

19.15.8

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION,

Mbabane, Swaziland.

25th January 1935.

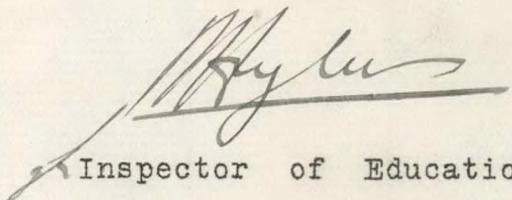
Sir ~~or Madam~~

By direction of His Honour the Acting Resident Commissioner, I have the honour to forward for your information a copy of notes upon the memorandum of the Chief Pathfinder upon the Ibutho and Pathfinder forms of youth training.

I have the honour to be,

Sir ~~or Madam~~,

Your obedient servant,


Inspector of Education.

NOTES UPON THE CHIEF PATHFINDER'S
MEMORANDUM UPON THE PATHFINDER
MOVEMENT AND SWAZI YOUTH.

1. According to Mr. Rheinallt Jones' memorandum three courses are considered;

- A. The application of the Pathfinder Scheme alone, much as it is at present, but with modifications to suit local conditions;
- B. The application of the Ibutho Scheme alone, with modifications to suit present conditions; and
- C. The correlation of both A and B without fusion, but with the Pathfinder Movement as an imperium in imperio within the ibutho Scheme.

2. However, before discussing these courses, I think it will be best to deal with the statement contained in paragraph 5 of the memorandum, to the effect that the Colonial Office has given a mandate to use the Boy Scout and Girl Guide Movement. Paragraph 4 quotes the words used as follows :-

"With wise adaptation to local conditions such
"agencies as the Boy Scout and Girl Guide Move-
"ment can be effectively utilised, provided that
"good Scoutmasters are available.

If one substitutes the word "may" for the word "can" I submit that the sense of the passage is in nowise altered. To call this quotation a mandate, when it is so obviously couched in permissive terms, is to me an abuse of language. I do not understand the passage to be any more than a suggestion. There is then the point that as this suggestion was made as far back as 1925 the Colonial Office Advisory Committee that made it could not have

had specifically under its consideration the Ibutho Scheme because it had not then come visibly to the surface, as I do not suppose that the Advisory Committee was then, nor is now, aware that the ibutho System or Age-grade System amongst South African Natives had largely inspired the formation of the Boy Scout Movement as stated by Professor Malinowski in his memorandum of the 13th August. Consequently any apparent preference the Committee showed for the latter movement could not be held to be any derogation of the ibutho Scheme, because that Scheme was not within its cognizance, But even so, the use of the words "such agencies" in the passage quoted implies that the ibutho Scheme may be included in the terms of what Mr. Rheinallt Jones calls the mandate, because that scheme is such an agency as the Boy Scout and Girl Guide Movement, their objects being the same, In other words, the suggestion of the Advisory Committee was inclusive and not exclusive of agencies similar to the Boy Scout and Girl Guide Movement, so that to adopt the ibutho Scheme would be just as complete a compliance with the suggestion as would the adoption of the Boy Scout Movement. Nor do I suppose that, when Dr, then Mr. Mumford was at the Malagali School in Tanganyika such an expert educationalist, as he is by natural gifts, training and experience, was ignorant of the views of the Advisory Committee specially intended for Tropical Africa. It is therefore no surprise to find that, after trying the Boy Scout Movement and judging it to be incompatible with the educational needs of the tribe he was dealing with, he felt free then to try an indigenous system, which he did with success. This practical experience of a first-class

educationalist cannot be explained away by theorising however authoritative, and seems to me to dispose finally of the so-called mandate.

3. The next point with which I should like to deal before passing to a consideration of the courses suggested by Mr. Rheinallt Jones is the statement contained in paragraph 4 of his memorandum that

"inadequate consideration (is) given by all (the
" memoranda) to the difficulties facing Swazi
" Christians in their relations with non-Christian
" institutions.

Now I do not know whether Mr. Rheinallt Jones had read the notes of a meeting held at Mbabane on the 3rd of May 1933, at which were present His Honour the Resident Commissioner, the Deputy Resident Commissioner, the Assistant Commissioner Central District, Archdeacon Carey-Brenton, Dr. Hynd, and the Paramount Chief.

In those notes occurs a passage which in my opinion proves that the Paramount Chief was volunteering safeguards which he hoped would be acceptable to his Christian people. The passage is as follows :-

"If anyone interested in Native Welfare believed
" that any part of the instruction given through
" the ibutho organization was objectionable, as
" offending against the principles of Christianity,
" the correct course would be to report to the
" teacher of the school concerned, who should, if
" he agreed with the objection, report it to his
" superior officer in the Mission, who, if he also
" supported the objection, would report it to the
" Assistant Commissioner or Deputy Assistant

Commissioner,

"who would endeavour to settle the matter. If
"he failed, the matter would be reported to the
"Resident Commissioner who would settle it in
"consultation with the Paramount Chief.

In making this gesture the Paramount Chief has endeavoured to meet the difficulties referred to by Mr. Rheinallt Jones to an extent which, in my most sanguine moments, I never conceived he would rise to. Have the Missionaries ever found fault with these safeguards, or, if they found them inadequate, suggested any improvements? Another extract from the notes of the meeting is as follows :-

"The Archdeacon and Dr. Hynd were then asked
"whether they were satisfied. Dr. Hynd was very
"careful to explain that, while he personally saw
"no reason why the scheme should not be applied,
"and would do his best to encourage it, he could
"not bind his or any other mission to it.

"The Archdeacon was understood to concur in this. Copies of these notes were sent to the Archdeacon and Dr. Hynd. The former made no comments as to their correctness, and the extracts quoted are after correction by Dr. Hynd. The only reason given by Dr. Hynd for changing his opinion that has come to my knowledge is that contained in his speeches at the last meeting of the Advisory Board on Native Education on the 3rd October 1934. There, after paying a very eloquent tribute to the Paramount Chief, giving him credit for the very highest motives in introducing the project for the employment of the ibutho scheme in education, his only want of appreciation (I would not call it criticism) was based on what he regarded as a paucity

of knowledge as to the objects and methods of the ibutho Scheme. There was nothing in his speeches to suggest that his want of appreciation was based upon any inadequate consideration given to the difficulties facing Swazi Christians, and indeed he went so far as to advocate fusion of the ibutho and Pathfinder Systems, a course which, I observe, Mr. Rheinallt Jones has not found himself able to accept. Nor in any speech at the same meeting is there to be found any reference to the same subject. I am therefore at some loss to understand why Mr. Rheinallt Jones should now raise the point unless he has not read the particulars of the safeguards volunteered by the Paramount Chief. There are many Swazi Christians who are very proud of the fact that they underwent training as Amabutho, and they value the effect it had upon their characters. It is also the case that a considerable number of Native Christians are in favour of the Ibutho Scheme in preference to any other. The Natives who oppose it are for the most part in that comparatively small section which, through its representation by European Missionaries, is disproportionately articulate.

4. There is also a misapprehension in paragraph No: 10 of the Memorandum which I think I should try to correct. It is contained in the words "If the ibutho system is revived". I only raise the point because it would be misleading to allow it to be understood that the ibutho system had ceased to function. While it is freely admitted that the general effect of the impact of western civilization has been to loosen its bonds, and that in particular

the money economy of the European has vitally affected the subsistence economy under which alone the ibutho system could enjoy the fullest operation, the fact remains that it is still to-day a living and important institution in the tribe. It has continued, without interference on the part of the Administration, to perform vital functions in citizen training and tribal service and has graced every important public function held in Swaziland in which natives have participated during the existence of this Administration.

5. In considering the alternative courses suggested by Mr. Rheinallt Jones it seems to me that there are certain tests which can be applied to aid in determining which is the best course.

6. The first test that suggests itself to me is this one :- where, in the Native administration of a protectorate with a constitution like that of Swaziland, there is a choice between educative factors, some with a reintegrating and others with a less reintegrating tendency, the former should be preferred.

I go further ^{and} ~~to~~ say that such a course is mandatory, according to that part of the constitution of the protectorate set out in the second paragraph of section 5 of the Order-in-Council 1903 as follows :-

"The High Commissioner in issuing such Proclamation shall respect any native laws by which the civil relations of any native chiefs, tribes or populations under His Majesty's protection are now regulated, except so far as the same may be incompatible with the due exercise of His Majesty's

"power and jurisdiction, or clearly injurious
"to the welfare of the said natives.

7. I assume that it will not be denied that the application of the ibutho Scheme in education will make for reintegration, and that it will not be denied that the Pathfinder Movement will make for less integration, which by comparison means disintegration. Nor do I conceive that it will be contended that, if the Administration and Missionaries were to press forward the Pathfinder Movement in preference to the ibutho Scheme as recommended by the Chief Pathfinder, that course will not have the effect of undermining the ibutho System, which is an integral and wholly admirable part of native law within the meaning of the quotation from the Order-in-Council, and so would tend to effect in an oblique way that which the High Commissioner, the legislative authority in Swaziland, may not do by direct methods, i.e. interfere with native law that does not offend against one or other of the criteria contained in the Order-in-Council. Therefore I consider that the Paramount Chief is legally entitled to protection against the introduction of any institution having this effect.

8. It may be that the supporters of the Pathfinder Movement will challenge the statement that Pathfinding will have a disintegrating effect by comparison, but if they do, I join issue with them. It ought to be sufficient to draw attention to the fact that the ibutho System is an indigenous institution, motivated and controlled from within the tribe, capable of being operated efficiently by the natives themselves without extraneous aid and with little or no training, fully understood by them, and so extraordinarily efficient as to have itself provided the inspiration for the formation of the Boy Scout Movement

which Mr. Rheinallt Jones is so heartily and so justly proud. On the other side the Pathfinder Movement, through its derivation from the Boy Scout Movement, has now a predominantly European atmosphere and control, it is something not easily understood by the tribe or even by its own members, as, according to Mr. Rheinallt Jones' memorandum the movement is incapable of efficient service without considerable training of its officers, which again emphasises dependence upon the European. Again, for no reason that I have been able to discover from the memorandum the Pathfinder Movement also proposes to take from the native authorities and to arrogate to itself the control of the social training of native youth, both non-Christian and Christian, a proposal which I will deal with more fully under the test of control, but to which I must herē make a passing reference because of the disintegrating and indeed destructive effect it would have upon the powers and prestige of the Paramount Chief and his Officers.

9. The next test I suggest is this :- in the training of the Swazi to take his place in the world as a responsible citizen, with a share in the government of his people, the less we keep him unnecessarily in leading strings the better is the training likely to be, and the sooner is he likely to cast off that inferiority complex into which a too rigid and too dominating tuition and control by the European has forced him. Therefore when he initiates a movement, as the Paramount Chief has done here, the assistance and guidance most likely ^{to} benefit the tribe

must be that which will stimulate him in this and similar endeavours, and which will preserve the movement as an essentially Swazi one, even if it includes beneficent elements derived from European sources. In this connection I should like to have His Honour's permission to refer to the steps taken by him and the Paramount Chief in connection with the attempt to stamp out forced marriages. In the first place he consulted the Paramount Chief and suggested legislative action after the Natal model resting upon the use of official witnesses. The Paramount Chief asked for leave to try to remedy the state of affairs through the institutions of the tribe, and His Honour agreed. Now in my opinion that represented a wise co-ordination of European and Native state-craft, calculated to promote mutual respect, and to secure the greatest amount of co-operation from the people most affected. Whether the experiment is finally successful or not in its main object, its educative effect will be considerable. As an example of the policy of indirect rule it would receive, I am very confident, the support of the most authoritative and famous administrators of British Dependencies in Africa, as also would such support be given to the project of employing the ibutho System in education.

10. The next test I suggest is this :- whether it is better, in devising a scheme intended to teach social and tribal service, to make it one in which all Swazis can take equal part without offence to the religious susceptibilities of any one, or to make it one in which religion will be regarded as part of

the training. To any one who has read the Paramount Chief's memorandum and especially the safeguards he proposed at the meeting of the 3rd May 1933, it will be obvious that he desired to make it possible for the ibutho training to be applied to every Swazi youth in free association, and that it should be purged of anything that might offend against any vital Christian principle. With such a scheme religious difficulty should tend to disappear; the unifying bond would be common nationality and loyalty to the Paramount Chief and Swazi Nation. It was not with any antagonism to religion that the intention was formed of making the movement a purely secular one, but with the earnest desire to avoid those distressing cleavages, so subversive of real brotherhood, which immediately manifest themselves whenever an attempt is made to provide for a diversity of religions in such a movement. It was because the Paramount Chief has a very deep reverence for any religious belief honestly held that he desired to avoid offending the susceptibilities of any one, and, when it is realised that there are seventeen recognised Christian denominations operating missions in Swaziland it can be imagined how the subject would bristle with difficulty if the ibutho organisation were to include religion as part of its teaching or training. There was no banishment of religion; it was reasonable to expect that those of the ibutho wishing for religious ministrations would be served by the denominations to which they belonged and that the members of the ibutho attending such services would do so as individuals and not as

units of an ibutho. It seems to me that this attitude of the Paramount Chief is calculated to promote the maximum of wholesome brotherhood without bringing in the friction and embarrassments which would enter with the introduction of religion.

11. Now let us examine the religious arrangements in the Pathfinder Movement. They are contained in paragraphs 13, 14 and 15 of the memorandum.

I wish at this point to pay a very hearty tribute to the candour with which Mr. Rheinallt Jones has dealt with this matter, and this is the more appreciated because his wide and very thorough experience must make him conscious of all the implications in these paragraphs. What then are those implications? Inasmuch as the Pathfinder Movement admits Christians and non-Christians and is anxious apparently to respect all religions, the first implication is that all the members must receive equality of treatment in respect of their religious convictions. This means that in any country where there is more than one religion the religion of every Pathfinder would be respected, and no attempt would be made by the adherents of one religion to proselytise the adherents of another. So that if the Pathfinder Movement were to operate in Swaziland the religion of those commonly called heathen would similarly have to be respected, and we would have "Closed Troops" or to use a more homely term "Water-tight-compartments" throughout the movement. I hope that I have not misunderstood Mr. Rheinallt Jones. If I have understood him

correctly then the Pathfinder Movement quite definitely would not be made the means through which the adherents of one religion would proselytise those of another, including the Swazi religion.

12. However, from the use of the term "Closed Troop" I have understood that there would be no free inter-association of the members of the various religious denominations and that the religious practices of the various denominations will not be interfered with, so that, while on the one hand those "evil communications that corrupt good manners" will not be allowed to function except perhaps inside the "Closed Troops" that did not object to them, on the other hand any chances of real brotherhood will similarly be prevented from coming into operation, and instead of the beneficent reintegrating influence of such brotherhood there will tend to grow up suspicion if not actual distrust in a religious sense between the "Closed Troops" of the different religions.

13. When we realise that a very free and indiscriminate intercourse is going on every day all over Swaziland, not only between Christian and Non-Christian kraals, but between Christians and Non-Christians in the same kraals; that marriages between Christians and non-Christians are not infrequent; that one brother is a Christian and another is not, a son a Christian and his father not, a wife a Christian and her husband not; that many professing Christians are execrable characters as compared with the best of Non-Christians; The meticulous pains to keep "Closed Troops" in the Pathfinder

Movement appear to me, because they must preclude in a very large measure the hopes of anything like real brotherhood and mutual respect, to be as mischievous as they would be futile. I have endeavoured to emphasise, with I confess very much the same result as a voice crying in the wilderness, that a policy of faith is preferable to one of fear, which seems to me to lie at the basis of the "Closed Troop" policy.

14. The next test I propose is the one of control, and this I regard as one of the most crucial. In the ibutho scheme as evolved by the Swazis, and even in the modification of it elaborated in the meeting on the 3rd May 1933, the Paramount Chief is the final native authority. He would not only be the fountain of honour but the wielder of the highest power. However, in the safeguards offered at the same meeting it is proposed that His Honour the Resident Commissioner, in consultation with the Paramount Chief, should be the final tribunal in any dispute, and this again recommends itself to me as a wise co-ordination of European and Native state-craft.

15. Let us now consider the position of His Honour the Resident Commissioner in the two schemes - the ibutho and Pathfinder. In the first one he would, in consultation with the Paramount Chief, constitute the highest authority; in the second he would be an Honorary President. The latter position for the officer entrusted, under High Commissioner, with the administration of the territory, appears to me to gravely detract from the dignity of his position,

while it would certainly curtail his power.

16. Then in the Pathfinder proposal the Paramount Chief, from being the final native authority in the ibutho Scheme, would be relegated to the position of Honorary President, while the general direction and control of the Pathfinder Movement would be vested in a Divisional Council predominantly European with a Divisional Pathfinder as Chief Executive Officer, the Divisional Council being represented on Pathfinder Headquarters' Council by the Divisional Pathfinder and two elected representatives. Thus from occupying a position in the ibutho Scheme of real power, commensurate with his position and ability, he would in the Pathfinder Movement be shorn of all power, so that in the scheme that Mr. Rheinallt Jones visualises, in paragraph 22 of his memorandum, the Paramount Chief would, in the case of the amabutho, have a predominantly powerful position, but, in regard to the Pathfinder section of his Amabutho, would only hold an honorary position, a picture which I find Gilbertian, and a scheme I consider could not fail to have the very greatest disintegrating influence upon the authority of the Paramount Chief.

At the last meeting of the Advisory Board on Native education, held at Bremersdorp on 3rd October last I emphasised that the Paramount Chief was entitled to the loyalty of his people. Dr. Hynd and Mr. Esselsteyn answered that this feature was sufficiently cared for by the Pathfinder Promise. If loyalty to the Paramount Chief, as vowed in this promise, is to be accompanied by the complete abolition of the power which he at present enjoys over his young people as Amabutho,

and which he exercises in a most responsible way, could he be blamed if he called in question the good faith of that kind of loyalty? Nor can any one, who understands the fervent loyalty of the Swazis to their Paramount Chief, believe that the vast majority of them, Christian and Non-Christian, gentle and simple, literate and illiterate, would regard such an abolition as anything less than a gratuitous indignity to the head of their nation.. In this connection I wish to refer to a speech of His Excellency Sir Herbert Stanley at the Pretoria Rotary Club on November 1st, dealing with the social and not the political aspect of the native question as reported in the Star, Johannesburg, of the 2nd November. The conclusion of the speech was as follows :-

"The three main points I would emphasise in the attitude we should adopt to the native are considerateness, kindness and courtesy. If there is any royal road to a solution of the problem these I think are the signposts which will show it to us."

18. Now the Paramount Chief has, as is admitted on all sides, made a very fine gesture about the ibutho Scheme. Is it consistent with considerateness, kindness and courtesy, to say nothing of justice, that instead of accepting this gesture, the Administration should requite him by authorising the introduction of the Pathfinder Movement carrying with it, as shown in the memorandum, a radical and undeserved abolition of his power, and a diminution of his prestige? Mr. Rheinallt Jones has made it plain that, although

he considers there is need to vary Pathfinder organisation and practice to meet special needs, as stated in the first paragraph of the memorandum, he does not entertain any surrender of power by the movement, and only envisages such surrender being made by the Paramount Chief.

19. As to the idea of fusing the two schemes, Mr. Rheinallt Jones does not even discuss it, and here I find myself in complete agreement with him, for though I have studied the matter to the best of my ability I can see no hope of any successful fusion of the two schemes. I have all along contended, and do so now with greater conviction and assurance than ever, that if this gesture of the Paramount Chief is accepted in the spirit in which it is made, not only shall we have conditions favouring the reintegration of the tribe, but an atmosphere more favourable for its general evangelisation will also result, because when the conservative element in the tribe finds that something approaching real respect is being paid to its indigenous institutions by those engaged in education, its distrust of Western education, which carries Christianity with it, will tend to diminish.

20. I hope that it will be conceded that the tests which I have sought to apply are strictly fair, are entirely consistent with the constitutional position of this Protectorate, with the principles of good government, and with the policy of freedom of conscience in religious matters for which I believe the British Government still stands. I also believe that it would be generally admitted that the verdict upon the application

of those tests would be unreservedly and unhesitatingly in favour of the ibutho system taking the premier position in the choice of the courses suggested by the Chief Pathfinder, indeed it is the only one which under the present constitutional position could be permitted without doing injury to the language of the passage from the Order-in-Council 1903 to which reference is made in the first test. In other words it is only in the case that the High Commissioner is satisfied that the Ibutho System is "clearly injurious to the welfare of the said natives" that he could be a party to any attack either open or veiled, upon the ibutho system. In saying this I do not mean to imply that it is beyond the power of His Majesty in Council to vary the Order-in-Council quoted, but I do claim that those who sought to have this course followed would have first to produce vastly more convincing arguments than those that have hitherto been used to bring about the amendment of the mandate under which this Protectorate has been administered for over thirty years.

21. I trust that His Honour will understand that, although I oppose the employment of the Pathfinder Movement in Swaziland very intensely, I would not like to be understood to be otherwise than warmly enthusiastic about the work of the Boy Scout Movement, of which it forms a part, throughout the world, and, had there been no indigenous institution in Swaziland capable of performing the same functions, I should have been one of the foremost to press for its adoption here.

22. I also cannot conclude these notes without tendering, I hope with His Honour's permission, my personal thanks to Mr. Rheinallt Jones for the very thorough way in which he has reviewed the subject, and especially for his very altruistic and public-spirited offer of assistance even if the Pathfinder Movement is not put in practice here. The offer does him great credit, and is so typical of the large-hearted helpfulness with which his name will always be associated. I consider that it should be accepted with gratitude

23. These notes have been considered by the Paramount Chief who authorises me to say that they have his concurrence.

A.G. Marwick.

ACTING RESIDENT COMMISSIONER.

24.1.35.

Collection Number: AD1715

SOUTH AFRICAN INSTITUTE OF RACE RELATIONS (SAIRR), 1892-1974

PUBLISHER:

Collection Funder:- Atlantic Philanthropies Foundation

Publisher:- Historical Papers Research Archive

Location:- Johannesburg

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