangerous diseases which are now quickly spreading amongst them...not to speak of the criminal instincts which have developed under these influences, murder, and rape.[129]

Junod regarded civilization as dangerous for the rural black man. His view is embodied well in the following metaphor:

> And in this way civilization, with its gold and deceptive promises, like a gigantic torch lit on the African plain, attracts to itself all the moths of the bush, from the Cape to Delagoa and from Delagoa to the Zambezi. And the black moths burn their wings on this destructive flame.[130]

Another characteristic of the novel is the graphic details it includes, especially regarding negative aspects of society. Pittard comments that,

> Some readers may find that certain details in the first [paganism] and the third sections [civilization] could have been omitted. I am of the exact opposite opinion. It is necessary to call things by their name and to describe them as they really exist. The patient who hides from the doctor is in the wrong.[131]

Pittard continues,

> The last [section] (at the school of civilization) includes some somber pages. They are not to the credit of Whites. Life on the mine and the shameful promiscuity of the Compounds are the subject of vivid and distressing descriptions.[132]

This is another reason why Pittard termed the novel “a book of courage” as Junod shows that he does not shy away from certain topics, but broaches “unpleasant” and controversial issues such as circumcision, homosexuality and living conditions on the mines candidly.

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[129] Junod, *The life of a South African tribe* II, p. 629.
[130] Junod, *Zidji*, p. 260.
[131] Junod Archives, 5.3: *Zidji, étude de mœurs sud-africaines*, book review in *Journal de Genève*.

Another aspect of civilization presented in *Zidji*, is the matter of racial discrimination. As a story written from the perspective of a black man, *Zidji* explores experiences of living under the system of white colonialism. Zidji encounters discrimination in both a formal and an informal way. On the one hand, he encounters the limitations of the pass system, taxes and contractual mine work, and on the other hand he is the unwarranted object of suspicion under his various white employers.

Junod voices his criticism of the white administration through the characters in *Zidji*. For example, the evangelist Kimbe says with respect to passbooks and racial policies on the railways:

> "What!" he said. "We cannot walk at liberty as we please in the land which was ours before the white men came! And we must pay two shillings a month to obtain this scrap of paper! And what about the prohibition to walk on the pavements or enter first or second-class railways-cars? Our money is as good as that of the Whites!"[133]

Against the bitterness created by the discriminatory system of the Transvaal, Junod contrasts the democratic bliss of the qualified Cape franchise. This is the missionary solution to the situation in South Africa.[134] In his first volume of *The life of a South African tribe*, Junod uses the success of the Cape franchise as an argument in favour of a qualified black vote in the rest of the Union. He explains that a qualified franchise would inspire blacks to become educated and civilized, thus uplifting the black population and benefiting South Africa.[135]

In *Zidji* the qualified franchise in all the provinces is held up as the ideal and black representation is the subject of lively discussions during Zidji's stay at Hopevale. On one occasion, a black journalist and politician is invited to talk to the students. One of the teachers asks him whether the formation of a black parliament to advise the government

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[132] *Ibid*.
[133] Junod, *Zidji*, pp. 275-276.
[134] Smith, *The changing past*, p. 133.
[135] Junod, *The life of a South African tribe* II, pp. 544-546.

on black affairs would be a suitable solution to black representation. He responds as follows:

> "That manner of approaching the situation could be suitable for the colonies who do not yet have the vote and could be a first step in their political emancipation; it could be justified by the fact that they still have very few educated natives. But here, in the Cape, where we have more and better things, it would be a setback to which we could never consent!"[136]

Junod's text therefore shows careful reflection regarding the political future of blacks in South Africa, and a conviction in the necessity and legitimacy of political equality. There is even the suggestion, through the voice of the same black journalist, that the white vote also be qualified and, after witnessing Junod's array of representatives of white society, this notion seems completely legitimate. Junod's advice to blacks was to pursue education and civilization in order to prove to whites that they merited the franchise. The missionary's last conversation with Zidji expresses this:

> "Do you remember that for each man here below there are not only rights, but also, and above all, duties? I fear lest in demanding your rights, you may forget your duties. Yet these are the essentials. What is lacking in your race is character. That must be formed, before everything else, and it is the Spirit of God, working by His Word, which will give you character. Some among you have already got it. Work to create it in others. The Boers are not so bad. Without doubt they have often treated you harshly. But the trials of the war have changed them very much. You are not ignorant of the fact that those who govern now have a very different point of view to Kruger's partisans. They are better disposed, and wish that you would be as happy in the Transvaal as at the Cape. If you educate yourselves, if you cast off savagery, and superstition, believe me, they will not always treat you as slaves, and the day will come when you will acquire political freedom, not by arms, but by hard work and education."[137]

Junod echoed this advice in the first volume of *The life of a South African tribe* when he quoted a paper from the House of Commons:

> The Natives, men, women, and children, must bend their energies to the advancement of themselves in all that civilisation and true Christianity

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[136] Junod, *Zidji*, p. 320.
[137] *Ibid*., pp. 329-330.

> means, so that their claim to equality of treatment for all civilised British subjects may be irresistible...[138]

It is interesting to note that even though Junod was not a British subject, he displayed a trait typical of many missionaries, that is, while he did not make many political judgements, he preferred British rule to the Boers.[139]

While the qualified black franchise was the ideal, Junod presented two possibilities to address the immediate frustrations of blacks. The better way involved missionaries while the other option was for blacks to take matters into their own hands. Kimbe introduces Zidji to the latter option:

> "...without these men, these missionaries, I don't know what would become of us. They are our only true friends. But they cannot do everything. It is our business to train ourselves to be the defenders of our race. When we have our own lawyers, and our own doctors, as we already have our own pastors, you will see what progress we shall make..."[140]

But Junod brings his hero around to his point which is that "without the concurrence and the help of whites, the blacks will achieve nothing."[141] And the teachers at Hopevale voice the same opinion by saying to their students, "Don't speak too much of rights! Ask for help and you will get it..."[142] Various reasons could be attributed to Junod's belief in the need for the collaboration of whites in the establishing of a positive future for blacks in South Africa. He was, after all, a missionary himself and therefore must have been convinced of the worth of the missionary task. He could be considered more critically as being Eurocentric and of protecting his alliance to the state. This was a problem for many missionaries who had to balance their convictions with their political allegiance.[143]

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[138] Quoted in H. A. Junod, *The life of a South African tribe* I, p. 549.
[139] Smith, *The changing past*, pp. 23-24.
[140] Junod, *Zidji*, p. 279.
[141] *Ibid*., p. 317.
[142] *Ibid*., p. 318.
[143] Hofmeyr and Pillay (eds.), *A history of Christianity in South Africa*, pp. 123-124 & 142.

Recent studies, however, have shown that the relationship between missionaries and colonial governments was not as close as has been previously assumed.[144]

4.4. Relationship and interaction

Although Junod divided his narrative into three sections, each relating to one of the influences that have been discussed above, each of these three aspects of South African life did not exist in isolation, and their relative importance and interaction needs to be considered. Incidents in which these various forces come into contact are illustrative of Junod's perception of the status of each of these influences and justify again H.P. Junod's terming *Zidji* "a description of race contact and the ethnography of transition."[145]

One of the first meetings of these forces takes place during the circumcision school. The leaders of the *Ngoma* hold a meeting with the missionary to protest about a young convert who had been taken away from the circumcision school and given refuge at the mission station. It was a meeting of :

> ...two spirits and two laws, two civilizations and two ideals: the heathen custom which subjects men to its iron yoke, and the Christian truth which proclaims the freedom of the individual and the necessity of obedience to duty.[146]

The missionary refused to turn the young man over to the tribal leaders, saying that while the convert had civil responsibilities to the chief, as a Christian he could not compromise his beliefs by taking part in the initiation school. The leaders of the tribe were naturally agitated but could not take any action against the missionary. The pagans had to give way to the missionary as a representative of civilization with its superior military force and thus "in the rigid robe of all-powerful custom a rent had been made."[147]

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[144] A. Porter, "Religion and empire: British expansion in the long nineteenth century, 1780-1914", *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 20(3), 1992, pp. 370-390.
[145] Junod, "The Vathonga", p. 27.
[146] Junod, *Zidji*, pp. 70-71.
[147] *Ibid*., p. 72.

The pagans, however, see the missionary as a more favourable representative of civilization than the Boers. His role as a mediator and counselor between them and the Boers in the past had given them faith in him and based on this they respected him:

> "...He was a true shield for us. Without him where should we have been today? He is our friend. If he says that everyone has liberty to come, or not to come, to the Ngoma, we must believe he is right."[148]

This is a point that Junod stresses: while the missionary's status was assured by his political allegiance, as far as the black affairs were concerned, the mission station was far superior. For example, when a child's body is found in the river, it is the missionary's superior knowledge of tribal customs and his network of black informants that solve the case. Junod confidently states:

> The white judicial authorities would never have arrived at this explanation by themselves![149]

Another good example of the meeting of paganism, Christianity and civilization, is the story of Jacob the evangelist.[150] It was discovered that Jacob had been committing adultery for several years. His mistress's brother wanted compensation according to the ways of the African tribunals because his sister was pregnant. Jacob was reluctant to pay, but the threat of an English court caused him to give in. The missionary was the mediator of these events and as Jacob was an evangelist, he disciplined him by forcing him to give up his position. This incident highlights some of the main characteristics of the forces at play in *Zidji*. Jacob, by committing adultery, had fallen back to the immorality of paganism. The missionary reaction was to discipline Jacob as a child, while the pagan wanted compensation. In the background stood the English commissioner who, without being personally involved in the situation and with no real understanding, would mete out a terrible judgement. Again, the missionary's superiority is demonstrated.

Thus, in the relationship between paganism and Christianity, the latter seems to be the bearer of power based on its relationship to wider white civilization and particularly

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[148] *Ibid*.
[149] *Ibid*., p. 146.
[150] *Ibid*., pp. 202-207.

white authority. *Zidji* does however give evidence of the "negotiation and exchange"[151] in the encounter between these influences. Again Mankelu illustrates the position of paganism in this regard and his reasons for allowing the missionaries to establish themselves in his region highlight his agency in the relationship. Junod describes him as follows:

> Although he was a convinced pagan, he had been one of the first to agree that it was necessary to receive the missionaries in the region. Several reasons, political and other, had pushed him to favour the establishment of a white preacher among the tribe. He was thus cut out to defend the Christians, and this is what he did with wisdom and moderation.[152]

It could be argued that Mankelu had been forced to make such a decision, based on the political threat of colonialism. Nonetheless by receiving the missionaries, he opened the door to the "long conversation"[153] between pagan society and Christianity. Porter comments that,

> 'cultural imperialism' can hardly be sustained by force. To become a reality, it requires – perhaps more than any other form of control – a significant measure of collaboration, compliance, and freedom to choose on the part of the colonized.[154]

In the case of *Zidji*, however, unlike the Comaroff's study, the "conversation" is not only between the Tsonga and the missionaries,[155] but also includes the wider spectrum of white society in South Africa.

Zidji records the social change caused by colonialism which is absent from Junod's other writing.[156] The Comaroffs comment on missionary endeavours "to inculcate in it [the indigenous world] the hegemonic signs and practices – the spatial, linguistic, ritual and political *forms* – of European culture."[157] Over and above the Christian message, the

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[151] De Kok, Review of *Of revelation and revolution*, p. 260.
[152] Junod, *Zidji*, p. 65.
[153] Comaroff, *Of revelation and revolution* I, p. 171.
[154] Porter, "'Cultural imperialism' and Protestant missionary enterprise", p. 385.
[155] Du Bruyn, "Of muffled Southern Tswana and overwhelming missionaries", pp. 301-302.
[156] Harries, "The anthropologist as historian and liberal", p. 40.
[157] Comaroff, *Of revelation and revolution* I, p. 311.

missionaries profoundly affected the indigenous way of life and introduced a new hegemony in which new practices and symbols became significant. In *Zidji* a recurrent theme is related to dress and clothing. Junod displays his extensive knowledge of Tsonga culture in the opening chapters, giving detailed descriptions of various forms of clothing. It is interesting to note, however, that Zidji's progress is marked to a large extent by his clothing. In order to seek employment at the mission station, Zidji acquires a suit of white clothing, at which point Junod comments, "when the black man begins to dress up, it is a sign that he is biting at civilization."[158] The Jacobsons make Zidji dress up as a Zanzibarian in order to serve them, thus keeping him in the position of "the other" and therefore inferior. The Ethiopian minister's unwillingness to remove his shoes to cross the river also highlights the significance of dress related to social position.

Education is another element of white culture which grows in Zidji's esteem in the novel. As a man whose whole life was spent studying, Junod definitely held education in high regard. Early on Zidji comes to understand "that one thing is worth more than money, even more than a wife: education."[159] In one sense the novel is an account of Zidji's pursuit of education, the climax of which is his time at Hopevale. The chief proponent of education in the novel is Kimbe, a teacher and evangelist living in Johannesburg. He is described as follows:

> He thirsted for science. He had passed all his teaching exams with honours at a teachers training school in the Cape Colony. During his entire schooling career, he had never failed, because he had an excellent memory and he placed his pride in knowing all his lessons by heart. Science was sufficient for him. He did not dream of marrying. He was born a eunuch, if not for the Kingdom of God, at any rate for the Kingdom of Knowledge.[160]

An irony related to Kimbe is that although he desired "to prove that he was the equal of whites by his intelligence",[161] "he was a black man and wished to remain one."[162] He had thus accepted a white standard of education while at the same time wanting to keep his

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[158] Junod, *Zidji*, p. 131.
[159] *Ibid*., p. 135.
[160] *Ibid*., p. 275.
[161] *Ibid*.
[162] *Ibid*.

status as a black. Porter points out that "[t]he cultural impact of schools was … fundamentally determined by what colonial peoples wanted to take from them".[163] *Zidji* also bears witness to this, as ultimately Zidji does not use his missionary education for religious purposes, but chooses to pursue a career which he believes will aid black rights. Historian N. Etherington comments on "the high correlation between missionary training and secular leadership"[164] and thus Zidji's choice of career causes him to fall into this category of mission educated blacks who often pursued political careers.

Junod's solution to the issue of race and inequality had two sides: salvation, which included accepting Christianity and living according to Christian ethics, and civilization, which involved education. In Junod's eyes salvation creates a depth of sentiment and a sense of responsibility. He describes Zidji as follows:

> If he had been a raw savage of the bush, he would have turned over on his side and have ceased to dream about anything. But his soul had been elevated during his stay at the Station. Sentiments of refinement had been awakened in him, by the study of the Divine Word. The ideal of life which the missionaries had taught him had transformed and spiritualised his mind. Without his perceiving it, a more enlightened altruism had arisen in his heart. He had recognised that his race was in danger of ruin and he had consecrated himself to its uplifting. In a moment of forgetfulness, he had thrown his vocation on one side. But his nature was too deep for it to be entirely and forever lost. At this moment it reawakened, in a vague way, but quite strongly enough to cause Zidji to contemplate the new abysses into which his people had begun to slip down.[165]

By civilization, Junod felt that in order to be taken seriously by whites, black society needed to uplift itself through education and by throwing off immorality. After witnessing a raucous "tea meeting" held by the Ethiopians, an independent black denomination Zidji's reaction demonstrates Junod's feeling:

> "To raise, to save our race!" thought Zidji, while walking about the streets of Johannesburg. "It is a very difficult thing; because we must be saved, not only from the injustice of the Whites, but from our own iniquities.

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[163] Porter, "'Cultural imperialism' and Protestant missionary enterprise", p. 382.
[164] N. Etherington, "Mission station melting pots as a factor in the rise of South African black nationalism", *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* 9(4), 1976, p. 592.
[165] Junod, *Zidji*, p. 261.

> These men would lead us to ruin. What childishness! And what do our enemies say when they see such sights? They must despise us and say we are only dressed-up monkeys!"[166]

Junod's text aims to prove that the alliance of these two forces is the solution to the position of black people in South Africa. Zidji's experiences lead him to various aspects and combinations of the three forces – paganism, Christianity and civilization – which Junod's saw as operating in South Africa. These cause him to choose Junod's solution, as he expresses to his father at the end of the novel:

> "Father, if we want our race to be saved, we can only obtain its upliftment through education and the Gospel."[167]

The end of the novel shows Zidji on his way to Pietersburg to become a court interpreter, with the aspiration of editing a newspaper that will promote black rights. It must be asked whether Zidji at this stage embodies Junod's ideal of a successful black man. Zidji's final interview with *Moneri* reveals the missionary's belief that "those who suffer and struggle for the sake of training characters do the best work for the upliftment of the blacks."[168] He charges Zidji to remember his friends who are working to convert souls and to remain united with them. There is thus a sense that the missionary, and by implication Junod, is an advocate of religious work rather than the secular approach which Zidji takes. In contrast to Zidji is the evangelist Bartimeus who, at the end of the novel, is ordained as the mission's first black pastor, and thus becomes a symbol of black advancement and equality.

But, Junod reveals himself to be more open-minded than merely expecting Zidji to pursue a religious career. Zidji is imbued with a sense of destiny. At one point, when the missionary meets his young convert again in Johannesburg, he is tempted to take him back to the mission station with him, but feels that "[p]erhaps this young man was

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[166] *Ibid*., p. 297.
[167] *Ibid*., p. 326.
[168] *Ibid*., p. 330.

destined to accomplish a more important work".[169] When Zidji tells the missionary of his plans at the end of the novel, he reacts in the following way:

> Moneri looked at the young man with a kind but slightly doubtful smile. He knew the human race and the South African colonists. He knew what kind of bronze wall this courageous boy had resolved to knock his head against. But this decision, this hope in the future, pleased him.[170]

The final message of Zidji is one of hope. As Zidji leaves the mission station on his way to work in Pietersburg,

> ...it seemed to him as if the pure air of the heights exalted and purified his inspiration. The Morning-Star rose in the sky. Already the glimmering of dawn appeared at the end of the desert; far away in the east, behind the pointed hills, the valleys where the black people dwelt were gradually growing light.
> "The dawn is breaking," he said to himself. "Soon my race will wake up and expand in the light. Courage! child of the black country. Go! fight for your own people and prepare a better future for them. God reigns, and the sun is about to appear!"
> Then, coming suddenly out of his long reverie, Zidji again took his little parcel in his hand. He remembered that the way to Pietersburg was long and hard and, turning his back resolutely on the immense plain, he set off in haste towards his destiny.[171]

Pittard comments,

> It is probably good that this book ends on a page of hope. To those who are responsible, to aid good desires. Civilization (?) should not have the sole influence of causing the disintegration of the black race. It should breathe life into it, not death.[172]

Thus, in spite of the largely dark picture painted by Junod of the state of affairs in South Africa related to black people, he shows himself to be an optimist with faith in certain white efforts, and particularly white missionary efforts, to care for and improve the situation of blacks.

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[169] *Ibid*., p. 291.
[170] *Ibid*., p. 329.
[171] *Ibid*., pp. 332-333.
[172] Junod Archives, 5.3: *Zidji, étude de mœurs sud-africaines*, book review in *Journal de Genève*.

5. Conclusion

Junod's combination of fact and fiction in the form of a novel was a unique means for him to express himself. This form, free from the scientific demands of his anthropological works and the trappings of the missionary society publications, gave him the full liberty to voice his perspective regarding South African society. The result of his choice of the novel was therefore not a light piece of fiction, but a serious work which endeavoured to paint a full and authentic picture of life.

Junod's structuring of the novel around the experience of an individual also makes his work unique – both as an example of social history and in terms of missionary studies. The novel is therefore remarkable for its time due to the fact that it attempts to portray an ordinary black man's experience of colonialism, using this individual to approach a wide range of issues. Furthermore, an examination of the subjectivity in the novel reveals the various ways in which Junod's voice permeates the text, and highlights Junod's presence in the text. This evidence of blatant subjectivity adds to the value of this text in the study of Junod, as he is very much a part of his novel. Therefore the perspective, arguments and issues addressed in the novel are of interest in unlocking his point of view and can be studied as an example of his perspective.

The main feature of Junod's perspective as it is presented in the novel is his view of the three influences (paganism, Christianity and civilization) acting on the black population in South Africa. His discussion of these three factors is the central focus of the novel and the complex picture which he draws of their particular roles and interactions is unique to this text. In this rather lengthy novel he explores these three factors in a detailed way, in order to produce a "complete" picture of South African life.

In his portrayal of South African life, Junod's text highlights the complexities and multiple layers within this society. His presentation of both black and white characters in the novel shows his awareness of the fact that racial groups were not homogeneous entities. In fact, the wide range of characters seems to point to his desire to highlight the diversity of the South African population. Thus, the novel not only demonstrates vividly

his extensive knowledge of South African society, but also is evidence of Junod's liberal view of racial equality. This text therefore offers a unique view of Junod's sentiments and perceptions of South African society.

Finally, much of the contemporary discussion regarding the history of the missionary encounter can be applied to the novel, which itself is an attempt to unlock the effects of colonialism in South Africa. In light of these fresh approaches to missionary history, *Zidji* is a text of particular interest in the study of the missionary perspective and colonialism.

VI. CONCLUSION

As indicated in chapter two, there is a need for more biography in missionary studies in order to understand the missionary. In addition, what is needed is not merely compendious biography, but also interpretative biography which through its consideration of perspective and dimension can lead to a fuller three dimensional view of the subject. For this reason, it is useful to examine the existing literature available on the subject, which combined with further study of new dimensions may result in a more complete and impartial picture.

The value of studying a person's writings as a biographical source was also pointed out in chapter two. These writings are generally directed at a contemporary audience and therefore shed light on the individual's relationship with the society in which he or she lived. It is thus possible to position individuals within their context, showing how they either differ or follow the prevailing trends of the era.

In the case of H.A. Junod, many of his writings have received scholarly attention, and various aspects as well as various interpretations have been highlighted. His novel, however, is unique among his other publications and has not received adequate treatment. His use of fiction constituted a particular form of expression. In a sense the novel resolved "the conflict between the romantic and the objective scholar"[1] by giving Junod the freedom to combine his scientific knowledge with the imaginative and emotive elements of fiction. It also provided him with a genre in which he could express views which were probably not permissible in the missionary literature.

Harries has stated that Junod was in an ideal position to describe social change related to colonialism, but that he "expressed no interest in colonialism and in the social change that it engendered".[2] Furthermore, Harries stated that Junod, as an ethnographer, considered it his task to record the "normal" condition of tribal life, while disregarding social change.

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[1] Harries, "Field sciences in scientific fields", p. 27.
[2] Harries, "The anthropologist as historian and liberal", p. 40.

Harries therefore claims that Junod "romanticises" the African reality. However, it becomes apparent in *Zidji* that Junod did have a keen interest in social change and that he was not blind to the rapid changes in South African society. The dense discussion of a broad spectrum of South African social questions in *Zidji* is in stark contrast to any of his other publications. His social commentary, which was missing in many of his scientific writings, is the main feature of this novel thus making it essential to an understanding of Junod. The novel demonstrates that Junod was not unaware of social issues, but in fact was a keen and critical observer of South African society. *Zidji* can thus be considered his record of social change in South Africa, or as H.P. Junod quite correctly stated, "a description of race contact and the ethnography of transition."[3] *Zidji* is unique among Junod's work as a discussion and depiction of South African society and in particular of the three influences – paganism, Christianity and civilization – which Junod regarded as acting upon black people.

In addition to describing social change, Junod used *Zidji* as a vehicle for social criticism. In the novel, representatives of all sectors of South African society are brought under Junod's scrutiny. Junod's use of humour is an interesting feature of his criticism. On the one hand it points to the absurd social situation in South Africa, while on the other hand it may be evidence of Junod's tact as it softens his critique.

The description of tribal life in *Zidji* does indeed confirm that Junod held a relatively romantic view of African life. It may be too strong, however, to term Junod a social reactionary as Harries has.[4] The evolution of Junod's main character in the novel shows that it is perhaps too much to say that Junod preferred the maintenance of a rural tribal life. There is a sense of progress in *Zidji* which distances the hero from his tribal roots. Thus, the novel confirms Junod's so-called "evolutionary perspective", and indicates that it was possibly stronger than his "romantic" view of Africa.

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[3] Junod, "The Vathonga", p. 27.
[4] Harries, "The anthropologist as historian and liberal", p. 41.

Harries has criticized Junod for simplifying ethnic realities through classification. The diversity of characters in *Zidji*, however, shows Junod's awareness of many sections of the South African population. There is no simple division in the novel between black and white, but rather a multiplicity of sub-categories within the races. Many of Junod's descriptions are indeed stereotypes, but nonetheless his description is remarkable for a time in which black and white were treated as homogeneous wholes. Perhaps Junod's careful presentation of each South African character is a finer type of classification, but it nonetheless shows his consciousness of the many levels of the society and, far from being a crude classification, highlights the complexities of the South African social situation.

This presentation of South African society therefore does not support the idea that Junod contributed to the notion of race as an entity and thus to segregation philosophies.[5] On the contrary, Junod's text emphasizes the common humanity that exists between the races and the need of collaboration between black and white for the future of South Africa.

Junod has often been used in studies as a representative of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and his publications have been studied in order to unlock the predominant thinking of the time in which he lived. He usually appears as a product of the philosophies of his age, and as a person unable to distance himself from them. *Zidji*, however, shows Junod to be a relatively liberal and critical thinker. Undoubtedly he bears the influences of his age, but his views show that he is both questioning and open-minded. Junod's audience also bears witness to the unique quality of his work. On the one hand, Junod himself identified a very specific audience for his novel, "intelligent Christians", thus indicating that it was not an appeal to a general audience. On the other hand, Pittard's review of *Zidji* is full of congratulations to Junod for having challenged and distanced himself from contemporary prejudices. Thus, the novel is a testimony of Junod's uniqueness and his progressive thinking.

[5] Harries, "Exclusion, classification and internal colonialism", pp. 82-117.

Zidji confirms Junod's status as "a European in Africa",[6] as the novel is primarily aimed at making Africa comprehensible to Europeans of the time. Junod uses European standards in order to compare and describe African realities and writes with a European audience in mind. What is interesting to note in *Zidji* is that Junod not only attempts to order black Africa, but also spends much time unlocking colonial Africa, including the colonists, which is not the case with his other ethnographic writing. He thus was a European in Africa giving meaning to not only Africans but also to other Europeans in Africa.

But even the image of Africa given in *Zidji* is remarkable, and confirms the prevailing view of Junod's ethnographic work. *Zidji* endorses Stanely Friesen's view of Junod's uncondemning, scientific stance towards tribal religion. While paganism appears in one of its most cruel forms in the novel, it is also presented as part of progress and as the beginning stage in the hero's development. Junod carefully and knowledgeably describes tribal customs, pointing out their origins and meaning. While Zidji leaves paganism behind without regret, his pagan roots are treated seriously and sympathetically. *Zidji* further emphasizes Junod's weight as ethnographer in its meticulous ethnographic details and descriptions. This is not an example of light or sensational fiction, as were many novels on Africa at the time, but bears the mark of Junod's authority.

A noteworthy feature of *Zidji* is Junod's direct approach to race relations in South Africa. He speaks freely regarding the corruption of white society and regarding his belief in the superiority of the missionary endeavour, offering his solution in a frank way. This book therefore touches Junod's missionary perspective and his unashamed position as a missionary, thus bearing testimony to his missionary devotion emphasized by the missionary writings regarding Junod.

In addition, *Zidji* presents Junod in a more active stance than what is apparent in his other work. While on the one hand it is his goal to paint a picture of South African life, his

[6] Harries, "Through the eyes of the beholder", p. 1.

deeper concern in the novel is that of "encouraging and stimulating others".[7] In a sense Junod cannot therefore by labeled merely a "beholder",[8] and more than only observing the South African context, he considered solutions, for which there is a great sense of urgency in the novel.

Zidji also shows Junod to be an idealist who is willing to strive for the unattainable. Junod realises the difficulty of race relations in South Africa, but in much the same way that the missionary encourages Zidji to pursue his aims in spite of the very real wall which he will come up against, he still presents a picture of hope. In a very optimistic way, he unveils his ideal of the future upliftment and empowerment of black South Africa. His novel is written to inspire whites to champion the institutions which will educate and train black South Africans towards equality. He therefore fits the epithet "champion of the natives" – a status conferred on him by Loze when he commented on Junod's deep feeling concerning the future of black people.[9]

Junod's *Zidji*, while it was termed a "missionary novel",[10] was therefore not a mere blind call to spread the gospel in "heathen Africa". It is a sensitive and detailed book, aiming to cultivate comprehension among Europeans for black Africans and therefore to help in the offering of suitable help. The novel thus aims to elicit sympathy and understanding for blacks within the broader South African context.

Furthermore, Junod's novel also serves to confirm many of the perspectives given on Junod in the literature on him. His well-informed, scientific, meticulous nature finds a balance in the novel with his concern for the black population. The novel highlights his status as an expert in the field of anthropology, and as a devoted missionary, and appears to be a form which allowed him to combine his diverse interests. The novel also points to Junod's complex and varied character, as it shows him to be a romanticist, an evolutionist and an idealist.

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[7] Junod, *Zidji*, p. vi.
[8] Harries, "Through the eyes of the beholder", p. 1.
[9] Loze, "The late Dr. Henri Alexander Junod", p. 122.
[10] Hassing, "Junod, Henri-Alexandre", p. 315.

Various authors have called Junod a pioneer, and it is not too much to say that among his publications *Zidji* was a pioneering work. It is a rare example of a missionary perspective on the colonial situation in South Africa. In addition, it is a unique critique of Europeans by a European. Its focus on the individual and the liberality of ideas expressed in the novel also make it a remarkable text. Junod certainly proved in the novel that he was a free and critical thinker and he paints a perceptive portrait of South African society at the turn of the twentieth century.

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V INTERVIEWS

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