

19.15.2

Mumford

Quotes British for. Policy of 1925

(1) Adaptation of European ideas to
Native needs

(2) Conservation of sound & healthy
elements in Native life

Scout Movement pays allegiance to European
ideas of authority

(? All the world over)

This Scheme

(1) Officers. — can they retain respect of ^{educated} boys
& what can they teach

(2) Messengers should organise — who not be officers

Main difference between

Amateurs & Professionals

= Chief appoints Officers.

Service

6. Uniform

Khaki shirt & shorts

Alerting
messages
Catch birds,
Fetch grass
Fetch Cakes, bread, bananas
(PT. & private apartments)
weed fields

Hoing
Sowing
Mudring
Build round that &
cattle trail

{ Arrest at least 2 first
mets
Kill black bull
& guard
inmate

Communal Dances.

Prostitution

Well

Long & Special Calls
Dances

Initial love

Free time - Rob!

meas. Rob.
- meet point
once a month

Annals

1. Regiments, Companies

Exercise 10/20
+ " = 20
to list = 100

2. Three to five year groups
10+

3. Officers

Company leaders - selected by local chief from ranks
Chief leader - selected by P.C.

4. Instructors

Men from other regiments to teach younger regiments

5. Teaching

1. Pride of place
2. Courtesy
2. Respect for lawful authority

3. Morality

"no sexual relations until manhood"
Continence
Self-control

4. Service

Commonwealth
see addendum

5. Drill

defender

6. Food

loyalty

Pathfinders

1. Troops, and Districts & Divisions

2. Teachers 7-12 ±
Pathfinders 12-18 ±
Trainers 18+ ±
Roamers

3. Officers

Div. Pathfinders: nominated by Div. Council
District P/MS: apptd by SF.
P/MS: nominated by SF. M.

4. Instructors

- (1) Officers
- (2) Competent Europeans + Officers
- (3) Chaplains

5. Teaching

1. Duty to God
King
Chief
People
2. Obedience to King
" Chiefs
" Teachers
" Parents
" Teachers

3. Morality

- (a) Self-control
- (b) Purity in thought
- (c) " " ^{word} ~~action~~
- (d) " " action
- (e) Continence

4. Service

- (a) To People Chief of People
- (b) - Parents
- (c) - follow Pathfinders

5. Drill

non-military

Mr. Merrick.

1. Under Native Custom Native Law only changeable under existing authority - Swazi authority
2. Can we amalgamate Two Movets.
 - (a) Voluntary & Compulsory
 - (b) Control. P.C. or C.P.
3. AF as Shutho arrow.
Divided by itself. ^{task of} spirit de corps
4. Reconn^y thinks we should try to use Native Instr.
+ not go on with P.F.
5. Merrick thinks Christians will co-operate if protected in regard to religion, grounds etc.
6. Experiment of Shutho at Matapa only - Missions to wait.
7. What should be done with P.F. troops in existence.
(Lieut. Bolk. supervise them & gradually work them).

Seventh Day Adventists - wrote favouring Merrick against P.F.
European Dept. - Campbell
Native minister - Hlabi.

Broderick. Experiment only just began.

I cannot form an Merrick - that must be done S.P.C.

I cannot give names etc.

(B.M.)
School divided into four sections (100 ÷ 4 = 25 in each section.)

A leader for each section ~~with~~ who with the African staff chose the boys of their section

Mpian staff chose leaders, but ~~these~~ these leaders may or may not be accompanied by P.C. No any name for a section at present.

Activities for sections in first six months of this year

- (1) Inter-School athletic competitions
- (2) One day a week - in place of ^{class} industrial work - will do the work in sections.

Does not agree with Drummond that teaching can be done in such sections (i.e. without regard to ednal. standard)

- (a) Care of Roads
- (b) Care of Machinery & Buildings
- (c) Forestry
- (d) ? (not fixed)

3. Twice a week - drill - not military but physical. Hopes this will ^{replace} hlehda

In April - School will march to Royal Kraal. P.C. will address them.

Later school will camp ^{outside} at Royal Kraal for a week.

Camp under Broderick's control. Also school work (with equipment from school!) to be a demonstration for Chief. Work for Chief.

Campfire addresses on Swazi Customs re P.C. re

Scholars to attend Chief's court.

Camp work under Section leaders.

N. Hynd.

This training is P.F. training.

One difficulty is that Muthu covers the whole bybook.

The school does not take in the uneducated.

The test is - How would ~~be~~ the Muthu work outside ^{school}

would Mr. B supervise the non-school Muthu in the Royal School?

We know that Matapa training will be good.

Naumalo

Hlehla - only a drill + dance in circles - in military form - but ^{only} done after work.

Itumeli

Should they do as there anything objectionable.

Doodrick

No. But lack of aim & method for physical drill.

Arissama

Hlehla can be modified to conform with modern methods in physical training.

M.

Two Questions

(a) Content

(b) leaders & their training.

Hynd.

Amakhetu want they chief today. Modern dislike of old dress etc

M.

Suggests possible training course for Muthu instructors at Matapa.

Mr. M.

Importance of experiments + of training in Swaziland of Swazi teachers.

Hoernle

What form of IDL necessary
 * Pathfinder type necessary.

Change between elevated & unelevated.

MF movement does not require service
 to brief & scope.

Compulsory IDL the aim

Discussion.

MF emphasized importance of training
 before calling bursts.

Marwick

Depth of districts

distances - all two clusters above.

Several things have permanent Amplitude at their knots.

Woodcock

? Relation of Matapa scheme to further outside

Hoernle

Draft Res⁴

Miss Carlyle

Who will have control of boys. Mission?

Marwick

Power of Protest of missions

Notes

on

Relation of Bathinda Movement to Batho System

1. The Batho system is national, centred in the Paramount Chief who is ~~the~~ its ~~chief~~ executive head, and compulsory in that everyone of the Batho age when announced by the P.C. belongs to the Batho & that period it may be called to attend on the Paramount Chief at his royal place.
2. There does not appear to be any very definite system either of organisation or instructions, nor is there any ^{very regular} method in the calling up of members of the Batho to the P.C.'s royal place.
3. The Batho system is obnoxious to ^{Christian &} educated Natives because, they say,
 - (a) The boys are called up for service at the ~~age~~ royal place regardless of the convenience of their parents, or their educational welfare of the boys.
 - (b) While at the royal place the boys learn little that is of any use to them, while they learn idleness, fighting amongst themselves, thieving from their white & Swazi neighbours (as the P.C. makes no feeding provision) & they are morally

Whether we be said about the moral life of Swazi Christians - & the allegations of the South African people are, after all, only allegations & based on hearsay - the Swazi Christians do not want their children to be brought under the influence of the heathen leaders. They prefer their children to be brought up in a Christian school with a low moral tone.

- (a) uncontaminated by the heathen teaching & practices.
- (b) There is ^{little} ~~nothing~~ in the ibutho instruction to command the respect of the school child. He ^{quickly} ~~has~~ sees the difference in the educational value of the between the Butho instruction & that given in school. Even the drill learnt at school is far superior to the ^{ibutho} drill. The leaders of the ibutho are men who still hold to the old tribal religion and their ideas are wholly inconsistent with ^{modern} teaching, especially on moral questions.
- (c) The Butho system is a military system - is wholly intended to train the boys in military ways. The carrying of ^{the} shields & weapons of the warriors is their occupation in the ibutho.
- (d) The ibutho system brings the boys under ~~under~~ the influence of uncivilized ideas & habits at the most impressionable years of their life & Christian parents ^{would} dread the results upon the mental & moral life of their children.

4. Christian leaders, however recognize that Swazi Christians are also Swazi citizens & they have no desire to escape from their moral responsibilities as such. They assert that there is plenty of evidence to show that Swazi Christians perform their personal service to their

chief more readily & far more efficiently than the heathens do. While the heathens spend a great deal of their time in drinking the beer supplied on the occasions of ^{the} field tilling for their chief & headmen, the Christians carry on with the job. Swazi Christians recognise the Paramount Chief as the head of their nation, but they are not willing to surrender to his personal control over their lives, nor are they prepared to hand over their children to his control.

5. It is clear then that while Swazi Christians are prepared to undertake ^{or do perform their} duties as Swazi tribesmen & citizens, they claim the rights ^{granted to} of the Christian conscience in civilised countries to withdraw from those national customs which ~~are~~ ^{are} considered to be definitely inimical to the cultivation of a Christian, civilised life. The history of European civilisation is studded with examples of this kind & Swazi Christians cannot understand ^{how} why the European administrators ~~should~~ ^{should} fail to recognise the moral right ^{of Christian duty} of the Swazi Christians to take this stand.

6. Swazi Christians are however not content to ~~take~~ ^{adopt} a merely negative attitude towards

the *ibutho* system. They see in the Pathfinder or Wayfarer Movements ~~the~~ the essentials of a sound substitute for the *ibutho*, and believe that they can be used to ^{cultivate in Swazi youth} ~~develop~~ those very virtues which the Paramount Chief ~~describes~~ ^{describes} in his memorandum. If the Japanese *Samurai* can be a better Japanese boy because he is a *Samurai*, ~~is there~~ is there any reason why the Swazi Pathfinder should not be a better Swazi just because he has profited from the discipline & instruction of the Pathfinder Movement? It is believed that the Pathfinder Movement in Swaziland can ^{develop} ~~develop~~ definitely Swazi ~~characteristic~~ characteristics without assuming the ~~habits~~ practices that are so closely associated with the *ibutho* system.

7.

The following suggestions are put forward for the development of the Pathfinder Movement in Swaziland.

- (a) The Movement to be sponsored by the Paramount Chief & the Resident Commissioner as Honorary Presidents (NB. the High Commissioner is the Patron in H.C. territories)
- (b) The Movement to be controlled by a

Cross-Divisional Pathfinder + a Divisional Council as which would consist of representatives of the Paramount Chief, the Resident Commissioner, Missions + Pathfinder Masters with a few co-opted sympathetic + helpful Europeans + Christian Swazi leaders as co-opted members.

The ~~the~~ Divisional Pathfinder should be someone who would command the ^{full confidence} support of all sections of the Council. ~~At present the His Honour the Resident Commissioner is the~~

Swazi

~~Resident Commissioner is the Divisional~~ Pathfinder as in the other B.C. territories,

(c) The Pathfinder uniform ~~should~~ (shirt + shorts) should have a special Swaziland badge - ~~the~~ national emblem) - on the right side ^{of} the shirt, the Pathfinder badge being on the left as usual. If desired a special ~~of~~ head dress could be designed + reserved for Swazi troops.

(d) The Pathfinder movement in Swaziland might be named - Ina-buthe Pathfinders or given some other distinctively Swazi name. In the latter case ~~the~~ a word beginning with P might be used (and W in the case of the wayfarers).

(e) Pathfinder troops ~~it~~ must be under

warranted by the Chief Pathfinder on the ⁶

Pathfinder officers/recommendation of the
Brazilian Pathfinder Council. They must
fulfil the requirements of the Handbook
paragraph 42. +c. No meeting of Pathfinders
to be held at any time unless under the
control + direction of recognised officers.

(f) Pathfinders to include in their
Promise "my chief or ^{my} Paramount
Chief". It is understood that a Pathfinder
promise does not bind the Pathfinder to
obey orders that are contrary to the religious
+ moral aspects of the promise itself.

(g) Pathfinder troops, ~~under~~ in uniform
+ under their officers to pay regular visits
of respect to their local headmen + the local
magistrates; ^{or once during their Pathfinder period (12-18)} once a year, to visit the
Royal Household to present their loyal respects
to the Paramount Chief [+ also ~~once a year~~
to visit the Resident Commissioner + present
loyal respects to the King].

(h) The visits to the Royal Place to be
^{or at times} for periods, decided upon by the Divisional
Pathfinder Council, but under Pathfinder
discipline, camp conditions etc. At these
visits the Pathfinder troops can show the

Paramount Chief what they have learnt since their previous visit & tell him the services they have rendered ~~to~~ ^{his} people during the time.

N.B. This night will be made the occasion for a national rally of Pathfinders to compete for the Swaziland ~~flag~~ trophy (say Pathfinder flag) in efficiency tests. These tests are organised in the Transvaal districts & have a great influence upon Pathfinder efficiency.

(i) While the Movement as a whole is to be under the Divisional Council, troops under Missions should be supervised by the Churches concerned & the moral discipline should be that of the Church. i.e. an officer suspended for immorality ~~too~~ should be suspended for ~~so long as~~ the same period as his church disciplines him for the offence.

(2) Pathfinder Rules, to be translated into Swazi (Zulu?), Swazi songs, games, poems, stories to be encouraged ~~as well~~ in accordance with Pathfinder policy & distinctive to be approved by the ~~trustee~~ Mission controlling the troop.

also special attention should be given to the Paramount Chief's wishes expressed in the Memoir in regard to distinction

8. If some such organisation functions effectively it should be regarded as fulfilling - in Christian boys at any rate - the functions of the ibutho and ^{the} Pathfinders. ~~Should be automatically exempted from any service in the present ibutho.~~ A definite promise should be given Christian parents that their boys will not be brought under the compulsory Paramount Chief's ^{ibutho} scheme.

Agreement could be regarded as part of the ibutho system

9. The Pathfinders Movement is a voluntary organisation based upon the voluntary freely-offered cooperation of the boy. No attempt must be made to make its membership compulsory. The promise & the laws depend upon ^{a sense of} personal responsibility (as against ^{the} collective responsibility of a tribal group) and high sense of personal honour; nothing must be done to vitiate these features.

6 copies / Notes on Prof. Hoernli's letter

1. ~~I have also~~ We have been in touch with this problem & its peculiar difficulties in Swaziland long before the Chief ~~to~~ openly at any rate, put forward his present scheme. It is of course understandable that ~~the~~ Chief only ~~because~~ felt the urgency of the matter as the need for the naming of a new ~~is~~ but because ^{of} ~~him~~ ~~and~~ ~~not~~ ~~more~~ urgent.

2. This is by no means the first place where we have had similar problems to face of the fitting in of modern social educational ~~ideas~~ movements to the old tribal ceremonies, particularly with regard to initiation. I myself have had them in at least three other areas.

3. I certainly look on myself as not concerned with the general educational ~~development~~ ~~development~~ policies with a view to all Southern Africa, that is as the head of any particular movement in any particular area.

4. I have been closely in touch with the Government officials for several years past. Also with the ~~Mr~~ ^{Mr} Ndlovukazi who has visited ~~to~~ with ~~us~~ ^{us} me the wayfarer in preparation at his ^{own} kraal school. ~~He expressed~~. The ~~ill~~ ^{ill} Ndlovukazi ~~then~~ ^{then} later requested the enrolment of the girls & ~~expressed~~ ^{her}, though unable to be present at the ceremony ~~again~~ had a letter written expressing his gratification that it had been done. All the literatures is in her hands & in Mr. Marwick's presence I explained the movement & her so that it is unlikely there will mis-
conceptions through bad translation. I ~~hope~~ ^{never visited} Central Swaziland without calling on ^{the} Ndlovukazi.

5. I have at the request of the Resident, the Deputy Resident & the Inspector of Education ~~addressed~~ ^{or in some case} all of them addressed various meetings called by them of missionaries, parents, teachers & scholars on wayfarer ideals & methods.

6. I have been in close touch with ~~the~~ some of the missions advising when I could on general educational matters as well as on wayfarer in particular.

6. I have ~~been~~^{kept} in touch with Lady Stanley as
to Wapainig matters in the two H.C. Territories with
which I deal.



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13. X. 34.

REF. NO.

My dear Jones,

Since our brief talk, last Tuesday, on your Swaziland trip, I have had an opportunity of seeing the letter which my wife had received from Mr. Mearns (and which, by the way, made only incidental reference to your having been invited by the Missions to help them). I have also refreshed my memory of my wife's impressions of her visit.

To help dear my own ideas, as well as to make it possible for me to consider them at leisure, I am trying to set them down on paper.

1. The problem impresses me as one which is triangular - Missions, Government, King - bristles with difficulty. Speaking as an outsider all these information is only second-hand. I should say: it will not be easy to find a solution acceptable all round, unless there is a working-

ness of all parties, to face the ground-take necessary for agreement.

2. If this be granted, it seems to me that you can best help if, on your next visit (is understood you to say that you will have to go again?), you get into personal touch with the Government officials - the Chief, and lead their side at first hand, as you already know the Mission side at first hand. At least, I am ~~not~~ reading into our talk - would you, if I am wrong - but you did not discuss the problem with the Chief or with Administrative Officials, or find out just how they look at it and what their difficulties are. I think you could be ^{exceedingly} ~~most~~ helpful as amicus curiae to all parties, and thereby act in the best spirit of an Adviser - Race Relations - but the presupposition is that you know ^{the case,} and have the confidence of all



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2.

parties, whereas at present your position has been rather that of an advocate and ally of one party.

3. I do not think that your having been invited by the Missions, but not by the other parties, need deter you from playing the part ~~you~~ ^I suggest. Granted that you have been invited by the Missions to help them, you can take the line, both with them, the Govt., and the Chief, that your best way of helping them all to the solution of a common problem is to know at first-hand their several sides, and, if possible, bring them round a table together to hammer out a policy.

4. There is only one obstacle to ^{your taking} this line, so

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As far as I can see, viz. your position as Head
of the Panfischer movement, which tends to iden-
tify you with the Mission side and, to that extent,
is a disqualification for your acting as the ob-
jective & impartial mediator which would
be the ideal. There is no way of getting over
this, except that you, yourself, recognizing
the danger of bias, strive to look all
around the problem and to attain to a
balanced judgment.

By the way, there are new developments
in respect of Indian Welfare concerning which
my wife will want to get into touch
with you as soon as is mutually convenient.

Yours sincerely
R.F. Alfred Hoernle



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23. X. 34.

REF. No.

My dear Jones,

Filing away letters just now, I received your letter re your visit to Durban, and was struck by a phrase which, on first reading, I must have passed over without taking in its full significance. It is the phrase: "The summary dismissal of the (Patriotic) movement by the anthropologists".

Behind this phrase lurks a possible misunderstanding which I want to clear up. Last further trouble result. "Dismissal" may mean "rejection" but Schapera and my wife (whose report on the whole system you are, presumably, referring) did not "reject" it. It may mean merely that the Patriotic movement was not treated fully and on its merits in that report. Even then, the words "summary dismissal" do not, at any

rate to my mind, describe fairly the reference
to the P. M. in the final (is it the "final"? I speak
from memory.) paragraph of the report. The words
can be read as implying a deliberate contempt
for the movement for White Race is no evidence
in the report.

I have, no doubt, of course, that Lord Mission
never been asked to write that report, they
would have condemned the Zulu system, and
recommended its absorption into the P. M.
finder movement. Rose, however, was not the
terms of reference of the anthropologists. They
had been asked to report on the Zulu system,
not on the P. M., and to report on the former
as a tribal institution, and on the possibility
of adapting ^{to} it and making it useful in the
present situation in Swaziland. Their report
was, on the whole, favourable, and therefore



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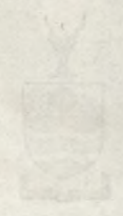
2.

displeased the missionaries who are opposing the system. Schapera, wanting to keep strictly to the facts-reference, at first was against any mention of the P. M. at all. My wife insisted on the P. M. being brought in to the report, however briefly, because she wanted the door kept open for possible co-operation, and disliked the prospect of the growth of the tribe being hindered by the rivalry of two movements, so long as there was any prospect at all of that rivalry being avoided.

This is, to the best of my knowledge, the correct account of how the reference to the P. M. in the report came to be what it is - and neither more nor less.

I dare say, my wife's hopes of a possible

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coöperation are doomed to disappointment -
There are differences of principle which can easily
develop into open antagonism; perhaps have
already done so. In such a conflict, the anthropo-
logists will be in the difficult position of both
agreeing and disagreeing (though on different
points) with both sides. They can certainly not
be expected to range themselves entirely on
the side of the missionaries.

I hope Mr. de Vries up ~~has~~ ^{had}
in mind when you wrote "summary dis-
missal".

Yours sincerely,

R. F. Alfred Hoernli.

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Tues.

Dear Jones,

Herewith I return your draft
Memo. for Dickson, together
with some typed comments
of my own (which, I fear,
won't help you, practically).

I showed your Memo.
to my wife. She has per-
mitted some (at times barely
legible) comments on it. The
comment at the top of p. 11.
refers to her suggestion (also
made in her N.E. Fellowship
paper, but there with special



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REF. NO.

30.10.34.

My dear Jones,

Yesterday afternoon, I told you already that I appreciated the co-operative spirit which runs through your Memo. to Dickson. On re-reading it, last night, I felt moved to say what follows. I realise that, probably, not much of what I am about to say will be of direct use to you for your Memo. Still, it helps me to put it down by way of crystallising my own thoughts; and it may help you, in dealing with a very difficult and involved problem, to see why I look at it from a different angle.

1. If, as you say, in your covering letter to me, your reference to "anthropologists" is aimed at Malinowski and Mumford, it would be better to make this limitation quite clear in the Memo. itself. For, the term, used without qualification, covers Mrs H. and Schapera as well; and their Report on the Ibutho system is, after all, the only official Report drawn up by "anthropologists". It was drawn up prior to, and independently of, the private Memos. of Mal. and Mum., and ^{it} would have been just what it is, if Mal. and Mum. had never turned up in South Africa at all. If your Memo. is circulated among the Missionaries, the scope of your strictures on the Anthropologists is sure to be misunderstood, seeing that many Missionaries are prejudiced against, or suspicious of, all anthropologists, as such.

2. The dispute about the Ibutho system is only a special instance of the fiction introduced into tribal society by the impact of

Missionary activity. Let me try, therefore, to identify, first, the essential core of that friction.

In our White society, we have achieved a "secular" State, based on religious "toleration". This means two things: first, that it is indifferent to the State what religion anyone of its citizens has, or whether he has any religion at all, so long as it can rely on both Christians and non-Christians (from Jews to "pagans") to obey its laws and to fight for it in time of war. And, secondly, that its citizens leave one another in peace in respect of their religious convictions, and do not persecute one another for religious differences, nor aggressively proselytise among one another. There is no Protestant "Mission" to the Roman Catholics, or vice versa. All Christian denominations, even the R.C.s, have in modern White society lost their aggressive propagandist character. They may preach, denounce, hold revival campaigns, ad lib., but a Christian and an Atheist will do business with one another, meet at the same dinner-table, and die in the same trench in war-time.

What has made this possible? I suggest that it is the ^{universal (in} official ^{this} ^{society)} recognition, irrespective of religious differences, of common standards of sex-morality; more particularly, monogamy as the only legal form of marriage, and the condemnation of pre-marital and extra-marital sex-relations. There is agreement and uniformity at any rate in theory and profession (ideal): in fact, the success of monogamy, as an institution, is bought at the price of prostitution and other forms of extra-marital relations, just as there is plenty of pre-marital sex-experience. Still, however much the practice may fall short of the ideal, there is a difference between a social system which permits pre-marital sex-relations and recognises polygamy as an institution, and a system which ^{condemns the former and recognises only monogamous unions.}

3. So far as I know, neither monogamy nor "chastity" (using this word, for convenience, to cover all avoidance of pre-marital and extra-marital sex-relations) are Christian inventions. Both were practised among certain peoples long before Christianity was ever heard of; both are found among non-Christian peoples at the present day. It is, however, true that Christianity has adopted both as essentials of a "Christian" life. Hence, Missionaries, going forth to preach "the gospel of Christ", preach also whatever has, in the course of centuries, become part of historic Christianity. When they denounce "tribalism" and "paganism", they mean, apart from witchcraft, mainly polygamy and unchastity, just as "sin" for most Christians means aberrations from "Christian" sex-morals. (See the Bishop of Pretoria's recent re-declaration of war on "tribalism"). The result is that the Missionaries' attack on tribal sex-morality is, in practice, far more disruptive in its effect on tribal society than their teaching of the Christian concept of God or their instruction in handicrafts and hygiene.

4. And it is disruptive in two ways: On the one hand, because polygamy, where practised, is so deeply wrought into the whole structure of ^{social} life that a polygamist, converted to Christianity, and required to change over to monogamy, finds himself before the awful problem of either remaining outside the Christian communion, or breaking legal and moral obligations incurred in good faith under the polygamous system; On the other hand, because the Missions, in their fear of having their flock contaminated by "heathen" practices, tend to drive a wedge into the tribe so as to preserve their converts from the "temptations" of the rival theory and practice. This, as I see it, the crux of the trouble is the conflict between two systems of morality, and especially of sex-morality.

The Missionaries, intelligibly enough from their point of view, try to build and maintain a Christian society, living according to ^{The} a Christian pattern, in the midst of a society many of the members of which continue to live according to their traditional non-Christian pattern. But, ^{on the Missionaries' side} (the sense of antagonism, and the consequent desire to differentiate and keep apart, tend to spread to all that is tribal and thus to weaken bonds and loyalties which, are, in themselves, worth maintaining and which often are not necessarily in conflict with a Christian life at all, unless one confuses (as many Missionaries in the past have been apt to do) what is non-European with what is non-Christian.

5. The Chief, so far as we can make out, is genuinely concerned over the danger of disruption and division with which the cohesion of the tribe is threatened through the split between Christians and non-Christians, and their being herded into mutually exclusive organisations. ^{to} That cohesion, ^{is} that Swazi loyalty (or patriotism, if one likes so to call it), are values worth preserving and strengthening, especially when one considers that the de-tribalised Native, ~~and~~ even if Christianised, is not, after all, organically incorporated into White "Christian" society. Colour-bars, and -prejudices keep him an outcast, and he needs the moral support of a social group in which he is not ~~an outcast~~ differentiated against merely because he is a Native and his skin is not white, and from which it would be fatal to let him be divided by his conversion to Christianity. The Chief's problem, so viewed, is the wholly intelligible one of preserving the living cohesion of Swazi society in a way which will admit of the inclusion within it of Christian and non-Christian Swazis alike.

6. The Chief wants to use the Ibutho system as the instrument for restoring and maintaining the integration of the Swazi tribe. For this purpose, it is in principle well fitted, both because of its traditional function, and because it is a life-long organisation, which is able to function, not merely as a youth movement, but as an effective group-tie ~~between~~ adult men and adult women. In this respect, I still think it differs from the Pathfinder Movement, if one is to judge by the analogy of the Scout Movement. It is all very well to set down a Pathfinder group of "18 - ": in fact, does the P.M. hold the overwhelming majority of its members after 18 to 20, any more than ~~does~~ the Scout Movement? It seems to me that the P.M. has inherited from the S.M. a de facto limitation to a movement for boys and youths, including adults only as officers and officials. This limitation is not, of course, essential, but if there is to be a development of adult groups, it is far more likely to come through the affiliation of the Swazi Pathfinder organisation with the Ibutho system, than in any other way. For, the Ibutho system brings the tradition of life-long membership automatically with it.

7. As Mrs H. has recommended in some detail, and as, so we understand, the Chief has agreed and is willing to guarantee, the Pathfinder groups affiliated with the Ibutho system would be given every facility for maintaining their own forms of discipline and standards of conduct; be under their own officers; have their own camp when gathered at the Chief's Kraal together with other Ibutho groups; etc. One would hope that, in this contact with non-Christian Ibutho groups, they would distinguish themselves as an élite in conduct, efficiency and loyalty, and thus exercise a powerful pull by their example.

8. Tribal sex-morality is not an essential part of the Ibutho system. If members of the Ibutho engage in pre-marital sex-relations or, as adults, practise polygamy, they do so, not because they belong to the Ibutho and are thereby obliged to do so, but because they follow general tribal custom and tradition. Membership of the Ibutho, as such, imposes no obligation or compulsion to conform to these customs; and there is, therefore, no reason why Christian members of the Ibutho should not practise, and be proud of practising, their own morality in these matters.

9. A last remark, merely by the way: the Pathfinder oath demands loyalty to God, to King, to Chief - clearly assuming that the demands of these three will never conflict. In the present difficult transition period for the Swazis, this is a tremendous assumption, especially when for a Christian Swazi the will of God is interpreted by a Missionary, and the will of the King by a Resident, or High, Commissioner; and when, even on matters which have nothing to do with sex-morals, Missionary, Commissioner, and Chief may well fail to see eye to eye.

(Also: the first Pathfinder "law" seems to me to be worded ambiguously. A law is a command addressed to someone who is to obey it. But, the law that "A Pathfinder's honour is to be trusted", reads like a command addressed to the general public to trust Pathfinders because they are honourable, whereas it is presumably meant to be addressed to Pathfinders and asks them to behave honourably so that people may trust them! Or does it mean: A Pathfinder counts it an honour to be trusted (or: to inspire trust)? But this would hardly be a "law": what does it command?)

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