

# “Let’s do things on our own ...”: Gender and class dynamics during the quest to restore Inanda Seminary’s financial integrity, 1999-2001

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*It would really be a sin to let this great institution die out while we are all looking*  
Mangosuthu Buthelezi, 1999

## ***Abstract***

During the 1990s, decades of disinvestment caused by Bantu Education prohibited Inanda Seminary from competing equally with other previously advantaged Whites-only private and former public ‘Model C’ schools within South Africa’s new democratic dispensation. In December 1997, after decades of institutional corrosion, the United Congregational Church of Southern Africa decided to close the Seminary. Yet, the Seminary opened in January 1998 under new management composed entirely of middle-class alumnae determined to breathe new life into the school still teetering precariously. This article chronicles three years, 1999 to 2001, thereby documenting the school’s ultimate defeat over and recovery from Bantu Education. Though Inanda Seminary’s middle-class alumnae saved it from closure, its more elite graduates did not initially feature prominently in the school’s financial stabilisation. Rather, men, both serving the church and government (most notably, Nelson Mandela), intervened and provided the crucial financial and infrastructural impetus to salvage the school from the wreck of ecclesiastic decay and establish it as a Section 21 private company. The article explores if and why gender and class dynamics likely played a role in the events leading to the school’s resuscitation. Today, the Seminary is again an extraordinary pioneering school providing quality education to black South African girls.

**Keywords:** Inanda Seminary; Bantu Education; Apartheid; Nelson Mandela; Jacob Zuma; Mangosuthu Buthelezi; Eileen Shandu; Obed Mlaba; Linda Zama; Ben Ngubane; Bonganjalo Goba; Sappi; Jeremiah Wright; Daniel Hoffman; Global Ministries; United Congregational Church of Southern Africa; Judy Tate; Susan Valiquette; Hixonia Nyasulu; Mantombazana Tshabalala-Msimang; Baleka Mbete; Thandeka Mgoduso; Robin Thompson; Barbara Masakela.

## **Introduction**

Inanda Seminary, founded in 1869 by the Congregationalist American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, is an iconic school with a long and prestigious legacy. The Seminary produced pioneering women who, in partnership with their menfolk, substantively influenced events in southern Africa. For example, Nokutela Dube (first wife of John Dube), Dalita and Lucy Isaac (sisters of Pixley Isaka ka Seme), Anna Ntuli (wife of Alfred Mangena), Nokukhanya and Thandeka Luthuli (wife and daughter of Albert Luthuli, respectively), Edith Yengwa (wife of Masabalala Yengwa) and Bongekile Dlomo (wife of Albert Dlomo) all attended the Seminary. Many pioneering Seminary alumnae (affectionately known as “Old Girls”) claim prestigious accomplishments without being historiographically overshadowed by men with whom they may have been partnered.<sup>1</sup> For example, Evelyn Goba (first black female certified educator in Natal), Sibusisiwe Makhanya (first black female certified social worker), Bertha Mkhize (Treason Trial accused), Mavis Mbambo (first black female qualified doctor), Mate Mfusi (first black female to be buried with full military honours), Dr Mantombazana Tshabalala-Msimang (deputy minister of justice and minister of health), Baleka Mbete (deputy president of South Africa and speaker of the national parliament), Nozizwe Madlala-Routledge (deputy minister of defence and health), Nonkululeko Nyembezi-Heita (corporate mogul), Hixonia Nyasulu (board member of numerous blue chip companies), Thandeka Mgoduso (co-founder with Nyasulu of an investment firm, Ayavuna Women’s Investments), Thandi Orleyn (national director of the Commission for Conciliation, Mediation and Arbitration, CCMA), Nozipho Mxakato-Diseko (ambassador to Slovenia, Croatia, Austria and the United Nations), Barbara Masakela (ambassador to France and the United States of America and director of Standard Bank) and Nombulelo Magula (first black female to become the head of Medicine at University of KwaZulu-Natal’s Nelson Mandela School of Medicine in Durban), to highlight just a sample, all attended the Seminary.

In December 1997, the United Congregational Church of Southern Africa (UCCSA) decided to close Inanda Seminary, and thus dissolve the Governing Council, due to profound institutional decay. Esther Sangweni, recalled

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<sup>1</sup> Inanda Seminary produces so many prominent alumnae that often some in high positions are inaccurately credited with being products of the school. For example, former minister of the national parliament and author Ellen Khuzwayo and former Free State premier Ivy Matsepe-Casaburri only taught at the school from 1961 to 1963. T Masemola, “Old Girls rally to save their school”, newspaper unknown, date unknown (likely 1999).

in 2009 the 1997 events that occurred while she was chair of the Inanda Seminary Old Girls Association (ISOGA):<sup>2</sup>

Yeah, in 1997 the church decided to abandon the school. I heard [...] the story has changed – I don't know who has changed the story. [Laughs] The school was, in fact, closed. They closed the school in 1997, the church. Now, with the departure of the missionaries in the early 1970s, the funding from the church in America dwindled, and as a result of that the school – the buildings, and everything else – deteriorated, to the extent that the school couldn't be sustained any more. The church in South Africa didn't pay any money to the school. I mean, over 100 years, the school had been sustained by the mission church in America. And I don't think the church in South Africa had really committed itself to supporting our school. I think that's a fact.

Yet, the school re-opened in January 1998 by a new entity, the Board of Governors (BoG), composed of alumnae (known as the “Committee of Ten” or, later, the “Power of Ten”) who galvanised support for the school's survival and volunteered selflessly to macro and micro-manage it. Notably, the women who composed the Power of Ten were all working and middle-class, almost exclusively active and retired educators and nurses.<sup>3</sup> They were, distinctly, not the prominent political “elite” who in the early years of South Africa's modern democratic dispensation returned from exile triumphantly to take-up political positions of power, prestige and responsibility (for example, Barbara Masakela, Mantombazana Tshabalala-Msimang and Baleka Mbete). Neither were the women who intervened in the crisis management of the school the prominent economic elite (for example, Nonkululeku Nyembezi-Heita, Hixonia Nyasulu and Thandeka Mgoduso). Understandably, it was humble passionate working middle-class women, who were closer to the grassroots, that knew of the Seminary's impending closure and sacrificed their time and energy to save it in 1998.

During 1998, middle-class rather than elite alumnae featured as the catalysts in the initial rescue of Inanda Seminary from closure. Furthermore, during 1999-2001, primarily men, not women, from the ecclesiastic and the political realms, provided the crucial financial interventions that ultimately transferred the school from “critical care” to “stable”. Today, the school thrives and soars,

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2 Inanda Seminary Archive (ISA) at the Lucy Lindley Interpretive Centre, Inanda Seminary Oral History Project (ISOHP), interview, Esther Sangweni, by Meghan Healy-Clancy in Durban, 12 March 2009, p. 8 (available at <http://scholar.harvard.edu/files/mehealy/files/sangweni.pdf?m=1360071229>, as accessed on 27 July 2016).

3 Esther Sangweni (chair and educator), Doris Gogela (educator), Thelma Ngidi (community worker), Zamakhosi Mpanza (educator), June-Rose Mazibuko (nursing sister and Sangweni's sibling), Glenrose Nzimande (educator), Gloria Sosibo (nursing sister), Florence Madlala (treasurer and nursing sister), Bongekile Dlomo (nursing sister) and Nora Moerane (educator).

like a mythical phoenix from the ashes. First, this article attempts to chronicle the appeals made by the Old Girls in 1999 to all who would listen. Second, this article suggests reasons why it was predominantly men, rather than the Seminary's female graduates, who made the vital financial interventions enabling the school to be viable in the medium to long-term following its initial resuscitation in 1998. Third, this article highlights some of the "cultural" cleavages that may have caused the middle-class Old Girls to fail to obtain the support of their more elite sisters from 1999 to 2001.

Inanda Seminary's 1999-2001 history is thus far undocumented. One-time teacher at the school, Agnes Wood, wrote a centenary text, *Shine where you are*, chronicling the first one-hundred years of the school's existence (1869-1969).<sup>4</sup> Perhaps the most authoritative text on the Seminary is Meghan Healy-Clancy's academic *A world of their own: A history of South African women's education*.<sup>5</sup> This text is analytically erudite, but as a chronicle of events it is insufficient. It is understandable that Healy-Clancy's text would be insufficient to reflect on the Seminary's 1999-2001 years, for her text is distinctly a social history, and a social history on, as the title suggests, all of women's education in South Africa (using the school as a microcosm for her larger theses). Healy-Clancy's text focuses on the early years of the Seminary, concludes with 1997 and understandably only provides rudimentary information on the school's most recent history in an epilogue.<sup>6</sup> Numerous articles have been published on the Seminary's history in various academic journals, but none document the events from 1999 to 2001 – a crucial period in the school's financial escape from closure.<sup>7</sup> Even the Seminary's annually published yearbook, *Ezakwamaedwards*, sheds little light on these important years. First, the yearbooks understandably focus on student affairs, not management or finances. Second, during the years in question the Seminary published the yearbooks sporadically due to a shortage of funds and the unavailability of an able and willing editor.<sup>8</sup>

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4 A Wood, *Shine where you are: A (centenary) history of Inanda Seminary, 1869-1969* (Alice, Lovedale Press, 1972).

5 M Healy-Clancy, *A world of their own: A history of South African women's education* (Pietermaritzburg, University of KwaZulu-Natal Press, 2013).

6 M Healy-Clancy, *A world of their own...*, pp. 193-199.

7 These published journal articles are cited throughout this article.

8 The school did not publish yearbooks from 1996-1998. The school published a yearbook in respectively 1999, 2000 and 2001.

## **The demise of a once great historic mission school**

The 1948 election of the white supremacist National Party paved the road for the implementation of Bantu Education. The National Party soon legislated strict policies of segregation, namely, Apartheid. One of Apartheid's key components enforced inferior education, appropriate only for circumscribed roles in society, for people of colour. In order to diminish educational quality for the black majority, Bantu Education intended to thoroughly phase-out what little quality education existed for them at the time. Mission societies throughout southern Africa arguably established as many schools as they did churches and thus provided much, if not all, of the quality education afforded to the country's black majority. Proponents of Bantu Education targeted Inanda Seminary and other schools of its ilk to be shorn, if not uprooted (closed) like its sibling school Adams College in 1957.<sup>9</sup>

Inanda Seminary's positive legacy was so deeply rooted, it took many years for Apartheid legislation to deplete the school's financial and human resources substantively enough to wound. Beginning in 1954, Bantu Education financially limited the Seminary by gradually decreasing its state subsidy, ending it completely in 1957.<sup>10</sup> In addition, the state prohibited the school from charging tuition. To compensate for these two substantive financial restrictions, the American Board increased its financial subsidy to the school. During the 1960s, under the impressive leadership of the redoubtable principal from 1939-1969, Dr Lavinia Scott, the school maintained high standards. In addition, the presence of black South African staff and students well educated and trained in the pre-Apartheid (1948) era delayed the school's suffering.

Inanda Seminary's ability to insulate itself from Bantu Education during the 1960s proved temporary. Beginning in the 1970s, an increasing number of the Seminary's incoming students and black staff received an education adversely affected by Bantu Education.<sup>11</sup> Due to Bantu Education's emphasis on indigenous language as the medium of instruction, many incoming

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9 Today, Adams College (like the Ohlange Institute) is a co-educational public school and is not the same Adams College that was founded by American Board missionaries and closed in 1957. On the other hand, despite Inanda Seminary's 1997 closure, the Seminary remains, since its founding, a private Christian boarding school associated with the institutional descendent of its American Board founders (Global Ministries). South African Government News, "Adams College revamp a lasting legacy for 'born frees'", 27 July 2016 (available at <http://www.sanews.gov.za/south-africa/adams-college-revamp-lasting-legacy-born-frees>, as accessed on 9 August 2016).

10 S Couper, "Fearing for its future: Bantu education's threat of closure to Inanda Seminary", *Journal of Gender & Religion in Africa*, 17(1), July 2011, pp. 74-95.

11 S Couper, "'What am I fit for?': Negative manifestations of Bantu Education at Inanda Seminary during the 1970s", *Prism: A Theological Forum of the United Church of Christ*, 25(1), 2011, pp. 99-125.

students possessed limited English. After twenty years of inferior education, often staff had neither the advanced qualifications nor experience to effectively administer a school. Also beginning in the mid-1970s, missiological de-colonisation transferred leadership and ownership of the Seminary from the well-resourced and equipped “sending church” in the United States of America (United Church of Christ, UCC) to the poorly-resourced and under-equipped indigenous church in southern Africa (UCCSA), effectively rendering the Seminary increasingly financially orphaned by the church.<sup>12</sup>

During the 1980s, institutional decay took root at Inanda Seminary. Ironically, the repeal of Bantu Education and the demise of “petty” Apartheid laws such as segregation of schools during the mid and late-1980s collapsed what little monopoly the Seminary still possessed on the provision of quality education for black girls (in comparison with other schools for blacks, especially in the townships).<sup>13</sup> The school could no longer compete with historically better funded former Whites-only private and former Model C (public) institutions and its most resourced and brightest students began attending those better equipped schools in the suburbs of Durban and Johannesburg.<sup>14</sup> Complicating the financial and personnel limitations, Apartheid’s social landscaping rendered the “depressed informal settlement” in which the Seminary was located a cauldron of poverty, violence, student strikes and political unrest that added external to internal dysfunction.<sup>15</sup>

During the 1990s, the UCCSA, through Inanda Seminary’s Governing Council, tried to administer the school by “remote control”.<sup>16</sup> Institutional decay, fraud and maladministration became prevalent. By 1997, the cumulative damage caused by Bantu Education and internal dysfunction had diminished the school, but its roots were so deep that it survived due to the rehabilitative efforts of its alumnae who in 1998 transferred “control” of the school from the UCCSA to themselves, in time, forming a Section 21 company (Inanda Seminary Education and Development Institute) and managed it as an

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12 S Couper, “What am I fit for? ...”, *Prism* 25(1), 2011, p. 104; M Healy-Clancy, *A world of their own...*, p. 189.

13 S Couper, “...it is clear something is wrong here!': Inanda Seminary's continued survival during the 1980s”, *Historia*, 58(1), May 2013, pp. 74-105.

14 M Healy-Clancy, *A world of their own...*, p. 188.

15 C Hlongwa, “A R1 million pledge rescues Inanda seminary from death”, *City Press*, 15 August, 1999; S Couper, “...it is clear something is wrong here!”, *Historia*, 58(1), May 2013, p. 82; M Healy-Clancy, *A world of their own...*, p. 188.

16 S Couper, “‘Where men fail, women take over’: Inanda seminary’s rescue by its own”, *South African Historical Journal*, 67(1), 2015, pp. 1-31.

independent school.<sup>17</sup> The working and middle-class Power of Ten sought the personal support of more “connected” elite, such as Ivy-Matsepe-Casaburri (then Free State premier) and Baleka Mbete (then deputy speaker of the national parliament).<sup>18</sup> However, as this article highlights, the promised personal support from the more politically and economically empowered Old Girls did not actually materialise. After 1990, many exiled Seminary alumnae returned to South Africa, but their focus understandably became creating a new national democratic dispensation and their own vocations and portfolios and not necessarily the rejuvenation of their *alma mater*.

The Power of Ten spent much of 1998 fighting pitched legal battles with staff and unions in a Herculean effort to claim back the legacy and ethos that the school had all but lost. 1999 began with hope for the future after the Power of Ten learned that the 1998 matriculation students earned a 100 per cent pass rate with 16 exemptions (Bachelor’s passes or university entrances) and two school leaving certificates, the best results in the area. Despite the chaos of the UCCSA’s withdrawal, the school closing in 1997 and the monumental efforts to reconstitute the school in 1998, the school managed to educate. Nonetheless, time to celebrate was short; 1999 would prove to be as difficult as 1998.<sup>19</sup> The political battle to keep the school open was won, but the economic battle to keep it financially viable was very much in doubt.

### **A parade of dignitaries: 1999**

Much advocacy began by the Power of Ten in 1998 finally benefited the Seminary in 1999. In an effort to raise funds for the school, the BoG resorted to soliciting those with whom they had connections, and those connections went to the very top of South Africa’s political and financial elite.<sup>20</sup> Throughout 1999, politically well-connected people visited and promised assistance to the school.<sup>21</sup> In the near future, the visits would be the seeds that financially stabilised the Seminary.

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17 S Couper, Manuscript, “‘The ties that bind’: The wider church’s renegotiated relationships with Inanda Seminary from 1998-2000”, *Journal of Gender & Religion in Africa* (publication pending); M Healy-Clancy, *A world of their own...*, p. 193.

18 M Healy-Clancy, *A world of their own...*, p. 193.

19 Editorial, “Save the Seminary”, *Daily News*, 26 May 1999.

20 The BoG includes the Power of Ten, but is not exclusive of others who are not alumnae.

21 ISA, G Zimu, “Principal’s report”, *Ezakwamabedwards*, 1999, p. 2.

The most valuable visits were those of Eileen kaNkosi Shandu (member of the provincial Executive Council for Education and Culture in KwaZulu-Natal), the Reverend Dr Bonganjalo Goba (vice-chancellor of ML Sultan Technikon and former chairperson of the UCCSA and former Africa executive for the United Church Board for World Ministries), the Reverend Dr Daniel Hoffman (Africa executive for Global Ministries, GM), Dr Ben Ngubane (national minister of Arts and Culture), Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi (national minister of Home Affairs), Jacob Zuma (national deputy president) and Nelson Mandela (former national president).<sup>22</sup> These and other dignitaries served as catalysts for the school's rejuvenation that would come to full fruition after 2003. With the exception of Eileen Shandu, all of the BoG's key supporters itemised were men and thus not alumnae of the school.

On 10 February 1999 and again on 28 February during Inanda Seminary's 130<sup>th</sup> birthday celebrations and later in March, Old Girl, and 1964 head prefect and "Red Letter Bible" recipient (for character, service and influence) Eileen Shandu visited.<sup>23</sup> Shandu was an Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) provincial member of Executive Council (MEC) in 1999. As the keynote speaker at the school's 130<sup>th</sup> anniversary of its founding, Shandu concluded:<sup>24</sup>

The period 1869-1999 is indeed a long period. The Seminary has stood its ground during this time. It has survived many governments. Many a weather of this life have tried our Inanda Seminary in many ways, but it came up tops. It is my duty as the Minister of Education and Culture in the Province to congratulate Mrs S'bongile Esther Sangweni uMaCele and the Board of Governors for the bold steps they have taken to give the Seminary a new life line.

Shandu's visits held out the prospect of the school receiving a grant-in-aid from the government; earlier in November 1998, the Seminary applied for, what amounted to, a subsidy.<sup>25</sup> Shandu stated that "[The] Seminary needs to receive the same attention from government as public schools do. Money was available for use by any school that requests it [sic]."<sup>26</sup> Shandu referred the matter to Frank Ingram and Ulundi processed the application. By the end of

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22 Global Ministries is the successor mission instrumentality of the United Church Board for World Ministries (UCBWM) after the United Church of Christ and the Christian Church/Disciples of Christ united to conduct mission work abroad.

23 ISA, Personalities Files, Eileen kaNkosi Shandu.

24 ISA, Events, 1999, "Speech by Ms EEN kaNkosi Shandu, minister of education, culture, sports recreation and youth affairs in the province of KwaZulu-Natal at the 130<sup>th</sup> birthday celebration of Inanda Seminary", 28 February 1999, p. 6.

25 ISA, Board of Governors Correspondences (BoGC), 1999, Correspondence: HJ de Bruin/E. Sangweni, 8 February 1999.

26 ISA, Board of Governors Meetings (BoGM), "Minutes of BoG", 18 April 1999, p. 2.

March 1999, the grant-in-aid still had not been approved. The failure to receive the grant-in-aid placed the school in a desperate situation. Enrolment was down, expenses were up and teachers' salaries could not be paid. The treasurer of the KwaZulu-Natal Region of the UCCSA and member of the Seminary's Governing Council as late as 1997, the Reverend Robin Thompson, agreed to serve as a promissory for the school and lend the Seminary Rand 200 000 to pay staff salaries.<sup>27</sup> Shandu's visits in February and March 1999 bore fruit when the grant-in-aid of Rand 72 000 per term, or Rand 288 000 per year, was approved by June.<sup>28</sup>

On 17 February 1999, Bonganjalo Goba visited with Daniel Hoffman of GM. During the meeting, the BoG presented Hoffman and Goba with Inanda Seminary's profile, prospectus, mission statement, policy guidelines, financial reports (the first time in many years, according to Goba and Hoffman) and academic staff contracts. The BoG demonstrated their ambition to resurrect the school. Hoffman and Goba expressed their approval with the progress made: "They could not contain their amazement at the faith, loyalty and honesty of the Old Girls". The Old Girls presented the school's finances as most pressing. Hoffman expressed concern that the UCCSA was not expeditiously forwarding funds from GM to the school and decided that "it had now become necessary that he deal with Inanda Seminary direct from now on". The Seminary's treasurer, Florence Madlala, reassured Hoffman that the school obtained a special savings account for all donations received from GM and retained a "renowned" auditor.<sup>29</sup>

Bonganjalo Goba and Daniel Hoffman's meeting closed with Hoffman's proposal to appoint a chaplain to Inanda Seminary, a means by which to offer financial assistance "in kind", in the immediate. GM preferred to donate personnel, rather than money. As Hoffman communicated in March 1999, GM had ceased including the Seminary in the budget while the school was administered by the UCCSA and its Governing Council and funds could not be forthcoming in the forecasted budget until 2001.<sup>30</sup> Hoffman initially made this chaplaincy proposal in January 1999 after the BoG made in 1998 direct request for one to GM.<sup>31</sup> Hoffman related that the proposed chaplain

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27 ISA, BoGM, "Minutes of BoG", 26 March 1999, item 6.1, p. 6.

28 ISA, BoGM, "Meeting of the BoG", 13 June 1999, item 6.4, p. 4.

29 ISA, BoGM, 1999, "Minutes of the meeting between the BoG, school's fundraiser, Hoffman and Goba", 19 February 1999, p. 2.

30 ISA, BoGM, "Minutes of the BoG", 26 March 1999, item 6.1, p. 6.

31 ISA, BoGC, 1999, Daniel Hoffman to Thelma Ngidi, 15 January 1999.

is a thirty-year-old, the Reverend Susan Valiquette, who is “well tested” and expecting her first child soon.<sup>32</sup> The BoG agreed to draft a job description for the chaplain urgently.

In 1999, the BoG felt the presence of a chaplain was desperately needed. Local Congregational ministers, such as the Reverend Bekisipho Dlodla of Beatrice Street church and Gideon Shandu of the Inanda church, visited for special events and guest preached at times, but their *ad hoc* presence was insufficient for the needs of the school.<sup>33</sup> Issues of ‘religious fanaticism’ (in the form of exaggerated and hyper-spiritual worship), ‘lesbianism’ and ‘Satanism’, real or imagined, periodically appear in the school’s reports and obviously wreaked havoc in campus relations. Leon Benny, the deputy principal at the time, recalled:<sup>34</sup>

The students would predict there’s evil spirits there. There’s evil spirits now in the school. So, so [the students] would not sleep at night. The following morning, nothing [happened] at school because of the evil, the evil spirits at the school. All pumped into the children’s minds... .

The BoG generally felt that “the UCC[SA] has neglected the spiritual life of the school and as a result foreign influence came in to fill the vacuum”.<sup>35</sup> The new chaplain was expected to facilitate the school’s return to a soberer and more holistic life of faith. By July 1999, the counselling position held by Old Girl and BoG member Glenrose Nzimande became no longer tenable.<sup>36</sup> Religious education was also needed; the leadership of the Seminary felt the new chaplain would be able to educate and counsel. In June 1999, the school expected Valiquette to arrive in August; she did not arrive until January 2000 due to delays in processing her visa. Today, almost seventeen years later, Valiquette acts as a spiritual keel for the school, providing a link to the past and to the school’s bright future.

Another male cleric, from the UCC in the United States of America, who came to Inanda Seminary’s rescue on more than one occasion was the Reverend Dr Jeremiah Wright. To his credit, like the BoG and Nelson Mandela through

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32 ISA, BoGM, 1999, “Minutes of the meeting between the BoG, school’s fundraiser, Hoffman and Goba”, 19 February 1999, p. 5.

33 ISA, Principal’s Reports (PR), 1999, “The Principal’s Report to be Presented for the UCCSA AGM”, by Gladness Zimu, 23 April 1999, p. 3.

34 ISA, interview, Leon Benny, by Scott Couper at Inanda Seminary, 6 December 2012, p. 8.

35 ISA, BoGM, “Meeting of the Board of Governors”, 3 October 1999, item 4, p. 3.

36 Glenrose Nzimande, who served as a guidance counsellor, brought Inanda Seminary to CCMA for “unfair dismissal” in 2001. ISA, Staff Files, Glenrose Nzimande, Notice of Hearing from CCMA to Bongsi Dlomo and Inanda Seminary, date not legible.

Sappi, Wright saved the school from closure on more than one occasion. Wright annually travelled to South Africa with a delegation from the church he led in Chicago, Illinois: Trinity Church, UCC. Each term seemed to bring a new crisis and providentially 'it just-so-happened' that Dr Wright was visiting. On one occasion, with Florence Madlala in tears and the salaries needing to be paid immediately, Wright opened a chequebook and simply asked, "How much?" Wright's largess was astounding and for the BoG it was "manna from heaven". Wright demonstrated unconditional generosity and trust in the Old Girls, more than once. In 2001, Wright gifted R372 850.<sup>37</sup> These gifts enabled the BoG to within days, if not hours, pay teachers' salaries so classes could resume after the school break.

On 19 February 1999, Dr Ben Ngubane, national minister of Arts and Culture, visited Inanda Seminary and met with the BoG. After being briefed by the BoG's chairperson, Esther Sangweni, Ngubane could not contain his excitement and confided that "the product you are selling is viable".<sup>38</sup> Ngubane suggested that "paper companies, such as Mondi and Sappi ..., should be briefed to buy into the re-development plan" for the Seminary.<sup>39</sup> A week later, the BoG wrote to Nelson Mandela appealing for assistance.<sup>40</sup> Linda (Christobel) Zama played a significant role in advocating for Mandela's intervention. Ngubane's February suggestion later came to fruition as Sappi accompanied Mandela's visit later in the year.<sup>41</sup>

On 18 May 1999, Mangosuthu Buthelezi, national minister of Home Affairs, visited Inanda Seminary. Buthelezi shared a long history with the school as he served on the Seminary's Governing Council from 1972-1975.<sup>42</sup> In addition, he sent three of his daughters to the school in the 1970s (Mandisi, Phumzile and Lethuxolo Buthelezi).<sup>43</sup> In a speech of encouragement to ISOGA, he pondered that "It would really be a sin to let this great institution die out while we are all looking".<sup>44</sup> Like Eileen Shandu, he gave a personal donation to the school which was used to purchase laboratory equipment. In July 1999, while

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37 ISA, "Business plan 2002 & 2003", Income and expenses, unaudited F/Y 2001, section 8.1, p. 30.

38 ISA, BoGM, "Minutes of the meeting between the BoG and pro/fundraiser of Inanda Seminary and national minister for arts, culture, science and technology: Dr Ben Ngubane", 19 February 1999, p. 1.

39 ISA, BoGM, "Minutes of the meeting between the BoG and Ngubane", 19 February 1999, p. 1.

40 ISA, BoGC, 1999, outgoing, correspondence from Esther Sangweni to Nelson Mandela, 26 January 1999.

41 In May 1999, Nelson Mandela's office notified Inanda Seminary that it received the school's invitation to visit. ISA, BoGM, "Meeting of the BoG", 2 May 1999, item 7, p. 2.

42 ISA, BoG Records, "Profile: Mangosuthu Buthelezi", [www.gcis.gov.za/gcis/pdf/profile\\_50.pdf](http://www.gcis.gov.za/gcis/pdf/profile_50.pdf), as accessed on 27 November 2015, p. 13.

43 ISA, Student Files (SF), Mandisi Buthelezi, Lethuxolo Buthelezi and Phumzile Buthelezi.

44 ISA, PR, 1999, "Principal's report 1999", no date provided, p. 1.

recognising that the Department of Education in KwaZulu-Natal extended a grant-in-aid to the Seminary, Buthelezi indicated that he hoped the grant would:<sup>45</sup>

... help the cash-flow problems, while increasing the value of the capital assets held by the Inanda Seminary ... I have always been a strong supporter of the Inanda Seminary which for many years has rendered a very valuable service to our communities. Yours is an institution which stands in our community as a beacon of goodwill, respectability and integrity.

The BoG solicited the assistance of many prominent alumnae: Cynthia Mpati, Linda Zama, Mantombazana Tshabalala-Msimang, Baleka Mbete, Eileen Shandu, Nozizwe Madlala-Routledge, and Barbara Masekela, who was then a director of Standard Bank.<sup>46</sup> Masekela agreed to be the guest of honour at a fund raising dinner to be held on 3 July 1999. However, by the first of July, Masekela apologised for not attending due to sickness and Bonganjalo Goba replaced her as the speaker. The fundraising dinner proved to be a failure, generating a loss of R15 000. In 2009, ten years later, Esther Sangweni reminisced about this time:<sup>47</sup>

And of course ten of us then decided – because I approached a lot – now when you say alumnae, all the time it has been just a few who are active, the rest are just alumnae because they went to Inanda. But once you say hey, let's get to work, you know, a lot of people don't commit. So it has always been a very small group that is active.

In 1999, the BoG lamented that many former Inanda *omembas* lacked commitment (for example, those many who did not attend the fundraising dinner). The Board members resolved to not rely on other high profile people who only disappointed. They concluded: “Most ex-Inanda students lack the commitment. In future, let's do things on our own and not rely on others in future and we shall get a reward”.<sup>48</sup>

The politically influential and economically affluent alumnae were not as supportive as the Power of Ten would have liked for the possible reason that from 1999-2001 Inanda Seminary was in an extremely precarious position. Only in 1998 was it legally confirmed that the school was private and not

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45 ISA, Correspondences, 1999, incoming, correspondence to Esther Sangweni from MG Buthelezi, 6 July 1999. Buthelezi's correspondence was in response to an appeal from Sangweni dated 18 June 1999.

46 ISA, BoGM, 1999, “Meeting of the Board of Governors”, 20 June 1999, pp. 1-2 and 4.

47 ISA, ISOHP, interview, Esther Sangweni, by Meghan Healy-Clancy in Durban, 12 March 2009, p. 8 (available at <http://scholar.harvard.edu/files/mehealy/files/sangweni.pdf?m=1360071229>, as accessed on 27 July 2016).

48 ISA, BoGM, “Meeting of the BoG”, 11 July 1999, item 1, p. 1.

public. Almost on a termly basis, salaries could not be paid. The infrastructural decay of the school was disheartening. The hesitancy for Old Girls who served the government and were involved in corporate finance to involve themselves in risky investment is understandable given their financial acumen. Any investor knows one does not invest until some certainty is demonstrated.

The portfolios that many of the Old Girls had in government and financial sectors did not allow them the spare time to devote themselves to the macro and micro management of a fledgling school. The responsibilities of ministers and deputy ministers, ambassadors and board members to blue chip companies likely very much prohibited the spare time required to assist the Power of Ten. While all of the Power of Ten were based in the Durban area and could thus more easily commute to Inanda township for meetings, many of the more prominent Old Girls travelled abroad extensively, or lived in South Africa's economic heartland, Johannesburg or had cabinet responsibilities in at the seat of the government, Pretoria. Time and logistics alone can explain much failure of many Old Girls to assist in saving the school.

A subtler "cultural" divide caused by exile and non-exile biographies may have also thwarted optimal cooperation between the Power of Ten and the other Old Girls. A subtle unconscious and unspoken dissonance often exists between South Africans who politically fought, resisted or escaped Apartheid abroad and those who remained to fight, resist or co-exist within Apartheid as civil servants (primarily teachers and nurses).<sup>49</sup> This cultural divide between internal and external would not necessarily be realised then nor now. Yet, it is clear from student files, that when some students left Inanda Seminary and South Africa for exile, some of their values understandably changed due to political education, for example, at Fort Hare, and the "external struggle", for example, in the Soviet Union. It is very understandable if the value of "organic" home grown domestic black female vocational leadership produced from the Seminary was viewed differently than those who emphasised a "top-down", birthed from exile, black female political leadership. A hierarchy may have unconsciously been at play, whereby the politically and economically elite Old Girls perceived the working middle-class Power of Ten at the helm of the school in a condescending and "maternal-istic" manner.<sup>50</sup>

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49 J Kani, "Nothing but the truth", film, 78 minutes, English, drama, South Africa, 2008. "*Nothing but the Truth*" is a gripping investigation into the complex dynamic between those blacks who remained in South Africa and risked their lives to lead the struggle against Apartheid and those who returned victoriously after living in exile" (available at <http://www.africanfilm.com/NothingButTheTruth.html>, as accessed on 21 July 2016).

50 Only one member of the Power of Ten, Bongekile Dlomo, lived in exile.

Perhaps the most august occasion of the year occurred on 13 August 1999, when deputy-president Jacob Zuma and former president Nelson Mandela visited Inanda Seminary.<sup>51</sup> Mandela's words echoed Mangosuthu Buthelezi's previously related sentiments saying: "This is a school with a good history. It would be a serious crime for us to allow an institution of this nature to collapse".<sup>52</sup> Mandela's interest in the school is understandable; two of his daughter-in laws, Rennie (Nolusapho) and Zondi (Joyce) Mandela, attended the Seminary.<sup>53</sup>

Very soon after his retirement, Nelson Mandela capitalised on his status as a global icon and facilitated social investment, to the benefit of many organisations, from large corporations such as South African Breweries, International Business Machines and Stocks and Stocks.<sup>54</sup> Allan Wentzel, who with the Power of Ten was a member of the BoG and the UCCSA representative, recalls Mandela's *modus operandi*.<sup>55</sup>

Madiba had this habit of picking-up the phone and saying to CEOs of various companies ..., 'May I speak to Mr van As? Eugene, it's the President and I just want to tell you that you have been selected to give a million Rand to Inanda Seminary'. He had no option but to give it, okay?

During his visit, Nelson Mandela spoke to the students in Inanda Seminary's Lavinia Scott Chapel:<sup>56</sup>

This school has produced many distinguished leaders. Everyone has the potential to become an eminent citizen, not only of South Africa, but of the world. This can only be accomplished with an important weapon – education. With confidence, each one of you will become a leader with an important role to play at the frontline of this country.

One visitor present, Dr Howard Christofersen (former director of the Congregational church's McCord Hospital), recalled in a newsletter:<sup>57</sup>

... Mandela spoke emphasising that there were three historic institutions in Natal that should be preserved and supported, Adams College, Inanda

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51 Perhaps Jacob Zuma was impressed enough with the school that he consented to send his daughter, Brumelda Zuma (Thokozile, Esserina Shoran-Rene), to Inanda Seminary from 2008 to 2011. Her surname changed from Anderson to Zuma in 2011. ISA, SF, Brumelda Zuma.

52 S Khumalo, "Inanda Seminary gets a major boost from Mandela", *Daily News*, 16 August 1999, p. 5.

53 ISA, SF, Rennie Mandela and Zondi Mandela.

54 Hlongwa, "A R1 million pledge rescues Inanda Seminary from death", *City Press*, 15 August, 1999. Anon., "Mandela ropes in big business to help schools", *Sunday Times*, 15 August 1999.

55 ISA, interview, Allan Wentzel, by Scott Couper at Inanda Seminary, 16 August 2013, p. 4.

56 M Peters, "A kiss for Madiba after school is saved", publication and date unknown.

57 ISA, Correspondences, 1999, incoming, newsletter from Howard Christofersen, 1999, p. 2.

Seminary and Ohlange Institute ... Next he introduced [Dr] John Job, chair[person] of Sappi [SA] who announced that his company was giving one million Rand to Inanda [Seminary] for necessary improvements and seconding their chief architect to advise ... And this is what Mandela is doing in his retirement from politics, twisting arms of industrial leaders to provide help for schools and other community needs...

One grade ten student, Nokwazi Ngcongco, fondly remembered the occasion:<sup>58</sup>

I was given the privilege of delivering a response speech to Madiba. I had not anticipated that after my speech, he would stand up and kiss me. I couldn't let the chance pass me by, so I kissed him and clung to him.

Another grade ten student, Lerato Mthembu, wrote:<sup>59</sup>

People came from far and near for the special day. Speeches were made, words of wisdom were given to us ... He had influenced a great number of people in helping our school with some of the problems it has been facing.

Nelson Mandela's visit fostered that which enabled Inanda Seminary's long-term survival following the Power of Ten's salvaging of the school in 1998: the substantive investment of Sappi in the school's infrastructural renovation and a financial subsidy to appoint a high calibre principal, Judy Tate, in November 2002. In September 1999, Sappi visited the Seminary and fell in love with the school's potential "at first sight". Although the Power of Ten's initial goals of the partnership were unrealistically broad (refurbishment of the buildings including the razed Edwards Hall, sports facilities, academic and community outreach programmes), focus would be investment in infrastructural renovation, administrative capacity and leadership. Thereafter, Sappi invested Rand 2.5 million, after initially only promising one million, renovating the school's buildings (minus Edwards and Phelps halls) and contributing initially to the salary of a gifted and strong principal, Judy Tate, who would serve the school for almost two decades (2003-present).

## **2000: Infrastructural renovations**

As in 1999, visitations of prominent personalities lifted the profile of Inanda Seminary and thus attracted investment in its survival. For example, Eileen Shandu visited again on 19 January 2000, with Gideon Zulu (provincial

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58 ISA, L Mthembu, "Thanks to Madiba", *Ezakuphambelwazi*, 2000-2001, p. 25.

59 ISA, N Ngcongco, "The day I kissed Madiba", *Ezakuphambelwazi*, 2000-2001, p. 40.

member of the Executive Council for Pensions and Welfare) and *Amafafa akwaZulu* (KwaZulu-Natal Heritage Council) in tow. Daniel Hoffman again visited on 9 February, no doubt to see how the newly appointed GM missionary chaplain, Susan Valiquette, was faring just over a month after her arrival at the Seminary. eThekweni Metro mayor, councillor Obed Mlaba, visited the school on 18 February 2000. Obed had a vested interest in attracting sponsors for the school, at the time his daughter attended the Seminary (Phumza Mlaba). Sappi also made periodic visits and by March 2000 it had been decided how the one million Rand investment would be spent. Sappi quickly realised that the scope of the needs far exceeded the million Rand promised; to make-up the shortfall, Sappi enlisted the support of other corporations such as Grinaker, Corobrik, KwaZulu-Natal Roofing, Engen, Real Landscapes, Marine Electrical, Maxi Clean and Pests Specialists. By the project's completion, Sappi accomplished a great deal: re-roofing several buildings (except the chapel and its hall, the Mobil Student Centre and the dormitories), repainting the school, stripping and repairing of many floors, protecting Edwards Hall (not restoring it), landscaping (including the replacement of some exotic plants with indigenous ones), paving the main avenue leading to the school, circle and campus paths, reconstruction of the entrance gate, restoration of the chapel's stained glass, restoration of antique furniture, restoration of two pianos, placement of a carpet runner in the chapel, the installation of additional stained glass windows in the chapel and the purchase of a Persian carpet for Stanwood Cottage.

Relational dysfunction and/or institutional confusion stalled progress on the renovations. Contestation over jurisdiction and between personalities, for example between Inanda Seminary alumna Linda Zama, representing ISOGA, and Esther Sangweni, the BoG's chairperson, created tensions.<sup>60</sup> Confusion existed over the roles of the Old Girls of ISOGA and the Old Girls of the BoG (as the Section 21 Company/Inanda Seminary) as it concerned the administration of the school. For example, the ISOGA constituted a "task team" which was viewed by many, including the BoG, as a second and rival board. Sangweni explained:<sup>61</sup>

Because of the tone and animosity shown at this [Old Girls' 4 March 2000] meeting, our feeling as [BoG members] is that this development cannot be taken lightly as it reveals the presence of negative forces working against the efforts to revive the school.

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60 ISA, BoGC, 2000, outgoing, correspondence from Esther Sangweni to Linda Zama, 27 June 2000; ISA, SF, C Zama; L Zama, "Inanda seminary 'old girls' must do their bit", *Daily News*, 5 April 2000.

61 ISA, BoGC, 2000, outgoing, correspondence from Esther Sangweni to Allan Wentzel, 5 April 2000.

Many factors can possibly explain the apparent rift between working middle-class BoG Old Girls and those who were more high profile Old Girls that belonged to the political and economic elite. One factor may have simply been personality. Personality clashes and controversial leadership styles can and do alienate. Given that the Power of Ten and ISOGA were two different alumnae groups with overlapping interests, personality differences alone could account for much discord. For example, ISOGA member, volunteer principal of Inanda Seminary during 2001-2002 and sister of Linda Zama, Cynthia Mpati, highlighted in a report personality and/or leadership style differences between the Power of Ten and her that likely also existed with ISOGA.<sup>62</sup> Mpati explained at length the dysfunctional dynamics:<sup>63</sup>

School management [principal] and governance [BoG] are completely polarised, with a cold or non-existent work professional. There is no productive interaction between these two tiers and no procedures of cooperation and communication. If this pattern persists, it is not clear how, at the end of the [2001] year, informed decisions can be made as to what responsibilities the board can with confidence, wean over to school management in the future. It is also [un]clear how future principals of the school can be expected to perform full heartedly when they wallow in demonstrated non-cooperation by the employer [BoG], within a model where school governance/employer, still want to make a legitimate mark at the operations level. This, is indeed, a double bind situation for any future principal.

Sappi planned to begin the renovations in April (actual 22 May) and complete them in September 2000, in time for the school's "At Home" celebration.<sup>64</sup> There had been a delay with Sappi's offer to renovate as there was much wrangling over what projects were to be prioritised. For example, the Power of Ten felt strongly that Edwards Hall, which was razed to the ground in a 1996 fire, needed to be re-built. The Old Girls' concern was motivated by the fact that "trees were growing out of the decaying shell" of the very building

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62 Cynthia Mpati's vocation is that of an educator. She volunteered to be the very part-time principal of Inanda Seminary during 2001-2002, without pay. At the time, Mpati simultaneously held a prominent post in the Department of Education and hence could be considered part of the 'elite' Old Girls, like her sister and politically connected attorney, Linda Zama. Like many of the elite, Mpati left the country for exile for political reasons. Mpati and Zama, with Eileen Shandu, can be considered anomalies in my thesis that elite Old Girls did not feature prominently in shoring-up the financial integrity of the Seminary from 1999-2001, as Zama solicited the intervention of Nelson Mandela and Mpati served sacrificially as volunteer principal. Yet, Mpati and Zama had large differences with the BoG and, in that sense, they testify to this article's thesis that there was a dissonance between the working middle-class BoG and the more elite Old Girls. Available at <http://southernafrica.ashoka.org/fellow/cynthia-mpati>, as accessed on 10 August 2016.

63 ISA, PR, C Mpati, "Principal's Report for a Section 21 Board Meeting of Inanda Seminary", 8 June 2001, p. 4.

64 ISA, BoGM, "Second meeting of the BoG with Old Girls", 4 March 2000, item 3.ii, p. 1.

named after the school's first principal and matriarch.<sup>65</sup> Sappi pointed out that the entire one million Rand would have to be sunk into that one project, at the expense of the entire school's make-over.<sup>66</sup> In actuality, the reconstruction of Edwards Hall was estimated to be Rand 2,5 million. The resurrection of Edwards Hall became so contested and acrimonious that Sappi questioned walking away from the entire project.

Though Sappi and the BoG compromised and made decisions, dissention as to how the money was to be spent persisted. For example, many felt that investment in curriculum, that is teaching and faculty leadership, required prioritisation over a cosmetic face-lift. Fortunately, all realised that a 'chicken or the egg first' debate focused on buildings or teaching was futile and both needed investment for Inanda Seminary to recover on a solid foundation. And it was further realised that all would be lost without strict financial accountability; the school needed a qualified bursar who Sappi agreed to hire and remunerate.<sup>67</sup> In the end, Sappi gave far more than the one million Rand initially promised; rather, it contributed a total of Rand 2,5 million to the school: R50 000 towards a maintenance trust fund, R50 000 for the shoring-up of and beautification of Edwards Hall, R100 000 for a scholarship fund and the balance, Rand 2.3 million, for renovations to the school's infrastructure and human resource development.<sup>68</sup> Therefore, Edwards Hall was not neglected. Sappi removed the trees, treated the brickwork and created a façade that better enabled the school to begin fundraising for its reconstruction outside the project to renovate the school.<sup>69</sup> The *Congregational Chronicle* reported:<sup>70</sup>

The whole project has been overseen by [project manager] Mr Clifton van Rooyen, who has developed a personal passion to see as much of the former mission station restored, not just to its former glory, but into a facility that is able to provide an environment in which education for the digital age of the 21<sup>st</sup> century can be carried out.

By mid-July 2000, the vital signs of Inanda Seminary were stable – but the school was still in “high care”. On record 219 boarders and 22 day scholars attended the school; the BoG speculated that 300 students constituted

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65 B Cole, “Plea to rebuild school: *Ezika Ma-Edwards* asked to help Inanda seminary”, *Daily News*, 9 August 2001.

66 Loans eventually restored Edwards Hall according to heritage standards. In 2009, the then deputy president of South Africa and Old Girl, Baleka Mbete, and Old Girl Nozizwe Madlala-Routledge opened Edwards Hall during the celebration of the school's 140<sup>th</sup> anniversary of its founding.

67 ISA, BoGM, “Meeting with Laurens Joubert at Sappi offices”, 14 December 2000, item 2, p. 1.

68 ISA, BoGM, “Meeting of the BoG of Inanda seminary”, 25 August 2000, item 10, p. 7.

69 B Cole, “Plea to rebuild school”, *Daily News*, 9 August 2001.

70 S Valiquette, “Inanda restoration proceeding”, *Congregational Chronicle*, 6(1), April 2001, p. 1.

maximum capacity. Day scholars paid R1 500 per year and borders R7 720 per year totalling a R1 723 680 income from fees, though the budget required R2 400 000.<sup>71</sup> During the mid-year, the BoG discussed the raising of the school fees under the pretext that the school would soon be renovated and fees were currently low on account of the school's dilapidated state.

### **Rededicated: The year 2000 and beyond**

On 29 May 2001, Nelson Mandela arrived with Sappi at Inanda Seminary to celebrate the completion of the renovation which began approximately one year earlier.<sup>72</sup> The UCCSA's general secretary, the Reverend Dr Desmond van der Water, spoke at the dedication service commenting that "The Seminary was a symbol of the re-building of the country that had been ravaged by Apartheid".<sup>73</sup> Sappi's executive chairperson, Eugene van As, remarked:<sup>74</sup>

We are honoured to be part of this project. The Seminary has produced many of South Africa's leaders and we believe it is crucial to continue investing in centres of excellence to create leaders for the future.

Mandela rededicated the school and unveiled the bust of former principal, Mary Kelly Edwards. Global Ministries' recently appointed missionary chaplain, Susan Valiquette, reported on the historic event:<sup>75</sup>

Nelson Mandela's thirty-five minute address was witty, challenging and inspiring. Mandela began by thanking Sappi and quipped that he is enjoying more success since he has stepped down as president. [He said:] 'Now that I am an old man no one sees me as a threat. When a pensioner requests money, they say, Give the old man something'. Mandela's address focused on education and the challenges of education in South Africa: 'Education is crucial to living a life of security and freedom'.

Mandela reminded those in attendance of his "long walk to freedom":

'Freedom – which means that people should be able to earn enough money to feed their families and send their children to school. Freedom – the journey towards freedom has not yet ended'.

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71 ISA, BoGM, "Minutes of BoG Meeting", 22 July 2000, p. 2. Above minutes corrected on 25 August 2000. ISA, BoGM, "Meeting of the BoG of Inanda Seminary", 25 August 2000, item 3b, p. 1.

72 K Bisetty, "Inanda's school saved", *Daily News*, 30 May 2001, p. 5.

73 K Bisetty, "Shine where you are", *School Matters (Daily News?)*, s.a.

74 Anon., "Pulp satisfaction for Inanda Seminary", *The Teacher*, August 2001, p. 4.

75 ISA, BoGR, S Valiquette, "Chaplain's report", 8 June 2001, addendum.

Three people were not included in the programme when Nelson Mandela rededicated Inanda Seminary. The exclusion by the BoG of Old Girl and volunteer principal, Cynthia Mpati, and vice principal, Leon Benny, were egregious. The omission of Jeremiah Wright, though accidental and understandable, left him fuming and led to many efforts of damage control. Wright was a high profile personality who travelled with his wife from the United States of America for the occasion and his inability to have a photo opportunity to meet Mandela (likely at the top of Wright's "bucket list") led to an embarrassing fiasco. In many ways, Wright had good reason to expect an audience, no matter how brief, with Mandela for he contributed numerous times through his church substantive amounts of money to keep Inanda Seminary financially afloat when it could not afford to pay its teachers' salaries. Yet, when he arrived for the rededication of the school, Wright's coveted encounter with Mandela did not occur due to strict time constraints and restrictive protocol due to security imperatives. Wright's disappointment and cries of racism against Sappi's public relations officer, Lourens Joubert, left the relationship between him and the BoG in need of triage. The Seminary's long-time office receptionist, Erica Joubert (no relation to Lourens), offers another plausible insight as to the cause of the rift between the BoG and Wright and his claims that it allowed a paternalistic and racist corporation to dictate events for the school's dedication (and thus Wright's exclusion from meeting Mandela). Wright donated funds to Inanda Seminary with "no strings attached". Jeremiah just felt, "How could somebody [Sappi] just come and dictate to you people? Why do you allow this person to come and dictate or something of this sort..."<sup>76</sup>

In addition to its investment in Inanda Seminary's bricks and mortar, Sappi sponsored the salary of a registrar to provide "competent financial personnel and records" which would convert in 2003 to the partial sponsorship of a principal to steer the school into a new era.<sup>77</sup> Former UCCSA president, the Reverend Ian Booth, applied for the position and became the registrar from 2001 to 2003. At times, Booth became uncomfortably accountable to both Sappi and the BoG. Booth had management experience, knew the wider church and as late as 1997 served on the Governing Council before the church relinquished control to the Old Girls. Overall, Booth's short tenure at the Seminary was positive. For example, Booth converted the Seminary's manual cheque system to internet

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<sup>76</sup> ISA, interview, Erica Joubert/Scott Couper (Inanda Seminary), 25 November 2013, p. 10.

<sup>77</sup> ISA, interview, Allan Wentzel/Scott Couper (Inanda Seminary), 16 August 2013, p. 2.

banking, though not without problems.<sup>78</sup> Almost immediately, banking fraud occurred whereby a bank teller obtained a pin code and a bed and breakfast in the Free State began withdrawing over R115 500. Not understanding the technology of internet banking, some staff on campus wrongly deduced it was Booth who committed the fraud. Another rumour circulated throughout the school's local staff that 'there were no funds for salaries as Auntie Net stole all the money'. Yet, no one could discern who exactly was Auntie Net (Auntie Net was actually the "internet"). Booth also suffered the chronic relational and communication problems others did with the BoG and many concerns were raised about his role.<sup>79</sup>

Sappi also wished to ensure that their investment was sustainable, so it founded, with a R100 000 donation, an Inanda Seminary Maintenance Trust Fund (later renamed "ISOGA Education and Development Trust").<sup>80</sup> The chairperson of Sappi's South African businesses, John Job, contributed an additional R10 000 to be designated for the future renovation of Edwards Hall.<sup>81</sup>

## **Conclusion**

Inanda Seminary has throughout its history produced pioneering South African women leaders. Yet, despite its prominent place in educational history, the Nationalist Party's implementation of Bantu Education and the socio-political ramifications of Apartheid diminished the school over the decades, causing it to decay. Though the Seminary survived Apartheid, it ironically could not survive the rough seas of the new democratic political dispensation as it was unable to compete against its better financed former Whites-only private and public schools. The UCCSA formally decided to decommission the school in 1997, but its alumnae took command in 1998 and re-opened the Seminary as an independent Section 21 Company. Though saved in 1998, from 1999 to 2000 the school was financially unsustainable and chronically on the verge of closing again.

One might assume that the alumnae who comprised of the political and economic elite would have come to the immediate aid of their working middle-class sisters who struggled on the grassroots to save Inanda Seminary. From

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78 ISA, BoGM, "Meeting of executive of BoG", 1 February 2002, item 4, p. 4.

79 ISA, Business plan 2002 & 2003, "Registrar's report as at workshop of 28 April 2002", section 17.4.2, p. 104.

80 ISA, BoGM, "Inanda Seminary – registrar", 13 September 2001, item 3.4, p. 1.

81 ISA, BoGM, "Meeting of the BoG", 2 February 2001, item 5, p. 1.

1999-2001, they did not; solidarity seemed to be in short supply. Instead, men came to the BoG's rescue during this time. As this article demonstrated, the BoG were especially disappointed in "their own". Many were seen to "lack commitment", were conspicuously absent and did not substantively contribute to the efforts to save the school. The resentment of the Power of Ten was sufficient to 'write-off' high profile alumnae and conclude and resolve: "Most of the ex-Inanda students lack the commitment. In future, let's do things on our own and not rely on others in future and we shall get a reward".

Rather than high placed women, men financially invested in Inanda Seminary during 1999-2001. On the ecclesiastic side, Daniel Hoffman of GM, Jeremiah Wright of Trinity Church, Robin Thompson and Allan Wentzel of the UCCSA supported the Old Girls by shoring up the financial integrity of the school while it was still in crisis. On the business and political sides, Jon Job of Sappi SA together with Nelson Mandela of the ANC perhaps contributed the greatest. Prominent men, rather than prominent women, contributed more substantively to the Seminary's financial survival from 1999-2001 for the simple reason that, within a still patriarchal South Africa, men predominantly held the purse strings of power, not only in the church, but also in business and government.

"Class" which produced "culture" differences, be they economic or ideological, created a cleavage dividing the efforts of the Power of Ten and the political and economic elite during the saving of the school by the former. As this article has demonstrated, "class" can manifest itself vocationally: "professional trade" or "politician/mogul". Class can manifest itself ideologically: "ex-ile" or "in-ile". While not necessarily recognised at the time nor even now, the middle working class BoG members perhaps possessed a different culture than the political and economic elite as they exited Apartheid from different contexts. The Power of Ten within the BoG felt beholden to Inanda Seminary and the values it taught and thus personally committed themselves to saving the Seminary. Though unconscious and thus unstated, there may have also existed sentiments of condescension of the political and economic elite towards their humbler working middle-class sisters who likely were perceived as amateurs and unlikely to succeed given their seemingly hopeless task. Also, one must also consider that the political and economic elite were terrifically busy. Those in government and corporate finance had tremendous portfolios and responsibilities that caused them to travel extensively domestically and

internationally. The Power of Ten may have possessed unrealistic expectations of their sisters who no doubt suffered much stress and strain due to their vocational obligations.

Though the Power of Ten saved the school from closure, ironically it was primarily men who supported the BoG's Old Girls and who thus enabled the school's new lease on life to be long-term. Eileen Shandu can be considered to be a high profile alumna who answered the BoG's call to substantively contribute to the school's survival from 1999-2001 by facilitating an annual grant-in-aid. However, Shandu's support was limited due to her short-lived tenure as a provincial minister.<sup>82</sup> Likewise, Cynthia Mpati, who served as volunteer principal, and her sister, Linda Zama, who courted Nelson Mandela's involvement in the school, can also be considered elite alumnae who substantively contributed to the school from 1999-2001. Only much later after half the Power of Ten had left the BoG and investment in the school could be deemed safe, did high profile political and economic elite alumnae support their *alma mater*.<sup>83</sup> For example, in 2009 Baleka Mbete graciously publicly unveiled a renovated Edwards Hall during the school's 140<sup>th</sup> anniversary of its founding. In 2011, a deceased Mantombazana Tshabalala-Msimang, through her estate, donated a school swimming pool much appreciated by the entire student body. Most notably, Thandeka Mgoduso and Hixonia Nyasulu, through Ayavuna Trust, donated a substantial amount of funds to construct a new dining hall, renovate a hostel (Phelps Hall), build two new classroom and office blocks, purchase a generator and install equipment for a potable water supply to the school.

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82 In 2000, Eileen Nkosi-Shandu resigned for "appointing her brother to the position of deputy director-general of education although he was the worst candidate interviewed for the job". Lionel Mtshali said, "It was regrettable that the minister did not heed wise counsel to reconsider her decision and re-advertise the post". J Green, "MEC gets the boot for appointing brother", *JOL News*, 22 August 2000 (available at <http://www.iol.co.za/news/politics/mec-gets-boot-for-appointing-brother-1.47946>, as accessed on 20 May 2013).

83 At the time, five of ten remained on the BoG: Esther Sangweni, Doris Gogela, June-Rose Mazibuko, Bongekile Dlomo and Florence Madlala. Today, only three of the original Power of Ten remain on the BoG: Dlomo, Madlala and Mazibuko.