

When the first desire for development moves her, it is in the Church that she finds the initial "milieu" in which to express her new and strange ambitions, and it is in Christianity that she finds the self-assurance to start the long and hard struggle towards "the light".

In spite of everything which is truly said about the inherent and natural conservatism of women, and notwithstanding the fact that it may be different in the rest of Africa ⁽¹⁾, in the South Africa which I know the urge towards becoming Christian and civilised is greater and more pressing amongst women than amongst the men. The reasons are not difficult to see:

What for the women is an expansion of personality and opportunity, is for the men initially a restriction; a limitation of their exclusive powers; and attack on their male superiority and domination; an increase of responsibilities.

A second meaning of Christianity for the women is a certain "liberation from fear".

Christianity is the introduction to another, more powerful source of influence, a new magic outdoing in efficacy the old and familiar one. ⁽²⁾ The God of the Europeans is the new great witchdoctor, more potent, knowledgeable and accessible, and also more amenable to reason than the old gods. The God from whom, no doubt, Europeans derive their "strength". ⁽³⁾

That, at present, a counter-movement has set in in the form of a return to African magic to counteract European power is part of the general movement of disillusionment amongst the women. Now that they are Christians, and civilised, and educated, they are still inferior to Europeans. In its religious aspect, this movement expresses a twofold doubt: either Europeans have not given them the whole of Christianity and civilisation, keeping something back from the women, or, the European God favours Europeans.

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- (1) Cf. "The President's letter" in Race Relations News, Vol. XVI, No. 11, November 1954, p. 134 last paragraph, which ends with the sentence "Reports from the Belgian Congo showed that women were deliberately counteracting the "westernizing influences" of their husbands by sending children back to the country - a process facilitated by a matrilineal structure of many tribes".
- (2) "They all recognise a power beyond and above and their people know", according to a wellknown, experienced missionary.
- (3) One of the words for Europeans as "ABALUMBI" (magician) The South African Way of Life, p. 55. Also: "Medicines" obtained from European traders and chemists in town are "the most powerful of all", Keiskamahock Rural Survey, Vol. III, Pietermaritzburg, 1952, p. 189. For the acceptance of God in pagan thought, see specially p. 191. It does not seem much different in the town.

It must be stressed that this Christianity is generally not a substitute for, but an addition to the older sources of power. (1) In this sense the minister of religion has a similar position to the doctor of medicine. Both are additional sources of influence over evil spirits and envious neighbours, over sickness and misfortunes. (2) Christianity and Western medicines open up additional possibilities for redress of wrongs and defence against curses, evil spells, and bad luck, for curing diseases, comforting sorrows, increasing wealth, and attainment of success. To these personalities, protecting and defending the women, should be added the judge of law. He also is "on the side of us women", for "the Christian law always helps us women". (3)

Hence, Christianity, in the threefold personification of minister of religion, doctor of medicine, and judge, is felt by the women as a protecting force, manifestations of one source, - Christianity. For - and this need not be mentioned again - religious, medical and judicial elements of "civilisation" are not distinguished. (4) All can be means towards a desired end and offer ways of redressing wrongs. And if all that fails, as it often does, there are still the old familiar and traditional remedies.

The following two meanings refer not so much to Christianity in general as to denominational belonging:

The "amenities" which Christianity, in the form of a particular church-belonging, offers. These are, facilities for education, position, and health.

Whereas these certainly influence the women in general to become converted to Christianity, they now, in the stage in which I have met them, influence their choice or change of denomination. (5)

This/.....

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- (1) It seems only fair to point to "Puzzled People", Mass Observation Survey, London, 1948, which assembles a good deal of material on the divergence between the beliefs of Church members and the doctrines of their church, and on the prevailing confusion and contradiction in religious attitudes common amongst Europeans. Also Denis Saurat: "Gods of the People", London, 1947.
- (2) See Case 1.
- (3) See the conversation, Case 7, which is a typical example of the women's attitude.
- (4) Although this is, necessarily, a very bold generalisation, to which there are many exceptions, yet, against all appearances to the contrary, it is valid for even quite evolved women. The greater "rootedness" of the women (as against the dislocation of the male personality) is due to the fact that the women still preserve a greater unity of perception and world view.
- (5) In addition to amenities, the choice or change of religious denomination is influenced by such motives as the wishes of the parents, the accident of marriage in which the woman follows the religion of her husband, and also by the religion of the aunt, grandmother, or brother-in-law, to whom the girl has been "sent" as a child.

This denominational "switching around" is quite a normal thing for the women, and no sense of shame is felt about it, nor is there any feeling that it is something particularly clever. It is all in the business of living, and turning towards the side which offers most advantages. The sense of shame enters as a reflection of a sensed disapproval on the part of the European listener. When they sense a neutral attitude, they will talk about it quite freely. (1)

The "feeling of belonging" (2) which denominational adherence gives.

It seems a recognised fact that church-belonging has replaced, and is replacing, tribal belonging, as the only available alternative. In my own experience I have noticed how hymns have replaced tribal songs, and Bible quotations have come to fill the void left by the loss of knowledge of the old proverbs. The parables and metaphors of the Bible have the attraction of the moral stories and fables told in the villages.

"I am a heathen of the Paris Evangelical Mission", said someone, answering the question about his denominational adherence. A missionary of that church explained:

"Often mother or grandfather or father has been brought up in the mission, but the daughter has never lived up to it, has, maybe, never been baptised. They keep, however, the sense of group-belonging, and when they die they call upon the church".

In this, of course, they follow, a meaning of Christianity which is very usual among Europeans. Like Africans, many Europeans are baptised, married, and buried in and by the church, but for the rest they forget it. Church-belonging and church-adherence is only called upon to function in the great moments of one's life. (3)

The church, moreover, is a social institution, and the presence of one of its representatives lends prestige to functions. This need to "belong", inherent, in all human beings, but particularly strongly felt in their urban isolation and in the absence of their kith and kin, finds its most satisfactory fulfilment in the Manyanos.

"We really do not want all that Europeans have, all we want is just to feel at home", and old Zulu woman said.

All/.....

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- (1) See cases 2,3,4,5, and 6.
 (2) Joachim Wach, Sociology of Religion, London, 1947, p.2, includes this in his three main fields of religious expression. However, "religious grouping, fellowship, and association" is not a universal feature of "religion", but, rather, of "church".
 (3) Joachim Wach, Op.cit. does not include this in his definition of religion.

All these meanings are in European eyes rather non-religious, and secular, but the women do not feel it that way. It all belongs to "Christianity" and the new way of life, the "civilised" way of life. The distinction between "materialistic" and "idealistic" motives is not clearly drawn. "Salvation of the body" is an equally valid motive for church-attendance as "Salvation of the soul". In this way they are much less "compartmentalised" and more integrated in purpose and motivation than Europeans with their duality between body and soul. Yet most Europeans complain about the "compartmentalism" of Africans, which in reality simply means that the "Compartments" of African women are not those of Europeans.

This becomes clear in discussing the following points.

The "religious" meanings

I must be forgiven a digression in order to drive my point home.

What is religion in the European sense of the word? There are many definitions affording analytical frames suitable for study. I myself have found most useful a threefold division following the usual threefold division of man's faculties.

According to this, religion contains three aspects covering the three broad elements of man:

- a doctrine, satisfying his cognitive faculties,
- a cult, satisfying his emotive faculties,
- a code of behaviour, satisfying his volitional faculties. (1)

The great Western religions (Judaism, Christianity and Islam) contain these three elements. Christianity, as it is said, occupies the "whole" of a person. And this holds true in general, although there is a pronounced difference of emphasis on one or other aspect between the different denominations and sects, and although there is probably a modern tendency to stress the code and cult aspect of religion and to diminish the emphasis on the doctrinal aspect.

Eastern religions contain only and exclusively the "cult" aspect. (2)

The/.....

(1) Joachim Wach, *Op.Cit.*, does not include this in his definition of religion.

(2) See, e.g. Albert Schweitzer Indian Thought and Its Development, London (1936) 2nd edition, pp.43, 133, etc. At least in their traditional form. In modern times, and through the influence of Christianity, ethical notions have entered Hindu and Chinese religions to a certain extent.

The doctrine aspect is mainly represented in the philosophical systems and movements, whilst the code aspect is entirely bound up with the social systems, epitomised, for example, in the caste codes of India. (1)

In traditional African society it was apparently the same, in so far as all values, all ideas, that is, also all criteria of behaviour were bound to the social order.

This has been expressed by all the great anthropologists of South Africa in one way or another: by Professor and Mrs. Krige, by Professor and Mrs. Kuper, by Dr. Godfrey and Dr. Monica Wilson, by Dr. Hoernlé, as well as by observant missionaries like the Reverend H.P. Junod. The references are too numerous to mention. To an outsider like myself, it is only surprising how little of this seems to have penetrated into wider South African circles, beyond the academic domain. Yet, its implications and applications are amongst the most important "facts about Africans".

It is not only that, therefore, the break-up of the tribal systems, which gave the criteria and the basis for social, moral behaviour, has left the people without any code of conduct at all (similar to the break-up of the caste system in India). But it also means that it is extremely difficult for them to connect unsocial, immoral behaviour with religion.

Hence, in its negative aspect, this means that for the women Christianity does not appear to mean a particular code of conduct, and the idea that the Christian God wants from his followers not only worship, but a "good" worshipper penetrates only slowly. African gods, like Shiva or Vishnu, are amoral. (2) They do not want a "good" worshipper, but a worshipper who knows and executes the correct forms of worship. (3)

This is reflected in the immense stress on form, on matters of procedure, on style in doing things. The difference between the manyanos of various churches and the preference given to one or another, has nothing to do with doctrinal differences, but depend on the way a manyano is conducted.

Most aspects of practical life are outside the domain of religion.

An/.....

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- (1) Hence a leading Orientalist like René Grousset can state that "Orientals are unreligious".
 (2) Diedrick Westermann: The African Today, Oxford University Press 1934, p.195.
 (3) Also: Godfrey and Monica Wilson, The Analysis of Social Change, Cambridge University Press 1945, pp.92/3.

An Anglican girl who had "misbehaved" was admonished by the missionary, who pointed to her religious upbringing whereupon she answered impatiently: "What's religion got to do with my life!"

One of the most obvious phenomena, commented upon by all Europeans, is that sex life and sex conduct have no connection with religion.⁽¹⁾ The notion, "sin", is still very foreign to the women. A transgression of a recognised code of behaviour is a social omission or failure, not a religious sin. Similarly, stealing or lying or ill-treating one's neighbours, or any of those other transgressions which Europeans consider "sin", do not have a religious connotation for women. In reality they do not distinguish between "impolite" and "immoral" behaviour.⁽²⁾

Amongst the reasons why the missionaries have to a great extent failed to effect the substitution of religious morality for societal morality, even amongst their best converts and oldest disciples, is the fact that Western civilisation on the whole shows the spectacle of a multiplicity of criteria for conduct, of which at least three can be briefly stated (although there are possibly more).

There is the "religious" criterion: "Good" is what God has decided as good (in the Bible and in the interpretations); one must be good because God wills one to be good.

There is the "Platonic" criterion:⁽³⁾ "Good" is what approaches most the "Absolute Good"; one must be good because to be good is a value in itself.

There is the "societal" criterion:⁽⁴⁾ "Good" is what is good for society; you must be good because it is necessary for man's ordered societal existence.

It is actually only this last "reason for being good" and criterion of what is good, which, in my opinion and experience, Africans could have understood and could have been taught, possibly with more success, right from the start.

"A/....."

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- (1) Only two of the nurses gave as reasons why illegitimate babies were "bad", that "it was a sin in God's eyes". One mentioned expressly "I never think of sin in that way. All other motives and reasons were social and parental.
- (2) See below under "Homemakers" type of organisation, where this idea is further developed by analysing the meaning of "etiquette" for African women. In re-thinking this problem I have become uncertain as to the exact point where impoliteness becomes immorality.
- (3) Surprisingly resuscitated in the Absolutes of Moral Rearmament.
- (4) Entered into European thought patterns since the age of enlightenment and rationalism.

"A civilised lady does not do so and so", is perfectly clear and acceptable to them and needs no further explanation. Here, again, however, an additional complication has entered through a definite return to "tribalism" in the twentieth century, namely, the restriction of the societal validation of conduct to a particular group: e.g. "good" is what is good for Russia, or "the Allied cause", or "for England", or "for South African White society".....

Europeans and Africans generally stress the regrettable consequences of and the confusion created by denominational divisions within Christianity. And rightly so. But it would appear that a much graver source of a much deeper confusion is the multiplicity of behavioural criteria within European society as a whole, which confronts the present-day urban African women with whom I have had contact and who are generally emancipated from the earlier exclusive missionary influence and the religious motivation for action which they were taught. Denominational differences do not, generally, affect them so much. (1)

In its positive aspect, this meaning of Christianity, manifests itself in a desire for ritual and a need for prayer. The women fervently believe in and "love Jesus".

"According to an experienced missionary: "They believe profoundly in a God, a Divine Father; they had already the belief in a Supreme Being in tribal days. (2) But their God then was far away, and could be approached only through all kinds of intermediaries".

They believe fervently in the efficacy of prayer. They believe that "Jesus" listens to them and hears their supplications of only they pray "hard enough".

Worship and prayer is what Christianity means for the African women, and what fills the long hours of the Manyano. Ritual is necessarily reduced, since no priests are present.

Worship/.....

(1) For this denominational and doctrinal indifference see Cases 7 and 8.

(2) "But all Bantu further have some conception, generally rather vague of a supreme power or being in the Universe, not specially connected with the ancestors". (W.M. Eiselen and I. Schapera "Religious Beliefs and Practices", p. 262 in The Bantu-speaking Tribes of South Africa, Ed. I. Schapera, 1937). "Moral conceptions of a higher kind are to be found in the idea of a high God....He forbids and avenges evil-doing.... The belief in him is a philosophy rather than a living faith". "Conceptions of a high God are not uniform in all parts of Africa, and they are still insufficiently known" (Diedrich Westermann, The African Today, Oxford University Press 1934, pp. 195/6). To teach the Africans to revere God was the easiest of all the missionary's tasks. See also A.W. Hoernlé, "Religion in Native Life", p.107 in Thinking with Africa, New York, 1927.

Worship, of course, is mainly expressed in song. Hymns and hymn-singing may be even more important for the women than speaking out their prayers. They sing with utter abandon and at the least provocation, giving themselves fully to what is probably their greatest gift. The effect is nearly always beautiful, and if it is not, then it is always moving. No European church service, however much time is given in singing, could ever fully satisfy this pressing need of self-expression in song.

In the following pages some quantitative confirmation of the above is afforded, as obtained from two sources ⁽¹⁾;

- A. Definitions given as answers to direct questions.
- B. Definitions glimpsed from unelicited, spontaneous exclamations.

Needless to say, these constitute only a first attempt in a direction in which much more could be undertaken to find out "what makes the women tick".

(1) It may be of interest to mention that the above had been written before quantitative analysis was made of the answers obtained from both sources. This was done on purpose, with a view to finding out in how far my personal and general impressions were reliable.

THE THREE GREAT NEW NOTIONS.

Civilisation - Christianity - Education.

- A. Thirty women of the Native Women's Hostel, Grey Street, Durban, representative as to age, occupation and education, were asked, amongst other questions: What is civilisation? What is education? What is Christianity? (1)

Education

Whereas the great majority defined "education" in such terms as "to learn to read and write" (7 times), or "to learn or to have knowledge" (10 times), or "learning", "to learn different subjects" (6 times), often connected with the idea "school" (such as "school-learning", "school-work", "to go to school", etc.) this idea of "learned" or "taught knowledge" hardly ever entered the definitions of the two other terms.

Christianity and Civilisation

In both "Christianity" and "civilisation", the common notions are "to have good manners", "to do good things", "to know right from wrong"⁽²⁾ Under Christianity there was a slight tendency to refer this to "others" such as "to do good things to others", so as to "be a good example to others", or "to be helpful to others", "to respect old people", which did not occur under civilisation. Whilst under "civilisation" it was more the "knowledge" of such good manners, good things, which were mentioned, as well as the "knowledge of right and wrong". Under "civilisation" there was also sometimes mention of "an accepted standard" or "a standard of good morals and good behaviour", or "a way of behaviour", or "a stage of social development", which was never even suggested under "Christianity".

Under/.....

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- (1) This enquiry depended largely on the kind co-operation of the Matron, Miss Isabel Nicholson, who has a thorough knowledge of the Africans and the Zulu language, who is a true "Mother" to her charges, and who enjoys an exceptional position of confidence. The majority of the questionnaires were conducted in English and the questions asked in English. When necessary, however, Zulu and Zulu translations were used. The Zulu words used were "UKUKHOLWA" for "Christianity", "IMPUGUKO" for "civilisation" and "IMFUNDU" for "education".
- (2) One person specified, "No, not right from wrong, but right and wrong" and was quite emphatic about this.

Under "civilisation", the main emphasis was on "good manners" (8 times), "behaviour" (5 times). Other notions mentioned were "knowledge of right and wrong" (twice), "good morals" (twice), "to have or receive light" (twice). Three times there was reference to Europeans: civilisation is "a European thing"; "I cannot say, but I know all Europeans have it"; "to live well like Europeans".

Under "Christianity," the main emphasis was on "to worship God or Christ" (9 times), "to believe in God or Christ" (6 times) "to know God or about God" (twice).

The ethical aspect entered in reference to "others" (as we have seen) (5 times): twice as "to do good things to others", twice as "help others", once as "respect old people". Twice it entered as "to keep the Commandments" and three times as "have good manners", and once as "to choose the right thing", and once as "give good example".

The word "morals" was not once mentioned under Christianity, though it was twice mentioned under "civilisation" as "good morals".

The ethical aspect was not once expressed in such words as, for instance, "to be good", but always in words of action and doing. Nor was the word "sin" ever mentioned, though more than half of the questionnaires were conducted in English. One wonders whether Europeans would not, at least sometimes, have answered, "to try and be good", or "to try and refrain from sin", or something similar.

The following is a solution of answers given:-

<u>Dressmaker.</u>	52 years old,	Standard VI.
Civilisation:	"Good behaviour, and it cannot be attained without education".	
Education:	"School-learning, but if not civilised it is of little use."	
Christianity:	"The thing I must be, because I go to church and all people should know by my actions."	
<u>Factory-worker.</u>	19 years old,	Standard IX.
Civilisation:	"To apply what one has learned to living".	
Education:	"To learn at school how everything goes on".	
Christianity:	"To be something in a church, or to belong to a Christian church".	

Hawker/.....

Hawker: 62 years old, Standard VI.
Civilisations: "No one can be civilised without Christianity or a wish to progress".
Education: "To go forward in knowledge and civilisation".
Christianity: "To leave behind the bad things, and to have good manners, and to pray to God".

Typist, 27 years old, ambitious and hard-working. (She was a domestic servant for two years, saving all her money to study. She completed Standard VII when thirteen years old, and is taking night-school courses in commercial subjects. She is third generation educated, highly intelligent and speaks excellent English.)

Civilisations: "Enlightened and advanced stage of social development".
Education: "Mental training".
Christianity: "A way of following and practising the teachings of Christ".

B. The foregoing are definitions given in answer to direct questions, hence "meanings" upon which the women were given time and occasion to reflect before speaking. I, myself, have tried to collect "meanings" from unelicited statements, meanings which were produced and expressed rather "in spite of" the spokesman.

Here the picture that emerges is slightly different; not in the sense that the statements contradict those consciously formulated and reflected upon, but it is as though one here "peels off yet another skin". It is as if one here penetrates a deeper layer of consciousness, not more true, but probably more significant as a motivating force.

Naturally I have not many such statements amongst my case-records.

"Education"

"Education" has very little to do with "thinking", and "it has nothing practical".

"Civilisation" is connected with "to use your brains", and "to be able to think things out for yourself". It is not "education" which teaches one "good manners", but these are entirely a result of "civilisation".

Although/.....

Although, according to the older women, "education" makes a girl "selfish" (this word, I have noticed, is used with the meaning of "conceited, overbearing, pushing oneself forward, being unsocial, lack of consideration for others, "being on one's own"; rather what we call "individualistic"), they nevertheless, want it for their daughters because an educated daughter can earn more money and can help the family better than an uneducated one. This desire of the mothers to educate their daughters "properly" has little to do with the civilising effect of education but, bluntly stated, an educated daughter is the only old-age pension a mother has. Here the opportunistic instincts of African women are met halfway by the materialistic tendencies of European education.

According to the younger women, "education" gives you a chance "to pull yourself up". "Even if I am poor....when I am educated I can think up what I shall do to improve myself". For these younger educated women, the difference between themselves and the "uneducated, primitive" women is that the latter "sit down with their hands folded and they say: 'What can I do? I can't do anything. I don't know what to do'."

"Civilisation"

There is, however, often a derogatory meaning attached to "civilisation" which is not attached to "education". (1) "Civilised" is then applied to somebody who, through long residence in towns and amongst Europeans has adopted European dress, European home-interior, European drinking, gambling, dancing and bioscope-habits. These people are then "not educated" or sometimes they are said to be "semi-educated" and there is a common feeling that "these people are the most dangerous". These people are "worse than the primitive". They "make the worst husbands", because "they buy a girl and she works for him, and that's all they think about, while they themselves have a lot of fun and that is called : civilisation". Or on the girl's side: "Civilisation has taught them to choose a man because of his position". "That is civilised; they all want a doctor."

I/.....

(1) This derogatory meaning attached to "civilisation" is a fact of experience and observation, my interpretation being that this is a rather newer phenomenon. It seems to me a part of the general feeling of disillusionment: the judge has not been able to award her the children which her husband has sent to his mother; he has not been able to force the husband to give her a reasonable share of his wages towards the family-upkeep; the doctor has not made her barren womb fertile; the revrend minister has not given her bread and a home.

I would like to submit one example from my case-records, although somewhat lengthy, to show how this phenomenon of "civilisation" as a notion having-turned-sour-on-them, works : One of my informants and I had been together at two different societies, both still quite tribal in fact, though not in intention, and we had experienced two entirely different forms of "protest - reaction" and refusal. After this my informant gave me a long lecture, from which I take the following:

"You have seen, there are still those people amongst us who have good. Others know too much, that is they are civilised... Like the XXX, they had no nice way. You remember what they did? They treat you like any other European treats you, or think they do.....Now those YYY, they work different. They treat you like true Africans do. They have none of that civilisation-business....."

"Now that is the same as with Mrs. X and Mrs. Y. Now look, Mrs. X and all the others like her, they are civilised.... they are floating in the air. But Mrs.Y, she has roots. There is salt in what she does..... No these Mrs. X's - they are not the right people for you to deal with..... etc. etc."

Whilst education is still the road to Heaven, "civilisation" is beginning to lose its glamour, and they look back to the "true African".

Yes - "civilisation" has let them down badly. "We don't know what is civilisation, even a man who is doing something shameful calls himself civilised." What they get to see of European "civilisation" cannot be a desirable goal for people whose notion of "civilisation" has a moral tinge.

"Civilised? It is to do good things. It is not trying to show what she is". They know what this much-wanted civilisation is. It is the social veneer. It is the facade of correct manners.

In my opinion, women, that is the semi-educated, not the B.A's are not as stupid as they may sometimes seem. They have a shrewd sense of values, honest-to-God, down-to-earth values.

"Christianity"

"Christianity", however, has let them down even more, and probably at an earlier stage of the acculturation process.

Amongst/.....

Amongst the statements collected from Christian women talking about Christianity, the following points emerge:

"The Christians fight amongst themselves." "Why should one Christ be served in so many different ways?" "Why should one say the other is wrong?" "The Protestants say they are right and the Catholics are wrong, and the Catholics tell that the Protestants are wrong and only they are right". "Then the Protestants are divided amongst themselves into Wesleyans, Lutherans, Church of England, etc., despising each other".(1)

"Christianity was brought to us wrongly", they say. (2)

"The missionaries have taken away everything from us and given us nothing instead". One woman quoted Dr. James Aggrey, who presumably said: "I wished all the missionaries had learned algebra; they would have known how to eliminate by substitution." "Before the missionaries came we were known as a proud nation.. now we are known as a nation without a character... we were told to throw away everything that in our minds kept us clean"..... etc.

Then the point was made that mission churches never took a stand against discriminatory laws. "Missions do not cater for hungry souls".

"The world will never be good owing to the churches" (meaning that it is not the churches who will make a good world). "Christianity makes you too soft". "If you belong to a church you can't be a good leader". "The churches tell a lot of lies. They say: it's the blood of Jesus, but we are clever enough, we know it's wine". "They say, with this bread we should remember the flesh of Jesus. How can one? We know it is only bread. Africans are not so stupid anymore".

"Now amongst the educated, there is lots of hustle and bustle because they want to follow the Europeans, and really the Christian marriage vow is a lie...." "It says, I take a wife... and I leave all others, my parents and all for her sake. This is not true, a man is not going to leave his parents. The first thing he does is to say, give me some money, I must send to my mother....."

Much of the ritual, like the church's institutions, seems foreign to the women: "All this Christianity is nonsense. When there is the blessing you must close your eyes". They say: "must they take something from their heavenly father with closed eyes? With the ancestors or one's father one did not close one's eyes. You take a thing, you receive a gift with both hands. Closing the eyes seems an insult".

The interesting thing about these statements is that they are all from "Christian" and even "European Christian churchwomen", who are "staunch supporters of my Church", "faithful members of my Manyano". They will say:

"Christianity/....."

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- (1) As is clear, the women don't understand the finer points of theology!
- (2) Some reactions to the Bantu Education Act (which came later in my investigations show a similar attitude now to Mission education.

"Christianity has gone out of the churches", yet they "belong to the church", they "love the manyano". (1)

Bengt.M.Sundkler mentions as the main reason for the rise of the separate churches, the colour-bar⁽²⁾, which does not accord with the Brotherhood of Man, and which prevents Africans from attaining "positions". This may be so, but it is not the whole answer. Ellsworth Fairs⁽³⁾ struck deeper when he said: "Arising at a time when the fixed order is breaking up, the sect is the effort of the whole community to integrate itself anew". Historical precedent as well as contemporary European events bear witness to the truth of this profound statement.

We shall see how the Manyanos to a certain extent provide these multiple functions for the women: they give expression to anti-colour bar reactions, they offer "positions" and they hold out the promise of a new integration.

Concluding

Concluding this apparent digression on the three great notions, I would submit that even these pathetically poor attempts, which have had to be undertaken as side issues to this investigation, show something of what, I suggest, could be evidenced more positively and comprehensively, namely: that there is discernible an ascending scale of progressive withdrawal from and reaction against the great European institutions, as represented by the Christian missions, the Christian Church, Christian civilisation and Christian education, to be attested in successive fields of observation representative of successive degrees of realisation of, what I termed, "disillusionment".

The withdrawal from the Christian churches is already well established. It happens "above the surface"; it has found expression and action. In interviews it manifests itself as direct statement and considered verbalised criticism.

The/.....

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- (1) This, better than any facts or figures about the Manyanos, shows their real function and significance.
 - (2) Op.Cit.p.32/3, "At first we had the land and you had the Bible, now we have the Bible and you have the land".
 - (3) Ellsworth Fairs: "The Nature of Human Nature", New York 1937, Chap. V, p.48.

The withdrawal from Christian civilisation is as yet an under-current. It manifests itself in the unelicited outburst, the spontaneous exclamation, a momentary flash. It is on the whole still "below the surface", and not yet consciously realised.

The attitude to mission (Christian) education has recently been shocked into consciousness. Before that, some evolved women had already expressed to me their desire for emancipation from mission education. They held that a unified system of Government education would be better. "Natal education is under the Government", I was told repeatedly. "The Government took over all the schools, immediately new buildings were put up, equipment, teachers, everything became standardised. Everything should be under the State, this is much better for the African people."

Suddenly they have been forced to face the questions: if not mission-Christian, what then? They may have wanted African churches, even African civilisation, but did they want.....Bantu Education?....

At the moment of writing, African opinion is split over the issue. But when the syllabi become known and more African teachers find employment, the anti-Bantu-Education-Act- European missionaries may have to fight their battles unsupported by their African charges...

African people are reaching, and will increasingly reach, the stage at which they want to work out their own salvation.

11. THE MANYANOS.Organisations Studied

The following account is based on the experience gained of the women's organisations of only a limited number of churches and sects.

These are:-

The three large European mission churches:

- The Methodist Church of South Africa (1)
- The Church of the Province
- The Roman Catholic Church

The smaller European Mission Churches:

- The Nederduits Hervormde of Gereformeerde Kerk (2)
- The Paris Evangelical Mission (3)
- The American Board Mission
- The Swiss Mission
- The Swedish Lutheran Church

The independent African Churches:

- The Bantu Methodist Church
- The New Church of Africa
- The Apostolic Faith Mission of St. John (4)
- The Ethiopian Church of South Africa
- The African Methodist Episcopal Church (5)

(In this group, as can be seen, are representatives of the Zionist and the Ethiopian Churches. (6) The Bantu Methodist Church, also known as the "Donkey Church", formed in 1932/3, is an offshoot of the Methodist Church. The New Church was founded in 1911, and is mainly based on the teachings of Swedenborg. The AME Church was founded in Philadelphia in 1916 by the Negro preacher Richard Allen. James M. Dwana, an ordained Wesleyan Minister, and one of the leaders of the Ethiopian Church in S.A. obtained the affiliation of his Church to the American AME. (7)

Although/.....

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- (1) Referred to in the following respectively as : The Methodists, the Anglicans, the Catholics.
 - (2) This is the Church which does all mission work in the Transvaal (in the other three provinces mission work is done by the Nederduitsch Hervormde Kerk), in the following referred to as DRC.
 - (3) In the following referred to respectively as: Paris Mission, American Board, Swiss Mission, and Swedish Mission.
 - (4) This Church's founder and leader is a woman.
 - (5) Referred to as AME.
 - (6) I adhere to the distinction as established by Bengt. G.N.Sundkler in his Bantu Prophets in S.A. London, 1948.
 - (7) See Sundkler, op. cit. pp.38-43; also Handbook on Race Relations in S.A. Oxf. Univ. Press, 1949, p.556.

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