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University of Cape Town

SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS INSTITUTIONS

OF THE TLHAPING

OF THE TAUNG RESERVE

By

B.A. Pauw

Thesis for the degree of Ph.D.

University of Cape Town

1955 (First Term)

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Summary of thesis

SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS INSTITUTIONS

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Summary of thesis

SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS INSTITUTIONS OF THE TLHAPING OF THE TAUNG RESERVE

The thesis is a study of present-day religion in a rural Bantu society, viewed within the framework of their social structure. The society is that of the Tlhaping of the Phuduhutswana chiefdom of the Taung reserve. After an introductory chapter on the historical and geographical background a chapter is devoted to the social and economic changes that have taken place or are still taking place, such as the scattering of the population from a large central capital, the concomitant changes in political organisation, the weakening of kinship ties, and participation in migrant labour.

By far the most prominant type of religion in this society to-day is that represented by the Christian churches, and the major part of this study therefore deals with the churches, but in a separate chapter the remnants of pagan belief and ritual are also discussed.

Distinction is made between the so-called Separatist or Independent churches which have no European leaders or members, and such churches as do have connections with Europeans, and the study is concerned with both of these categories. The chapters dealing with the churches contain certain particulars abouth their history in the chiefdom, detailed church statistics, and discussions of church organisation, the pattern of church activities and services, and of ritual and avowed experiences of revelation. (The material contained in these chapters is reflected in some detail by the "Contents" prefixed to the thesis.)

The Tlhaping are an important section of the southern Tswana, but not much ethnographic material about them has been available so far. Dr F.J. Language has published some,[1] mostly dealing with a reconstruction of what used to be the political organisation in former times. The section in this thesis dealing with present-day social structure and economy therefore constitutes new material on the Tlhaping. I would particularly mention the material on the process of scattering of the population and concomitant changes.

The thesis also makes a new contribution to literature on the Tswana generally in that it provides detailed material on the present-day religion of a Tswana people, i.e. on the remnants of paganism as well as on the churches. I do not know of a similar study being made of any other Tswana people. In particular the thesis adds to the knowledge of Separatist or Independant churches among the Tswana about which the material available up to date is scanty.

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[1]) Language, F.J., Stamregering by die Tlhaping, Pro- Ecclesia drukkery, Stellenbosch, 1943. Cf. also "Herkoms en Geskiedenis van die Tlhaping", African Studies, Vol. 1, no. 2, and "Die Bogwera van die Tlhaping", Tydskrif vir Wetenskap en Kuns, 4, Tweede Aflewering (1943). These papers form part of Dr Language's D. Phil. Thesis, Kapteinskap onder die Tlhaping (University of Stellenbosch, 1941), of which some parts have not been published.

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PREFACE

This thesis is an attempt at a study of present-day religion in a rural Bantu society, viewed within the wider framework of their social structure and economy. Being a missionary, it is hardly necessary to explain why I chose to investigate this particular subject, but I do wish to mention the fact that my interest was very much stimulated by Dr Sundkler's study of Zulu Separatist or Independent Churches, and from the outset I wish to record the fact that I am very much indebted to his valuable study.[1]) Dr Sundkler's book provided me with numerous suggestions of lines along which a study such as the one I was undertaking, could proceed. Although I also paid particular attention to the Separatist Churches in the present study, I did try to make it more than a mere parallel of Dr Sundkler's study among a different people. In the first place I chose a different approach by concentrating my attention on a restricted area and investigating that as intensively as possible. On the other hand, within this restricted area I have tried to conduct my investigations on a wider front by studying the social structure and economy in some detail and by including in the study all aspects of present-day religion, i.e. not only the Separatist Churches, but also the non-Separatist Churches, and the existing remnants of traditional pagan religion.

I started my missionary career among the Bantu in the locations and mine compounds in and around

---

[1])Sundkler, Bengt G.M., Bantu Prophets in South Africa, Lutterworth Press, London, 1948.

Kimberley (1950-1951) and while I was there I became interested in the Tlhaping of the Taung reserve, so that when the opportunity for doing full-time research presented itself, I decided to do my fieldwork there. I considered that a study of the reserve would be particularly useful to me since I knew that quite possibly I would in future again be engaged in missionary work in the Northern Cape.

The Taung reserve consists of two separate chiefdoms, viz. the Phuduhutswana chiefdom, of which the chief lives at Taung, and the Maidi chiefdom, of which the chief lives at Manthe. I confined my investigations to the Phuduhutswana chiefdom, which constitutes about two-thirds of the whole reserve with an estimated population of 31,000 (see p. n.).

The investigation proceeded along the usual lines followed in social anthropological fieldwork. I spent altogether just over a year in the chiefdom, from September 1952 to February 1953 (5½ months) and again from June 1953 to January 1954 (7½ months). I was accompanied by my wife and at first we camped and later had a hut built adjoining some homesteads not far from the chief's kgotla. When commencing fieldwork I already had a little knowledge of Tswana and it was only during the first few months that I made considerable use of an interpreter. During the first period of fieldwork I concentrated on increasing my knowledge of the language and on obtaining a general impression of the life of the people, and of their social structure and economy. During the second period I concentrated on religion. My research methods included the attendance and observation of different types of activities (e.g. tribal assemblies and court sessions, weddings, funerals, and a variety of church activities), interviews with special informants on traditional matters and with

church leaders, teachers, and Europeans who have regular contacts with the Tlhaping. I also collected written information from literate informants, gave school children essays to write on topics which interested me, and conducted a sample survey of 63 homesteads. (For particulars of the sample survey, see Appendix II.) In respect of the churches I may point out that I contacted leaders of every church of which I knew and collected certain information from all the churches. In one or two cases I made use of written questionnaires, and occasionally I enquired after a point that had escaped my notice by means of correspondence, but nearly all the informants were interviewed personally. Sometimes I also had interviews with ordinary church members, apart from those with the leaders.

Although we lived in one place all the time, I travelled a great deal, always using a bicycle - a common means of conveyance among men in the chiefdom - and this was one factor which I think helped me to get close to the people and to gain their confidence. Not that I would claim that I gained their confidende to the full, but enough to enable me to obtain the information which is presented in this study.

I did not try to hide the fact that I was a missionary, but whenever I was questioned about my regular profession I explained that I was not undertaking the investigation on behalf of, or to propagate a particular denomination, but because of my interest in the Bantu people. I think the fact that I was seldom addressed as moruti (the form of address for ministers and missionaries) but in time became known by the name of Rraditšô (Father-of-ditšô, the word ditšô referring to genealogies, history and tradition) shows

that I was accepted as visiting them primarily as investigator.

If the reader is to assess the significance of a student's material as fully as possible he should know something about the student's background. For this reason I mention the fact that I was brought up in an Afrikaans-speaking home, first in Northern Rhodesia where my father was a missionary, and later in the Cape, where he was then serving a European congregation. Of importance in the present context is my adherence to the Reformed branch of Christian tradition. That I mention these facts does not imply that I have not tried to be scientifically impartial and honest in my investigation, but I do not believe that it is possible for an investigator to be in no wise influenced by his own convictions.

This study was made possible by a bursary from the University of Stellenbosch which enabled me to spend some months at Leyden University and the Dutch Missionary College at Oegstgeest, and to undertake my first field trip. For the second field trip I received a grant from the National Council for Social Research. I wish to express my sincere appreciation to both these bodies for their assistance. My research and the writing of the first few chapters were supervised by Prof. Monica Wilson of the University of Cape Town and later she read the complete draft of the manuscript. I am very grateful for her able guidance and valuable comments. The same applies to Dr John Middleton under whose supervision the thesis was completed. I wish to thank Prof. G.B.A. Gerdener of the Theological Seminary at Stellenbosch, and Mr Charles Johnman, also of Stellenbosch, for reading the draft manuscript and for their comments and criticism - from a theological and missionary point of view (Prof. Gerdener) and in re-

spect of language (Mr Johnman). I am particularly grateful to the London Missionary Society for granting me access to many of the reports and letters in their London Archives. None of the L.M.S. reports I have quoted or referred to in the thesis may be reproduced in any form without the permission of the Society.

In the Taung reserve a great number of people rendered assistance without which this study would not have been possible. I mention Messrs Norton and Bowen who successively filled the position of Native Commissioner while I was doing fieldwork, as well as many members of their staff, both Europeans and Africans; chief Thapama Mankurwane, councillor Morwagabuse (Samuel) Mankurwane and headman Tlhapietsile (Jim) Molala and many other headmen, as well as Mr J.W.J. Makgothi who assisted me as interpreter and clerk. I wish to thank all the people who acted as informants, and here I include all the ministers, other church leaders and teachers. I also wish to mention the European traders, the representative of the Native Recruiting Corporation and officials of the Northern Lime Company who provided information. My wife and I wish to thank the Rev. Joseph Wing and Mrs Wing of the London Mission very particularly, not only for their co-operation but also for many tokens of kindness and hospitality.

I am very grateful to my mother and my parents-in-law who contributed in many ways to make possible the completion of this thesis. My last acknowledgement goes to my wife who was willing to forfeit a settled home for the first few years of our married life and to share the experiences in connection with this study. She also rendered practical assistance in various ways.

B.A. PAUW.

April 1955.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION :

HISTORICAL AND GEOGRAPHICAL BACKGROUND.

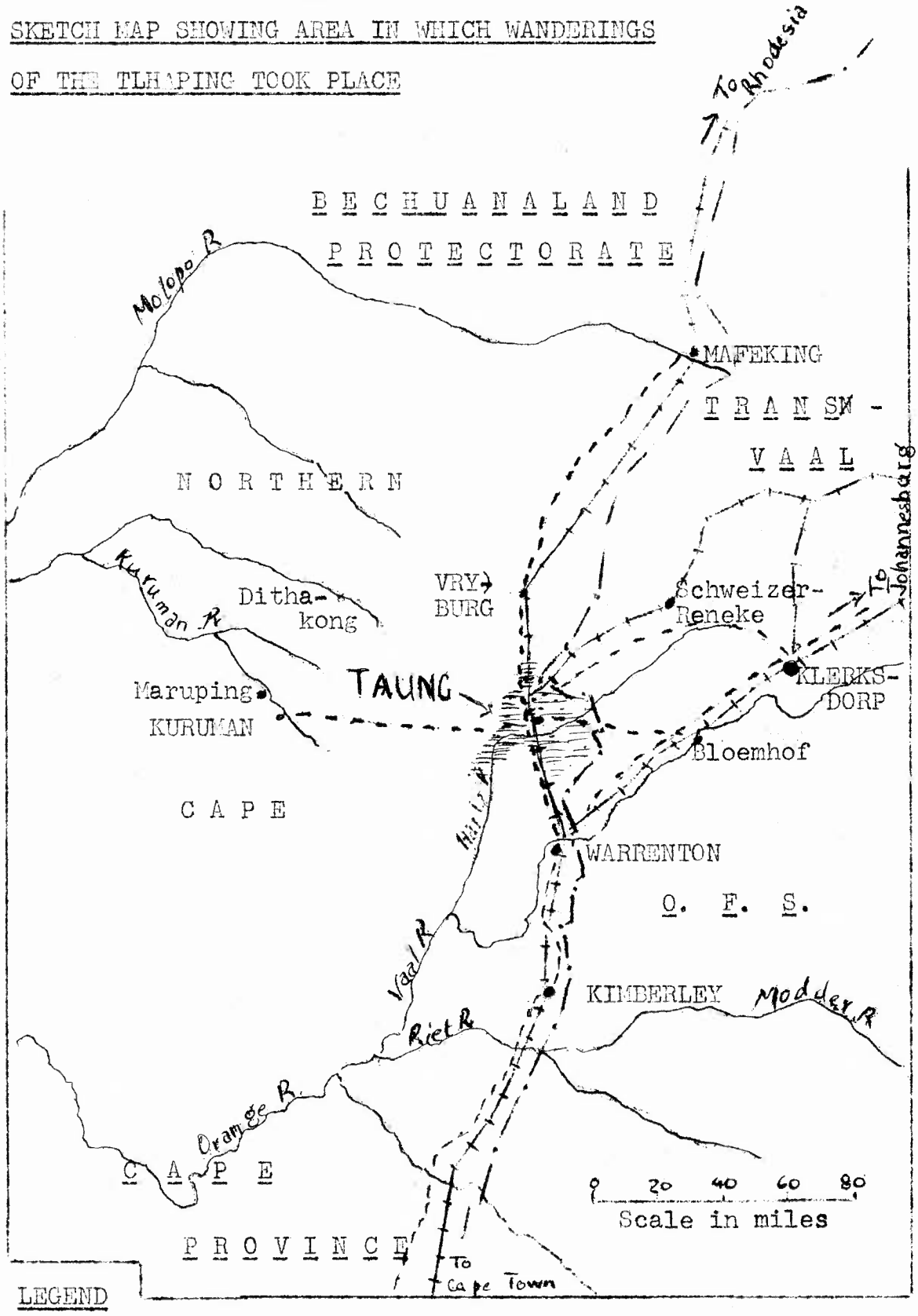
The Tlhaping belong to the Tswana cluster of tribes, and are generally held t o be an offshoot of the Rolong. Their wnaderings as a tribe have for the most part been confined to what is now the Northern Cape, consisting of the former British Bechuanaland and Griqualand West. It is difficult at determine when the Tlhaping separated from the parent tribe, but when visited by European travellers at the beginning of the eighteenth century, they were already well established as a separate tribe. Tradition has it that the Rolong had their head-quarters at Taung when the split took place, and that the seceding Tlhaping made their home at a place called Dikgatlhong, at the confluence of the Vaal and Hartz Rivers. During their first stay at Dikgatlhong hard times compelled the seceding group to substitute fish from the river for the more usual constituents of their diet. As a result of this they became known as Ba-tlhaping (those of the fish's place; from tlhapi, a fish). Some informants maintain that the fish is also the totem of the Tlhaping but generally this is denied and it is held that they have the same totem as the parent tribe (the Rolong), viz. the koodoo (thôlô).

After the Tlhaping had been at Dikgatlhong for some time, the Rolong chief at Taung invited them to return, which they did. They soon scented treason, however, and fled. In an ensuing battle the Rolong were defeated.

Late in 1801 the expedition of Truter and Somerville found the tribe living at Dikgatlhong (Lattakoo, Takoon) under chief Molehabangwe. It would appear that these were not the first Europeans to visit the Tlhaping: Language and

MAP "A":

SKETCH MAP SHOWING AREA IN WHICH WANDERINGS OF THE TLHAPING TOOK PLACE



Moffat [1]) mention earlier visits by some Europeans of less favourable character. Moreover, two missionaries, Edwards and Kok, had settled along the Kuruman River shortly before the visit of Truter and Somerville, but this missionary enterprise was shortlived. In subsequent years the Tlhaping were visited by various travellers: there were the company including Lichtenstein (1805), the party of Cowan and Donovan (1807), which never returned from the interior, Burchell (1812), and Dr Campbell (1812-13), who had been sent out on a tour of inspection by the London Missionary Society. "It was directly as a result of this /Campbell's visit/ that the L.M.S. decided to establish a mission among the Batlhaping". [2])

After an unsuccessful attempt by the missionaries Evans and Hamilton, the Mission was established in December 1816 by Read, who "not only obtained permission to remain, but also persuaded Mothibi who had succeeded Molehabangwe as chief to remove the tribal capital to a more suitable site near the Kuruman River. This was done in June, 1817. The new settlement was first called 'New Lattakoo', but soon became known as Kuruman; it was located at Maruping, ten miles from the present town of Kuruman." [3]) In 1820 Read left, and in May, 1821, Moffat arrived to take charge. In 1824 the Mission station was moved to its present site at Seoding (seven miles from Maruping, and three from Kuruman).

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1) Language, F.J. "Herkoms en Geskiedenis van die Tlhaping"; African Studies, Vol. 1, No.2 June 1942.

Moffat, Robert. Missionary Labours and Scenes in South Africa. Cincinatti. 1856. (Twelfth Edition, p. 150.)

2) Schapera, I. (Ed.) Apprenticeship at Kuruman. Oppenheimer Series Number Five. Chatto & Windus, London. 1951. p. xvi.

3) Schapera, op. cit., p. xvi.

As Moffat is really the one who finally established the Kuruman Mission, it is important to our purpose to take note of his attitude towards the Tlhaping and their way of life. He had, in fact, little interest in native life and customs, and often remarks on the degenerate character of the people. His ideal was not only to induce the natives to accept Christianity, but also to change their whole way of life. It is significant that he wrote with enthusiasm about opening up new channels for British trade.[1] Although Moffat applied himself to these ideals with remarkable determination and perseverance, his attempts met with little success for many years. He was allowed to proclaim the gospel by means of sermons, conversations, and other ways of teaching, but there was no sign of the people accepting it. Though not openly hostile, they embittered the life of the missionaries with numerous acts of callousness and insolence. Meanwhile Moffat made great efforts to master the Tswana language.

A factor which made matters difficult for Moffat was the continual unrest in which the tribe was living. One of the most alarming events during his first years at Kuruman was the raid of a fearful horde, known as the Mmantatisi, into the area inhabited by the Tswana. "In 1822-23 the southern parts of Bechuanaland were suddenly invaded from the east by various hordes of Sotho peoples. Themselves fugitives of the Zulu chief Shaka, these hordes, rendered homeless and deprived of their means of sustenance, fell on the tribes in their path of flight, whom they ruthlessly attacked and plundered. By June, 1923, one group had got as far as Dithakong (Old Lattakoo), and was apparently heading for Kuruman. As Moffat describes, a hurried appeal to Griquatown brought aid from Waterboer and his fellow-chiefs, whose forces, although greatly outnumbered, were able, be cause of their fire-arms and horses,

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[1] Moffat, op. cit., pp. 334-5.

to invlict a signal defeat upon the invaders." [1]) Although the danger from this source was diverted, subsequent years saw the Tlhaping continually threatened by bands of raiding Bushmen, Griquas, and Korannas. [2]) On at least two occasions the chief, Mothibi, and the majority of the inhabitants abandoned the capital for some months on account of the activities of the marauders.

It was not before 1829 that Moffat began to see the first signs of success. It came in the form of a general spiritual awakening, marked by a large and eager attendance at the services,and a highly emotional reaction on the part of the audience. In May of that year the first six converts were baptized, and a church building, which had voluntarily been erected by converts, was consecrated. [3])

It must be kept in mind, however, that by this time the dispersion of the Tlhaping tribe from Kuruman was probably already starting. Dr Language relates that about 1829-30 Mothibi and a portion of the tribe left the Kuruman area, going south-east as far as the confluence of the Vaal and Great Riet Rivers. Lephoi, Mothibi's uncle who had accompanied him, went on into the Orange Free State, while his son Yanki (Jantjie) eventually settled at Dikgatlhong, the former home of the tribe. Another son, Gasebonwe, settled at Phokwane. [4]) The section that had accompanied Mothibi formed only a small minority of the tribe. Those remaining at Kuruman now regarded the house of Molala, Mothibi's brother next in rank to him, as the rightful rulers. As Molala had died young, and his heir, Mankurwane, was still a child, Mahura acted as regent. Not long a fterwards, Mahura and the majority of the Kuruman people moved to Taung, leaving a small section behind under Mahura's sister, Marenyane. [5])

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[1]) Schapera, op. cit., pp. xxiii-xxiv.

[2]) Cf. Schapera, op. cit., pp. 177, 185, 278-9.

[3]) Moffat, op. cit., pp. 328-30.

[4]) Cf. Genealogy, APPENDIX I.

[5]) Language, op. cit.

This splitting up of the tribe into different sections makes it impracticable to use the term "tribe" in the same sense as Prof. Schapera has done, viz as denoting a single politically independent group of people, "living in a particular Reserve" and acknowledging "the supremacy of the chief of its ruling community".[1] At present, for instance, there are in the Taung reserve two politically independent groups of Tlhaping, each with its own chief exercising jurisdiction over a particular part of the Reserve. (See below). Formerly the Phokwane section also formed an independent political unit and inhabited an adjacent territory. One or two other sections, which have now become scattered, also appear to have formed politically independent groups for some length of time after the splitting up of the original tribe. Since I think there is reason for speaking of the Tlhaping tribe as including all these sections which originally formed a single political group, I shall rather use the term "chiefdom" for what now exists as a politically independent section under its own chief and inhabiting its own particular territory, whether this forms the whole or only part of a reserve.[2]

The section of the Tlhaping that settled at Taung remained under Mission influence, because it became an outstation of Kuruman, receiving regular visits from the missionaries. Wm. Ross was the first missionary to be stationed at Taung in 1841. When, in 1846, the tribe moved to Mamusa (now Schweizer Reneke in the Transvaal), Ross followed them

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1) Schapera, I. A Handbook of Tswana Law and Custom. International Institute of African Languages and Cultures, O.U.P., London 1938.

2) Where "tribe" is used it will be in less specific sence.

there, but when they returned to Taung after a few years, he left them. Ross' work was not without success, for Mackenzie [1]) relates that only one of Mahure's sons had been baptized, but that "if the chiefs have not believed, many of the common people have". He tells of "a considerable number" whom he met at the table of the Lord when visiting Taung in 1863. In 1868 an L.M.S. missionary was again placed at Taung and it has remained a permanent mission station since then.

In 1857 the Taung section of the tribe was drawn into a clash with the Boers of the Orange Free State. Gasebonwe of Phokwane, Phoetsile, the son of Phetlu, and Motlhabane of the Maidi had joined some Bushmen in raiding farms in the O.F.S. When the Boers came to take revenge, those who managed to escape, took refuge at Taung with Mahure. The Tlhaping refused to comply with the Boers' demands for the return of the captured cattle and further payments of damages and costs, and were badly beaten in an ensuing battle.

The discovery of diamonds in the sixties, and the subsequent opening of the diggings along the Vaal River, and of the mines at Kimberley influenced the life of the Tlhaping in many ways. Within a few months the diggings brought thousands of adventurers to the banks of the Vaal River [2]). For many years, the diggings and the mines drew the Tlhaping as labourers and gave rise to the coming and going through Tlhaping territory of people from many different tribes in the interior. At times there have been attempts to have diggings proclaimed in the reserve itself

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1) Mackenzie, John, Ten Years North of the Orange River. Edinburgh. 1871. p. 89.

2) Mackenzie, op. cit., p. 94.

In 1920 part of it (in the Maidi area) was actually opened as diamond diggings, and some 7,000 Europeans flocked there, but these diggings proved a failure, and the numbers of fortune-hunters soon dwindled.

After the death of Mahure in 1869, he was succeeded by Mankurwane for whom he had actually been acting as regent. At his stage a period of dispute and strife had already started. This culminated in the proclamation in 1884 of a British protectorate over the area. Disputes about stock raiding and land developed between the South African Republic and the native tribes (including Koranna and Griqua), as well as amongst some of these tribes mutually, and in time the British Government and that of the Cape Colony also became involved. During this time the western border of the Republic, ill-defined as it was in the beginning, moved gradually westward. In 1881 trouble arose between the Rolong chief Montshiwa and the Koranna chief Massouw. Mankurwane on his part attacked Massouw in order to assist the Rolong . A drawn-out struggle developed in which Massouw engaged a number of European mercenaries, mostly Afrikaans-speaking. Mankurwane was also aided by a smaller number of Europeans, mostly of British descent. In 1882 an agreement was reached which brought a temporary pause in the hostilities. In the settlement which allowed for the assigning of territory to the "volunteers" on both sides, from which each of them was to receive a farm, Massouw's "volunteers" apparently took the initiative. The area apportioned to the Europeans was the northern part of the Tlhaping territory. The recipients of these farms formed the Republic of Stellaland in 1883 and subsequently founded the town of Vryburg. The agreement, however, did not bring hostilities to a final close, and there was still continual friction between Mankurwane and the Stellalanders.

To the south of Taung the crown colony of Griqua-

land West had been formed more than ten years earlier, so that Taung was now enclosed on three sides by Europeans. Europeans were soon also laying claims to certain concessions by Mankurwane to the north-west of Griqualand, so that the development toward the complete enclosure of Mankurwane's territory had progressed very far by the time that the Protectorate of British Bechuanaland was proclaimed (1884). A Land Commission was appointed to settle the matter of land rights and its final report was signed on May 29, 1886. A number of reserves for occupation by natives were delimited. "In Tlhaping country outside Stellaland the Commissioners began by marking out ten native reserves varying in size from single farms of 300 morgen to the Taung Reserve of 690 square miles [slightly more than its present size], with a total area of 1183½ square miles. Assuming a population of 27,265, admittedly only a rough estimate, the Commissioners calculated that they had allowed 27.8 acres per head".[1]) An important aspect of the Commission's settlement is that after the delimitation fo the reserves about 1400 square miles of ' "waste Crown land available for settlement" ' remained in the country of the Tlhaping, so that allowance was made for further European expansion. In 1895 British Bechuanaland became part of the Cape Colony.

Early in the nineties the railway line from Kimberley to the north was built through the Taung reserve. This was in itself an important development but it is also significant because it was the cause of many Nguni people settling among the Tlhaping. Many Xhosa-speaking people were recruited from the eastern areas as labourers for the construction of the railway and some of them eventually settled in Taung so that the population of the reserve to-day includes a considerable Nguni element.

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[1]) Agar-Hamilton, J.A.I. The Road to the North, Longmans, Green and Co., London, 1937. p.436.

On his death in 1892 Mankurwane was succeeded by his son Molala. In the opinion of present-day informants Mankurwane was a strong and influential chief who drew many people to the ranks of his followers. His reign is to them the golden age of the Tlhaping, when true Tswana law and custom was still enforced. They hold that after his reign the influence and status of the chief declined progressively.

Early in chief Molala's reign (1895) came the rinderpest epidemic. The measures taken against the disease by the Government gave rise to rebellion on the part of the Tlhaping of Phokwane under Galeshiwe. The outcome of the conflict was that Galeshiwe and a large number of his followers were taken captive and sent to the Cape, while their land was confiscated and divided into farms. After his return from exile, Galeshiwe was given the right to settle in the southern part of the Taung chief's area, where a small group of his followers gathered around him.

Of the other sections of the Tlhaping (i.e. excepting those of the Taung reserve) none have persisted as separate chiefdoms. Some Tlhaping are found in the Barkly-west reserves, a number of small reserves south-west of Taung, where they are administered by a number of separate headmen who do not come under the jurisdiction of any chief but are responsible only to the Native Commissioner. Many are scattered on farms and smaller reserves in various districts of the Northern Cape.

In 1895 a Roman Catholic Mission was started at Taung by Father Porte, a French missionary who had formerly worked in Basutoland. Up to this stage the L.M.S. had been the only Mission at Taung itself, but the Anglicans had already started work at Phokwane at Galeshiwe's headquarters. Approximately during the years from 1909 to 1911

Taung was visited by a succession of separatist "prophets", of whom several came into conflict with the law.

At this juncture the Tlhaping had one or two remarkably good years with abundant rain and bumper crops. After this the agricultural yields seem to have deteriorated and by the early thirties conditions were very unfavourable. At this stage the Government was planning what is now the Vaal-Hartz Irrigation Scheme in the Hartz River valley. In exchange for the privilege of having the scheme extended into the reserve the Tlhaping were asked to cede some land in the southern part of their territory, so as to increase the area available for European settlement on the scheme. The Governement undertook to try to secure an equivalent amount of land which would be joined to the reserve in another area. Some months after the proposal had been made, the Local Council conveyed the decision of a general tribal assembly to the Native Commissioner, to the effect that the people accepted the proposal. By 1939-40 development work started in the reserve, and during the summer of 1940-41 the first plots for irrigation were allotted. By September of 1953 a total of 4200 morgen had been developed. In the northern areas the reserve has now been extended by land exactly equivalent in area to that which was ceded in the south. Now that the area in the south has been brought under irrigation, it is hardly possible to judge whether the new area whic has been added in the north is of the same quality as that which the Tlhaping surrendered. I have been told that some natives consider the new land as being of an inferior quality. It must be added, however, that they were consulted as to which farms they wished to have added to their territory, and of those that were chosen enough were bought and added to the reserve to equal the ceded area.[1])

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[1]) Information provided by the Secretary for Native Affairs in a letter dated 24/9/53. (Ref. No. 235/337).

The eastern part of the reserve belongs to the Maidi-Tlhaping whose chief is at Manthe. Their independence of the Tlhaping of Taung (Phuduhutswana-Tlhaping) is recognised by the Government. The Maidi are considered to have originated at about the same time as the Phuduhutswana. It is said that after the defeat of the Rolong at the hands of the Tlhaping, the Rolong chief attributed their defeat to treachery on the part of a man called Maidi. Maidi, fearing for his life, fled to the Tlhaping, accompanied by a small group of followers. This group has remained associated with the main group of Tlhaping to this day. They are also called Tlhaping, but are distinguished from the others by the name of their first leader, Maidi. Formerly the Maidi used to be subordinate to the Phuduhutswana and although the latter now accept their independence in practice, they still maintain that the Maidi are by right subordinate to the Phuduhutswana chief.

The Taung reserve is situated about 80 miles north of Kimberley and covers a total area of 197,012 morgen.[1] It is practically surrounded by European owned farms. On the east it borders on the Transvaal, while part of the southern border is formed by the Vaal-Hartz Irrigation Scheme, where a few thousand Europeans have been settled on irrigated holdings of about thirty morgen each. On the southern side the reserve also touches the most northern of what will be referred to as the Barkly West reserves. The town of Vryburg is about twenty miles north of the northern boundary of the reserve.

The region is dominated by a valley running from north to south, widening from about four miles in the north

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[1] Figure supplied by the Superintendent, Taung Irrigation Scheme.

to about fifteen miles in the southern areas. The base of the valley is just above 3,500 feet above sea level. Down the valley runs the Leeuw or Dry Hartz River, which later joins the larger Hartz River. On the western side an unbroken escarpment rises a few hundred feet above the valley, with a gradually rising plateau to the west of it. On the east is a broken plateau of about 4,000 feet, through which the Hartz River, coming from the east, cuts a narrow gorge. Along the foot of these eastern hills runs the main channel conducting the water for irrigation purposes from the Vaal River Weir. Between this channel on the east, and the Hartz and Dry Hartz Rivers on the west lies the Taung Irrigation Scheme. (Cf. map "C".)

Large parts of the eastern hills are covered with thorn trees, mostly a species known as moku (Acacia litakunensis). At some places these tree-covered areas run down into the valley. Other areas in the east as well as the western plateau have large shrubs and bushes.[1]) At some places this type of vegetation grows down into the valley from the western side. Along the river banks and at other places in the valley area, clumps of blue bush (motlhaje; Royena pallens Thunb.) abound. For the rest the valley area is mostly bare and inhospitable. That this is the result of over-grazing is beyond doubt, because where controlled grazing has been introduced, grasslands have developed.

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[1]) The following are some of the shrubs and bushed found: vaalbos or wild cotton (mohatlha; Tarchonanthus camphoratus L.), kareebos (mokhidi; Rhus, tridactyla Burch.), wild olive (moretlhwa; Olea verrucosa), elandsboontjie, (mositsane; elephantorrhiza burchelii Benth. or elephantorrhiza burkei Benth.)

In the western parts of the reserve lime deposits occur, and mining for lime is in operation at Buxton.

The area gets most of its rain in summer, often with heavy thunderstorms. The average annual rainfall for the period 1936-50 was 17 inches.[1] Besides being low, the rainfall is irregular, and droughts frequently occurr. (From Moffat's records it is clear that this was so even in his time.[2]) Tempa_ratures are typical of continental conditions: summer temperatures of 106°F. are not uncommon, while in winter frost occasionally occurs. Day temperatures in winter are mostly pleasantly mild.

The railway line from the Cape to Rhodesia runs through the reserve. There is a station at Taung and one at Pudimoe, and railway sidings at Mogopela and Dry Hartz. At Taung a private line branches off to the lime works at Buxton, while Pudimoe is the junction for the line to the Western Transvaal and the Reef. The main road from Kimberley to Mafeking also passes through the reserve, while important roa_ds go from Taung to Kuruman in the west, and to the Transvaal in the east. Another road runs eastward into the Transvaal from Pudimoe.

In former times the most important concentration of Europeans used to be at what is called Taung Village, about a mile-and-a-half from the chief's kgotlas (official meetingplace). Nowadays Taung Station is the most important centre with nine general dealers' stores, one furniture store, three cafés, a butchery, four garages, and a hotel.

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1) Annual Report of the Superintendent, Taung Irrigation Scheme, for July 1950 to June 1951.

2) Cf. Apprenticeship at Kuruman, pp. 12, 233, and 270.

There is a post office at the station with a branch office at Taung Village and another at Buxton (Norlim). Between the station and the village is the Irrigation Scheme Depot where members of the Government agricultural staff are housed. The largest concentration of Europeans is at Buxton.

CHAPTER II.

SOCIAL STRUCTURE.

Territorial and political groupings.

One of the typical aspects of Tswana social structure which is still encountered among many tribes at the present time, is the tendency to congregate in large towns. Such towns are divided into wards - sometimes also sub-wards -, each ward consisting for the most part of patrilineal kinsmen. In many cases the majority of the tribe is concentrated in a large capital, the rest of the people living in a number of outlying villages.[1] While this is not the pattern in Taung to-day, it is clear that the Tlhaping used to follow it in the past. Reports about the tribe during their sojourn in the Kuruman area, relate that they were living together in considerable numbers, and that the town was divided into a number of sections, for which Campbell already used the term 'wards'.[2] From the reports of present-day informants, both native and European, it is evident that this also used to be the situation at Taung. It was possible to discern remnants of some such wards (or sub-wards) during my period of fieldwork.

The extensive powers, elevated status, and unifying influence that used to be[3] associated with Tswana chieftainship, has already been described by Prof. Schapera. Here we would just draw attention to the fact that besides holding the most important position in the political hierarchy,

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1) Schapera, I., A Handbook of Tswana Law and Custom, Oxford University Press, 1938, pp. 8, 19-24, and The Tswana International African Institute, London, 1953, pp. 35f., 46.

2) Campbell, John, Travels in South Africa...being a Narrative of a Second Journey. London. 1822. Vol.II, pp. 152-4.

3) Much of what follows is still applicable to some of the Tswana tribes in the Bechuanaland Protectorate.

the chief used to fulfil important military, economic, and religious functions. In the field of religion one of his responsibilities was to see that the rain-making ritual was performed. This was of supreme importance. He was considered to be the link between his people and the spirits of deceased chiefs who still influenced the welfare of the tribe after their death, and great reverence was shown to him on account of his role as "tribal priest".[1])

In the administration of the tribe or chiefdom the chief was assisted by ward headmen who were responsible for the administration of their respective wards. The position of a ward headman was hereditary, and he was by descent the senior member of the patrilineal group forming the ward. The powers of the chief were limited by a system of counselling, in which a council (sekhudutamaga) consisting mainly of the ward heads was of major importance. In the general tribal assemblies, all the adult male members of the tribe had a right to voice their opinion. Besides the council of ward headmen, the chief had a small number of specially trusted advisers whom he could consult individually or as a group.[2])

In the Phuduhutswana chiefdom of Taung many features of this typically Tswana pattern have largely disappeared. The chiefdom is no longer politically independent. The Native Commissioner for the Taung district[3]) is the local representative of the Native Affairs Department of the Union Government. His administrative and judicial authority exceeds that of the chief. Besides formal checks

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1) Schapera, I., A Handbook of Tswana Law and Custom, p. 71.

2) Ibid., pp. 75ff.

3) The Taung magisterial district includes the whole of the Taung reserve (Phuduhutswana and Maidi areas), the Barkly West reserves, and some European owned farms.

tha t European rule has placed on the chief's authority,[1] it is further undermined by various changed and changing conditions some of which will emerge from the discussions that follow. The status and authority of the chief is not a vestige of what it appears to have been in former times, and is considerably less than that held by Tswana chiefs in the Bechuanaland Protectorate at present.[2]

It is evident that a process of scattering of the population has taken place in Taung and since this is connected with various other changes in the society, I shall discuss it here in some detail. A tentative reconstruction of what the pattern used to be in the past, shows that the population used to be concentrated at Taung in a large compact town. In some places foundations of old homesteads still show how closely to each other the homesteads were built. There were outlying settlements, probably from the very start of the Tlhapings's sojourn at Taung, but these seem to have been small. Along the valley, running from north to south, were the fields, while the plateaux on on either side of the valley where the people had cattle-posts, were mostly reserved for grazing.. There were, however, also cattle-posts in some parts of the valley area. This pattern according to which the territory of the chiefdom was divided, is virtually the same as that which is still found among the Tswana tribes of the Bechuanaland Protectorate.[3]

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1) Cf. British Bechuanaland Proclamation, no. 2 of 1885, of which sections 8-11, 41, 44, 48 and 50 are still in force.

2) Schapera, I., A Handbook of Tswana Law and Custom, and Tribal Legislation among the Tswana of the Bechuanaland Protectorate. London School of Economics and Political Science. Monographs on Social Anthropology No. 9, 1943.

3) Schapera, I. Native Land Tenure in the Bechuanaland Protectorate. Lovedale Press, 1943, pp. 23, 128.

In the course of time the large town at Taung disintegrated and the population dispersed, so that to-day the people are scattered, mostly along the valley on the western side of the Dry Hartz and Hartz Rivers, and along the slopes and on the hills in the eastern part of the Reserve. There are a few settlements on the western plateau area, but most of these are quite small. In some places, particularly on the plateau areas, there are isolated groups of homesteads which are large enough to be called villages in some cases, while smaller settlements could be called hamlets. The majority of the population, however, lives in areas in which the homesteads are scattered according to no particular pattern. For instance one can travel along the western part of the valley from south to north for about twenty miles or more and only at one place (between Mocweding and Mokasa I) does one find a very distinct gap where there are no homesteads. Some parts are more thickly populated than others, but in this area one can hardly speak of villages. Most of the current geographical names seem to refer to areas rather than to places. In all parts of the reserve there is usually some distance between one homestead and another, compact clusters of homesteads being the exception.

With the dispersion of the population, the traditional ward system has also disintegrated and a new system of administration has developed. The whole chiefdom is now divided into a number of areas which, for lack of a better term, I shall call headmen's areas [1]), each of which is ad-

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[1]) These areas could perhaps also be called wards, but it is necessary to distinguish them from the type of Tswana ward which used to exist among the Tlhaping formerly, and still exists in most other Tswana tribes or chiefdoms. The term "districts" is also a possibility, but its use could cause confusion with the magisterial district. The natives do not use any particular term to denote such an area.

ministered by a new type of headman (kgosana). The origin of many of the headmanships are remembered by older informants, and they consciously connect it with the process of scattering of the population. Areas like Mokasa, Mokgareng, and Thamasikwa are said to have been fields and grazing areas long ago. Gradually people started settling at their fields or cattle-posts and eventually the chief would appoint someone as headman for a given area in which a considerable number of people had settled. It appears that almost invariably a patrilineal kinsman of the chief was appointed as headman. Today all the headmen except one [1] are members of one of the Tlhaping lineages [2] and their positions are considered as hereditary.

Those who were originally appointed as headmen were usually men who had themselves settled in the area or who had their cattle-posts there. Since formerly members of the same ward tended to have their cattle-posts in the same outlying part of the chiefdom it sometimes also happened that several of them settled in that area, so that in the new pattern of settlement headmen sometimes had people coming from their own ward in the capital who were also mostly their patrilineal kinsmen, living near them. However, there was no rule that members of the same ward in the capital had to settle in the same outlying area if they left the capital. Moreover, people now often change their domicile from one part of the chiefdom to another, while many "foreigners" have in

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1) The exception is a man whose paternal grandfather was a Frenchman who settled with the Tlhaping and acted as an adviser to the chief. He married a native woman, and I have a memory of being told that she was a daughter or at least a close patrilineal kinswoman of the chief, but I could not find a reference to such a communication in my notes. The father of the man who is now headman was appointed headman for the particular area after having served the chief as secretary for some time.

2) For a discussion of Tlhaping lineages, see pp. ....34ff.

the course of time also settled among the earlier population. Nevertheless one still sometimes finds a number of members of the headman's lineage in the area for which he is responsible. At Mokgareng, for instance, where the headman is a Thipa of the Lehe lineage of the Tlhaping, there are several Thipa as well as members of other branches of the Lehe lineage in the neighbourhood of the headman's homestead. These kinsmen of the headman do not form a localised unit: they mostly live mixed with people of different stock.

Under the traditional ward system patrilocal residence was the rule, and sons therefore settled in the same wards to which their fathers belonged (although the rule was flexible). Nowadays patrilocal residence is no longer the rule, and a man may set up his home wherever he pleases, subject to the chief's or headman's permission. In a small sample survey including a sample area at Taung around the chief's place and another around the headman's place at Mokgareng I marriage histories were obtained from 82 men. This number included all male heads of homesteads who were or had been married, as well as their sons who were or had been married. From the Taung sample there were 46 and from the Makgareng sample 36. These men can be divided into three groups:

a) those who were still living in their fathers' homesteads;
b) those that had their own homesteads beside or near to it; and
c) those who had their own homesteads elsewhere, i.e. who were not living patrilocally. The following table shows how the men were distributed among these groups:

Area	(a)Still in f's hs.	(b)Own hs., patrilocal	(c) Own hs, not patrilocal	TOTAL
Taung	5	22	19	46
Mokgareng ...	2	4	30	36
TOTAL.....	7	26	49	82

This sample not only illustrates a general trend away from patrilocal residence, but it also shows that the trend is much more marked in an outlying or "new" area such as Mokgareng than on the site of the old capital at Taung, where remnants of the old ward pattern still persist. (See below.)

Along with the other factors mentioned above, this trend away from patrilocality contributes to the ethnic heterogeneity of the population of a given area, so that a headman's following can be ethnically very heterogeneous. Even if there is a nucleus of his patrilocal kinsmen in his area, they form only a small proportion of the whole population.

The number of headmen's areas and the boundaries between them are not rigidly fixed. New headmanships may be created and rearrangements of boundaries have taken place from time to time. There are at present eighteen of these headmen's areas so that the average population per area would be well in excess of a thousand.[1])

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[1]) Unfortunately there is no reliable official figure for the population of the Taung reserve or the Phuduhutswana chiefdom. In the 1951 census 30,001 natives were enumerated in the Taung and Barkly-West reserves, of which 22,568 were in the census sub-districts falling within the Taung reserve. Approximately 18,628 of the latter were in the Phuduhutswana chiefdom. (This is a near approximate. Only one sub-district included both Maidi and Phuduhutswana. The sub-districts which had only Phuduhutswana residents had a total population of 16,401. In the mixed Phuduhutswana-Maidi sub-district 3,340 were enumerated, of which 2/3 or 2,227 were estimated to be Phuduhutswana. This gives the census figure of 18,628 for the Phuduhutswana chiefdom, i.e. 16,401 + 2,227. (These figures were provided by the Native Commissioner). It is generally acceded that these figures are far too low. For one thing, the census was taken during the reaping season when a large but unknown number of people were away reaping on farms. I had no choice than to try to form an estimate of the population based on the nuber of tax-payers. In a recent publication of the Department of Native Affairs (Breutz, P.L., The Tribes of the Marico District, Dept. of Native Affairs, Ethnological Publications, No. 30, Government Printer, Pretoria, 1953-4).

(Cont'd on page 22.)

The available evidence suggests that there were a good deal more than eighteen wards in the old capital at Taung, while among Tswana tribes of the Protectorate the wards are also smaller population units than the headmen's areas in the Taung reserve.[1])

It is quite evident from the foregoing that the population of a headman's area lacks the closely-knit structure of the traditional ward. In the former the people are scattered over a large area while the latter consisted of a smaller number of people who lived in a compact cluster of homesteads. Most of the members of the ward were connected by kinship ties, whereas the population of a headman's area is not at all a kinship group. About the only tie between the inhabitants of a headman's area is their common allegiance to the same headman.

Usually a headman's area is not subdivided, but sometimes a councillor of the headman may be made responsible

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(Cont'd from page 21).

estimates of the native population in other such areas are arrived at by multiplying the total number of tax-payers with 4¼. The author states (par. 99, p.40) that the figure of 4¼ has been found to be reasonably reliable. In the two sample groups which I investigated in the Phuduhutswana chiefdom, I found that the total population of the two sample areas was 4.27956 times the total number of males of 18 years and older, i.e. those required to pay tax. (For the sample at Taung the figure was 4.397, for the one at Mokgareng 4.0857.) I reckon therefore that the figure of 4¼ is fairly reliable for Taung also. In 1953 there were 7,287 tax-payers in the Phuduhutswana chiefdom, so that we may estimate the total population at 7,287 x 4¼, i.e. 30,969.75, or 31,000 to the nearest hundred.

[1]) The majority of Tswana wards contain between 30 and 600 people. (Schapera, The Tswana, p. 46). The following statistics show the position in some of the Protectorate tribes:

	Wards.	Population.
Tswana	40	38,700
Ngwaketse	119	38,600
Ngatla	68	20,100
Malete	16	9,409

(Extracted from: Schapera, I. The Ethnic Composition of Tswana Tribes, London School of Economics and Political Science, Monographs on Social Anthropology, No.11, 1952.)

for a certain part of the area. In most cases his special responsibility for such a section of the area does not exceed his having to report to the headman on matters concerning that section. In a few cases such councillors are allowed to sit in hearing on less important cases brought to them. In the case of only one area is there a definite sub-division of the area into sub-areas, each under a sub-headman. The headman living at the chief's kgotla has as his area that in which the kgotla is situated. He has seven sub-headmen, each in charge of a section of the area.[1] The immediate vicinity of the chief's kgotla is administered by the headman himself. The sub-headmen call assemblies of their own and are allowed to try minor cases. Some of them do not belong to any of the Tlhaping lineages. Their position does not seem to be hereditary, but one of them who is a member of the chief's lineage, has succeeded his father's younger brother, who held the position after the father's death. This is in keeping with Tswana rules of succession and regency.[2]

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1) On some occasions some of these sub-headmen were listed together with the headmen, as if belonging to the same category. There is evidently confusion on this point.

2) Dr Language (Language, F.J., Stamregering by die Tlhaping Pro-Ecclesia Drukkery, Stellenbosch, 1943) described a rigidly systematic structure of eleven districts (of which two are outside the reserve) each of them sub-divided into a number of wards("wyke"). In spite of intensive investigation on this point I could discover no other units in the administration than the headmen's areas, except for the few exceptions mentioned in the text here, and the few ward remnants (old type) of which mention will be made later. Some confusion does arise from the system of government headmen (see below). This might give rise to the idea of the grouping together of a few wards to form a district, but that is not a correct interpretation of the present position.

The present headmen are described as the representatives of the chief in their respective areas. They hold assemblies (dipitsô, sing. pitsô) with the men of their area, and organise local matters in general. They try minor cases, and impose lesser fines, but cases which are "too difficult" for them they only examine, and then forward them to the chief's court. The appeal lies from a headman's court to that of the chief.[1] In executing his duties a headman is assisted by councillors (banna ba lekgotla) whom he appoints himself. Often one of these is his father's younger brother, or another member of his own lineage, or some other kinsman, but they need not necessarily be related to him.[2]

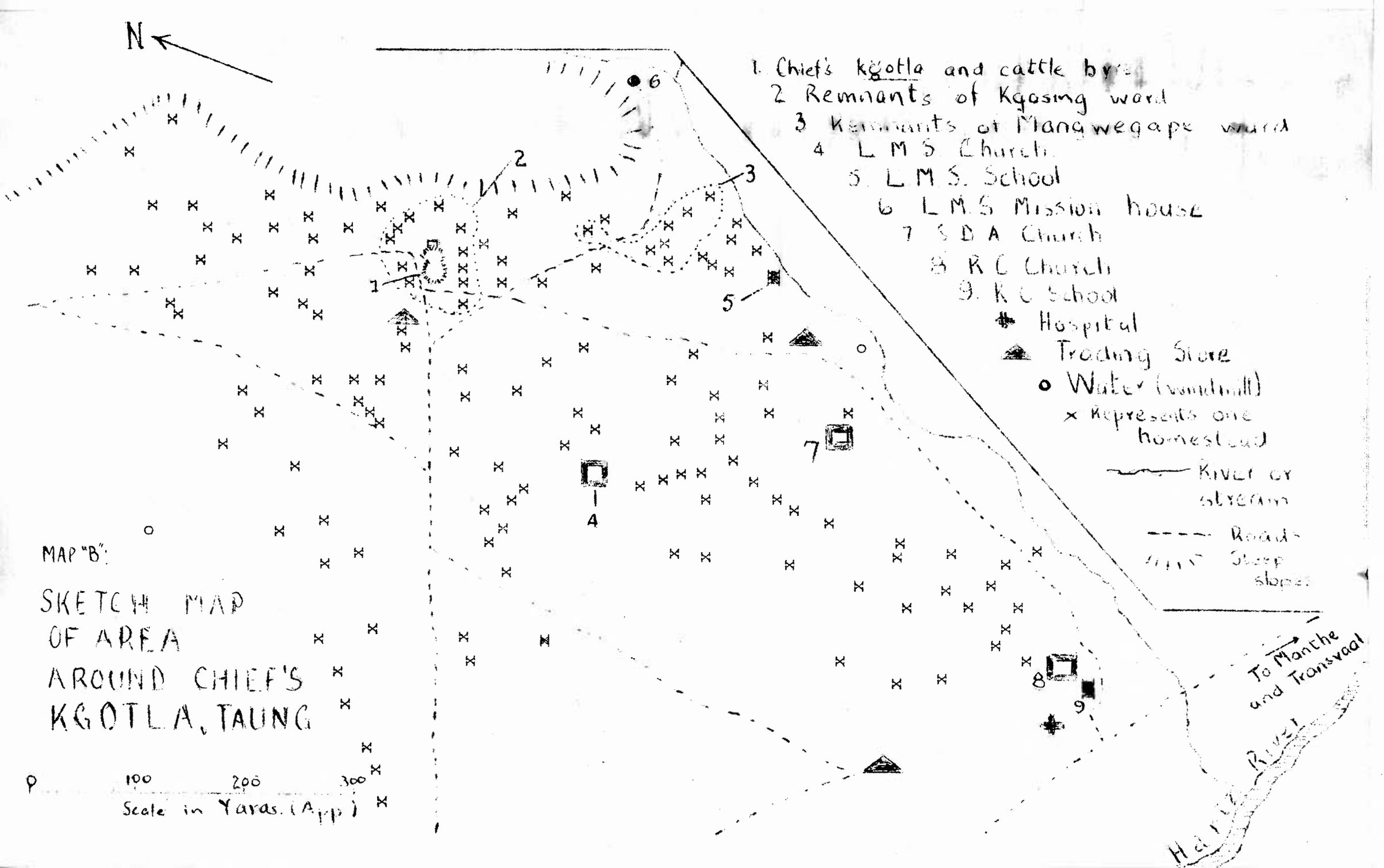
Special reference must still be made to the site of the old capital at Taung. There also the homesteads are relatively scattered, but in many places ruins and the foundations of former homesteads can be seen in the open spaces between homesteads. Some of the homesteads that existsat present are inhabited by newcomers, but many families can be traced back to the patrilineal kinship groups which used to constitute the old wards. In some cases a single family is all that remains of such a ward, but in some cases there are still several patrilineally related men with their families, constituting what I would call a ward remnant. In the case of one or two of these ward remnants the homesteads are still arranged on the traditional pattern, in a semi-circle facing the common cattle-byre, and in order of seniority.[3]

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1) The courts of headmen are not officially recognised.

2) For a comparison of the distribution of population and the system of administration in Taung with that among other Sotho peoples, see Appendix III.

3) The best examples of ward remnants are what remains of Kgosing (the chief's ward) and of the Mangwegape ward (Cf. map "B".)



MAP "B":

SKETCH MAP OF AREA AROUND CHIEF'S KGOTLA, TAUNG

In the old political system the ward headmen played an important role in tribal administration. A ward headman was the senior member, by descent, of the group of patrilineal kinsmen constituting the ward. Many of the wards were made up of non-Tlhaping patrilineal groups and their headmen constituted what was the "commoner" element in the tribal government, as opposed to those who were Tlhaping by descent and who were the "nobles".[1] To-day all the headmen but one are drawn from royal lineages. However, it still sometimes happens that the senior member of a patrilineal kin group who is not a headman acts as a link in the administrative system, in that members of that patrilineal group may first bring their disputes and complaints to him before going to the headmen. Such a senior may sit in hearing on the case and may settle the matter if he can. On the other hand individuals may approach a headman directly without reference to the senior member of their patrilineal kin group.

In connection with the subject of headmanship I must still mention the existence of a system of government headmen parallel to the system of chief's headmen. Government headmen are elected for certain defined areas under the supervision of the Native Commissioner, all registered tax-payers in the area concerned being allowed to vote. There are only twelve government headmen in the Phuduhutswana area, compared to eighteen chief's headmen, so that a government headman's area often includes the areas of more than one chief's headman. It would appear that what happens in practice is that before an election of a government headman takes place, the chief recommends someone to the people

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[1] This distinction which exists in other Tswana tribes is of little significance in Taung to-day, but it seems to have been more evident in the past. (See following section.)

in the area concerned, invariably one of his own headmen whose wards are in that area, and that they nominate only the man recommended by the chief at the official elections. The result is that all government headmen are also chief's headmen, while, of course, there are some chief's headmen who are not government headmen. The government headmen are paid officials of the Native Affairs Department. They are direct links between Native Commissioner and the people, and they need not necessarily approach the former through the chief. They have no statutory powers to try cases, the chief's court being the only officially recognised native court in the tribe.[1])

Being a government headman lends some prestige to the holder of the office: people are inclined to think of the man who is only a chief's headman as a kind of sub-headman to the one who is both chief's and government headman in the area concerned. This idea, however, is not upheld by the tribal authorities, and it seems correct to think in terms of two parallel systems.

Counselling on the tribal level is rather unsystematic and irregular at present. General tribal assemblies are still held at the chief's kgotla, sometimes several times a month sometimes less frequently. The attendance is small: while I was doing fieldwork it was usually less than a hundred. More than once it happened that an assembly had been announced beforehand, and men would come to attend, only to find that the chief and/or his chief advisers had left on some other business, and that little or nothing was taking place at the kgotla. The council of ward headmen of the old type, of which also headmen of com-

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[1]) In spite of this the chief's headmen do try cases, as we have seen above.

moner wards were members, lingered on for some time after the old ward system had started disintegrating. It is said to have fallen into disuse at present. Some people hold that its place has been taken by the so-called 'quarterly meeting'. This is a meeting held by the Native Commissioner every three months to consult jointly with both chiefdoms in the reserve (Phuduhutswana and Maidi), and it is not so much a form of counselling of the chief with his own chiefdom. To the quarterly meeting are summoned the chiefs and government headmen, but all male members of both tribes may attend, and are encouraged to do so. On the other hand it is maintained that occasionally the chief holds meetings with his own headmen, while once during my stay with the tribe a meeting was held to which besides the chief's headmen, a few leaders from commoner lineages had also been summoned.

What further counselling there is at present takes the form of informal discussions between the chief and a few trusted advisers, most of whom belong to his own or another Tlhaping lineage. They do not seem to constitute a regular council. His chief adviser is his father's younger brother, Next in prominence is a more distant member of his lineage, who is also the official responsible for organising proceedings in the chief's court [1]), as well as headman for the Taung area. The chief's secretary, a man appointed on the ground of his educational qualifications, is also an important adviser to the chief, even though the present one is still quite a young man.

The present chief (who is actually only acting as regent) is quite illiterate and is therefore incapable of

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1) He is sometimes referred to as rramelao and has the same position as ntona va lekgotla among the Kgatla. (Cf. Schapera, A Handbook of Tswana Law and Custom, pp. 77, and 283.)

adequately representing his people under modern conditions. Not only is he illiterate but he seems to have no strong sense of responsibility and of concern for the interests of his people, so that in practice the three men mentioned above more or less govern the chiefdom. Nevertheless their subordinate status to the chief is still fully recognised.

We have noticed that one of the changes which has developed in the government of the chiefdom as a concomitant of the process of scattering of the population is that the chief has had to delegate powers to headmen who had to be appointed to different areas of the chiefdom. In former times there was some delegation of power to ward headmen, but for the most part these headmen lived in the same town as the chief, where they could be much more strictly controlled than the headmen who are now in control of outlying areas. The modern headmen sometimes act with a considerable degree of independence and remarks overheard in general assemblies show that the people recognise this themselves. The decentralisation of the population has necessitated the decentralisation of authority which mea nt a weakening of the central authority, viz. that of the chief.

It appears, however, that the weakening of the chieftainship is not only a result of the scattering of the population, but that it has been both effect and cause of the process. From what information I could gather it seems that the process of scattering became noticeable during the reign of chief Kolala, who succeeded Mankurwane. The latter is still honoured as the last great chief of the Tlhaping and none of his successors have yet equalled him, it is said. This suggests that his successors were weaker men who could not control their followers to the extent that previous chiefs ha d done. It is said that in former times people were not allowed to settle at their cattle posts. One old informant explicitly stated that whereas this rule was strictly en-

forced during the reign of chief Mankurwane, people started disregarding it after his death. We should also remember that it was during his reign that the Tlhaping lost much of their land to Europeans and came under the control of a European Government. European rule placed various checks on the authority of the chief and it is probable that the effect of these measures were not particularly evident while chief Mankurwane still reigned but that it became more apparent during the reign of his successor and undermined his authority to a greater extent.

Native informants whom I questioned about the reasons for the process of scattering usually held that the people scattered on account of droughts, finding more favourable conditions in the outlying areas. Some even left the reserve altogether and settled on European owned farms. No doubt economic factors such as these did play a part in the process of scattering. I suggest, however, that the weakening of the chieftainship facilitated this process. It is also possible that there always used to be people who desired to settle in outlying areas for the sake of greater liberty from the control of the chief. While there were strong chiefs with considerable authority they were able to curb such a tendency, but as the chieftainship weakened, the chiefs could check it no longer. As the process of scattering proceeded it weakened the authority and prestige of the chief still further.[1])

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[1]) The Tawana of the Bechuanaland Protectorate also scattered in a similar manner, leaving Maun, the central town in which they were concentrated, to go and settle at their cattle-posts. Dr Ashton, in discussing this process, has pointed out that the Tawana have had a number of weak chiefs who have not been able to prevent the members of the tribe from leaving the capital. Besides the desire to escape the tsetse fly at Maun he mentions the desire for the greater freedom of life at the cattle-posts as a reason for this process of scattering. (E.H. Ashton, "Notes on the Political and Judicial Organisation of the Tawana," Bantu Studies, Vol.XI (1937), pp. 69 ff).

Mention must here also be made of the existence of a Local Council. As in the case of the quarterly meeting, there is only one Council for the whole reserve, representing both chiefdoms. The Council is constituted partly of elected members, and partly of nominated members[1]).

It is probable that further changes in the administration of the reserve will take place in the near future. Discussions have been in progress with a view to the introduction of a Bantu Authority under the Bantu Authorities Act, no. 68 of 1951. At the time of my leaving the field, the people of the chiefdom had not yet formally made known their decision whether to ask for a Bantu Authority or not. When the institution of an Authority was originally proposed to the tribe, however, the Native Affairs Department intimated that in any case it could not continue having both chiefs and headmen as links between the Department and the people. The position which ha d arisen in the reserve was said to be inconsistent with the policy of the Department in other areas, where the links were either through chiefs or through headmen, but not through both. It was announced in September, 1952 that by the end of 1953 the Government would stop paying headmen in the reserve, and that the chief would be the only recognised link between the Department and the tribe.

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1) The Taung Local Council is constituted under Proclamation no. 25 of 1940, as provided for by the Native Affairs Act, no. 23 of 1920, as ammended.

Ethnic composition, kinship, and rank.

Prof. Schapera has already shown that among the Tswana political divisions do not altogether coincide with ethnic divisions and kinship groups. The tribe or chiefdom, which is the largest political unit, is ethnically heterogeneous, while even in Bechuanaland "almost every ward now also contains people of alien origin", i.e. alien to the group of agnatic kin forming the nucleus of the ward.[1] Nevertheless, kinship does play an important role, both in the political sphere and in personal relations, and the stress is on unilineal descent in the male line. This is so among the Tlhaping also. The descent name of "Tlhaping" is inherited in the male line, so also the totem, rank, some political offices, and most property. Residence used to be patrilocal and Tlhaping still use the name of father or paternal grandfather as surname.

The ethnic composition of the Tlhaping of Taung follows much the same pattern as that of other Tswana tribes. The nucleus of the chiefdom is made up of people belonging to what is putatively a dispersed unilineal descent group of which all the members are called Tlhaping and have as their totem the koodoo. The chief belongs to this nuclear group. The rest of the chiefdom consists of people who are not Tlhaping by descent, but have in time become attached to the Tlhaping chief. Of the latter group the majority are of Tswana origin. The non-Tswana element contains a considerable number of Cape Nguni (Xhosa speaking), and also some Southern Sotho and Cape Coloured people. Members of the chiefdom can therefore be classed in three different

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[1] Schapera, I. The Ethnic Composition of Tswana Tribes. The London School of Economics and Political Science, Monographs on Social Anthropology, No. 11, p.3. Cf. A Handbook of Tswana Law and Custom, 20.

groups, (a) Tlhaping, (b) Non-Tlhaping but Tswana, and (c) non-Tswana. I have no exact figures on the numerical strength of the different groups, but I have the impression that the 'non-Tlhaping but Tswana' group strongly predominates. This impression is confirmed by the returns from the investigation of a sample of homesteads.[1] The sample included 63 homesteads, in which there were 45 male homestead heads. Of these 13 were Tlhaping, 30 were non-Tlhaping, but Tswana, and 2 were non-Tswana. I would say that in the chiefdom as a whole the numerical strength of the Tlhaping is less than in the sample, while that of the non-Tswana is probably greater, since the Nguni people are mostly concentrated in a few areas, none of which could be included in the sample.

While the chiefdom, then, only has a nucleus of people who are Tlhaping by descent, one should keep in mind, on the other hand that this nuclear group is only a part of a large number of people who all claim Tlhaping descent. The rest are scattered among different chiefdoms and tribes. Besides a common name and totem, there is little that binds all these Tlhaping together, but they all claim to be related in the male line, and address each other by kinship terms.[2] The Tlhaping descent group might be designated a scattered clan,[3] but seeing there are hardly any clearly

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1) For particulars about the investigation, see Appendix II.

2) I am doubtful as to the position of the Maidi in this scheme. They are at least held to be related to the Phuduhutswana because they are also an offshoot from the Rolong, thus having a common origin with the latter. Sometimes, however, I came across the opinion that the Maidi were ethnically of Nguni origin.

3) Prof. Radcliffe Brown writes that a clan and a lineage each consist of "a body of persons who are or who regard themselves as being a unilineal body of kindred..... The distinction between clan and lineage is that in a lineage group each member can actually, or at least theoretically, trace his genealogical connection with any other member by descent from a known common ancestor, whereas in a clan, which is usually a larger body, this

(Cont'd on page 33.)

defined obligations between members of the group it seems better to retain the term 'totemic group', which Prof. Schapera uses, remembering that different totemic groups sometimes have the same totem.

Although chiefdom and ethnic or kin group are not identical, it is important to remember that the chiefdom is built up around a group of agnatic kinsmen putatively belonging to the same unilineal kinship group, i.e. the totemic group. This group takes precedence in tribal government in that the chief and his closest advisers belong to it, and in that all headmen are drawn from its ranks in the new type of headmanship. The tribal name is also the same as that of the totemic group to which the nuclear stock belongs.

The material on the Tswana seems to suggest that formerly the totemic groups used to be split into corporate lineages, and that the Tswana ward system was based on such a lineage structure, every ward being made up of a separate lineage group. In view of the description given by my informants of the old wards of Taung, as well as from my detailed analyses of existing ward remnants, I received the impression that an old type of ward would have included at least the majority of a particular lineage group, besides some other attached persons or groups. This might be an over-simplification of the matter, but I do think that the Tlhaping material supports Prof. Schapera's opinion that "the ward may indeed be regarded as originating in a lineage

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Cont'd from page 32.)

is not possible." He also difines the clan as "a group having unilineal descent in which all the members regard one another as in some specific sense kinsfolk, "and adds that "one way of giving recognition to the kinship is by the extensive use of the classificatory terminology." (Radcliffe-Brown, A.R. and Daryll Forde, African Systems of Kinship and Marriage. International African Institute, O.U.P., 1950, pp. 39,40.) I follow this definition of Prof. Radcliffe Brown but also take into account a further characteristic of a clan mentioned in the sixth edition of Notes and Queries on Anthropology, viz, the existence of "ipso facto obligations of an exclusive kind" between members. (Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland Notes and Queries on Anthropology, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1951, p. 89.)

group.....[1]) With the scattering of the ward, and the rule of patrilocal residence disappearing, the Tlhaping have then come to the final stage in the process of dissolution of the localised lineage.[2])

The segmentation of the society into lineages is, however, still evident in other ways. The Tlhaping totemic group (excluding the Maidi) is split up into three clearly distinguished maximal lineages, viz. Boo-Marumo, Balehe and Boo-Ramaswe. Of these the Marumo claim to be the senior lineage by descent, while it is generally acknowledged that the Lehe are senior to the Ramaswe. Nevertheless the latter hold the chieftainship. The Marumo say that they are exempt from the duty of having to assist in repairing the chief's cattle byre at the tribal headquarters, and hold this as being a proof of their seniority. They explain the passing of the chieftainship from their lineage to their juniors by relating that a certain Seatleng (see genealogy)

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1) Schapera, I. "The Social Structure of the Tswana Ward," Bantu Studies, Vol. 9, (1935).

2) Prof. Meyer Fortes has pointed out that in Africa lineage organisation is most strongly developed in segmentary societies. They are not restricted to these societies, but "the more centralised the political system the greater the tendency seems to be for the corporate strength of descent groups to be reduced or for such corporate groups to be non-existent." The Tswana material seems to suggest that they did have corporate lineages in the past. It is possible that the weakening of the corporate strength of the lineage was a concomitant of the development of strongly centralised government which is typical of the Tswana. Among the Tlhaping the process has progressed further than among the other Tswana, because of the general disintegration of traditional patterns of life. Cf. in this connection that Prof. Fortes points out that it seems that corporate descent groups can exist only in more or less homogeneous societies. Under modern conditions the Tlhaping have become much more heterogeneous than they used to be. (Meyer Fortes, "The Structure of Unilineal Descent Groups"., American Anthropologist, Vol. 55, no.1 (Jan. - March 1953.)

who was the chief, or heir to the chieftanship, was of a vicious disposition. (The name of his son, Marumo, meaning assegais, reminds one of this). Through fear the people deserted Seatleng, whereupon he agreed that the others could govern the tribe, on condition that they should pay him the customary tax and tribute.

The Lehe and Ramaswe lineages respectively trace their origin to Phuduhudu and his younger brother Phuduhutswana. Phuduhudu again, lost the chieftainship through laziness. Instead of attending to business, so the tradition goes, he used to while away his time, sitting in the sun, sending the people to Phuduhutswana with whatever matters they brought to him. In the end Phuduhutswana completely usurped the chieftainship from Phuduhudu.[1] Because of their genealogical seniority, however, the Lehe are still exempted from the duty of ploughing the chief's lands. Phuduhudu was either himself known as Molehe or was the father of Molehe (hence the lineage name Balehe). Maswe was a chief of the Phuduhutswana line, some generations subsequent to Phuduhutswana. These three maximal lineages each have a depth of at least eight or nine generations. Not many people know their genealogies far enough backward to trace their connection with the founder of their lineage, but there are some who are able to do so, albeit with the help of Wookey's Dico tsa Secwana.[2] It must also be

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1) This narrative is also given in Wookey, A.J., Dinwao leha e le Dipolelo kaga Dico tsa Secwana, L.M.S., Vryburg (Tiger Kloof), Ninth Edit. 1951, (First Edit. 1913), p. 23. - a book which is widely read among the Tlhaping.

2) I must add that all informants do not agree in the genealogies they give. The fact that Wookey gives various differing genealogies no doubt contributes to the present confusion.

mentioned that there is a further segmentation of the maximal lineages into different branches.

In the chiefdom there are of course members of many other lineages which are segments of other Tswana totemic groups than the Tlhaping. On the other hand some members of the three maximal lineages of the Tlhaping are scattered outside the chiefdom.

When a general tribal initiation is held there are usually three different initiation camps. Each camp is attended by boys from the area in which the camp is situated. Boys from the same area, belonging to the same lineage [1]) gather at the kgotla or homestead of that member of their lineage who is the senior member by descent in the area concerned. Furthermore, in the initiation lodge the boys live in different huts, grouped according to their totemic groups. Within their own totemic group they are again grouped according to lineages. Sometimes the boys of a lineage which is well represented even have a hut to themselves. In their seating and sleeping arrangements the boys of the same lineage follow the order of their relative status by birth, the same principle being followed in the positions taken by respective lineages in the same hut. The different huts are also placed according to the relative status of the respective totemic groups.

That the Tlhaping are aware of such important aspects of the unilineal kinship system as the continuity of the lineage and its tendency to form new branches, is illustrated by their use of the term losika. 'Losika' is

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1) I again stress the fact that as I use 'lineage' here, it does not denote a localised group. Fragments of the same lineage may be found even in different tribes. The group that gathers can be described as : all boys in a given area, descended in the male line from 'So- and-so'.

used to denote a vein or an artery, or a sinew[1]), but it also denotes a unilineal kin group of any degree. Thus, when asked to which losika he belongs, a man may answer that he is a Tlhaping (i.e. he gives his totemic group), or that he is a Lehe (i.e. his maximal lineage), or that he is a Thipa (one of the branches of the Lehe lineage). Or another -- to take an example from a non-Tlhaping lineage -- would say: 'I belong to losika of Mangwegape, of Monnaunwa, of Thaba' -- the Mangwegape being a branch of the Monnaunwa segment of the Thaba lineage, which today is regarded as Rolong, although the founder, Thaba, is said to have been a Nguni immigrant. Sometimes the term lekgotla, which is used amongst others to designate the old type of ward, is used interchangeably for losika. This also points to a former close connection between lineage and ward.

In other aspects of the kinship system the Tlhaping broadly follow the same pattern as that described by Prof. Schapera for the Protectorate tribes.[2]) A wide range

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1) Brown, J.Tom, Sechwana-English Dictionary.

2) Schapera, I. "Kinship and Marriage among the Tswana" in A.R. Radcliffe-Brown and Daryll Forde, African systems, of Kinship and Marriage, Oxford University Press, 1950, and The Tswana. Tlhaping kinship terminology for cognates only differs from that given by Prof. Schapera (The Tswana, pp. 43-44) in that the term monna - (not listed by him) in its compound forms (e.g. monnao, monnawê, etc.) is used among the Tlhaping in referring to another persons younger sibling of the same sex as he or she. Nnakê seems to be exclusively used by a person speaking of or to his own younger sibling of the same sex. Similarly mogolo- in its compound forms (mogoloo, mogolowê, ect.,) tends to be used in referring to another person's elder siblings (same sex), whereas nkgonne is used only by a person in speaking of or to his own elder siblings. I have heard the terms mogolo - (or nkgonne) and monna - (or nnake) applied to siblings of oppsite sex but this is not common. Some of the variant forms such as ntate (and its compound forms), for father, nkoko, grandmother and m.osi., mmane, m.ysi., and motswala, cross-cousin are not used by the Tlhaping. My material on terms for affines is incomplete, but is shows that the terms mogwe (pl. bagwe) and mogôgadi (Pl. bagôgadi, cf. Schapera mogwagadi) are applied to a wider range of relationships than among the other Tswana.

(Cont'd on page 38).

of kinship relations is still recognised and many people are addressed as kinsmen even when the exact genealogical connections are not known. On important occasions such as weddings, funerals and "bringing out" of new-born babies and their mothers [1]) members of a household are usually assisted by their kinsmen. On the whole this assistance is of a general nature and there is usually no rigid scheme according to which specific duties are performed by particular persons in virtue of the particular kinship relation in which they stand to the person or persons around whom the activities are centred. Friends and neighbours who are not kinsmen also assist on such occasions. Although the old ward system has disintegrated, it happens quite often that a person has a number of kinsmen living in his own neighbourhood. However, neither the grouping of the homesteads of such kinsmen nor the types of kinship relations found between them follow any regular pattern, except at Taung where remnants of old wards still exist.

It can safely be said that there is a general weakening of the sense of obligation toward kinsmen. The growth of individualism, fostered by the introduction of a

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(Cont'd from page 37.)

The term mogôgadi is applied to w.F., w.m., and wife's siblings; to B.w. (m.s.), to S.w.F. and S.w.m. Mogwe is applied to d.H., d.H.F., d.H.m. A woman addresses both her husband's father and mother as matsala and they address her as ngwetsi. I suggest that the tendency is to call most of those affines to whom one is linked by the marriage of one's own cognatic male kinsmen bagôgadi (as the individual male calls his wife's siblings and parents), while bagwê tends to be used for affines with whom one is connected by marriages of one's female cognates (Cf. Sandilands, A. Introduction to Tswana, L.M.S., Tigerkloof, 1953. pp. 355-356.)

[1]) See below ch. III, p. 90, ch. VII, pp. 310 ff.

money economy and the possibilities of economic independence offered by migrant labour, has no doubt contributed to the weakening of kinship ties. The weakening, particularly of patrilineal ties, also seems to be a concomitant of the disintegration of the ward system. Under the traditional system a married man usually lived in the same ward as many of his patrilineal kinsmen, particularly his siblings and father's brothers. They were the people with whom he co-operated in economic undertakings, ritual, and legal actions. However, now that these kinsmen are scattered, much of this former co-operation has necessarily been terminated and it is quite clear that the relations between siblings, and between men and their fathers' brothers are not as close as they used to be.[1] Moreover, now that patrilineal kinsmen do not live together, can be economically independent, and do not co-operate in as many activities as formerly, authority and differences in status based on genealogical relations in the male line, are no longer as important as formerly. The following remark made by an older informant with reference to the scattering of the members of his lineage who were also members of the same ward is significant. "The law is destroyed", he said. "There are new laws according to which a man does not know his younger brother, and a man does not know his elder brother."

There is one type of relationship which is still of particular importance, viz. that between mother's brother and sister's son. Not only do they regularly assist one

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[1] My attempts at finding evidence among the Tlhaping for the existence of the custom of linking of siblings so typical of the Tswana (Schapera, A Handbook of Tswana Law and Custom, p. 186, "Kinship and Marriage among the Tswana" in African Systems of Kinship and Marriage, pp. 142-143), met with little success. I cannot say whether this is connected with the general weakening of kinship ties, or whether the custom was always less common among the Tlhaping than among the tribes further north.

another but on occasions such as marriage and death there are specified gifts [1]), duties and prerogatives reciprocating between these two. The consent of a young couple's maternal uncles is by some people still regarded as indespensible to marriage. The question might well arise why this relationship stands out as so important, even under modern conditions when other kinship ties tend to slacken. Perhaps this must at least partly be related to the process of scattering and the manner in which it has changed the special relations between kinsmen. There always used to be a close and familiar relation between children and their maternal relatives, particularly between them and their mothers' brother.[2]) However, mother's brother and sister's child were usually not members of the same ward and could under traditional conditions already have been separated spatially by some distance. The scattering of the ward and the population in general has therefore not affected their spatial relations profoundly, so that their personal relations could continue relatively undisturbed. On the other hand the process of scattering has considerably affected the spatial relations of close patrilineal kin who were members of the same ward, and has made for the disappearance of much of the contact and co-operation that used to exist between them.

In passing we may here mention the fact that the preference for cross-cousin marriage and marriages between other close kinsmen is disappearing.[3])

The division of the society into (a) Tlhaping,

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1) The gifts which a young man makes to his mother's brother are known by the special name of masore.

2) Cf. Schapera, In African Systems of Kinship and Marriage, p. 145, and The Tswana, p. 45.

3) For more details, see below pp. 48 ff.

(b) non-Tlhaping butTSwana, and (c) non-Tswana is not one that is marked by deep cleavages. There is no evidence of difference in group status between the "non-Tlhaping but Tswana" group and the non-Tswana, but the relation between Tswana and Nguni, who form a considerable proportion of the non-Tswana group, is ofter uneasy. The Tswana tend to be suspicious of the Nguni, while the latter complain that they do not always receive just treatment from the rulers. Moreover, the Nguni still adhere to various customs that differ from those of the Tswana. Amongst others they organise separate initiation ceremonies for their boys. It is said that the Southern Sotho members of the tribe also organise their initiation ceremonies separately. People of Nguni stock do not form exclusively Nguni settlements, but they seem to be concentrated more strongly in some areas than in others. So for instance there are many at Matolong (Colin Moss Village) and at Marope a Taung (Old Taung or Rooiwal). I do not know of similar concentrations of Southern Sotho but at Buxton there are many "foreigners", including Nguni and Southern Sotho.

In other Tswana tribes there is a clear distinction between "royalty" or "nobles" and "commoners", also in terminology.[1]) A similar distinction used to exist among the Tlhaping between people who were of Tlhaping descent and those who were not. Nowadays there is not much that reminds one of this division but the privileged position of the Tlhaping in the political system of the chiefdom is still of considerable importance. Difference in hereditary rank between individuals or different groups connected by agnatic kinship, is recognised, but plays no important role in the social life of the tribe. Its existence between the three Tlhaping maximal lineages, and the role it plays in the initiation ceremonies, has already been discussed.

1) Schapera, A Handbook of Tswana Law and Custom, pp. 30-31.

Reference has also been made to the fact that the status of the chief is no longer as elevated as it used to be. That the people are aware of the fact that the Tlhaping chief does not hold the same elevated position as some other Tswana chiefs, was illustrated by a comment made to me by a prominent member of the tribe in an informal conversation. He stated that the Tlhaping chief mixes more freely with the people than do the Protectorate chiefs. The latter do not eat in public, and do so only in the company of certain people, while the Tlhaping chief does not worry about such matters.

In common with other Tswana the Tlhaping also used to have serfs who held a particularly inferior position in the society,[1] but such a group or class does not exist any longer.

Marriage and the family.

Marriage among the Tlhaping does not differ greatly from Tswana marriage in general. The trends of change are also much the same.[2] Nowadays there are no institutionalised requirements which a youth must fulfil before he can get married, such as initiation in former times. Initiation ceremonies still take place, but are not attended by all, and those not initiated, are not barred from marriage. Where formerly marriages were mostly initiated and organised by the parents of a couple, it is nowadays general practice that the initiative is taken by the young people

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1) Language, F.J. Stamregering by die Tlhaping, Pro Ecclesia-Drukkery, Stellenbosch, 1943, p. 27, and Lichtenstein, H. Travels in Southern Africa, (1803-1806), The Van Riebeeck Societym Cape Town, 1930, Vol. II, p.416. Cf. Schapera, op. cit., pp. 31-32.

2) Comparative material on other Tswana is mostly taken from Schapera, I. Married Life in an African Tribe, Faber AND Faber, London, 1940, and Schapera, I. "Kinship and Marriage among the Tswana," in African Systems of Kinship and Marriage.

themselves. When they have informed their parents of their mutual love and agreement, the parents of the young man formally "seek" the girl for him. Besides the parents on both sides, other relatives also take part in the negotiations and discussions : the girl's maternal uncle's consent to the marriage is specially required. If agreement is reached, the young man's father makes a gift of a sheep(known as mokwele)to the girl's people. This confirms the betrothal. He may also give money and a bag of corn, and when the girl's people brew beer from this corn, some of it is sent to the young man's people.

After this the boy usually goes off to work, mostly in the mines, or in towns, so as to obtain the necessary cash for the girl's wedding outfit, the cost of which may easily amount to £35. He must also provide his own clothes for the wedding, which may cost him nearly as much. Usually, therefore, quite a long time passes before preparations for the marriage start in earnest. Particularly important is the visit to a store to purchase the bride's wedding outfit. She is accompanied by a few of her own kinfolk and by one or two relatives of the bridegroom who make the necessary payments on his behalf. The bridegroom's father, apart from preparing the feast at his own homestead, also has to make several contributions to the feast of the bride's home. The parents on both sides are assisted by their relatives by various contributions, especially by the maternal uncle of bride or bridegroom, who is again entitled to the skins and heads of the animals slaughtered, and to a special portion of beer.

Most couples nowadays marry in church or in the Native Commissioner's office, after which there is first a feast at the bride's home, then at the bridegroom's.

Eventually the bridal prosession returns to the bride's home again, where the feasting is terminated on the evening of the third day. It is said that this prolonged feasting was not a feature of the traditional marriage ceremonies.

Couples not getting married by civil or church marriage, start married life without much ado. On the day agreed upon, women from the bridegroom's homestead take his blankets to the bride's home. In the evening the bridegroom himself goes there, accompanied by some friends, who depart later in the night. He remains there, and sleeps with his wife. The Tlhaping also have the custom of go ralala, according to which the bride remains in her father's home till after the birth of her first child, or longer. Until then the bridegroom should only visit her at night. For some time already this custom has not been strictly adhered to by all. In a sample of 151 marriages, 50 brides had left their fathers' homes immediately or within a week after the wedding.

Judging by gossip, church reports, and cases in the tribal courts, pre-marital sexual intercourse is common. It is generally held that this is much more so than in former times, when tribal law and custom was strictly enforced. I have no statistics on the rate of birth of illegitimate children, but it seems that there is the same tendency toward a rising illegitimacy rate as in other Sout African Native reserves.[1])

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[1]) Cf. Schapera, I. "Premarital Pregnancy and Native Opinion: a Note on Social Change", Africa, Vol. VI (1938). Wilson, Monica. a.o., Social Structure, Keiskammahoek Rural Survey, Vol. III, Pietermaritzburg, 1952, p. 102.

The giving of marriage payment (bogadi) by the bridegrooms' people to those of the bride is still a recognised institution. It has not been officially abandoned, as among some other Tswana tribes. Yet bogadi is by no means indispensible to marriage, and is very seldom given at the time of marriage. It is usually given after children have already been born from the marriage, and then the whole payment is made at once, never in instalments. In a sample of 159 marriages investigated with reference to marriage payment 105 men (66.1%) had not given anything yet. Of all the couples, 69 had been married before the death of chief Rabodigelo in 1934. In 35 of these 69 earlier marriages (i.e. 50.724%) payment had not yet been made. Some of those who had not given bogadi expressed the intention of still doing so, even one who had been married in 1912. The percentage of non-payment for the Tlhaping is therefore higher than for the Kgatla where in a smaller sample, the cases of non-payment were just under 50% of the total.[1] In this comparison one should bear in mind that bogadi was offically abondoned for a time by the Kgatla.[2]

Men were not very willing to discuss the size of the bogadi they had given, but examples given varied from four to fourteen head of cattle. The payment should always consist of an even number of beasts. Sheep may be substi-

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1) Schapera, Married Life in an African Tribe, p. 88.

2) The difference is much greater when compared with a Nguni society such as the people of Keiskammahoek, who are predominantly Mfengu. For marriages contracted during the 1940's alone, the percentage of non-payment of lobola was only 2.6. (Wilson, Monicam a.o., op. cit., pp. 85-86)

tude for cattle, but not goats, while it is said that £10 or £12 in cash is also accepted as bogadi. The giving of bogadi is the responsibility of the man himself. He may ask his father and other agnatic kinsmen as well as his maternal uncle to contribute, which they do if they can. The wife's father is the chief recipient, but her maternal uncle is entitled to at least one animal. If the size of the bogadi allows, a few close agnatic relatives and the junior maternal aunt of the woman for those marriage the payment is made also receive a share.

The primary significance of marriage payment among the Tlhaping to-day is that it establishes the right of the husband to the children born from the marriage in respect of which it has been given. Nevertheless I more than once heard the opinion that to-day the children belong to the man, and take his name, even although he has not given bogadi. This is held to be a deviation from tradition. However, if a man who has not made marriage payment has daughters and they get married and payment is given in respect of their marriages, then it is said their mother's brother comes to take the whole of the payment made. Moreover, in the case of divorce the giving of bogadi still seems to be the factor which decided with whom the children go, for when payment has been made, they must remain with the father. (This of course does not apply to marriages entered into by European law.) Apart from establishing the right to children in a case of divorce, it does not seem as if marriage payment is held to be essential to the estalishment of a legal marriage, but it is recognised as having been essential in former times, as it still is among some other Tswana tribes.

In marriages by customary law the important factor that legalises the union is the consent of the parents, especially those of the girl. If they have given their con-

sent to a marriage, it is held to be legal, whether marriage payment has been made, or not. Nevertheless, a marriage in respect of which the payment has been made, seems to be considered as being more complete, and of higher status, than one in which the payment has not been made. This is clearly reflected in the custom, still observed, that only a woman married with bogadi is buried in the cattle kraal (or goat pen, if there is no kraal). Similarly, children of the homestead can only be buried there if bogadi has been given in respect of the marriage from which they were born. The type of marriage carrying the highest prestige in society is the one contracted in accordance with European law and in respect of which marriage payment has also been made.

The fact that a considerable proportion of people nowadays get married in church or by civil rites, is probably an important factor causing the decline of the importance of marriage payment. Such marriages have immediate legitimacy and need no further proof to establish them. In the sample of marriages investigated, out of 96 marriages entered into after 1934, 38 (39.58%) had been solemnised in church, while 18 (18.75%) of the couples had married by civil rites. (Some of the latter attended a consecration ceremony in church after being married in court.) For 65 marriages entered into before the death of chief Rabodigelo (1934), the corresponding figures are: 38 (58.46%) by native custom only, 25 (38.46%) in church, and 2 (3.08%) by civil rites.[1]) Church marriages were

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[1]) "In the Protectorate, according to the 1946 census, about 12% of all marriages in the Tswana districts have been contracted by such rites" (i.e. Christian or civil rites). Schapera, The Tswana, p.41, with reference to Census Report, 1946, Table IV, (g).

the first new type of marriage to be introduced to the Tlhaping while marriage by civil rites followed later.

An important aspect of Tswana marriage regulations is the preference for marriages between cross-cousins, and to a lesser extent also, between parallel cousins as well as the permissibility of marriage with certain other near kin, Tlhaping informants hold that they used to observe the preferences for cousin marriages formerly, but that they no longer marry near kin. Actual practice bears this out. Of 161 marriages investigated[1] on this point, only 4 (2.5%) were between cross-cousins, and none between ortho-cousins, while 10 couples (6.21%) were relatives of the fourth, fifth or sixth degrees. Of the rest, more than half claimed a distant kinship relation, but in only one case could the connection be traced. Of the 4 cross-cousin marriages only one occurred among the 95 marriages entered into after 1934.[2] Among the Pro-

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[1] (i) This sample was arrived at by taking the marriages of the head of each homestead sampled, as well as the marriages of all the married children, including those who no longer formed part of the homestead.
(ii) I may point out here that the sample included many true Tlhaping who would be the "nobles" in terms of the stratification of society found more explicitly among other Tswana tribes.

[2] (i) During my stay at Taung a marriage took place between a mand and his brother's daughter. It caused wide disapproval.
(ii) Genealogies also provided information on kinship in respect of most of the marriages of the parents of the homestead heads and their spouses. On the whole these marriages are those of an older generation than the people in the actual sample and it is interesting to compare the two sets of marriages. Sufficient information was available for 114 such "parents' marriages". These can be split up as follows:

a)	Marriages between cross-cousins:	5
b)	" " ortho-cousins:	2
c)	" " other relatives of the 3rd. degree:	1
d)	" " relatives of 4th, 5th, or 6th degree:	2
e)	" " unrelated persons or remote kin.	104
TOTAL.....		114.

(Cont' on page 49.)

tectorate Tswana investigated by Prof. Schapera, marriages between near kin, i.e. in which husband and wife had a common grandparent or were more closely related, constituted 7.7% of a sample of 2,574 marriages from five different tribes. Among the Ngwato such marriages constituted 12.1% of a sample of 282 marriages.[1]) Although my own sample is samll, it goes to show that kinship marriages among the Tlhaping are few and far between nowadays. The incidence of sororate and levirate, or the replacement of a spouse by a more distant relative than a brother or sister, also seems to be declining. Unfortunately my sample is too small to allow comparison on this point.

In accordance with the general trend among South African tribes, polygyny is on the wane. Of the 61 men whose complete marital history was investigated, only three were practising polygyny, while three others had formerly been polygynists. Of these six, no one had had more than two wives at a time. My general impression is that the incidence of polygyny in the chiefdom as a whole would probably be lower than in the sample.

In the few cases of polygyny occurring in the sample of homesteads investigated, each wife had her own homestead, and in two cases the homesteads were even sepa-

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Cont'd. from page 48.)

Therefore in altogether eight (7.02%) out of the 114 marriages of the parents' generation the partners were kin of the third degree. (It should be remembered that these 114 marriages do not necessarily all relate to people who were inhabitants of the chiefdom, but they have to do with the parents of people who to-day all belong to the chiefdom.)

[1]) "Kinship and Marriage among the Tswana", p. 155. I must point out that my own sample includes subsequent marriages of individuals whose first marriage is included in the sample. I am not sure whether this is the case with Prof. Schapera's sample.

rated by some distance from each other. In these cases the husband is the head of two separate homesteads, each in habited by a separate domestic family. Nevertheless a homestead often includes a compound family formed by the remarriage of a bereaved or divorced spouse. It is not uncommon, either, for a single homestead to be inhabited by a joint family. Usually it is formed when a son or brother of the head of the homestead lives with his father or brother, together with his wife and child or children. Another type arises when a married woman who already has a child, is still living in her father's homestead (go ralala).

The head of the homestead is usually a married man, or else a widow. In the sample are at Taung as many as 14 out of 42 homesteads heads (i.e. 33.3%) were widows, while at Mokgareng the corresponding figure was 2 out of 21 (i.e. 9.5%). Occasionally the head is a widower or a deserted husband, or else a bachelor or a married man whose wife is still living with her parents. The 63 homesteads in the sample investigated, had an average of 6.3 inhabitants each. Usually the inhabitants also included people who were not members of the simple or compound family which centered in the head of the household. There was an average of 2.3 such other members to a household, and they were mostly related to the head of the homestead. Sometimes they consisted of the members of a second or even a third simple family, giving rise to a joint family. The number of inhabitants of a single homestead varied between 1 and 13, with the exception of one which had 21. The most frequently recurring numbers were 6 (10 homesteads) and 9 (10 homesteads).

Family relations among the Tlhaping show no significant difference from that among the other Tswana tribes.[1] There is the same tendency toward the disinte-

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[1] Cf. Schapera, The Tswana, pp. 39-40.

gration of the family, and the decline of the authority of parents over children, as is encountered in other South African reserves. Nevertheless, the divorce rate does not seem to be very high. Of the 161 marriages in the sample, only ten (6.2%) had been terminated by the permanent separation of the marriage partners through legal divorce or otherwise.[1])

The homestead mostly consists of more than one building. The circular type of thatch-roofed hut is fast being supplanted by rectangular structures, mostly with flat iron roofs. The most common type of homestead combines one of each of these two types of buildings. The hut is then used as kitchen and general living room, while some of the children may also sleep there. The rectangular house, which may consist of one to four (even more) rooms, usually small, contains the special reception room, andprovides sleeping accommodation for the parents and other members of the household not sleeping in the hut. Various combinations of these two types of structures are found, some homesteads consisting of as many as four separate buildings. Others consist of only a hut or a rectangular house.

Sex and age.

The traditional divisions on lines of sex and age tend to persist among the Tlhaping, though they are not always accentuated to the extent that they probably used to be in former times. The position of women in their society remains inferior to that of men. This is evidenced in the homestead, as well as in the political sphere, where

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[1]) Prof. Schapera reckons that "well under 10%" of marriages among the Protectorate Tswana end in divorce. (The Tswana, p. 42).

only men hold office and attend or take part in discussions. At social gatherings the men are served before the women. All chairs are in the first place made available to the men, while women mostly sit on mats on the floor.

The kgotla, the enclosure where discussions of the men take place, is traditionally their domain, and women should not enter it. When women are involved in a court case, the sessions are held outside. Although the yard (lapa) around the houses is essentially the women's domain, men are not excluded from it. This division between men and women is clearly observed at marriage feasts. Certain portions of the animals slaughtered are by custom set aside for the men, others for the women; the men cook their own meat in their enclosure, while the women cook theirs in the yard. Nevertheless the sexes freely intermingle on such occasions, even in the yard where the women do their cooking. It is common to see a woman very familiarly, and sometimes also confidentialy, chatting to a man. This intermingling in social intercourse is not confined to the older people and to feasts. Young people of opposite sexes are often seen together, a usage which is in direct contrast with the custom in former times, according to which young people were strictly separated on lines of sex.

The division of economic pursuits between the sexes is not very strict. Women mostly perform the domestic tasks, but it is not uncommon to see a man fetching water or firewood. It would appear that the women are not as busy as in many other tribes. Home crafts are virtually extinct, except for a little sewing that some women now do. Many women do not regularly attend to decorating and repairing the homesteads. At Taung on the site of the old capital, the dilapidated appearance of many of the homesteads is most uninspiring, and this is aggravated by the many deserted

ruins. Moreover new building techniques call for male workmanship even in repairing. A mud wall or an old type of thatched roof is the woman's work and must be repaired by her, but brickmaking, brick-walls, and iron roofs, or those thatched in the new fashion with sewn thatch -- these must be seen to by the man.

In keeping with tradition the men care for the cattle and other stock, but women often tend to the goats. On the other hand the main burden of the agricultural activities used to be on the women's shoulders. On the irrigation scheme the fields are now issued in the first place to the men, and they are held responsible for the proper cultivation of their plots. Men now also do a lot of the agricultural work, but agricultural officers complain that often the man ploughs the land and then leaves it to the care of his wife, who is unable to cultivate it according to the standards that are set. Both men and women enter the field of migrant labour, but fewer women go out than men, and male migrant labourers also spend more of their time away from home, than do the women. In reaping on the farms, men and women work side by side, and female members of a reaping team share in the payment on an equal basis with the men.

The role of women in the churches will be discussed in more detail at a later stage, but here I would just draw attention to the fact that the women form a much larger proportion of church membership than the men. They also take a leading part in church activities. In all the churches men and women sit apart.

Under present social conditions age is not as important a factor in determining prestige as it probably used to be. With some people I was struck by the lack of

special respect for the aged.[1] Yet it is still acknowledged that children should take care of their parents in their old age. Some people still held a belief in what is known as dikgaba. This is a type of misfortune resulting from the displeasure of a senior relative, without the latter's purposely willing it.[2] This belief inspires respect for one's seniors. The custom of reserving the kidneys of a slaughtered animal for the old men is still observed. As far as the young people are concerned, on the other hand, many of the traditional restraints on their behaviour are no longer in force. The complaint is often raised that the young people of to-day are ill-mannered, or that they only play dice and have fallen into 'tsotsiism'.[3] As there is little work to be done in connection with stock nowadays[4], there is little that keeps boys and young men busy when they are not engaged in migrant labour, and they have ample occasion to get involved in some mischief or other. Moreover, the economic independence of young people is an important factor in making parental control ineffec-

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1) There is some evidence suggesting the existence of a joking-relationship between grandparents and grandchildren. I heard an old woman address a grandchild as "my spouse" (Mogatsaka) and I was told that this was customary. Perhaps the disrespectful behaviour of children toward grandparents must be explained as part of a joking-relationship.

2) Cf. Chapter III.

3) The term botsotsi has full recognition in the Tlhaping vocabulary.

4) Regular tending of cattle is not necessary nowadays since they cannot go astray altogether, the whole reserve being fenced in. Neither are there any more wild animals which constitute a danger to large stock. Moreover many people do not possess stock nowadays.

tive at an early stage. The importance of seniority by birth is also diminishing : a younger brother can act quite independently of an older one if he wishes to do so. The abolition of the rule of patrilocal residence has probably contributed considerably to this change.

The system of age-sets or age-regiments[1]) connected with the initiation ceremonies is still operating among the Tlhaping. There are age-sets for women, parellel to those of the men, bearing the same names as the male sets. A set is formed by all the youths who passed through the initiation ceremonies at the same time. The same applies to the female age-sets, the girls' initiation always being held shortly after that of the boys. Some people nowadays do not attend initiation ceremonies, as the most important churches are opposed to it. Such people, however, are also regarded as belonging to an age-set for the purpose of special duties which may be assigned to particular age-sets from time to time. On the other hand, a cleavage becomes apparent at times between the initiated and non-initiated. The time of the initiation ceremonies is one of these occasions, and complaints have occasionally been made that force was used to induce people to attend initiation, or that people who opposed the ceremonies were victimised in some way or another. One Separatist Bishop considered the taking part in the initiation ceremonies or not as a norm by which one may distinguish between pagans and Christians.

Each age-set (especially those of the men) has its own internal organisation. It has a leader, who is usually a close patrilineal kinsman of the chief, as well as lesser local leaders in different areas. It may at times form its own court and inflict punishment. Group solidarity is expressed in age-set feasts which are held from time to

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1) Since they no longer have a military function, preference is given to the term 'age-set'.

time, usually in spring. At weddings, a special portion of beer may be set aside for the age-set of the father of the bridegroom. The members of the age-set who are present, drink this beer in company, being joined by the women of the corresponding female age-set. The female age-sets are less prominent in tribal life, but those of the men are from time to time summoned (singly, or several together) for various purposes, e.g. ploughing the chief's land, or doing work which is in the interest of the whole chiefdom. Sometimes an age-set is summoned to enforce a decision of the chief, whether given in the form of a court decision, or some other order.

An incident after the last initiation ceremonies in 1951, which had a sequel in the Native Commissioner's court at Taung, illustrates several points in connection with the age-sets.

> According to evidence given in court, a boy, who was a scholar in the Tribal School, was said to have cursed one of the members of the recently formed age-set. The boy was summoned to the tribal court enclosure where the leader of the age-set, in the presence of some of the members, fined him £1. 10. 0. because it was held that in cursing one member, he had cursed the whole age-set. The boy was unwilling to pay the fine, or to surrender his bicycle, as someone suggested, whereupon the leader sentenced him to fifteen cuts, which he duly administered while the other members present expressed their approval and gave advice. The outcome of the matter was that thirty-two youths were found guilty of common assault by the Native Commissioner. 1)

This incident provides evidence of the internal organisation and solidarity of the age-set.

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1) Of the 32 who were sentenced, 9 were described as "scholars", 4 as "labourers", and 19 as having "no occupation". Their ages varied from twelve to twenty-three years. All particulars about the case are taken from the records in the Taung Native Commissioner's office. (Criminal Records, No. 294 of 1951.)

Economy.

The Tlhaping of Taung are involved int the same type of economic prosessess of change as most of the Bantu peoples of South Africa are undergoing to a greater or lesser degree.[1] In pre-European times theirs was a relatively self-sufficient economy based mainly on arable and stock farming. That their methods of farming impoverished the land did not matter very much, since extensive land resources were at their disposal. The process of restriction of land resources through European settlement, with its resultant impoverishment of the soil and consequent decrease in local production, which, combined with new wants aroused by trade and other contacts with Europeans as well as with the imposition of taxes payable in cash has resulted in a system of migrant labour, is so well known that it is not necessary to describe it here in detail. Thus far the Irrigation Scheme has not brought any radical change in this general trend involving the necessity of migrant labour, although it may in future help to diminish its necessity to some extent. It has, however, introduced some important changes in land tenure and methods of production which will be briefly described below.

We begin our sketch of present-day economy with a few remarks about land tenure. In accordance with the traditional Tswana system of land tenure the chief is held to be in control of all land in the chiefdom (outside the Irrigation Scheme), but he exercises this control through

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[1] Cf. Schapera, I. Migrant Labour and Tribal Life, O.U.P., 1947, and Houghton, D. Hobart and Edith M. Walton, The Economy of a Native Reserve, Keiskammahoek Rural Survey, Vol. II. Shuter & Shooter, Pietermaritzburg, 1952.

his headmen. New residential sites may be acquired by application to the chief or to the headman in whose area the desired site is situated. A newcomer to the chiefdom must first be introduced to the chief and formally be accepted by him before a headman may grant him a site. If space permits, sons may build their homesteads in the immediate neighbourhood of their father's homestead without reference to the headman or chief. A son may also inherit the homestead of his parents.

Nowadays there is very little arable farming in the chiefdom outside the Irrigation Scheme. Under the former tribal system of tenure fields could be inherited or acquired by loan or gifts from relatives or friends, in which reference to the tribal authorities was not necessary as long as the recipient was an accepted member of the chiefdom. Application could also be made to the chief or headman if a field could not be obtained by the means mentioned above. Most of the fields were situated in the valley area in former times. There is evidence suggesting the possibility that members of the same ward had their fields in the same area, but it was not possible to come to complete certainty about this and it is clear that this custom or rule, if it existed, disappeared long before the beginning of the Irrigation Scheme.

Mention must here be made of the tributes (dikgahêla) formerly made to the chief in successful years in recognition of his role in ensuring that rain should fall. These were given only from Kaffir corn and tobacco crops. A little tobacco is sometimes still given to the chief as tribute. Special fields used to be cultivated by the members of the chiefdom for the chief, These fields, known as diphatsha, have been abandoned, but at least at two places where such fields used to exist, the signs of former cultivation are still discernible. At present the

chief's field on the Irrigation Scheme is sometimes referred to as phatšha and is ploughed and reaped for him by his subjects.

The area on the Kaap Plateau in the west and the recently added northern part of the reserve are set aside for grazing, and extensive settlement may not take place there. In former times the Tlhaping also had cattle-posts in their grazing areas where the older boys tended the stock all the year round. Now there are very few left because little tending of stock is done, probably because the reserve is not large and is completely fenced in. Nearly all the cattle and some of the small stock are kept in the grazing areas.

By Proclamation 4 of 1943 an area of 12,000 morgen east of the Hartz and Dryhartz Rivers in the Phuduhutswana chiefdom, designated as the Taung Irrigation Scheme, was placed under the direct control of the Native Commissioner. A European Superintendent is in charge of the Scheme and he is assisted by a staff of European Agricultural Officers, foremen, and other technicians and 22 trained African Agricultural Demonstrators. It is estimated that about 7,000 morgen will ultimately be brought under irrigation. The rest will mostly be used for grazing but certain areas may also be set aside for residential purpos es. Some of the people living on land that is not being developed for irrigation have continued to live there in much the same way as they used to. Others have had to change their domicile in order to evacuate certain areas for irrigation. In theory the Native Commissioner now controls all land on the Scheme butthe regulations for the control of residential areas do not seem to be enforced yet. People living within the bounds of the Irrigation Scheme therefore continue to stand in much

the same relation to the chief as those living on tribal land. Certain grazing areas on the Scheme are controlled by officials of the Native Affairs Department. These areas are intended only for draught animals of persons cultivating irrigation plots.

Irrigable land on the Scheme is allotted by the Native Commissioner, to whom application may be made (via. headmen, Agricultural Officers and Superintendent) at certain times. There are two types of allotments, viz. "irrigation allotments" to which I refer as fields, and "garden allotments" (also irrigable) to which I refer as gardens. Fields have an average size of two morgen each. The present policy of the Department is not to allot more than one field and one garden to a single household. In the case of a polygynous household a field may be allotted for every wife. The chief has not been granted any particular privilege in respect of land on the Scheme: he also has only one field for each of his two wives. In September 1953 nearly 1,200 fields and 350 gardens had been allotted while some more were vacant and available for allocation. Including allotments for the use of the hospital and secondary school, areas cultivated or afforested by the Department and the area occupied by roads, furrows, dams, and tree belts, an area of 4,200 morgen had been developed at that stage. So far the land available for allocation from time to time has been less than the demand.

Allottees have to pay a maintenance fee of two pounds a year for a field and five shillings for a garden. The regulations require that they cultivate their allotments in accordance with the directions of the Departmental officials. The cultivation of Kaffir corn is banned altogether and planting maize is not encouraged, the reason being that

these are considered to be economically less profitable on irrigable land. Crop rotation and the application of manure and fertiliser are compulsory. The rights to an allotment may be cancelled if the rugulations are ignored, but ample provision is made for warnings and for the allottee to defend his case before final concellation takes place. Theoretically the rights of occupation have to be cancelled and granted anew after the death of the allottee, but in practice they are mostly transferred to the widow or heir of the deceased.

In "pre-irrigation" times arable farming was an important source of income in years of successful crops, when large amounts of kaffir corn and mealies were sometimes sold to traders, but because of the low and irregular rainfall, production was irregular. The severe droughts of the twenties seem to have brought it almost to a standstill so that little was being produced in the years immediately preceding the start of the Irrigation Scheme, but as a result of the Scheme arable farming again started growing in importance. However, new types of crops are now being cultivated: wheat is the main crop, while peas, lentils, mealies, cowpeas, groundnuts, mung beans and lucern are also produced. New methods and procedures are also followed. The chief no longer initiates the various stages of agricultural activity as in former times, since this is done by the Departmental Agricultural staff. A large quantity of manure is now carted onto the fields from the natives' own cattle byres and stock pens. Here we may also mention the fact that use is now being made of paid labour - payment being in cash or in kind - at peak periods such as ploughing or reaping. (This, however, need not necessarily be a result of the Irrigation Scheme.)

Like other Bantu peoples the Tlhaping are also at-

tached to their stock. Their attitude to various types of stock was explained by an informant whom I had asked whether the Tlhaping prefer cattle to goats. He answered as follows: "They prefer cattle to goats because their original custom was cattle first. Cattle and sheep - it is these which originated with the Tswana, and for this reason they are very fond of cattle as well as of sheep. They like cattle in this way : cattle are given as bogadi and sheep are given as bogadi; cattle are eaten as dithari and sheep are eaten as dithari.[1] Goats are not eaten as dithari and they are not given as bogadi ..... Goats - we just farm with (rua) them". Although this ritual and social value attached to cattle, and to a lesser extent also to sheep, is still recognized it is not strongly emphasized nowadays. It certainly does not restrain them from selling a considerable number of stock. Monthly stock fairs are held at Taung Station and from July 1952 to June 1953 the total sum collected for native owned stock (including 877 cattle) amounted to £19,706. 3.3.[2]

In connection with the Irrigation Scheme the Department has organised two dairies in which 42 men have a share . They regularly produce milk for sale locally and some cream which is railed to creameries. A few individuals

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1) See ch. III, pp. 93 ff.

2) The attitude of the Tlhaping to the sale of cattle is in accordance with that of the Tswana of the Protectorate but is in striking contrast to that of the people of Keiskammahoek (Ciskei) who are of Nguni stock. In spite of a considerable degree of social change in Keiskammahoek, very few cattle are sold. (See Schapera, I. Land Tenure in the Bechuanaland Protectorate, pp. 210-213, and Houghton and Walton, The Economy of a Native Reserve.)

also send away cream on their own, but apart from these undertakings, very little milking of cows seems to take place. Some goats' milk is consumed, but even this is not much.

Some cash income is derived from the sale of hides, skins, bones, eggs, and a small amount of wool. Hides and skins are still used as mats, for making thongs, and on a more limited scale also for the making of shoes, karosses, and only occasionally a garment or a cradleskin. Donkeys are the most common draught animals. Some people have oxen and a few posess horses or mules. Fines are often imposed in terms of large or small stock in the chief's and headmen's courts, but money is also used for this purpose.

The Tlhaping hold that they used to be much wealthier in cattle than they are now, but that they lost large numbers of their stock through droughts. It is a fact that many households own no stock at all (speaking in terms of cattle, sheep and goats), while some of the rest have only small stock. Remembering that in addition to this only a minority of the people to-day hold arable land it is obvious that the people mustlargely depend on the other alternative for making a living, namely wage labour. Amongst the opportunities for wage labour within the reserve the most significant is that offered by the lime mine at Buxton where about 1,600 to 1,700 labourers are normally employed. Strangely enough, however, the majority of the mine's labour force comes from Herschel and other Transkeian districts. The Native Affairs Department regularly employs about 300 unskilled labourers, mostly in connection with the Irrigation Scheme. Various other less important agencies add to the local demand for labour.

Usually, however, wage labour means migrant labour and as is common in South African native reserves it is an item which looms large in the life of the people. The form of migrant labour in which the largest number of people seems

to take part is reaping on farms in the Western Transvaal and the Orange Free State. Reaping teams (including many women and girls) leave the reserve from about April every year and the last to return are back late in August or early in September. It is difficult to estimate the numbers going out to reap annually, but I think that for the 1953 reaping season the number could be put at between 3,000 and 6,000 for the Phuduhutswana chiefdom alone, and when the crops are particularly fine the numbers would be higher. At home in the reserve this time of the year brings a general lull in regular activities. Reapers are invariably remunerated in kind from the crops reaped, - mostly this is maize but sometimes also Kaffir corn.

Next to reaping working on the Witwatersrand gold mines is the most important form of migrant labour. In recent years over a thousand men have been recruited for the mines annually. Men also go out to work in road gangs in various districts of the Western Transvaal, to mines in the Klerksdorp district and to the Vaal Hartz Irrigation Scheme where they work as farm hands. In former times many people used to go to the Kimberley mines and to diamond diggings in neighbouring district but very few do so now. Women migrate to various towns to work as domestic servants.

People often still build and repair their own homesteads but they frequently employ others to do part or all of the work. Traditional crafts such as pottery, the making of grass, wicker and wooden utensils are virtually, if not quite, extinct. Articles made from hides and skins and folding chairs or small benches made of wood are about the only products still locally manufactured. Garments follow European fashions, sometimes very closely, sometimes with a considerable lag, and are with few exceptions either purchased articles or made from materials bought from trading stores. Most household utensils and agricultural imple-

ments are shop bought, while most buildings erected nowadays require that some form of building material has to be purchased. Bicycles are the most common means of local conveyance for men.[1])

Some people derive part of their income from specialized pursuits. Among these are the traditional native doctors, brick-makers, builders, thatchers, dressmakers, shop-owners and cartage contractors (one with his own lorry, others using wagons). Mostly such a pursuit is only complementary to other means of livelihood. Old people who lack any particular means of making a living usually rely on small government pensions and/or the aid of children or other relatives.

With the lack of specialized training in economics on the part of the observer and the absence of accurate statistics it is of course hardly possible to assess or compare standards of living. It is therefore little more than a personal opinion and impression if I say that the Tlhaping seem to be poorer than the Bantu in some other South African reserves and that they do not seem to show particular ambition to improve their economic conditions. When this impression is placed beside other phenomena such as the lawlessness of some of the younger generation, the small attendance at tribal gatherings, and the neglected appearance of many homesteads it seems possible that it should be seen as part of a general lack of interest, which is the result of the decay of old values and patterns of living. This produces the feeling that things are "going to pieces" generally and that there is not much that can be done about it.

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1) Some people extend to the bicycle the traditional taboo against women riding on horseback.

Religious Groupings.

Missions and churches have introduced religious diversity into a society which used to be characterised by a large degree of religious uniformity. The groupings among and within the churches and the differences between different churches will be discussed in subsequent chapters. Here we are concerned with the question of how far the society as a whole has been affected by Christianity, whether we can distinguish a major grouping into Christians and pagans, and how the different groups compare numerically. At the outset it must be made clear that a simple and clear-cut grouping into Christians or church people on the one hand, and pagans on the other is not possible, because of the existence of a considerable but undefined middle "group" consisting of people who claim to be church adherents but have no official church connections. The existence of such a category of people is recognised by the Tlhaping in that such people designate themselves as barati (from go rata, to like or love). The term is rather vaguely used and members of this group range from people who regularly attend church services to thos e who hardly ever see the inside of a church but regard it as befitting present conditions to have a church which one considers as one's own, especially when it comes to marriages and funerals. We may hencefoth refer to them as adherents.[1])

Some idea of the extent to which the society has accepted Christianity can be formed from official church

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[1]) The term adherent is sometimes used as including categories such as catechumens or members on trial. I wish to stress the fact that in the present study this is not the case, and 'adherents' always refers to people who profess adherence but have no official connection as communicants or as members of classes.

statistics. These are given in greater detail in chapter V. Here it will suffice to say that the total number of communicant members and non-communicant members of all the churches in the chiefdom amounts to 10,203. By non-communicant members ~~and~~ I mean those who are members of classes which lead to full membership and who are varyingly referred to as catechumens, members on trial or members of the confirmation class. It would be incorrect to say that this figure indicates what proportion of the whole population observes a formal connection with the churches since it does not include baptized children of church members or the children attending Sunday schools. I would suggest, however, that the total of 10,203 provides a near indication of the proportion of the population above the age of ten years observing a formal connection with the churches.[1] According to the 1936 census 72.4% of the natives in the Union were above the age of ten years. If the Phuduhutswana chiefdom were typical of the Union[2] it would mean that 22,444 out of an estimate population of 31,000 are older than ten years. The total church membership of 10,203 constitutes 45.47% of this number. This is of course at its best only an approximate figure but I think the inference is justified that roughly a little less than half of the population of ten years and older have official

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1) In most churches children cannot become communicant members before they are about seventeen or eighteen, but some may be attending catechumen classes from the age of about fourteen or fifteen. The Anglican and Roman Catholic Churches, which together represent about half the membership of all the churches, confirm children from the age of ten. This means that some of their catechumens may be younger than ten, but I doubt whether there are many, and at any rate their numbers would be at least equalled by that of Sunday School children older than ten, who are not included in the number given above, It seems reasonable therefore to consider the figure of 10,203 as a close indication of the number of people above the age of ten years who observe an official connection with the churches.

2) In the sample areas I investigated 73.12% of the total population were over 10 years of age. This makes acceptable the supposition that the Phuduhutswana chiefdom is typical of the Union.

connections with the churches, As I shall presently show, this was actually the case in the sample areas already.referred to.

As indicated above the middle group of barati or church adherents is not a clearly defined one and this makes it all the more difficult to assess its numerical strength.[1] However, I did try totform some idea of this by including in the sample survey information about the church connections of the members of every homestead.

From the particulars given by informants four categories of church affiliation could be formulated.
(1) People who were said to have no church connections constitute the first category.
(2) The second consists of adherents. It includes all who were explicitly called barati or who were regarded as church people on the ground that they attended services. Children were often considered as being affiliated to churches because they were baptized (or blessed in the case of "baptist" churches) in infancy. These have also been grouped as adherents since they may be regarded as constituting at least potential adherents. Only children under fifteen are included in the category of adherents on the grounds of infant baptism since older people who do not claim to be adherents (if they are not catechumens or full members) can hardly be regarded as having connections with the churches merely because they were baptized in infancy. Moreover, in the case of older people baptism in infancy was never given as the grounds for a claim of having church connections. For clarity's sake I may add that adults for

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[1]) Official census figures relating to religious affiliation in the Taung district could not be obtained.

whom no church connections were claimed, were placed in the first category even if they were baptized in infancy. (3) Members of Sunday schools and catechumen classes constitute the third category and
(4) communicant or full members the fourth. The following table shows the distribution into the different categories of the 398 persons in the sample. They have also been split up into two age groups, viz. those under ten years old and those above ten.[1])

Degree of affiliation	Under 10 yrs.		10 yrs & older		T o t a l	
	no.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1. Nil	31	28.97	82	28.19	113	28.39
2. Adherents	62	57.94	68	23.37	130	32.66
3. SS. or CC.	14	13.08	58	19.93	72	18.09
4. Full members	-	-	83	28.52	83	20.85
T O T A L	107	100	291	100	398	100

In the first place I may point out that in the sample 48.45% of the people in the ten-years-and-over age group have an official connection with a church as full members, catechumens or members of a Sunday school. This seems to support the calculation made above on the basis of the official church statistics. It is further significant that a considerable number of people (23.37% of the ten-years-and-older age group) claim connection as adherents and only about 28% of the whole population claim no connec-

[1]) For the manner of ascertaining people's ages, see ... ch. V, p. ..248.n..2.

tion with the churches. Here another piece of information must be added : of the 82 persons of ten-years-and-older eighteen (sixteen males and two females) had been baptized in infancy and therefore probably did have some connection with a church as children. That leaves 64 out of 291 (21.99%) of the older age group without present or past connections.

I have no reason to believe that the sample, although it is small, is not a typical of the society as a whole. If it is accepted as typical, it illustrates that the society has been affected by the churches to a considerable extent and that the majority of the people have accepted the churches as part of their life.[1]) Probably even most of the people who claim no church connections have accepted many ideas which form part of the teachings of Christianity so that these people could hardly still be called pagans or heathens.. If we do distinguish between Christians and "pagans" as constituting the major religious groupings in the society, it should be remembered that there is no clear dividing line and no deep cleavages or intense oppositions between the two groups. In this respect the existence of a considerable number of mere ad-

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1) In the whole Union 4,053,760 native or 52% of the total native population were enumerated as professing adherance to Christian churches in 1946.

According to official census returns for the Bechuanaland Protectorate 23% of the population in the Tswana districts were enumerated as Christians in 1946, "although the proportion varies greatly from one tribe to another (e.g., Kgatla 65%, Ngwaketse and Kwena 38%, Tawana 16%, and Ngwato only 7%)" (Schapera, The Tswana, p. 47. with reference to Census Report, 1946, Table IV (i)).

herents who have not come to a complete acceptance and confession of Christianity is significant. They constitute an undefined middle group through which Christianity almost merges into "paganism".

Education.

In September 1952 there were nineteen schools in the Phuduhutswana chiefdom, with a total of 2,971 pupils, and 67 teachers. 1086 (36.55%) of the pupils were boys and 1885 (63.45%) were girls. The standards for which tuition was given, were as follows:

Sub A - Std III	:	4 schools.
Sub A - Std IV	:	11 schools.
Sub A - Std V	:	2 schools.
Sub A - Std VI	:	1 school.
Std V - Junior Certificate	:	1 school.

To one of these schools a night school was attached, with 47 pupils, all men. It only went as far as Sub B. All these except two, are mission schools, managed by European missionaries or African ministers.[1]) The "Batlhaping Secondary School" at Taung, and the "Molala Memorial School" at Matlapaneng are tribal schools. In the secondary school committee the tribal authorities, the London Missionary Society and the parents are represented, with the Native Commissioner as chairman; in the Molala School Committee only the tribal authorities and the parents have representation. Both school buildings were built with tribal funds. The secondary school was started in 1939, and the one at Matlapaneng in 1951. Two of the schools have boarding institutions, viz. the secondary school, and the St. Paul's Mission School (Roman Catholic) at Taung, which is the one going as far as Std. VI. The Roman Catholic Mission has an industrial department attached to it, where training is gi-

[1]) It should be remembered that fieldwork for this study was undertaken before the promulgation of the Bantu Education Ac

ven in carpentry. The Mission Hospital is a recognised centre for the training of African nurses. In December 1953 there were 34 probationer nurses. (Nearly all of these are from outside the reserve).

Although many children do not attend school, one is not aware of any tension between "school people" and people who do not send their children to school, as has been noticed in some other areas. On the whole there would be little difference between the way of life in the homes of those who go to school, and those who do not. This is probably to be ascribed to the fact that most households have (or have had) connections with the schools. More than three-quarters of the 63 homesteads sampled had one or more inhabitants who had been to school or were still attending. Moreover, the whole population has already been intensively influenced by forces from outside, quite apart from the school.

It is possible, however, to distinguish as a separate group the people who have had an advanced education, and who might be considered as forming the beginnings of a professional class. This group consists of the school teachers, a few trained ministers, the twenty-two agricultural assistants attached to the Irrigation Scheme, the nurses, and the African constables. These are the people whose standards of living are in general a good deal higher than that of the majority of the population,and they follow most closely European patterns of behaviour. At concerts and similar social gatherings they are the elite for whom the front seats are reserved. They take hardly any part, however, in the political activities of the tribe. Many of them have been brought to Taung by their work, and such people tend to view themselves as 'foreigners', never making Taung their real home, even although they may already

have a family. It seems a pity that many of these people who have had the opportunities that should make them the leaders in the community, tend to remain in the position of outsiders.

Medical Services.

The native inhabitants of the reserve on the whole do not strike one as having a robust physique. Complaints of ill-health are numerous, especially in winter when more or less everybody seems to complain of sehuba (chest trouble). This complaint sometimes appears to be as institutionalised as the question invariably asked in summer: "Where is the rain?" Nevertheless, it is probable that in many cases the complaint is genuine, and local medical authorities are inclined to think that tuberculosis of the lungs is increasing in the reserve. Venereal diseases are also common. It is held that malnutrition lies at the root of much ill-health.

Most of the medical services available, if not all, developed after 1930, mostly as part of the local Roman Catholic Mission enterprise. The St. Konrad's Mission Hospital provides accommodation for 123 African or Coloured patients, and 10 Europeans. The doctor attached to the hospital is also District Surgeon. Besides the European Sisters, there are two African staff nurses, and the probationers already mentioned. During 1952 the hospital admitted 1,198 African in-patients, of whom 200 were non-paying, the others being either part-paying, or full-paying patients. In the out-patient department 850 persons were treated.[1])

There are four clinics in the reserve, which the

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[1]) Information provided by the Matron, St. Konrad's Hospital, Taung.

district surgeon attends once a week. During 1953 treatment was given to 1129 V.D. cases (primary, secondary and tertiary). Besides these, other patients are also treated at these clinics on an average of about 70 to 80 per week.[1]) Two of the clinics each have an African maternity nurse attached to it. The housing, transport and equipment of these nurses are financed by the Local Council, but their salaries come from other sources. The Local Council usually also donate £100 a year to the hospital,

The attitude of the Tlhaping to these medical services is largely reflected by the statistics given above, which show that good use is now being made of them, in spite of the unwillingness of some people to do so in the earlier stages, They are to-day recognised institutions in the life of the tribe. Extensive use is also made of patent medicines which are on sale in the traders'stores. Nevertheless, witch-doctors, and a considerable number of them too, continue to exist . Many ailments, such as those attributed to witchcraft of sorcery, are held to be outside the domain of European doctors and medicine. One of the native doctors told me that in the case of "illness of God" he sends patients to hospital, but when it is "poison", he treats them himself.

Other voluntary associations.

Besides the schools, churches, and church associations there are few other voluntary associations in the reserve. There are three sports clubs (football, boxing,

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1) Information provided by the District Surgeon, Taung.

and tennis), and a branch of the Cape African Teachers Union. The latter meets once every quarter on a Saturday, and the business meeting in the afternoon is sometimes followed in the evening by a concert presented by the teachers. The Roman Catholic Mission provides a film show every two weeks. Other gatherings for recreation are sporadic: an occasional concert or dance (European style), and, less often, a visiting circus or magician's show. Less sophisticated gatherings are those for beer drinks and traditional dancing and singing, but mostly only children take part in the latter.

External Relations.

The Tlhaping did not form an isolated society before they came into contact with Europeans, but the range and intensity of their external relations were much more limited than at present. Such relations as they had with other native societies (including Bushmen and Hottentots) have changed considerably. Whereas they used to form a small independent state, they have become incorporated into a much larger one. Moreover, apart from wider contacts in political organisation, they have come into close contant with the European population at large.

Whereas their contact with other Bantu tribes formerly used to be largely of a hostile and sporadic nature, it has become more general, but also more casual and easy. They come into contact with them when at European labour centres, when visiting places outside the reserve, and through their churches. The proportion of people within the society itself who belong to other Bantu ethnic groups, is probably also much larger than formerly. Nevertheless, the idea of a broad Bantu nationalism is not very strong. What there is of it, appears to be limited to the "professional"

group. There is no branch of the African National Congress or any similar organization in the reserve. The people generally seem to accept the position of dependence in the field of political organisation, though somewhat grudgingly. The complaints they voice, however, are not in terms of the broad political questions of the day, but are of a more particular nature, often in the field of economies. The attitude is also often coloured by the suspicion that justice is not being done to them in particular matters.

Their connections with the European population of the country are numerous. In the first place there are the Europeans living in the reserve : 586 according to the 1951 census. A large number of these are traders (including garage, cafe, and butchery owner). A few are missionaries, some are government officers, while many are connected with the lime works. The relations of the Tlhaping with these Europeans are typical of the South African situation: in certain matters they have close relations, while in other matters they stand far apart. Furthermore, the reserve is practically surrounded by European owned farms. These farmers come into the reserve to do their regular business, while there is a considerable coming and going of natives between reserve and farms. Travelling for private purposes and in search of labour provide the same occasions for contact with Europeans as have already been described for other South African native societies.

I do not know of any expressions of strong anti-white feeling among the Tlhaping, and it is significant that although I started my fieldwork at a time when the resistance campaign of Africans against the Government's "apartheid" measures was on, I encountered very little evidence of antipathy. When riots took place, even as near

as Kimberley, there was little excitement, such opinions as were voiced were to the effect that it was stupid of the people to go rioting as they had done. Nevertheless, it would be wrong to think that the Tlhaping accept the relations without any grudge, and one often hears complaints about treatment they have had from particular Europeans. It is acknowledged, on the one hand, that the coming of the Europeans into the country has brought schools, churches, hospitals, and other amenities which have improved the life of the native people. On the other hand they complain that their country has been hemmed in by farms with resulting shortage of land. Their customs, they say, have been broken down, and the lawlessness among their own people is the result of this.

Summary.

By way of summary I shall try to point out the major changes that have taken place in the society with which we are dealing. It should be remembered, however, that changes in the social structure of the people are not simple processes, each of which can be easily isolated and described, but because the relationships within a society constitute a complex structure, changes in those relationships also have a complex nature. What may primarily appear to be a change in one particular aspect of the social structure usually has repercussions in other spheres or aspects of the structure as well. It is difficult therefore to discuss and relate different processes of change without a certain degree of cross-reference and repetition.

Politically the Tlhaping used to be organised in one - later there were more - small independent polity with no strong ties connecting it to the outside world. Authority was strongly centralised in the chieftainship. Now their society has lost its independence, has become enclosed in a

large state through which it is indirectly linked to societies all over the world, while the authority of the chief over his chiefdom has diminished considerable. The weakening of the chief's powers is not merely the result of formal checks placed on his rule by the authorities of the state into which his chiefdom has become enclosed but it is related to various other factors. One of these is the scattering of the population, which as we have shown, may partly be the result of the weakening of the chieftainship, but eventually necessitated decentralisation by the delegation of authority to the new type of headmen not living in the immediate neighbourhood of the chief, who tend to become more and more independent. Migrant labour also undermines the chief's authority by removing members of the chiefdom from his jurisdiction for such periods as they are away working and by enabling them to be economically independent, whereas formerly they depended on the chief for the land which they needed for making a living and they looked to him to perform the ritual which would ensure the necessary rain.

The Irrigation Scheme has also weakened the authority of the chief, particularly in that he has lost the control of arable land and the privilege of having special fields which the tribe cultivated for him. His prestige is also undermined by the fact that he no longer initiates different stages of agricultural activities. The ban on Kaffir corn, which was the most important crop from which tribute was given to the chief, has deprived him of such tribute.

Strong control on the part of the chief, concentration of the population in one town and strong tribal solidarity seem to have been linked together in the past. Therefore the scattering of the population is linked not only with the weakening of the chieftainship but also with the weakening of the internal solidarity of the chiefdom. Government

agencies, missions, schools, hospitals, and associations brought a great degree of diversity into a society which was relatively homogendous and this loss of uniformity probably also contributed to the weakening of the ties between members of the chiefdom. Particularly significant are the economic processes involving the use of money and migration for wage labour which have fostered a spirit of individualism detrimental to strong tribal solidarity.

We have reported a general weakening of kinship ties which is consistent with the emergence and growth of individualism. It is particularly the stress on unilineal descent which has weakened, and this is a concomitant of the scattering of the population. The Tlhaping used to have wards which were units of patrilineally related persons. They were not complete lineages but the Tswana system of wards probably originated in a system of localised lineages. With the scattering of the population much of the economic, legal and ritual co-operation that used to take place between the patrilineal relatives living together in a family group or ward has disappeared. Rank based on unilineal descent is also not as important as it used to be. The general trend of the changes seems to suggest that in terms of Prof. Radcliffe-Brown's typology of kinship systems [1]) the Tlhaping are moving away from a system approximating to father-right, in the direction of a cognatic system.[2]) It must be added, however, that the development by which political offices are more

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1) See Radcliffe-Brown and Ford. African Systems of Kinship and Marriage, p. 79.

2) A cognatic system is thought of as lying midway between the two extreme poles of pure father-right and mother-right respectively.

exclusively held by members of the Tlhaping lineages than used to be the case, seems to run counter to the weakening of the principle of unilineal descent.

The choice of a marriage partner is now much more a matter of the personal choice of the couple concerned and young people do not have their marriage partners selected for them by their parents and other relatives. The fact that the traditionally preferred kinship marriages seem to be disappearing also shows that kinship ties are giving way to individual taste in the field of marriage. No doubt missions have also encouraged marriage by personal choice in opposition to "arranged" marriages.

Another important change is that the payment of bogadi is falling into disuse with many people and is no longer essential to establish a man's rights over the children born of the marriage. This seems to be connected with the fact that many people are now married by church or civil rites, and since such marriages are universally recognised as legal the payment of bogadi is not as significant as it used to be to establish a mans rights over children. The decrease in the importance of marriage payments is perhaps also related to economic factors such as the losses in stock caused by droughts combined with the fact that the Tlhaping and other Tswana readily sell their cattle, in contrast to the Nguni who are not eager to sell cattle and strongly adhere to the custom of making marriage payments (lobola).

Family ties suffer as a result of migrant labour. The absence of married men affects the relations between husband and wife and makes for less effective discipline over the children. Moreover, the possibility for older boys and girls to escape to labourcentres and to become economically independent at an early stage further weakens pa-

rental control. This, combined with the greater freedom with which the sexes meet and mix in youth may again be related to the increase of premarital pregnancies.

Some reference has already been made to the economic changes involving the use of money and the necessity to migrate to labour centres in order to obtain cash, and to the way in which migrant labour has affected the authority of the chief, tribal solidarity, and family relations. In fostering individualism it has also contributed indirectly to the changes in respect of marriage and the general weakening of kinship ties. Next to migrant labour the Tlhaping still follow their traditional economic pursuits of agriculture and stock farming, but significant changes have been brought about in these pursuits by the Irrigation Scheme. It has meant the introduction of a new system of land tenure, with the repercussions on the chieftainship which have already been mentioned above. New methods of cultivation and new crops have also been introduced.

Changes in the sphere of religion and the relation of these changes to the general social structure are dealt with in detail in the rest of this study. Here I only draw attention to the fact that missions and churches have greatly increased the diversity in what used to be a relatively homogeneous society. Not only have they introduced completely new beliefs and ritual and such distinctions as those between church members, catechumens, adherents and "pagans", but many different denominations have come with all the variations in belief, ritual and organisation that they imply. Moreover, the Christian congregation, like the school and other voluntary associations each with its own internal organisation is a type of association formerly unknown in the society. In respect of health services there is also greater diversity than before, since in addition to the traditional native doc-

tors there are now doctors and nurses trained in "European" medical lore, hospitals and clinics, while some churches also pay particular attention to rites of healing.

At the beginning of this summary we pointed out that the society has become connected with the outside world through ties of a political nature. Through trade and wage labour they have also become linked to economic processes the whole world over. Particularly through wage labour, but also through general travel many members of the society now come into regular personal contact with other native peoples and with Europeans, and with their values and modes of life. Generally speaking their relations with the outside world have become much more numerous and much more intensive. When we bear in mind that on the other hand ties within the society have slackened - think of the weakening of tribal solidarity and of kinship ties - it is clear that the processes taking place in the society with which we are dealing are consistent with the Wilsons' hypothesis that "intensity in the narrower circles of relation necessarily diminishes as intensity in the wider circles increases." [1])

The society with which we are dealing is very distinctly a changing one and our whole summary so far has been in terms of change. We should bear in mind, however, that the changes that are taking place do not imply that old traditional patterns are altogether superceded by new ones. Perhaps the most remarkable fact in the present situation is not the profound changes that have taken place

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1) Wilson, Godfrey and Monica. The Analysis of Social Change, Cambridge University Press, 1945, p.40.

or are still in progress, but the fact that in spite of so many forces making for change, some of them exerting their influence for a very long time already, something of the traditional background still persists. We shall have the opportunity of paying more attention to this aspect of the present situation in connection with religion, but here I must mention a few examples from the general social background. Firstly the Tlhaping still have a hereditary chief assisted by headmen to whom some of his power is delegated, although they now control areas of the chiefdom and not wards of a town. The general tribal assembly is a traditional institution persisting up to the present, although it has lost much of its former pomp. The chief is still the judge of his people and litigates according to traditional procedure.

In spite of the weakening of the principle of unilineal descent in the kinship system, it still figures in the recognition of totems, names of totemic groups and lineages which are inherited in the male line. Status according to unilineal descent, though declining in importance, is still recognised. Unilineal descent is still important in the initiation ceremonies, where the boys are grouped according to lineages and totemic groups. Kinship generally is still reckoned much further than among Europeans, and co-operation between kinsmen still emerges on occasions like weddings and funerals. The society is perhaps ethnically more heterogeneous than it used to be, but the true Tlhaping still form the nucleus and ruling community.

As a last instance I mention the traditional initiation ceremonies which persist with a remarkable degree of tenacity, and the system of age-sets connected with the ceremonies. These age-sets are not only regularly formed but still function in the ordinary course of events.

CHAPTER III.

PAGANISM ON THE WANE.

Although the Christian churches dominate the scene of present-day religious life in the Phuduhutswana chiefdom the traditional magico-religious ritual and beliefs of the people are by no means extinct. In a study of religion in the chiefdom at present we cannot omit a discussion of what remains of the pagan religion.

It is probable that the Tswana traditionally had the belief in a Supreme Being whom they called Modimo, the word which the missionaries adopted to designate God in their own teachings and in translations of the Bible. It seems as if there was hardly any cult connected with this Being. The "dominant cult" as Prof. Schapera refers to it,[1] was concerned with the dead. Not only did they believe in a continued existence after death, but the dead were thought of as having a considerable degree of control over the life and affairs of the living, and they communicated with the living particularly through dreams and divining. The living prevailed upon the dead to give them assistance and prosperity by offering prayers and sacrifices. According to Schapera "each family was held to be under the direct guidance of its own agnatic ancestors, who in turn were interested only in the affairs of their own descendants".[2]

The ritual further involved the use of "medicines" (ditlhare) and treatments in connection with which there were specialist "doctors" (dingaka). Illness and misfortune

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1) The Tswana, p. 59.

2) Ibid.

could be caused by decreased ancestors but sorcery (boloi) was also considered as a major cause of misfortune, while there were still other causes functioning more of less disconnected from the control of human or other personal beings, e.g. the breach of certain taboos.

Doctoring, medicine, and sorcery are usually classified as magic and the cult of the dead or the ancestor cult as religion. As the definition of magic is of particular significance in connection with the argument developed in a later chapter, I shall discuss it there in more detail. In this section I shall therefore avoid using the term and only discuss the ritual and belief which is usually termed magical in terms of the categories implicit in the native terminology. I may here just point out that I do not think a clear-cut division can be made between the ancestor cult on the one hand and what is usually termed magic on the other. For instance the activities of the native doctor (nga ka)which are often classified as magic link up with the ancestor cult. In descriptions of the actual rites, therefore, I do not separate the ancestor cult from doctoring, medicines and sorcery.

The fact that the traditional magico-religious system no longer functions as a complete system to which the whole society adheres with relative uniformity confronts us with a problem. Science requires that we should be systematic and therefore we have to systematize, but in doing so we are in danger of over-simplifying and of describing as a complete system what is not one any longer. I shall try to avoid this by first describing examples of pagan ritual or modifications of it which are known or said to have been performed quite recently, and by then analysing paganism in terms of its existing remnants and modifications.

It must be made clear that on the whole the material on pagan ritual is based only on information that could be obtained from a few reliable informants. What is presented here is not the type of information that is picked u casually. It was not easy to gain access to the actual performance of pagan ritual though I did manage to do so on two or three occasions. Besides, most of the ritual described here is not often performed nowadays.

Before proceeding to a description of the ritual it is advisable to explain the most important concepts and categories implied by the vernacular terminology.

Modimo: God as single Supreme Being. Sometimes the word is used to denote an ancestor spirit or even a living person whom one honours greatly.

Badimo: the ancestor spirits. The term is not only used of one's own deceased ancestors but actually denotes the dead generally. I adhere to the current term ancestor (or ancestral) spirits but in the present study it should be understood in this wider sense of spirits of the dead.[1])

Ngaka: a native doctor, using herbal and other medicines; usually he is also a diviner. ('Doctor' in this chapter always refers to such a native doctor.)

Ditaola, bola: the set of dice, consisting for the greater part of bones and pieces of bone, used by a doctor for divining.

Go alaha: to treat, doctor, or cure; used of the treat-

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[1]) Dr. Language holds that the Tlhaping believe in two types of ancestral spirits, viz. bamodimo, those which are favourable disposed to the living, and badimo, spirits which are ill-disposed to the living (Language, F.J., Kaptein-skap onder die Tlhaping, D. Phil. tesis, Univ: of Stellenbosch, 1941. Cf. also Brown, J. Tom, Among the Bantu Nomads, London, Seeley Service, 1926, p. 103) I came across no such distinction myself. Informants whom I questioned about the matter said they did not know of ancestral spirits being called bamodimo.

ment applied by a doctor whether preventive or curing.

Boloi: the employment of medicine for evil purposes; sorcery.[1])

Moloi: a sorcerer.

Go lôwa (lôya): to employ sorcery.

Ditlhare (sing. setlhare): objects and substances, whether herbal or not, used as medicines by doctors performing ritual which is socially approved, or by sorcerers.

Molemo:)
) A medicine, whether used for socially
More:)
) approved purposes or for sorcery.
Moriana:)

Moleko (form go leka, to try or test): a medicine used for sorcery.

Pheko: an object given to a person by a doctor to safeguard him against danger, to bring him good fortune, or to make him invisible; a charm.

Moruti: shadow. A deceased person is thought of as being able to overshadow (sira) persons or things with a shadow which can be dangerous. A dangerous shadow or overshadowing may also be connected with a living person.

Sehihi: a potentially dangerous condition in which people and objects may be, as a result of a death, or of a shadow of an ancestral spirit being on them. It may also result from the non-performance of ritual appropriate to a certain situation. Some informants compare it with the English term 'bad luck'. (The word has the same root as the word for darkness (lehihi).

Tlhapiso (from go tlhapa, to wash the body): a ritual pu-

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[1]) I came across hardly any evidence of witchcraft as a true Tswana concept among the Tlhaping. The few examples of belief in witchcraft which I encountered were in terms of Nguni or S.Sotho concepts. In this chapter I shall only speak of sorcery, (Cf. Schapera, The Tswana, pp. 65 f.)

rification performed by a doctor.

Moila (from go ila, to avoid, dislike): an act or object which must be avoided, usually for reasons connected with ritual; taboo.

Examples of ritual.

a) C h i l d b i r t h.

For the birth of her first child a woman goes to the home of her parents, if she is not living with them still according to the custom of go ralala - and often she goes there for the birth of subsequent children as well. Therefore I describe the events as taking place at the home of the parents of the woman who is to go into confinement.

If her own mother does not act as her midwife, she should in any case be present when her daughter is in labour. A few other woman may be present and they help attend to her as long as she remains secluded, which is usually at least several weeks. Especially when it is a woman's first confinement, it may last as long as three months.

The ritual nowadays still observed in connection with childbirth consists mostly of ritual avoidance. A pregnant woman should not touch medicines, since by so doing she would be 'treading on' [1]) them, and that would cause the illness of the person to whom the medicines are administered, to become more serious. According to one informant it is also taboo (moila) for a pregnant woman to eat

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1) The verb used (go gatêla) comes from the root, go gata, which means to tramp or tread, or lie upon. Sometimes it has the significance of making powerless. According to Prof. Schapera persons who are ritually "hot" (see below) trample on medicines if they handle them. Married Life in an African Tribe, p. 202.)

excessively. When a woman is in confinement, only the women regularly attending to her may enter the house or hut in which she is confined. Other women come to visit her, but they must sit outside, lest someone should employ sorcery against the child. During the first three weeks the husband of the confined woman is not allowed to visit her, but after that he may enter the house. He may resume sexual relations with her while the child is still small, provided that he is its real genitor. During his wife's pregnancy, and for some time after the birth of the child, he must abstain from intercourse with other women, however, since it would be harmful to the child. This taboo applies even to other wives of a polygynist. On the other hand if a woman becomes pregnant by another man than her husband, the latter must not have sexual intercourse with her as long as the child is small.

After the birth of the child, its maternal grandfather provides a goat which is slaughtered. Soup is made of the stomach and intestines which must not be cleaned very thoroughly. The soup is given to the mother of the child as a drink, and the idea is that it cleanses the liver (sebete) [1] - its ability to do so being ascribed to the vegetable substance the goat has eaten. This also explains why the ingredients must not be cleaned very thoroughly. The meat may not be eaten by any other than the women attending to the one in confinement. One informant held that animals slaughtered for a woman's second and subsequent children may be eaten by men also, but only by those related

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[1] Usually sebete means 'liver', but at least one informant seemed to use it to denote the womb.

to the woman in confinement.

The period of confinement is nowadays terminated by a ceremony spoken of as 'taking the child out of the house'(go ntsha ngwana mo tlung.) It consists of a short service, followed by a feast. During the service the child's father or his representative announces its name.[1] Only one informant connected this rite with a traditional custom. He held that the service as well as the feasting are new customs. Formerly, at the bringing out of the baby, its maternal grandmother would take it and put it in its father's arms saying: 'Here is your child', and the father would then hold the baby for a while. This was only done in the case of a woman's first baby.

Willoughby related that in 'Bechuanaland' a rite of "expurgation from the taboos of childhood" was performed on the termination of the period of confinement. It consisted in the treating of both parents with smoke from odoriferous roots, and the treatment of their persons and the first plate of porridge they shared, while it culminated in an act of sexual union signifying the resumption of marital relations.[2] The Tlhaping have no such ritual, at least not at present. However, a woman who has had a miscarriage must be purified, otherwise she will be harmfull to the cattle when passing through a herd or when approaching the byre. Formerly a woman who had given birth out in the veld, was fetched by some women at night, and the place where the delivery had taken place, had to be purified, else the rain might be prevented from falling. This is said to

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1) Since this is a Christian rite, it will be discussed in more detail at a later stage. (See ch. VII.)

2) W.C. Willoughby, Nature-Worship and Taboo, Hartford, Seminary Press, Connecticut, 1932, p. 201.

have been done as recently as during the reign of chief Rabodigelo (d. 1934.)

Various medicines are known and used in connection with childbirth. Medicines for curing barrenness are known only to doctors. During pregnancy herbal medicines are taken which cause the child to be 'loose' in the womb, i.e. to ensure an easy birth. Some of these medicines, such as the plant known as magorometšô, are common knowledge and need not be administered by a doctor. Tshitlhô, a powder used by doctors, amongst others for treating pregnant women, was described by a layman as a bitter substance, consisting of a mixture made from a certain kind of root and roast meat, while a doctor said that his tshitlhô, which was of a light yellowish brown colour, contained "rooistorm"[1]) and morarane. The child may be strengthened with medicines provided by a doctor, such as that known as mekomišô. If there is 'something wrong' in connection with its birth, a child may afterwards be treated by its mother by holding it in the smoke produced by medicines smouldering on live embers. Babies often wear wristlets, anklets and waistbands made of beads which are said to prevent the milk from "running out".

b) I N I T I A T I O N.

Various observances and avoidances connected with the initiation of boys and girls into adulthood, are clearly of a ritual nature, but it is difficult to decide whether initiation as a whole essentially belongs to the domain of ritual or not. Therefore we shall refer to the collective activities constituting initiation as 'ceremonial'.

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[1]) According to Watt, J.M., and Breyer-Brandwijk, Maria G., The Medical and Poisonous Plants of Southern Africa, Livingstone Press, Edinburgh, 1932, these two plants are respectively Rubia petiolaris DC. and Convulvus Hastatus Thunb.

The initiation ceremonies provide the only remaining example of traditional ceremonial which is performed on anything approaching a tribal scale. The most important churches, however, do not allow their members to attend the ceremonies or to send their children, but after every performance of the ceremonies many church members are censured for violating this rule.

On two occasions there has been a lapse of about fifteen years during which ceremonies for the tribe as a whole were not held.[1] In his report for the year 1900, the Rev. John Brown, missionary of the London Missionary Society at Taung wrote as follows: "There has been no circumcision ceremony at Taungs for about ten years; and even the corresponding rite for girls, which is more easily celebrated than circumcision, has not been heard of for some time. When I settled at Taungs [1868?], a young man who had not been circumcised was looked down upon by the men, and despised by the women and there were few who had had the moral courage to keep out of the ceremony ..... Few of these whom I am now marrying weekly can have been in the ceremony, but that fact is no longer a reproach, nor does it hinder their choice of wives ..... I have most likely lived to see the end of these things."[2] In 1904 Mr. Brown was succeeded by the Rev. William McGee, who in his first report mentions the resumption of the ceremonies, which are known to have been held several times during the sub-

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1) By special permission of the chief, the ceremonies may be held for a small group of boys during the interval between one performance of the general ceremonies for the chiefdom as a whole, and the next. It is unknown whether such smaller ceremonies were organised during these long intervals.

2) Archives of the London Missionary Society, Livingstone House, London, Annual Reports, (South African Field.)

sequent decade. In 1940, while Dr Language was doing fieldwork in the reserve, the general ceremonies were again held for the first time since 1925,[1] and they have been performed several times since then, the most recent having being held in 1951. The first long interval might possibly have been caused by the unsettled state of affairs in the country. This period saw the Rinderpest epidemic, the rebellion of the Tlhaping under Galesiwe, and the Anglo-Boer War. The period from 1925 to 1940 saw some of the worst droughts experienced in the history of South Africa. Events such as these are known to invluence the decision whether to hold the ceremonies or not. It would not be justified, therefore to describe the resumption of the ceremonies after each long interval as the revival of customs which had become obsolete, but it seems remarkable that in spite of such long lapses in the performance, the ceremonies are adhered to with such tenacity in what is very much a changed and changing society. On the other hand the ceremonies have been abandoned by most of the Protectorate Tswana tribes,[2] amongst whom there is on the whole more tribal solidarity and whose chiefs have considerable authority and status.

No child should take part in the initiation ceremonies unless the rite known as go ja dithari (eating the 'cradle-skins') has been performed for the eldest child of the family. There is no fixed time when it should take place: it may be performed when mother and child 'come out of the house', or at any later stage, even shortly before the child has to be initiated. It need not be performed

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1) Language, F.J., "Die bogwera van die Tlhaping", Tydskrif vir Wetenskap en Kuns, 4, Tweede Aflewering (1943), pp. 110-134.

2) Schapera, I., A Handbook of Tswana Law and Custom, p. 105.

for any of the other children than the first child a man has by his wife. The animal slaughtered may be either a beast (bovine) or a sheep. It is provided by the child's father, and taken to the home of its maternal relatives, where the child and its mother must also be present. There it is slaughtered by the maternal grandfather or the maternal uncle. The meat is cooked and the first bit which is cut off is given to the child to eat, the second to its mother. The rest may be apportioned by the performer of the ritual as he wishes. He also places the fatty membrane covering the bowels of the animal (peritoneum? lomipi) around the neck of the mother, the fat being allowed to drip on to her body, after which it is also hung around the neck of the child, who need not keep it on for a long time either. This membrane may be kept and allowed to harden, and may then be used for some secular purpose, e.g. as a softener in the braying of skins. The head and skin of the animal are the prerogative of the performer of the ritual. A similar rite is usually performed by the child's father at his own homestead, soon after the first, and for this the animal is provided by the child's maternal relatives. In this case the child's father apportions the meat, and the skin and head belong to him. This second slaughtering does not seem to be as essential as the first one, since a child may go to the initiation ceremonies even if the second part of the ritual has not been observed. Informants say that the eating of the animal of the 'cradle-skins' is still observed by many people, and this is to be understood, since its observance is essential for young people attending the initiation ceremonies.

Different informants agreed that the eating of the animal of the 'cradle-skins' was a safeguard against evil. One explained that a boy attending the initiation ceremonies without having had the ritual of the 'cradle-skin' performed,

would be a danger to the other novices: he would make them senseless (o tla tseanya bale); his 'shadow' would fall on them (o tla ba sira ka moruti wa gagwê); he would 'be too heavy' for them (o tla ba imêla). If, for instance, the novices had a bad appetite, it would be a sign that they had been affected in this manner by one of their number for whom the ritual had not been performed. A doctor would be called to divine who was the cause, and to cleanse them all by sprinkling medicated water. Another informant, less reliable than the first, said that a child for whom the ritual had not been performed would be 'overshadowed' by the others. A third explained that such children are a danger to each other.

The ritual is also connected with bogadi and the establishment of the right of the father and his lineage over the children. The rite performed at the children's maternal relatives enables a man to say: 'These are my children', and the animal which is sent by the former and slaughtered at the father's place, shows that 'truly, the child belongs to this man'. 'Bogadi and dithari complement each other' (tlatsana). The ritual is also explained as the separation of the children from their mother's lineage. It was, moreover, compared to Christian baptism of children, and was referred to as a 'mark' placed on them. Nothing could be ascertained about the significance of the membrane placed around the necks of the mother and child, except that it is referred to as sepheko (a charm).

My Tlhaping informants' version of the eating of the animal of the cradle-skins combines two sets of information found in literature on the Tswana. The first deals with the slaughtering of an animal connected with cradle-skins (dithari) but not with bogadi or the initiation ceremonies, neither does it involve the action with the peri-

toneum or intestinal fat. According to Prof . Schapera[1] the Kgatla slaughter a sheep or a calf while a woman is still in confinement, the skin of the a mimal being used to make a cradle-skin for the baby. In his Dictionary Rev. J. Tom Brown gives the expression of tlhabêla dithari (lit.: slaughter dithari) as referring to the making of a feast after a woman is confined.[2]

The second set of information deals with a ceremony in which the peritoneum or intestinal fat of a slaughtered animal is hung around a woman and or her child and which is described as something apart from the dithari slaughtering. According to Schapera[3] and Willoughby[4] it used to take place in connection with the traditional marriage ceremonies. In a study of modern conditions among Tswana tribes represented in the Marico district of Transvaal, Dr. Breutz mentions a ceremony of hanging around the intestinal fat, called go apara lomipi, which is still performed by many of the tribes, mostly of Hurutshe stock. With them it seems to be essentially a recognition of the payment of bogadi, but if bogadi has not been paid by the time the eldest child from a marriage goes to the initiation ceremonies, the ceremony must be performed at that stage. The purpose of the ceremony is then "to legalize his [i.e. the child's] status" or "to establish the child's rank" before entering the initiation lodge or camp.[5] This agrees

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1) Married Life in an African Tribe, p. 236.

2) Brown, Rev. J. Tom, Secwana Dictionary, L.M.S., Tigerkloof, 1946. p. 417 (under "Feast").

3) Op. Cit., p. 72.

4) Willoughby, W.C., The Soul of the Bantu, Doubleday, Doran & Co., New York, 1928, pp. 187-188.

5) Breutz, P.L. The Tribes of Marico District, Dept. of Native Affairs, Ethnological Publications No. 30. Government Printer, Pretoria, 1953-4, pp. 110,133.
Cf. also pp. 83, 157, 170, 182, 191, 204, 217.
Cf. also Jennings, A.E. Bogadi, L.M.S., Tiger Kloof (Vryburg), 1933, pp. 35-36.

with the Tlhaping view that the dithari ceremony removes the child from the mother's lineage and is concerned with establishing the right of the father and his lineage over the child. In view of the importance of status by patrilineal descent in the initiation ceremonies (see ch. II, p. 36) the necessity of establishing the status of a novice beforehand is evident.

It seems therefore that the Tlhaping rite of slaughtering the dithari animal may be a combination of what are described in the sources referred to as two different ceremonies, viz. the ceremony of slaughtering an animal during or after a woman's confinement to provide a cradle-skin (thari) for the baby, and the ceremony in which the lomipi is hung around a child and/or its mother, which is a recognition of bogadi and establishes the status of the children born of the marriage, [1]) with a view to the ranking in the initiation camps. I must point out that none of my informants connected the Tlhaping rite of "eating dithari" with the actual making of a cradle-skin (thari) not even those whom I explicitly asked why the term dithari was used for it.

What is known of the initiation ceremonies of the Tlhaping as they have been performed in recent years, corresponds in broad outline with older accounts of Tswana initiation. [2]) The boys' ceremonies (bogwera) are held in

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[1]) Cf. what Ellenberger reported about the Southern Sotho: "At the birth of the child the father offered another sheep, by virtue of which he took formal possession of the child and placed it under the special protection of the family gods. The fat which covered the entrails of the victim was stretched and coiled round the neck of the infant. On the recovery of the mother, he again had to offer a sheep, the skin of which was made into a thari, in which the mother would carry the infant on her back". (History of the Basuto, Ancient and Modern, London, 1913, p. 256, quoted by Willoughby, W.C. The Soul of the Bantu, pp. 182-183.)

[2]) It was not possible for me to investigate the initiation ceremonies in great detail. What information I could ob-

(cont' on page 98.)

temporary huts, grouped in a semi-circle around an open space in which many of the activities take place. The camp is ritually 'fenced in' beforehand so that the boys should have no desire to leave it. Before going to the camp, they gather at a few important makgotla, according to their lineages. In the camp itself divisions according to totemic groups and lineages are important and genealogical status is recognised in various ways. Before the boys leave for the camp their hair is shaved and treated by a doctor before being thrown away. The camp and its precincts are prohibited ground for women and the uninitiated. Parents of novices may not eat of the same food that is prepared for them and they must abstain from sexual relations while the ceremonies are being performed. The instructors of the boys must also observe the taboo on sexual relations. Special huts are set apart for the preparation of the novices' food at the makgotla to which camps are attached. These huts, also known as mephato, are also ritually 'fenced in' against sorcerers. Women take the food to within a distance of the camp, where it is fetched by the 'herds' (badisa) of the boys.

Strict secrecy is still exercised in respect of the actual content of the ceremonies, but it is known that circumcision is still performed. Different totemic groups and lineages follow each other in order of genealogical status in undergoing the operation. The novices learn secret songs and formulas, go out hunting, perform exercises and undergo punishment. The closing of the ceremonies, as also their commencement, must be announced by the chief in a gene-

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Cont' from page 97.)

tain agreed with Dr Language's account (op. cit.). For descriptions of the ceremonies in earlier times, see Willoughby, W.C. Race Problems in the New Africa. Oxford, 1923, pp. 128-138, and Brown, J. Tom. Among the Bantu Nomads, London, 1926, pp. 73-90. Cf. also Schapera, I. A Handbook of Tswana Law and Custom, pp. 105-107, 116, and Mekgwa le melao ya Batswana, Lovedale, 1938, pp. 52-59.

ral assembly. They usually last about three months. On the day before the closing there is a procession to the Kgotla, known as thalalagae, in which the new initiates wear sandals and straw skirts, and carry sticks and assegais. When they approach the homesteads, the older initiates surround the boys and form a barrier between them and the women. They return to the camp, but come in another procession (ditime) in the evening, the boys carrying flaming torches. After coming near to the homesteads, they return to the camp once more. The next day they finally leave the camp (which is immediately burnt), and on their arrival at the kgotla they are welcomed by their relatives. The new initiates now wear loin skins and karosses, prepared by their parents, and they anoint their bodies with ochre, and their heads with blacklead. They disperse for a time and are then again summoned by the chief and ordered to wash, after which they return to normal life again. It is probably at this last gathering that they receive their name as new age-group.

The girls' initiation is held soon after that of the boys. The ceremonies take place in separate homesteads, the girls of the same lineage gathering at one homestead. It still ends with the traditional thojane-night, which, according to Willoughby used to be "famed for unflagging revelry and abundant beef and beer."[1])

A few important matters mentioned in earlier descriptions are lacking in this one. As part of the initiation, Rev.J.Tom Brown describes a daily "service of the Song of the Salt" - salt used to be taboo to the novices - in which "none but the experts and the ceremonially clean" could take part. As part of the ritual,

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[1]) The Soul of the Bantu, p. 321.

"sacred poles" were beaten by the novices with bundles of medicated twigs. The boys' ceremonies which have been described above used to be referred to as the 'white initiation' (bogwêra jo boŝweu) because of the white clay with which the novices used to smear their bodies while in the camp. Some tribes also had a second ceremony, known as the 'black initiation' (bogwêra jo bontŝho), because of the black mixture of fat and soot or ground charcoal with which the participants were smeared. As part of this ceremony a pole was secretly planted at night in the chief's cattle kraal where the ceremonies were performed, it was crowned with ostrich feathers of wildcat tails, and painted with horizontal bands of black, red and white. "It was called Modimako (Thy-god"), and neophytes were required to reverence it.."[1] The female initiation ceremonies used to include daily processions with clay images of human beings, animals, or a python,[2] a different image being made every day. At one stage in the ceremony the novices kneeled around the image, with hands clasped and their eyes fixed upon the 'god', as Willoughby refers to it. The fact that neither Dr. Language nor my own informants referred to these rites, does not necessarily imply that they no longer exist, but it seems quite possible that some or all of them have been dropped.[3]

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1) Willoughby, The Soul of the Bantu, pp. 298-9. I am doubtful about the translation "Thy-god", though the name probably has some connection with the word Modimo (God).

2) Cf. John Campbell, Travels in South Africa, London, 1815, pp. 266-267.

3) An old Christian woman once referred to worshipping of medimo ya disetho (the Biblical term for idols) by some people. On questioning her about this, she said she was referring to the initiation ceremonies. Unfortunately I was not aware then of the actual use of images in these ceremonies in former times, and I did not pursue the subject further.

c) M a r r i a g e.

Although the prolonged ceremonial which usually accompanies a marriage in church or in the Native Commissioner's office is not held to be a part of the traditional marriage customs, it nevertheless often includes protective ritual by a native doctor. I shall describe the rites as they were actually performed for a certain wedding; some of them I could observe myself, the others were described to me by the officiating doctor.

> The first were performed about two weeks before the wedding, on the day when the bridegroom's 'father' (actually his father's younger brother, since his own father was dead) and a few young men, distant relatives of the bridegroom, took a wagon load of firewood to the bride's parents' home. The firewood was to be used for the cooking in preparation of the wedding feast, and was one of the customary gifts which the bridegroom's father is expected to give the bride's parents. 1)
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> The doctor, who had been summoned by the bridegroom's father, travelled by bicycle and arrived at the destination some time before the wagon. There was nothing conspicuous about him, and as he merely intimated that he belonged to the party of the in-laws, the people of the homestead did not know that he was the doctor. Only gradually and indirectly did he intimate to them that he had come to perform the doctoring. His equipment and medicines were in the care of an old man who was apprenticed to him and who was still on his way with the rest of the company. After their arrival, when the wagon had been unloaded, the doctor sat down beside the heap of wood and as the people of the homestead and the visitors gathered around him, he said that a payment of half-a-crown was needed for throwing the dice first. In the meantime he produced from the saddle-bag containg his paraphernalia a few dry, creeper-like twigs and an old tobacco pouch, from which he took what looked like pieces of broken crab-shell. To this he added a small ball of a substance looking like cow-dung. The apprentice started to pound the medicines with a stone while the doctor scratched a few scraps of a black greasy substance from a horn which had also been in the saddle-bag, and then he demonstrated to the apprentice how to grind the mixture. A distinctly fishy smell came from the ground medicine.
>
> The doctor produced a small skin bag from which he shook his dice. In his cupped hands he took the dice with the half-a-crown which the father of the bride had just handed him, shook them, and while reciting the praises of the dice, threw the lot on the

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1 → Cf. ch. II, p. ...43....

ground. For a short while he kept on reciting at a quick tempo, giving the pronouncement of the dice in symbolical language. The pronouncement was favourable for proceeding with the doctoring, but revealed an instance of sorcery at a former wedding of a daughter of the homestead, which was acknowledged by the inhabitants. In the meantime the apprentice had put the ground medicine into a tin bucket and had added some water to it. On the doctor's instructions he sprinkled the contents of the tin on the firwood by means of a brush made of horse-tail.

With his finger the doctor now applied some of the substance from his medicine horn to two sections of one of the stumps of wood, showing where it should be cut in two. (There would be two fires, since the bride's maternal uncle would make his own fire for the preparation of what he would contribute to the feast. A piece of doctored wood had to go into each fire.) He was then showed the hearth inside the enclosure round one of the houses where the cooking for the feast was to be done. The hearth consisted of a rectangular depression in the ground, and he applied some medicine in each of its four corners. He also smeared some of it to the bottom (on the outside) of one of the large iron pots which would be used for cooking. When the doctoring was over, all the visitors, including the doctor , were entertained to sour porridge, coffee and beer.

On another day the doctoring at the home of the bridegroom's'father' was started by the throwing of dice and doctoring of the wood. The hearth and pots were doctored on the day before the wedding, in the same way as at the bride's home. Medicine known as tshitlhô 1) was also added to the beer, water, and pots of food. That afternoon the ox-wagon conveying the bridegroom and his following left for the bride's home which was about twelve to fifteen miles distant. Before the company departed, the doctor, who was travelling with them, applied some medicine from his horn to the brake of the wagon and the yoke of the leading pair of oxen. He also treated the driver and leader leader of the oxen by making small incisions (presumable on their wrists) into which he rubbed some of the medicine from his horn.

Late that night they arrived at the bride's home and during the night the bride and bridegroom and some other people still had to be treated. First there was the 'cooking' of the bridal couple (go apaya banyadi). The doctor applied medicine to the two ends of a piece of shell, about four inches long, looking like mother of pearl, and placed it in water which was then heated. The bride and bridegroom were made to kneel, with the upper part of their bodies uncovered, and the doctor poured some of the water, said to be boiling, over their bodies.2) He then made incisions on the outer

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1) Cf. p. 91.

2) a) I could not say whether the water was actually boiling or not, because to my utter disappointment I missed the the performance of these rites. The doctor had told me of them beforehand and had agreed to my being present. He said that I should come on the morning of the wedding,

(Cont' on page 103.)

sides of their wrists, rubbed medicine from his horn into the incisions, and made them take tshitlhô orally. The people of the bride's home and her maternal uncle received the same treatment on the wrists and were given the same medicine. Early in the morning, before being slaughtered for cooking, the goats were also given tshitlhô. Later when the fires were burning and the pots cooking, the doctor made a round of the two large barrels filled with beer, the pots that stood cooking in the homestead enclosure and in the stock pen, and a drum of water, and with the point of his knife threw a pinch of tshitlhô into each vessel.

The bridal group had left very early in the morning. The bridegroom wore the full customary wedding attire, and had the usual following of young men and girls. They travelled a few miles, as far as Manthe, by ox-wagon, and from there the bride and bridegroom and one or two others proceeded by horsecart to Taung, where the couple were married in the Roman Catholic Church. It was past noon before they were back at the bride's home. The wagon stopped about a hundred yards from the homestead, and as the couple and their following were preparing to enter the homestead on foot, the doctor appeared with his brush and a bucket of medicated water. As the company started moving toward the homestead, the wagon went on and round the homestead to where it was outspanned. In the meantime the doctor had hastily started sprinkling the ground over which the waggon was to pass, and he went on to sprinkle the oxen and the wagon itself as it moved past him. The wedding procession was now approaching the houses, and the doctor quickly sprinkled medicine on the path along which they were coming, finally emptying the contents of the bucket on it.

The following day, after the feasting at the bride's home, the bridal group travelled to the home of the bridegroom's 'father', where the festivities started anew. That morning the doctor was already there to give tshitlhô to the goats which were to be slaughtered, just as he had done at the home of the bride. On the third day the party returned to the bride's home where

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(Cont'd from page 102.)

however. When after my arrival I expressed disappointment at having missed this part of the ceremonies, he made the excuse that the arrangements had been changed since the last saw me. He then described the procedure to me and showed the piece of shell he had used. I suspect that either he, or the other people concerned with the rites, did not want me to be present after all.

b) An informant whom I asked how a doctor 'cooks' a person, explained that the person being treated has to stoop over a vessel of boiling, medicated water, being covered over with blankets.

the festivities came to an end. I do not know whether, in the case just described, the wagon and oxen were again sprinkled before setting out on this journey, but at another wedding of which I attended all the proceedings at the bridegroom's home, it was done.

According to the officiating doctor all these rites were aimed at defence against sorcery. Sorcerers might add some harmful medicines - the doctor sometimes actually used the English word 'poison', although speaking Tswana - to the food to harm the eaters, or one could put something in the fire to prevent the pots from boiling or to harm a smoker who might take a live coal from the fire to light his pipe. The doctoring of the wood, the hearth and the pots, the goats, the beer and the water, and the treatment of the bridal couple and people of the bride's home - all these were aimed at warding off this type of evil. The tshitlhô which was taken, and the medicine rubbed into the incisions, for example, would cause the persons thus treated to vomit whatever harmful medicine a sorcerer might have added to the food. The 'cooking' of the bridal couple was intended to strengthen them and moreover to prevent a sorcerer from harming them through their footprints. It is believed that a sorcerer could take some earth from the place where one has left one's footprint, and mix it with medicine, thus causing harm such as illness or pain. Should a sorcerer try this with the bridal couple (after they had been 'cooked'), his medicine would not harm them, but would harm himself. The doctoring of the wagon and the oxen, in the beginning and again later, and of the driver and leader were aimed at preventing dangers such as lightning or the running over of a person by the wagon, both of which, it is believed, may be caused by sorcery.

The fathers of the bride and bridegroom each had to pay the doctor ten shillings for his services in connection with the marriage, besides the two-and-sixpence each had to produce for his throwing the dice.

d) De a t h.

Burial is nowadays generally accompanied by a Christian religious service of some form or another, and therefore burial rites will be discussed in more detail in connection with the churches. However, a few customs in connection with burial, which appear to be of pagan origin, and which are still very common, need to be mentioned here. Very often a person, whether a man or a woman, is buried in the kraal (whether it be a cattle byre, or a small stock pen). Only men in respect of whose mothers' marriages bogadi, has been given, and women in respect of whose own

marriages it has been given, share in this privilege. Some people feel that it is somewhat of a disgrace to have to bury a parent outside' in the veld'. I was told that Christians do not agree to burial in the kraal, but some full church members certainly still adhere to this custom. I asked many people about its significance, but to most of them it was merely a traditional custom to which they attached no special significance. One or two informants said that he had once been told by an old man that the belief was held that a man buried elsewhere would call his cattle to him, i.e. they would die, but if he was buried in the kraal, he was near them and contented. Another informant, speaking about the use of kraal manure, explained that in olden times, removing the manure from the kraal was considered as giving offence to the dead buried there. 'The old man becomes vexed; the cattle leave and die; they no longer increase'. This was then interpreted as the scolding of the deceased father, because his 'blanket' had been pulled off.[1])

Whenever burial takes place in the kraal, the proper entrance is closed with a pole or with branches, and a special opening is made at the back of the kraal. This is done before the digging of the grave, and from then onward only the special entrance is used. During the preparations for one funeral which I attended a man used the regular entrance by stepping over the pole with which it had been secured. He was mildly scolded for this by some older men and was made to step back over the pole and go round and enter by the special temporary entrance. When the funeral service is over and the grave is being closed up, the special opening is closed and the regular entrance opened, and all the people who entered the kraal for the burial service,

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[1]) Cf. Willoughby, The Soul of the Bantu, p. 57.

now leave by the regular entrance. People who remained outside the kraal do not turn back in their footsteps when they leave, but go round the other side of the kraal. No explanation could be given for this. One informant called it taboo (moila) to return from the grave by the same way one came, but he could not say what could be the result of the breach of this taboo. He connected it with the custom, formerly observed, of removing a corpse through a hole in the back wall of the hut.[1])

At funerals I attended, even funerals held with full Christian burial rites, I was usually struck by the careful manner in which all the earth that had been excavated in the digging of the grave, was scraped back onto it. Clods and loose earth which might have landed under the branches of the hedge enclosing the kraal, were carefully collected, if need be with the hand. In the case of a grave outside in the veld, the shrubs that had been scraped away in the process of preparing the grave, were again loosely scattered over the bare patch where the earth from the grave had been deposited. At least one informant intimated that 'people say' this care is taken to prevent sorcerers from taking some of the earth. (A grave outside the kraal is usually covered over with stones.)

From the grave all the people return to the homestead where the men wash their hands in a dish or a bath of water. No soap is used, neither is the water medicated. When all have finished washing, the vessel is immediately overturend just where it was standing. Some explain this act as just washing the earth from their hands. (All the men usually take turns in helping to carry the coffin to the grave and to fill up the grave.) One said"they wash

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[1]) Cf. Willoughby, Nature Worship and Taboo, pp. 135, 136.

off death, because they come from burying". Another explained it by saying that they "have conveyed dust; dust is the deceased; dust is earth" (mbu). This washing seems to be connected with the actual burial and not with touching the corpse, since the corpse of a woman would be laid out by women, yet they do not wash their hands on returning from the grave.

After washing their hands the men gather on one side, usually at the kgotla or kraal, and one or more men who were closely connected with the deceased say a few words. These speeches are called 'announcing the death' (go latolêla) and usually include references to the deceased and expressions of thanks to those who attended. At one funeral the eldest son of the deceased man, a youth of about sixteen was called and told that his father now being dead, he should 'listen to the law of his father, this one' - the speaker pointing to the boy's junior paternal uncle. He was reminded that he still had fathers and was not an orphan. On another occasion one of the speakers ended by saying: "He [the deceased] refuses to leave us rain". When afterwards I asked him about this, he explained: " We prayed to him, that he should pray to God, that God should let it rain (nesa pula) for us". After these speeches, food is usually served, and sometimes a head of cattle or a goat or a sheep might have been slaughtered the previous day. This slaughtering is to provide food only, but some people nevertheless apply the name mogôga[1]) to it, although the best informants on traditional matters hold that mogôga is something slaughtered some time after the funeral.[2]) It may be

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[1]) See pp. 110 - 111.

[2]) A man of Southern Sotho stock told me that the Tswana people say of a beast slaughtered at someone's death: "It is the beast which he causes to go before (eteletsapele) him; he drives it; it is his last gift.

that the speeches 'announcing the death' were formerly also connected with the slaughtering of mogôga.

Sometimes the implements used for digging the grave, even if they were borrowed from other people, are kept in the house from which the corpse was removed to the grave; they must 'spend the night' (lala) there, but on the following day they may be used for other purposes or returned to the owner.

If relatives and friends of the deceased and the people of his homestead were not able to attend the funeral, they are expected to pay the homestead a visit soon after the funeral. Such a visit is spoken of a matshediŝô (form go tshedisa, to cause to live; to sympathise with the bereaved.)

After the funeral, usually early on the following day, the floor of the hut or room where the corpse lay and the veranda or stoep are smeared with fresh dung, and the clothes and bedding of the deceased are washed. Often a doctor is summoned to perform a ritual of purification, either on the same day or the following one. The particulars of the ritual differ from one doctor to another, but it usually includes the washing of the upper part of the bodies of close relatives of the deceased with medicines, and the sprinkling of medicines on his personal belongings (including the objects that had been washed), ont the house, on the doorpost and in the entrance to the enclosure, or in the enclosure generally. Some doctors demand a goat which has to be slaughtered, and then the half-digested contents of the stomach (moŝwang) are added to the medicines, or the persons undergoing the rite are smeared with it. On some occasions the hair of a deceased man's unmarried children is shaved off. The rite has to be performed either in the morning or in the afternoon, when a person casts a shadow, and not in the middle of the day. It is explained that the death of a person brings sehihi over the homestead and

its inhabitants, and over the personal belongings of the deceased. The rite is performed to remove this sehihi, otherwise the 'shadow' of the deceased will remain and weigh them down,[1]) or the deceased will be troublesome. The wife of the deceased should not go about in public before she has been purified.

If belongings of the deceased have to be taken to another place (some e.g. have to go to a man's maternal uncle) they should not 'travel' during summer. If the death occurred during summer, they should be left in the homestead until winter and then they may be taken away. It is taboo to take the possessions of a dead man from one place to another during summer, because it 'spoils' the rain. 'They say it is sehihi.' If the chief hears of a person breaking this taboo, he is fined and has to get a doctor to perform another purification ceremony. Observance of this taboo is still considered to be of great improtance.

When a mother of unmarried children has died, the children are taken by their father to their maternal relatives a week or two after the death of the mother. The father takes a sheep with him. On their arrival they do not enter the homestead at the usual front entrance, but a special opening is made at the back of the enclosure, where they enter. The sheep brought by the father is slaughtered by the maternal uncle of the children, and eaten by all present. Their hair is also shaved off. In former times the sheep was first slaughtered before the children entered the enclosure, and portions of the contents of the stomach (mošwang) were placed at intervals, from the special opening at the back of the enclosure, to the front, where the animal was slaughtered. When the children entered, they stepped on the mošwang as they

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[1]) The verb used comes from the root go gata. Cf. above, p. 88 note 1.

walked to the front of the house. Before the performance of this rite the children should not visit their maternal relatives, but after this rite they may freely do so. If this rite is neglected, sehihi will be attached to them; 'they will be stupid' (ba tla tseanya). One informant also spoke of it as a purification (tlhapišo). Various informants said that this rite is still performed by some people to-day. It is spoken of as 'shaving the hair' (peolô), or 'letting the children break through' (go thobisa bana), with reference to the breaking of the wall or hedge of the enclosure to provide an entrance for them.

Some time after the death of a man - about a month, some say - a head of cattle is slaughtered. This animal is known as mogôga (from go gôga, to draw), and its purpose is generally described as announcing the death of the deceased, especially to his children (go latolêla bana). Some informants, however, also described it as a gift to the ancestor spirits (go ha badimo), without my suggesting anything to the effect. One informant said that after the children had eaten the meat, the bones were collected and thrown on the father's grave with these words: 'These are your cattle. Now the remaining ones are ours. Leave them to us.' If the rite was neglected, the cattle might die and follow their owner.[1] By no means all informants connected the rite in such a clear manner with the ancestor spirits. When I asked a group of men in a headman's kgotla why the animal is called mogôga: what it draws (or whom),

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[1] Willoughby writes that the Tswana "believe that the spirit lingers about the grave till sacrifice is offered, a month after burial, for the repose of the departed, or, as they express it, for sending the spirit home to the abode of the gods". (The Soul of the Bantu, p. 36.)

'stealing' in summer is still regarded as a grave misdeed.

e) I l l n e s s a n d o t h e r f o r m s o f m i s f o r t u n e.

Reference has already been made to the native doctor who distinguished between cases of 'illness of God', which he sent to hospital, and illness caused by sorcery, which he treated himself (ch. II, p. 74), which shows that modern medical methods receive considerable recognition. Moreover, there are many people sho have altogether renounced the traditional views relating to the causes and healing of illness. Nevertheless these views are still recognised by many people, and a number of native doctors remain active in the Phuduhutswana chiefdom. We may briefly consider such causes of illness and other misfortune which still receive recognition in ritual. In serious cases when such causes are suspected, a native doctor is summoned and he divines the cause by the throwing of his dice. Usually he also performs the appropriate ritual.

Dikgaba. It is believed that an individual who has caused one of his living seniors displeasure, may meet with ill luck. This misfortune, known as dikgaba, is held to 'come from' the displeased person, although he does not wilfully cause it and is ignorant of his being the cause. It may cause illness, stupidity, wastefulness, diminution of one's stock, and it may cause one's work and attempts to be fruitless. A year or two before I was doing fieldwork in the reserve doctors who were summoned to divine the cause of a minor drought ascribed it to dikgaba coming from the chief. The appropriate ritual purification was performed. The seniors from whom dikgaba emanate are usually relatives of a senior generation, or of the sufferer's own generation but senior in genealogical status.

After a doctor has divined the cause and indicated the person who has been displeased, a purification rite is performed in which the names of the displeased person and other seniors are called out. The sufferer is washed with medicated water; sometimes the displeased person spits into this water before the sufferer is washed. Some doctors order the slaughtering of a goat of which the stomach contents (mošwang) are placed in the water.

Sorcery,[1] it is held, may be the cause of illness, pain, death, drought, lightning and wind. Not only are snakes 'sent' by the working of sorcery, but other small animals, otherwise harmless, are 'sent' to bite an enemy, with unexpected death as the result. As far as my information goes these animals are not permanently or semi-permanently kept as familars by the people sending them.

In former times sorcerers were put to death by the chief, after having been pointed out as such by the divination of a doctor. One doctor said that it was possible for him to 'fight' a sorcerer with magic in such a way that marks were left on the enemy's face. He would then bring the sorcerer before the chief who would drive him out of the chiefdom. It is doubtful, however, whether such an action would ever be taken to-day. It is believed that when a doctor divines that the use of sorcery by a certain person is the cause of some misfortune, he can take measures to 'send it back' to harm the person who originally 'sent' it. Moreover, many preventive rites are still being performed to ward off the attempts of people trying to cause harm through sorcery. We have already met with an example in connection with the marriage festivities.

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[1]) For methods of working sorcery, see p. 128.

Ancestor spirits. When a child talks or groans in its sleep, or dreams of a deceased father or mother, it is held to be a sign that the 'shadow' of the deceased is above the child (ngwana o ôkangwe ke moruti wa ga mmagwê kapa rragwê). This may result in illness, of which it is said: 'It is the mother's sehihi'. Such symptoms may also be interpreted as signs that the deceased is trying to 'take' the child. These experiences are therefore regarded as being unfortunate for the child, and it must be purified so as ' to drive away' the deceased. Some earth from the grave of the deceased is usually used in this purification ceremony. A little boy who kept on speaking about his sister who had died a few days before, was given a piece of her clothing to put on, so that he should forget her. (The most appropriate thing to do, it was said, was to give him her earrings to put on, but as these were not available, he was given something else instead.)

'Hot blood'. The belief is still held that some people have 'hot blood' (madi a a mogote) or 'bad blood' (madimabe). The same condition is also referred to as having 'bad hands' (mabôgô a a bošula) or 'hot hands' (mabôgô a a mogote). Some people, both men and women, are born in this condition and then it cannot be healed, but all women have 'hot blood' while menstruating. A man who was not born with 'hot blood' may come into this condition by having sexual intercourse with a woman whose blood is 'hot'; but in this case a doctor can give treatment to free him from it.

A person with 'hot blood' should not come into a house where someone is ill, because he will aggravate the illness. Therefore people are informed of the presence of a sick person or a confined woman with the expression: 'The branches have been placed' (matlhaku a beilwe). This amounts

to a warning that people with 'hot blood' should not enter.[1] A person with 'hot blood' causes the meat to become tasteless when he slaughters an animal, and stock castrated by him, will die. People who permanently have 'hot blood' are incapable of conceiving or begetting children. It is dangerous for the husband of a menstruating woman to go through a river unless he throws a stone or a clod of earth into the water before attempting it. A menstruating woman must not sit on a chair, or greet people with the hand since her condition may be harmful to others. The husband of a menstruating woman must not wash in the same water that his wife has used, and when a woman's menstruation is over, she must specially wash herself. It is taboo for a menstruating woman to go into the kraal or kgotla, and this also applies to a woman who has recently given birth.

Preventive ritual.

Reference has already been made to the performance of preventive ritual, and it is perhaps in this field that doctoring and medicines are still most commonly applied nowadays. Doctors are employed to treat the site of a new homestead, by the use, amongst others, of medicated pegs placed in the ground, and by making cross-marks on doors with medicines. The doctoring of the homestead includes the doctoring of the stock pen. Such treatment gives protection, especially against sorcery and theft. The head of the homestead also receives a horn filled with medicine. It is in itself a protection against sorcery, but the greasy contents may also be used as a cure for various ailments. Homesteads

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[1] In former times signs were actually placed at the house. A stick across the doorway or a twig in the thatch above the door were such signs. (Willoughby, Nature Worship and Taboo, p. 139.)

are also ritually protected against lightning. In former times stock were protected against wild animals by the use of these animals' excrement mixed with other medicines. It is said that small stock are still sometimes treated in this way against jackals. An interesting instance of preventive measures is that which should be taken by a husband and wife after a long time of separation. After a long absence of the husband, for instance, they should not resume sexual relations before having received treatment from a doctor, lest one of them develops pains in the head. The treatment involves the use of two bits of dry twig, provided by a doctor. Each partner soaks one of these in his or her own urine and then the other burns it and takes the ashes as snuff.

f) D r o u g h t.

In former times it was a special responsibility of the chief to ensure that enough rain fell in the chiefdom, either by performing the appropriate ritual himself, or by summoning rain-makers to perform it. This idea is still held, although it is not as strong as in former times. Much of the rainmaking ritual has become obsolete, but purification ritual for removing the causes of drought are still being performed. If the rains are delayed, the chief summons doctors to divine the cause of delay, which may be dikgaba, the breach of the taboo and the rule of purification applicable to widows and widowers, or the presence of objects known as dibêla. A still-born child, an aborted human foetus, and the foeti of certain animals (horses, donkeys, goats, and dogs), lying unburied in the veld, prevent the rain from falling. Sorcerers can also place harmful medicines in the veld with the express purpose of keeping away the rain. If the doctors should divine the presence of dibêla, the chief or

headman organises a hunt to locate the object which is finally identified by the doctors. A ritual of purification must then be performed on the spot where it has been found.

Such a case occurred in the area of a sub-headman not far from the chief's place in August or September 1950. The ritual performed was described to me by a reliable informant, an eye-witness, in the presence of other eye-witnesses.

> The doctors required a billy-goat from the headman, but since he did not have a suitable one available, the people collected money, and one was bought. It was slaughtered by the doctors at the place where they found the dibêla. The contents of the goat's stomach (mošwang) were mixed with water an medicines from the doctors' medicine horns, and the mixture was sprinkled on the dibêla. While doing this, the doctors spoke in the following vein: 'We are praying; we are asking God; we are asking for rain.' Eventually they threw the dibêla into the river to be carried far away by the water. In this case the dibêla consisted of medicines only, including a piece of crocodile skin, and a small piece of elephant tusk. This type of medicine was considered as not being "of this country". The meat of the goat was cooked by the doctors at the same place where it was slaughtered, and anybody was allowed to eat it, except women. The bones were collected and burned, but could also simply have been left lying there. The skin was taken by the doctors. In this case there were four of them acting together.

Another method of purification is that of burning the dibêla along with medicines, and then sprinkling medicated water onto the fire. Cases of purification for dibêla have been reported in another headman's area as having been performed in 1951 and 1952.

If a widower has 'eaten' the rain or if dikgaba is the cause of the drought, the appropriate purification ritual must also be performed.

It is customary to begin or close speeches with expressions such as: "May the rain fall!" (A pula e nne!) or "Rain!" (Pula!) or "I cause rain to fall" (Ke nesa pula) and people are more particular about doing this during the rainy season. During the summer months I sometimes observed

that speakers in tribal assemblies or at funeral apply ~~to~~ who failed to use these expressions were scolded for not 'causing it to rain' (go nesa pula) as if these expressions were seen as a form of ritual possessing the inherent potentiality of helping to ensure that the rain should fall.[1])

Present Remnants of Paganism.

Pagan ritual and belief have now been subjected for a long time to various disintegrating forces. Partly changes in other aspects of the social structure have influenced and undermined ritual and belief, but a very direct attack has been made by the Christian missions, not only through purely religious teaching, but also through their schools and medical work. Administrative measures, especially those punishing the imputation of "witchcraft", also played a part in the direct attack. We have observed that in spite of these disintegrating forces paganism has not become obsolete yet, but it is very difficult to form an idea in quantitative terms of what exactly is still left of the old pagan beliefs and ritual. The most that can be done is to summarize the existing belief and ritual and to try to assess tentatively the extent to which these are still adhered to.

a) The ancestors and God (badimo / Modimo)

Several of the rites which still persist are connected with the belief that the living and the dead may mutually communicate with and influence each other. Undoubtedly this is the case with mogôga, and it probably also applies to the rite of eating the animal of the cradle-skins, the custom of burial in the kraal, and the entrance with the corpse at the back of the kraal. An African minister expressed the opinion that the latter custom was a manner of

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1) This does not apply to preachers delivering funeral sermons.

deceiving the deceased, so that he should not be able to find his way back when wanting to 'take' another member of the family. The purification rites to drive away the 'shadow' of the deceased after the funeral or when a child has dreamt of a deceased ancestor, also illustrate the belief in ancestor spirits. There is also the belief that if a person dies in discontent or if his children misbehave after his death he 'troubles' them by appearing in dreams or otherwise. When the wrong has been righted he will go and 'lie down' or 'sleep' (rôbala) again. One or two informants mentioned the possibility of having to slaughter something for an ancestor spirit coming to one in a dream appearing in one's sleep. In these rites we have not met with an example of an actual prayer to the ancestors, but it is known that the custom exists of praying in the name of one's ancestors, even when praying to God Himself. Some people hold that the ability of a doctor ot divine is given to him by God, while others hold that it comes from the ancestor spirits. When throwing the dice the doctor pronounced a praise in which he said: "I ask my ancestor spirits (badimo baka).... who have given me these things." At least two of the names figuring in the praises were included in his direct male line of descent which he had given me on another occasion. Perhaps the initiation ceremonies which are still strongly adhered to, are also connected with the ancestor cult.

The belief in dikgaba (the anger or displeasure of seniors) and the rite of purification which it involves, are apparently remnants of the ancestor cult. My own informants did not connect it with the ancestors in any way and seemed rather to regard dikgaba as something which results almost automatically from the anger or displeasure of a senior relative. Among the Kgatla, according to Prof. Schapera, it

is also connected with the anger of offended living elders, but they believe that the misfortune is sent by the ancestral spirits as punishment for the breach of respect for the living elders. The Kgatla also believe that dikgaba may emanate from a deceased person, and in such a case an animal has to be sacrificed at the grave of the offended ancestor.[1])

Of these few remnants of the ancestor cult at least one (mogôga) seems to be very seldom performed nowadays, while many people who still adhere to the burial customs mentioned above, and to the eating of the animal of the 'cradle-skins', are no longer aware of any connection these customs have with the belief in ancestor spirits.

The beliefs concerning the ancestor spirits include the idea that they may communicate with the living, especially through dreams and apparitions. People may have dreams or apparitions of ancestors who 'trouble' or scold them about their misbehaviour or the neglect of some duty. Those are interpreted as actual communications of the deceased, of which due notice should be taken. A sick person may dream of an ancestor advising him to use certain medicines which will cure him, or someone may be advised that if he follows a certain line of action he will be very prosperous. This is regarded as advice actually given by the deceased. It is believed that if one dreams of a deceased father or mother as looking one full in the face, it is an omen on one's imminent death: the deceased has come to 'take' one.[2])

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1) Schapera, I., "Oral Sorcery among the Natives of Bechuanaland", in Essays Presented to C.G.Seligman, ed. E.E. Evans-Pritchard and others, London, Routledge, 1934, pp. 298ff. Cf. also Married Life in an African Tribe, p. 254 and The Tswana, p. 61. Willoughby (The Soul of the Bantu, p. 194n.) does not mention any connection between dikgaba and the spirits of the dead.

2) A child connot explain what it dreamt about a deceased person, and therefore, if it dreams of an ancestor, it is purified, lest the ancestors may be trying to 'take' the child. (Cf. above, p. 114.)

In former times there used to be people of whom it was believed that they conversed with the ancestor spirits. Such persons are referred to as 'prophets'.[1]) One by the name of Tolonyane, who was active during the reign of chief Mankurwane, is especially remembered by some older people. We may devote some space to present-day memories about him, since these throw interesting light on the activities of some modern religious leaders with whom we shall deal at a later stage. Tolonyane is spoken of as a 'man of the ancestor spirits' (motho wa badimo) who conversed with or prayed to them, and there are certain caves, which people say he used to visit for this purpose. His ability to foretell coming events, especially diseases and drought, resulted from his contact with the ancestor spirits, who revealed these matters to him. When people came to consult him, he expected them to bring a small gift for the ancestor spirits, such as a bracelet, a little corn, or the skin of civet cat (tshipa).[2]) Such triflings he would place in the cave where he consulted them, and some, it is said, were then taken during the night, while those that remained, were gifts of the spirits to him. Some informants held that it was God to Whom he spoke, and Who revealed matters to him, while one explained that the ancestor spirits helped him to talk to God.

It was also revealed to him what could be done to lessen the intensity of the revealed imminent dangers. One manner of treatment he used, was to pray that the disease

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1) The barôka (sing. morôka), the doctors who knew the special rain-making rites and rain-medicines, are also nowadays often referred to as baperofeta.

2) An old informant who provided most of the information about Tolonyane spoke of the skins of the tshipa and thwane (lynx) as "the tax (lekgetho) of the ancestor spirits".

should be 'cool', i.e. moderate, and to make the people drink water'for which he had prayed'.[1] He is said to have predicted the small-pox epidemic, for which he prescribed inoculation of puss from the pox of a patient who had the disease in a moderate degree. A thorn of mohlonu bush was to be used for this process. On another occasion he prescribed the wearing of necklaces plaited from rushes(mokhasi). It seems that he was considered as being different from other doctors, and that he did not 'dig for medicines' as they did. Nevertheless, he is held to have acted in accordance with Tswana custom. "He was a real Tswana prophet, not one of European type." (E ne e le moperofeta wa Setswana tôta, e seng wa sekgoa.) He is, in fact, also referred to as a rainmaker (morôka), and he is reported as having performed a rainmaking rite in which little girls walked along the paths, making a wide tour through the chiefdom, sprinkling water from small pots they were carrying, and saying: 'We ask rain, we ask rain.'[2] On another occasion he required a head of cattle to be slaughtered as a gift to the ancestor spirits. Its bones were thrown into a fire from which a thick cloud of smoke ascended.[3]

The high esteem in which he was held, is illustrated by an event which is related of a native minister who is said to have had such awe-inspiring experiences in Tolonyanes's cave that he called out, "Are you a god, Tolonyane?" (A o Modimo Tolonyane?)[4] This incident gave

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1) The term go rapêlêla metsi, lit., to pray for the water, is a technical term often used in connection with ritual.

2) Cf. Schapera, I. "The 'Little Rain' (Pulanyane) Ceremony of the Bechuanaland Bakxatla", Bantu Studies, 4, pp. 211 ff.

3) (i) In several aspects the description agrees very closely with that given by Willoughby, (The Soul of the Bantu, pp. 120-121) of a prophet by the name of Marethe, who arose among the Rolong at Morokweng in what is now the Vryburg district.
(ii) For Tswana rainmaking rites, see Willoughby, W.C. The Soul of the Bantu, pp. 204-205.

4) According to Willoughby, "a'prophet' was known as a modimo (god) in Bechuanaland before Europeans came." (Op. cit., p. 113.)

rise to a song in which the people sang: 'Are you a god Tolonyane? Are you a god Tolonyane?' A doctor who despised him is said to have met with such calamity, that he hastened to the prophet, calling out: 'Truly, you are a god, Tolonyane.'

Besides communicating with particular individuals known as "prophets", the spirits of the dead are also still believed to influence the life of their living relatives by giving them direct advice, e.g. in dreams, or, in the case of diviners, by revealing the unknown to them through their dice. It has also been hinted that the ancestor spirits pray to God for rain on behalf of the living. On the other hand the living try to please the dead by slaughtering animals 'to give to the ancestor spirits' (go ha badimo). It is interesting, however, that what seems to be the most common rite nowadays performed, viz. purification after a funeral, has the purpose of sending the 'shadow' of the deceased away. Moreover, one does not try to think of a deceased person; on the contrary, one should forget him.

Whereas in former times each Tswana family "was held to be under the supernatural guidance and protection of its deceased ancestors in the male line," [1] it does not seem as if there is still this clear distinction of one's own lineage ancestors. I still found it in prayers said to have been pronounced in connection with certain rain rites, but the last such rites were performed about 1925. In the eating of the animal of the cradle-skins the idea of the lineage ancestors as being those who are of importance to one, seems to be present, but here we should a-

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[1] Shapera, I. "Introduction" to Apprenticeship at Kuruman. p. XXI. Cf. The Tswana, p. 45.

gain remember that not all people are aware of this significance of the rite but perform it primarily on account of its connection with initiation, and to avoid misfortune which may result from non-performance. Informants who were questioned as to the identity of the deceased persons who might communicate with them or for whom animals would be slaughtered, mentioned paternal as well as maternal relatives, both male and female.

The idea that the ancestor spirits stand in an intercessory position between the living and God, the Supreme Being, does not seem to be a modern innovation.[1] However, it is probably much more consciously held than before. One old informant explained that he would pray to his father and say: 'You are my God (Modimo wa ka).... Pray to God (Rapêla Modimo) etc. .....' To a question of mine he explained that God to Whom his father would pray is 'the Creater Who created the Creation' (mmopi yo o bopileng lobopô). Altogether the belief in God is much more prominent than it used to be, even among non-Christians. Wereas it was taboo in former times to use the name (Modimo when referring to the Supreme Being,[2] it is now much more commonly heard in everyday conversationsthan references to the ancestor spirits. This is very markedly so in connection with rain: 'We look to God to give us rain,' 'God has helped us with rain,' or 'God will (still) help us' are expressions often heard during the summer months. 'Remain with God' (i.e. may God be with you who remains behind) and similar expressions

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1) Cf. Schapera, I. op. cit., p. XXI, The Tswana, p. 59, and Willoughby, W.C. Race Problems in the New Africa, pp. 76-78.

2) Brown, J. Tom. Among the Bantu Nomads, pp. 114-115.

are used as greetings. An old man who was not feeling well, after having told me of his ailment, added: 'But God exists' (Modimo o gôné) as if to express his faith in the existence of God Who would restore his health. The use of such expressions are by no means restricted to pious Christians. Some people also ascribe to God attributes which used to be connected with the spirits of the dead. They believe, e.g. that the fall of the diviner's dice is controlled by God not by the spirits, and some believe that the traditional 'prophet', Tolonyane, received revelations from God and not from the dead.

b) D o c t o r s, m e d i c i n e s a n d s o r c e r y.

Many native medicines are still known and in use among the population at large. Others are known only to the native doctors (dingaka.) What I got to know about the ingredients of such medicines and the manner in which they are used is in keeping with the nature of the morphology of "magic" as described by Prof. Schapera[1]) in respect of the Tswana generally.

Native doctors are still common, but one often hears the opinion that those of to-day are very much inferior to the doctorx of long ago. Nevertheless considerable use isstill made of their services. The ngaka is usually also a diviner, but some people who do not divine but practise as specialists in healing are also called dingaka although they do not possess the knowledge of divination. One who only works with medicines is known as a 'hornless' doctor (ngaka e tšhotšha), because a doctor

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[1]) The Tswana, pp. 63 f.

without dice is like an ox without horns. There are no doctors who only divine and do not give treatment. A special kind of doctor is known as ngaka ya sedupe (or sedupi, from go dupa, to suck an object from the body of a person) because of his special method of treatment which entails the placing of his mouth to the body of a patient, and the producing of an object through which, it is believed, a sorcerer has harmed the person. One informant said he makes strange sounds and people have to sing during his performance. Nobody is allowed to smoke or use snuff while the performance is on. If someone should do so furtively the doctor would faint and the people would have to sing, pray and clap hands to revive him. This informant ascribed the abilities of the ngaka ya sedupe to the fact that 'badimo are in him.' Such doctors are scarce nowadays, and I heard of only one of them in the chiefdom, who moreover came from another district.

The commonly known type of doctor who divines with bones is trained by completing a period of apprenticeship with a practising doctor. One doctor held that it is only the son of a doctor who can really make a success of the profession. Nevertheless, on another occasion, when he had an apprentice with him, he told me that this was the ninth person he was training. It is said that the training involves a period during which the doctor and the apprentice live in the veld an during this time the latter is specially prepared for handling the dice. This training consists in a regularly repeated process. in which medicated fluid is poured into a dish. Beer is added to this and into this mixture the doctor throws the dice. Now the apprentice must recite the formulas describing

the positions in which the dice have fallen, after which he must drink up the mixture so as to reveal their actual positions. Mention was also made of spending a night in a pool of water so as to be charmed by the fabulous water snake. Women can also become doctors but seldom do so. I heard of no woman practising at the time I was doing fieldwork.

Doctors do not regularly wear special regalia by which they can be recognised and there is usually nothing about a doctor's person which distinguishes him from other people. However, one doctor with whom I had closer connections than any other, and who requested me to take some photographs of him and his family, posed for his personal photograph in a garment of jackal-skins which he draped around his body, and wore a cap made from the skins of a porcupine (noko) and a kind of hyena (kgwereme) and adorned with a few feathers. In his hand he held the effigy of a black snake cut out of wood. (See Plate III.) When I enquired after the significance of this apparel he intimated that he wore it when he was "fighting" another doctor with medicines. He claimed that the snake helped him in such a contest and that it could change its appearance. I must stress that this was the only occasion on which I saw such a special doctor's outfit. It is doubtful whether many other doctors nowadays have such regalia.[1])

Doctors are employed to divine the cause of misfortunes such as illness and drought, and where necessary, to apply the treatment appropriate to the cause, to perform the protective ritual referred to above and to perform purification ceremonies for the various purposes which will

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[1]) For a description of a Tswana doctor's regalia, see Brown, J. Tom, Among the Bantu Nomads, p. 127.

be discussed below. I could not get conclusive evidence as to the extent to which doctors are employed to treat fields on the Irrigation Scheme, but I do not think this is very common practice. At least one instance is known of a man who acknowledged to an African demonstrator that he had had his field treated by a doctor when it was allotted to him.

It is maintained that the same substances used as medicines for socially approved purposes may also form the basis of "medicines" used for sorcery, but in different combinations. Methods often mentioned are the adding of medicine of sorcery to the victim's food or drink, or by "sending" the animals already referred to or dangerous elements such as lightning or wind. A person can also be harmed - so the belief runs - by mixing some of his excrement or earth from his footprints with medicines. Earth from a grave is supposed to be useful to sorcerers. Sorcerers are believed to cause drought by placing theappropriate medicine out in the veld. Sometimes these medicines are combined with a foetus (or part of it) which in itself may withhold the rain from falling if it lies unburied.

c) V a r i o u s c a u s e s o f m i s f o r t u n e.

Several notions have already been mentioned or referred to which involve causes of illness or other misfortune which are not believed to be purposely caused by other human beings as in the case of sorcery and which are mostly not thought of as being wilfully and directly caused by the ancestors or God. I refer to notions about hot blood, sehihi, or shadow, dibêla, and the breach of some taboos. These require some further elucidation here.

Besides saying that a person could be born with hot blood my own informants connected the condition with menstruation. According to Prof. Schapera the Kgatla also

connect it with sexual intercourse, pregnancy, childbirth and menstruation, and with the first year of bereavement of a widow or widower. People returning from a long journey, from a funeral, or from visiting a woman in confinement, are "hot"; a woman is "hot" when she has been mixing earth or smearing walls or floors of the homestead, and a doctor is "hot" for two or three days after the death of a patient.[1]) Furthermore an aborted foetus is considered as being "hot" and as preventing the rain from falling, for which reason it must be buried in damp ground.[2]) These examples, particularly the last one mentioned, suggest that it is not only hot blood which is dangerous, but that there are other things which can possess dangerous 'heat', and that such heat can also affect the rain adversely. This reminds one of the concept of 'heat' as described for the Lovedu by the Kriges who explain it against the background of the importance of rain to the people. "To them /the Lovedu/ the ultimate good is rain. Rain is regarded as not merely the material source of life and happiness and the physical basis of man's security; it is also a symbol of spiritual well-being and a manifestation that the social order is operating smoothly. Hence coolness denotes a state of euphoria: man and matter to be in order and to function properly have to be kept cool; angry ancestors must be kept cool by means of medicine; even witches can be cooled and so made to forget their evil purposes. On the other hand, heat as the antithesis of the main basis of man's security, the cooling, life-giving rain, is conceived as a destructive force leading to a state of dysphoria".[3]) Our evidence is not sufficient to state definite-

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1) Married Life in an African Tribe, Ch. VII, pp. 194,ff.

2) Ibid., ch. VIII.

3) Krige, D. and E.J. "The Lovedu of the Transvaal", in African Worlds, (ed. Daryll Forde), Internation African Institute, O.U.P., London, 1954, p. 68.

ly that the same ideas are implied in the Tswana concept of 'heat', but it seems very probable that the ideas of heat and coolness, drought and rain, euphoria and dysphoria are connected by the Tswana in a similar manner.

As further evidence may be added here the fact that the prophet Tolonyane, when it was revealed to him that a serious illness would afflict the people, prayed that the disease should be cold or cool (tsididi). He also made the people drink water over which he had prayed and which people called letsididi (coldness). A certain Christian or semi-Christian prophetess, Botlhale (see ch. IV, pp.149f.), is believed to have had extraordinary powers in connection with rain, and one informant spoke of the purpose of a rainmaking rite which Botlhale performed as being to let the earth be cooled (tsidihalêlwa).[1] A Christian woman, the wife of an evangelist, in saying grace prayed that God would give the food, "with cool hands".

Another notion is implied in the term sehihi. It is difficult to define its content but this can be said: that the presence of sehihi in any situation is regarded as unfavourable if not dangerous, and a purification rite must usually be performed to remove it. Some informants said it had a similar meaning to the English term "bad luck".[2] The homestead and close relatives of a deceased person are

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1) This verb is also used of the abating of sickness (Brown, J.Tom. Secwana Dictionary.)

2) According to the Rev. J.Tom Brown (Secwana Dictionary) sehihi is a noun denoting " a person who is forbidden to journey because of the death of a relative; a grave". In his Among the Bantu Nomads (pp. 137, 138) he uses it in connection with a person whose "whole nature is changed" so that "there is an overshadowing of the true relationships of life, and a deterioration of character, as when a child neglects or repudiates his duty to his parents, or a parent fails in his duty as such; or when a subject treats as of little account his allegiance to his chief."

endangered by sehihi, and must undergo a rite of purification to be freed from it. The "spoiling" of the rain by sending away the deceased's belongings during summer is also ascribed to sehihi and requires a rite of purification, while the rite of letting the children 'break through' after the death of their mother is also said to be a safeguard against sehihi and is spoken of as a form of purification. A child's dreams of a deceased parent denote the presence of the parent's sehihi which may cause illness. As to the results that may follow if sehihi is not removed, I only came accross the idea that it could cause illness and stupidity or senselessness and that it could "spoil" the rain.

Sehihi is sometimes used interchangeably with "shadow" (moruti).[1] The sehihi attached to the lately bereaved or that connected with a child's dreams of a deceased parent was also spoken of as the shadow of the deceased weighing down the living. A boy attending the initiation ceremonies without the rite of eating the animal of the cradle-skins having been performed is also spoken of as casting his shadow on the others. Although I did not come across an instance of the latter also being referred to as sehihi it is significant that it calls for a purification rite involving the sprinkling of medicated water, as in other cases of sehihi.

The nature of objects to which the term dibêla is applied has already been explained above. Here I would

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[1]) (i) If sehihi and moruti are not the same thing, they seem to be at least related in meaning, since sehihi comes from the same stem as the word which means darkness (lehihi) which has a lot in common with a shadow.
(ii) Cf. here the Lobedu concept of muridi (shadow) which is also a "malignant force". Krige, op. cit., pp. 69 f.

draw attention to the fact that there seems to be some connection between dibêla and the idea of heat. Foeti, which prevent the rain from falling are included in the category of dibêla, and according to information quoted above (from the Kgatla) their adverse influence on rainfall derives from the fact that they are hot. Moreover it appears as if there is an etymological connection with the concept of heat. A menstruating woman whose condition is one of 'heat' is denoted by the term medibêla.[1])

The Tlhaping also connect some instances of misfortune with the breaking of taboos (meila, sing. moila), although not all taboos are connected with particular misfortunes. Many traditional taboos are still remembered and even school children who wrote essays for me on the topic could list quite a number of them. Many of these that are remembered are no longer adhered to but there are still a number which many people observe. School children wrote that people who have attended the traditional initiation ceremonies (bogwêra and bojale) are more concerned about keeping the old taboos than the others. All the taboos mentioned in the description of ritual in connection with menstruation (hot blood), pregnancy and childbirth, initiation, and death are still important. To these may be added certain other taboos connected with natural phenomena. A hut of the old type may not be pulled down in summer as it might

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[1]) I must point out here however that there is some information suggesting that the word for rain-preventing objects is not dibêla but dibêêla (from the verb go bêêla which is the 'applied' form of the verb go bêya, to place). If this is so, dibêêla then primarily denotes objects which are 'placed' with the purpose of preventing rain. Brown (Secwana Dictionary) only gives a verb go dibêla which means to "guard or keep from harm", but neither dibêla nor dibêêla are given as nouns. He connects medibêla with go dibêla.

cause hail or lightning. Certain trees and bushes, particularly motlhaie (Blue bush, Royena pallens Thunb.), mohatlha ("vaalbos" or wild cotton, Tarchonanthus Camphoratus L.) and Mokgalo ("blinkblaar" Zizyphus mucronata) may not be cut in summer. Breach of the taboo may also cause hail. In late spring or early summer a public announcement is made in a general assembly that from a certain date onward the cutting of these bushes and trees is prohibited. This also denotes the beginning of the period during which it is taboo for widows or widowers to remarry. It is important to note that breach of the last two taboos mentioned is held to be punishable by the chief, probably since these breaches may cause calamities which endanger the well-being of the whole society.

Heat, sehihi, shadow, dibêla and the misfortune resulting from breach of taboos must not be seen as mutually exclusive categories. It has already become clear that they are in some instances connected with similar conditions and that the different concepts tend to overlap. It is possible that this overlapping is the result of a certain degree of confusion in the ideas that are at present held about these concepts, which one could understand in view of the general disintegration of the traditional magico-religious system. However, it is not impossible that they did overlap traditionally.

There is one point to which attention must still be drawn and that is that purification rites (ditlhaiso) take place in connection with each of these concepts, although this does not necessarily happen in every particular instance.[1] (I may here point out that ritual purification

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[1] None of my own informants mentioned purification with rites in connection with 'hot blood' (heat), but they did mention it in connection with foeti which, according to Schapera derive their dangerous effect from being hot. (See above, p. 129.)

also takes palce where lightning has caused damage). All these concepts therefore seem to imply the notion of "impurity". I know of no Tswana term for this common "impurity" which the rites have to remove and probably no such explicit idea is commonly held but it is nevertheless implied.[1] It must not be thought of as an idea involving an ethical valuation but rather as something dangerous connected with certain substances, conditons and happenings. This dangerous force is the impurity which the rites must remove. It is difficult to say whether all these different notions (heat, sehihi, etc.) are connected with differing ideas of danger. Their common connection with purification rites which usually consist of sprinkling or lustrating with medicated water makes one wonder whether all the different terms do not refer to different forms of danger of which the basic element is believed to be heat. The essential significance of purification rites would then be that they have a 'cooling' effect, thereby reducing the dangerous 'heat'[2]. My material is, however, too scanty to come to any definite conclusion in this connection.

d) D r e a m s.

The belief that future events may be revealed through dreams is still wide-spread. All dreams do not

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1) According to Willoughby "leshwe is used [in Tswana] of the contamination of taboo-contact". It is "the common word for 'dirt', and its ritual significance is evidently 'defilement'."(Nature Worship and Taboo, p. 197.)

2) I may also point out that purification rites sometimes include the use of moswang, (the contents of a slaughtered animal's stomach). Cf. with this the fact that among the Lobedu "the green undigested chyme from a sheep or goat's alimentary canal" figures prominently in ritual as one of the substances having 'cooling' properties. (Krige, op. cit., p. 69.)

necessarily have significance as revelations, but if a dream is remembered it is sure to have significance. People discuss their dreams with one another and try to ascertain their meaning if this is not immediately clear. Dreams are variously interpreted. We have already observed the significance of dreams about the dead. Sometiems it is believed that events taking place in a dream foreshadow similar events in actual life. To some people certain dreams signify just the opposite of what is taking place in the dream. Thus one man said that if he dreamt of a person whom he knew to be ill, and saw that person in the dream as being dead, it was a sign that the patient would recover. If, however, the dreamt of the patient as being well, he would die.

Some people maintain that they have formulated certain standard clues for themselves which they use to interpret dreams. One man said that if he dreamt of phikakgolo (the fabulous water snake) when a woman in his family was expecting a baby, it was a sign that it would be a boy. For another man the same dream would signify the birth of a female child, but if he dreamt of a hare, it signified the birth of a boy. Someone else said that if he dreamt of the chief or one of his two most important advisers, it signified that he would receive news of a death. They hold that they arrive at such clues by dreaming about the same thing on different occasions. If they notice that dreams about the same thing are followed by similar happenings they conclude that there is a connection between the object or happening dreamt of and the following event. They know then that as far as their own dreams are concerned a dream about the particular object or happening has that particular meaning.

e) T h e w a t e r s n a k e.

Finally I must mention the belief in the existence of a large water snake (nôga ya metsi, phikakgolo), which is still held by many people. This type of snake is said to be found in rivers, pools, and dams, and is credited with taking people when they are in the water, or fascinating them by changing its colours when they come near the water, so that they eventually go to it. A male snake sometimes takes a woman to stay with him as his wife in his home under the water, while a female snake similarly may take a man as a husband. In the case of victims which a snake does not "marry", it sucks their blood and then lets them go. A person who has been fascinated but not yet taken, must be treated by a doctor to break the spell, and must moreover be made to vomit, otherwise he will return to the water. Some doctors are believed to have medicines with which they are able to make the water snake powerless, while it is said that the hardened urine of the snake is a potent medicine. These snakes are also believed to be the cause of whirlwinds.

We may say the that much of pagan ritual has become obsolete while the ideas held about traditional rites and beliefs are frequently confused. Many rites performed in former times, have been dropped. In this respect special mention must be made of rites which were of extreme importance to the whole chiefdom, such as some of the rain rites [1] and the ceremony of the first fruits. [2] The initiation ceremonies, which still concern a considerable proportion of the people, have probably lost much of their ritual character. Many taboos are no longer observed. Ritual

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[1] Willoughby, W.C. The Soul of the Bantu, pp. 204-212.

[2] Ibid., pp. 226-234.

which has become obsolete in more recent times, such as certain rain rites, are still remembered by older people, and with the memory, some of them still preserve and adhere to the beliefs attached to the rites. The general impression is that in the totality of traditional belief and ritual it is the ancestor cult which has disintegrated more than the rest. Only a few rites are left which are concerned with the ancestors. Some of the rites concerned with the dead are still common, but have either lost their traditional meaning for the people (as in the case of burial in the cattle byre) or are a matter for treatment by medicines or purifications to ward off danger rather than direct personal dealings with the ancestors, as in the case of the belief in dikgaba and the ritual connected with it. On the other hand doctoring, medicines and sorcery and the beliefs and ritual connected with 'heat', sehihi, shadow, dibêla and taboos are still relatively important. We shall return to this point later, but I may here just point out that in terms of the definition of magic which will be used in this study, we may say that the traditional beliefs which are predominantly magical tend to persist with greater vitality than the ancestor cult. Another aspect of the changes taking place is that the belief in God has become much more prominent than it used to be and is tending at least partly to take the place of the ancestor cult, even among non-Christians.

The extent of adherence to paganism.

Now that we have formed an idea of the pagan beliefs that are still adhered to and the rites that are performed the question arises how widely these occur. Partly this has already been answered by our pointing out that some

are still quite often encountered while others are almost extinct. Further we have to refer back to the information already presented in connection with religious affiliation. We have seen that a very substantial proportion of the population, probably about half, have official connections with churches and must be considered as Christians and not pagans. Nevertheless remnants of paganism are still found among these people. In later chapters we shall pay special attention to the question of the extent to which the pagan background has influenced the public life of the churches, but mention must here be made of the fact that many church members in their private life still adhere to pagan customs and beliefs which their churches do not officially accept. This is especially the case with consulting a native doctor, to which at least the most important churches are opposed. Ministers of several churches said of their own accord that many church members nevertheless still have pagan ritual performed by these doctors. However, there are those, - and I think they form a substantial core of the church people - who have no such private connections with paganism.

Then there is the middle group of church adherents or <u>barati</u>, many of whom probably combine some pagan beliefs and customs with their leanings toward Christianity. That leaves a minority who might be called 'pagans', but even some of these do not seem to adhere to the extant traditional magico-religious beliefs and customs very strongly. Moreover, I have the impression that Christian belief and practice have penetrated even to all pagans, to such an extent that it seems doubtful whether one is justified in referring to them as pagans. This is especially the case with beliefs concerning God and with the directing of prayers to Him. An apt example of this is the native doc-

tor who claimed that he went to church to be 'prayed for' by the priest so that his doctoring should be successful. He was referring to the Roman Catholic Church where a priest would certainly not pray specially for the practice of a native doctor, but I take it that he considered that the usual prayers said in church would benefit his practice.

It is clear then that the society with which we are dealing is predominantly Christian, and it is to the Christian churches that we devote the largest part of this study.

CHAPTER IV.

CLASSIFICATION AND HISTORY OF THE CHURCHES.

The preceding chapter has illustrated thefact that pagan religion is no longer predominant, and has, in fact, to be searched for. On the other hand the Christian religion, which finds organised expression in the churches, is very evident and one is continually kept aware of its prevalence. Moreover, a considerable proportion of the population has formal connections with one of the churches, while many of the rest profess adherence as barati.[1] It is natural, therefore, that in a discussion of present-day religion, our main interest will be with the churches.

Classification of the churches.

The characteristics of the different types of churches will emerge from the material that will be presented in the following chapters and will be dealt with in greater detail in our concluding chapter. However, for an intelligent discussion of the material it is necessary to have some classification in mind and therefore I briefly denote here the different types of churches dealt with and explain the terminology used.

First of all the division between the Roman Catholic Church on the one hand, and the Protestant churches on the other, must be kept in mind. Among the Protestant Churches we treat as a group those Churches which have Europeans in the ranks of their members (not necessarily in the reserve, however), or which are under the supervision of European missionaries or at least in some way or other connected with European leaders. To these we shall

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[1]) See Ch. II, p. 66 ff.

refer as 'churches connected with Europeans'.

Over against this group there are the churches which are usually referred to as Native Separatist Churches. These are the churches which have no Europeans in their ranks and do not observe a formal connection with any particular European church or church leaders. The terminology used to denote these two categories of churches presents some difficulty. Dr Sundkler has pointed out the undesirability of the name Native Separatist Churches and adopted the name "Bantu Independent Churches" for the latter group. This may however give rise to confusion, not only because the term ' "Independent" in English usage often stands as synonym for "Congregational" ',[1]) but also since another type of church is developing to which the term "Independent" may be applied, but which would be quite different from what are usually referred to as Separatist Churches. I refer to churches which are developing from missionary activities which purposively aim at building self-governing Bantu churches which may in time become completely Bantu or African in membership and leadership, independent of any control of missionaries. Such churches could, in fact, be completely independent and nevertheless voluntarily observe a certain connection with a European church or missionary body, from the missionizing activities of which it has developed. I see no other alternative therefore, than referring to these "all-Bantu" churches with which we are here concerned as Bantu Separatist Churches. There are, of course, also European churches which are separatist in nature, but to avoid confusion with them I shall confine the use of the term "Separatist" to

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1) Sundkler, Bengt G.M. Bantu Prophets in South Africa, Lutterworth Press, London, 1948, p. 18.

the churches which have no connections with Europeans. Where for brevity's sake or to avoid repetition I occasionally refer to 'non-Separatist churches' it must be understood as meaning the same as 'churches connected with Europeans'.

Cutting accross the line of division between churches connected with Europeans and Bantu Separatist churches there are other lines dividing the Protestant Churches into three groups or types to which I shall refer as "A", "B", and "C". It is difficult to define what the churches of group "A" have in common: actually I have included in this group all the churches which do not belong to types "B" and "C". Further I may point out that in this group are included all Congregationalists, Anglicans (and those following the Anglican pattern of church government and ritual), Methodists and Methodist Episcopals, Lutherans, Baptists (excluding those of a distinctly Pentecostal type), and Presbyterians. Group "B" consists of the churches observing Saturday as the Sabbath, and will also be referred to as Sabbatarian churches. To Group "C" belong the churches which I shall designate as 'Pentecostal'. These are the churches which stress matters like adult baptism by immersion, speaking with tongues, and healing by prayer and the laying-on of hands, in the belief that these were the essential characteristics of the primitive church after the pouring forth of the Holy Spirit. Sometimes the avowed affinity with the early church after Pentecost is expressed in designations such as 'Pentecostal' or 'Apostolic' which form part of the name of the church.[1])

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[1]) (i) As I use the term 'Pentecostal' it does not therefore refer only to such churches as are officially called Pentecostal.
(ii) Bantu Christians belonging to these churches partiuularly to those which are Bantu Separatist churches, may

Cont'd on page 143.)

Adult baptism by immersion although a very important feature in the programme of Pentecostal churches, is not peculiar to them, but is also stressed by Adventists and other Sabbatarians, and by the Baptist churches in Group A.

It does not seem possible to classify the Watch Tower Bible and Tract Society with any of the above-mentioned groups, and since it is thus far of little importance in the set-up of the churches in the chiefdom, we shall not take it into special consideration with regard to our classification.

I was able to trace thirty churches which are active in the chiefdom at present. The names of the churches follow below, grouped according to the classification just explained, and arranged within each group in order of numerical strength.

I (1) ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH (R.C.)

II PROTESTANT CHURCHES.

(i) Churches connected with Europeans (ii) Separatist Churches

GROUP "A".

(2) Methodist Church

(3) London Missionary Society (L.M.S.)

(4) Church of the Province of South Africa (Anglican)[1])

(8) Native Independent Congregational Church (Nat. Ind. Cong.)

(9) African Methodist Episcopal Church (A.M.E.)

(10) African Lutheran Church. (Afr. Luther

Cont' from page 142.

not always be aware of this appeal to the primitive church and Pentecost to account for the practices referred to above, but in the 'European' or 'Western' Churches from which the particular type of ritual has spread to the Bantu this is usually the trend of the argument in theological or quasi-theological discussions.

[1]) The abbreviations in brackets are those used in the statistical tables and elsewhere.

(5) Lutheran Church

(6) Bantu Baptist Church

(7) Dutch Reformed Church (D.R.C.)

(11) South African Native Baptist Church Mission. (S.A. Nat. Bap. C. Mis.)

(12) Bechuana Methodist Church (Bechuana Meth.)

(13) African United Church (Afr. United).

(14) Ethiopian Church of Africa (Eth. C. of Afr.

(15) Ethiopian Catholic Church in Zion (Eth. Cath. C. in Z.)

(16) African Catholic Church (Afr. Cath.)

(17) Ethiopian Church of Christ by Religion (Eth. C. of X. by Rel.

G R O U P "B".

(18) Seventh Day Adventists (S.D.A.)

(19) Witness of Christ (Sabbath) (Witness of X. (Sab.))

(20) Church of the First-born (C. of the 1st-barn)

(21) Holy Church of Christ (Holy C. of X.)

G R O U P "C"

(22) Full Gospel Church

(23) Pentecostal Holiness Church (Pen. Holiness)

(24) Zion Apostolic Church of South Africa (Z. Ap. C. of S.A.)

(25) New Apostolic Church in Zion (New Ap. C. in Z.)

(26) St. Paul Apostolic Faith Morning Star (St. Paul Ap. F.M.S.)

(27) Holy Christian Apostolic Church (Holy Xian. Ap.)

(28) Foundation Apostolic Church in Jerusalem (Foun. Ap. C. in J.)

(29) Holy Gospel Church in Zion of South Africa. (Holy Gos. C. in Z.)

UNCLASSIFIED.

(30) Watch Tower Bible and Tract Society (Watch Tower)

Because of its American connections there might be some objection to classifying the African Methodist Episcopal Church (A.M.E.) as a Bantu Separatist Church. The Church in South Africa forms an Episcopal District of the Negro Church of the same name in the United States and is presided over by an American Negro Bishop.[1] I may point out, however, that the Church originated in South Africa as a result of the so-called Ethiopian Movement which marks the beginning of the growth of Bantu Separatist Churches in South Africa. The "Ethiopian Church" was first formed by Bantu Christians who separated from missions and churches under European leadership and only subsequently did their leader Dwane contact the A.M.E. Church of America and was the Ethiopian Church incorporated in the American Church.[2] In spite of its American connections the A.M.E. Church is therefore very closely associated with the Bantu Separatist movement in South Africa[3] and I think this gives us reason enough for classifying it with the Separatist churches in the present study. Its foreign connections being with an American Negro church, it could in any case not be grouped with the churches connected with Europeans, and if not classified with the Bantu Separatists would have to stand apart by itself.

Historical background.

We have already observed that the origins of sus-

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1) The Doctrine and Discipline of the A.M.E. Church, Published by Order of the General Conference held in New York City, N.Y., May, 1936.

2) See Sundkler, op. cit., pp. 39-40.

3) Cf. also Ibid. pp. 65f., 69.

tained missionary activity among the Tlhaping of Taung take us as far back as the beginning of Moffat's work as representative of the London Missionary Society at Kuruman (1821).[1] During the initial period of the tribe's sojourn at Taung the missionaries might not have been able to do intensive work among them, but they were not completely cut off from mission influence. From 1841 to about 1850 William Ross filled the role of missionary to the tribe, first at Taung, and later at Mamusa. After their return from Mamusa to Taung, the work of the Mission continued, although there was no European missionary living at Taung. In 1868 the Mission was finally re-established as a separate station, when the Rev. John Brown was placed at Taung. He was in charge of the work for many years until his retirement in 1903.

The Anglicans were the first to follow the L.M.S. as missionaries among the Tlhaping. A mission was established at Phokwane by Messrs Crisp and Bevan in 1876. Canon Bevan remained at Phokwane for nearly fifty years. The Tlhaping of Phokwane, we should remember, did not belong to the Phuduhutswana chiefdom of Taung, although both groups split off from the same tribe at Kuruman. However, a remnant of the Phokwane group now lives at Modutung in the southern part of the Phuduhutswana chiefdom.[2] I do not know exactly when the work of the Anglicans was extended into the Phuduhutswana chiefdom, but it must have been at an early stage, because in 1904 St. Mary's Church at Matolong already existed.

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[1] Ch. I, pp. 4 - 5.

[2] Cf. Ch. I, p. 9.

One of the earliest secessions in the history of 'Separatism' in South African missions and churches, even before the rise of the actual Ethiopian movement, took place in the Taung reserve, and was a split from the L.M.S.[1] In 1885 discontent among the members of the Manthe congregation in the Maidi chiefdom caused them to secede from the L.M.S. as a result of which the Native Independent Congregational Church was founded. I do not know whether people of the Phuduhutswana chiefdom joined the secessionists immediately, but to-day the Native Independent Congregational Church has a considerable following in the latter chiefdom, the largest of all the Bantu Separatist churches in the area.

The first demonination to start work beside the L.M.S. at the headquarters of the tribe at Taung was the Roman Catholic Church. St. Paul's Mission was founded in 1895 by Father Porte, a French priest who had previously been working in Basutoland.

During the years between the Anglo- Boer War and World War I Separatist church leaders were particularly active in Taung.[2] This was for instance reported by the L.M.S. missionary at Taung during 1904 and 1905.[3] The report for 1909 mentions the presence of "numerous 'minor prophets' in our midst" during the preceding two years.

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1) Cf. Sundkler, op. cit., pp. 38-39.

2) This was a time of rapid growth for the Ethiopian Movement as a whole. In Natal Ethiopians were actively connected with the Zulu Rebellion of 1906. See Sundkler, Ibid., pp. 66, 68 f.

3) All references to L.M.S. reports in this section are to Annual Station Reports for Taung. (Annual Reports. South African Field, L.M.S. Archives, Livingstone House.)

Special reference is made to the appearance of two 'youths' during June 1909 "one of whom claimed to be the Lord Jesus and the other John the Baptist. By this time most of the church members were accustomed to those vagaries but among the unbelieving there was great excitement. Multitudes went to hear them preach and to be baptised by the so-called visitors from the Lord ....." They taught that "God was going to destroy all the white people and the blacks were to have everything, and far more, that /sic/ they could desire."[1] Regular teaching such as that given by the mission churches, was to be despised, and if the people only believed and followed the prophets "they would be enshrined in glory both during this life and the next". The prophets were eventually arrested on a charge of seditious teaching, and were finally sentenced to four-and-a-half and five years hard labour respectively.[2])

These two were apparently the same men as Johane and Sehapano,[3]) of whom I was told by one of my older informants, Molala Baisitse, who used to be a personal acquaintance of theirs. According to Molala they were not

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1) The destruction or expulsion of the white people is a recurring theme in the teachings of indigenous prophets both of pagan and Christian extraction, in South Africa as well as in other parts of Africa. Well-known is the case of Mhlakaza and the girl Nongqawuse whose "prophecies" led to the tragic 'cattle-killing episode' among the Xhosa in 1856-57. For anti-European tendencies with African prophets see, besides Sundkler, op. cit., Willoughby The Soul of the Bantu, pp. 115 ff., Hunter, Monica, Reaction to Conquest, O.U.P., London, 1936, pp. 561 ff. and Schlosser, Katesa, Propheten in Afrika, Albert Limbach Verlag, Braunschweig, 1949. The latter work describes a number of prophet-inspired anti-European movements from different parts of Africa.

2) The prophet mentioned by Willoughby, The Soul of the Bantu, p. 121, is probably one of these two men.

3) Sehapano = a cross.

local men but came to Taung from the north. They called themselves messengers of the ancestor spirits and said that they had been sent by God. My informant gave a vivid description of their arrest, telling how they sang their songs, blew a trumpet made of the horn of an ox, and uttered queer sounds. They were wearing ordinary clothes, but at the magistrate's office they suddenly appeared dressed in robes.[1] They did not perform healing, but my informant held that they could foretell events and could speak many different languages. They preached that white and black should be one, that the Europeans should give the Bantu good treatment and that the Bantu should be friendly to the Europeans. The black man had been punished because he had laughed at his father, but the white man had prospered because he had honoured his father.[2] They said that they had come to end this condition. 'You (pl.) should make peace with each other' they said 'and you (sing.) are liberated from the bond with which you have been bound because you laughed at your father.'

About the same time as these two men a local woman, known as Botlhale, also emerged as a prophetess. My informant Molala who is recognised as having been a confidant of hers as well, views her in the same light as Tolonyane, and ascribes some of the same activities to her as to the earlier prophet. He holds that the ancestor spirits (badimo)

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1) Dipurapura. Purapura (sing.) means purple (fr. Afrikaans, purper) and is used by some of the Separatist Pentecostal churches of the robes they wear.

2) Cf. Genesis 9: 21ff.

3) See Ch. III, pp. 121 ff.

gave her her extraordinary powers. Her own son, however, ascribes these powers to the Spirit of God. As a girl Botlhale belonged to the L.M.S., but as she was married to a member of the Anglican Church, she later joined the latter Church. In 1909, when she must have been at least near the age of forty, the Spirit of God 'entered' her, making her exceedingly ill, so that her own spirit left her temporarily. The Spirit 'took her out of the Church' and directed her to go out amongst the people and preach to them to refrain from doing evil. She acted accordingly, and was also enabled by the Spirit to predict events, and to tell people how to be healed from their illnesses, making special use of prayer and water that had been 'prayed for'. She is also remembered as having been especially gifted in connection with rain. The chief and his headman and councillors used to go to her to ask her to pray for rain. In 1910, after successive years of severe drought, the people reaped an exceptionally good crop as a result of abundant rains. That year is still spoken of as mabele a ga Botlhale (Botlhale's crop). She was recognised as a prophetess for many years and died at Taung in October 1952. She never organised a church or congregation of her own, and was buried by the African United Church.

Kgokong is another prophet of local origin belonging to the period under consideration, who is still remembered by many people. He told his followers to kill their goats and to throw away their household utensils,[1])

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[1]) Perhaps he was concerned particularly with utensils of European origin. Cf. Willoughby, op. cit.,p. 115 n.: "A prophet who caused some trouble in Bechuanaland not many years ago demanded that his followers should cease wearing trousers and using things made by the white-man."

and prophesied that they would be enabled to fly. In following him they had to forsake their homes and their families. He is said to have promised them immortality. He posed as 'saviour of the people' (mmoloki wa batho), and is still often referred to by the name of Mmoloko. He used to perform adult baptism by immersion, and the candidates for baptism had to go 'naked'. One day, when he was baptising converts in a deep pool where the Kgathumane stream joins the Hartz River, a boy was drowned while being baptized. As a result of this Kgokong was sought by the police and he fled into a nearby cave but was arrested after being driven out by hunger. Cross signs, said to have been made by him, are still to be seen on the rocks around the entrance of this cave, which is known as Mmoloki's cave.[1])(See plate)

Suping, a prophet who appeared after Kgokong, was of Kgatla stock and came from Kanye in the Protectorate, but his mother was a Tlhaping. Some of the activities of the former prophets are also ascribed to him. He is said to have repudiated the teachings of Kgokong, however, and he preached sub-mission and advised the people to pay their taxes. Nevertheless, the police were suspicious, but before they took any steps against him, he was arrested by the chief, who bound him to a post (mokgôrô)[2]) with outstretched arms. He was afterwards set free, however. It is related that Johane and Sehapano, on the day of their arrest had prophesied that another would come who would be tied to a mokgôrô.

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1) The L.M.S. report for 1911, after mentioning the activity of prophets, adds that "even now the police are hunting for some who, during the performance of their rites of baptism, have compassed to the death of a boy by drowning." (December 31, 1911.)

2) Mokgôrô in the Tswana translation of the Bible denotes the cross used for crucifixion.

In February 1914, the Rev. J. Tom Brown, who was then temporarily supervising the Taung mission of the L.M.S., made special reference to the spread of 'Ethiopianism' and reported that the chief was now at the head of the movement, which was from his point of view a political rather than a religious one. "It has not affected in any way the Church", he wrote, "but the low standard of conduct required for church membership required [sic] by that sect will not tend to help the work of raising the ideals of the tribe".

Unfortunately the L.M.S. reports to which we have referred, do not mention the names of specific churches which were involved in the Ethiopian activities in Taung. Of the Separatist churches at present existing in the Phuduhutswana chiefdom, however, the A.M.E. and the Bechuana Methodist Church were introduced during the period we have been discussing. None of the prophet movements have left any persisting corporate groups, although there is evidence that at least some of the prophets collected a group of followers around them which broke up after the disappearance of the leader.

During the two decades following 1914, several other churches, both Separatist and other, started working in the chiefdom. In 1918 missionaries of the Pentecostal Holiness Church performed their first baptismal ceremony in the Thamasikwa stream. In 1919 the African United Church started work, and in 1920 the S.D.A., who already had a few converts, initiated more intensive activities. The work started with a visit by a European missionary who made house-to-house visits and also did some medical work. At about this stage, or somewhat earlier, the Methodist Church entered the field. The exact date is not

known, but there is a reference to their presence in the chiefdom as early as 1923.

The L.M.S. report for 1926 mentions the appearance of "a new sect" in the district "calling itself the Church of Christ". This is probably the Church of which Bishop Limba is now the leader, and which could be classified as a Sabbatarian Separatist church.[1] There is no church of this name in Taung at present, but all three Separatist churches belonging to Group B are known to be offshoots of Bishop Limba's Church of Christ. Their origin in Taung is of a much later date, however. The Lutheran Church and the African Lutheran Church seem to have started working in the Phduhutswana chiefdom during the twenties but I do not know exactly when.[2] The Lutherans had been working in the Barkly West Reserves for many years before this, however. In 1932 the Zion Apostolic Church of South Africa was introduced by members of this Church who came to settle in the chiefdom. It is the oldest of the presently existing Separatist churches of Pentecostal type in the area.

Of the thirty churches in the chiefdom at present, we find, then, that thirteen already existed by 1933: six Protestant churches connected with Europeans, six Protestant Separatist churches, and the Roman Catholic Church. Of the Protestant churches connected with Europeans, four belonged to Group A, one was Sabbatarian (Group B), and one Pentecostal (Group C), while five Separatist Churches were of Group A, and one of Group C (Table II). All of the other seventeen churches entered the field after 1938.

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1) See L. Mqotsi and N. Mkele, "A Separatist Church: Ibandla lika - Krestu", African Studies, Vol. 5, no. 2. (June 1946).

2) After completion of the ms. the Rev. G. Zittlau informed me that the Lutheran Church started working in the Taung reserve as early as 1910 or 1912.

Four of these are connected with Europeans (two belong to Group A, one to Group C, while the fourth is the Watch Tower), and thirteen are Separatist churches. Of these Separatist churches five belong to Group A, three to Group B (Sabbatarian). and five to Group C (Pentecostal). Two points are shown up clearly by this chronological grouping of the churches: firstly, the marked increase in the number of Separatist churches in the chiefdom from 1939 to 1951, and s econdly, the fact that with one exception all the Separatist churches of Sabbatarian and Pentecostal type originated during the latter period.

Church Origins.

None of the churches in the chiefdom originated locally (i.e. within the chiefdom) as altogether new churches: They all spread to Taung from neighbouring areas or from other parts of the country. Since our study is connentrated on a restricted area, viz. the Phuduhutswana chiefdom, our first concern is with the manner in which the different churches started in the chiefdom. In view of what we have said above this means that we must show here how the churches spread to the chiefdom from other areas.

A number of the churches started in the chiefdom as the result of a definite and organised attempt to make converts or win members for the church. Such attempts involved that one or more office-bearers of the church in question, coming from another part of the country, visited the chiefdom or settled there with the express purpose of expanding the church. These may be considered as missionary enterprises (provided that one remembers that such missionary enterprises were not always directed solely at pagans and barati). In one case such a missionary attempt started with services at the home of relatives of one of

the visiting church leaders. A second factor involved in the origin of some churches is the existence of a church or mission in a neighbouring area, such as the Maidi chiefdom, the Barkly West Reserves, or the location at Phokwane on the Vaal Hartz Irrigation Scheme, from which it spread into the Phuduhutswana chiefdom, perhaps by gradual infiltration or by organised attempts, or both.

Sometimes members of a church came from another area to settle in the chiefdom for economic or other reasons, but not in the first place with the purpose of expanding their church. When such new inhabitants found that their own church wat not represented locally, they sometimes attached themselves to another church already existing, but sometimes they started with their own church activities or were visited by the leaders from the nearest centre where their church existed, who organised a local branch of the church. The same type of thing happened when a local native joined a church while he was abroad working or visiting, and started his own church activities on his return home, if there was no local branch of the church. A last factor is the occurrence of a secession of a local congregation or part of it from the church to which they belonged. We have observed how this happened in the Maidi chiefdom, where it led to the founding of a completely new church, but in the other instances in which splits took place, the seceding group made contact with another church, not represented in the chiefdom, and usually of the same type as the one from which they seceded. They were then incorporated into such a church, and this meant the origin of a new church in the chiefdom.

Usually the origin of a church was clearly the re-

sult of one of these factors, but in some cases two of the factors operated in combination, as when a local native returned from abroad as member of a new church, after having been made a Preacher or Evangelist with the express charge of propagating the church he had joined. In such an instance missionary enterprise was involved, as well as contact of a local native with a new church while abroad. Sometimes the return of such a person was accompanied or soon followed by a visit from a superior church leader with the purpose of launching a campaign for the expansion of the church.

In Table III a summary is given of the manner in which the different churches originated, and it shows that in Separatist as well as non-Separatist churches missionary enterprise has been the most important factor in their origin. The joining of a new church by local natives while abroad, new inhabitants of the chiefdom, and secessions each played a part in the origin of several churches. An important fact which this illustrates is that beside missionary enterprise, the present mobility of the native population of South Africa plays an important part in the multiplication of denominations in a given area.

More must be said about the role of secessions in connection with the origins of churches. The tendency toward secessions and splits is so marked a feature of Bantu Separatist churches in South Africa[1]) that it can hardly be left out of account in a study such as this. The historical material relevant to the origins of new churches resulting from secessions may best be presented in this section. Before doing so I must point out that it was not possible to investigate the circumstances under

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[1]) Sundkler, op. cit., pp. 167 ff.

which each particular Separatist church originated (in the sense of its initial origin or founding, not its introduction into the chiefdom), as this would have taken me too far afield from the more immediate concern of the present investigation, but where such imformation was easily accessible I did pay attention to it.

Ethiopian Church, the A.M.E., and the Ethiopian Catholic Church in Zion (E.C.C. in Z.) grew out of the early Ethiopian movement of the eighties and nineties of the previous century.[1] The founder of the E.C.C. in Z., the Rev. James Brander, was educated as a Methodist, but later joined the Church of the Province. As a "missionary" of this Church he is said to have been involved in a dispute with his superior church officials about certain expenditures he had made after which he "lost fidelity in the English Church" and resigned from the Church in 1890. He now joined the Ethiopian movement and with other Ethiopian leaders entered the A.M.E. Church. The latter, however, because of its subordination to the American body of which it was a branch, did not fully satisfy some of the Ethiopian leaders, so that Brander eventually again seceded in 1904 and founded the Ethiopian Catholic Church in Zion.[2] In 1905 another group seceded from the A.M.E. Church in Bloemfontein to form the Bechuana Methodist Church.[3] According to the present "Head" of this Church the cause of this secession was dissatisfaction with the fact that the English Bible was used in church services and that sermons were delivered in English and had to be interpreted into Tswana. In

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1) Cf. Sundkler, op. cit., pp. 39-43.

2) Constitutions and Canons of the Ethiopian Catholic Church in Zion, pp. 3-6, cf. Sundkler, Ibid.

3) CONSTITUTION, Bechuana Methodist Church, Bantu Printing Press, Johannesburg.

the historical sketch prefaced to the Constitution we read that "during the run of the Church there arose disputes between its ministers of a superiority claim". Fortunately the Rev. Marks Molotsi, who succeeded his father as head of the Church, later "managed together the whole of the ..... Church under one superiority".

The main cause for the founding of the Native Independent Congregational Church was inter-"tribal" feeling between the two chiefdoms in the Taung reserve. The Phuduhutswana hold that the Maidi are subordinate to them while the Maidi claim that they are independent (i.e. of course independent of any other Bantu chief, but subordinate to the Union Government.) To-day the Native Affairs Department recognises their independence, but they apparently had to struggle for this recognition for a considerable time. Any hint at their being subordinate to the Taung chief was, and is still much resented. This was also the case with the centralisation of the L.M.S.-work in Taung. In church organisation Manthe, the Maidi chief's place, was merely an outstation of Taung and this position seemed to sanction the claim of the Phuduhutswane to political superiority. The actual split followed the request made by the Maidi to the L.M.S. that an ordained Minister be stationed at Manthe.[1] Part of the L.M.S. church at Manthe then seceded (1885) and requested the Maidi chief to find them a Minister. For some years the secessionists were pastored by an African Congregationalist Minister from Kimberley who visited them

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[1] In accounts given by members of this Church, the interchiefdom feeling was not explicitly mentioned as the cause of the split, but it is clearly reflected by the facts, particularly the subsequent development of the Church.

periodically. On his death chief Kgantlapane of Manthe personally visited another Congregationalist Minister at Kimberley, Rev. Soloman M. Matolo, and eventually induced him to settle at Manthe in 1893. According to documents in the posession of the late Rev. Matolo's son, he took the view that the Native Independent Congregational Church was founded by himself in 1893, after his going to Manthe. There are at present two fa ctions in this Church (see below) of which the one (which we may call the Schmidtsdrift faction because its most prominent congregagtion at Schmidtsdrift) uphcld the abovementioned view. The other faction (which we may call the Manthe faction) claims that the Church was founded in 1885, i.e. the year when the secession from the L.M.S. originally took place.

The L.M.S. retained some of their followers in the Maidi chiefdom and later also stationed an ordained African Minister at Manthe. The "Independent" Church, however, has very distinctly become the "tribal" Church of the Maidi, and is at present more of a tribal church than the L.M.S. is in the Phuduhutswana chiefdom. There is little doubt that it is numerically the strongest church among the Maidi.[1])

It did not confine its activities to the Maidi chiefdom, but has spread far afield into other parts of the Northern Cape, the Transvaal, and the Orange Free State.

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[1]) The Native Churches Commission reported in 1925 that "One of the most experienced missionaries of the London Missionary Society writes, 'History will assure you that it (the Native Independent Church) was not so much a schism from the London Missionary Society (though some men disciplined by the London Missionary Society did join) as a desire to have a tribal Church distinct from that at Taungs [sic], as the chief at Manthe sought for and ultimately received his independence from the chief at Taung."
Union of South Africa, Report of the Native Churches Commission, U.G. 39-25, Cape Times Ltd., Cape Town, 1925.

This tendency toward geographical extension of the Church eventually proved to be incompatible with its origin and character as a "tribal" church. In time sections of the Church outside the Maidi chiefdom came into conflict with those who wished to centralise the activities in Manthe. The former are those whom I have called the Schmidtsdrift faction, the latter are the Manthe faction. Both factions of course have their own version of how the trouble arose, and it is difficult to make out exactly how the schism started and developed. What is clear, however, is that it started in connection with the succession of a certain Rev. Monyakoane to the post of Rev. Matolo at Manthe. No doubt personal factors also played their part, but as far as I can make out the position of the Manthe congregation in the Church as a whole lies at the root of the trouble. The Manthe faction holds that Manthe is the official centre of the Church, and that the Minister of Manthe (elected by the local congregation) is ipso facto the Moderator of the Church. The Schmidtsdrift section refuses to recognise the pre-eminence of the Manthe congregation and minister and holds that the Moderator should be elected by the Conference of the whole Church.

This dispute has now been going on since 1922, and successive attempts to come to an agreement have up till now been unsuccesful. Each faction holds its own Conference and has its own Moderator. Rev. Monyakoane remained the Moderator of the Manthe faction until his death in 1946. He was succeeded as Minister of the Manthe congregation and as Moderator by Rev. P. Moshaoa. Rev. J. Khatlhane was Moderator of the Schmidtsdrift faction until 1934. From then to 1949 the post of Moderator was held by Rev. B.S. Mohapanela who was succeeded in 1950 by his son, Rev. R.F. Mohapanela. The older Mohapanela was

Minister of the Schmidtsdrift congregation, where his son has now followed in his steps. The Constitution to which the Schmidtsdrift faction adheres does not afford pre-eminence to any particular congregation, merely saying that "the head-quarters will be the Principle Minister". In practice the Schmidtsdrift congregation which is the largest in its faction appears to enjoy a certain degree of pre-eminence.[1])

Strangely enough, the members of the Church in the Phuduhutswana chiefdom are not openly split into two separate factions. Some of the leaders who regularly conduct services, belong to the Schmidtsdrift-faction, but the church is also visited by Rev. Moshaoa of Manthe and most of the members received the sacraments from him. This gives one the impression that the dispute is largely one between leaders and that the rank and file of church members are not particularly interested in it.

The African United Church is a happy exception to the rule, being the result of a church union between the Native Congress Catholic Church and the African Catholic Bantu Church which took place in 1912-13.[2]) The Zion Apostolic Church of South Africa is mentioned by Dr Sundkler as one of the main secessions of the period 1917-20 from the Zion Apostolic Church, the latter being the result of foreign missionary activity.[3]) Further particulars as to the cir-

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1) In an agreement reached in 1950 and signed by Ministers of both factions the one faction is also referred to as "some /members/ of the N.I.C.C. at Schmidtsdrift who are under Rev. R.F. Mohapanela". (The co-operation to which they agreed broke down in 1952.)

2) Constitution and Canons of the African United Church, Johannesburg, 1917.

3) Sundkler, op. cit., pp. 48-49.

cumstances of its origin are not known.

The Holy Church of Christ originated as a separate church by a secession from the Church of Christ, le_d by Bishop L[m]ba. The cause of the split which took place in 1945, was described to me as follows by a visiting Minister of this Church:

> "We left Limba because he did not want to have a Constitution. The Church (i.e. Bishop Limba's Church) made lots of money; the Church is rich, but now it all belongs to him. 1) He had all of it written in his name by an agent [i.e. an attorney]. In the beginning we did not take notice of these things because we trusted him. When we saw these things ~~because~~ we said these things should be on the name of the Church. Limba refused and said that if we were not satisfied we could leave. Then we went out there and made this Church. With us the buildings are written in the name of the Church." 2)

As we have shown above a few secessions took place within the Phuduhutswana chiefdom, but none of these resulted in an altogether new church since the seceding groups attached themselves to other churches already existing outside the chiefdom. For instance the Minister of the Ethiopian Church of Christ by Religion used to belong to what was presumably a Pentecostal Separatist church. Because of a dispute with his superior church officials about the portion of the contributions of members which should fall to him as Minister he deserted the Church, taking his congregation with him. After some time he went to Kimberley and there contacted the head of the Church to which he now belongs. He was accepted into this Church with his flock. Another group again were deserted by their

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1) For the ambitious economic enterprises of the Church of Christ, see Mqotsi L. and Mkele, N., op. cit.

2) A clause in the Constitution of the Holy Church of Christ requires that church buildings be registered in the name of the Church.

Minister and then contacted the Head of the Holy Gospel Church in Zion to which they now belong.

The nucleus of what is now the Holy Church of Christ (in the chiefdom[1])) used to belong to the Church of the First-Born. They hold that they could not get on with that Church and that the Church could not get on with the chief either, so that the leader was ordered out of the chiefdom by the chief. The chief's attitude was upheld by the Native Commissioner. One section of the Church which centres in another part of the chiefdom, persisted as the Church of the First-born, but those living in the vicinity where the trouble arose dissociated themselves from the Church when the leader was banished, and made contact with the Holy Church of Christ, to which they now belong.

These examples illustrate the point that dislike of European control as well as dislike of American Negro control in missions and churches was a major cause of secessions in the earlier stages of Separatism. Inter-tribal politics played a part in the origin of the Native Independent Dongregational Church. It is further well-known that many further secessions and regroupings take place within Separatism. Our examples show how tribal affiliation, financial disputes and the departure of leaders play a role in this process.

Analysis of church statistics.

The present state of the churches is reflected by the statistics presented in Tables I and II. With one exception these figures were provided by church leaders

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[1]) Above we referred to the origin of this Church as a whole; here we are dealing with the local branch of it in Taung.

themselves, and often I struggled through their registers with them to make sure of getting the correct numbers. Most of the figures were collected during the latter half of 1953, and a few during January and February of 1954. On the whole I consider that the figures reflect fairly truly the actual state of affairs. The exception referred to is the St. Paul Apostolic Faith Morning Star from which I could not obtain any statistics at all.[1] For this church I made an estimate based on my observation of numbers actively taking part in important church festivals, making allowance for a number who would be absent. I tried to get a total of all adults observing a formal connection with the churches, by adding members of confirmation classes or members on trial, and catechumens, - collectively called non-communicant members - to the number of communicants.

When comparing the figures of the churches connected with Europeans, one is immediately struck by the numerical

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[1] The local leader, referred to as "Field Gospel Servant" in official correspondence of the church, was quite co-operative in the beginning, but after he had mentioned my investigation in a letter to his superior church officials, they wrote and told him to notify me that "any informations and particulars of services in which this servant is serving are the privileged informations [sic], and are only obtainable from Quarters of the Divine Government Offices through the above office only. The servant..... is himself not entitled to say anything about same ....." My attempts to obtain further information through correspondence were fruitless. I remained friends with the local leader, visited him occasionally, and was allowed to attend church service, but he was not willing to divulge any further information or explanations.

strength of the Roman Catholics. Their members form 46.5% of the total membership of all churches in the chiefdom. To a large extent their predominance is probably the result of the fact that their missionary effort is far more imposing than that of any other denomination: on their staff they have three priests, two European and one Coloured, besides a number of European lay Brothers and Sisters, whereas the L.M.S. missionary is the only European Protestant missionary in the chiefdom ; the R.C. buildings and equipment are not only more numerous, but much more imposing than those of any of the other churches; the scope of their work is much wider: they have an industrial department and a boarding school, which none of the others have, and, probably most important of all, they are the only Church doing medical work, and they do it on a large scale.[1] The possibility that something inherent in Roman Catholicism appeals particularly to the Bantu, will be discussed later.

Another striking fact is that the Methodists are the strongest of all Protestant churches, even stronger than the L.M.S. which entered the field long before them. We note, however, that the latter still have more communicants than the Methodist Church (Table I), but the fact that a very large proportion (46.1%) of the Methodist members are members on trial, suggests that Methodism is pushing forward rapidly. The reasons for the success of Methodism will be discussed in our final chapter.

A comparison of the membership of churches connected with Europeans with that of Separatist churches, shows that the Separatists have about 20.3% (2070) of the

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[1]) See Ch. II, p.

total for all Protestant churches. The only available norm beside which these figures can be places so as to judge their significance, is the 1936 and 1946 population census figures for the Union. A comparison of the statistics collected by myself in the Phuduhutswana chiefdom with returns from the two Union Censuses, give us the following:

	Phud. Chiefd.	Union 1936	Union 1946
Bantu Separatists as % of all churches ..	20.3	33.9	18.6
Bantu Separatists as % of all Protestants	37.9	36.6	20.5

Unfortunately one cannot attach too much value to this comparison, since the great disparity between the figures for the two Union censuses makes their reliability rather doubtful.[1])

Here I would also draw attention to the fact that no single Separatist church in the chiefdom has a distinct lead on the others in respect of membership. More-

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[1]) Cf. the following figures for Bantu membership of a few churches in the census returns:

	1936.	1946.
Seventh Day Adventists ..	3,682	104,066
Apost. Faith Mission	13,003	177,298
Diverse Christian Sects..	1,076	52,694
Bantu Separatist Churches	1,089,476	753,891

I suggest that many who were enumerated as Bantu Separatists in 1936 were enumerated as S.D.A., Apost. F.M., or Diverse Christian Sects in 1946.

over, none of these churches really has a large following, certainly nothing approaching that of the leading churches connected with Europeans. However, mention should be made here of the fact that in the neighbouring Maidi chiefdom the Native Independent Congregational Church claims to have 1,500 members in that chiefdom alone.

A comparison of the different types of Protestant churches shows that in respect of churches connected with Europeans the churches of Group A have the great majority of the members (88.9%). Among the Separatist churches, however those of Group A have only 63.04% (1305) of all the members, while the Sabbatarians have 11.2% (231) and the Pentecostals 25.8% (534). Closely connected with this phenomenon that Sabbatarians and Pentecostals are proportionately stronger among the Separatists than among the non-Separatists, is the fact that of the non-Separatist Protestants only a very small proportion belong to churches of more recent origin (Table II), while more than half of the Separatists belong to churches which originated after 1938. With one exception all the Separatist Sabbatarian and Pentecostal churches belong to the latter group. We may therefore state that as far as the Phuduhutswana chiefdom is concerned, there is a greater tendency within Separatism towards Sabbatarianism and Pentecostalism, than within non-Separatism, and that this tendency is relatively recent.

TABLE I. CHURCH STATISTICS --- Typological Grouping.

	CHURCHES connected with Europeans.	Present Membership. Non-Communic. Members.	Communicant Members.	Total Membership.	SEPARATIST CHURCHES	Present Membership. Non-Communic-. Members.	Communicant Members.	Total Member - ship.	TOTAL FOR ALL CHURCHES.
GROUP A.	Methodist	574	671	1245	Nat. Ind. Cong.	?	?	304	
	L.M.S.	343	854	1197	A.M.E.	61	144	205	
	Anglican	128	265	393	Afr. Lutheran	67	133	200	
	Lutheran	29	69	98	S.A. Nat. Bap. C. Mis.	54	129	183	
	Bantu Baptist	25	22	47	Bechuana Meth.	35	87	122	
	D.R.C.	6	25	31	Afr. United	35	65	100	
					Eth. C. of Afr.	38	58	96	
					Eth. Cath. C. in Z.	6	33	39	
					Afr. Cath.	18	20	38	
					Eth. C. of X by Rel.	12	6	18	
	TOTAL FOR GROUP A.	1,105	1,906	3,011		326 ?	675 ?	1,305	4,316
GROUP B. (Sabbatarians)	S.D.A.	24	169	193	Witness of X. (Sab.)	-	116	116	
					C. of the Ist.-born	-	97	97	
					Holy C. of X.	4	14	18	
	TOTAL FOR GROUP B.	24	169	193		4	227	231	424
GROUP C. (Pentecostal)	Full Gospel	23	66	89	X. Ap. C. of S.A.	60	88	148	
	Pentecostal Holiness	-	83	83	New Ap. C. in Z.	21	101	122	
					St. P. Ap. F.M.S.	?	?	120	
					Holy Xian Ap. C.	24	47	71	
					Found, Ap. C. in J.	-	40	40	
					Holy Gos. C. in Z.	-	33	33	
	TOTAL FOR GROUP C.	23	149	172		105 ?	309 ?	534	706
UNCLASSIFIED.	Watch Tower	9	3	12		-	-	-	12
	TOTAL FOR PROTESTANTS.	1,161	2,227	3,388		435 ?	1,211 ?	2070	5458
R.C.	R.C. Church	708	4,037	4,745		-	-	-	4745
	TOTAL FOR ALL CHURCHES	1,869	6.264	8,133		435 ?	1,211 ?	2,070	10,203

TABLE II: TOTAL MEMBERSHIP OF THE CHURCHES (Communicant and non-communicant members) --- Chronological grouping

Type of church [1]	N A M E	Date of origin	Prot.:Conn with [2] Europeans	Protestant: Separatist	Total Protestant Membership	R.C.	TOTAL FOR ALL CHURCHES
Prot.-C.E.-A	1) L.M.S.	1830-40	1,197	-	1,197	-	1,197
" -C.E.-A	2) Anglican	1880-90(?)	393	-	393	-	393
" -Sep.-A	3) Nat. Ind. Cong.	1885 or 93	-	304	304	-	304
R.C. -C.E.--	4) Roman Catholic	1895	-	-	-	4,745	4,745
Prot.-Sep.-A	5) A.M.E.	1904-06	-	205	205	-	205
" -Sep.-A	6) Bechuana Meth.	Pre 1914	-	122	122	-	122
" -C.E.-C	7) Pentecostal Holiness	1918	83	-	83	-	83
" -Sep.-A	8) Afr. United	1919	-	100	100	-	100
" -C.E.-B	9) S.D.A.	Pre 1920	193	-	193	-	193
" -C.E.-A	10) Methodist	Pre 1923	1,245	-	1,245	-	1,245
" -Sep.-A	11) Afr. Lutheran.	1925?	-	200	200	-	200
" -C.E.-A	12) Lutheran	1930?	98	-	98	-	98
" -Sep.-C	13) Z. Ap. C. of S.A.	1932	-	148	148	-	148
	TOTAL FOR CHURCHES ORIGINATING PRIOR TO 1933		3,209	1,079	4,288	4,745	9,033
Prot.-C.E.-A	1) Bantu Baptist	1939	47	-	47	-	47
" -Sep.-B	2) C. of the 1st.-born	1941	-	97	97	-	97
" -Sep.-B	3) Witness of X. (Sab.)	1941	-	116	116	-	116
" -Sep.-A	4) Eth. C. of Afr.	1943	-	96	96	-	96
" -Sep.-C	5) St. P. Ap. F.M.S.	1944	-	120	120	-	120
" -Sep.-A	6) Eth. Cath. C. in Z.	1944	-	39	39	-	39
" -Sep.-C	7) Holy Gos. C. in Z.	1945	-	33	333	-	33
" -Sep.-A	8) S.A. Nat. Bap. C. Mis.	Pre 1947	-	183	183	-	183
" -C.E.-C	9) Full Gospel	1947	89	-	89	-	89
" -Sep.-A	10) Afr. Cath.	1947	-	38	38	-	38
" -Sep.-C	11) Holy Xian Ap.C.	1947	-	71	71	-	71
" -Sep.-C	12) Found. Ap. C. in J.	1949	-	40	40	-	40
" -Sep.-C	13) New Ap. C. in Z.	1950	-	122	122	-	122
" -Sep.-B	14) Holy C. of X.	1950	-	18	18	-	18
" -C.E.-A	15) D.R.C.	1951	31	-	31	-	31
" -Sep.-A	16) Eth. C. of X. by Rel.	1951	-	18	18	-	18
" -C.E.--	17) Watch Tower.	1951	12	-	12	-	12
	TOTAL FOR CHURCHES ORIGINATING AFTER 1938.		179	991	1,170	-	1,170
	TOTAL FOR ALL CHURCHES		3,388	2,070	5,458	4,745	10,203

1) Prot. means Protestant.
C.E. means connected with Europeans.
A,B, or C means Group A,B, or C.

2) Protestant: connected with Europeans.

3) These dates actually refer to the founding of the church at Manthe in the Maidi chiefdom, from where it spread to the Phuduhutswana chiefdom. Manthe is so near to Taung, however, and there is so much coming and going between the two chiefdoms that the "Independent" Church probably started playing a role among the Phuduhutswana soon after it was founded. Alternative dates are given because although the secession took place in 1885 some people hold that a new church was not actually founded until 1893.
(See p. 159.)

TABLE III CHURCH ORIGINS

Type of church [1]	NAME OF CHURCH	MANNER IN WHICH CHURCH ORIGINATED
R.C.	Roman Catholic	Missionary enterprise
Prot.)	Methodist [2]	?
CE)	L.M.S.	Missionary enterprise
A)	Anglican	Expansion from neighbouring area
	Lutheran	Expansion from neighbouring area
	Bantu Baptist	New inhabitants
	D.R.C.	New inhabitants, and expansion from neighbouring area
Prot.)	S.D.A.	Missionary enterprise
CE)		
B)		
Prot.)	Full Gospel	Missionary enterprise
CE)	Pentecostal Holiness	Local native joined church abroad,
C		and missionary enterprise
Unclassified	Watch Tower	Missionary enterprise
Prot.)	Nat. Ind. Cong.	Expansion from neighbouring area
Sep.)		
A)	A.M.E.	Missionary enterprise, or expansion fr. neighbouring area
	Afr. Lutheran	?
	S.A. Nat. Bap. C. Mis.	Missionary enterprise
	Bech. Methodist	Missionary enterprise
	Afr. United	?
	Eth. C. of Afr.	Missionary enterprise
	Eth. Cath. C. in Z.	Local native joined church abroad
	Afr. Catholic	Expansion from neighbouring area
	Eth. C. of X by Rel.	Secession
Prot.)	Witness of X. (Sab.)	Missionary enterprise
Sep.)	C. of the 1st-born	Missionary enterprise
B)	Holy C. of X.	Secession
Prot.)	Z. Ap. C. of S.A.	New inhabitants
Sep.)	New Ap. C. in Z.	Local native joined church abroad (one section) [3] and New inhabitants (another section)
	St. P. Ap. F.M.S.	Local native joined church abroad, and Missionary enterprise
	Holy Zian Ap. C.	Local native joined church abroad
	Foundation Ap. C. in J.	Local native joined abroad, and missionary enterprise
	Holy Gospel C. in Z.	Secession

1) Prot. : Protestant;
CE : Connected with Europeans
A,B, or C: Belonging to Group A,B,C;
Sep. : Separatist.

2) The churches in each group are listed in order of their relative strength in respect of membership (cf. TABLE I)

3) This Church consists of different sections which originated independently of each other. (See Ch. VI, p. 175.)

CHAPTER V.

CHURCH ORGANISATION.

This is not the place to enter into a theological discussion of the nature of the Church, but I do want to make it quite clear that although I subject the churches in the Phuduhutswana chiefdom to a sociological investigation this does not mean that I view the Church as merely a voluntary association like any other. To me the Church is the Body of Christ, imperfect as its performance in this world may be, and it would be impossible for me to treat it as anything else. Nevertheless, in its visible form the Church is an association, in fact many different associations, of human beings existing not apart from, but within society. It therefore involves and is involved in social relations and it is with these relations as they factually exist that we are here concerned. I shall try to describe the pattern of relations within the small, regularly co-operating church groups, and the relations of these groups with the rest of their own church, with other churches, and with society at large.

The church group.

The important unit in church organisation is the local church group by which is not meant the body of all the members of a certain church in the whole chiefdom,-although in some cases it may coincide with such a body - but the group of people regularly meeting for weekly devotions and other church activities. Church members usually attend devotions at such a centre of their church as is most accessible to them, and it does not seem as if there are ever clearly defined territorial boundaries between the different local groups of a certain church.

One of the most striking characteristics of such local church groups is their small size. From Table IV, where the number of local groups for each church is placed beside its membership, we may form an impression of the average size of local groups. Only the Roman Catholic Church has local groups of considerable size. Their mission work is centralised at Taung, where they have a local group of over two thousand members.[1] Even two of the other local groups consist of over five hundred members. Formerly the following of the L.M.S. also used to be strongly centralised at Taung, but with the scattering of the population, the Taung church has shrunk considerably. It still has the largest membership of all the L.M.S. local groups in the chiefdom, but nevertheless it comprises only about 220 members. Only two of the other L.M.S. local groups have more than a hundred members. The members of the Methodist Church are grouped into a number of societies, of which the largest is the Taung Society, with a membership of 350, which is considerably larger than that of any of the other societies. The other societies coinside with what we have termed local groups, but the Taung society in practice consists of two local groups (one at Taung and one at Marope-a-Taung), so that nome of the Methodist local groups can be considered as a large central group. There is no need to analyse the figures of any of the other churches, since Table IV illustrates clearly enough that none of these can have local groups of considerable size.

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[1] 'Members' in this chapter will refer to the total of communicant and non-communicant members, unless otherwise specified.

Attention must here be drawn to two of the Separatist churches of which the activities are more centralised than the others. The 200 members of the African Lutheran Church form a single local group, because they are mostly from Buxton and Mocweding in the southwestern part of the chiefdom. The other church I refer to is the St. Paul Apostolic Faith Morning Star. Its members are scattered over a wide area and actually there are several places where church members meet fairly regularly, but the church activities are strongly centralised at the church and the leader's homestead : nearly every Sunday and even during the week one finds members from the more distant plafes taking part in the activities at the church centre. This Church closely resembles what Sundkler has typified as the Bethesda type of church among the Zulu,[1]) and I consider the members as forming a single group which is not clearly sub-divided into local groups.

Various lines of division divide the local group into sub-groups: communicant members and non-cummunicant members usually form two distinct groups, while there is also a distinction between office bearers and the other communicant members. Members of the women's associations usually constitute a separate group. The local group, however, does not consist of the church members only, since many of the children of members usually form an integral part of the local group, and are sometimes organised into a Sunday School. Moreover a number of adult adherents (barati) often maintain a close connection with the local

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[1]) Bantu Prophets in South Africa, - pp. 151ff.

church group. In the Methodist Church the 'class' system for church members[1]) cuts across the line dividing full members from members on trial. Three Separatist Churches which have a Methodist Episcopal type of church government also have the class system incorporated in their constitution, but it is seldom put into practice in these churches, probably because the local groups are often too small to be further sub-divided. We only mention these divisions here in passing, but further attention will be paid to some of them in the rest of this chapter.

The amount of contact between the different local groups of a single church varies. In the case of the L.M.S. the first week-end of every month is the occasion for the phuthêgô (gathering, or congregation; church) for the whole sub-district, which consists of all the local churches in the chiefdom, and the local church at Reivilo. This monthly phuthêgô is held at Taung, and Leaders and Deacons from the local churches have to attend the business meetings, while other members who are able to do so also make the journey to Taung to attend the numerous services held over the weekend, and the Communion service on Sunday afternoon. I do not know of any of the other churches which have such regular contacts between their local groups, but the administering of the sacraments is very often the occasion for such contacts. This is especially the case with baptism in the Sabbatarian and Pentecostal Churches. In all the churches it is also customary for several local groups to meet at one place for occasions such as the de-

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[1]) The reference is not to 'classes' in the sociological sense of different strata of society, but to the division of church members into a number of small groups or classes which regularly meet for religious instruction or discussions.

dication of a new building. It must be realised, however, that the local groups which meet are not necessaraly confined to the Phuduhutswana chiefdom.

One church consists of three sections, existing relatively independently of each other, each section consisting of one or more local groups. This is the result of ministers of the same church each gathering a flock of his own. One, who claims to be the 'General Overseer' for a large area, had already been working in the chiefdom for about two years when a local man who had joined the Church and had been made a minister while working abroad, returned home and started doing church work without any reference to the 'General Overseer'. The second minister had already been propagating his church for nearly a year when I left the field, and the two leaders had never yet been in touch with each other. There is even a third minister who also has a separate following. The work of these ministers did not seem to overlap in any single locality, but there is no clear division of the chiefdom as a whole between them, Each one communicates with the head of the church independently of the others,

The geographical distribution of the different local church groups (see Map "D") does not show any regular tendency. Some of the churches which have a smaller membership, are more or less concentrated in one area. In some cases the area of concentration of a church is a part of the chiefdom bordering on a neighbouring area where it is more strongly developed than in the chiefdom. This holds, e.g., for the Lutheran and African Lutheran Churches, and the African United Church, all of which are concentrated in the south-western part of the chiefdom, which borders on the Barkly West reserves, where the main centres of these churches for the neighbourhood are found. Other churches

again, have several local groups in different parts of the chiefdom, while the members of the St. Paul Apostolic Faith Morning Star, though forming only one local group, live in many different parts of the chiefdom. The population of any given area may be quite heterogeneous in respect of their church affiliations. In 21 sample homesteads at Mokgareng which had a total population of 143, ten different denominations were represented. The whole area in which these homesteads are situated could not have been much larger than half a square mile. However, a particular denomination does sometimes predominate in a particular area.

Reference must here also be made to the ethnic composition of the churches (See Table IV). The proportionate strength of the different ethnic elements which are found in the chiefdom[1]) varies considerably between different churches. The Roman Catholic Church and the L.M.S. are virtually exclusively Tswana. The Methodists, on the other hand are very distinctly an ethnical mixture, and although the majority are Tswana, many of the leaders who are of Tswana stock, are not people of the chiefdom by birth, but came in from other areas. Group feeling between Tswana members on the one hand, and Nguni on the other, is not missing in this church, and a tendency toward the formation of three different factions has been evident in some local groups, viz. a Tswana faction, a Nguni faction and a middle group including both Nguni and Tswana, who strive at co-operation between the ethnically differing sections. The Anglican Church also has a strong Nguni element beside the more indigenous Tswana, while in the A.M.E. Church Tswana

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[1]) See Ch. II, pp. 40f.

Nguni, and Southern Sotho elements intermingle, but I am not aware of any friction between ethnically heterogeneous groups in the ranks of these churches. In some of the churches the non-Tswana element is very conspicuous. The Dutch Reformed Church members e.g. are almost exclusively Southern Sotho, which goes to illustrate that it originated locally largely as a result of its members coming from elsewhere to settle in the chiefdom. The (Separatist) Zion Apostolic Church of S.A. has a strong Southern Sotho nucleus, although the Tswana members seem to form the majority of its total membership in the chiefdom. Members of a certain Southern Sotho lineage were instrumental in bringing the church into the chiefdom, and the most important leaders still come from this lineage. The three Separatist Sabbatarian Churches, and the (Separatist) Holy Christian Apostolic Church are very distinctly predominantly Nguni churches. Less is known about the ethnic composition of churches that have not been mentioned, but they are all predominantly Tswana.

I find it difficult to give a satisfactory explanation for the phenomenon that some churches have a considerable proportion of non-Tswana members and others not. On the whole it would probably be true that the non-Tswana element in the ranks of the churches is not to be accounted for so much by local conversions but rather by immigration of people who already belonged to churches and who joined the local branches of the churches to which they belonged, or introduced their own churches if these were not yet represented. This would explain, for instance why Methodists and Anglicans have many non-Tswana members and why the L.M.S. is only Tswana. Excepting their work in the Rhodesias, the L.M.S. is very largely confined to the Tswana language-

areas, so that the only accretions to their membership that could result from immigration would consist of Tswana people. (Besides, I do not think that the L.M.S. membership has been increased much by immigration at all. For this point see ch. VIII, p.439). The ranks of the Anglicans and Methodists, on the other hand, have certainly been increased by immigration of Nguni members of their Churches. This does not explain, however, why the large Roman Catholic membership includes virtually no non-Tswana people, since Roman Catholic work is certainly not confined to Tswana areas. Perhaps a study of the original home of immigrants or their forbears would throw some light on the problem.

The three Sabbatarian Separatist churches are, as far as my information goes, altogether predominantly Nguni, i.e. not only as far as Taung is concerned. The mother church out of which these three have developed through secessions, i.e. the Church of Christ (Ibandla lika-Krestu) under Bishop Limba, is centralised in Port Elizabeth and if not predominantly Nguni is at least oriented to the Xhosa language.[1])

The small size of the local church group makes for intimate in-group relations. The intimacy of the relations is often increased by the fact that the church services are held at the homestead of a church leader or one of the other members of the local group.[2]) Moreover, some of the most important opportunities for joint activities and social contacts are provided by the church.[3]) Where the local

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1) Cf. Mqotsi and Mkele, op. cit.

2) It is not uncommon that a cup of tea or coffee is served after the Sunday morning service.

3) See. Ch. VI.

group is formed by people belonging to a single ethnic group, such as the Southern Sotho or Nguni, which forms a minority of the population, this circumstance also binds the members more closely together. The local church group is undoubtedly one of the most important social groups in the society to-day, and this applies to Separatist churches as well as to the churches connected with Europeans. This group solidarity, however, is not expressed in extreme isolationism such as that found among some Zulu Zionist churches, which keep together as a group even in activities in which the whole community takes part. Neither are there any of the unstable roving Zionist groups which follow their leader about the country, although it seems as if such groups were formed by some of the prophets who were active in Taung in the years preceding World War I. [1])

When comparing the church group with the cult group in the old ancestor cult, we find that the main difference lies in the fact that in the ancestor cult the group which co-operated in ritual was a kinship group into which one was born. This meant that every member of the society automatically belonged to one of the cult groups, and there was no possibility of changing one's membership from one group to another according to personal choice. There was no sub-division of such groups on a territorial basis, but occasionally the whole chiefdom co-operated in ritual performed in connection with the chief's ancestors on behalf of the whole chiefdom. In ritual such as the First-fruits or New Year ceremony, [2]) different Tswana tribes performed the ritual in the order of their genealogical precedence,

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1) Cf. Sundkler, op. cit. pp. 95-97.

2) Cf. Ch. III, pp.

but apart from this there was no larger cult group than the tribe or chiefdom. The modern cult groups are Churches, some of them extending far beyond the bounds of the chiefdom. The church as cult group is territorially sub-divided and membership is voluntary being based largely on the acceptance of a common faith. The local church group which is the smallest territorial sub-division of the church has this in common with the ancestor cult group that it is often a relatively small group, between the members of which close and intimate relations exist.

We should keep in mind that the kinship element is not altogether excluded as a factor influencing church membership since in some cases children join the same church as their parents, more or less as a matter of course. Quite often, however, the children of parents who are church members or adherents, do not have any connection with a church, not even as adherents, while the reverse is also the case. Moreover, it is not uncommon for parents and children to belong to different churches. This is often the result of the children having attended the school of a different denomination from that to which their parents belong, and having been drawn into that church through the invluence of its educational work. It seems probable that in some cases the element of ethnic origin also plays a role in deciding which church a person joins. A Nguni would rather join a church with a strong Nguni element among its members, I should think, than an exclusively Tswana-church, while a Tswana would not be so easily attracted to a church which is very predominantly Nguni.

Leaders and other office bearers.

We shall more or less confine our discussion of church leadership to the Protestant churches, since in the

Roman Catholic Church the indigenous element is much less prominent. There is no R.C. African priest in the chiefdom, but one of the three fathers in the Mission is a Coloured man who was born at Phokwane, while one of the five brothers attached to the mission is a Tswana man from Kimberley. A number of local men and a few women assist in Church work as Catechists and Elders by teaching the catechism, visiting the sick, and burying the dead. In the L.M.S. most of the work is done by the African church leaders, and the missionary gives only part of his time to the churches in Taung, the chiefdom being only one of four sub-districts in the district under his supervision. None of the other churches connected with Europeans has a missionary stationed in the chiefdom and visits from European ministers who supervise the work are few and far between. The strong Methodist Church, e.g., is altogether supervised by an African Minister stationed at Kimberley. In several instances the missionaries who supervise the Taung Church are some distance away in places like Krugersdorp, Johannesburg, Boksburg, and Elandsfontein in the Tranvaal, and the degree of supervision exercised by European church leaders is usually small. On the whole one is not aware of any resentment of this kind of controll The Evangelist of the S.D.A., for instance, said that he preferred belonging to a church with European leadership, and explained his preference by referring to the fact that the Separatist churches tend to split. "There is no agreement amongst them because of the desire for superior positions." Another Evangelist held that he preferred being under European supervision because Europeans have all the "necessaries" (<u>ditšhwanêlô</u>) for church work. As examples of such "necessaries" he mentioned church papers and wine for Holy Communion.

The official policy of the L.M.S. has been moving very strongly in the direction of greater independence of the mission church. The most conspicuous moves in this direction are to be witnessed in the organisation of the Regional Council which includes a number of districts, and in the still wider Church Council, which has only recently been formed. In the Regional Council Europeans and Africans are equally eligible as officials and in 1953 the Chairman of the Southern Regional Council which includes the Taung district, was an African. In the Taung-sub-district five schools have recently been placed under the management of the African minister, to give some expression locally to the new tendency in mission policy. The idea of the gradual withdrawal of the Missionary Society from the indigenous church has so far not infrequently been interpreted by members of the church as 'the Fathers are throwing us away', although the more educated members realise the necessity for this development. It must be remarked, however, that in the Taung churches the leadership is largely in the hands of older people (many of them women) who have had little formal education. It would appear that younger and more highly educated members have little opportunity for taking responsibility in the church.[1] It must be said that some of the younger 'intellectuals', although formally members, show little interest in the church, but even some of those who are faithful church members, are overlooked.

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[1] For a possible explanation why the older generation monopolises the church, see Ch. VIII, p.446

It was difficult to form a judgement on the relation between the European missionary on the one hand, and the African leaders and the church on the other, since I went to the field only a few months after the missionary and his wife had settled at Taung as their first station, so that it was necessarily still a time of adaptation on both sides, the more so since no missionary had been stationed there for two years. Nevertheless I may say that the missionary's numerous administrative activities restrict the opportunity for direct and personal contacts with the church members. He is not highly integrated into the life of the local church groups, but his presence in the district and his connection with the church is still regarded as necessary. He attends the business meetings of the sub-district if he happens to be at Taung, but does so merely in an advisory capacity. Interference on his part in the ordinary affairs of the church would be resented, and suggestions on his part, which entail some deviation from a course or a custom that is traditional in the local church, are not easily accepted. On the other hand, in special circumstances which require a little organisation falling outside the ordinary course of events, the responsibility is readily placed on his shoulders.

The general organisation of the L.M.S. churches may further serve as a background against which to discuss that of the churches in general. Every local church of the L.M.S. has its 'Leader' and a number of Deacons who together form a local church council which is responsible for the organisation of the local church. They conduct their own meetings, but have to report monthly to a meeting of the whole local church. Every month the leaders and deacons of all the local churches in the sub-district meet at Taung under the chairmanship of the African minister who

is in charge of the sub-district, and who is stationed at Taung. This council again either has to report to a more representative gathering of all the churches in the sub-district, or its decisions are referred back to the local churches. The minister visits the different local churches in turn to take the Sunday services, but the Leader and Deacons form the corps of regular preachers in each church. Other members of the church who have the ability, may however, also be asked to preach. The Leader and Deacons for each local church are to be elected from its members for a period of three years, but it is the tendency in the churches to let them carry on for longer. As a rule only men are eligible as Leaders in the L.M.S., but in some local churches where no suitable men are available, women - who are in any case eligible as Deacons - act as Leaders.

On the whole the patterns of organisation in the other churches are less formal and clear-cut, but they follow much the same lines. The office bearers form the church council for the local group under leadership of the one who holds the most senior office. Since local groups are small, such business as may arise - even the disciplining of such members, which usually forms the largest proportion of business transacted - is often discussed in gatherings of the whole church group. The amount of distinction between members and office bearers varies, but is on the whole not very conspicuous, although the holding of an office in church always carries a certain amount of prestige. Even in the non-episcopal churches the different types of office bearers are considered as forming a hierarchy, and it is here that one more often finds consciousness of rank, i.e. between different office bearers. This idea of rank is by no means confined to the Separatist churches. In the Separatist churches the range of offices

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is usually a long one, starting with the Bishop, who is head of the church, followed by the Overseers; then come Ministers, Priests or Pastors, and Evangelists. Below Evangelists there are often as many as three of four minor types of offices to which various names are applied, such as Leaders, Stewards, Preachers, Deacons,[1] and Prayers. Usually there is not a very clear distinction between the activities of the different types of these junior office bearers. Preaching, praying for the sick, and conducting funeral services are their most common duties.

In both Separatist and non-Separatist churches office bearers seldom hold office for a defined period, even although the church law or constitution may state this to be the case. The natives seem to prefer the view that once a member becomes an office bearer, he remains one, unless he has to be censured for some misstep. Moreover, when once his foot is on the first rung of the ladder, he rises, although perhaps only very slowly. Each promotion usually follows some form of examination, by the Bishop or a council of examiners, which takes place at the Synod or Conference of the whole church. In the churches connected with Europeans, and in the A.M.E., however, a period of special training is required for the holding of senior offices. In the churches with an episcopal form of church government, difference in rank is reflected in the ecclesiastical robes worn by different office bearers. In the Separatist churches these differences are not very conspicuous, however, since none of the churches in the chiefdom have office bearers of high rank. In Pentecostal

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[1] In one or two churches the men called deacons more or less rank as ministers.

churches in which the members wear robes and uniforms, these uniforms are worn by all members, and individual differences usually do not reflect differences in status although in one such church the use of a metal staff, as opposed to a bundle of sticks or palm branches, is the prerogative of Preachers and their seniors.[1])

Against this general background of church organisation we may now proceed to a discussion of leadership in the churches. When speaking of leaders here, we use the term in the general sense of people who hold a responsible position in the churches, whether they are called Leaders, Ministers, Evangelists or another name. Most of the people to whom the information in the following paragraphs refers, are the most senior office bearers in the chiefdom, i.e. each the most senior office bearer of his particular church.

Dr Sundkler has shown[2]) that in Zulu Separatist churches the leaders - by which he means men, each of whom is the head of a whole church - can be classified into two classes, viz. the chief-type of leader and the prophet-type. Since the present study is limited to churches in one chiefdom, and does not deal with the churches, each as a whole, there has been little opportunity of studying the position of leaders who are the heads of whole churches. Nevertheless, provided that this fact is kept in mind, it is not inappropriate to discuss these rural church leaders

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1) Uniforms and rank in connection with the women's associations will be discussed in a later section. For a more detailed description of robes and uniforms, see ch. VI.

2) Op. cit., pp. 106-109.

with whom this section is concerned, in terms of Sundkler's typology. We find, then that it is not possible to formulate distinct types to which church leaders conform, and that it cannot be said that many of these leaders reveal characteristics which are part of the Tswana ideal of chieftainship. There are, however, aspects of church organisation, which remind one of aspects of the political organisation. One such an aspect is the hierarchical ordering of church officers in Separatist and non-Separatist churches, which is comparable to the hierarchy of tribal authorities. In the St. Paul Apostolic Faith Morning Star great stress is laid on respect and sub-missiveness to one's seniors: members to the local leader, and the leader to his superiors. However, this stress on respect for seniors is not confined to relations within the church, and the whole church is known for their respectful attitude to the government and tribal authorities. Occasionally, also, the idea of offices being hereditary, is attached to leadership in the Separatist churches. Rev. D------ M------ of the S.A. Native Baptist Chruch Mission told me, for instance, that his father had left the "Free Baptist Church" and founded the present Church. M-----, who presumably also first belonged to the Church his father had founded, later joined a 'Zionist' church of which he became a minister. After his father's death, however, the members of the S.A. Native Baptist Church Mission asked him to come back and take his father's place as Bishop of the Church. Other examples of sons taking up important positions held by their fathers are very few, however, and nowhere is the idea of inheritance as clearly expressed as in the instance quoted above. In the tribal gatherings speakers occasionally complain that the <u>baruti</u> [1]) do not attend these gatherings, and that each

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[1]) Officially the word for ministers, but in practice used for a wide range of church officers, from Bishops down to Evangelists.

one only wants to be a kgosi (chief or headman). The assistance that church members sometimes lend in household activities at the church leader's homestead, such as smearing the floors and walls, might perhaps be considered as reflecting the high status awarded to the leader, as if he were the chief of his church. On the other hand, this usage, which is found not only in Separatist churches, is usually said to be quite voluntary, or is connected with the responsibility of the church to provide the minister's home and keep it in good repair. The custom of the L.M.S. congregation to rise for a moment when the preacher enters is comparable to the rising of the men in the tribal assembly when the chief enters.

On the whole, then, the parallel in Taung is not so much one between church leadership and chieftainship, but between church organisation and political organisation. So, for instance, a member of the Pentecostal Holiness Church, when attending a service of a Separatist Pentecostal church, spoke in church and said: "I belong to a different 'ward' (lekgotla),[1]) I am a 'Pentecostal' (Mopentekoste), but even so we are all 'Apostles' (Baapostola)."

A certain leader of a Separatist Pentecostal church displays very clearly the characteristics of the prophet-type of leader as described by Dr Sundkler: he is thin and highly strung, with large eyes. He joined this church as a result of a very serious illness. Many doctors and long hospital treatment could not cure him, but the man who eventually cured him was a minister of this church. Before his recovery, however, his spirit "was taken"; it "left him" from eleven o'clock in the morning till after

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[1]) Cf. Ch. I, p. 37.

seven that night, and while he was in this condition, he "saw" that this minister would come to him. The minister cured him with water: he "prayed for" the water and the patient only had to drink that. It was after this experience that he joined the minister's church, of which he is now himself a leader. He is now known as a healer, and divines with the use of the Bible and claims that he receives visions and auditory revelations, but it is rumoured that he also throws the dice like a Tswana doctor. He is the only church leader who is seen going about with clothes adorned with crosses and other signs, and carrying a staff or flag, in the everyday course of events. Others are seen with these only when engaged in church activities. One or two other leaders of churches of the same type also possess some of these characteristics, but most church leaders do not strike one as unusual personalities. It may be that some of the earlier prophets described in the previous chapter were unusual types. It is significant that the prophetess Botlhale received her call in connection with a crisis similar to the one described above.

Incidentally rumour has it that the Evangelist of a certain non-Separatist church is also a native doctor, while it is certain that he had his house ritually purified and doctored (pagan style) after it had been struck by lightning. I know for certain that the Catechist of a certain Separatist church of group "A" is a native doctor.

We should pay attention to the fact that crises such as the one experienced by the leader described above are not confined to leaders of one particular type of church, but also figure in the life histories of leaders belonging to churches of group "A" and "B" which are connected with Europeans. The Evangelist of the S.D.A., a serious and honest man, gave the following account of how he joined this

Church. (He was a member of the Anglican Church before.) During a serious illness he had a vision which he believed was shown to him by God. He was shown the buildings of the different churches in the town where he was living. He saw one church after the other, as if illumina ted by the light of a torch. As he saw each church, he asked whether that was the one to which he was to go, to which he heard a voice say: 'No', but when he saw the S.D.A. church, the voice said: 'Hasten! Go, that they may pray for you in that church of the S.D.A.' (Kereke yônê ya Sabbata). An untrained evangelist of another non-Separatist church which believes in adult baptism by immersion, left the L.M.S. and joined this church as the result of a dream experienced during a period of illness. He dreamt of being baptized in Jordan, and was told in the dream that this would bring him recovery from his illness.

On the whole, them, characteristics which belong to the prophet-type of leader in the Zulu Zionist churches, are also occasionally encountered in the churches of the Phuduhutswana chiefdom, but some of these characteristics are found even in leaders of churches which are nog Separatist and not Pentecostal. One or two individuals conform to the prophet-type of leader, but it cannot be said that the Separatist Pentecostal leaders as a group represent a distinct type. We should remember, however, that the Zulu Zionist prophet follows a pattern well known in Zulu society, viz. that revealed in the character and activities of the diviner and his or her pupils. The Zulu diviner, however, is quite different from the commonly known Tswana diviner. The art of divining is not hereditary among the Zulu, neither can anybody acquire it through the teaching of another diviner. In Zululand a peculiar illness which is interpreted as possession by the ancestor spirits starts an individual

on the path by which he or she becomes a diviner, and the diviner is essentially a person showing certain psychic abnormalities representing a distinct personality type.[1] The Tswana diviner, on the other hand, very often acquires his art by inheritance and need not necessarily display distinct psychic characteristics. We only briefly make this comparison here, but we shall treat the whole question in greater detail at a later stage. (See ch. VII.)

The life histories of church leaders show that several Separatist leaders did not belong to another church before they joined their present church, and some of them have been in these churches since childhood. The majority, however, have drifted from other churches to the one to which they now belong. Some of them have drifted from Non-Separatist churches to Separatists, while others have come from one Separatist church to another, usually from churches of group "A" to Sabbatarian and Pentecostal churches. Several have already changed their church connections twice in their lives. We should note, however, that among the churches connected with Europeans, some of the leaders have also drifted from churches of group "A" to those of group "B" or "C". The general direction of the drift of members between the churches as illustrated by the histories of leaders is therefore not merely from churches connected with Europeans to Separatist Churches, but also from churches of group "A" to the Sabbatarian and Pentecostal churches.[2] I have no indication of what proportion of the membership of

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1) Sundkler, op. cit., pp. 313 - 316.

2) Cf. Ch. IV, p.167 where other information has also illustrated the tendency toward Sabbatarianism and Pentecostalism. This will be further discussed in Ch. VIII.

Separatist Churches is formed by those who have gone over from churches connected with Europeans. One occasionally hears allegations that people who are disciplined in the latter churches cross over to Separatists and are accepted by them but I do not have the impression that this is so very common. The local leader of the St. Paul Apostolic Faith Morning Star, for instance, has the reputation - even among members of mission churches - of not accepting people from other churches as members of his church, unless they have already been enstranged from their church for a considerable time. What does perhaps happen more commonly is that people who regard themselves as adherents of one church are eventually gathered into the fold of another church, but this can hardly be regarded as 'sheep-stealing". It is said that Separatist churches as well as those connected with Europeans accept such people.

Passing reference may here be made to an instance I know of, in which a man, who was still regarded as a member of the L.M.S. and was known to be paying his church contributions regularly, had in the meantime attended the Conference of a Separatist church some months before, and had there been made an Evangelist of that church.

While I was doing fieldwork there were only four African church leaders in the chiefdom who had received special training for church work. They were the L.M.S. Minister (Std. VI, plus seven years training), the Anglican Priest (Std. VI, plus four years training), the Lutheran Evangelist (training not known), and the A.M.E. Minister (Std. VI, plus three years). Normally there is also a trained Methodist Evangelist, but he was away for further training at the time. A few men have voluntarily followed Bible Courses by correspondence - one with Wilberforce Institute and a fewe with the Voice of the Prophecy Bible

School.[1]) Although the latter is an undertaking of the S.D.A., the Course is also followed by non-Sabbatarian Separatists. Besides the minister of the A.M.E, a few other Separatist church leaders have had a good school education. A minister of the Nat. Ind. Cong. Church is an agricultural assistant who has had two years agricultural training after Junior Certificate, while a school teacher who is a B.A. has been made Evangelist of this Church. Among the Pentecostals we find another agricultural assistant who is an Evangelist, and a former school teacher (with J.C.) who is an Overseer. Several other Separatist leaders have had schooling, the standards passed by them varying from three to six. Yet several others have picked up the ability to read and write without attending school - a few by attending lessons in the mine Compounds. Three of the men who have had no school education have the status of 'minister' or 'priest' in their churches, but the others are mostly Preachers. We should point out here that three of the churches connected with Europeans have as their most senior office bearers in the chiefdom Evangelists who have had no school training. None of the men who hold the most sinior office in their church in the chiefdom are completely illiterate. Quite often church members or junior office vearers may boast a higher educational qualification than their leader. In one Separatist church a highly educated Evangelist is the secretary to the minister who has had no school education. In the split in the Native Independent Congregation Church the educational qualifications of leading

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1) Mention must here also be made of an L.M.S. preachers' class once a month for the Leaders and Deacons who form the regular corps of preachers.

church officers undoubtedly play a role, the leaders of the one faction having conspicuously higher qualifications thatn those of the other.

The four trained church workers already mentioned as well as the Pastor of the Full Gospel Church (non-Separatist), and the Bishop of the S.A. Native Baptist Church Mission (Separatist), are supposed to devote all their time to church work and to be completely dependent on the income accruing from this work. A number of other office bearers of different churches (Table IV) have some income from church,work, but also have other work from which they make a living. On the whole we may say that the leaders of the Separatist churches and some of the non-Separatist churches are mostly peasant farmers or wage labourers who devote some of their time to church work receive regular salaries or stipends. Of these the L.M.S. minister is probably the best paid with a fixed salary of £80 a year, complemented by an allowance of £1 a year for every child, and contributions in kind given by church members from their crops on the Irrigation Scheme and from returns from reaping on farms. Members of the church must further collect fire-wood for the minister's household and do the smearing of mud floors and walls in his house, which is provided by the church. In most of the other churches the income that church leaders receive from church work is not a fixed quantity but is supposed to be a proportion of the church fees collected from their flock. On the whole these rural leaders are only the collectors of the fees, which they have to pass on, all or in part, to their superior church authorities. I may here also point out that none of them seem to be particularly wealthy, even by native standards, and they are usually not men of high genealogical rank.

The figures in TABLE IV illustrate that a considerable nember of church members have authority to preach. It should be kept in mind, further, that in some churches ordinary members of the church are also allowed to preach at times, and in others members may also speak during the service after the text has been introduced by one or two office bearers. All this goes to show that on the one hand church members have considerable opportunity for self-assertion in church work. On the other hand a great deal of church work, both in Separatist churches, and churches connected with Europeans, is done by untrained people who are not in full-time church work. The important role of the lay element in church work is not a feature peculiar to the area that has been studied, but is a common characteristic of the work of Protestant missions and native churches in South Africa.[1])

The importance of leadership in Separatist Churches has been related by Dr Sundkler to the stratification of South African society on racial lines. I reserve a discussion of the matter for a later chapter in order first to present more material on the attitude in the churches to the interracial situation.

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1) Sundkler, op. cit., p. 135.

TABLE IV: LOCAL GROUPS, OFFICE BEARERS, AND ETHNIC COMPOSITION OF CHURCHES

		Total membership	Local groups: Buildings [1]	Local groups: Homesteads [2]	Local groups: Total	Bantu trained workers	Off.b. auth. to pr. [4]	Fully paid workers	Partly paid workers	Ethnic composition
Churches connected with Europeans	Methodist	1,245	6	5	11	-	33 [5]	-	? [6]	Mixed
	L.M.S.	1,197	12	4	16	1	app 90	1	? [6]	Tswana
	Anglican	393	2	4	6	1	5	1	5	Mixed
	Lutheran	98	1	2	3	1	6	-	1	Predominantly Tswana
	Bantu Baptist	47	-	2	2	-	3	-	-	Predominantly Tswana
	D.R.C.	31	-	1	1	-	2	-	-	Southern Sotho
	S.D.A.	193	2	2	4	-	9	-	1	Predominantly Tswana
	Full Gospel	89	-	3	3	-	6	1	1	Predominantly Tswana
	Pentecostal Holiness	83	-	3	3	-	7	-	1	Predominantly Tswana
	Watch Tower	12	-	1	1 [3]	-	1	-	-	Predominantly Tswana [7]
Separatist churches	Nat. Ind. Cong.	304	1	7	8	-	18	-	-	Predominantly Tswana
	A.M.E.	205	-	7	7	1	?	1	?	Mixed
	Afr. Lutheran	200	1	-	1	-	4	-	-	Predominantly Tswana
	S.A. Nat. Bap. C. Mis.	183	1	2	3	-	3	1	-	Predominantly Tswana
	Bechuana Methodist	122	1	3	4	-	4	-	1	Predominantly Tswana
	African United.	100	2	-	2	-	2	-	-	Predominantly Tswana
	Eth. C. of Afr.	96	-	1	1	-	7	-	1	Predominantly Tswana
	Eth, Cath. C. in Z.	39	1	3	4	-	3	-	1	Predominantly Tswana
	Afr. Catholic	38	-	4	4	-	2	-	-	Predominantly Tswana
	Eth. C. of Z by Rel.	18	-	1	1	-	1	-	1	Predominantly Tswana
	Witness of X (Sab,)	116	-	2	2	-	3	-	-	Predominantly Nguni
	C. of the 1st-born	97	-	2	2	-	14	-	-	Predominantly Nguni
	Holy C. of X.	18	-	2	2	-	5	-	1	Predominantly Nguni
	New Ap. C. in Z.	122	-	5	5	-	7	-	2	Predominantly Tswana
	St. P. Ap. F.M.S.	120	1	-	1	-	10?	?	?	Predominantly Tswana
	Z. Ap. C. of S.A.	148	-	2	2	-	6	-	-	S. Sotho nucleus
	Holy Xian Ap. C.	71	-	1	1	-	24	-	-	Predominantly Nguni
	Foundation Ap. C. in J)	40	-	1	1	-	2	-	-	Predominantly Tswana
	Holy God. C. in Z.	33	-	1	1	-	3	-	-	Predominantly Tswana
	Total for Protestants	5,458	31	71	102	4	280 ?	5 ?	16 ?	
R.C.	R.C. Church	4,745	6	4	10	-	-	-	5	Tswana

1) Local groups meeting in church and school buildings.

2) Local groups meeting in homesteads, hired buildings, etc.

3) The Watch Tower services are actually house-to-house visits, but they do meet occasionally for Bible study.

4) Office bearers authorised to preach (i.e. not including the trained workers). The figures in this and the following two columns refer to Bantu office bearers and workers only.

5) This is only the number of Full Preachers. There are also a number of Preachers on Trial.

6) A few 'Leaders' of local churches receive only a small payment.

7) The "Witness" who introduced the movement to Taung is a Lozi who was working at Mafeking before he was sent further south.

Privileges and duties of members.

I do not doubt that the majority of people who join the churches, do so because they have sincerely accepted the Gospel which the Church proclaims, but this does not exclude the possibility that in joining a church, many people are also influenced by certain privileges connected with church membership. On my enquiry a woman who joined a church when she had already been married and had had children, s aid that what had induced her to join the church was the fact that all her friends were church people. She further explained that when one goes visiting, and one is not a church member, one feels lost (o latlhegile). This not only illustrates again the importance of the church group but it also shows how church connections tend to take the place of kinship ties. In former times, if a tribesman was away from home andfound himself among another tribe, he would have sought and found hospitality with some kinsman. The kinship relation would have decided tha mutual behaviour of these people and would have prevented excessive uneasiness on the part of the foreigner. To-day church membership is seen as immediately providing one with connections in a foreign community.

Another privilege associated with church membership is a decent burial. An old woman, prominent in the L.M.S., was speaking one day to a young man who came from a Christian family, and asked him why he had not yet made any move to become a full church member. In encouraging him to do so, she pointed out that a church member was sure of being properly buried, and even if he were to die in hospital away from home, if he had his church 'papers' with him, he would be buried by the church. One who had nothing with him to show his church connections, would simply be

buried by convicts. Observation also indicates that funerals of church members tend to be conducted with more ceremony than those of people who have no formal link with the church, even though the latter type of funeral is also usually conducted by a church official. Some churches have a special graveyard in which its members are buried.

Within the churches there are varying degrees of membership. In Protestant churches of group "A" the initial step toward church membership is not marked by much ceremony: a person wishing to become a church member informs the minister or another church leader of his desire, and after perhaps being informally questioned, he or she is entered as a member of the class in which regular instruction is given to would-be communicants. In the L.M.S. the ability to read is a condition for admission to church membership, but those who have some disability, such as blindness or old age, are exempted from this rule. In the R.C. acceptance into the catechumen class is marked by a small ceremony at which the new catechumen receives a medallion which he or she wears in future. In the churches connected with Europeans preparatory instruction usually lasts from two to three years, but Separatist churches tend to make it shorter. Catechumens who have not been baptized in infancy, mostly receive baptism after the expiry of part of this period. After having given evidence of a satisfactory knowledge, they are confirmed, and thereby become communicant members. In the Sabbatarian and Pentecostal Churches, baptism is the all-important step in becoming a church member. In a few of these which are Separatist churches hardly any instruction is given to new members, but in most cases at least a little instruction is given, either before or after baptism.

Admission to full membership invariably carries with it the privilege of admission to Mass or Holy Communion, which is sometimes guarded from outsiders and non-communicants as a kind of mystery. (See ch. VII). Full memberhip of women's associations and the wearing of the uniform connected with it (see p. 214ff) is also reserved for communicant church members only. In the Pentecostal Separatist churches it is only after full admission into the church that members start carrying the sticks and wearing the robes and cords peculiar to them.

Besides the general Christian conduct which is expected of church members, there are few formal duties, the most important being the regular attendance of services and the giving of church contributions. These contributions are fixed at a certain sum per month, quarter, or year, and tickets or receipts are issued for their payment. These are kept very carefully, and sometimes placed in a member's coffin at his funeral, together with other church certificates. (See ch. VII). Undoubtedly there is a tendency, not only among Roman Catholics, but also among Separatist and non-Separatist Protestants, to consider the giving of these church contributions as an important part and condition of one's salvation, and the receipts and other papers placed in the coffin before burial, have at a funeral of a female church member been spoken of as the certificates (ditšupô) of the works the deceased had done, with which she would arrive in heaven.

This attitude to church contributions is part of a general tendency to stress proper behaviour and the doing of good works, in other words, part of a general meralistic trend. This will be discussed in more detail in our con-

cluding chapter, but there is one aspect of it of which we may take note here. I think this trend may in part be related to particular missionary methods. Missionaries in Southern Africa have tende to require of converts certain outward observances, such as the wearing of European clothes, abstinence from native beer, and the renouncing of traditional customs such as initiation ceremonies, giving of bogadi, polygyny, and the use of magic. Apparently the missionaries enforced these observances long before native converts themselves realised their true xignificance. Most Protestant missionaries would not have viewed the observance of the rules they were laying down as means to salvation, yet by the Bantu they came to be considered as the essence of becoming a Christian. Moreover, church discipline has been largely concentrated on the rules pertaining to traditional practices and to sexual relations in general, and there has been a tendency to conduct disciplinary action in church on much the same lines as a secular court session. All this has fostered the idea that the most important aspect of Christianity is that it involves obedience to a certain set of rules of behaviour.

The traditional institution on which views conflict most strongly amongst the natives themselves is initiation. From the early stages of its work the L.M.S. has followed a policy of strong opposition to the initiation ceremonies, and members who went to be initiated, or who sent their children to the ceremonies, or consented to their attending, have invariably been expelled from the church. If such expelled members repent and wish to be received into church membership again, they have to remain in the catechumen class for at least a year. The fact that to this day a considerable number of members have

to be disciplined after every performance of the tribal initiation ceremonies, shows that the policy of opposition, after all these years, has not been completely accepted yet. Several other churches, both Separatist and non-Separatist, discipline their members who openly have connections with the initiation ceremonies, while most of the churches at least express opposition. In several instances, however, it is evident that adherence to the custom is condoned. A few church leaders take the view that if people take part in the ceremonies quietly, and more or less try to keep it as secret as possible, they may be left alone. Others hold that young people should avoid trouble by going to be initiated first, and then coming to join the church. I was also told by some church leaders that although their church is opposed to the ceremonies, the members "steal", i.e. go and attend the ceremonies but keep the church officials in the dark about the matter. According to the Anglican priest, who is a Xhosa-sepaking Nguni, his Church allows the attendance of initiation ceremonies if they are performed "in a Christian way", by which he meant that a priest or Preacher should be allowed to visit the boys in the camp. It must be remembered, however, that the same secrecy is not attached to initiation among Nguni tribes which have such ceremonies, as among the Tswana. It is doubtful whether a priest of minister would be aloowed to enter a Tswana initiation camp, most certainly not if he has not been initiated himself. This difference between the Tswana and Nguni ceremonies has also given rise to difference of opinion among Methodists. The Tswana church members on the whole are opposed to initiation, but some Nguni members feel that church members should be allowed to undergo initiation.

The official attitude seems to remain one of opposition, but attendance of the ceremonies is condoned, provided that those who attend do not give too much publicity to the matter. The Evangelist who is the leader of the Bantu Baptist Church could not tell me what the official attitude of his Church was, but he said that he allowed his own children to go, and added that "it is the law of Christ". Of all the Separatists only the three Sabbatarian churches openly allow initiation, but we should remember that they are all predominantly Nguni churches. (The S.D.A. which is also Sabbatarian but has mostly Tswana members does not allow it).

A certain Separatist Bishop holds the view that "Christian" usage used to be the same as Tswana custom in respect of circumcision, but when Christ came, "then the Lord only discovered: the Lord cannot be served with the flesh: He must be served with the Spirit". That is why baptism then took the place of circumcision. References to 'the law of Moses' are commonly made in defence of the ceremonies, and in a tribal gathering a headman who was advising that the ceremonies should again be performed, clinched his argument with the words: "Christ was circumcised".

An interesting example of reference to Scripture is found in the Church of the First-born. Not only do they refer to Old Testament evidence as others do, but they also quote New Testament passages dealing with the issue in the primitive Church as to whether circumcision and other prescripts of the Mosaic law were binding on non-Jewish converts totthe Christian Church. The Church of the First-born takes the view that as in the early Church it was left to the discretion of the individual convert whether to be circumcised or not, so to-day also Christians may make their own choice whether to attend initiation ceremonies or not.

They do not realise that the issue in the primitive Church - although dealing with circumcision and non-circumcision - was of quite a different nature from the issue of circumcision as Bantu Christians have to do with it. This clearly results from a literal application of a fragment of Scripture - the free choice to be circumcised or not - without taking into account the context in which it occurs. In this Church there are other examples of the same kind of application of Scripture. They base their opposition to native doctors on Deut. 18: 10-12, but there is no objection to going to European doctors, for, so they argue with reference to Rom. 13: 1, one should honour those placed in authority. Particularly interesting is the reference to Ezek. 8: 17 on which their opposition to the use of tobacco is based. In this verse "put/ting/ the branch to their nose" is listed as one of the abominations commited by the house of Judah. This kind of literal application of fragments of the Bible is very common among Separatists, but is of course, by no means limited to them.[1])

Some churches, not only Separatists, are positively in favour of the giving of <u>bogadi</u>, but all insist that members should be married by church or civil rites as well. The L.M.S. is the only church which opposes this institution, but according to the L.M.S. minister, many church members adhere to it nevertheless, although some call it merely a 'gift'. Others, again, give it secretly. According to

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[1]) I intend returning to this point at a later stage, to try to show reasons why this kind of application of Scripture is common in Bantu churches. (See ch. VII)

church leaders, the opposition is based on the connection of bogadi with the initiation ceremonies : if bogadi has not been given in respect of the marriage from which a child is born, that child has to be ritually treated, or, according to another church informant, one of the animals constituting bogadi is slaughtered in a ceremony which has as its purpose the preparation of the children born from the marriage for undergoing the initiation ceremonies.[1] From this explanation one is inclined to deduce that native Christians do not consider bogadi itself as being undesirable, but oppose it on the grounds of its connection with the undesirable initiation ceremonies.[2]

Since polygyny seems to be fast disappearing, it is no longer a very important issue in the churches. None of the churches allow their members to contract polygynous marriages,and all discipline them if they do so. It is rumoured however, that one Separatist minister has already allowed such cases to go undisciplined. In respect of people who are already partners in a polygynous marriage at the time of their conversion, the Separatists are more lenient than some of the other churches, and accept them as members. The practice varies in churches connected with Europeans; in one church such people may be baptized but cannot become full members, while others accept women already married to polygynists, but do not accept such men, or they require that one wife be married by church or civil rites and the others be sent away.

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1) Cf. the rite of eating the animal of the cradle-skins, ch. III, pp. 93 ff.

2) A much more radical type of opposition is expressed in a brochure published by the L.M.S. (A.E. Jennings, Bogadi, The London Missionary Society, Tiger Kloof m 1933.)

The attitude of the churches to native doctors will be discussed in connection with the attitude to illness and healing. In passing, we merely mention that on the whole the churches are opposed to these doctors, and Roman Catholics and Methodists may even be censured for consulting a native doctor.

In most church courts seduction and adultery are the most commonly recurring faults which have to be dealt with. In view of the frequency of pre-marital sexual relations, one Separatist church does not accept young people into full membership before they are married, "so that they do not go wrong again after having been confirmed". Drunkenness and beer drinking, attendance of initiation ceremonies and the settlement of domestic disputes are also among the more common matters serving before these courts. The following typical description of the procedure in a case of seduction of a girl, was given by an Anglican Church Steward.

> The father of the girl reports the matter to the priest who summons a meeting of the congregation, at which the father of the girl and the man whom he accuses, - or his father, if he is an unmarried youth - must be present. At this meeting the priest presides, assisted by the church wardens, and the father of the girl, as complainant, has to put his case before the congregation. In the ensuing discussion, the congregation has to form an opinion about the case, by questioning both parties, and individual speakers indicate their personal opinion as to who is guilty. Finally the priest gives his verdict, without a vote being taken. The matter is then referred to the European minister who supervises the district, and he decides what the punishment should be.

This description of procedure may not be quite accurate in all its particulars, but it is important as a description of such procedure seen through the eyes of a church member, who evidently views it in much the same light as the hearing of a case in a chief's or headman's court. The rules of the L.M.S. church state that "if a child is at fault and it is proved that this has been due to the negligence of the parents, the parents themselves will be considered to have been at

fault." This attitude is also taken in other churches, especially in cases of illicit sexual relations of young people, and of boys and girls attending the initiation ceremonies.

The punishment inflicted by a church court is often spoken of as 'putting (a member) backward' (go busetsa kwa morago), and in some churches, Separatist and non-Separatist, it literally implies that those disciplined may not sit in the front seats where full members mostly sit, but must sit further back with non-communicant members or the children. It further implies that the disciplined member is withheld from the sacraments for a certain period, which is either fixed beforehand, or is terminated when the leader or members feel that the term has been long enough, and the erring member is 'put on his chair' again. The periods of discipline tend to be shorter in the Separatist churches than in those connected with Europeans.

The role of women in the churches.

In the churches differentiation is made between the sexes in various manners. Men and women usually sit apart in church services, and when these are held in homesteads, all available chairs and benches are occupied by the men, while the women and children sit on mats on the ground. When Holy Communion is administered in one of the Separatist Pentecostal churches, both bread and wine are first served to the men, and only after that to the women. In at least two Pentecostal Separatist churches a clear difference is observable between the manner of participation in church services of men and women. In one church one sees women contorting their bodies and one hears them making hissing and buzzing sounds when "the Spirit

enters them", whereas the sounds and movements made by the men are less observable. In the other church the position is just the reverse: the men shout and jump about while the women act less violently. In the latter church the men also wear a greater profusion of cords tied around their body, and carry more sticks than the women. Through the women's associations, the churches nowadays provide more opportunity for women to take part in church activities than for men. Women are also given considerable opportunity for exercising leadership, although the more senior church offices are only open to men.

The numerical predominance of women in the membership of Bantu churches has been reported from various areas [1]-in South Africa. In the Phuduhutswana chiefdom women form 71.7% of the total membership of all the churches (See TABLE V). There is hardly any difference in this respect between the Roman Catholic Church and the Protestant churches taken as a group, but there is considerable variation among the different Protestant churches. In only three churches (one Separatist Sabbatarian and two Separatist Pentecostal) emn are in the majority, and in the case of the Holy Christian Apostolic Church this majority is largely, if not altogether, the result of the fact that many of the male members are men from the mine compound at Buxton. I can give no explanation for the

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1) Pondoland (Hunter, Monica, "The effects of contact with Europeans on the Status of Pondo Women", Africa, vol. VI (1933), pp. 259-276), the Ciskei (Wilson, Monica, a.o. Social Structure, Keiskammahoek Rural Survey, Vol. III, Pietermaritzburg, 1952); Zululand and Natal (Sundkler, op. cit., p. 140); Swaziland (Kuper, Hilda, "The Swazi Reaction to Missions", African Studies, vol. 5, no. 3, p.18 and the Bechuanaland Protectorate (Schapera, I., The Tswana, Ethnographic Survey of Africa, Southern Africa, Part III, London, 1953, p. 38).

deviation in the other two cases . A very small Separatist church of group "A" has an equal number of male and female members. In all the other churches women are in the majority. The highest proportion of women in a single church is found in the L.M.S. where women constitute no less than 91.9% of the total membership.

The numerical predominance of women is more marked in churches connected with Europeans than in Separatist Churches. In the Pentecostal churches (Separatist and non-Separatist) this predominance is distinctly less than in the churches of groups "A" and "B". Table VI shows that on the whole the churches of longer standing have a larger percentage of women in their ranks than the churches which have been introduced into the chiefdom more recently. 73.3% of the total membership of churches originating prior to 1933 consists of females while they constitute only about 57% of the total membership of the churches of more recent origin.

Women's associations play an important role in church life, and through these, women are given most of their opportunities for leadership in the churches, but some such opportunities exist apart from these associations. Women may become Deacons in the L.M.S. and Class Leaders in the Methodist church, and in several churches women often conduct services in the absence of male leaders. In churches which have Sunday Schools, women can also become Sunday School teachers. In one Separatist church of group "A" female members who have erred, are disciplined, not by the minister and church council, but by the minister's wife, and a committee of women.[1] The very fact that men

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[1] It is not unusual for a member of the women's association who has been disciplined by the church council, to be taken to task by the association also.

form a minority among church members has also opened up opportunities for leadership to women. In the R.C. Church and the L.M.S. women have been appointed as Catechists and local Leaders respectively, in places where no suitable men were available. However, women are only admitted to the lesser offices, and are not allowed to become Evangelists or Ministers in any church. There are no female "prophet"-leaders in any of the Pentecostal churches, although the prophetess Botlhale (See ch. IV) might have been an example of this type of female leader, but it should be remembered that she did not have a regular following or church of her own. On the whole, then, it does not appear as if the difference Dr Sundkler found between "Ethiopian" and "Zionist" churches in this respect,[1] is evident in the Separatist churches in the chiefdom. The opportunities for leadership offered to women in churches of Pentecostal type do not differ essentially from those in the other churches. In Pentecostal churches which allow opportunity for public testimonies or relating of dreams, on the part of the congregation, women make use of these opportunities as readily as the men do, but they do not hold more prominent positions than women do in other churches. The prophetess in Zulu Zionist churches, however, has a precedent in traditonal Zulu society, namely the female diviner, who becomes a diviner by spirit possession.[2] There is no such precedent in Tswana society, and this is probably the reason why such prophetess-leaders are not

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1) Op. cit., pp. 141-144.

2) Op. cit., pp. 313-316. Cf. further ch VII.

found in Tswana Pentecostal churches.[1])

Attention must also be drawn to the fact that churches connected with Europeans offer women just as many opportunities for leadership as Separatist churches.

Only a few of the churches do not have women's associations, and one of two of these were planning to form local branches of such associations at the time I left the field. In the L.M.S. there is no association including a large number of women members, but there is a small group of women forming what may be termed an order or guild of "Leading Women". In view of the very prominent position of these women in the L.M.S., and in view of the fact that this order or guild differs somewhat from the women's associations in most of the other churches, we shall pay special attention to it before proceeding to a general discussion of the associations in other churches.

Seen within the wider framework of the L.M.S. the Leading Women form an unofficial order for which no provision has been made in church laws. It is largely a local development and is found in only a few of the L.M.S. churches outside the Taung mission district. Apparently the origin of this order goes back to the year 1915, when it was reported in the annual station report that at the head station (Taung) eight women "who took a leading part in church activities" had been formed into "a sort of guild of deaconesses" during the year. Some of them had gone out, two by two, into neighbouring villages to preach and teach among the women. They had agreed to ab-

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[1]) Among the prophets described and referred to by Katesa Schlosser in her survey of prophets and prophet-movements in Africa these are not many women. (Schlosser, op. cit.)

stain from the use of alcoholic drinks, as they found these "to be a great hindrance to Christians". Such Deaconesses were later appointed at other places as well. At present the official position in the L.M.S. is that each local church has a number of elected Deacons, some of whom may be women. All Deacons are supposed to be elected for three years at a time. In practice we find that some of the female Deacons have at some time or other been elected as Leading Women. These Leading Women remain part of the body of Deacons, but nevertheless form an order of their own, wearing a special uniform, and being regarded as superior in status to other female Deacons. They hold the position of Leading Women - and consequently also of Deacons - for life, unless they are deposed for a breach of conduct.

Formerly there used to be only two such Leading Women in each local church, and although there are now more in some places, they are usually only a few. On the local church level the Leading Women are perhaps more important as individuals, and not so much as a group, but on the sub-district level they figure very distinctly as a group. During the monthly <u>phuthêgô</u> of the sub-district at Taung they sit together in church, and usually eat together at the minister's homestead. There is also corporate action of all the Leading Women in the district, since at the beginning and middle of the year, when the district meetings of the church are held, the Leading Women from the whole district meet separately at times, and place their own resolutions before the district meeting of the whole church. The order moreover has certain funds of its own.

The distinction between Leading Women and other Deacons is further stressed by the fact that the ordination in office is accompanied by the putting on of the cape which

completes their uniform. This takes place in a Sunday morning service at the time when the district meetings are being held. Although the ordinary formula for the ordination of Deacons is read - which includes instruction about their duties - all the Leading Women of the district meet separately after the service and in this closed circle the novices are instructed about their duties and conduct. They also have a large degree of control over the election of new members to the order: when a new Leading Woman has to be elected at a given place, those who are already Leading Women in that local church, nominate two candidates of whom the local congregation elects one.

There are no formal laws nor a written constitution to which the order is bound and even the missionary and the African minister find it difficult to say how the order is organised and exactly what their relation is to the rest of the church. It seem as if these Leading Women more or less rule the church, regulating church affairs according to their own ideas, and they slow dislike of attempts on the part of senior church officials to examine their activities and to probe their internal and external relations. It is known, however, that the minister's wife ipso facto presides over the Leading Women of the sub-district, and the wife of the leader of the local church holds the leading position among the members of the order in that church. This tendency for the wives of church officials to form a hierarchy of their own parallel to that of the male church officials, is found in several other churches, both among those connected with Europeans and among Separatists.[1] Besides the special position held by the wives of church officials, the

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[1] Sundkler mentions this as a special tendency in Separatist churches of Ethiopian type. (Op. cit., pp. 138, 141-142).

Leading Women also have a system of rank which e.g. decides the order in which they take turns to preach at the various services for which they are held responsible. This order of precedence is based partly on the length of time each member has served in the order, and partly on age. Outsiders do not pay particular attention to this order of precedence, but amongst themselves the women are particular about the recognition of their individual status.

The order is prominent in all church activities and in matters of church business and policy they often dictate to the rest of the church. Formally the status of Leading Women is lower than that of the local church Leader or the minister - evidence of this is the fact that they usually take the Sunday afternoon service, but not the morning service, which is the most important - but these men would have little co-operation if they were not to act in accordance with the views of the Leading Women. This is the more so in the case of the minister, since they especially are the people who keep an eye on the minister's household to see that he is not lacking in anything which the church is responsible to provide for him. Members of the order are prominent in the services held every Monday and Friday afternoon, at which the women Deacons act as preachers. They take turns, a few at a time, in assisting the minister, together with a few male Deacons, in administering communion, and at baptism two members of the order line up with the parents or with the adults who receive baptism, as representatives of the congregation. At the funeral of a female church member these women conduct the first part of the service inside the house or hut where the corpse has been kept, nobody being inside besides them. They bring out the coffin and deposit it outside the hut where a male Leader or Deacon con-

ducts the rest of the service before the coffin is borne to the grave, men now acting as bearers. (See ch. VII.)

Such evangelical campaigns as are held by the church are the responsibility of the order. The African minister told me that the men hold that they lack the gift for this kind of work, and therefore leave it entirely to the women. It is said that many years ago such a campaign was held, in which both men and women took part, working in separate groups. The men travelled by one route to a place where (after a few days) they were to meet the women, who travelled by another route. On the way each group was to conduct evangelical work. When the two groups reached their destination, the women had had considerable success, whereas the men had made no converts. The women then returned by the route the men had come and again made converts where the men had been unsuccessful, while the men, returning along the route of the women had come, once more could not report any conversions.

Since about 1935 the Leading Women have had their own uniform, consisting of a black skirt, a white jacket and head "doek", while the most important piece is a black velvet cape with a red border, worn over the shoulders. A minister's wife wears a small white hat instead of the "doek", and has a red cape with a black border - "so that, when they go visiting, other people will know that she is the minister's wife". The uniforms are worn only for special occasions such as the monthly communion Sunday, funerals of church members or baptized children of the L.M.S., the services on Good Friday, Christmas and New Year, and for evangelical campaigns. Special significance is attached to the cape, which may not be worn while eating. The uniforms are also worn for memorial services, but the whole uniform is taken off before the women partake of the meal which customarily

follows such a service. A Leading Woman walking by herself, may not wear her cape: it may only bd worn if she is accompanied by another member of the order, or by a member of the church, and it is said that when two walk together and then part, the capes are promptly removed. When a Leading Woman is deposed, someone is sent "to take her blanket" (go tsaya kobô), i.e. to take back her cape, but if she dies in office, the cape is placed in her coffin along with other articles relating to her church membership. (See further ch. VII.)

Great significance is attached to these uniforms, and in Tswana the Leading Women are called Women of the Uniform (Basadi ba Seaparô). When asked about the purpose of the uniform, one of these women explained that it was to remind them of their duties. There is no doubt that social prestige is attached to wearing it, and that the members of the order are proud of it. Some of the rules and customs connected with the wearing of the uniform, seem to suggest that there is some magical association connected with it, but I was not able to obtain further evidence to verify this impression. However, the danger of an exaggerated value being attached to the uniform was recognised by the African minister in his address to new members of the order, when he aptly compared the uniform to a match box which does not serve its real purpose if there are no matches inside.[1])

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[1]) The wearing of special regalia as a sign of office does not s eem to have been very important in the traditional culture of the Tlhaping. At his investiture the chief wore certain insignia- Dr Language says that in modern times he is robed in a leopard-skin - but in the ordinary course of events he did not wear these. (Language, F.J., Kapteinskap by die Tlhaping, pp. 119 ff. Cf. Schapera, I., A Handbook of Tswana Law and Custom, pp. 59-60). Doctors also wore special regalia in former times. Cf. above, ch. III, p. 127 and Brown, Rev. J. Tom, Among the Bantu Nomads, p. 127.

Women's associations are found in all types of churches. In the other churches these associations are less exclusive than the order of Leading Women of the L.M.S., and also less closely connected with the ordinary church offices. In some churches all the women who are communicant members of the church, are taken to be members of the association, while others confine membership of the association to married women only. If all female communicants are not automatically considered as being members of the association, they may at least join it if they wish to, but usually they are first subjected to a period of trial and to an examination of their conduct and their Scripture knowledge before being admitted to full membership. Members of the association then have a somewhat higher status than women who are ordinary communicants. Mostly the members are older women, and in some churches younger women are definitely not admitted to membership, even if they are married. The R.C. Church has a separate association for the younger married women (even apart from a third one for the unmarried girls). The association is usually presided over by the wife of the senior church official, and the ranking of the wives of officials in accordance with the status of their husbands is evident in several of the churches.

Although these associations play a very important role in most churches, they do not dominate the churches to the same extent that the Leading Women do in the L.M.S. Further, although the members of an association are group conscious and co-operate in various manners, the social cleavage between the association and the rest of the church is also not accentuated as strongly as in the L.M.S. These associations usually form the active force in the churches and are generally recognised as a great support to the church

leaders. They help organise church functions and collections, often make a separate contribution of their own towards some cause, and when refreshments have to be served, they are held responsible. They usually have their own funds to which they contribute apart from the ordinary church contributions. In most churches there is a weekly women's prayer meeting (almost always on Thursday afternoons), which is either attended exclusively by members of the association, or is organised by them. The members are therefore often referred to as Prayer-women (Basadi ba Merapêlô). At these meetings the women also instruct each other in the Bible and about family relations, and discuss what business there may be on hand.

Nearly all the associations have uniforms for their members, which are worn for important festivals and gatherings of the association or the whole church. They are often worn for funerals, especially those of prominent church members. The uniforms usually consist of a combination of a few garments of different colours, black, white and red recurring most commonly. The black skirt, red jacket, white collar and white hat of the Methodist women is well-known. The women of the Ethiopian Catholic Church e.g. wear a black skirt, blue jacket, white collar and a leopard skin cap. The women of several churches wear this type of cap. The women's association of one of the Pentecostal Separatist churches has a somewhat more elaborate uniform. It consists of a green skirt, a white blouse, and a white hat with a green star on it, and with it they wear a green cord around the waist, and two bands, one white and one green, one over each shoulder, which are tucked into the skirt so as to cross each other across the chest and back. This uniform is specifically worn in connection with the women's association of this

church, and is something apart from the robes and other garments worn by all the members of the church, as is the custom in some of the Pentecostal Separatist churches. Of his own accord a retired minister of the A.M.E. gave the following explanation of the colours of the uniform worn by the women of his church. The black spots of the leopard skin cap, he said, show "that we are black people; the black clothes show that this was a black country at first; and the white collar means that now we have come into the light". However, I do not think this was more than his own personal interpretation, and it is doubtful whether such symbolical significance is commonly attached ot the colours of the uniform.

In some churches there are girls' associations also, which are usually affiliated or at least closely connected with the women's associations. The male members of the churches are not at all organised to the extent that the women are. Very few churches have any special men's or boy's associations, but often the church council, which usually consists of men only is viewed as the men's parallel of the women's association. An interesting instance is provided by the Native Independent Congregational Church, in which men may become members of an association which is essentially a women's association. A man may even be elected as secretary but the association must always be presided over by the minister's wife.

It does not seem possible to give a clear-cut explanation for the numerical predominance of women in the churches and their general prominence in church affairs. Before discussing this problem I wish to stress that I do not regard conversion as a process merely determined by social factors, but social factors often play a role and may make an individual receptive or unreceptive of an appeal

for conversion. It is in this sense that I wish to discuss several factors which seem to be involved in the situation under discussion.

Labour migration, of course, causes a certain disproportion between the sexes in respect of the whole population in the reserve, but the degree of disproportion is much larger in the churches than in the population as a whole. Labour migration, however, is further of importance in that it exposes the men - more than the women, because the women migrate less - to the secularising influences of the towns and industrial centres. On the other hand, as we have seen, it sometimes brings men in contact with the churches. We therefore have to find other explanations for the disproportion.

With reference to the Zulu, Sundkler ascribes the greater response of women to the message of the church to the fact that Christian ideals are not in accordance with the traditional Zulu ideal of manliness according to which the man is essentially a warrior. Moreover, the issue over polygamy is a stumbling block to many men, and further the herding of cattle, which is the work of boys, hinders them from going to Christian schools.[1] These factors were probably valid, at least to some extent, for the Tlhaping in the past, but can hardly be held to be valid at present. If the Tlhaping male had a warrior-like attitude and bearing in the past, to-day he is a labourer and not a soldier, and he seldom has an imposing physique. Further the number of polygynists is small and there cannot be many who are to-day prevented by polygyny from joining the church.

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[1] Op. cit., p. 140.

For some years there has not been much need in Taung to herd cattle (See ch. II, p. 59), so that this has not been a hindrance to the younger generation of men and boys to attend schools. In spite of this girls still constitute more than 60% of the children attending school in the chiefdom. We may accept, however, that in earlier stages of missionary and church activity among the Tlhaping, the traditional ideals of manhood, polygyny, and herding did indeed constitute stumbling blocks which prevented the men from join the churches.

The predominance of women in Swazi churches has been explained by Dr Hilda Kuper partly by reference to the inferior position of women in conservative Swazi society. Christianity has enhanced the position of women in various ways and has therefore had more attraction for them than for men.[1] This may be regarded as true of the Tlhaping as well, but this factor also is less important at present than in the past, since many other influences have come to join forces with the missions for the emancipation of women, and other avenues have opened up, providing women with opportunities for self-expression and for the widening of their sphere of activities. Particular mention may be made of the fact that they can now also go out as wage labourers and can be trainded for and enter specialised occupations such as teaching and nursing. In tribal politics and jurisdiction they are, however, still subject to certain traditional discriminations.[2]

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1) Op. cit., pp. 183-184.

2) Cf. Schapera, The Tswana, pp. 37-38 and see further above, ch. II

Church leaders with whom I discussed the problem, found it difficult to give an explanation for the smaller proportion of men in the churches. The explanations put forward by one or two were merely vague suggestions, e.g. that the men are unwilling to part with beer-drinking and with other traditional customs. The initiation ceremonies certainly still constitute a factor directly responsible for holding men back from joining the churches. Mere attachment to the ceremonies, of course, may also prevent some women from becoming full church members, but it is the manner in which the influential men of the chiefdom are connected with the ceremonies that is of significance to the problem. In organising the ceremonies, the men take the initiative, and the girls' ceremonies only take place after the boys have been initiated. The men have te remind the chief of his duty to organise the ceremonies, and the ceremonies cannot take place without the chief's consent, while he also fixes the opening date. The headmen have to co-operate closely in organising them. Moreover, the chief and headmen are expected to take the initiative in connection with the performance of rain magic (see ch. III. p. 116 ff.). This means that it is difficult for the politically influential men to become church members. If they join the Church, they can no longer fulfil the duties which a considerable proportion of their followers still expect of them. It is not strange, therefore, that neither the chief, nor any of his important advisers are church members, while only one of the headmen formally belongs to a church. It is to be understood that the example of such leading men must influence many others, and must endorse the opinion that the churches are the concern of the women, not so much of the men.

The prominent position that women have been given in churches has probably also acted as an additional deterrent

to men. This is particularly obvious in the L.M.S. where the dominating position of the Leading Women cannot but discourage men who might wish to join the Church. Moreover, since evangelical campaigns are conducted by these women, it is to be understood that the appeal would carry less weight with men than with women. It appears, therefore, that to a large extent the predominance of women in the churches is a tendency inherited from earlier times. Because of the obstacles in the way of the men, and the enhancement of the position of the women through the churches, more women joined than men so that the church in time came to be regarded as a matter for the women rather than for the men. Although some of the actual hindrances in the way of the men have disappeared, the attitude which arose as a result of those hindrances, persists. This is consistent with the trend illustrated by TABLE VI, viz. that the proportion of women in the churches introduced into the chiefdom in later years is not as large as in the older churches. If men have historical prejudice against the churches, it is to be understood that the prejudice would be stronger against the older churches in connection with which the prejudice arose, than against the churches which have been introduced later. This would also explain why the proportion of male members is largest in Sabbatarian and Pentecostal Separatist churches, since they are all of more recent origin.[1])

In any case there seems to be little doubt that the predominance of women in the churches is connected with certain aspects of the traditional background of the Tlhaping.

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[1]) Only one of these does not come into the chronological group of churches which originated after 1938. It was introduced in 1932, also still relatively recent.

On the one hand men have been less responsive to the appeal of the churches on account of their traditional role as warriors and herders (as boys) and because polygynous pra ctices formed a stumbling-block to some of them. The part they played in connection with the tribal initiation ceremonies also seems to have acted as a deterrent. On the other hand the women responded more readily because the church offered them a position and opportunities which were denied them in traditional society and which compensates for traditional forms of discrimination to which they are still subject.

Church property and Finance.

By far the most imposing church building in the chiefdom is the one of the R.C. Mission at Taung, which compares favourably with many churches of European congregations in the country. It is a neatly plastered crusiform buildin g, with tower, clock and bells complete, and has a well-proportioned gable forming a pleasant facade. Near the entrance is a cross with an image of the crucified Christ, while on the northern side of the church an artificial "grotto" has been built of stones, with a niche holding an image of the Blessed Virgin, and one or two images of women in adoration in front of it. The church seats about five or six hundred people. In the sourthern transept is a small chapel for Europeans who sometimes attend mass at Taung. The walls are heavily decorated with transfer patterns in various colours, and the altar is not lacking in finery. In contrast with the mud floors of most other churches, this one has a cement floor. The building is filled with simple but sturdy wooden benches, and normally nobody need sit on the floor. The electric lights are powered by the mission's own plant. In the same

TABLE V : CHURCH MEMBERSHIP - Numerical Relation of the Sexes. (Typological Grouping.)

	GROUP	Churches connected with Europeans					Separatist Churches - - - - - - - -					All Churches - - - - - -					
		Name of Church	Men	Women No.	Women % of Total	Total	Name of Church	Men	Women No.	Women % of Total	Total	Men	Women No.	Women % of Total	Total (for which sex is known)	Sex Unknown	Final Total
PROTESTANT	A	Methodist	593	852	68.4	1,245	Nat. Ind. Cong.	87	217	71.4	304						
		L. M. S.	97	1,100	91.9	1,197	A. M. E.	57	148	72.2	205						
		Anglican	128	265	67.4	393	Afr. Lutheran	88	112	56	200						
		Lutheran	25	73	74.5	98	S.A.Nat. Bap.C.Mis.	63	120	65.6	183						
		Bantu Bapt.	20	27	57.4	47	Bechuana Meth.	29	93	76.2	122						
		D. R. C.	14	17	54.8	31	Afr. United	34	66	66	100						
							Eth. C. of Afr.	23	73	76.04	96						
							Eth. Cath.C. in Z.	6	33	84.5	39						
							Afr. Cath.	15	23	60.5	38						
							Eth. C. of X. by Rel.	9	9	50	18						
		Total for Group "A"	677	2,334	77.5	3,011		411	894	68.5	1,305	1,088	3,228	74.8	4,316	-	4,316
	B	S. D. A.	33	160	82.9	193	Witness of X. (Sab.)	84	32	27.6	116						
							Ch. of the 1st-born	40	57	58.8	97						
							Holy C. of X.	7	11	61.1	18						
		Total for Group "B"	33	160	82.9	193		131	100	43.3	231	164	260	61.3	424	-	424
	C	Full Gospel	33	56	62.9	89	New Ap. C. in Z.	58	51	46.8	109[2]					13 [2]	
		Pentecostal	32	51	61.4	83	St.P.Ap. F.M.S.	-	-	-	- [3]					120	
							Z.Ap.C. of S.A.	62	86	58.1	148						
							Holy Xian Ap.C.	44	27	38.03	71						
							Found. Ap.C. in J.	13	27	67.5	40						
							Holy Gospel C.in Z.	12	21	63.6	33						
		Total for Group "C"	65	107	62.2	172		189	212	52.9	401	254	319	55.7	573	133	706
	-	Watch Tower	-	-	-	-[1]		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	12	12
		Total for Protestants	755	2,601	77.04	3,376		731	1,206	62.3	1,937	1,506	3,807	71.7	5,313	145	5,458
RC	-	R. C. Church	1,543	3,402	71.7	4,745		-	-	-	-	1,343	3,402	71.7	4,745	-	4,745
		Total for all churches	2,118	6,003	73.9	8,121		731	1,206	62.3	1,937	2,849	7,209	71.7	10,058	145	10,203

1) The Watch Tower has only twelve members, the relation of the sexes is uncertain.
2) There are three separate sections of this church in the chiefdom; for one small section I could not obtain information on the numerical relation of the sexes.
3) No particulars available; judging by attendance at services, the women form 60%-65% of the members.

TABLE VI:

CHURCH MEMBERSHIP - Numerical relation of the sexes. (Chronological grouping)

Name of Church	Date of Origin	Male	Female		Total	Sex Unknown	Final Total
			No.	% of Total			
L.M.S.	1830-40	97	1100	91.9	1197		
Anglican	1880-90?	128	265	67.4	393		
Nat. Ind. Cong.	1885 or'93?	87	217	71.4	304		
Roman Catholic	1895	1343	3402	71.7	4745		
A. M. E.	1904-06	57	148	72.2	205		
Bechuana Methodist	Pre 1914	29	93	76.2	122		
Pentecost. Holiness	1918	32	51	61.4	83		
African United	1919	34	66	66	100		
S. D. A.	Pre 1920	33	160	82.9	193		
Methodist	Pre 1923	393	852	68.4	1245		
Afr. Lutheran	1925 ?	88	112	56	200		
Lutheran	1930 ?	25	73	74.5	98		
Zion Ap. C. of S.A.	1932	62	86	58.1	148		
Total for churches originating prior to 1933		2408	6625	73.3	9033	-	9,033
Bantu Baptist	1939	20	27	57.4	47		
C. of the First-Born	1941	40	57	58.8	97		
Witness of X. Sabbath	1941	84	32	27.6	116		
Ethiopian Church of Africa	1943	23	73	76.04	96		
St.P. Apostolic F.M.S.	1944	-	-	(±60-65)	-	120	
Eth. Cath. C. in Z.	1944	6	33	84.6	39		
Holy Gospel C. in Z.	1945	12	21	63.6	33		
S.A.Native Bap. C. Mis.	Pre 1947	63	120	65.6	183		
Full Gospel	1947	33	56	62.9	89		
Afr. Catholic	1947	15	23	60.5	38		
Holy Xian Ap. C.	1947	44	27	38.03	71		
Found. Ap. C. in J.	±1949	13	27	67.5	40		
New Ap. C. in Z.	1950	58	51	46.8	109	13	
Holy C. of X.	1950	7	11	61.1	18		
D. R. C.	1951	14	17	54.8	31		
Eth. C. of X. by Religion	1951	9	9	50	18		
Watch Tower	1951	-	-	-	-	12	
Total for churches originating after 1938		441	584	56.98	1025	145	1,170
Total for all churches		2849	7209	71.7	10058	145	10,203

enclosure as the church there is also the cemetery, while next to it are the quarters for the priests and lay brothers, the school and hostel, and the building for the industrial department. Opposite are the modern buildings of the hospital and African nurses' home. The latest addition to the whole complex is a sisters' home, which was nearing completion when I left the field.

It is a far cry from this large complex to the small mud-walled structures which serve as the places of wership of some of the Separatist churches. Let us take the little building of the African Catholic Church near to the Catechist's homestead at Maphoitsile. It is a rectangular building, about twenty feet by eight feet, with a flat iron roof and mud walls plastered on the outside in the customary manner. There is one door and one or two small windows, which have only wooden blinds and no glass. It was originally built as a dwelling, but is now used only for church purposes. Inside there is a table at one end, with some books and writing material on it, and advertisement calender hanging above it. Beside the table are two chairs for the church leaders, while two benches provide seating for about eight members of the congregation. The others sit on skin mats. In front of the table lies a goat skin of a pure white with black markings, for the Preacher and Catechist to kneel on. The walls are a mud brown colour below and painted light blue higher up, while quaint figures, apparently representing birds, form a border half-way up.

One or two Separatist buildings are even more primitive than this one but others are somewhat more imposing. The buildings of Protestant missions are on the whole larger and better built than those of the Separatists, but none of them even approximate the buildings of the R.C. Mission at Taung. Even the R.C. buildings at their outstations are

better than any of the others. The L.M.S. church at Taung is a sturdy cruciform stone-walled building, without a tower. It has a mud floor, but there is a wooden platform in the chancel, on which there is a lectern and communion table, besides a few benches. Wooden benches, mostly dilapidated, fill part of the church, and there are usually a number of school benches as well. There is no decorative effect to it whatsoever, and both outside and inside it makes a cold and bare impression. A little distance away is the old church, now serving as school, with its unplastered brick walls, which have already heavily suffered from the elements. Besides the dwellings of the missionary and the African minister these are the only buildings of the L.M.S. at its head station. The L.M.S., however, has more buildings at outstations than any of the other churches. Only seven of the Separatist churches have special church buildings, while two more were erecting buildings at the time I was in the field. A few mission churches do not have any buildings in the chiefdom either. (See TABLE IV.)

The other side of the picture is that the Roman Catholic buildings are not seen by the members as being their very own to the same extent as the other churches, since they are not as directly responsible for them. In most Protestant churches the Bantu members are now altogether responsible for the building of new churches and the repair of old ones. A little Separatist church building may be simple and crookedly built but it is planned, built and paid for by the people themselves. The question of ownership of church buildings is not always very clear, even in the case of one or two mission churches. In the constitutions of a few Separatist churches it is explicitly stated that buildings must be registered in the name of the church. One of these is the Holy Church of Christ which was formed as the

result of secession from the Church of Christ, following a dispute about church property and funds. In the latter church all property is registered in the name of the Bishop who is head of the whole church, and all funds are controlled by him. This is of more than usual importance, since various commercial activities such as farming, dairying, and trading are carried on in connection with the church. When eventually some of the Bishop's followers tried to induce him to have the property registered in the name of the church, he was unwilling to do so, and the malcontents decided to form their own church. (See above, ch. IV, p. 162).

It is quite clear that the tribal authorities are in a dilemma about the matter of granting building sites to Separatist churches. Officially they have no power to grant sites for churches; these are supposed to be granted by the Government only, although the tribal authorities may make recommendations. The Government, however, only allows grants to churches which they officially recognise, and very few Separatist churches have been awarded such recognition.[1] Moreover, government officials do not favour the practice of conducting church services in homesteads. There are Separatist churches to which the tribal authorities would readily grant permission to build, and to others they have in fact given such permission (mostly for small buildings which are not very durable), but they are aware of the fact that they do not have the right to do so. The chief's chief councillor explicitly expressed their dilemma, after pointing out that only the Government could grant sites, by appealing to a tribal gathering with the words: "Tell us what we should do; the church is a thing to be respected....."

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[1]) See Sundkler, op. cit., pp. 74-79.

In practice none of the sites on which Separatist churches stand are registered with the Government, and this even appears to be the case with a few buildings of churches connected with Europeans. These churches have merely been erected with the consent of the local headman concerned, sometimes even without reference to the chief. As far as I know, no disputes about church property have ever come before the tribal authorities, but the men in authority seem to hold diverse views about the ownership of such church buildings which are not officially registered. One or two of the headmen who have such buildings in their wards, take the view that the buildings belong to the congregation and not to an individual. The chief's court official, however, when I confronted him with the case of a certain small church building which is part of the complex forming the leader's homestead, held that the leader is the owner of the building.

The sources from which church funds are derived are much the same as in Zulu churches.[1] The regular contributions required from members often consist of an annual subscription, and a quarterly contribution, usually given at the time of communion. This quarterly contribution is sometimes spoken of as "ticket money", since payment of the fee is certified on a membership ticket which usually has to be produced at communion. Some people regard this fee as a payment for receiving communion. In a number of churches, mostly Separatist, a further monthly contribution is expected as "Minister's support". The most common amount expected is 1/- per member per month. The total for these different contributions amounts to anything from 9/- to 15/6 per member a year in Protestant non-Separatist churches, and from 6/6 to 26/- in Separatist churches. On the whole

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[1] Sundkler, op. cit., p. 157-158.

they are considerable higher in the Separatist churches. In the Roman Catholic Church the only regular contribution expected of a member amounts to 4/- a year. Women are often expected to contribute less than men, and class members (non-communicant members) less than full members (communicants). Some of the women,however, have additional fees to pay in connection with the women's associations. In several churches gifts in kind are given, often as an alternative to the cash contribution for the Minister's support.

A few Sabbatarian and Pentecostal churches (Separatist and non-Separatist) expect their members to give a tithe from their income, whether in cash or in kind, but some of these nevertheless have fixed a minimum cash contribution as alternative. Excepting at concerts and drives (see below) where somewhat of an exhibition is made of generosity the idea of making voluntary contributions according to one's means is conspicuously lacking in all types of churches. It is true that a few churches have Sunday collections to which contributions are voluntary, and many special collections are made, e.g. for new buildings, contributions to functions of other churches, or for preparations for organising a concert, bazaar, or other church function, but the contributions to Sunday collections are usually very small, and there is a general tendency to fix the amount to be contributed by every church member or household to special collections.[1] Contributing toward church work therefore tends to be considered as a duty concerned with one's salvation, rather than a voluntary expression of thanksgiving (cf. above p. 199.) This also applies to payments made in connection with baptism and confirmation. Here

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[1] The same procedure is followed by the tribal authorities when collecting money for tribal undertakings, such as the building of a new tribal office.

again mission policy has probably fostered this idea. In trying to develop the idea of regular and systematic contribution toward church work, many missions have fixed amounts which members are expected to contribute. Apparently it is seldom understood that this is only a minimum and that those who have the means should contribute more. It is difficult to say how faithful members are in paying their contributions in the different churches, but it seems that sometimes a considerable proportion of the members remains in default.

In mission churches a large portion of these regular contributions goes into central church funds, from which most of the trained church workers are paid. In the Separatist churches it is difficult to find out exactly how these funds are used. The most common explanation is that part of it, if not all, goes "to pay the ministers" and into central funds. Since few of the Separatist church leaders in the chiefdom have the status of ministers, most of the money therefore must be passed on to senior church authorities and usually the leaders in the reserve know very little about the manner in which these funds are distributed. In the case of the Native Independent Congregational Church, however, it is known that such central funds have already been used to send a member of the church to follow an Evangelists' course in Basutoland. A few churches also use part of the regular contributions for charity in respect of their own members and to help cover the expenses of funerals of church members or their children. A few churches have burial funds of which membership is voluntary.

Special collections are held for a large variety of purposes. Besides those already mentioned we may here also pay attention to those held to cover the expenses of train tickets and food for preachers, and for delegates to

conferences and conventions. If, for instance, the Preacher of the Foundation Apostolic Church in Jerusalem goes to preach at Phokwane, his home congregation maeks a collection "to put him on the train", while the congregation receiving a visit makes a collection to cover the expenses incurred in providing food for him during his visit. Of special importance are the collections held in connection with the laying of corner stones or the consecration of church buildings. Contributions are then usually received not only from many different congregations of the same church, but also from many other churches, as well as from other interested persons, such as the headmen and storekeepers (also Europeans) of the neighbourhood. Such contributions are either formally handed over or are at least announced in public at the ceremony, and each announcement may be met with applause on the part of those present. The small Holy Church of Christ collected about £13. 14. 0. in this manner at the laying of the corner stone of its new church. The consecration of the new Lutheran church at Motšweding was a much larger ceremony and the collection amounted to £64. 1. 3. It included donations from Lutheran congregations as far afield as Bloemfontein, as well as a substantial contribution of £20. 19. 6. collected by the local headman in his kgotla.

Apart from collections members sometimes give their labour towards building or repairing a church building. When the main S.D.A. church at Taung was being cleaned and painted, the work was done by some of the men belonging to the church. They received no payment, but a collection was made beforehand to buy food which was prepared by some women. The cooking took place under a tree near the church, where all - the women also - had a good meal in the middle of the day.

Concerts for church funds usually take the form of an auction.[1] Usually one or more school choirs first deliver a set program, after which the bidding starts, mostly for items already rendered as part of the programme. Pentecostal Separatist churches sometimes organise a whole night service to which they invite other churches. The visitors are expected to bring a contribution to the collection which is held in the course of the night. Such a service I attended was held for the "opening" of a new house - a small flat-roofed building which was a new addition to the Preacher's homestead and was used regularly for household purposes, but which often served as a meeting place for his congregation.

> The service started at about 9.15 p.m. and consisted of the usual singing, praying, scripture reading, preaching and testimonies with all the interruptions resulting from the diverse manners in which members are moved by the Spirit. At about midnight a collection was held, but although the small room (hardly twelve feet square) was packed with about forty people, no more than 4/11¼ could be raised. A little later refreshments were served to all present, consisting of tough dough cakes and tea, after which devotions were resumed. I could not hold out till later than 3 a.m., when I returned home, utterly exhausted from all I had experienced. My Pentecostal friends, however, kept on until dawn. In this case the collection was made for the Preacher's personal benefit.

About six churches have formed an association called Masincedane (Xhosa for : let us help each other) - the leading spirit is a Xhosa-speaking Separatist minister - for the purpose of jointly collecting funds, by means of regular all-night drives. Each member-church takes a turn to organise such a drive for its funds according to rules drawn up by a representative committee, which also regulates the dates of the drives and the order in which the churches take their turns. The method of collecting money is organised

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[1] See Sundkler, op. cit., p. 158, and Monica Wilson a.o. op. cit., p. 139.

on a competitive basis, competition taking place between the organising church which acts as host, and each of the other member-churches. When one church gives a drive, each visiting church brings a contribution of 10/- called their "bag" (kgetsi). When the members of a church produce their bag they "close" it by bringing further contributions. The hosts must then "open" the bag by bringing contributions which exceed those put down to close it, and if the hosts' contribution is less, the bag remains closed and may be taken back by the visitors. If, however, the hosts succeed in opening the bag, the visitors may again come and close it with other contributions, whereupon the hosts have to open it again, and this process is often repeated several times. Sometimes the women's association of a visiting church bring their own seperate bag - which may consist of any amount - and the same procedure is followed with it. All the proceeds from the different contributions go to the church which acts as host.

> The drive I attended was announced to start at 8 p.m., but it did not actually start till after 9.30. Those present had already started singing hymns beforehand, and several groups had arrived singing. Eventually Rev A------, the minister of the hosts (whom we shall call Church H) took his place at the table on the low platform, wearing a clerical collar and a black frock coat, and carrying a brief case. At his side was Rev K----- of one of the other member-churches, who was to assist him in receiving and counting the money. Rev A--- opened the meeting with a few words and announced a hymn, after which Rev K--- said a prayer, which was followed by a chant by the congregation. While another hymn was being sung, the members of church X entered. In keeping with the rules of the association the latecomers were promptly called upon to pay a fine of 2/6, which went into the proceeds of the drive. This was done in good spirit, to the delight of the audience. The roll of the different member-churches was called; two of the six churches were absent.
>
> While singing a hymn the members of church X now lined up, and slowly approached the table on the platform, moving with short steps and rhythmical movements of the arms and body, following the rhythm of the hymn they were singing. The leader placed their "bag" (a tobacco pouch containing their contribution) on the table, and started slapping a few pennies on the table one-by-one. Each member in the line followed suit with his pennies, slapping them down to the rythm of the music, and each again lined up at the end of the line to produce a second lot of pennies. Occasionally one

had to change a larger coin for pennies first. When the line had passed the table several times, they stopped and returned to their seats. The sum with which the bag had been closed (about 12/-) was announced, and church H was called on to come and open it. Following the same procedure as church X, they contributed 13/8¼ to open the bag, whereupon Church X again came to close it. When they had finished, Rev. A--- announced: "Those from Manokwane /referring to church X/ say: 'Hey, Ethiopeans /referring to church H/ ! One pound three and a penny! ' " Church H now finally opened the bag with £1. 4. 4., whereupon Rev. A--- literally opened the tobacco pouch and removed its contents. Now the women of Church X came with their "bag" and closed it with 11/-, and after it was opened and closed twice in succession, Church H finally opened it with £1. 5. 6. The announcement that the bag contained 7/- was met with the clapping of hands. It was now five minutes to midnight and only one church had completed its round! Church Y was now called upon to produce their bag but there was some delay and Rev A --- announced that they were still "digging for diamonds" and were fetching their bag, so Church Z was asked to come forward. They took part with less gusto and did not close the bag again after the hosts had opened it for the first time. Church Y was ready now, and the some long process was repeated as with Church X, first in respect of the whole Church's bag, and then in respect of that of the women.

All this lasted till after 3 a.m., and all the while there was singing, the same hymn sometimes being repeated over and over, the singing only stopping when the announcements were made. Later some of the children turned over to sleep on the floor, and grownups would take short naps just as they were sitting, only to wake up and join in the activities refreshed. Although the same thing was repeated over and over again, the participants showed no signs of becoming bored. Above the singing could be heard laughter an shouts of enjoyment as people slapped down their pennies. Rev. K--- would occasionally encourage them with shouts of "Beat it!", or would step about to the rhythm of the music, uttering shouts of enthusiasm. When a bag from the women was being opened (the contents being unknown), there was joking about the "calf" which they had brought and that it was still unknown whether it was a heifer or a bull-calf. Sometimes when an uneven sum was announced, appeals were made to make it even, several people responding, and the total would eventually be uneven all the same. Once an old man put down a half-penny " to ask the time", and he was formally informed what time it was. There was a pleasant spirit of competition, but all the same members of other churches often joined the ranks of those who were closing or opening the bag te help them, the hosts at times even joining the ranks of their 'opponents'. A few individuals returned to the table over an over again, with a few more pennies every time.

After the hosts had finally brought their own bag and opened it with the last "drops", the total proceeds of the drive were announced to be £13. 16. 3. Refresh-

ments were now served, consisting of ginger beer and cake. It was 3.30 a.m. when I had to take my leave, but in accordance with the rule of Masincedane, the serving of refreshments was followed by devotions in which members of the audience were given the opportunity to deliver short sermons. This service, I was told, lasted till sunrise.

Such a drive illustrates the importance of the church group as a social group. The Masincedane drive is in the first place an activity to collect funds for church work, and it also contains purely devotional elements. It also has high entertainment value, and through the strong competitive element in it, it partakes very much of the character of a game. Moreover it offers the opportunity to the individual of gaining prestige through his economic resources. Even the outsider, who does not belong to one of the member-churches, attends the drive and may join the rank and through his liberal contributions earn the appreciation especially of the hosts. The competitive element strengthens the bonds between members of the same church group and the members of the host-church are drawn closer together by their very role of hosts, while their activities and importance as hosts offer an opportunity for public expression and increase their self-esteem. Ample opportunity is also offered for new social contacts outside one's own church group, and the serving of refreshments heightens the social character of the proceedings. The minister of the host-church acts here, not so much as the leader of his flock, but as a social leader for a wider group representative of the whole neighbourhood.

A certain Separatist preacher said to me that the difference between his own church and the other churches - the churches of which the members do not remove their shoes as they do - is that those others are "under the Government". By this, it subsequently appeared, he meant that their ministers were paid by the Government, and he was reluctant to accept my

explanation that in this country no ministers receive stipends from the government. Foremost in this man's mind were probably the churches connected with Europeans, but apart from his statement I encountered no further evidence of suspicion about what becomes of church funds in the churches connected with Europeans. For example in the L.M.S. churches, which are financially independent in the Taung district, the African leaders and the lay element have an ample share in controlling the funds contributed by the members. A certain sum is annually paid into a central fund from which the ministers are paid, but most of the money contributed from the churches in the district, is spent in connection with the administration and organisation of the district churches, and accounts are placed before the district meetings in which the lay members outnumber the clergy. The missionary is the only European in this meeting. Moreover, the churches have recently decided, through their own district meeting, to increase the regular contributions so as to provide for a regular itineration fund for the African ministers, and for a building fund, both to be controlled by the district meeting.

It does not appear therefore that suspicion about financial matters is a significant reason for people to show preference for Separatist churches. There are, however, instances of trouble about financial issues within the Separatist churches themselves. Besides the split in the Church of Christ (which took place outside the chiefdom) there are two instances in which local leaders changed their church affiliation as a result of a dispute about funds, and in one case the leader removed his flock to the other church as well.

Connections with the church outside the reserve.

None of the churches are purely local organisations restricted to the chiefdom or to the reserve. A few Separatist

churches are restricted to a relatively small area such as that including a number of districts in the Northern Cape and the Western Transvaal, but the majority of churches, even though some may not have very many congregations, are represented over a wide area. The Taung branch of a church is usually not of very great importance in the church as whole. In the L.M.S., however, Taung holds an important position as the centre of a whole church district. The heads of two smaller Separatist churches live in the chiefdom, which gives it an important position in those churches also. Mostly the different centres of the church form a kind of hierarchy in which the Taung church shares a more humble status with other rural and semi-rural churches. The important centre for all these branches may be a large country town in the Northern Cape or the Western Transvaal, where a senior church official resides, who supervises the lesser churches in an area forming a district of the church. The headquarters are usually on the Witwatersrand or in some other city or important town where the Founder or head of the church resides. A church in the chiefdom has regular contacts with the rest of the church through district and church conferences and synods, and through visits of senior church officials.

The older missions in South Africa mostly started as rural missions and only started working in the cities at a later stage in order to be able to care for the spiritual welfare of their members who migrated to the cities. In our area this is clearly illustrated by the L.M.S. which is essentially still a rural church. Such work as the Mission has on the Witwatersrand is a more recent development. In the Separatist Churches the reverse of this process is now taking place and the cities and large towns are the strongholds from which their influence emanates to the rural areas. Most of the Separatist churches in the chiefdom have been intro-

duced by influences coming from Kimberley, Bloemfontein or the Witwatersrand. When Rev M--- and his flock seceded from their church, he went to Kimberley to look for another church which they could join. Two other seceding groups wrote to church leaders in the city to establish contacts with another church. The reverse also occurs, however. The Native Independent Congregational Church for example originated in the reserve and from there spread to the towns. On the other hand, some mission churches have moved the centres of their activities from rural areas to cities, and from the cities again have extended their influence to other rural areas. There seems to be no clear example of this in Taung, although this may have been the case with the Methodist Church. Unfortunately my material on this point is incomplete, but it is certainly significant that the Methodists' work in the Northern Cape does not centre in Taung or some other rural area, but in Kimberley. Some Sabbatarian and Pentecostal missions, having entered the field in South Africa more recently, started working in the cities and from there spread their influence to some rural areas. The main point I wish to make, however, is that our information on the Separatist churches in the chiefdom suggests a clear tendency for Separatist churches to originate in the cities and towns and from there to spread to the reserves.

It is especially in the Separatist churches that the city congregations are of particular importance. Usually the city is the seat of the Founder of the church, the place where "the important ministers" (<u>baruti ba b a tonna</u>) are. It is often the source where the local leader and other members made their first acquaintance with the church. At a festival of a Sabbatarian Pentecostal church, the Bloemfontein Congregation was referred to as the place "where a‿ll of us we‿re born". Messages from the Founder or Leader,

brought personally by members returning from work in the city, or sent by letter, are received with interest by the rural church. Important activities are not undertaken without first consulting the superior authorities in the city. Members giving testimonies in Pentecostal churches add weight to their words by quoting the prophet of Gautent (Johannesburg.) In ritual and dogma that which has been learnt in the church of Gauteng is the norm. Visits of an Archbishop, a Bishop, or an Apostle from the city church are great occasions. Homesteads and churches are decorated and other preparations are made; the local church tries to do everything in the best style. Nevertheless, the uncertainty in the attitude of the more simple rural folk in the presence of the visitors betrays their awe of these self-assured men from the city and town churches.

In Zulu "Zionist" churches the churches in the reserve stand in a more particular relation to the city churches. For them the reserve is the place where the pools and rivers are found which are most suitable for baptism and purification ceremonies, "the only place where the essential business of the Church - healing - can be successfully performed". Moreover, many of their leading prophets live in the reserves, rather than in Johannesburg.[1] In Taung, however, there was no evidence of the rural churches being so indispensable to any urban churches, but the dependence of the rural congregations on those in the city was apparent in all types of Separatist churches.

Interdenominational relations.

There are numerous occasions on which contact and co-operation take place between the members of different churches

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[1] Sundkler, op. cit., p. 93.

such as the night watches held after a death has taken place, and funeral services, prayer meetings for rain, concerts and drives for collecting funds. Different churches often use the same hymn and prayer books, and a single church sometimes uses hymn-books of several other churches. Co-operation of a more formal kind takes place on occasions such as the laying of a corner stone or the opening of a new church, when representatives of different churches speak from the same platform, and different churches make official contributions to the building funds. One or two of the churches connected with Europeans have a reputation for unco-operativeness.

The European observer is sometimes surprised to find which churches do co-operate. For example, at the opening of a Lutheran Church, donations were made not only by several Lutheran congregations, as well as by a number of L.M.S. and Methodist congregations and an Anglican Church, but also by the S.D.A., as well as by a few Separatist churches, including a Separatist Church which has split from the Lutheran Church. The Masincedane association, again, consists of a church from group "A" connected with Europeans, two Separatist churches from group "A", a Sabbatarian Separatist church, and two Pentecostal Separatist churches. In Tlhaping society interdenominational differences are much less accentuated than in European circles. One does meet with a certain degree of awareness of such differences, and as we shall see below, differences in ritual sometimes play a role in strengthening in-group relations but their role is subtle and the oppositions they produce are not of a vehement nature. Without any doubt I can say that in as far as there is awareness of interdenominational differences these do not result in such deep cleavages as are often found between Europeans of different denominations.

A typical example is provided by a woman who was an energetic member of the D.R.C. at the place she came from, and who, when she came to settle at Buxton in Taung and found that a branch of her own church did not exist there, promptly joined the Roman Catholics, and this in spite of the fact that there are several Protestant Separatist churches at Buxton, and other non-Separatist Protestant churches within fairly easy reach. When a congregation of the D.R.C. was formed at Buxton, however, - so a church leader explained to me - she said "Thank you" to the Roman Catholics, and returned to her original church.

The opinion is often expressed by Bantu church members that the differences between churches are not important, since they all worship the same God. On the other hand, there is little awareness in these churches of their connection with the world-church, excepting the bonds that bind mission churches to the foreign missionary bodies with which they are connected.

Nevertheless competition and petty jealousies also exist. On two occasions I heard people speak of this as the "colour bar" - using the English term in a Tswana conversation - between the churches. For example, the minister who is the leading spirit of the Masincedane explained that he wanted to wipe out "this colour bar between the churches", so that there could be co-operation, and each one would not just say, "I am London" (L.M.S.) or "I am Wessel" (Methodist), and not want to have anything to do with the others.[1] One

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[1] In the other instance it was used by a headman who is not a church member and who spoke of his desire for an additional school in his area, which he wanted to be a tribal school, not a church school, because he did not like the "colour bar" between the churches. He went on to explain that the churches make a "colour bar"; he did not want jealousy (lehuha) between the churches. He also referred to an existing school of a certain denomination and maintained that they taught their own doctrine there and gave preference to their own children. (These are the only two instances I noted in which the English term "colour bar" was used in Tswana conversation).

does, in fact, find individual members who self-righteously exalt their own church as being the only really important one. I have the impression that this is especially the case in the older mission churches, and is more the result of a long standing attachment, which already tends to become something of a tradition, rather than the result of convictions about differences in doctrine. I must hasten to add, though, that this impression is not based on extensive evidence. Reference must here also be made to the fact that unfavourable comment is often expressed by people inside and ouside the churches about the multiplication of denominations, and the Separatists especially come in for criticism on this account.

It has already been intimated that although inter-denominational differences are not strongly accentuated, the awareness of such difference is not altogether absent from the churches. On the whole it seems that on the level of the ordinary church members doctrinal differences are unimportant, but more importance is attached to them among superior church officials, their importance increasing the higher the position of the officials in thehierarchy. In keeping with this, co-operation is easiest on the level of the local church and between local church leaders, while relations between the superior officials of different churches are more restrained. The procedure at a night watch following the death of a child which had been baptized by the R.C. Church, illustrates this point.

> The initiative was taken by a member of the R.C. women's association who was a neighbour of the bereaved household and an ortho-cousin (mother's sister's daughter) of the ~~deceased-child's-mother~~ stepfather of the deceasedchild's mother. She asked her husband, a Methodist, to lead in an opening prayer, "since a woman connot open". After a spontaneous prayer by the husband, the woman was joined by all present in saying the Lord's Prayer, after which she read several R.C. prayers, which many of those present said with her, Some hymns were also sung, all of them announced by her from the R.C. hymn book. Later on, however, she called on the members of other churches present to propose some of their hymns also, and added: "We request the assistance of the other churches". In the same connectio

> she also remarked that the death of the child had not bereaved one church only, but that all of them had been bereaved. Many L.M.S. and Methodist hymns were sung during the remaining part of the night, while all joined with enthusiasm when someone started a song very popular with some Pentecostal churches, which consists of a repetition of the words: "Amen, Hallelujah!"

It is significant that, whereas the R.C. Church and its clergy seldom or never co-operate formally with other churches, and whereas the funeral service of the child was a purely R.C. rite, led by the Catechist and the priest, the members of the church readily co-operated with the other churches in the less formal religious activities of the night watch, even though the initiative was in their own hands.

Although there are no corporate groups in which different churches regularly co-operate on the basis of common teaching and ritual, the existence of elements common to a number of churches, especially common elements in ritual, does give rise to attitudes expressive of cohesions and cleavages. There is a fellow feeling between all Sabbatarians and Pentecostals, in which the Baptist churches classified with group "A" may also be included, because they are all united on the issue of adult baptism by immersion. Again, the Pentecostals, feeling that they are "Apostles" all, are separated from the other churches by various customs such as speaking with tongues and being moved by the Spirit. The Sabbatarians, on the other hand, are aware that the observance of Saturday as Sabbath forms a common basis, separating them from all non-Sabbatarians. Cutting across these cleavages and cohesions based on ritual and doctrine is the line between Separatists and non-Separatists. Although there is evidence of awareness of this cleavage in Separatist churches, it is more strongly stressed in churches connected with Europeans. These feel that their churches are just a bit more genuine than the

Separatist churches; they reckon that the Separatists lack the proper background and connections, and that their leaders are sometimes moved by ulterior motives. As one church leader expressed it: "They lack dit§6" - a word used of lineages, totemic groups and tribes, but also denoting traditional custom and history.[1])

Between churches of the same type, minor differences are again accentuated at times and are important in creating solidarity within the church group by stressing its separateness from others of the same type. Thus one Sabbatarian Separatist church differentiates between itself and the S.D.A. by pointing out that the latter do not perform the laying on of hands for people who have been baptized, whereas they do. One church which performs baptism by immersion may differentiate itself from others which also do, by immersing a person once only, instead of three times, or by baptising in running water only, whereas others baptize in dams as well as rivers. These minor differences are of particular importance as integrating factors in the rural Separatist churches where groups of church members have seldom seceded en masse from one church to join a Separatist church, and where the integrative force of the secession crisis, as described by Dr Sundkler,[2]) is therefore rarely present. In the secession crisis highly emotional factors are usually involved, and these particularly tie leader and flock closely together. To the rural members of the church, however,

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1) My own name among the natives was Kradit§6 (Father-of-dit§6), which I was given on account of my research activities.

2) Op. cit., pp. 161-163.

who have joined it subsequent to its formation, the factors involved in a secession crisis, which might have taken place far away in the city, have little emotional content. Under these circumstances other influences must be brought into play to convince the members that the church they have joined is different from others, hereby to prevent their deserting it. Here these small differences are important in justifying the separate existence of a particular church. Nevertheless they do not prevent easy co-operation with other churches.

Several aspects of interdenominational relations emerge from the case of J---- S-----, Bishop of a Sabbatarian Separatist Church.

> S----- told me that he used to be a Catechist (or Reader) [1] in the Anglican Church, but later became Sabbatarian, because the Bible says you should baptize "in the river", whereas the Anglicans do not; and the Bible says you should keep the Sabbath, but the Anglicans do not. He had been in contact with the S.D.A., and it was their influence that had made him feel that the Anglican Church was wrong. However, he did not join the S.D.A. because they do not allow attendance of initiation ceremonies (S----- is a Fingo), but he joined the Separatist Sabbatarian Church of which he is now the Bishop. The foregoing information was given while I interviewed him about his church and his own life history. Before the time, on the way to his homestead, he casually told me and another man how the S.D.A. (before he had come to Taung) had invited him to join their ranks with his flock. To their invitation he replied that the coming together (go kôpana) of all the churches would only take place in the end. It is not time for it yet, but the end is near at hand and then all would come together. Nevertheless, if they wished to, they could rather join him. The S.D.A. would not accept this proposal and further pointed out that he was poor (meaning also that his church had little money) and that they could give him a salary if he joined them. This proposal he also declined, because he felt that they would dictate to him what to preach, and he does not like to be told what to say. He subsequently also told us that the first church ever to exist was Sabbatarian, and the second to originate was "Roma" (the R.C. Church). "Roma", however, killed all the others, including St. Paul, and then they told the people they were the first church. Later the Sabbatarian church (" Sabbata") spread from the United States to other parts of the world.

Granted that all his facts or his interpretation of the facts may not be quite correct, S---'s statement nevertheless

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[1]) He used the Tswana word mogôgi, (lit.) a leader.

reveals the factors which to him constitute cleavages, on the one hand, and the basis of cohesions on the other hand. In the first place he has separated himself from his original church and other churches of group "A" on the issue of baptism by immersion and the Sabbath issue. Moreover, by accepting the Sabbatarian teaching about the Sabbath, he narrows down the group with which he feels cohesion by excluding the Pentecostal churches. The solidarity of all Sabbatarians is also stressed by the particular view he takes of history. Within the Sabbatarian group the issue about the initiation ceremonies constitutes the overt factor making for cleavage between his own church and the S.D.A. There is, however, also a covert motive for stressing the latter cleavage, namely his desire for the status and prestige he enjoys as the head of a church, which would largely disappear, were he to lose his independence. Interesting, also, is the manner in which he reconciles the numerous divisions between Christian churches, with the idea of Christian unity.

It must be stressed, however, that these cleavages and cohesions are of a subtle nature and do not rule out easy contacts and co-operation between churches representative of widely different types. It cannot be denied, moreover, that the Bantu Christians often do not understand and appreciate the significance of the historical divisions between the different churches of European origin which are of the same type. Nevertheless a new traditionalism seems to be arising in connection with the divisions between the older churches, making the disappearance of these divisions improbable.

The churches and youth.

Merely on the basis of general observation I received the impression that there is a tendency among the

younger generation, among the young men and older boys more than among the girls and young women, to disregard the churches. This cannot be regarded as anything more than an opinion since it is not based on extensive evidence. However, the figures which were obtained in the sample survey of the 63 homesteads in two sample areas (at Mokgareng and Taung) do show some consistency with this opinion. These are given below in TABLE VII. Actually these are the same figures as those given in Ch. II, (p. 69) but here they are split up into a larger number of age groups and according to sex.[1] There are five age groups here: those under ten years old (0-9), over ten and under fifteen (10-14), over fifteen and under twenty (15-19), over twenty and under thirty (20-29), and those older than thirty (30+).[2] All those that have an official connection with the churches (members of Sunday Schools (SS) and catechumen classes (CC) and communicant or full members (FM))are here grouped together.

As far as <u>males</u> in the sample are concerned, a clear trend is discernable. A very large percentage of the age groups 15-19 and 20-29 have no church connections (50%) and 57.6% respectively). The percentage is relatively

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1) These figures must not be used to estimate the masculinity rate in the chiefdom since the Taung sample and the Mokgareng sample differed very much in this respect. In the Taung sample there were very many more females than males which is partly to be ascribed to the presence of a particularly large number of widows in the sample (cf. ch. II), whereas at Mokgareng there were more males than females in the sample.

2) Many people, particularly among the younger ones who are the most important in the present context, knew their age or the date of their birth. Where this was not the case I tried to ascertain the ages as closely as possible by reference to well-known events, such as the formation of a particular regiment, calamities such as the rinderpest or the influenza (1918), wars, deaths of chiefs, etc.

TABLE VII: CHURCH AFFILIATION - Sex and age. (Sample.)

Degree of Affiliation	0-9		10-14		15-19		20-29		30+		Total	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Nil	18 (32.7%)	13 (25%)	12 (44.4%)	3 (13.04%)	9 (50%)	2 (7.4%)	19 (57.6%)	7 (17.9%)	20 (37%)	10 (14.3%)	78 (41.7%)	35 (16.6%)
Bap. or blessed children, and adherents	33 (60%)	29 (55.7%)	5 (18.5%)	4 (17.3%)	5 (27.8%)	4 (14.8%)	7 (21.2%)	5 (12.8%)	14 (25.9%)	24 (34.3%)	64 (34.2%)	66 (31.2%)
SS, CC and FM	4 (7.5%)	10 (19.2%)	10 (37%)	16 (69.5%)	4 (22.2%)	21 (77.8%)	7 (21.2%)	27 (69.3%)	20 (37.1%)	36 (51.4%)	45 (24.1%)	110 (52.1%)
Total	55 (100%)	52 (100%)	27 (100%)	23 (100%)	18 (100%)	27 (100%)	33 (100%)	39 (100%)	54 (100%)	70 (100%)	187 (100%)	211 (100%)

1) I may draw attention to the fact that out of 155 persons having close connections with the churches (SS, CC and FM) 110 or 70.97% are females. This is consistent with the 71.7% arrived at on the basis of the actual numbers of communicant and non-communicant members of all the churches in the chiefdom. (TABLE V.)

high for males in all age groups of course, but it is very distinctly the highest in these two. Moreover, the percentage of males having close connections with the churches (SS, CC, and FM) is lowest in the same two age groups (15-19 and 20-29) - excepting in the 0-9 age group where it is to be understood that most of them are merely adherents. In respect of <u>females</u> the trend is not so distinct. In all age groups the percentages of <u>females</u> with no church connections are much lower than in the case of males. It does seem significant, however, that excepting the 0-9 age group the highest percentage with no church connections is found in the 20-29 age-group, the same age group in which the highest percentage of extra-church males is also found. On the other hand the lowest percentage for females is found in the 15-19 age group. Furthermore a very large percentage of the women in all age groups excepting the 0-9 group have close connections with the churches, the percentage being even larger in the younger age groups than in the 30+ group.

Therefore, as far as the sample goes we observe a conspicuous absence of church connections among young men. A large percentage of young women have official church connections but in as far as there is a tendency among them to disregard the churches, it is most conspicious in the 20-29 age group (excepting the 0-9 group). On the whole this seems consistent with the opinion I formulated independently of these statistics, viz. that there is a tendency among young people to disregard the churches and that this tendency is more noticeable among males than females.

In assessing the significance of these figures it could be argued that the young men in the age groups 15-19 and 20-29 are probably involved in migrant labour more than the males of the older and younger age groups and the females, and that the unsettled pattern of their life at

this age prevents them from taking a keen interest in the churches. This factor must not be neglected but I do not think that it is all-important. Migrant labour does certainly interfere with regular church attendance and the consistent attendance of catechumen classes in order to become full members, but it does not prevent men from occasionally attending services and from regarding themselves as adherents. I would suggest that the secularising influences experienced by young migrants at the industrial and urban labour centres goes further in accounting for the large percentage of young men without church connections than the unsettled living conditions which migrant labour involves.

We are discussing the situation here from the aspect of interest in the churches. However, I think it can safely be said that this absence of interest in the churches is part of a wider process of secularisation relative not only to Christianity but to religion in general, since these young people who are not interested in the churches can hardly be regarded as fervently adhering to traditional paganism. As paganism wanes and disintegrates, those who do not become Christians tend to take a secularistic and materialistic view of life. It is difficult to say in how far young people whose families have been connected with the churches for a generation or more also tend to lose interest in the churches.

On the whole the churches do not show particular concern about youth and its problems, and in some churches there are factors which are positively discouraging to young people, especially if they are enterprising and idealistic. We have seen how this is the case in the LM.S., where the older women dominate the church. Most churches,

however, have Sunday Schools for the children, while a considerable proportion of the catechumen classes are young people. There are several churches which have associations for girls, but there are no such associations for boys. However, in the Anglican and R.C. Churches they can become choir boys who assist the priests, and in this way play a prominent role in regular church activities.

Through their schools the churches have their widest opportunity of influencing youth. With the exception of the Secondary School and the Molala Memorial School (primary) at Matlapaneng, all the schools in the chiefdom are missions schools controlled by churches.[1] That these schools do have a certain influence on the religion of children is illustrated by the fact that children sometimes change their church affiliation to join the church which controls the school they attend. Many churches, particularly the Separatists, have no schools, however, and therefore are deprived of an important means of influencing the younger generation. The following is the distribution of mission schools and pupils among the different denominations:[2]

L.M.S.	8 schools	:	1122 pupils
L.M.S. and Anglican ...	1 school	:	198 "
Methodist and Anglican..	1 "	:	185 "
Methodist	1 "	:	100 "
Roman Catholic	6 schools	:	1054 "
T O T A L ..	17 schools	:	2659 pupils.

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1) Mission schools are state-aided and subject to inspection by the Department of Education. (It should be remembered that the fieldwork for this thesis was undertaken before the promulgation of the Bantu Education Act.)

2) These figures show the position in September 1952. There were 312 pupils in the two tribal schools at the time which brings the total in all the schools of the chiefdom to 2971 (See ch. II).

The churches and political authorities.

The dealings of non-Separatist churches with the Government are usually undertaken by the European missionaries or ministers. To the leaders of Separatist churches such dealings are tricky and difficult since through their lack of educational background they often feel uncertain and ignorant about the requirements of the law and correct procedure. When representations are made to the Native Commissioner, a senior church official sometimes visits the reserve so as to conduct the negotiations. Only four of the Separatist churches in the chiefdom enjoy Government recognition.[1] The A.M.E. minister is the only Separatist minister in the chiefdom who has been appointed as a marriage officer by the Government.[2] There is little evidence of openly "seditious teaching" in the Separatist churches, and as far as the churches in the chiefdom are concerned, this characteristic which is often associated with Separatism seems to have been more evident in the past[3] than at present. The government officials authorised the expulsion from the reserve of a certain Separatist leader a few years ago, but in this action they upheld the authority of the chief and headman with whom he first clashed. In sermons and testimonies of the Separatists there may sometimes be subtle references to the inferior position of the Bantu in the country, but this is not an openly rebellious attitude. On the whole the Se-

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1) For an account of government policy, see Sundkler, op. cit., pp. 65 ff. Government policy has not changed substantially in recent years.

2) The minister of the Nat. Indep. Cong. Ch. at Manthe in the Maidi chiefdom is also one.

3) See ch. IV, pp. 149 ff.

p⌣aratist churches show a desire to have the reputation of being law-abiding and therefore acceptable to government authorities.

Although hardly any of the headmen and the men belonging to the chief's inner circle are active members of the church, the tribal authorities on the whole show the churches respect and appreciation. The chief's Leading Councillor once expressed this by saying that "the ministers hvae brought us into the light". One sometimes hears the complaint, however, that the ministers are indifferent to tribal politics, that they do not pay due recognition to the tribal authoriteis but only think of increasing their own authority and being chiefs themselves. Complaints a⌣re also sometimes made about the churches being too many, and this dissatisfaction is particularly concerned with the Separatist churches in general.[1] It is a fact that many church leaders seldom attend the general tribal assemblies at the chief's kgotla at Taung, but nevertheless they usually do express formal recognition of the tribal authorities, and sometimes expressly appeal to their followers to recognise them.

In two Separatist churches I attended, particular stress was laid on obedience to those in power. The following extracts are from a sermon by the Bishop of the Witness of Christ (Sabbath).

> "... A person who believes must be cured (as a skin)[2] and be soft. He should be a person of the law. The law protects one. If there is no law, anyone can murder you. Therefore one should obey the law. If I go to a place I do not know, but I know that the Government is there, it will protect me....." I Pet. 2:11 - 15 was read verse by verse, with comments of the

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1) The favour that the chief granted the "Ethiopians" at one stage (see above, ch. IV, p. 152), does not appear to have been enduring.

2) The reference is to a process which includes hard rubbing and other forms of intensive manipulation. Thongs are cured by winding them very stiff and then allowing them to unwind.

> preacher after each verse: "We must understand that the Bible shows that we should honour the Government. It is our great protector.... Do you hear, this verse speaks as I have told you. The Government is our helper. Those who are against the Government are against God because God has set up the Government...." Later the first verses of Romans 13 were read, and much the same type of comment was made. In this connection he also pressed his congregation to love policemen because they are their helpers, and to pay their taxes.

It is improbable that his sermon was preached expressly to make a good impression on the investigator since the preacher was not expecting a visit from me that day, and had just started his sermon when I arrived. The idea of submission and obedience is also in keeping with the leader's personality.

A church in which stress is also laid on obedience to the authorities, "both black and white", is the St. Paul Apostolic Faith Morning Star. This was not only my own impression received at services, but the church definitely has this reputation among the people and with the tribal authorities. The leader and members sometimes even voluntarily offer their assistance to the headman in reaping and other work on his plot on the Irrigation Scheme. It should be noted, however, that this church lays stress on respect and obedience to one's superiors in general not only in the political sphere, but also in the sphere of the church, as well as in the sphere of family and kinship relations and in respect of age. The tribal authorities on their part have respect for the leader and his church, and an informant in a gathering at the headman's kgotla contrasted him with other church leaders who, he said, were "cheeky" (using the English word in a Tswana conversation). On one occasion when he attended the general tribal assembly at the chief's kgotla, he made a speech illustrated by portions read from the Bible, against the drinking of beer. Although this was rather an unusual thing

to do and many of those present were people fond of their beer, most of the men listened to him attentively and respectfully.

The Constitution and Canons of the Ethiopian Catholic Church in Zion states that .... "Holy Scripture teaches that the Kings are appointed for the Supervision of both the Ecclesiastical and the political or the temporal world by God Himself..... Wherefore all members and ministers of the E.C.C. in Zion are commanded to render all possible respect and honour to all such as are appointed for the said work of the Kings of the world, and such men are the Magistrates and the Native Commissioners, as well as many others akin to them....." [1])

Particular mention must here be made of the relation between the L.M.S. and the tribal authorities. There was a stage, when, in spite of conflicts between the Mission and the chiefs, the L.M.S. tended to become a tribal or "state" church, and although none of the chiefs have been members of any church they have often performed at important church ceremonies. For example chief Molala and the tribe officially assisted in building the present church building at the head station, and he also laid the corner stone. Chiefs have also performed the laying of corner stones or the opening ceremonies in respect of other L.M.S. church buildings in the chiefdom, which, as far as I know, has not happened in the case of any other church. The tendency toward the acceptance of Christianity as a kind of official religion is illustrated by a remark in the Taung station report of the L.M.S. for 1910, which mentioned that

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[1]) The Constitutions and Canons of the Ethiopian Catholic Church in Zion, Bloemfontein, (1919?), p. 56.

there was "at least a growing semblance of conformity to Christian ideas on the part of the Chief and tribe as a whole". We should remember that at that stage few other churches had entered the field, and none of them were particularly strong yet.

Although the L.M.S. has lost its pre-eminence today, superficial observation leaves the impression that it is still the most important church in the chiefdom and is to a certain extent a "state church". Unfortunately the census returns on religious affiliation in the district are not available, but the Native Commissioner who held office at the time of the 1951 census, told me that he received the impression that the majority of the population of the district we re returned as L.M.S. people. This goes to show that this church still has a large number of adherents, but the very fact that there are so many who claim adherence, but fail to join whole-heartedly is typical of a state church. A councillor of the chief, taking part in a discussion in a general tribal assembly, recently referred to the L.M.S. as "the church of the chief" - although the present chief hardly ever appears in church. The prayer meetings for rain [1]) which were held during the time I was doing field work, were held in turn by the leaders of different churches at the headmen's makgotla, but at the chief's kgotla it was held by the minister of the L.M.S. every week. It is typical of the situation that in the L.M.S. Church the benches in the chancel are reserved for the clergy (on the left) and for members of the chief's lineage and their families (on the right). However, that

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[1]) See Ch. VII.

the L.M.S. has lost the favour of some members of the tribe, was illustrated by a remark made in a tribal assembly by a member of the chief's lineage, who is not a member of any church. He had a complaint about funerals, and said that "'London' is not our church as it used to be our church formerly..... It used to bury our fathers even though they had not been baptized."

The tendency toward the acceptance of Christianity as an official state religion is much more evident among the tribes of the Protectorate, than among the Tlhaping. There, "until fairly recently, many trives had missionaries of one denomination only."[1] The traditional social structure of the Tswana has undoubtedly been favourable to the formation of tribal churches. The concentration of the population in large towns and their highly centralised form of government were connected with a high degree of tribal solidarity, and these factors must have caused reluctance to accept missionaries of different denominations within a single tribe. When once a chief had granted permission for missionaries to settle with the tribe, he was often unwilling to allow a second denomination. This is to be understood, since it whould weaken tribal solidarity, and thus endanger the chief's influence over the tribe. This attitude was so much stronger if a chief joined the church himself.[2] Moreover, in spite of the lack of co-ordination between different denominations in their missionary

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1) Schapera, The Tswana, p. 58.

2) Cf. Schapera, I. "The Contributions of Western Civilisation to Modern Kgatla Culture", Transactions of the Royal Society of South Africa, Vol. XXIV, Part III, (1936), p. 229.

activities in South Africa , most Protestant denominations would have been reluctant to open a mission in the same town in which another denomination was already working.[1] That there is to-day less evidence of a state church in Taung than in reserves in the Protectorate, is in keeping with the differences in social structure by which Tlhaping society may be differentiated from Tswana societies in the Protectorate, and which are the result of social changes which have taken place in Tlhaping society. Since in Taung the power and status of the chief as well as the degree of tribal solidarity has long been declining - much more than in the Protectorate[2] - there has been greater opportunity for the multiplication of denominations. This would also explain why Separatist movements are so much less evident in the Protectorate.[3] Nevertheless, at an earlier stage, when tribal solidarity was still stronger, and the L.M.S. more of a state church, these factors probably had a retarding influence on Separatism in Taung as well. On the other hand, the fact that so many people had accepted Christianity to a certain extent, without actually joining the church, prepared the way for other churches, and it seems that, while the L.M.S. did not lose many members to other denominations, the Separatist churches and certain non-Separatist denominations, collected many L.M.S. adherents into their respective folds.

Attitude to Europeans.

European members of the Roman Catholic Church sometimes attend Mass at Taung, where there is a separate chapel

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1) Now that the mobility of the Bantu population in any case tends to cause the multiplication of denominations in a given area, (cf. ch. IV, p. 156), this is no longer the case.

2) See ch. II.

3) See Schapera, op. cit., p. 58.

for them in the southern transept of the church. Other churches very seldom have Europeans attending their services, although it does happen occasionally in connection with some important activity, especially of churches connected with Europeans. They are then usually given seats of honour. I tried to make my visits to churches as casual as possible, but the Separatists were even more emphatic than the others in requiring that I should take a seat of honour on the platform, or at least in the front row. This should be viewed in the light of the fact that in their churches a visit from a European is a much rarer experience than in churches connected with Europeans and is probably regarded as adding a little to their prestige. Of the Europeans living in the reserve those who are active church members (i.e. Protestants), attend separate services. The L.M.S. missionary conducts an English service once a month in a European home on a Sunday evening, which is attended by members of different denominations. European ministers of English-speaking churches from surrounding towns also occasionally conduct a service in a home of one of their European members. The Afrikaans-speaking Europeans mostly belong to the Dutch Reformed Church, of which there is a minister and a church at Magogong, a few miles south of the reserve. Regular services are also held at two centres in the reserve. In church matters there are therefore very few contacts between the Bantu and European Christians. In the churches which have mixed congregations at some places, or mixed conferences or synods, some of the members in the reserve would at least be aware of this, and some may also have taken part in such gatherings.

In sermons and prayers in the Bantu churches direct references to the relation between Bantu and Europeans are seldom heard (i.e. judging by the services I attended).

On a few occasions reference was made to the equality of all people before God but in no church could I observe expressions of direct hostility. The Pentecostal Separatist leader who stresses the principle of obedience and submissiveness to one's superiors, also teaches his people to apply this to their relations with European employers. With reference to the history of Joseph in the service of Potiphar and Pharao (Gen. 39 ff.) he entreats them to be trustworthym even when they are sent to the bank with "papers", or when they are left alone to take care of the house or farm in the absence of their employer. When they are called by the farmer, the Magistrate, or the Agricultural Officer (in connection with the Irrigation Scheme), they sould go immediately, without delaying. When they see a European woman having trouble with a bicycle with a punctured wheel, they sould go to her assistance.

The same leader who is held in high esteem inside and outside of his own church also tends to idealise the European and hold him forth as an example to his audience. He praises him for his wisdom and zeal and for the care he takes of his stock, and encourages his followers to do likewise. On one occasion he idealised an aspect of the moral behaviour of the European, but at the same time, perhaps without intent, pointed to a moral weakness on the part of Europeans. They do not make a public scene of drunkenness, he said, but cover it up. If you went to the house of a European and asked to see a certain member of the household, and that person were drunk, it would not be openly said so, but you would be told that the person you wished to see, was ill. From this he proceeded to recounting the episode of Noah's drunkenness, and showed how Gam made fun of his father, while Shem and Jafeth, respectfully covered him. (Gen. 9:20-23).

Illustrations used in sermons also show indirectly

how the European way of life, especially on its material side, is held as the ideal. In the following example it is the parallel of Paradise.

> A well-educated Separatist minister in a church of group "A" preached a sermon on the Fall and the subsequent expulsion of Adam and Eve from Paradise. He compared their acts to that of a girl employed in domestic work under favourable conditions. One day her employer prepared to go on a journey and gave her the freedom of the whole house during his absence. He [1] handed over all the keys to her and granted her permission to eat any food that was in the house, to drive about in his motor car, even to sleep in his bed. However, before he left, he made a box in which he imprisoned three mice, without the girl knowing about it, and told her that the one thing she was not allowed to do, was to open the box. After his departure, she took the motor-car and drove to town, came home and ate of all the food, and then went into the employer's bedroom and took a rest in his bed. After that she went for a drive in the other car, but on her return the "dog" (i.e. the devil) got inside her and approached her soul with the question: 'What is inside the box? You could just open it slightly and pepp.' She immediately drove off in the car again, but as soon as she returned, Satan got busy with her once more..... So the story wound on in great detail, and, of course, the mice escaped from the box and the girl was dismissed from service on the return of the employer.

It is evident that the employer was envisaged as a well-to-do European. There is no hint of open opposition to him, and he is pictured as being unusually liberal to his employee, but the expression of a desire to partake of his material prosperity is unmistakable.

The idealisation of the European pattern of society and behaviour is also illustrated by the pattern of organisation followed by some Separatist churches, especially those of group "A". Some of the constitutions of these churches are close copies of the constitutions of the European parent churches, even though they are never really put into practice in that form. That of the Ethiopian

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[1]) The sermon was given in the vernacular which does not define the gender. The context seems to suggest that the employer was a man, however.

Catholic Church in Zion in following the pattern of the Church of the Province, even goes to the extent of including provisions for a Collegiate Church and its Provost.

The question of the bearing which interracial relations have on Separatism, can be better discussed in a broader context along with other aspects of Separatism which will emerge in the course of subsequent chapters, so that this description of the attitudes observed will suffice at this stage.

Summary.

In concluding this chapter we may pay attention to a few points which emerge from the material that has been presented here and which are significant for the argument propounded in the following chapters. In the first place I would draw attention to the importance of the church, particularly the local church group, in present-day society. It presents numerous opportunities for joint activity, and on occasions such as concerts or drives for funds offers entertainment even to a much wider circle than the members of the church. It also provides abundant opportunity for excercising leadership. Further examples of the importance of the local church group and church activities will be met in the following chapter.

Another point which emerges in connection with the local church group is that the structure and organisation of the churches has been influenced by traditional patterns of social structure and organisation, or that there is at least some relation between what is found in the churches and the traditional background. The relation of the local church group to the important groups in traditional Tlhaping

society will be discussed in greater detail at a later stage. Here I merely point out that although the local church group differs from the traditional cult groups (which were essentially groups of agnatic kin) in important aspects, the small size of the local church group, the intimacy of relations within the group, and the fact that membership provides one with contacts when travelling abroad constitute important parallels with the traditional cult and kin groups.

The influence of the traditional background also comes out in the general pattern of church offices which reflects the pattern of traditional political organisation. Almost invariably church offices are regarded as constituting a hierarchy, while there is also distinct preference for the view that offices are held for life, not for fixed periods. Occasionally one also comes across the idea that it is desirable that a son should succeed his father in a clerical office. The fact that the procudure followed in connection with discipline in the churches is very similar to the procedure in traditional courts may also be mentioned here. Further we have seen that the predominance of women in the churches seems to be a reaction to certain traditional values and patterns of organisation. The fact that women could enter into the public activities of the church almost as freely as the men made it particularly acceptable to them in view of the subordinate position with which they had to be contented in public affairs in traditional society, e.g. in political organisation, legal procedure and ritual. Moreover in some churches polygyny constituted a more serious stumbling-block to men than to women, while boys and young men were often prevented from receiving regular Christian teaching in the schools and churches because they had to be at the cattle-posts tending the stock.

Probably many men formerly found Christian ideals incompatible with their ideals of the male as warrior.

While traditional pattern of concentration of the population, connected with strongly centralised authority and a high degree of tribal solidarity still existed, it was favourable to the development of a "tribal" church and prevented the excessive multiplication of denominations in the chiefdom. The scattering of the population, decentralisation of authority and weakening of tribal solidarity has caused the pre-eminence of the "tribal church", the L.M.S., to wane considerably and may also be related to the multiplication of denominations in later years.

I may here also point out that where the church has opposed traditional customs it has not always been able to wipe them out, not even amongst church members. In spite of stern opposition in some churches some of their members still adhere to the initiation ceremonies, the giving of bogadi and the consulting of native doctors.

What has been said above about the relation of the scattering of the population and its concomitant processes to the churches has already shown that the churches are not only affected by traditional patterns but are also involved in the processes of change to which the society as a whole is being subjected (apart from the fact that the church itself is a force making for change). Another example of this is the effect that labour migration has on religion. The unsettled living conditions resulting from it make it difficult for migrants, who are mostly younger males, to enter actively and regularly into church activities. It is also a force making for secularisation among them by bringing them into contact with the secularising influence of urban and industrial life. It has compelled the older mission churches which started as urban churches, to extend

their activities to the towns and cities, while it is an important factor in the spreading of Separatist churches since some of the rural workers, when migrating to the towns and cities come into contact with these churches there, and are instrumental in spreading them to their home areas when they return.

Mention must be made of the legalistic attitude in connection with church contributions and abstention from traditional practices such as the initiation ceremonies. This may be regarded as part of a general legalistic or moralistic trend which will be discussed in more detail later. Another matter to which weshall also return later is the literal and fragmentary application of Scripture which we observed in connection with the attitude of one church to circumcision and various other matters.

Finally a few points must be mentioned here in connection with the Bantu Separatist churches. In respect of the material so far presented there are no radical differences between the churches connected with Europeans and the Separatists. The former are usually more efficiently organised and controlled than the latter. The Separatists tend to require a shorter period of instruction for converts and discipline erring members for shorter periods than the others. They do not approve of polygyny but tend to be more lenient to men who were polygynists before their conversion than the churches connected with Europeans. The basic patterns of organisation of the two types of churches are much the same. Both tend to follow a pattern of church organisation that reflects traditional patterns of political organisation. In both the wives of office bearers tend to form a hierarchy (parallel to that of their husbands) in the women's associations. In both types of churches we find leaders who joined their respective churches as a result of

crises in connection with which they received visionary or audible revelations.

We have noted a drift from churches connected with Europeans to Bantu Separatist churches, but there is also a drift from one type of church connected with Europeans to another (e.g. from type "A" to Sabbatarian or Pentecostal churches). The Separatists do not seem to attract communicant members from the other churches on a large scale.[1]) It does not seem as if suspicion about the distribution of funds collected from the Bantu members in mission churches constitutes an important factor making for secession from these churches. In this connection we may note that contributions that members are required to make are often considerably higher in Separatist churches than in those connected with Europeans. Nevertheless, the sense that Separatists can have of managing their own affairs, of having their own buildings, built by themselves and with their own funds, probably has a particularly gratifying effect. I have not found evidence of strong hostility among Separatists to the Government or to Europeans in general.

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[1]) The only instance I came accross of a drifting on a large scale was from the L.M.S. to the Native Independent Congregational Church (in the Maidi chiefdom). See pp. 158 ff.

CHAPTER VI.

THE PATTERN OF CHURCH ACTIVITIES.

It is my purpose in this chapter to describe the general pattern of church activities. In the next chapter I shall deal with various aspects of ritual and revelation in some detail, so that whatever is dealt with in that chapter will here only be mentioned in passing, to show their position in the general pattern of activities.

The general pattern of life in the churches.

In the life of active members the church and its activities take a very important place. Of primary importance, of course are the Sunday, or Sabbath services, which, apart from their religious character, offer opportunities for social contacts, especially before and after services. In some churches every Sunday has a full programme and many hours of the day may be spent in devotions.

Most churches have at least one or two gatherings during the week also, and in some churches there is activity almost every day of the week. The L.M.S. has the following weekly programme:

Monday afternoon:		a service, led by one of the women deacons. After the service on a particular Monday the one who has to preach the following Monday is responsible for visiting the sick, accompanied by another woman whom she chooses.
Tuesday	:	confirmation class.
Wednesday	:	a service at which only men preach.
Thursday	:	a Bible Class for the Deacons, led by the African minister.

Friday	:	a service in the afternoon at which the women Deacons preach again.
Saturday afternoon	:	Deacons' meeting.

The Holy Church of Christ meets every evening of the week as follows:

Monday night	:	instruction in the Bible, and teaching illiterate members to read. [1]
Tuesday night	:	general prayer meeting.
Wednesday night	:	as on Monday.
Thursday night	:	practising of hymns.
Friday night	:	evangelical processions to preach at different homesteads that are passed.
Saturday	:	Sabbath services.
Sunday	:	as on Friday.

Where special associations exist in connection with the churches these also account for some regular activity. In most churches, however, these are confined to the women's and girls' associations. The R.C. Church forms an exception, and has a general association for men, a Burial Association, a Catholic Teachers' Association, besides the three associations for women and girls. (See ch. V). The different associations are affiliated to the Catholic African Union. Each association is represented in a council which forms the local branch of the Union.

Funerals and memorial services are generally well attended and bring together the members of different churches.

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[1] I do not know of other instances of Separatist churches undertaking educational work of this kind, i.e. other than religious instruction. As I have observed (Ch. V, p. 252) none of the Separatist churches have schools.

Besides the bridal group, very few people take the trouble to attend the marriage rites performed in church. Often, however, services are held at the homesteads of the parents of the couple, where the feasting takes place. At these only important relatives and leading church members are present in the room where the service is held, while the other guests continue their social activities outside. Much the same applies to the short service held when a mother and her baby appear in public for the first time after the birth of the child.

In some churches baptism and communion services come fairly regularly, once a month, or once a quarter, whatever the case may be. In the L.M.S. these take place over the first weekend of every month, when the general meetings of the whole sub-district take place at Taung. Many people travel to Taung from the outlying areas to attend these monthly gatherings. In smaller churches the administering of the sacraments often coincides with the visit of a superior church official. It calls for extraordinary preparations, is the occasion for much activity, and is in general an important event in the life of the church. In the Sabbatarian and Pentecostal churches this seems to apply more particularly to baptism than to Holy Communion. Unfortunately I had no occasion to attend a communion service in any of these churches, but baptism with them is usually a public event accompanied by a considerable amount of outward display. In the Roman Catholic Church, most of the annual Christian festivals are observed, and are the occasion for activities which are typical of the church, such as special masses, processions by day, or candle-light processions at night. In other churches at least Christmas and Easter receive particular attention, and are usually observed by holding special services during

the night. The whole community, both Christian and non-Christian, view the time of Christmas and New Year as a festive season. There is general cleaning and decorating of homesteads before the time, and there are reunions of friends and relatives: migrant labourers try to be back home before Christmas, or those preparing to go to work again, postpone their departure till after New Year, while friends and relatives from the towns pay visits to the reserve. In the L.M.S. a service is held in the church on New Year's day, which is followed by a service at the chief's place, conducted by the Leading Women.

Activities organised for collecting church funds provide pleasant diversion for church members as well as outsiders. Among the most festive occasions in the life of churches are the special activities when a church is opened or a corner stone is laid. Larger crowds gather for such occasions than usual. Members from distant congregations of the church, perhaps as far off as Kimberley, arrive by bus, motor car, or mule wagon or in other ways. Everywhere groups of people carry on conversations, groups of school children wander about, and young people stroll around in couples. The occasion is enhanced by the presence of the local headman, or perhaps even of the chief and one or two of his important councillors. Meanwhile members of the local congregation are very busy cooking a meal for the visitors of their own and other churches. It is not that the religious activities of the day are necessarily considered as unimportant, but the social character of the occasion is unmistakable.

A few remarks may also be made here about evangelical work. Baptismal services of Sabbatarian and Pentecostal churches usually draw many spectators, providing a useful opportunity for making propaganda for the church.

On one occasion when I was present, the congregation moved in procession to the river, singing as they went, while several men branched off to the homesteads in the neighbourhood to preach to the inhabitants and exhort them to be converted and to come to be baptized. Similar short sermons were also delivered to the spectators at the river. Mention has already been made of special attempts at evangelisation made by the L.M.S. (See ch. V) and also by the Holy Church of Christ (see above p. 269.). Several churches occasionally have processions which move about between the homesteads while hymns are sung and evangelical sermons are preached. These attempts all bear a general and communal character, and little seems to be done to confront individuals with the gospel in a more particular and personal manner.

Reference may here also be made to the question whether the members of the household ever act as a religious unit in regular devotions of a more private character. This is known to happen in some cases, especially when the father is a devout church member. In such instances daily devotions are held, either in the morning early or in the evening before the members of the household retire for the night, or on both occasions. Such devotions may consist of a hymn and a prayer, and occasionally also of the reading of a portion from Scripture. Sometimes the family merely come together for a prayer, for, as one man explained, "if you read the Bible and sing a hymn, you are conducting a church service" (o tsenya kereke). However, the homesteads in which such devotions are held, seem to form only a small minority. This is perhaps partly to be explained by the fact that often only a part of the family are Christians. Some individuals also say their own private prayers every day.

The preceding paragraphs illustrate the fact that the church group is the important unit in present-day non-pagan religion, and not the family or kinship group. Through its numerous activities the church provides more occasions for group activity and social contacts than any other institution in Tlhaping society. The strong social character of church activities is illustrated by the fact that hardly any important religious activity is complete without a meal or at least some form of refreshments being served. Funerals, memorial services, "bringing out a child", night watches, drives for funds, the laying of a corner stone or consecration of a building, and some baptismal services - all these are accompanied by eating and drinking at the end or halfway through the proceedings.

The pattern of church services.

The following discussion of the pattern of church services is almost exclusively based on the field-worker's own observations. During the first period of fieldwork I attended a service of the L.M.S. almost every Sunday, but during the second visit to the field I made a point of attending as many different churches as possible. On the whole, church leaders very readily gave me permission to attend their services and the participants fulfilled their parts without seeming to be very conscious of my presence. Nevertheless it was often taken for granted that I was a government agent, and I sometimes had difficulty in convincing them of the contrary. On one occasion, when I had explained my position, a preacher came to the conclusion: "Then you have been sent by God only, to travel through the country.... just like St. John and the other Apostles." My goings about were often thus interpreted in Biblical terms.

Excluding the L.M.S., seven services of churches

connected with Europeans were attended, representing six different denominations, and twenty-five services of Separatist churches, representing sixteen different denominations. The services attended represented all different types of churches, excepting the Watch Tower movement. In view of the small following this movement has, I did not consider it worth the time to attend one of its gatherings. The local leader told me, however, that they make "house-to-house" visits on a Sunday morning and have a meeting for Bible study at his home on a Sunday afternoon. Roman Cahtolic services need not be described here, as these adhere to the pattern universally followed in this church. Sunday services and Mass are conducted by one of the priests at the Taung church every Sunday, and once a month at each of the important outstations. There are also simpler devotions at all the outstations every Sunday, led by a Catechist or Elder.

In describing the pattern of services in Protestant churches I shall deal with each of the three types of churches separately, but I shall also draw attention to common characteristics. We may start with a description of a Sunday service of the Bechuana Methodist Church, a Separatist church of type "A". This Church was founded in Bloemfontein in 1905, as a result of a split from the A.M.E. because of the use of English in sermons and Scripture reading, to the exclusion of Tswana. The methodist-episcopal form of church government was adhered to by the secessionists.

> At present the senior church official in Taung is Deacon J--- M---, who lives at Modimong, where the only church building stands, having been only recently erected. It is some fifty yards from the homestead of the Deacon's late father, who used to be the local leader. J--- himself lives close by. The church is an unimposing rectangular little building which, for the lack of necessary materials, is still incomplete. A number of old roofing-irons cover part of the building, but the top ridge - which is somewhat to the one side, of the building, giving it an asymmetrical appearance, - is closed up with sacking. No door has been fitted

in the entrance yet, neither any form of window or the usual wooden blind in any of the two small openings in the side walls. (See Plate..VI.....)

Outside hangs the inevitable piece of iron - the surest evidence that this is a church - in this case a length of metal rail. Although it is a sultry December day, it is 11.30 a.m. before the sexton rings the first bell by beating the piece of rail. A few people now start arriving at the old homestead where they sit chatting a while. At five-to-twelve the second bell rings, and the women and children present start moving to the church where they seat themselves on the mud floor and start singing. There are about fifteen women, seven girls, two young boys and three small children present. (Two other girls come in at a later stage). The sexton has brought a table from the homestead, as well as the few chairs which have been placed against the front wall, next to the only bench (without any back), all of which face the congregation. A white cloth covers the table. The sexton now also comes in to take a seat in front and is soon followed by Deacon J---, Evangelist S----, and two Preachers, who fill the remaining seats. No other men attend the service. J---- is wearing a clerical collar with a black stock and a greyish sports coat, on the lapel of which he has the small badge of his church: a round button with the image of a long Zulu-type of shield with assegai and stick, surmounted by a small cross, and with the letters B.M.C. below it. S--- is wearing an old balck frock-coat which he has closed up at the neck. The two Preachers wear no clerical clothes but one also has the small badge on his coat-lapel.

When the singing stops, J---- opens with a spontaneous prayer and then starts the Lord's Prayer, which the congregation says after him, only a few syllables at a time, and at a fast tempo, producing a most striking rhythmical effect. When J--- starts reading Ps. 122, the congregation rises, and after he has read a verse or two, they respond with the next verse, and so on through the whole Psalm, which is followed by a chant in Tswana. The whole service is conducted in Tswana, except for a few S. Sotho hymns. Annouucements follow, in which J--- also includes a short reference to the Annual Conference of the Church, which he recently attended, and to the Night Watch that was held on Christmas Eve. He gives a reminder of a coming Church meeting and finds occasion to mention his appointment to the Church at X, (a large mining centre in the Transvaal) which is still being delayed by a dispute between the inhabitants of the location and the Town Council. He further explains my presence to the Congregation, announces that Evangelist S--- M---- will preach, and announces a hymn from a Methodist hymn book. When he asks me to say a few words, I explain the purpose of my visit and the nature of the work I am doing. J--- starts a hymn without announcing it - something I should really have done after speaking!

The Evangelist rises and immediately announces another hymn, after which he reads Mat. 7:13-14, and starts yet another hymn. I know the hymn well but they sing it here to quite a different tune from the one in the book. S---starts preaching, and although

he has probably had very little school training, and certainly no theological training, he is self-assured. However, his sermon lasts only about five minutes and consists of a chain of rather incoherent statements about the broad and the narrow way, the kinds of people that follow each of them, and their respective destinations At the end of the sermon he announces a hymn during which he and Deacon J--- change places, and after which J--- starts another hymn without announcing it. He starts speaking about Christ's mission into this world to redeem us, but soon takes up the topic of the narrow and the broad way, much in the same trend as that in which S--- spoke, though perhaps speaking with less self-assurance but more coherence. After speaking for about six or seven minutes, he announces a hymn, and then one of the Preachers says prayer. J--- again asks me - without prior warning - to say a few words after the singing of another hymn. I feel that it is expected that I should also speak about the text and I express a few thoughts in this connection. J--- starts a hymn, during which the sexton keeps time by swaying form side to side.

After the benediction the women leave the building first and to the singing of a hymn move in procession to the old homestead walking in pairs, they form two parallel rows, the men following the women, and Deacon J--- taking up the rear. Near the homestead the two rows move apart and J--- passes between the ranks, followed by the men. He leads the congregation into the hut where the singing continues. Another benediction follows and two more verses are sung. When the singing dies down, S--- starts taking off his frock-coat ant the people begin to chat. A few leave soon, but many remain and carry on the conversation inside or outside in the homestead enclosure. The service has lasted about an hour.

The general pattern of this service is typical of the churches of type "A": the first part consists mainly of hymns, prayers, and liturgical formulae, and is followed by a Scripture reading and one or more sermons. Announcements may find a place anywhere, before or after the sermon. This service was relatively short. In churches of this type a Sunday morning service usually lasts about an hour-and-a-half. In churches of the Anglican type one finds a good deal more of liturgical formulas. Few church leaders pronounce these in a dignified manner: often they go by jerks and jolts for lack of efficient reading ability, or else a leader may race through a formula at a speed which makes it completely unintelligible.

Some aspects of the service described here are typi-

cal of all types of churches. Services are often conducted in a relatively informal and familiar manner, even though they may bear a strongly liturgical character. It is common for a preacher to relate some of his recent personal experiences, either at the beginning of the service or of the sermon. Even the Archbishop of a certain Separatist Church, on a visit to the Taung Church, looking extremely dignified in his robes with mitre and crook complete, started his sermon by relating his recent journeys, and adding: "But only, I have a cold /sehuba, a word used of all chest complaints/. From Johannesburg I went to Bloemfontein, and from there to Petrusburg, etc. etc.,------ but I have a cold". Sometimes these personal anecdotes are connected with a greeting to the congregation. Different steps in the service may be linked by the preacher's own little remarks. Members of the congregation are often requested to lead in prayer. All this again illustrates the intimacy of relations within the church group. A service by a European missionary or a trained African clergyman usually bears a more formal character. The formality and "efficiency" of a service led by an R.C. priest contrasts most strongly with most other services.

In all types of churches a large number of hymns are sung and processions to or from the church are common. At the close of the service the whole congregation and the leaders often greet each other with a handshake. This is usually done in a formal manner: with the singing of the hymn the congregation starts filing past the leader, shaking hands with him as they pass. The first person in the line takes his place beside the leader and is also greeted by the next one in the line, after the latter has greeted the leader. The second one also takes up position beside the first, and so on, until each one has greeted everybody else. They usually file past in the following order:

first the office bearers (often they are the only men present), then the older women and after them the young people and children.[1])

The pattern of services in Sabbatarian churches does not differ radically from the service described above, although Sabbatarian sermons have a style of their own. (See below p. 292). Sermons and prayers are sometimes punctuated by a soft exclamation or a mere assenting "mmm" but in spite of this the services are very orderly. Services of the S.D.A., are even simpler and less liturgical in character than those of the churches of group "A" which are of the "free" type. Their neat and well-built church hall at Taung is a reminder of the fact that they receive financial aid from European sources, while inside the building posters of American origin testify to their foreign contacts. The services of Sabbatarian Separatists are not as bare of liturgy as in the case of the S.D.A., and two of them hold special prayers for the sick at the end of the Sunday morning service. The patients are also anointed with oil. A particular characteristic of these three churches is that they do not sing any rhymed hymns, but only a number of portions from the Bible, in prose form, to tunes of their own. This custom seems to derive from the church from which all three of these are "descended".[2])

Services of Pentecostal churches all conform to a distinct pattern, but they also differ in some respects, e.g. in the degree of intensity and violence of actions and ut-

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1) The Methodists close their class meeting in this manner. Perhaps the other churches have adopted the custom from them.

2) Cf. ch. IV p. 153.

terances. In this respect they constitute a series in which the non-Separatists would be placed at the one end as the most moderate type, while one or two of the Separatist churches would take a place at the extreme end, representing the most violent type. We first give a description of a service of the Pentecostal Holiness Church, which is an American mission church, representing the moderate end of the series.

> Evangelist J--- M---, who is the local leader, was absent, but there was to be a Sunday service at his homestead all the same. J--- had recently changed the site of his homestead, and everything was still makeshift, the homestead still consisting of only one small single-roomed building. Nevertheless, this had been cleared up for the service: one corner was screened off by some blankets, and on one side was a rather ancient side-board, stacked with household utensils. The room also contained a table and a few chairs. There were about eight women and girls, a few small children, and two men, besides two Preachers, to whom we shall refer as A and B.
>
> B asked the Evangelist's daughter to start a hymn, and while the congregation was singing, A turned over the pages of his Bible. He took a long time finding the appropriate passage, and while waiting for him the congregation sang a few more hymns. In between he made a few remarks,all the while still looking for his text. Eventually he rose and read the first portion of Matthew 12. He started speaking: "I cannot preach, I am only a thing. Moreover, I am not feeling well..." His sermon consisted of a series of remarks, some connected with the passage he had read, some not. Occasionaly he interjected an "Amen!", "Halleluya!" or "Peace! Apostles", to which the congregation all together reacted with an "Amen" every time. After a few minutes he stopped preaching for the time being. A few hymns were sung and then the congregation was asked to join in prayer and to pray for all, for ministers, for travellers, as well as for their visitor. One of the Preachers started praying aloud and immediately the congregation joined in, each one saying his own prayer and his own words aloud. They produced a considerable volume and confusion of sound but no one actually shouted, and they were just kneeling calmly. Eventually some of the voices became quiet, till only the two Preachers were still praying. When A also stopped, B continued for a few moments and then closed, but immediately intoned the Lord's Prayer, which all said after him in unison, in the same manner and with the same rhythmical effect as described above. A resumed his sermon, now speaking a little longer than the firt time, before he finally closed.
>
> After a good deal of singing, B rose and read I Corinthians 6:7,ff. with some difficulty before proceeding to preach for a few minutes. Before closing he intimated that he could not preach, for if he were to preach, he would be a minister. An old woman who spoke Southern Sotho was asked to say a closing prayer

> This time she prayed alone. After another hymn the service was over, having las ted about an hour-and-a-quarter. The hymns often had a lively, "swing"-type of rhythm, and the people sang heartily, clapping hands to the rhythm of the hymn they were singing.

On another occasion, during a week-end of important activities, I attended part of a service of the same church on the Saturday morning, where a visiting African minister and his wife were the preachers. Here more emotion was displayed. Both preachers spoke with fire and dramatic effect. One woman appeared to be sobbing, softly repeating the name of Jesus all the time. After the sermons the whole congregation filed past the preachers to receive the laying-on of hands and to be prayed for in respect of their health. While uttering petitions to God for their well-being, the minister and his wife put their hands on the chest, shoulders and head of every person. Later on the minister merely kept on repeating the words "in the Name of Jesus Christ", as he laid his hands on each one. When eventually a blind woman came, they prayed for her longer than for the others and also placed their hands over her eyes.

The typical Pentecostal service falls into two parts of which the first part consists of singing and prayer, and a series of sermons, while the second part consists of special prayers for individual persons, accompanied by the laying-on of hands, for the purpose of improving or sustaining their health. The service described above was short, but in several of the Separatist Pentecostal churches an ordinary Sunday service may easily last as long as four hours. Not all Pentecostals perform the ritual for healing every Sunday, but the majority do, and the others at least perform it occasionally. These churches seldom use liturgical formalas in their regular services. Other characteristics of Pentecostal services are the type of prayer in which all

pray together, each uttering his own prayer, the exclamations of "Amen", "Halleluya", "Peace....", etc., the clapping of hands when singing, the preference for "swing" melodies, and the interruption of the sermon by singing. In some churches the latter happens much more frequently than in the service described above, and often members of the congregation just start a hymn when they wish to, while the preacher is speaking. Sometimes the exclamations are interjected after every three of four sentences.[1] One is struck by the display of emotion in all Pentecostal Churches, but that to which reference is made above is very mild in comparison with what is displayed in the more violent types of churches. The latter churches also usually have special church apparel for all the members.

We may now proceed to a description of an extremely violent type of Pentecostal service. The setting for the service is at Buxton, where the atmosphere is very much that of a town location. The building in which the service takes place consists of a number of small rooms next to each other, and it has a low, flat, iron roof. It is not the leader's home, but is inhabited by members of the church. The service takes place in one of the rooms which seems as if it is not regularly used for domestic purposes. On the outside of the door is painted an asterisk-like figure consisting of three or four lines bisecting each other at the same point - the recognised symbol for a star. Inside, the room is bare: a calendar surmounted by a large print, a hand-broom and a cord are the only objects hanging from the smeared walls. The mud floor is sprinkled with water

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[1] In one of the Sabbatarian Separatist churches the congregation shouts "Amen" after every sentence in the Leader's prayers and sermon.

before the service starts - a very necessary preparation for what is to follow. A few benches are placed against a wall and a small table is placed in one corner.

Before describing the service it is necessary that we should have an idea of the church apparel. All the members wear special robes. Basically the outfit consists of a long cassock or dress over which a long, loosely flowing cloak is worn. Round the waist and across the shoulders cords are tied. Various forms of head-dress are worn by the men, such as bands around and across the head or a high four-sided cap. Women wear a piece of cloth around and over the head, which is usually fastened in such a way as to leave a long piece hanging down the back, bearing some similarity to a nurse's veil. Some people also wear cords or bands around the ankles and wrists. Shoes must not be worn to church.

The various garments are adorned with figures in different colours. These figures are mostly the star-symbols and crosses, while crescent moons and rings also occur. White is the most commonly occurring ground-colour of garments for both men and women, but blue, red, and yellow also occur, while some garments are made of sack-cloth. The same colours are used for the figures and cords, as well as green and grey. (In a particular outfit the figures are of course a different colour from the garments.) Not all the members wear the complete outfit, but nearly all those attending the service wear at least some part of it. There is no clear distinction between the garments of leader and other members but more men have complete outfits than women.

A staff usually completes the outfit. The men who hold more important positions in the church have metal

staffs, while others have wooden staffs, or bundles of sticks. The metal staffs are surmounted by stars or crosses, to which other figures are attached; one or two of these attached figures represent birds. The wooden staffs sometimes have a crossbar near the top to form a cross, while the top of a bundle of saplings is bent round, somewhat in the fashion of a shepherd's crook.[1])

At the best of times it is difficult to follow everything that is said at a service such as the one described here. Moreover, at this service Xhosa was spoken most of the time, and only some of it was interpreted into Southern Sotho, not Tswana, although a Tswana Bible was used. In the following description therefore the stress will be on action and general behaviour.

> The Leader of this church, H--- G---, is of Hlubi (Nguni) descent. Both his father and mother were born in Taung, but his grandfather came from the south-east to settle in Taung. He is quite a young man still, tall and thin, with large eyes. He is a slightly nervous type, but not extremely so. When all are settled in the little room for the service, he says a few words and announces a hymn. A drum beats out the rhythm of the hymn which is sung with enthusiasm. The women on the one side of the room stand still, only clapping hands, but the men make steps and contort their bodies. Some of them sing with eyes closed, another sways back and forth in a stooping attitude, while his face is strained, with eyes wide open, like a person who is afraid. Another inclines his head to one side with bothehands to his cheek. Occasionally one gives a loud and wild shout, or another blows hard. These actions and attitudes recur throughout the service. The whole procedure is reminiscent of some Bantu dances in which the men perform the movements and the women form a chorus to provide the accompaniment.[2])
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> Presently the tempo of the singing increases, and a few start waking in a circle in the middle of the floor. The room is no more than twelve feet square but so far there are only about twelve persons in the room so that one can still easily move about! The

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1) The significance of theserobes and accessories is discussed in Ch. VII.

2) This is the pattern of dancing and singing followed by the Tswana bridal party. The mohobelo-dance of the Southern Sotho is also of this nature. (See Ashton, The Ba suto, pp.96, 97.

tempo of the hymn increases still further and those in the circle almost break into a trot. One man's knees suddenly give way under him and he nearly falls, shouting wildly. On a sign from the Leader the roundabout stops and all kneel, completing the verse they are singing. Then all break out in loud prayer, causing a terrific din. [1])

The service proceeds more or less according to the general Pentecostal pattern already described. An unusual feature is the reading of the Ten Commandments. H--- reads a few verses in Xhosa, and after all have joined in singing a series of "Amens", he reads a few verses in Tswana. So the reading continues, interrupted by the "Amen"-song several times.

Besides the leader, four other men deliver sermons which are punctuated by the customary interuptions. One of these is caused by the arrival of a group of about ten church members, who are heard outside as they approach singing and beating a drum. My enquiry later on reveals that these people have been to the river "to wash off the lehibi of death". (See ch. III). The last preacher, with his luxuriant beard - the men abstain from shaving their beards in this Church - and longish hair, and with his flowing robes and staff, looks exactly as though he has just stepped out of an old-fashioned Bible picture (and has grown darker in the process, of course). He speaks with prophet-like fervour, but is soon stopped by a man (X) who starts telling something in a soft but urgent voice. Another man (Y) to whom he has pointed, also rises and speaks quickly but quietly. Later I enquire and find out that X was "prophesying" about possessions of Y that had been "taken". These were "taken in the night by things - things with which people perform sorcery. The man (Y) was sleeping as if he were dead". When Y spoke, he was acknowledging that indeed he had experienced such deep sleep. It was further explained that Y had not been aware of what had happened, because the things were returned before he awoke, though only after they had been "worked", i.e. with medicines.

When I have also spoken by request, H--- announces that "we are now closing the preaching. All things have their proper time ..... /reference is made to Ecclesiastes 3/ ..... We shall now open the work of intercession." In this connection he refers to Mark. 16:15.

Before describing details of the last part of the service, we may just briefly note the general procedure. Accompanied by the singing of the congregation, a number of

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1) In one Separatist Pentecostal church they always face east - "from where the light comes" - when praying.

people move in a circle (as before), and inside the circle one or more people pray for those who come forward to be prayed for individually. The praying is done by special "Prayers" or other more senior office bearers who are sometimes also referred to as Prophets. Not all the members are prayed for in this manner: only those who feel the need for it, come forward. They kneel down for a moment before the prayer commences. The prayers contain many sounds which do not form part of everyday language and the laying-on of hands is rather violent at times. Occasionally a short conversation takes palce between the one who prays and the person who is prayed for. During these conversations the "Prayer" prophesies to the "patient" what course the latter's ailment is taking, and perhaps also what garments the latter should wear to be healed. All the while the roundabout continues, and those moving in the circle only turn about occasionally. Some people leave the circle later on, and others fall in. A few seem to keep on most of the time, however.

> Before the intercession starts, all chairs and benches are removed from the room, the floor is sprinkled again and the roundabout starts. Those who are not in the circle - and it must be remembered that by now there are about thirty people in this small room! - crowd into the corners and against the walls. Soon a young "Prayer" or Prophet (A) goes to the middle of the circle and starts praying with his arm raised on high. Someone takes up a position behind him, But A first joins the roundabout fo a few moments, then returns and starts praying with his hand on the man's shoulder. He draws the man's arms forward, manipulates his hand, and then feels over his torso, praying all the while. A stout, middle-age man, with a high sackcloth cap and blue and red garments with white lace around the bottom of his blue cassock, is also in the roundabout now, persevering in spite of his size. Fortunately it is not extremely hot to-day, but it is November and the heat is bad enough at the middle of the day. The door is closed - as is the custom during prayers in all churches - and there are only two small windows. In spite of the sprinkling of water, dust soon rises from the floor. Everybody sweats freely. Under the low flat roof the atmosphere in the small room is "thick" beyond description. When later three men are praying simultaneously, prayer and song combine to produce a deafening confusion of sound, for "Prayers"

shout at the top of their voices and singers sing with lively spirit, "Amen, Jesu, Amen", the same short refrain over and over again, while at times the singing is distinctly guttural.

When another young man (B) enters the circle a young girl comes to him to be prayed for. Occasionally he utters a buzzing sound. First he takes hold of the girl's arm, then places his hands on her forehead and goes on to feel and press her shoulders and over the upper part of her body rather roughly. A has now swung his short sackcloth cloak over the person for whom he is praying. The stout man (C) is also praying now, holding a baby in his arms which has been brought by its mother. I notice one girl whose nerves seem to be strained, and she looks as if she might be pregnant. She also comes for prayer and eventually starts crying under the tension of it all. Many people show excitement, but to most of them it is an excitement they seem to be enjoying thoroughly. They run in the circle till they are quite out of breath, and then still keep on, and still gasp "Amen... Jesu...Amen" along with the other singers. "Amen, Jesu, Amen; Amen, Jesu, Amen..." - it goes on for ten minutes, fifteen minutes, twenty minutes, and then to my relief the words and the tune change, but the action remains the same.

A small digression comes when H---- hands a bottle full of water to C, who prays over it, handling the bottle as he prays. H---- now moves to the door where he stands praying and I hope that this denotes that the end is approaching. But A is still hard at it with a girl for whom he is praying. He is literally beating her now, and C is doing the same to a man for whom he is praying, while both of them utter high-pitched shouts at the top of their voices. At last there are no more people to be prayed for and the singing and roundabout is stopped. The benediction follows a few words by H--- and the congregation files out and suddenly everybody is quite calm and normal again, as if all this that has been going on was nothing but a dream. [1] The whole service has lasted close on four hours, and there has been no pause, although individuals occasionally leave the room for a few minutes. On returning, each one makes a small curtsey (without crossing himself), as all also do when entering for the first time.

The intercession part of the service, the individual movements and shouts, as well as the wearing of special garments by all members, and the taking off of shoes, are closely

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1) In a description of an American "white" revival service Dr Hortense Powdermaker also mentions a similar instance of a striking contrast between the behaviour during the service and immediately after. (Powdermaker, Hortense, After Freedom, New York, 1939, ch. 12.)

connected with topics which will be treated in the next chapter, and their significance will be discussed there. A few other matters touching the churches in general, must still be discussed here.

Singing is the only form of music in church services, drums being the only instrumental accompaniment ever used, and that only in one or two Pentecostal Separatist churches. On the whole the congregations join in the singing with enthusiasm, and it provides pleasant listening. In a few instances, however the singing is very poor, and a few older members usually bear the responsibility for spoiling it. The churches connected with Europeans mostly have their own hymnals and use these exclusively. Most of the hymns are based on the lighter type of European hymns, both in respect of words and music. One or two Separatist churches have their own hymnals. The others use hymn-books of the mission churches, and hymns from books of several different denominations are often used in the same church. The Pentecostals tend to have certain hymns from these books which are their favourites. They appear to be favoured mainly on account of their tunes, the popular tunes being those that have a lively, swing rhythm. Very often I noticed that Separatist Pentecostals sang the hymns of different tunes from the ones in the hymn-book. They also sometimes sing short refrains which have probably arisen spontaneously in these churches. Besides the "Amen, Jesu, Amen"already mentioned, there are others such as "Basione, tlang, loo dumedise" ("Zionists, come and bid farewell") "Hoza Moya o Ingwele" ("Come Holy Spirit" - this Nguni refrain was heard in an exclusively Tswana church), Johane Mokolobetsi (3x), a kolobetsa mo letsheng ia Joredane (John the Baptist (3x),he baptized in the water of Jordan), and "A re khubameng ka mangôle" ("Let us go on our knees" -

sung before praying). Not only these refrains, but also hymns or verses of hymns are often repeated over and over again.

The music to which the portions from Scripture are sung in the three Separatist Sabbatarian churches seems to be altogether indigenous, having arisen within the churches. Unfortunately I lack the technical training to describe and analyse these tunes, but to me they were definitely reminiscent of traditional Bantu music. Some of the tunes of the Pentecostals also reminded me of the rhythm of Bantu music, but on the whole I would still have interpreted them in terms of certain types of "Western" music. One must add here that they change the rhythm of some "Western" hymns so as to make the melodies almost unrecognisable. In mission circles an attempt at 'indigenisation' has been made in a new little book of children's hymns recently published by the L.M.S. for their own use. In this use has been made of some traditional Tswana melodies. In liturgical formulas which have recently been introduced, some of the responses of the congregation are also set to traditional music.

It is significant that in spite of the existence of several Tswana hymn-books, one of the most widely used volumes is in Southern Sotho, and, like the other, is a mission publication. There are other examples of S. Sotho linguistic influence in the churches also, especially among the Separatists. It emerges in the institutionalised shouted responses of Pentecostals, in a baptismal formula, and in the terminology of some preachers who are themselves altogether Tswana, born and bred in Taung. I have even noticed many S. Sotho words and expressions in the everyday conversation of such men. This is not a common phenomenon among the population at large and therefore connot be ascribed to the general contact of migrant labourers with the foreign language

at the labour centres. What apparently happens is that Taung men at the labour-centres join churches in which Southern Sotho is used and not Tswana. When they return to Taung and establishlocal branches of the churches which they have joined abroad, they impart to their congregations the foreign linguistic influence of which they have partaken. Thus the church acts as an agent of contact between different indigenous cultures.

In the churches connected with Europeans the official dress for clergy generally follows fairly closely the pattern in the parent churches. Outside the Pentecostal churches in which all the members wear special church apparel, it is difficult to generalise about the clerical dress of Separatists. In churches of the Anglican pattern, the apparel of the clergy is usually an imitation or attempted imtation of vestments worn in the Anglican Church. With several church leaders the clerical collar is very popular, and is worn with various combinations of clothing. Some favour black suits with ordinary ties and occasionally one sees a frock coat. In two churches the church officials wear white laboratory coats. In one of the Pentecostal churches the members wear ordinary clothes, but the leaders wear white tunics with green cords round their waists, which are untied and serve a special purpose when they are praying for the sick. (See ch. VII.)

Attention may be drawn here to the attitude of the Bantu to time, as illustrated in the activities of the churches. Many people possess watches and clocks, and when in employment, keep to their working hours with a considerable degree of punctuality. When engaged in their own activities, however, time still seems to be of little importance. Most churches usually have an offical time at which services are supposed to start, but it is not uncommon for a service to start half-an-hour or an hour later, while another

day one might arrive on time and find the service well in progress. Functions which are advertised for a certain time, invariably start a good deal later. Moreover, activities sometimes proceed with a monotony and an endlessness of repetition which tries the patience of the time-conscious European to the utmost.

Finally we may take note of various aspects of the general pattern of church services which make for group cohesion, and which add to the importance of the church group in the present structure. Besides the social intercourse taking place before and after a service and the setting it often has in the homestead, the informality in style and the handshaking after the service fosters intimate in-group relations.[1]) The high degree of participation of ordinary members especially in Pentecostal churches, is also important in that it provides opportunities for self-expression, and that increases the value of group membership. In this respect we may refer to processions, to preaching by ordinary members, to responses and shouted reactions, and especially to the violent type of healing ritual of Pentecostals. The latter at times almost partakes of the character of a game. The robes worn by all members of some of the Pentecostal churches also contribute to group cohesion. While the general appearance of these robes may be alike in different churches, one may notice some difference in the figures which adorn them, since a particular church tends to concentrate on particular figures or symbols.

Preachers and their sermons.

Although preachers very often take very little

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[1]) Some of the churches carry some of their particular customs into everyday life. One day while I was sitting talking to a Pentecostal Separatist Preacher in the enclosure of his homestead a woman passed along the path nearby and the following remarks passed between them without her stopping. She greeted him with "Peace! father" to which he replied with an "Amen!" "Halleluiah!" "Where do you come from?" "I visited ---- at -----". "Yes?" "I went there in the morning." "Amen! " "Halleluiah!'

trouble to prepare a sermon, the majority of them speak with great ease and little self-consciousness and seldom lack words. Often their eloquence is combined with a considerable amount of gesticulation and a dramatic way of speaking, and Pentecostal preachers especially tend to use artificial vocal effects. One preacher often dramatised activities about which he was speaking. One cannot generalise about preachers' style, however, because one also finds those who are monotonous and unenthusiastic in their delivery.

It is possible to discern different types of sermons corresponding to the different types of churches (A, B, and C). Not all the sermons conform to type, of course, but one may at least say that in a particular group of churches a particular type of sermon predominates. In the typical sermon in churches of type "A" a single verse or portion from Scripture serves as text, and a certain theme, either expressed in the text or associated with it, can be discerned in the sermon. The main theme does not necessarily run through the whole sermon, but often merely recurs here and there, in between various deviations. When the text is from a portion describing some episode or happening, the whole episode is usually first related in detail in the first part of the sermon, easily accounting for as much as a third part of the whole. The sermons of trained preachers, as well as teachers and other men with a similar standard of education usually exhibit a much higher degree of coherence and continuity of thought than those of most other preachers.

The following gives the trend of a sermon by a teacher in the L.M.S. church on an ordinary Sunday morning. It lasted eighteen minutes.

> The text was from the Sermon on the Mount, Matthew 7:21--- "Not every one that saith unto me Lord, Lord, shall enter into the Kingdom of heaven; but he that doeth the will of my Father which is in heaven." The preacher began by pointing out that one lives by working with one's hands: by taking up employment with Europeans, or by farming with stock or ploughing the earth. If one merely talks, without working, it is of no avail. A field does not plough and cultivate itself.
>
> "All things on earth come to an end: even a rock, and grass just the same.... But more than all this - seek first the kingdom of heaven, and all other things will be added.
>
> "It is no use that we merely talk with our mouth and do not do the will of God. We should confirm our words, by our works. St. Paul writes to St. James [sic] that if faith is not accompanied by works, the faith is of no avail. Faith should be confirmed by the works. The saying that I belong to the Lord and the Lord belongs to me, should be confirmed by my doing what God desires."
>
> The preacher went on to refer to the insects (ditshidi lit., living things) and all their activities, and the ants which meet each other on the way. "They take their food into their store-rooms, knowing that the time of famine, namely winter, is coming.... Seek the Lord while there is still time". There was reference again to the grass "that is seen in the veld" and to the young of birds which are fed from their "store-rooms". "Where have we stored our faith?... Let our faith be evident as well as the works which testify to the true faith."

In the typical Sabbatarian sermon, instruction predominates, and the sermon is of a fragmentary nature. A series of texts relevant to a particular theme are read and discussed in succession, each text being discussed separately before proceeding to the reading of the next. A sermon by a Deacon of the S.D.A. (untrained) at an ordinary Sunday afternoon service was delivered more or less as follows:

> The first portion read was from Genesis 2, about the blessing and sanctification of the seventh day, after God had created the heavens and the earth. After speaking about the duty to keep holy the seventh day, the preacher proceeded to read the first four commandments from the Decalogue (Ex. 20) and found occasion here to speak about the Egyptians who were heathens and worshiped other gods, the sun amongst others. Now followed various portions from the Old Testament, all containing injunctions to observe the Sabbath, and about each portion a few remarks were made. The last two Scripture readings (from Ps. 95 and Heb. 4) both contained references to entering into God's rest.

After the sermon the preacher, who is well on in his sixties and has had only enough school education to enable him to read and write, told me that the texts were his own choice, and that he had not prepared his sermon beforehand, since he knew these texts by heart.

It is difficult to analyse the sermons of Pentecostals, since these are the most incoherent of all, and usually lack a central recurring theme altogether. Perhaps we may say that each Pentecostal church has a few favourite themes and that some or all of these occur in nearly every sermon. There is, however, one kind of pattern which does recur, especially when there is a whole series of sermons by a number of people. The introductory sermon by the leader then usually consists of a repetition of thoughts contained in the Scripture reading, and subsequent speakers repeat these thoughts but add something here and there, some of which may not be contained in the Scripture reading, but may be associated with it. An example of such a series of sermons is given below. The service in which these were delivered, was held in the leader's homestead, and was of the violent type, being interrupted by hymns and the customary shouts. It is not possible to give more than mere extracts from these incoherent sermons.

After the introductory part of the service the local Preacher greets the congregation with exclammations of

"Peace be with you!" - "Amen!"
"The peace of Jesus!" - "Amen!"
"The peace of God!" - "Amen!" ,

and utters some sounds. He remarks that "these times are pressing; it is now already November, and in December the ministers /from Johannesburg/ are coming", after announcing the Scripture reading and commenting on John the Baptist and Jesus, he reads Matt. 3 (the teaching of John the Baptist and Jesus' Baptism) and Mark 1: 1-16 (a shorter version of the same subjects, with a short reference to the temptation in the wilderness and the calling of the first disciples). After some more sounds, the Preacher starts his sermon be relating in a high-pitched, shouting tone details of the life of John the Baptist. He speaks about John's preaching of judgement

that is at hand, about being baptized and bearing fruit. "To bear fruit is to fulfil the law of the church".... Then again about the clothing and food of the Baptist"... and he did not drink beer and khadi /a highly intoxicating native drink/, neither did he smoke tobacco. He ate only two things: locusts and honey"... He continues the narration, repeating again some of the matter already mentioned, and describes how the Spirit took Jesus into the wilderness after his baptism, and how He was tempted... "And Satan said to Him : 'Look at all my farms, look at my cattle, look at that village! If you worship me, all these will be yours'...." After the Preacher, the Evangelist takes his turn and after greeting with peace, he expresses his thanks to God for various things, repeats the announcement about the expected visit of the ministers, and then turns to the actual topic - "the son of Zacharias". He repeats almost everything the previous speaker has said about the coming judgement and the Baptist's customs. He tells how the Baptist preaches: " 'You say that you are children of Abraham. But I tell you that God is able to produce children of Abraham from stones.... The axe is already laid unto the root of the trees.... Leave the things of yesterday --- beer, and tobacco...' The son of Zacharias announced that Jesus was coming and that He would light a fire which no one could quench." The Evangelist tells about Jesus' corn which He will gather in his store-room, proceeds to the "son of Zacharias whose voice is that of one crying in the wilderness.... Matthew and Mark are witnesses. Mark testifies to Matthew." Again he deals with the baptism of Jesus and proceeds to the temptation. "Jesus was in the wilderness, amongst the animals. He had no food, but the angels served Him... When He was hungry, the devil came to Him and addressed Him: 'Hey, man Jesus! ...' " After relating the different temptations, he proceeds to new material: the arrest of John the Baptist, his death at the hand of Herod, and the presentation of his head "mo pitseng ya mahura".[1]) "... The time is near..... Believe in me.... Believe in my Father /these words seem to be placed in the mouth of St. John/.... Jesus came to heal the sick, the deaf, etc.... 'I go ..... to be the last sacrifice'... Jesus died for our sins." In closing, the speaker returns to the calling of Christ's first disciples with the challenge to leave their nets and be fishers of men. Almost the whole sermon has consisted of narration and there has been hardly any exhortation.

The third speaker is a young man who speaks so fast that his speech is hardly intelligible, but I follow enough to make out that again it is all about John

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1) It is difficult to know exactly what is envisaged by this term. Literally it could be translated as 'a pot of (or for) fat'. In this and other Pentecostal churches it recurred very often in narratives of the Baptist's death. Neither in the Tswana nor the S. Sotho translation of the Bible in this term used.

the Baptist, and the Baptism and temptation of Jesus. With reference to His baptism he says that He is the "Foundation" (using the English word) [1]) and all are built on Him. About baptism he says that it "means the confession of sins. It knows kotsi.[2]) Baptism is kotsi ..... Baptism means kotsi". He closes with a reference to Moses and the third heaven, the significance of which I do not catch. The next speaker is an old man who says the same things that have been said before, also what the previous speaker has introduced about Christ's baptism as foundation. He introduces a new topic however, by telling how John the Baptist sent some of his disciples to Jesus to ask whether He was the one that was to come, or whether they should look for another, and how Christ sent them back with a report of the healing and other miracles He was performing.

Two older women then speak without saying very much, and a third also intimates: "I do not stand up for anything", but nevertheless carries on for quite a time. A new element in her sermon is that she relates how, under the influence of the Baptist's preaching, the people took their horns and threw them into the river. (My first thought on hearing this, was of the snuff containers made from the horns of cattle, but on my enquiry after the service several people joined in explaining that the reference was also to medicine horns.[3]) A youth and three young girls now speak, each one repeating the same things again. One of the girls cannot be older than thirteen. She is a leading spirit in the singing, often starting a hymn on her own during sermons. Her version of the events described in Matt. 3 is remarkably near to the original words of the Bible, perhaps more so than any of the other sermons. Finally the Evangelist thanks God for all the witnesses and announces the next part of the service. It may be pointed out here that nearly every speaker - there were eleven of them altogether - opened with wishes of peace and with thanksgiving, while most of them closed with an expression such as "The time is past, it is time for me to sit down". The preaching, with all the interruptions lasted over two hours.

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1) The name of the church is Foundation Apostolic Church in Jerusalem.

2) A S. Sotho word meaning "accident, harm, damage" (Mabille, A. and Dieterlen, H. (Revised by R.A. Paroz), Southern Sotho English Dictionary, Marija, 1950.) A Tswana informant who is an ex-teacher recognised it as a S. Sotho word and said that it denoted "danger"

3) What they actually said was dinaka tsa boloi, lit., horns of sorcery, which, as I understand it, refers to the horns of which the contents are used as protection or antidote against sorcery and other evils. (See ch. III p. 115). I do not think the reference was to medicines used to perform sorcery.

In all the churches the Bible takes a prominent place: usually there is Scripture reading, and/or the reading of the text for the sermon, and quotations from and references to Scripture in the course of the sermon. An analysis of all the verses or pericopes used as texts for the sermons I attended, and other quotations from or references to Scripture, of which I made notes during services, reveals the following.

i) Of all these texts and pericopes, a distinct majority are from the New Testament. In this respect there is not much difference between Separatist churches and those connected with Europeans. A number of the portions used from the Old Testament deal with fulfilling the law in general, keeping the Sabbath, pure and impure animals and with the evils of wine and what is interpreted as referring to tobacco. These latter texts are mostly used in Sabbatarian and Pentecostal churches.

ii) By far the most popular portions in Pentecostal Separatist churches are those dealing with the activities and preaching of John the Baptist.

iii) The most popular single pericope is the parable of the vine and the branches, and Christ's exhortations connected with it (John 15:1,ff.) It recurred mostly in Pentecostal Separatist churches, but also appeared in sermons of churches of group "A".

iv) Another passage recurring in references and quotations is the first two verses (one or the other or both) of John 14.

Before discussing the significance of these points, we should also take note of the topics often recurring in sermons. The necessity of fulfilling "the law", doing right, bearing fruit and being diligent (either in general or in respect of 'good works') is a very frequently recurring topic. This moralistic tendency is particularly evi-

dent in Pentecostal and Sabbatarian churches, and often the main content of "the law" is interpreted as being baptized, avoiding certain things and (with Sabbatarians) keeping the Sabbath. Although one encounters a greater variety of themes and topics in sermons of type "A" churches, a general moralistic tendency is nevertheless also observable in the sermons of some preachers in these churches. It is not that preaching about Jesus Christ, faith, and forgiveness is absent, and I must point out that in some sermons the moralistic tendency is in the background or even absent, but on the whole more stress is laid on the conduct of the individual than on the acceptance of grace through faith. In a Separatist Pentecostal church the leader had spent a long time in talking about the law and doing what is right, so that when I was asked to speak I felt urged to point out that faith in Jesus Christ and forgiveness in his Name is the essence of our salvation. The leader's wife, who was the next speaker, thereupon explained that "forgiveness is when we behave well" (tšhwarêlô ke ha re itšhwara sentlê).[1] The expression "faith is works", which I heard in several churches, is perhaps the most explicit expression of this tendency. An old Evangelist of a type "A" Separatist church, when chiding the congregation because of the small collection they had given, also said that "faith is works" and as he held up the two coins I had put into the collection plate, made quite a fuss of the anount I had contributed and added: "It shows that he is a believer."[2]

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1) The fact that the words for "forgiveness" and "behaving" are derived from the same verbal stem (go tšhwara, to take hold of) perhaps helps to make the statement more acceptable.

2) Modumedi "believer", may also mean "Christian" or "full church member".

It is also common for preachers to remind their congregations of the future: of the end in general, of death, of future judgement, or of heaven and future blessings. In this connection the idea of future judgement is most common, and is connected with the thought, expressed or implicit, that one should prepare oneself for it by being converted, or by doing the right things referred to above. In connection with the coming judgement reference was often made to different passages from Matt. 25, and the parable of the sheep and the goats particularly recurred in several sermons. The predilection shown for John 15 (the vine and the branches) is to be seen in the light of the moralistic tendency and the connected thought of future judgement. It is not the idea of the mystic union between Christ and the believer that is important, but the expectation that the branches should bear fruit, and the fate of the unfruitful branches which are cast forth, wither, and are thrown into the fire.

It is necessary to draw attention here to a few points Dr Sundkler makes in connection with Zulu Separatist churches. In respect of the "Ethiopian" sermons, he points out that "the racial emphasis gives peculiar bias to the interpretation of the text, which is often chosen from the Old Testament."[1]) In another context he says of the "Zionists: "Obviously the Old Testament forms the foundation of the belief of these churches. A common argument in all <u>materia theologica</u> is : The truth is to be found in "<u>u Dutelonom</u>" or "<u>u Levi</u>" (Deutoronomy or Leviticus). Moses is the central figure in their Bible; Moses, leader, liberator, lawgiver; Moses overcoming the dangerous waters of the Red Sea; Moses

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[1]) <u>Op. cit.</u>, p. 191

Moses fixing detailed prescriptions or taboos.[1])

The Taung Separatist churches and the Zulu Separatist churches therefore show the same tendency toward moralism or legalism, but the churches from our area do not show the same preference for the Old Testament,[2]) neither is Moses given such a central place in their teaching. Although reference was once made to working for Europeans in one breath with Israel's servility in Egypt, this cannot be said to be representative of a general trend.

According to Dr Sundkler ideas about heaven and the "Gate of Heaven" are very prominent in the theology of Zulu Zionists and he describes a distinct "Zulu version" of the blessed hereafter,[3] which is very obviously biased by the radial issue. In contrast with this the future judgement is much more prominent in Taung churches than the expectation of future salvation, nor did I come across any notions representative of a distinct version of heaven which was influenced by the inter-racial situation. The nearest to this was the thought expressed by one preacher that all, rich and poor, would enter at the same gate.

The frequent use of John 14:2 ("In my Father's house are many mansions") in Zulu Separatist churches is also

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1) Op. cit., p. 277.

2) Dr. Van Antwerp says of Separatist churches in general that they appear to have a particular liking for the Old Testament and the old Jewish ceremonies. (Van Antwerp, C.M. Die Separatistiese Kerklike Beweging onder die Bantu van Suid-Afrika. Unpublished Ph. D. thesis, Univ. of Cape Town, 1938, p. 85). Dr Hilda Kuper draws attention to the preference for the Old Testament in Swazi Separatist churches. (The Uniform of Colour, Johannesburg, 1947).

3) Op. cit., pp. 289, ff.

related by Dr Sundkler to the interracial situation, in that it is taken by the Zulus"as a charter and guarantee that there will be, possibly, a separate mansion for them." [1] In this connection I would point out that although there were often references to or quotations from the first verses of John 14, the first verse was often quoted alone. In the few instances in which the second verse was quoted, however, it was connected with the idea of being strangers on earth, having no home or heritage here. The speaker who connected this verse mos distinctly with the subordinate position of his people, was an L.M.S. Leader, speaking a t a funeral. An old S.D.A. Leader, speaking first, had already introduced John 14:1-2, and had also referred to Heb. 13:14 ("For here we have no continuing city....."). The L.M.S. man spoke in the following vein:

> "Christ has gone to prepare a place for us. Everyone has his own chair. Prepare yourselves....." At a later stage again, he said: "Today it is thus: we buy our water, we buy our wood. Our houses have been given /to others?/ .... The land is not ours, it belongs to another. The land belongs to strangers. Only the Father is alone, He is in heaven. (Rra o esi hela, o ko legodimong). Our Father has waited for us. We are ploughers, we are a garden."

It may be that we should s ee in these remarks a reference to the land on the Irrigation Scheme in particular, about which the opinion is sometimes expressed that it no longer belongs to the Tlhaping. (In this connection we may note that the maintainance fee paid in respect of irrigation plots is considered to be a payment for water.) It is significant that these were the words of a simple mission church leader who had little about him of the political agitator. I must make it clear, however, that this was an unusual statement, and does not represent a trend in sermons in general.

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[1]) Op. cit., p. 276.

We may say then, that in the churches studied in Taung, awareness of the subordinate position of Africans is occasionally expressed, both in Separatist churches, and churches connected with Europeans. However, they do not seem to be as consciously concerned with the interracial situation as these described by Dr Sundkler, and it has not biased their teaching to the extent that this has happened in Zulu Separatist Churches.[1])

In the prominence they give to John the Baptist, the Taung Pentecostal churches resemble the Zulu Zionists. In Taung this tendency is to be understood in the first place because of the importance of the rite of baptism in these churches. Moreover his asceticism and his preaching of conversion and bring-ing forth "fruits meet for repentance" (Matt. 3:8), and his warning against the coming judgement, fit in well with the general moralistic trend.

Another difference between the Taung Pentecostal churches and the Zulu Zionists is the tendency among the latter for the sermon to be superseded by testimonies or confessions. Even in those churches in Taung in which a number of members speak in the course of the service, these speeches are mostly concerned with the Biblical material that has been introduced by the leader, although they do often start with a few personal remarks which contain an element of the testimony. These speakers have, in fact, been referred to as witnesses (dipaki), but mostly their activity is spoken of as preaching (go rera).

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[1]) It should be remembered, of course, that Dr Sundkler's study involved a much larger number of churches than my own. I can merely state in negative form that in the restricted area I covered I did not witness such distinctly biased notions as Dr Sundkler describes.

A final remark concerns the manner in which the subject material is treated. Although interesting illustrations and comparisons were often used by preachers, sermons did not abound in figurative language.[1] It is interesting to see in how far illustrations are drawn from the sphere of the indigenous culture, and in how far from the sphere of contact with Western civilisation and modern conditions resulting from this contact. Many illustrations, of course are taken from the Bible, and of these some are drawn from nature (e.g. the tree with branches and fruit, the dilligent ants) or from rural activities (the shepherd and his flock), but some illustrations from the Bible involve material that is foreign to the old culture. Thus, joining the church is likened unto Noah's entering the ark, or the grave is likened unto the Red Sea: as the Israelites were allowed to pass through unharmed and the Egyptians were caught by its waters and perished, so the believers pass through the grave unharmed, but the unbelievers are caught in it. Some illustrations are from nature (i.e. apart from those which have a precedent in the Bible); very few are from the traditional culture. On the other hand, illustrations and comparisons from the sphere of 'contact' are numerous: the policeman, the school, the time-table, the pass system, the wedding ring, the railway, the office-stamp - all these provide material for illustrations or metaphors. Thus the pilgrimage to heaven is likened to a train journey, and every Sunday service to a station along the line. Or death is likened to reaching the station and

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[1] In everyday conversation and public speaking generally the use of metaphors, comparisons and proverbs did occur, but they were not as striking a feature of the language as I expected the case would be in a Bantu language.

catching the train (the implication is, of course, - to heaven). The speaker using the latter illustration (at a funeral service) exhorted his audience to hurry, lest they miss the train. Another again explains that when death comes, you have to go, there is no chance of staying longer, "your pass is up" (pasa e hedile).

The sermons I heard did not produce much evidence of the Bible being interpreted in terms of the traditional culture, although a few such examples occurred. We have already seen how the Jews who were converted by the preaching of John the Baptist were attributed with having possessed snuff and medicine horns which they threw into the river. Or again, when the Magi arrived at Herod's court and enquired after the place where the King had been born whose star they had seen, Herod, amongst others, called doctors who threw the dice (Tswana style) and revealed that the King was born in Bethlehem! Or when Christ says: "I am come to set.... the daughter-in-law against her mother-in-law ~~is opposed to~~ (Matt. 10:35) it is explained in terms of the daughter-in-law's desire to go to church, while the mother-in-law is opposed to her going, for -----" what has your husband married jou for? You have to work for him." On the other hand when Christ, speaking about John the Baptist says: "Behold, they which are gorgeously apparelled, and live delicately, are in Kings' courts," (Matt. 7:25), it is explained in terms of the "suits" (using the English word) and "shining furniture" of the kings. Here the interpretation is in terms of modern conditions. (All four examples of Biblical interpretation in this paragraph are from the same Separatist Pentecostal church.)

The relative unimportance of material from the traditional culture is consistent with what I shall attempt to illustrate in connection with ritual, namely that it is not

the external forms of the indigenous culture that have been carried over into Christian ritual and teaching, but the magical nature of the rites and religious dogma of indigenous culture.

CHAPTER VII.

RITUAL AND REVELATION.

In this chapter we shall be dealing with present-day ritual and with beliefs and avowed experiences connected with revelation, that is with such of these as are performed in the churches. This also includes such rites as are performed in homesteads or in public places other than churches which are considered as Christian and not pagan rites. We shall see that elements of traditional ritual and belief have found their way into the churches. I shall try to show, however, that ritual and belief in the churches do not resemble traditional ritual and belief so much in respect of external form but in respect of their magical character.

It is necessary therefore first to make clear what I understand by magic and beliefs and ritual which bear a magical character.[1] I take it for granted that it will be agreed that what we are dealing with here belongs to the domain of what is usually qualified as magico-religious, a nd that the ceremonies described may be qualified as ritual. What we are concerned with here is to find a criterion to distinguish what is magical within the magico-religious sphere. The description of magic[2] as ritual and belief which do not presuppose the existence of spiritual beings, as opposed to religion as such beliefs and ritual which do presuppose such beings, is not sufficient. Rites which do not presuppose such beings are indeed magic, but rites which

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1) Since anthropologists have not yet formulated a generally accepted definition of magic I take the liberty of using my own definition. It is not offered as a definition in respect of all magic but as a tool for explaining my own material.

2) Cf. Notes and Queries on Anthropology, Sixth Edition, 1951, p. 174.

do presuppose such beings are not necessarily non-magical and may also bear a magical character. Perhaps we should say that the former type of rites constitute pure magic, but that there is no absolute division between magic and religion, and that magic often enters into the sphere of what according to the above-mentioned distinction is qualified as religion.

A few examples may help us to formulate a workable definition of magic.

1) When a native doctor smears medicines in the corners of a hearth to ward off sorcery and believes that the medicine possesses the intrinsic power of making the sorcerer's medicines harmless, it is magic.

2) When a child dreams of a deceased father, some earth is taken from the grave of the deceased and (perhaps together with some medicines) is added to water with which the child is purified to drive away the shadow or the sehihi of the deceased. The rite is connected with a spiritual being but the fact that it is believed to be in itself effectual to bring a bout the desired result gives it a distinctly magical character.

3) When a prayer is said over a stick or a staff and God is asked in the prayer to bless the object and thenceforth that object is believed to be imbued with a power or influence it did not possess before, the action ascribed to that power or influence of the stick is magical even though it may be thought to have been given by God.

4) When the rite of baptism is in itself nothing more than a symbolic representation of an inner cleansing the rite is non-magical. But when the performance of the rite in itself is believed necessarily to have a beneficial influence, whether of a spiritual or physi-

cal nature, it bears a magical character.

5) When a prayer is said petitioning God to grant healing, it would usually be interpreted as a purely religious activity. It may however also bear a magical character. If the prayer is said with the expectation that God will grant healing but with the realisation that He is free to grant the petition or not, it is non-magical and purely religious. However, if it is believed that the prayer must necessarily result in the recovery of the patient, it bears a magical character, even if the recovery is thought of as being caused by God.

The important point in deciding whether a rite or an object is magical is whether it is believed that the performance of the rite must <u>necessarily</u> have a particular supernatural or mystical effect. Even when a spiritual being enters the chain of thoughts and is thought of as causing the effect, the rite may still be magical if it is thought of as <u>necessarily</u> resulting in that effect, as if the spiritual being is <u>compelled</u> by the particular rite to bring about a particular result. When it is believed that a particular rite <u>may</u> have a particular result but that the outcome in the last instance depends upon the decision of a spiritual being in which that being decides according to his (or her, or its) own free will, it is non-magical. A rite is also non-magical if it is merely a symbolic representation of a mystical belief. However, when the performance of such a symbolic rite is thought of as <u>necessarily</u> having a particular result, the rite bears a magical character. The same applies to an object. If an object is believed necessarily to exercis a certain mystical influence, it is magical, even if that influence is thought of as being granted by a spiritual being. Even if such an object is also a symbol, it is nevertheless

magical. But when a ritual object is a mere symbol, it is non-magical.[1])

This does not imply that non-magical ritual is devoid of all mystical effect. A particular rite may be connected with a particular mystical effect but if the connection is not thought of as absolute, and is seen as depending in the last instance on the free decision of a spiritual being, it is still not magical.[2])

I have already pointed out that an absolute distinction between magic and religion is not possible and that magic may penetrate into the sphere of religion. We should also note that the extent to which magic enters the field of religion varies in different religions. In other words different religions may be characterised by varying degrees of "magicality". Some religions may be purely or almost purely religious and therefore non-magical. In other cases again magic may penetrate into the field of religion so deeply that there is almost nothing that can be regarded as purely religious. Such religions may be said to bear a strongly magical character. Furthermore we shall find that in the sense in which magic is used here, ritual and belief in the churches may also bear a magical character, depending on the value that is attached to ritual acts. Moreover, the degree of "magicality" may be gound to vary from one church to another.

Before we proceed to a discussion of ritual in the churches it is necessary to show what role magic played in

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1) I am indebted to the Wilsons for some of the ideas I use in connection with magic. (See Wilson, Godfrey and Monica, The Analysis of Social Change, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1945.)

2) This point has particular significance in respect of the view which the different churches take of the sacrament.

the traditional magico-religions system of the Tlhaping, since this forms a necessary background to our discussion of church ritual. We have observed in chapter III that the remnants of paganism among the Tlhaping consist mostly of beliefs and rites connected with medicines, doctoring, and divining, and with purification from 'heat, dibêla, sehihi, 'shadow' and breach of taboo. A great deal of these remnants may be regarded as pure magic, but a religious element does sometimes enter, e.g. when the doctor's abilities are ascribed to the ancestors or God, or when the falling of his dice is believed to be controlled by them; when sehihi or 'shadow' is connected with an ancestor spirit or when the purification of dibêla by means of medicines is accompanied by a prayer to God for rain (ch. III, p. 117). Nevertheless magic, the belief in the inherent efficacy of medicines, treatment, and dice, predominates in all the important remnants of paganism.

It is difficult to asses the degree to which the ancestor cult itself was penetrated by magic, since so little of it is left. It is clear, however, that prayers and sacrifices to the ancestral spirits were often accompanied by the use of medicines, and I suspect that generally magic played an important role even in connection with ritual that was concerned with the ancestors.

In this connection I may refer to the account an old informant who was a native doctor gave me of a rain rite which he remembered to have been performed in the time of chief Mankurwane. It involved the slaughtering of a black head of cattle in the chief's kgotla as a gift to the ancestors (badimo). Young immature girls who had to bring water and driftwood from the river. The driftwood and the contents of the slaughtered animal's stomach (moŝwang, and important element in some purification rites - See ch. III, p. 134 n.2)

were burnt. The water, over which a prayer had been said for the help of God and the 'fathers' of the officiating rain-maker, was sprinkled on the fire to produce clouds of smoke. In the light of the discussion of the ritual concept of 'heat' given in ch. III I suggest the following explanation: water and also driftwood (because of its connection with the river) are used for their 'cooling' properties, and the same applies to moŝwang; young girls must bring the materials required, because they are still 'cool', have not yet become 'hot' through sexual intercourse and will not impart defiling heat to the cooling agents. All these factors are involved in a magical process expected to produce the condition of coolness associated with rain. The smoke clouds symbolise the desired rain clouds, but probably are regarded as being in a sense also effective in producing those clouds. In the rite as a whole the sacrifice and prayer to the ancestors is intimately tied up with magical measures and in fact seems to be less important than the magic.

When everything is taken into consideration, I think we may say that in the traditional magico-religious system of the Tlhaping magic predominated and penetrated deeply into the field of religion, i.e. the ancestor cult. It is against this background that we should consider the role of magic in the ritual of the churches which we are going to discuss in the rest of this chapter.

Ritual of childhood an youth.

Reference has already been made to the "bringing out" of a baby and its mother on the termination of the period of confinement. It consists of a feast which is an occasion for bringing together the child's paternal and maternal kin, and for announcing the child's name. The feasting is com-

monly preceded by a short service. Sometimes an animal is slaughtered, but this is said to be for food only. In former times, I was told, the ceremony of bringing out the child was not accompanied by a feast nor was anything slaughtered. The Christian service, of course, is also an innovation. I give a few particulars of a ceremony I attended.

> On the afternoon before the actual ceremony I visited the homestead where the woman (d) was confined in one of the two small flat-roofed buildings which made up the homestead. It was the homestead of her father (A) and mother (b); she was not living there but had come specially for her confinement. This was not her first child. In the other building a few people were gathered, pleasantly conversing over some beer. A explained that the people were his relatives who had come to assist in the "work" that was to be done. The most important preparations had been made and several people started leaving later on. The following relatives of A were present: his wife, and his daughter (d's younger sister) and her husband; his father's younger brother (actual) and the latter's wife, and two young women both of whom A called "my elder brother's child".[1] Another woman was busy here and there. She was d's 'father's sister' (rrakgadi, i.e. A's 'sister), because, A being Hurutshe and she herself being Tlharo, they both have the baboon (tšhweni) as totem.[2] The following day at the feast she was also doing a great deal of the work.[3]
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> The following morning guests started arriving before 9.30 but nothing much took place before the service started, when it was nearly eleven o'clock. The service was held in a small room and nearly all the people inside who were not engaged in conducting the service were relatives of the baby's father (C). (C) himself was not present, being absent from home- at work, I presume - but was represented by his elder brother. The service was conducted jointly by two old women of the L.M.S. who were accompanied by a few younger female members of the church. During the singing of the first hymn, d emerged from the other house, wearing a long dress and hat (the "change" costume which she had worn at her wedding). An older woman carried the baby and conducted d to the room where the service was held. The woman who carried the child was a 'cross-cousin' of b (d's mother). She later

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1) I do not know whether this refers to actual or classificatory relationship, as I did not know these people and had not been able to get their actual genealogies.

2) By implication, people who have the same totem stand in the relation of siblings to each other (if they are of the same generation).

3) This collection of relatives does not constitute a specific regularly co-operating group. However, it is important to note that they are all maternal relatives of the baby, i.e. relatives of the people at whose homestead the ceremony is to take place. (Cf. what has been said in ch.II (pp. 38) about co-operation between kinsfolk.

told me that she had protested when they asked her to carry the baby because she was not properly dressed for doing it. Moreover, by right this should have been done by a woman belonging to the baby's father's lineage (losika).

The service lasted half-an-hour. Besides singing and prayer, a portion was read from Matt. 3 (the wise men from the East) and one of the old women delivered a short sermon, connecting what had been read about the birth of Jesus with the birth of the child. At the end of the service C's brother announced what the child's name was to be, after which a collection was made for the baby. A and b were not present at the service, but a younger sister of d was.

After the service the 'ministers' (baruti), as the two old women and their companions were referred to, were taken to another homestead, some sixty yards away, where they were served with refreshments. The child's paternal relatives remained in the room where the service had taken place, and were first given tea and cakes, and then beer. A's son-in-law, who is a prominent official in a Separatist Pentecostal church, served the beer. He was assisted by a younger sister of his wife and one of the guests, also a young woman. A number of people had also gathered in the enclosure outside the house and more came later in the day. These were referred to as those who had just come "to ask", in contrast with the 'mininsters' and the child's paternal relatives, who were served indoors. Later on beer was also served to those outside. There was a great amount of activity around the homestead directly next to that of A where the beer had been stored. It is the homestead of A's father's younger brother. Still later a young man started playing an accordeon and the women of the homestead (b and her daughters, including d) danced a little, though not for long.

According to one of my most reliable informants on traditional matters the traditional "bringing out" ceremony was not accompanied by ritual, but as we have already observed, Rev. W.C. Willoughby described a rite which was performed on the termination of the period of confinement. (See ch. III, p. 90.) We have here then, either an instance of a Christian rite supplanting a pagan rite, or being added to a traditional ceremony which did not formerly bear a religious character. It remains an occasion on which the ties between husband's relatives on the one hand, and wife's relatives on the other, are reinforced. The wife's parents act as hosts and are assisted in particular by their other daughters and some of the wife's paternal relatives. The husband's

relatives are the guests of honour and are treated with greater formality and less familiarity than the other guests. On this particular occasion I received the impression that the hosts were more concerned with treating their guests in an appropriate manner, than they were with the service. It is important to note, however, that the women who came to conduct the service received particular treatment as a separate group.

When one or both of the parents of a baby are church members, the child is usually baptized soon after the "bringing out" ceremony. Roman Catholics hold a small feast at the "bringing out", when the name of the child is also announced. On the subsequent Friday it is taken to church by its mother "to be blessed" (go segohadiwa) and is then baptised on the Sunday. The Constitutions and Canons of the Ethiopian Catholic Church in Zion lay down that "no woman, whatsoever, shall after childbirth come to Holy Communion or partake in any Divine Service prior to her being churched by a minister in Holy Orders....." [1] In practice the 'churching' of the woman amounts to much the same as the 'bringing out' ceremony described above.

The churches which do not perform infant baptism usually perform a rite to "bless" (segohatsa) the new-born infants of church members. When new members of the church have older children who are not yet old enough to be baptized, these are also given a blessing. This is usally done with reference to the blessing of the Child Jesus by the prophet Simeon (Luke 2:28 ff.) I attended such a rite of the St. Paul Apostolic Faith Morning Star which followed a baptismal service.

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[1] Op. cit., p. 45.

The parents and their children were made to stand in a semi-circle and first had to listen to the reading of the formula appropriate to the occasion. After the minister had also pronounced a warning that parents would be judged by their children, with reference to Eli and his sons (I Sam. 2 and 3), a list of the names of the children was read. The minister then proceeded to bless each of the children. Small babies he took in one arm and touched their heads with the other hand, pronouncing blessings. With older children he only lightly placed his hands on their heads. The blessings he pronounced varied, and included expressions such as the following: "So-and-so, I bless you by the charge (ka taelô) of Jehova the God of Isreal, by the name of the Father and the Holy Spirit..... May God give you a wise spirit..... a good (pure) spirit..... a God-fearing spirit.... a spirit of lowliness.... a respectful spirit (mòya wa masisi) ..... May He make you increase in his knowledge and love....." When all the children had received a blessing, the portion from Luke 2 about Simeon's blessing of the Christ-child was read, after which the minister announced: "We shall now bless the parents ~~of Jesus,~~" of the children because Simeon also blessed the parents of Jesus," and went on to do so.

The minister proceeded to exhort the parents to instruct their children, "because to-morrow you will find them playing dice".[1]) He also spoke of "the law" which requires that parents should instruct their children and that they should punish them (lit., beat them) if they do not heed. After announcing that he would now "produce the law" (ntwha molao), he read Proverbs 3:11-12 and added: "The law of God permits that one should punish one's child if it does not listen... Pray for it; if you pray, the rod will help you..... Teach it to fear God and respect the chief..... If it honours God and the chief it will be saved....." This part of the service was closed with a prayer for the parents and the children that had been blessed.

Certain Christian denominations have introduced the general pattern for this kind of rite, and to this extent it may be regarded as an element of Christianity as a 'foreign' religion. In some of its details, however, it reveals aspects which are typical of the Bantu Separatist churches. The tendency to back ritual with Biblical precedents which are followed literally and as closely as possible is clearly revealed: the blessing of the children is not sufficient; to

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[1]) Playing dice is the symptom commonly referred to to denote the corruption of the present generation of young men and boys. It is regarded in this light by older people generally, not only church people.

be in full harmony with the particular passage of Scripture on which the rite is based, the parents must also be blessed.

The blessings and the instruction given to the parents reveal the values which are important in this church: wisdom, lowliness, respect of authorities and one's parents and seniors, and doing what is right according to the law generally. The importance of filial obedience, and strict discipline enforced by corporal punishment which constitute traditional values, are re-stated in Biblical terms and with Biblical sanction, in reaction against the disintegration of society as observed in the lawlessness of present-day youth. The moralistic tendency which has been shown in the previous chapter is also clearly illustrated.

In spite of the strong opposition of the missions to the tribal initiation ceremonies, no purposive attempt seems to have been made to develop a Christian ceremony that could take the place of it. One might expect that conformation would be considered by some Christians as the Christian counterpart of the traditional initiation into man- and womanhood, but I have found no evidence that such a parallel is consciously drawn. On the contrary, as we have observed, some Christians who do not condemn the initiatic ceremonies, hold that young people should first undergo the tribal initiation and then join the catechism classes and be confirmed.

Marriage rites.

All churches insist on their members' being married by Christian or civil rites. Many churches, especially the Separatists, do not have church officials locally who are recognised as marriage officers by the Government. For this reason many couples who are church people get married by civil rites in the Native Commissioner's office, and then attend a service in church for the consecration of the marriage.

At such a service in a Separatist Pentecostal church those present brought their wedding gifts forward at the end of the service and a prayer of thanksgiving was said in respect of the gifts. Besides the following of the bridal couple, very few people usually take the trouble to attend the rites in church. Often short services are also held at the homesteads of the bride's parents and the bridegroom's parents, where the feasting takes place.

A number of conventions have developed in connection with the wedding outfits of bride and bridegroom. The bride invariably has a white sunshade, and bride and bridegroom have the actual wedding outfit as well as a "change" outfit and they change from one into the other several times in the course of the three-day celebrations. The bridegroom usually wears white gloves and his best-man carries about a clothes-brush in his pocket which appears and is used on the bridegroom at unexpected moments, for example when the couple emerge from church. A veil is usually considered part of a complete bridal outfit, but one Pentecostal church connected with Europeans has made the rule that "a girl or a woman who has fallen in sin [this usually refers to extra-marital pregnancy] cannot use a veil for her wedding".[1] The important point in connection with Christian marriage rites is that in many cases these rites are performed beside pagan rites such as those described in chapter IV. At one wedding I attended, the church leader who said the prayer in the services at the homesteads and the doctor who performed the pagan ritual was one and the same person.[2]

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1) Minutes of the Twenty-Ninth Session of the South African Conference of the Pentecostal Holiness Church... A trader's wife who sells many wedding outfits every year maintains that this is a widely recognised convention.

2) This was the Catechist of a Separatist church who has already been mentioned in Ch. V. (p. 189).

Here paganism persists side by side with Christianity in the lives of the same people. In this connection it is important that the Roman Catholic Church encourages the pronouncing of a blessing by the priest over the food for the wedding feast as a substitute for the pagan rites.

Death and its ritual.

The idea of going to heaven when one dies is held not only by church members, but also by many outside the churches. Although people do not seem to have a very clear picture of what heaven is like, its existence is a reality to them. At funerals one often hears references to 'arriving, at the other side', or 'arriving there'. A Separatist Pentecostal leader once demonstrated to his people how they should walk when arriving at the gate of heaven: upright and straight, not staggering and reeling.[1]) An old man spoke of the long distance behind him, and pointing upwards, he added that he had only a short distance to go still. An old woman, who is a prominent Leading Woman in the L.M.S., informed me of the recent death of her husband by saying: "The old man has gone there" (pointing upward). The dead are sometimes thought of as becoming angels after death. The Roman Catholic woman who took the initiative at the night watch on the occasion of the death of a little girl (see ch. V. pp. 243-244), said to those present that it was not necessary for them to spend much time in praying, because it was only a child that had died: "A child has not got sin.... It is an angel now."

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1) This was occasioned by our reaching the entrance to his homestead, as far as which he and the congregation accompanied me on my departure after one of my visits to them.

Although the idea of future judgement is prominent in sermons, it does not seem as if there is a clear notion of the nature of the punishment that will be meted out to those on whom adverse judgement will be pronounced. References to hell are seldom heard. An informant who was well versed in traditional matters and who had once also temporarily attended a catechumen class, when I questioned him about the activities of the spirits of the dead, referred amongs others to the belief in dipoko (sing., sepoko, from the Afrikaans, Spook, a ghost).[1] A sepoko is something which produces a flame (se tukisa molelo), he said. "It is said that they (dipoko) are the spirits of the dead (badimo). They are dead people. It is said that it is the spirit (môya) of one who does not go to heaven. The ministers tell us so." He explained further that the spirit of a rich man who is very much attached to his riches (such as money and cattle), cannot go to heaven." "God does not accept his spirit, because he desire to go /to heaven/ with his riches, whereas he cannot go with them. Neither can he sell them and buy life." The cattle and small stock of such a man die before him, in the year of his own death. "And when he dies, we will say: 'He has departed with his goods (Belongings)'."

People do not show extraordinary fear of death and are not afraid to speak of it. One often hears of old people who had a premonition of their death, and who also told other people beforehand the time when they would die. During the preparations for a funeral a number of people are often gathered in or around the homestead, and the conversation is pleasant, not as boisterous as it could sometimes be under normal conditions, but not different in content from the ordinary type of conversation. People are particular,

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[1]) Cf. Scha pera, The Tswana, p. 61.

however, to keep on good terms with each other at a funeral and any complaint that is raised or a reference to any dispute, is immediately snubbed. On one occasion when this happened, someone remarked: "Death comes only once, and then there should be peace. If there are complaints, they may be discussed later on."

The following text in connection with the death of a woman illustrates the type of ideas that are held about death. At a memorial service a year or more after her death one of the speakers was a woman, L---- M----, a close friend of the deceased, who related the circumstances of her death. The service was conducted by a Separatist church of type "A", to which both women belonged. I took a few notes at the time, but afterwards asked the speaker to tell me the particulars again, and I then took down this text.

> "Before her death she told me that the sickness was severe in her. 'But I, as I am ill here, I see myself, that I am not an inhabitant of this earth'. [1]) She said: 'On this earth we have been placed just like seed. Now it is observed that we should return to where we come from, for we have been placed on this earth to be sheep that are tended. Now I leave this earth for good. But I would be glad if my children could know something about the church and God.' Then she strengthened herself with John 23 (sic). 'May my children die in faith.'
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> On Friday she said: 'Saturday at three o'clock in the night I shall depart [2]) from this earth.' She said: 'It pleases me to call L--- M---,' so they came to call me. Then she told me: 'I am leaving.' She spoke to me for two hours and when it was the third hour, she said: 'I am going now; say a prayer for me.' I prayed for her; I sang the hymn which says: 'If you ask me my hope, I shall say it is Jesus.'..... She prayed herself. She gave (me) her hand and greeted, saying: 'Do not let my children grow weary in the Transvaal; may they behave; they must not prevent me to die. Be greeted, congregation. My secretary, L--- M---, hold fast your faith.' "

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1) Lehatshe, which may mean world or earth, land, country.

2) The actual Tswana words which I find difficult to translate accurately, were: Nkabe ke tsamaye.

At the memorial service L--- had spoken about a cart. When I questioned her about this, she said:

> "When she spoke about her hour[i.e. the hour of her death] she spoke about the cart of heaven. It came to fetch her. The cart was brown, just like the horses. She was shown by God that she would die."

Questioned about a reference to Jordan, the informant explained:

> "She said: 'I have passed through sin; I have crossed the river [Jordan], now I go to heaven.' We do not know what kind of a river it is, because it is seen only by the dead..... Those who are in their sins cannot cross this river."

The reference to the children in the Transvaal is not quite clear. Possibly the dying woman meant that her children who were away in the Transvaal - probably working - should not grow weary of behaving in the right manner. According to traditional belief, if a person dies in discontent, or his children quarrel after his death, or his successor treats his juniors unfairly, then the deceased comes to trouble the living in dreams or similar appearances, and does not 'rest' before the wrong is righted or before a purification ceremony is performed.

In this case the premonition of death came to a woman who was seriously ill, but I have also heard of it being experienced by old people who were in relatively good health. The text also illustrates the realistic ideas people have about the passage from this world into a future life and the judgement it implies - in this case visualised as being able to pass through the river or not.

One cannot distinguish between two distinct types of funerals, one for pagans and one for Christians. All follow approximately the same pattern. The activities following the death of a person are not organised according to a customary pattern whereby kinship decides which person is responsible for a particular activity. Near kinsmen and

immediate neighbours are expected to refrain from working as far as possible and to render assistance to the bereaved in the preparations for the funeral. If more people are present than are needed for the actual work, some just sit about talking 'to keep them (the people of the homestead) company.' More distant relations and people from the more distant neighbourhood usually also try at least to attend the funeral service. A large attendance at the funeral service is particularly valued. At the funeral of a widow, her brother with whom she had been living and who had organised the funeral, in thanking those present, related that the previous Thursday it had already seemed as if she were going to die - the funeral was on a Monday - but she did not. There was a feast on the Friday and Saturday - an age-set feast I found out later (cf. Ch. II, p. 55) - and God, so the speaker continued very anthropomorphically, had seen this and deliberated and said that she should not die yet, because of the feast. However, on Sunday the feast was over, and then she died. If she had died on the Thursday "she would not have been buried like to-day /because less people would have been able to attend/. To-day she has seen people."

The master of ceremonies or organiser of the funeral is usually a close male relative of the deceased. For the funeral of one old man it was his younger brother, for another it was his father's elder brother's son's son, who is a headman, and for a third it was his elder brother's son. At the funeral of the widow referred to above it was her brother. For one child it was its paternal grandfather's younger brother, and for another child its fathers' mother's brother.

Close relatives of the deceased are immediately summoned and the sending of telegrams to such of these as are some distance away, at labour centres for example, forms part of the preparations for almost every funeral. When

enquiring after the time a funeral is to take place one often hears that the arrival of a child or a sibling or a parent of the deceased is still awaited. The presence of these relatives is not indispensable though. In one case a father was absent at his child's funeral because he urgently had to attend to his field of wheat which had been flattened by the rain. He was represented by his elder brother. Close relatives who cannot come in time to attend the funeral, are expected to come home on a visit as soon as possible after the funeral.

The most important preparations for the funeral include the digging of the grave, preparation of the coffin and slaughtering of one or more animals, all of which are done by the men. The women prepare food and if the deceased is a woman, may out the corpse. In the course of the preparations most of the people present contribute food or cash to help cover expenses. Coffins are made of inexpensive wood and are either bought ready-made, or else planks are bought and made into a coffin. The coffin is covered with black cloth in the case of adults, with white for children. Sometimes a cross is fashioned on the lid. The corpse is dressed in a garment of the deceased, and new white cloth or paper, into which patterns are cut, is placed over the chest and shoulders and around the head. When the corpse has been placed in the coffin, it remains in a hut or a room in the homestead, with the lid half open, leaving the face exposed. A woman who is closely related to the deceased, such as a child's mother, or a man's wife, has to sit beside the coffin all the time untillthe time of the funeral. Others may also keep her company, but one in particular must always remain sitting there.

At least one night usually intervenes between the death and the burial. Relatives, neighbours, and friends

gather at the homestead of the bereaved family and a night watch (tebêlêlê) is held, lasting the whole night. Inside the homestead, sometimes in the same room where the corpse is lying, they all gather. Prayers may be said and someone might make a short speech early in the night, but most of the time they just keep on singing hymns. In the middle of the night there is a break, when food and drinks are served. Some people burn special candles beside the coffin. The purpose of the night watch, it is said, is to keep the bereaved company and console them.

The actual funeral consists of a simple service which starts at the homestead. Before proceeding to the grave all of those present file past the coffin, taking a last look at the face of the deceased, before a few men finally nail down the lid. Six men start carrying it to the grave, but they are soon relieved by others. As many men as possible take a turn to act as bearers, and if the grave is some distance away, every man usually takes at least one turn. Some churches have a special graveyard for church members. Others, some church members also, are buried in the stock pen of their homestead (cf. ch. III, pp. 104-105) and others are buried some distance from the homestead, usually in a place where there are already a number of other graves. At the grave the service continues, a formula is read and on the words "ashes to ashes, dust to dust" the church official conducting the service throws a few handfuls of earth into the grave. The grave is closed up during the singing of a hymn and again all or most of the men take a turn in handling one of the spades. The closing benediction is not given until the grave is finally completed.[1])

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[1]) At a funeral I attended, conducted by an R.C. priest, this was not the case.

When the coffin is closed, or when the grave is filled up, one sometimes hears a woman or two giving a few short moans, somewhat like the whimpering of a dog, but for the rest there is little display of emotion and those taking part appear calm and controlled.[1])

From the grave all return to the homestead where the men first wash their hands and then gather on one side, usually beside the stock pen to listen to a few short speeches. (See ch, III, p. 107). After this, food is served. This is supposed to be in the first place for those who have come from some distance, but usually all the people present are served. No definite order is followed in handing out the plates offood, but church officials are sometimes served separately in a hut or a room, whereas the other people sit about outside. At this stage the proceeds of the contributions made toward the funeral expenses are announced. When the meal is over, people start leaving. Sometimes a smaller and shorter night watch is held on the evening after the funeral.

Some churches deviate somewhat from this general pattern. If a person is buried in the R.C. graveyard a very short ceremony is held at the homestead, from where the procession goes to the church. In the church as well as at the grave the ritual includes the burning of incense over the coffin and the sprinkling of holy water. We should note here the close resemblance in morphology between the church rites of burning incense and sprinkling holy water, and the burning of medicines and the sprinkling of medicated water by the native doctor. To this we shall

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[1]) I did not have the opportunity of attending a funeral of a member of a Pentecostal church, so that I do not know whether, perhaps, there is a greater display of emotion.

refer again later.

In some churches the baptismal certificate, other certificates or tickets and receipts of church contributions are formally placed in the coffin before it is closed. If the deceased was a member of the women's association or a Leading Woman in the L.M.S. one of the garments of her uniform may also be placed in the coffin. On one occasion an old L.M.S. church leader ha spoken about the parable of the labourers who had been hired at different times of the day (Matt. 20), and when the time came for closing the coffin, he held up the papers before placing them beside the corpse in the coffin and said: "I shall now give /her/ her certificates (ditšhupô)." Referring to "the one Who called: 'Come and work..... I shall give you reward' " he added: "The charge (taêlô)for which she has been engaged is these.... These are the certificates with which she will arrive in heaven.... She will be able to say: 'I have done my work.' " I must hasten to add that not all people see the placing of these objects in the coffin in this light. A Leading Woman of the L.M.S. explained that these were placed in the coffin because they could not be inherited by the children of the deceased. A teacher who, on my enquiry, also said that the latter interpretation was usually attached to the custom, expressly disapproved of it.

The grave commonly consists of a rectangular trench, large enough for the coffin, and about six or seven feet deep. A certain Sabbatarian Separatist leader told me that his church has the custom of fashioning a chamber in the side of the trench (at the bottom) where the coffin can fit in. It is then closed up with a piece of roofing iron before filling up the trench, so that the earth does not fall onto the coffin. He said this is his traditional custom (he is a Fingo), which he has introduced into his church.[1])

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[1]) Among the Tswana this type of burial was also known. (See Brown, Among the Bantu Nomads, pp. 67f.)

The St. Paul Apostolic Faith Morning Star have a few rites peculiar to them. If the funeral takes place at the main centre of the Church at the leader's homestead, the service starts in church. From there they proceed to the "holy place" where the coffin is placed on top of the coffin-shaped concrete block, where the service is continued, until they finally proceed to the grave. The coffin is covered with blue material, instead of black. On the words "ashes to ashes", real ashes from the hearth are thrown into the grave. (Some informants said that on the words "dust to dust", dust from the sweeping of the house is thrown in, b ut others spoke only of ashes.[1]) They do not allow the cooking of food at the homestead of the deceased. Another Pentecostal Separatist leader also said that in his church they do not make a feast in connection with a funeral as other churches do, but he added, nevertheless, that something could be slaughtered and eaten. They do not eat during the night watch either, because "men shall not live by bread alone." The St. Paul Apostolic Faith Morning Star, as well as some other Pentecostal Separatists, have particular rites of purification which have to be performed after a funeral. These will be dealt with in the section on purification.

A grave in a cattle kraal or a stock pen is not covered with a mound. A slight rise marks the place of the grave after the funeral, but this is soon levelled by the trampling of the cattle or small stock, and nothing remains to betray the presence of a grave. Graves out in the open are covered with large stones and an upright stone is placed at each end. In graveyards crosses or tablets are sometimes placed on graves, or initials or a cross may be

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1) In view of the particular difficulties experienced with this church, some of the information could only be obtained from outsiders.

marked out with small stones. Objects such as glass dishes or jars, a small glass doll, a plate from a toy tea set (on a small grave), and a cup with an odd saucer have also been seen on graves in a grave-yard.[1]) Apart from the activities at All Saints which is observed by the Roman Catholics (and perhaps some others) little attention is paid to a grave subsequent to the funeral.

Reference must here still be made to the question of who conducts the burial service for a person who is not a church member. Very often some member of the family does belong to a church and this provides a sufficient link with that church to ask its leader to conduct the funeral. It appears, however, as if there is sometimes even a certain amount of rivalry between different church leaders to officiate. Such an instance occurred at the death of an old man who was not a church member, but was considered by some as an adherent (morati) of the L.M.S. I had the impression that some of the children were also L.M.S. members. The L.M.S. local Leader did eventually play the most prominent part in the funeral service. Long before the service, however, an old man of the S.D.A. was about the place and sent out feelers to discover who was going to conduct the service. Beside the L.M.S. mention was made of a leader of a Pentecostal Separatist Church who had been summoned when the old man's condition was becoming serious, and who had "given great assistance." Later on a Methodist preacher arrived with his books, and shortly before the service started, the S.D.A. man called him aside and conferred with him privately. Eventually all four of these people took part in the service, as well as a 'cross-cousin' of the deceased, who belonged to

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[1]) In an African graveyard at Kimberley I have observed a much wider range of household utensils and childrens' toys (or remnants of these) on graves.

a Separatist church of type "A".

As we have already observed in chapter III, remnants of pagan ritual, or what appear to be such remnants, are integrated into the Christian burial rites. I refer here to the burial in the stock pen, the taboo on entering at the regular entrance and returning by the same way as the corpse was taken there, the careful scraping together of all the earth from the grave, the washing of hands by the men, and the speeches of consolation and instruction to the children of the deceased. I know also of funerals which had been conducted by the officials of churches connected with Europeans, even by a trained African minister, which were followed by the pagan rite of purification performed by a native doctor. (See ch. III, pp. 108-109). Of course the church officials had nothing to do with these pagan rites, but it is significant that these rites coexist in such close connection. The necessity for avoiding disputes is probably also connected with the traditional belief that discord among the relatives of the deceased may cause him to return and trouble them. Another instance of the traditional element in Christian rites is the custom of making a niche for the coffin in the side of the grave which one church leader has adopted.

In many different ways a funeral strengthens the bonds between neighbours, relatives and friends. The obligation to visit the bereaved homestead, to assist in the work that has to be done, and to contribute to the collection, act as so many ties that draw these people closer to each other. The avoidance of disputes and the communal meal add to make it an occasion for the expression of solidarity between them. As already pointed out this takes place across the lines of denominational differences. (ch.V).

Several churches, both Separatists and non-Separatists, have the custom of conducting a service some time after the funeral, which mostly bears the character of a memorial service and is sometimes called matshedišo (sympathising with the bereaved. (Cf. ch. III, p. 108). Usually it is held only in respect of prominent church members or leaders. I attended such a ceremony held by the A.M.E. Church in respect of a woman who used to be a prominent member of the Church and the women's association. It was held about a year after her death and took place at the homestead of the deceased where some of her children were still living. The Local Preacher and some other members of the church came to conduct the service.

> The service consisted of a series of speeches, with hymns in between and a prayer for the people of the homestead. Besides the Preacher a few members of the men's "Allen League" and the women's association spoke, as well as the local headman, who is not a church member. In the speeches the children were comforted and were also exhorted to be of good conduct. The greater part of the speeches, however, dealt with the deceased, what a virtuous woman she was and what the circumstances of her death were. (cf. above pp. 319ff) One speaker expressed disapproval of the people who follow new customs, and the headman, amongst others, spoke of the old days, when there was still respect and fear, whereas to-day neither chief nor minister is respected.
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> At the end of the service a collection was held, the proceeds of which went to the children of the deceased (who were already grown-ups). The contributions of the men and the women were kept apart and announced separately! The Preacher and his "assistants", together with the headman, were taken into a separate room in the homestead where they sat down to a meal. The other people present were mostly served outside. That evening there were still a number of people who sang hymns for some time, but not for the whole night.

In the L.M.S. it is also the custom to hold a special matshedišo service for ministers, local church Leaders and Leading Women. The time intervening between the funeral and the matshedišo is not fixed but is said mostly to be about three months. The ser vice is a usual Sunday morning service at the local church where the deceased officiated, and is preceded by a night watch in the homestead of the deceased.

At the service "the words of the deceased" are related. It is followed by a meal at the homestead, which is prepared by the people of the homestead, aided by contributions made by the local congregation.

The traditional matshediŝô which the Tlhaping know seems to refer to mere visits of condolence which were not accompanied by any religious rites. Some people seem to consider the rite of slaughtering the mogôga animal (see ch. III, pp 110-111) as being the traditional matshediŝô, but some of these also maintain that slaughtering something as matshediŝô is actually a custom of the Southern Sotho and Nguni peoples, not of the Tswana. When I questioned a leading church official of the Methodists, who is a well-educated man, about the attitude of his church to the mogôga ceremony (without my defining it), he said that they are opposed to it, and went on the explain that it is performed in memory of the deceased. "All the distant relatives of the deceased" are called and all the belongings of the deceased are "given out". A religious service is also held.

The most direct linking of a church ceremony with the rite of slaughtering the mogôga animal was encountered in a Pentecostal Separatist church. When I enquired of the leader about their attitude ot the performance of this rite, he described to me how they perform it themselves. "About a month after the funeral we call all the people. We slaughter a head of cattle; we pour out the blood; we cook it. We do not eat blood." When asked the significance of the rite, the informant explained: "It is to tell him the way, the one who has died, so that he should not be troublesome here on earth but may remain in heaven." On further enquiry he said that the deceased could trouble like ghosts (dipoko, cf. above p. 318 He also referred to Lev. 2 and 7: "There you will see (about)

sacrifices." [1])

Here we have the old cult of the dead pure and simple, with only a slight modification of the details according to which it is performed, to bring it in line with Old Testament ritual. However, the Biblical significance of the sacrifice is neglected altogether. We must add that this is a unique example, and on the whole, although there is the tendency to consider the memorial services as a substitute for a traditional rite or custom, the connections with tradition are rather va_gue and varied. Moreover the ideas that Christians ha_ve of the traditional performances with which they connect it, are very confused, as our material above shows. This is to be understood and is to be explained not only by the impact of Christian teaching on traditional belief and custom, but also by the contact with traditions of non-Tswana Bantu peoples, especially the considerable Nguni element in the chiefdom.

On the other hand some people connect these memorial services with, or compare them to European customs such as putting up a tombstone, or putting off mourning (dress). One Separatist church leader explained that the <u>mogôga</u> known in the church is the putting up of a tombstone, as for a church leader or minister. Then the different congregations are invited and something is also slaughtered.

<u>Baptism.</u>

In the churches of type "A", with the exception of the two Baptist churches included in the group, the rite of

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[1]) The chapters referred to deal mostly with sacrifices of which meal (flour) is the basis. Lev. 7 does, however, contain references to sacrifices of flesh and a prohibition on the eating of blood. Cf. also Deut. 12:16 where there is reference to the "pouring out" of the blood.

baptism is not as important and significant as in Sabbatarian and Pentecostal Churches. The children of full church members may be baptized in infancy, but it is still quite common in these churches also, to see grown-up people, some of them quite old, receiving baptism. Incidentally this shows that the stage has not yet been reached where new accessions to church membership are confined to young people who have grown up in full connection with the churches. Baptism is performed either by sprinkling or by pouring.

The two Baptist churches included in Group "A", in common with Sabbatarian and Pentecostal churches are opposed to infant baptism and insist that it should be by immersion only. In all these churches which recognise only one form of baptism the performance of the rite is an event of outstanding importance, and teaching about baptism figures prominently in sermons. It is most strongly accentuated in the Pentecostal Separatist churches. In the following paragraphs we shall be dealing more particularly with these churches which recognise only adult baptism by immersion.

The tendency toward a fragmentary and literal application of portions from Scripture to which we have already referred (Ch. V, pp. 202-203) is particularly evident in the teaching about baptism. It is held that baptism must be accompanied by the confession of sins (cf. Matt. 3:6). This need not necessarily be made in public, although with some Separatists a public confession has to be made at baptism. It is argued then that since small children cannot confess their sins, they cannot be baptized. Others again, argue that children have no sin to confess, and should therefore not be baptized. The idea of the sinlessness of children, which was also expressed by a R.C. woman (see above, p. 317) has a precedent in traditional ritual: in the traditional rain rites immature children had to perform a part of the ritual. (See above, pp. 309f.). My own informants did not

state in so many words that such children were held to be pure, but it was implied in the explanation that adults were not fit for the task because they might have committed adultery or performed sorcery.

Much stress is also laid on Christ's own example: He was baptized as an adult, not as a child, and He was baptized "in the river", which in Baptist terminology is synonomous with being immersed. One preacher seems to have had the discernment to realise that the fact that Christ was baptized might imply - according the dogma referred to in the previous paragraph - that He also had to confess sins, so he clearly stated that when Christ was baptized, He did not confess sins, because He had no sin. Apparently it did not occur to him that the question could still be asked why, then, Christ was baptised at all if he had no sin to confess. An S.D.A. preacher pointed out that instruction and faith must precede baptism (cf. Matt. 28: 19 and Mk. 16:16), in which was implied that small children could not fulfil this requirement. More explicitly he state that a parent cannot fulfil the responsibility of believing in the child's stead.

To give weight to his argument a Separatist Bishop had portions from Mark read from three different translations of the Bible, Xhosa, S. Sotho and English. He pointed out that all the Bibles say the same thing, that Jesus and the other people were baptised as adults. He offered to give two pounds "pasella" [1]) to anybody who could bring him a Bible with a single verse stating that Jesus or the apostles baptized children.

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1) A term used both Europeans and Bantu, denoting a free gift, especially that made by a trader or storekeeper to a client.

The necessity of immersion is explained with reference to the Biblical comparison of baptism with burial (cf. Romans 6:3,4; Col. 2:12). The whole body should be baptized, not only the head, because one buries the whole body, not only the head. A preacher in whose church candidates for baptism are immersed once only, instead of three times, defended their particular practice by reference to the fact that Christ died and rose only once, not three times. Or again, from the connection laid between baptism and "putting on" Christ (as clothing, cf. Gal. 3:27) it is argued that just as one would not think of dressing the head only, so baptism which involves the head alone is not sufficient.

There is a tendency to consider baptism - i.e. the correct form of baptism, of course - as an important condition of one's salvation. "Be baptized like Jesus, and see your salvation", one preacher said. It is not merely seen as a symbol of the purification which consists in the putting away of sin and evil (cf. the element of confession), but is seen as a rite which in itself cleanses from sin. The Bishop already mentioned above, explained to his audience, how, according to "the law of Moses", animals had to be sacrificed on account of the transgressions of the people, and that the blood of the animals cleansed them of their iniquity. However, so he continued, in the time of Christ, as to-day also, not everybody possessed animals to sacrifice. For this reason baptism instead of sacrifice now constitutes the cleansing from sin. On the other hand, there were preachers who stressed the fact that baptism is not significant if the convert does not fulfil the law. Others, again, see in baptism the fulfillment of the law par excellence.

The type of reasoning found in the preceding para-

graphs is, of course, found not only in Bantu churches, but at a later stage I shall try to show that it has particular significance in the society with which we are concerned.

Of the four baptismal ceremonies I attended, two were of Sabbatarian churches (the S.D.A. and a Separatist church). These two ceremonies followed much the same simple pattern: the congregation going to the river in procession, singing hymns; preaching on the river bank, followed by the baptism at a place of the right depth. Baptism consists in a single total immersion of the candidate, accompanied by the utterance of the trinitarian formula of baptism. In the Pentecostal Separatist churches the rite is much more elaborate than with Sabbatarians.[1] The two other baptismal ceremonies I attended, were both of the St. Paul Apostolic Faith Morning Star, and one of these is described below. The ceremony was performed in a small rectangular rexervoir, about fifteen by twelve feet, the wall being about five feet high. The reservoir is next to the leader's homestead and is filled from a well. The leader regularly irrigates his garden from this pool. (It must be pointed out that some other churches insist that Baptism should be performed in a river not in a dam.)

> The ceremony[2] was preceded by a service in church, which lasted about an hour. After the service nearly everybody first went to put on the clothes with which they were to pass through the water. Presumably it was a matter of putting on clothes that would not be spoilt by the water, because the ordinary members did not wear particular robes for the ceremony or during the preceding service. At about 11.30 a.m. the women had taken up their position on one side of the pool or

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[1] I did not witness a baptism of a Pentecostal church connected with Europeans.

[2] The description given here is based on my notes of the first ceremony I attended. As it was my first contact with such a church I considered it wiser not to make notes <u>in situ</u>. I made some rough notes on my return home, from which I wrote the more detailed notes. I was able to verify these notes at a second baptismal ceremony which I attended.

reservoir, and the men on the other. The minister stood on top of the wall in his white dust-coat, with a red cord round his waist, Bible in hand. A hymns was sung to the accompaniment of a drum and the clapping of hands. Occasionally a woman would twitch her body or fling her arms into the air, or just produce a hissing sound, but such actions were few and did not interrupt the performance. Having read two Bible portions about baptism the minister preached on the same topic. He also announced that those who had tobacco with them, or wild hemp (dagga), or horns (cf. ch. VI, p. 295) or those who wished to anoint themselves (with medicines?) should go and sit at the flag-post (some distance away). They would be given a chair, or a mat, or a cushion, in order to rest, he said. Nobody went there.

The woman and two men who were to be baptised, had taken up position on the steps leading up to one end of the pool. With each of the candidates the same activities were performed: first the minister announced the name and told the candidate to confess his or her sins." The sins confessed were mostly smoking, drinking and eating of animals that had died (not having been slaughtered). If the candidate found difficulty in enumerating sins, the minister suggested a few things he might have done. Utterances of amazement were elicited by the confession of a young man that he had "killed" a man in Johannesburg. (The verb for "killing" is, of course, very commonly used for actions less severe than actual killing. An Evangelist later explained that by saying he had "killed" a person, the young man meant that he had attacked and robbed him, presumably in co-operation with others.) At the second ceremony which I attended one woman confessed the attendin of dances, and another said tha she had "transgressed" (the verb <u>leoha</u>) with someone in her youth. (Illicit sexual intercourse is commonly implied by such a vague term denoting sin or transgression in general.) After each confession, all joined in prayer for the candidate, all praying together after the customary fashion. There was a fourth person in the line, a woman, who the minister explained was not being baptised, as she had already received baptism, but she was a "lost sheep" that had been found again. The congregation was asked to pray that she should not sustain any injury when passing underneath the water. Occasionally the water was referred to as the cloud into which they were entering.

While the congregation were singing again, the minister, with a walking stick in hand, gradually descended into the water by a few steps. With his stick or staff he churned up the water a few times, and then threw the stick aside and sank to the bottom. (At the second ceremony I noticed that he spoke while churning the water. What I could hear of his utterances consisted of a wish or prayer that all those who were to pass through the water should be blessed. On this occasion two dishfuls of sandy earth were thrown into the water.) Thereupon he went down on his haunches, drawing his whole body and head under for a moment. A few of the men took up position on either side of him in a line across the length of the dam. They helped the people through the water and when children came later, passed them from hand to hand. The women all came car-

rying blankets on their heads. As a woman descended into the water, her blanket was passed from hand to hand and kept in readiness at the other end, where someone threw it over her to cover her up the moment she emerged. Apparently it was considered unseemly for a woman to be seen with the wet clothes clinging to her body.

The candidates for baptism descended into the water one by one. After reading the name of each from a piece of paper, the minister pushed the persons head under three times, while pronouncing the trinitarian formula. The "lost sheep" was put under only once while the minister uttered only the words "in the name of the Father". The singing was resumed now, and a whole number of women lined up and started entering the pool. Each was twice pushed under the water by the minister, but no formula was pronounced along with the act. Those who twitched their faces or bodies seemed to be kept under a bit longer than the others. (At the second ceremony a woman and a girl who acted in similar manner were detained in the pool and immersed after all the others had been through.) A few women appeared to have no control over their bodies, and had to be firmly held by the men to prevent them from sinking. One was carried away in her blanket. The women were followed by a large number of children, mostly wearing only trousers or bloomers. Some were still infants in arms wearing diapers, three of them were very small limp babies who were held only partly in the water and had water poured over their heads. Needless to say, the smaller children were not very happy about the whole experience. The last to go through were the men, receiving the same treatment as the women, but without having blankets put over them. Only a small number of those who were present did not pass through the pool. From the time the first four people had passed through the congregation kept on singing. As soon as a woman had been through the water, she immediately went to put on dry clothes, soon to return and join the singers again. When all had been through, the minister's staff was fished out and the benediction pronounced.

The whole atmosphere toward the end of the baptismal ceremony reminded one very much of a large picnic at a watering place: children standing about half-naked with their glistening little bodies, others dressing themselves in public; grown-ups looking clean and fresh, carrying wet clothes or hanging them out to dry; and small bundles of personal belongings scattered all about the place. A further ceremony followed a little later at the "holy place" for which most of the people had now dressed in special uniforms.[1] (When I attended a baptism a second time, the blessing of the children and their parents [2] intervened between the baptism and the performance at the "holy place." When all the performances were over, food was served to a large number of people, including visitors who were not church members.) This and the festive picnic atmosphere referred to above are instances of church activities bearing a distinct social character.

Because of the unwillingness on the part of the superior officials of this church to allow the minister to discuss church affairs with me, I lack explanations for several points which one would like to have had explained. A few explanations emerged from statements made in the course of the activities, or could be given by outsiders who had an intimate knowledge of the Church and had casually picked up some explanations.

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1) These are not the same as the robes which are worn in some Pentecostal Churches for all church activities. In this Church such robes are not worn.

2) The ceremony is described above on p. 34

I do not know exactly what effect the churning of the water with the staff was thought to produce. I know by observation, however, that the minister usually has it with him when he is engaged in church activities. He carries it when entering the church and it lies on the table during the whole service. It is known to outsiders that it is a staff which has been blessed, presumably by a senior church official from whom the minister is thought to have received it. The fact that it is a very particular staff to which a blessing is attached, suggests that it is regarded as being imbued with particular powers.

It should be noted that not all the people who went through the pool were thought of as being baptized, but only the first few who were baptized with the complete baptismal formula. Many of the others who passed through had been baptized previously, while the children were still too small to receive actual baptism. The term for baptism (kolobetšo) was applied only to the first few persons. At the second baptismal ceremony which I attended a communal prayer was said after the actual baptism and before the other people entered the pool. In announcing it the minister said that they should pray for those who had just been baptized, as well as for those who were about to "go through the water", that those who were not in good health should be healed. Outsiders also held that the purpose of going through the water was "to help in respect of pains" (ditlhabi). Undoubtedly the performance is an act of healing for those who have an ailment, and perhaps it is also seen as safeguarding the good health the others may be enjoying at the time. Whether the rite of actual baptism is also regarded as an act of healing, or whether the fact that baptism has been performed in the water imbues it with healing power, is difficult to say. It is known that in another church which baptizes in the river, healing power is attributed to the water collected from the bottom of the stream at the place where baptism has just been performed.

I must point out that the "lost sheep" was not baptized, but also received a different treatment from the others. What the dogmatical explanation of the act is, I do not know, apart from the obvious explanation that it is an act of re-enstatement into full membership, entailing a kind

of 'partial' baptism - a single immersion "in the name of the Father" only. Why she particularly had to be prayed for that she should not sustain injury, I do not know either. In another church which performs baptism in the river I heard a reference to dangerous "things" which may be in the water where they baptize. In connection with a purification ceremony performed after death by one church, an informant stated that a prayer is said before entering the water, so that the water should be "good", as there could perhaps be a snake in the water. In the latter case the informant undoubtedly had in mind the phikakgolo of tradition (see ch. III, p. 136). In how far the same belief is connected with the reference to the danger for the woman entering the artificial pool in the ceremony described above is difficult to say.

In spite of the many gaps in our information, there is enough evidence that the ritual described above bears a magical character. The manipulation of the 'holy' staff by the minister, along with his utterances over the water, the prayers, and, perhaps also the performance of the rite of baptism, combine to change ordinary water into water which has healing powers. It is not that God is thought of as being outside the whole process; prayers are directed to Him. but it is as if God is seen as being compelled to produce healing through these particular factors.

It is not only the particular baptismal ceremony described here that bears a magical character, but the magical element is revealed in the whole dogma on baptism in all the churches which lay so much stress on adult baptism by total immersion. All the stress is on the correct performance of the rite: for adults after confession of faith only, by total immersion only (and for some: in a river only). Undergoing the rite in this form is thought of as necessarily bringing salavation, or at least putting one on the way to salvation. But the rite is not valid if it is not performed in just the correct manner, just as it was done by John the Baptist.

Even in non-Baptist churches there are traces of a tendency to attach magical value to the rite. Special allowance is often made for what one might term an 'emergency' baptism of the sick in that church officers who

are ordinarily not allowed to administer baptism are sometimes allowed to do so in the case of sick people[1] who are seriously ill. I suggest that in this context baptism is either viewed as having healing power or it is considered as an indispensable requirement that has to be fulfilled for the salvation of the soul, and that in cases of serious illness a patient must be baptized lest he die unbaptized and therefore unsaved. I have no direct evidence of this manner of thought among Taung church people, but an informant who is not himself a member of any church, in explaining the significance of the rite of the cradle-skins (dithari - ch. III, pp. 93ff.) compared it to baptism and said that a child attending the initiation ceremonies without having had the rite of dithari performed, would not prosper, just like a child that has not been baptized.[2]

Mass and Holy Communion.

In churches of type "A" Holy Communion or mass is usually celebrated on much the same pattern as in European churches. It is often preceded by a church meeting at which disciplinary matters are first settled. In Separatist churches of the Anglican type church members are enjoined to abstain from various things before receiving the sacrament. According to one church constitution "Christians shall not at all, at all, at all, and yet at all, eat, drink, smoke, or be engaged in unnecessary conversation until the Mass is over, this being quite an irreverent an unbecoming habit."[3] The fast is said to last from Saturday night till Sunday noon or afternoon. In another church which also requires members to abstain

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1) I.e. unbaptized people, whether children or adults.

2) In this respect an experience I had as missionary in Kimberley is also illuminating. Because I was aware of the danger that the regular administering of such 'emergency' baptism could foster such a magical association, I discouraged the practice. My Bantu elders did not see eye to eye with me on the matter and to convince me of the necessity of administering baptism to a sick child one of them related an incident of a sick child for which a special baptism was requested. Whether my predecessor was reluctant to comply with the request and only did so after continued pressure on the part of elders, or whether he had been prevented by other circumstances I do not know, but according to the elders' version it was several days before baptism was administered. All this time the baby was so ill that it was expected to die at any time. It also suffered acutely. Just after it had been baptized it died. I forget the exact words in which he commented on the incident, but it was evident that he felt that the child could not die peacefully until it had received baptism and that the performance of the rite had a 'liberating' effect on the child.

3) Constitution and Canons of the Ethiopian Catholic Church in Zion, p. 86.

from smoking in the morning before going to Holy Communion, communicants have to swill their mouth and wash their hands before attending the sacrament. I was told that a cup of water and a basin of water are placed in readiness in an appropriate place for this purpose.

There is a tendency to make of Holy Communion a secret into which only the 'initiated' are admitted. In at least two churches of type "A", both non-Seperatist, only full church members may be present when Holy Communion is administered. Outsiders and even catechumens are not permitted to witness it. In one case the church doors are closed during the sacrament - something which otherwise only happens during a prayer. An instance has come to my notice in which this secrecy about Holy Communion was consciously connected with the secrecy of the tribal initiation ceremonies. A leading councillor of the chief who occasionally attends a church service but is not a member is said to have asked an African minister what takes place at Holy Communion. The minister replied that if the councillor told him what they did at the initiation ceremonies, he would tell him about Communion! The councillor would not divulge his secret so the minister kept his also. I would suggest that the secrecy about Communion is a kind of compensation for having to remain outside the tribal initiation ceremonies, of which the secrecy of some aspects is still guarded very closely.

In Sabbatarian and Pentecostal churches Communion is not as important as Baptism. In all the Separatist churches of these two types, as well as in the S.D.A. a ceremony of feet washing takes place before the actual Communion. Some of these churches administer the sacrament in the evening and one Sabbatarian Separatist church has it on Friday night "when the Sabbath has started". Here again we see the insistence on following the Biblical description of the rite in all its details as closely as possible.

In a constitution in use in one section of a Separatist church which is a split from the L.M.S. and follows the Congregationalist pattern of church organisation we find the following un-Calvinistic statement of faith: "We believe that the Bread and wine that we use for the Sacrament when used by faith turn into true Flesh and Blood of Jesus Christ. In use therefore we eat the true body of Jesus Christ." Why this element

of Roman Catholic dogma in a church which has its roots in "free" Protestantism? I suggest that the explanation for this is the same as for the general appeal that Roman Catholicism has, and which we shall discuss later.

In the L.M.S. a non-alcoholic drink with fruit flavouring is used instead of wine in the celebration of the sacrament, presumably from temperance motives. A Sabbatarian Separatist leader told me he uses "grape juice, not wine that is bought from a bar, because that is mixed with spirits".

Ritual avoidance.

Apart from the fasts in connection with Holy Communion or Mass, ritual avoidance is not very important in churches of type "A", but injunctions about avoidance looms large in the teaching of all Sabbatarians and Pentecostals, both Separatist and non-Separatist. We should consider this trend against the background of such of these churches as are connected with Europeans, in which avoidance has two aspects. On the one hand it is part of a legalistic tendency according to which various ritual prescripts from the Mosaic law, such as those about pure and impure food are considered as being still incumbent on Christians. This is particularly stressed by the Sabbatarians who also adhere to the Old Testament Sabbath. On the other hand a type of avoidance is practised which follows from a mechanistic notion of the Christian doctrine of sanctification. Certain activities are classified as 'worldly', and to be sanctified the Christian must abstain from these. Thus a 'Committee on Morals' of one such church enjoins "That all our members follow the injunction to come out from the world and to refrain from evil and doubtful works such as attending bioscope (theatres), beer drinks, dances or smoking in any form, reading foolish and harmful literature, and the use of bad language." [1] In the Sotho version of the church laws, football games, picnics, circuses (papali tsa diphoofolo) and dances are added to the list. This type of avoidance is particularly stressed in Pentecostal churches, and is more oriented to the New Testament than to the Old.

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1) A further illustration of the mechanistic character of notions about sanctification is provided by the type of statistics given in the same report "Converted 810, Sanctified 557, Baptized with the Holy Ghost 259, etc."

Both these types of avoidance have found considerable application in Separatist churches, and here there does not seem to be a particular distinction between Pentecostals and Sabbatarians. In all of these churches members are expected to avoid tobacco and alcoholic drinks, and one or two also add dancing. The most common food prohibitions from the Mosaic law are those of pork and the meat of "dead things" (carrion), while the eating of blood is also explicitly mentioned in one or two instances. One or two church leaders made a general reference to all the animals prohibited "by the Bible" and particularly mentioned several from Lev. 11 and Deut. 14. Another quoted Galatians 5:19 ff. where a number of "works of the flesh" are listed.

There are, however, other types of avoidance of which there are not such clear precedents in the teaching and practice of European missions. Thus in some Pentecostal churches the shoes are removed when a church service is attended. This is usually explained as being necessary when going into the presence of God, with reference to Moses' experience at the burning bush. One church leader thought of the noise made by shoes as unbefitting God's presence. Another, when speaking of Moses, said he might have trodden in some dung and it would have been unbefitting for him to stand on holy ground with shoes thus defiled. He also held that if they were to go into church with their shoes on there would be no agreement amongst them. The disorderliness of some people at a night service I attended he ascribed to the fact that one of the visitors was wearing shoes.

In several churches the men abstain from shaving their beards. Some churches not only prohibit the eating of pork, but also the keeping of pigs. The Church of St. Paul Apostolic Faith Morning Star has a "holy place". It is the custom in this church for women and girls to wear long dresses, reaching to the ankles, and no woman wearing a short dress may go onto the holy place. Menstruating and pregnant women, and people who have not finally been purified after taking part in a funeral service (see p. 376 f) may not go onto the holy place. People with impurity from a funeral must also abstain from active church work until they are purified.

In this church shoes are worn to ordinary services, but they must be removed before going onto the holy place.

The fact that traditional belief involved many rules about the avoidance of certain objects and activities is probably responsible for a particular receptivity on the part of Bantu converts for the type of Christian teaching which lays stress on the avoidance of certain objects and activities. In a few cases the rules of Separatists about avoidance are also comparable to particular traditional taboos and rules. The rule that menstruating and pregnant women should avoid the holy place may be related to the traditional taboos encumbent on such women. The avoidance of the holy place by people wo are ritually impure through contact with death may be connected with the traditional usage that members of a bereaved household must be purified after a funeral and that a woman ~~hold~~ should not go abroad after the death of her husband until she has thus been ritually purified (ch. III, pp. 108ff.) There is also some resemblance between the prohibition on the meat of impure animals and the taboo on eating the meat of one's totem. The breaking of this taboo traditionally had to be followed by a purification ceremony.[1] From these examples it appears that avoidance in the churches is also connected with traditional notions of impurity such as 'hot blood' and sehihi (see ch.III, pp. 128ff). With this aspect we shall deal in greater detail in connection with rites of purification.

It does not appear as if the breach of rules of avoidance is regarded as resulting in immediate and particular misfortune. The nearest to this was the explanation that the wearing of shoes in church causes disagreement among the members. The same leader explained the rule about the avoidance of smoking by pointing out that if you smoke "you are burning the Spirit of Christ now. You are lighting a fire towards Him" (o gotsa molelô mo go Ênê). Of beer he said that if you were to get drunk, you might blaspheme in church, therefore you should abstain from drinking altogether. The idea of some misfortune following the breach of these rules of avoidance is not altogether absent, as we shall show below. The misfortune is of a

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1) Schapera, The Tswana, p. 35.

more distant nature, and the connection between breach of rule and misfortune is more general and less particular than is usually the case with taboo.

Besides the connection between the traditional beliefs about taboos and church rules of avoidance, we should also see avoidance within the wider context of the moralistic tendency. In moralism it is the doing of works, the observance of rules of right conduct, of what should be done and what should not be done, that is stressed. Rules of avoidance are the negative aspect of moralism, the rules about what should not be done. Those who keep these rules will attain eternal life in heaven; those who do not heed them will be excluded from heaven. That is the misfortune which follows a general breach of these rules.

This moralistic tendency of which we have had considerable evidence in previous chapters, (ch. V, pp. 199 - 200 ch. VI, pp.296ff, 301) appears to me to be connected with the tendency toward ritual that bears a magical character. At a later stage I shall attempt to show what this connection is, but as we proceed the possibility of such a connection should be kept in mind.

It should still be pointed out that ritual avoidance in the churches does not necessarily imply a glorification of the Old Testament above the New. When asked what things are avoided [1] in his church, a leader referred to the list contained in Galatians 5:19 ff. side by side with Deut. 14. So also the avoidance of pork is explained by stating that "a swine is the habitation of evil spirits," with reference to Matt. 8:28 - 34, beside various Old Testament references. To prove that the consumption of tobacco is an evil reference is often made to Ezekiel 8:17 (cf. ch. V, p. 203) but 1 Cor. 3:16 is also quoted in this context.

Illness and healing.

In the society with which we are dealing the institutions concerned with healing have increased in modern times. As we have observed (ch.III),

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1) I used the verb go ila from which the word for taboo (moila)is derived.

native doctors are still practising and some people maintain that there are more of them at present than in former times, although they are not considered as powerful as those of long ago. We have also noticed that scientific techniques of healing as applied in the hospital and clinics by the European doctor, and by trained nurses, both European and African, are now finding a ready response, while trading stores are also acting as channels of distribution for numerous patent medicines of 'western' origin. In addition to this some of the churches are strongly preoccupied with healing and the maintenance of good health. Whether the increased concern with illness and health may be interpreted as indicating a deterioration in the health of the population, is difficult to say. Statistics from which it would be possible to deduce whether the present poor health conditions referred to above (ch. II,p.75) are the result of a deterioration during the past forty or fifty years are not available. However, if the trend which characterised the economy until a few years ago is borne in mind, it seems quite feasible that health conditions until recently have been on the downward grade. Although sorghum was the main crop of traditional Tswana economy, other food crops such as millet, melons, pumpkins, sweet cane, and beans were also cultivated.[1] These, together with the meat of animals that were occasionally slaughtered, and milk in its various forms made possible a relatively varied diet, even though the variety did not last all the year round. In Taung, however, the severe droughts of the 'twenties and early 'thirties' caused grave deterioration in the local production of food. Locally produced cereals were substituted by maize and sorghum obtained by reaping on farms or through purchase from traders but this was not the case with the other food crops. The droughts also diminished the stock so that less meat was available. Hunting has long ceased to be a possible source of food. Since cattle are seldom kept for milk nowadays, and many households do not even possess cattle, another valuable foodstuff (milk in its various forms)

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1) Schapera, Apprenticeship at Kuruman, p. xx, cf. The Tswana, p. 21.

has disappeared from the diet of the bulk of the population. Thus, whereas the Tlhaping used to have a relatively varied diet - at least at certain times of the year - the deteriorating farming conditions have had the result that starchy foods constitute a larger proportion of the diet of the population as a whole, than seems to have been the case in former times. It is to be expected that such a development will have a detrimental effect on the health of the population.

It may be that conditions will now begin to improve as a result of the Irrigation Scheme. At present it is still of too recent origin to have had a marked effect on any large proportion of the population. Moreover, production on the Scheme is mainly concerned with cash crops, and the small vegetable gardens that have been provided have not proved a very great success. I do not doubt that in a small number of households the diet has again increased in variety as a result of the Irrigation Scheme. Some households also have a varying diet by their purchasing of a variety of foodstuffs. Nevertheless the general situation seems to support the suggestion that the health of the population as a whole has deteriorated during the last half century. This would explain why there seems to be an increased concern with healing.

The economic situation must, however, not be considered in isolation from general social conditions. The weakening of family life, lawlessness of the younger generation, weakening of the chieftainship and the disappearance of many traditional institutions and values may be expected to produce the feeling that everything is going wrong, a feeling which is bound to result in lack of vigour and the absence of a feeling of general well-being. This can easily be associated with the feeling of ill-health and may thus also be responsible for the increased concern with healing.

We are here only concerned with the part that the churches play in connection with illness and healing, but we have to pay attention to the attitude of the churches to other institutions of healing. In discussing this attitude on the part of the churches we distinguish between native doctors and native medicines on the one hand, and secular techniques which are of 'European' origin, which include not only the

services offered by trained doctors and nurses in hospitals and clinics, but also the use of patent medicines. For the sake of brevity we shall refer to the former as traditional techniques and to the latter as European techniques.

Churches of type "A", both the Separatists and those connected with Europeans, are not opposed to the utilisation of European techniques of healing. As we have observed most of the medical services offered are connected with the R.C. Mission. On the whole these churches do not favour traditional techniques, but a number of church leaders with whom I discussed the matter were not totally opposed to these and distinguished between some that were permissible and others not. Thus a trained African minister held that 'medicines' (mareo), charms (dipheko) and the throwing of dice are not allowed, but "things that help" were permissible. Another approved of the use of "herbs" but expressed oppostion to "other things like dice which are heathenish". An office bearer in another church said that there was no objection to "good doctors using herbs", but objected to "witch-craft."[1] An Evangelist whom I asked what things are "avoided" (go ila)[2] in his church mentioned first of all sorcery and "doctorhood" (bongaka), but added: "If a person is ill, he must seek a doctor /Native or European/ for himself. He will heal the flesh. God will heal the spirit (moya)." The four quoted so far were all leaders in churches connected with Europeans. A Bishop of a Separatist church of type "A" also approved of medicines which he referred to as being "good" or being a "help". He specifically mentioned such things as leaves and "the little things which you dig up in the veld, you mix them, boil them, and throw them into a bottle - they are good. They are just like a chemist's medicines". Those to which

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1) The two informants who mentioned herbs were interviewed in English. Both were well-educated men. The one who spoke of witchcraft probably meant sorcery, not being aware of the technical difference between the two. There is hardly any belief in witchcraft among the Tlhaping, except among the people of Nguni (and perhaps also S.Sotho) stock and those who have been influenced by the beliefs of these people.

2) Cf. p. 345, n.

he is opposed are medicines connected with sorcery, horns, crosses cross-marks put on doors as part of the process by which a doctor treats a homestead, ch. III, p. 115, doctored pegs (ibid.) and incisions. Another Separatist leader said that there was no objection to a native doctor "because he helps the people". He was opposed to those that provide medicines with which to perform sorcery, but he approved of those that divine to point out persons guilty of sorcery. Two leaders of different Separatist churches said that traditional techniques of healing are allowed in their churches, without further qualifying their statement.

As far as Sabbatarian churches are concerned we may point out that the S.D.A. are opposed to traditional techniques but not to European techniques. They are known to do medical work in connection with their missions, and although they have no permanent medical mission at Taung, funds are sometimes collected by their Taung church for such work elsewhere. Of the three Sabbatarian Separatist churches two also do not object to European techniques but are opposed to traditional ones. The third discourages the use of medicines and doctors altogether, both traditional and European, and upholds only the kind of healing practised in the church. Some people, however, are said to be still "weak" and do consult doctors, without being censured for this.

In the Pentecostal churches there is a general tendency to favour the exclusive reliance on the techniques of healing practised in the churches. The leaders of three Separatist Pentecostal churches were emphatically opposed to the utilisation of other techniques of healing. The other Pentecostal leaders said that it was permissible to consult European doctors and use European medicines, although it was not favoured. Pentecostals are unanimous in their opposition to traditional techniques of healing.[1)]

Throughout the churches, then, there is a tendency to disapprove of traditional techniques of healing. In a number of instances, however,

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1) A minister of a Pentecostal church connected with Europeans said that he used to be a native doctor. He has parted altogether with traditional techniques of healing, but he said it was very hard to give up his doctorhood.

leaders had some reservations in respect of their attitude and did not condemn native doctors and their medicines altogether. It is difficult to see what the underlying principle is according to which the distinction is made between permissible and non-permissible techniques. It appears to me that it involves the traditional attitude to the traditional techniques, and that it requires much more intensive investigation about particular medicines and their uses, about present-day beliefs about the causes of illness, and the medicines and treatments appropriate to their cure. Therefore I can do nothing more than suggest a possible answer.

In their terminology the Tlhaping do not distinguish different categories of medicines and medical techniques which would co-incide with our notions of 'magical' and 'non-magical'. All medicines are ditlhare, or meriane, OR MELEMO. The different words are used interchangeably and do not denote different categories of medicines. So also the verb go alaha covers all healing or preventive techniques. The terminological distinction that is made, is that between sorcery (boloi - the verb go lowa), and magic which is made for purposes which are socially approved.

So also the term moleko denotes a medicine used for sorcery (although the names ditlhare, etc. also include such medicines.[1]

What appears to me to be important, however, is that treatment is sometimes in terms of symptoms only and not in terms of causation. This may be explained by a few examples. A doctor showed me the bulb of a plant known as hôkôhôkwane which is used as medicine for a child of which the pulsation of the fontanelle has stopped. He claimed that a piece of bulb placed on the fontanelle will revive the pulsation. This is treatment in terms of symptoms, without reference to causation. So one hears of medicines for the head or for the stomach or for a pain on the pit of the stomach. But if a doctor is summoned and finds it necessary to divine the cause

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1) Prof. Schapera points out that "some types of magical activity are more specifically distinguished, e.g. go thaya, to "fortify"..... go upa, to expel or keep away garden pests, go fetlha pula, to make rain, and go lowa, to bewitch." (The Tswana, p. 62). These activities, except perhaps go lowa are also covered by the term go alaha.

of the illness and reveals that it is caused by sorcery, then the countermagic that he will perform against the sorcery will be treatment in terms of causation.

I do not think that the natives themselves think of medicines used in treatment which is merely in terms of symptoms as being of a different order from medicines used to counteract sorcery or to purify a patient whose ailment is due to dikgaba and other instances of treatment in terms of causation (see ch. III, p. 122). It may be that some of the medicines used for treatment in terms of symptoms do indeed possess the medicinal potentialities ascribed to them and would therefore be classified as non-magical from a European point of view, but some are pure magic beyond any doubt. Techniques of healing merely in terms of symptoms would then not even coincide with a class of 'non-magical' techniques of healing. On the evidence at my disposal I do not think that any distinction is made by traditional Tswana notions between medicines and techniques of healing that are magical and those that are non-magical.

I suggest that such of the Tswana who think in terms of traditional notions about illness and healing see European techniques of healing in much the same light as their own techniques which give treatment merely in terms of symptoms, and therefore do not consider European techniques as being essentially of a different order from their own. European techniques may therefore easily be substituted for traditional techniques where treatment in terms of symptoms only is required. They do realise, however, that European techniques do not recognise most of their traditional notions about the causation of illness. If therefore they suspect that treatment in terms of causation is required, they would prefer to consult a native doctor. The distinction between treatment merely in terms of symptoms and treatment based on traditional notions of causation is probably not consciously held, and the argument for or against European techniques not as clear-cut as would appear from our explanation, but I do suggest that they think along these lines.

The distinction I have drawn here does not coincide with the distinction between "illness of God" and illness caused by "poison" (or "illness

of people). As we have seen, a native doctor himself said that he sends cases of "illness of God" to hospital (ch. II, p. 74). Even "in the old days" divination sometimes revealed that illenss or other misfortune was directly caused by God "in which case nothing could be done."[1] In this context "illness of God" therefore belongs to the category which we have termed ailments which are treated in terms of causation. The fact that native doctors have no treatment against such ailments makes it clear why such cases are readily taken to hospital.

I suggest then that the reason for the uncertain attitude of some church leaders about traditional techniques of healing, and the tendency to allow some and condemn others is to be found in the fact that some traditional techniques of healing are in terms of symptoms only. When treatment is in terms of counteracting sorcery or dikgaba, or dreams about ancestors there would probably be little doubt about the undesirability of such treatment. But when thinking of treatment merely in terms of symptoms, especially when it involves the drinking of infusions, applying ointments or taking powders, many church people probably do not see any evil in them and also think of them as being of much the same nature as European techniques. Their thinking about the question is muddled however, for the very fact that they do not themselves clearly distinguish between treatment which is merely in terms of symptoms and that which is based on notions about causation.

It should be remembered that we have been discussing techniques of healing only, and have not attempted to formulate a theory of Tswana magic as a whole. We have merely tried to explain how it comes that some church people repudiate some traditional techniques of healing, while they recognise others as being valid and permissible. I must hasten to add that, as one of the instances cited above (p. 349) has already shown, even traditional notions about the causation of illness, such as the belief in sorcery, are by no means repudiated by all church people and receive open recognition in some churches, even in 'official' circles. Our subsequent material will show that this is particularly the case in some Pentecostal Separatist churches. However, although these churches adhere to traditional beliefs about practising sorcery, they have introduced new techniques of counteracting it, and officially repudiate the traditional

the techniques.

Rites of healing are most elaborate in Pentecostal churches, less so in Sabbatarian churches, while in churches of type "A" they are very simple. Most churches of type "A" merely say prayers for the sick. Church leaders usually visit members of their congregation who are ill at their homes and there pray for them individually. The sick are regularly collectively mentioned in public prayers. A few Separatist leaders (type "A") also lay on hands for a sick person for whom they are praying. In a few churches - those that I know of are not Separatists - special allowance is made for administering Holy Communion to sick church members. In the R.C. Church the sacrament of extreme unction is administered to sick members who seem to be nearing their end.

In the S.D.A. only prayers are said for the sick as in most churches of type "A". Two of the Sabbatarian Separatist churches perform special rites of healing in which the patient is anointed with oil and prayed for with the laying-on of hands. The oil is applied to the affected part of the body, or if that is not possible, to some part of the head. While praying for a person, the officiant lightly places his hands on the patient's head or on the place where the oil has been applied. Such rites are performed at the end of an ordinary Sunday morning service, when those who desire to undergo the rite are invited to do so. It is also performed for sick people at their homes - if they request it. They need not necessarily be members of the church. One or more prominent office bearers of the church officiates. In the third Sabbatarian Separatist church special prayers for the sick are also accompanied by the laying-on of hands. Such a rite does not form part of the regular services, however. Only in cases of very serious illness is the patient also anointed. The anointing with oil and laying-on of hands are often connected with James 5:14 and Mark. 16:18.

In the two Pentecostal churches which are connected with Europeans prayers for the sick accompanied by the laying-on of hands also form part of ordinary services (cf. ch. VI, p. 280) but the rite may also be performed for sick people at their homes. In one of these churches anointing with oil is also performed in cases of very serious illness.

The elaboration of rites of healing in Pentecostal Separatist churches consists not only in the elaboration of the same types of rites that are performed in other churches but also in the addition of other kinds. Prayer with laying-on of hands is the most common rite of healing in all these churches forming, as we have seen (ch. VI) a part of regular services. Unction is also a recognised form of treatment with some but is not very often performed. In one case oil that has been"prayed for" may be given a patient to drink if this manner of treatment has been advised in revelation by the "Spirit". The more violent the nature of the services of a church, the more elaborate are usually the rites of healing. An extreme example of the elaboration of the rite of prayer with laying-on of hands is that described in the previous chapter (ch. VI, pp. 285 - 286) as part of the violent type of Pentecostal service describedthere.

Only certain church members may officiate in the rite of prayer and laying-on of hands. All church officials such as Preachers, Evangelists and ministers may officiate, but some churches also have "Prayers" or "Intercessors" (Barapedi, Barapeledi), people who have been appointed and ordained to perform these rites. Their status and authority is less than that of preachers, but in the absence of a preacher they may also conduct a service.

The nature of the laying-on of hands varies. In one other church it was almost as violent as in the one described and some persons were touched, rubbed and pressed over the whole upper part of the body and occasionally a patient would collapse after being thus handled for a very long time. Other people gave little outward evidence of being thus affected. It is worth while paying a little more attention to one such instance of a girl collapsing. The central person in the ceremony of praying for the sick was a young man (A) a Prayer who had recently returned from Johannesburg. His behaviour was strange in many ways, that is, strange also to the local leaders and members of his own church. On a later occasion his behaviour was most disturbing to the leaders as well as the congregation.

On the occasion in question he first prayed for one or two children, a young man, and two older women. The nature of the

imposition of hands was mild. Then came a girl of about sixteen (B). Before the time I had already noticed that there was a particular relationship between her and A. Sometimes it seemed to take the form of antagonism, but I had the impression that actually the girl was attracted by A and perhaps the reverse was also the case. The prayer for B lasted much longer. He touched, pressed and rubbed her, quite violently at times, sparing hardly any part of her body above her waist. She began to appear exhausted, leaning against the wall with her back, until some of the other people made her sit down with her back against the wall. Another girl of about the same age now came to be prayed for, also by A, but he did not 'lay hands on' her with half as much violence as on B and had finished praying for her quite soon. He turned his attention to B again, and treated her in the same manner as before. This time she soon seemed to collapse completely and lay down stretched out on the floor. A reached for a bottle of water which he had "prayed for" a little while before, and flicked some of the water in her face with his hand. He made her sit up and rubbed over her face and body roughly. Gradually she came erect and was given some water to drink while A flicked some in her face. He went to the opposite side of the room and as the singing kept on he returned to her a few times, pressing and rubbing her again in various places. When eventually she seemed to be herself again, he left her alone.

There is no doubt that in this case a strong sexual element entered into the laying-on of hands. The same kind of thing took place, again between A and B, on another occasion when I visited this church. In the service of another church described in the previous chapter there was also one instance in which one could not think otherwise than that the Prayer or both he and the girl he was praying for were finding sexual gratification in the laying-on of hands.[1] In this case it was also a young man praying for a young girl. I must hasten to add that these were the only three instance in which the laying-on of hands clearly seemed to partake of the character of sexual play. Usually there was nothing to suggest that officiants were giving play to their sexual desires in the performance of the rite.

The collapsing occurred more often in this church. The same girl, who was sturdily built and did not appear to be frail partially collapsed on another occasion when the Prayer was a young woman.

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1) For a similar sexual element in Zulu Separatist churches, see Sundkler, op. cit. p. 247.

At the same service a younger girl of about thirteen, also collapsed. She was thin and physically undeveloped and had a bad squint, but she always appeared lively and took a leading part in the singing, also preached at times. Her mother told me that she often had visions, and these usually came when she was in such a condition of physical collapse. One might have thought that in this church collapsing is a recognised form of behaviour, probably connected with the idea of having a particular spiritual experience, and that it provides an opportunity for drawing attention and perhaps even gaining prestige in a manner which is socially approved. However, when I questioned the local leader about the reason for the girls' collapsing he said that he did not know why they collapsed and that it was not the "custom" in their church.[1] As we have seen (ch. V, pp. 188 - 190) similar experiences, usually of a more serious and prolonged nature, influenced some of the church leaders to join the churches they are in now.[2]

The violence of the laying-on of hands when not containing a sexual element, cannot always be explained, but the beating of some of the people who were prayed for and the accompanying shouts (ch. VI, p. 286) were afterwards explained to me as follows: "It is to scold (go kgalemêla) the enemies that are in the person. By beating they feel (utlwa) the pains which are in the person. In Tlhaping it is /called/ massaging (go sedila)"[3] The "enemies" he explained to be such "as the depositing /of medicines of sorcery/ by people".[4]

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1) For collapsing in American Negro revival meetings, cf. Dollard, John, Caste and Class in A southern Town, Yale University Press, New Hanover, 1937, pp. 226ff.

2) I was told by one informant on traditional matters that the nowadays little known ngaka ya sedupi (ch. III, p. 126) would faint if someone were to smoke or snuff in his presence while he was busy treating a patient. He then had to be revived by singing, clapping of hands and praying to the ancestor spirits.

3) The verb denotes the application of ointment (as medicine) by rubbing.

4) Peêlô ya batho, lit. the placing (or deposited object) of people. According to Rev. J. Tom Brown, Sewana Dictionary, peêlo means: " A pledge; a putting down for. Used chiefly of bewitching medicines."

In the less violent type of Pentecostal churches the laying-on of hands is also less violent, although these sometimes have smaller elaborations in the rite. In one of these churches the congregation do not wear special robes, but the two Preachers wear wide white tunics gathered with green cords round their waists. When praying for the sick they stand facing each other. The cords round their waists are untied, and are hung around their necks. Two or three people come at a time, and kneel between them, facing the one and with their backs to the other. The ends of the cords are laid over the heads or shoulders of the two 'patients' on the outside. The Preachers pray loudly, each saying his own prayer, and the laying-on of hands takes place simultaneously. They move about their hands touching the heads of the 'patients', sometimes also their shoulders, backs or chests. When a baby is prayed for, one Preacher takes it in his arm, gathering his wide tunic around it and prays with his hand on the baby's head. The other places the one end of his cord around the child and also holds his hands around it.

The laying-on of hands itself was explained as "fulfilling the command of the Book", with particular reference to the Epistle of St. James. The significance of the cord was explained as follows: "It is received from the 'elders' of the church [such as the minister and Evangelist]. They 'pray for' it. They put on the cord for you. This garment [the tunic] is prayed for. When it is placed over someone else, the one who prays is helped by the prayers of those numerous people who prayed for these clothes of the church....." It appears, therefore, to have much the same character as the "staff" of the minister of the St. Paul Apostolic Faith Morning Star. (See p. 338.)

In the latter church the laying-on of hands is performed by the minister alone, or by him and a few other church officials. The members of the congregation file past them and each is very lightly touched with the whole hand or merely with the fingertips, mostly on the head only. As a person is touched he sinks down on his haunches, or inclines forward a bit. Some turn right round like a top and some keep on stepping about, waving their arms gracefully, writhing their bodies, and making sounds. On one occasion when the rite was performed

on the holy place (see below), two of the women kept on acting in this manner for twenty minutes and more, long after everybody had filed past and even after the service had been ended. On ordinary Sundays the rite takes place during the latter part of the service in the church building, but on special occasions, as when a baptismal ceremony has been performed, it takes place on the holy place toward the end of the proceedings. In this church a prayer is not said simultaneously with the laying-on of hands.

What may be termed "holy water" plays and important role in connection with health in several of the churches. Mostly it is ordinary water which has been "prayed for"[1] by an office bearer of the church. Such water may be specially "prayed for" and immediately be drunk by a patient, but in at least two churches the members regularly bring bottles of water which are "prayed for" during a service (cf. ch. VI, p. 286) and are then taken home, either to drink some of the water regularly, or when they does not feel well. On one occasion a young girl who had just received a bottle of water after the leader had prayed for it, was told by him that there were snakes in her liver. The snakes were said to be of the kind called sleke (or seleka)[2]. When I asked him about it later, he explained that the snakes were the result of sorcery being performed by people (di loilwa ke batho). The person praying for the water usually handles the bottle while praying for it or places his hands over it and perhaps also covers it with a part of his robe. One leader removes the cork of the bottle before he starts praying because "water cannot be prayed for when it is closed". Another particularly uses as holy water some that has been collected at the place where a baptismal ceremony of the church has been performed, not just from the surface, but from the depths.[3] In one church ordinary water which is drank for

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1) The Tswana term is go rapelêla metsi (lit., to pray for the water). See p. 122, n. 1.

2) Seleka, "An earthworm, a species of small harmless snake." Rev. J. Tom Brown, Secwana Dictionary.

3) I did not enquire whether it had to be collected immediately after the performance of the rite, or whether it could also be done at any time long after it.

thirst is also often prayed for, either by the person drinking it, or by someone else. The explanation of this was that "everything one eats or drinks must be blessed so that it may enter the body with a blessing."

In the St. Paul Apostolic Faith Morning Star a rite of drinking water follows the laying-on of hands in an ordinary Sunday service. After receiving the laying-on of hands the members of the congregation proceed to a table where they kneel and where they are handed small "Vaseline" jars full of water to drink. The whole congregation drinks of this water, the children as well. The minister in explaining the rite to me, said "it is their medicine (setlhare). It helps the spirit, the blood, the body, the understanding (tlhaloganyô)." He referred to Rev. 22:17 where there is reference to drinking "the water of life", and also pointed out that Christ prayed for the water at the wedding in Cana. We should remember that it is the same church in which most of the people "go through the water" after the performance of a ceremony of baptism.

In three of the churches ashes obtained from the burning of cow-dung are also used for purposes of healing. It is sometimes added to the holy water which patients have to drink, and one leader said that besides the ash he also adds salt. Some of the ash may also be rubbed on the affected part of the body. Once it was sprinkled in the middle of the floor before the rite of praying and laying-on of hands started, and on the same occasion, before praying for one of the people the leader rubbed some of the ashes on his hands. When I first saw the rite performed I could merely discern that a powdery substance was used, and when I asked the leader what it was, he said: "It is ash from the hearth, only /ashes/ of dung of cattle. It is grass, because cattle eats grass." He further explained that "the ash is a horn; it is medicine (setlhare). It is a command; it is the law of the church. It is sewasô". (See below). I did not hear any particular text mentioned in connection with the use of ashes, but one church leader, after having described the use of ashes in some detail and having mentioned the custom of prayer with laying-on of hands, said that he used this method because he read about it in the Bible. This remark might have referred to the laying-on of hands only,

but I think it also referred to the use of ashes. I suggest that it is based on, or at least connected with, Numbers 19 where prescripts are given for the slaying of a heifer. The heifer as well as "her skin, and her flesh, and her blood with her dung" had to be burnt. The ashes had to be preserved "for a water of separation", and anybody who had touched a corpse had to be purified on the third and seventh days after the incident, by being sprinkled with some of the water of separation. These churches would not find it practicable to slaughter and burn a whole animal, skin, flesh and blood, but they can burn dung and they probably feel that since the dung is particularly mentioned, it might as well be used alone. I must stress the fact, however, that I cannot produce indisputable evidence that this interpretation is correct.

More than once the term sewasô was used in connection with rites in which ash was used, and it was also used of other rites which are very distinctly purification rites, although no ashes are used in them. Zulu Zionists use the term isiwasho "for the various kinds of purgatives and enemas (water mixed with ashes or soap) used in connection with ritual purification."[1] Sewasô and isiwasho do not seem to be indigenous Bantu words but are probably derived from the English word "wash". Purification will be discussed in greater detail in the following section, but the connection of ashes with purification supports the suggestion that its use is based on Numbers 19.

In three of the churches the elaborate kind of robes are worn which have been described in the previous chapter (ch. VI, pp. 282f.)[2] These are closely connected with health and healing. In general appearance the outfits in the different churches are the same as those that have already been described. Sometimes a coloured or white flag, which may also be adorned with patterns, is added to the ensemble. More or less the

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1) Sundkler, op. cit., pp. 211 - 212.

2) At a service of a fourth church the leader and two women each wore some or other peice of clothing decorated with a pattern or two. A man also tied a cord round his body. When I asked about the significance no mention was made of health-giving powers, however. In a fifth church I sometimes saw individuals wearing a coloured cord round the waist.

same variety of colours are found in all three churches. In a church in which I was also able to observe the garments closely, a greater variety of figures appeared on the garments. Besides star symbols, crescent moons, crosses and rings, there also appeared letters of the alphabet, while one figure resembled a hand and another the character 3. Several also had variations of a figure which I found out represented angels. Such an angel usually consisted of a bell-formed body from which something protruded on each side to represent arms or wings, and it was surmounted by a round head. These figures were strongly reminiscent of children's drawings representing human beings. One or two other figures also occurred which I could not identify. (See Plates ..VII..... for these robes.)

A church member is not given a whole uniform on a particular occasion such as baptism but procures it piece by piece according to revelation. One church leader told me that at baptism every new member is given a green cord, but the other pieces of the uniform are gradually procured according as it is revealed. In another church young children, not of an age to have been baptized yet, also sometimes wear a cassock with a few figures on, or a head cloth such as the women wear. The colours and the forms of the figures on garments are also revealed. The figures on a particular garment are not necessarily revealed at the same time as the garment itself, but it may be revealed that certain figures must be placed on a garment someone already possesses. People do not receive revelations pertaining to their own garments, but are always told by another member of the church what they should wear. In one church, however, it was said that superior church officials do receive revelations about their own garments.

In all three churches these garments are worn as means of improving or at least sustaining health. It may be revealed to one member that another who is ill, should wear a cloak or a cord or a band of a particular colour and with particular figures. If the person who is ill, does this, he will recover. Even if the revelation relates to a member who is not ill, he should also wear the garment revealed as a

means of warding off illness. The revelations may merely prescribe a particular figure which has to be attached to a garment the person already has. On the other hand, someone who already has, say, a cloak, may be required to procure a second one, and once I saw a leader wearing two cloaks, one over the other, of which he discarded one later one, while he also changed his cap for another in the course of the service.

In one church the congregation is given the opportunity every Sunday before the service closes to relate the revelations they have received. Mostly these take the form of visions (ditšupô, dipônô) which are usually said to be received while the person is awake. Some of these visions relate to the wearing of garments. A young woman, for instance, related: "This morning as I was praying I saw a red cloak (sephika.)[1] I was praying this morning as I was going to church. Further I saw that my father, the Preacher, had stars on his robe (pura-pura). I saw that my mother had put on a cloak of sackcloth with white stars....." This meant that the people she had "seen" had to procure the garments or figures with which they had been seen. On a white "cassock" a young man was wearing under a red cloak I observed the characters T J X J (the one J was turned back to front) in blue low down to one side on the front of the garment. When I enquired after their significance I was told that the wearer had been ill and M - (a young girl) had "seen" that he should put it on his clothes to recover. There was also a red band which had been "seen" by the Evangelist, some blue and red crosses seen by a young woman and a blue star (with about seven protuberances looking more like the petals of a flower than the points of a star) which had also been seen by M -.

These garments were explicitly compared to medicines by one church leader. They do not go to a doctor, he explained, and whereas a doctor throws his bones and then tells you to take a goat and cut it, they do not cut a goat,[2] but a piece of cloth. On another

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1) This word was not known to me and does not appear in Brown's Sechuana Dictionary, neither in Mabille, A. and Dieterlen, H. (revised R.A. Paroz), Southern-Sotho English Dictionary, Morija, 1950. The church people explained that it denotes a cloak such as the ones they wear.

2) In traditional rites where the slaughtering itself is significant, a sheep or a head of cattle is slaughtered. When a goat is slaughtered in connection with ritual, some part of it is usually needed as medicine. (Cf. ch. II, p.62)

occasion he explained that the cords exceed the clothes in power and said that they are his "horn". He claimed that he fixes cords crosswise in his house when there is lightning, and that they resist every medicine of sorcery that may be used against one. The spirit will reveal to one through someone else how the cords should be placed, he said.

I could not gain much information about the question whether particular values and associations are attached to particular symbols and colours. When asking about the significance of particular figures I usually received the answer that they "stand against" or prevent illness. With reference to the stars and crescent moons one leader said that "they are all the lights which come from heaven; also that you should have the brightness of light." The sackcloth was once connected with the Ninevites who reacted to Jonah's preaching by repenting in sackcloth and ashes. These examples, and particularly the use of crosses and angels, suggest that these symbols are not taken from the indigenous background. Much case material would probably be required to discover the symbolism of particular colours and figures.[1)]

The particulars about sticks, staffs, and flags are revealed in the same way as for the cords and garments. Of these accessories it is said that "they give you strength". (Incidentally the flags are often found very useful as face cloths when sweat flows freely!) One leader spoke of a flag as a broom with which to "sweep the things that are in front", for instance when he enters the water to go and perform baptism. He also said that it represented "the ground he has won in his spiritual movement" and that it would give him strength for further progress. The same man also has a walking stick surmounted by a curved piece of metal giving it the appearance of a short crook, and a crucifix is also attached to it. Of this he said that it revealed where there was danger, so that if, for instance he placed the point of the stick somewhere where a snake

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1) Among Zulu Zionists the wearing of white robes is connected with traditional notions of impurity and purification. Impurity is referred to as "blackness" in traditional Zulu ritual and has to be removed by the use of "white" medicines. No such parallel seems to exist among the Thlaping. (See Sundkler, op. cit., p. 214, and Krige, Eileen Jensen, The Social System of the Zulus, Shuter and Shooter, Pietermaritzburg, 2nd Ed., 1950, p. 82.

was hidden, it would cause the snake to appear.[1] Incidentally the same man often wears a beret to which several metal objects such as a small chain and a crucifix are attached. Of the chain he said that another person to whom it was revealed that he (the leader) should wear it, put it on for him after "praying for" it. Its purpose was to help revelations to come to him clearly. Another leader said of the staffs that they give one power to pray against diseases and enemies.

Special prayers are said by a Prayer or other church official over every garment, cord, staff or flag before the owner starts wearing or using it. In respect of a cord which was given to a girl who so far had no other piece of church apparel, the procedure was as follows:

> The leader produced a green cord and put it down in the middle of the floor where he sprinkled some ashes over it. The woman who was to pray over it, rubbed some ashes on her hands and with the point of her staff poked at the cord and moved it about a little and having knelt and placed her hand over it, she prayed. After the prayer the leader tied it around the girl, first over one shoulder and across her chest and back like a bandolier, and then round her waist. He prayed for her with laying-on of hands and then the regular performance of the laying-on of hands (with prayer) followed for the other members of the congregation.

In at least one church the garments must be prayed over anew every time they have been washed. When once I saw this performed no ash was used, but the Prayer draped his flag over the clothes and later held the clothes in his hands, wrapped in his flag, as he prayed over them. This was at the beginning of a service and the girl to whom the garments belonged immediately put them on over her ordinary clothes.

On the whole these garments are only worn to church services, but sometimes one sees people wearing just a cord or a band round a limb or round the body even in the ordinary course of events. One leader always goes about with his staff or his flag, and has two or three different berets adorned with figures or metal objects, and several shirts adorned with the usual patterns, which he uses for everyday wear.

A few less common usages and methods of healing must still be mentioned here. One minister is known to prescribe and administer enemas of salt water in some cases. Another used to apply the same method,

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1) This man claims to have passed his Junior Certificate and to have been a teacher. I have all reason to believe that this is true. It was affirmed by a reliable informant who should know.

but since having been convicted of practising as a medical practitioner without licence (see below) he no longer gives enemas. He said that the using of salt was "according to the law of God" and referred to the Gospel of St. Mark saying that "if they /people/ live by salt, it is said that they live with (in) peace. /Cf. Mark 9:50/. Just as Elisha put salt into the water in which there was death, saying: 'So speaketh Jehovah the God of Israel.' On that day death came out." (II Kings 2:19 - 22).

On the whole, prayers for healing are not confined to particular places, but may be performed at any church service or at the home of a sick person to whom the church leader has been summoned. In the St. Paul Apostolic Faith Morning Star church members who are in ill health go to the minister's homestead to spend several days there so that he can pray for them.[1] As far as I could make out this praying usually takes place in the regular devotions in the church building, but people with very particular troubles such as insanity or barrenness are prayed for on the holy place. The minister also prays for the sick when visiting other parts of the reserve.

One leader said that when dealing with difficult cases he burns seven candles which are placed in seven candlesticks "like the seven candles that were there when the Revelation was made" (cf. Rev. 1:12 ff.) He held that when these candles burn he has a certain power, and that the candles may reveal somethig "that is in the darkness" for him.

This shows, as we have already noticed before, that revelation plays an important role in connection with healing. Not only is this the case when particular colours and garments have to be worn, but also when a selection must be made from several possible methods of healing. Sometimes the selection is also preceded by a kind of diagnosis of the nature of the illness. The diagnosis and selection of the appropriate "treatment" is usually based on revelation in every particular case and will be discussed in a later section. The minister who ended up in court on

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1) It was hinted by outsiders that in some cases staying at the minister's home is a form of doing penance.

account of his healing activities is said to have diagnosed by means of feeling the stomach of a patient and "by opening a book", i.e. the Bible. Whether the feeling of the stomach is associated with a mystic notion, I do not know.

The reason why this one was so unfortunate as to get into trouble and none of the other church leaders who are also active as healers is probably that he charged fees in respect of examining patients and administering enemas. His fees were one shilling for an examination, ninepence for the first enema and threepence for each succeeding enema. Before judgement was delivered the accused made the following statement in court.[1]

> "I came to the country[2] as a man of prayers and I told the Chief that I use enemas consisting of salt and water. I am in the Apostolic faith and we used no medicines. The chief allowed me. All the people that are here to-day in court[3] is /sic/ the people I prayed for. What I called /sic/ a doctor is a man going to the veld digging for roots and dispensing as a chemist. I used no drugs and no roots. All I used is a solution of salt in water. Doctors will demand cattle from their patients. I am only charging only a very small fee from my people in order to buy salt and rubber tubes. The money I am charging is equivalent to the amount collected in other churches to keep the mission work going. Nobody will work for such small amounts unless he is a man of God alone. I am not in position /sic/ of a certificate. I am not a doctor but is a man of prayers. I don't want people who are dealing with witchdoctors because I don't believe in roots and other such articles."

He was found guilty on four counts and his wife on two and they were charged ten pounds or one month imprisonment on each count. They payed the fine.

After having got to know this man personally, who, ironically enough, is the one who lays so much stress on submissiveness and on obedience to the authorities (ch. V, p. 255), I am perfectly convinced of his bona fides in the matter, and I am sure that he was not aware of

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1) From Criminal Records in the Native Commissioner's Office at Taung, Case No. 178 of 1947. I quote the report verbally. I take it that it is a verbal rendering of the interpreter's version of the accused's own words, who I am sure would not have spoken English.

2) He is a local inhabitant but refers to his return after a long absence during which he had joined the church.

3) From other sources I heard that a largge number of his followers were present in court.

his acting contrary to the law in any way. He still finds it difficult to understand why he was convicted. To him it is a matter of having been punished for doing good, since many people have been healed by his treatment - so he, and at least some of the people he has treated, and many of the general public believe. Nobody gave evidence that his treatment harmed them. Nevertheless, he has stopped giving enemas and charging fees, although he still performs healing by prayer and some of the other means that have been described.

At present I know of no church leader who charges fees for healing. People who recover after treatment sometimes join the church of the person who treated them. In one or two cases it was said that people might make thank-offerings after recovery if they wished to do so. Whether these accrue to the "healer" personally or to the general church funds, I do not know.

Some reference must still be made to a certain J--N-- who performed healing and other activities during 1951, which eventually resulted in his arrest in the same year. He is described as a "Shangaan" (probably a Shangana-Tonga) and a "minister of religion", originally from Beira, Portuguese East Afria.[1] Before coming to Taung he was active in Kimberley and later also in Warrenton. In Taung he performed in both chiefdoms of the reserve. According to the evidence presented in the magistrate's court N--- on more than one occasion revealed the presence of objects which were supposed to be the cause of various misfortunes which had befallen the homesteads where these were found. The following is a summary of the evidence of a male teacher, to whom we shall refer as X, and who is a Nguni.

> When X consulted N--- for the first time he did not discuss anything with him about illness beforehand, neither was he ill himself. X proceeded as follows: "I gave accused half-a-crown and he opened his Bible and told me there were many things happening at our home, things disappearing, things dying and misunderstandings among our whole family. He even told me that my wife had no children and the cause of that and of the misunderstandings in our home was something buried in our home. He also said that during this whole period there had been deaths in our home, and we had just recently lost a child, and that one of my horses was dead, which was the truth." N--- also intimated that he could discover and remove

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1) Criminal Records in the Magistrate and Native Commissioner's office, Taung, no. 310 of 1951.

the object. After X had consulted his mother it was agreed that N--- would come to the homestead to do what he deemed necessary.

X continued: "On a week-end about two weeks later he came over to my home with his congregation and said it would cost me £7.10.0 to have the spell removed from my house. He said if he was to do what was necessary to protect this house against this sort of thing it would cost me a further £2.10.0 and as there was also my mother's house I would have to pay a further £2.10.0. I agreed and told him to carry on with the work. Accused first held a religious service, during the course of which he said it was time for him to go and dig out that thing." N--- produced a stick he used to have with him and a "girdle" and gave one end of the latter to X's brother who had to pull it along the ground where N--- directed him. They left the house where they had been. Outside "there was a wall where we make our fire and there was a pot on the fire. When we came to the fire the girdle sort of coiled itself at the end. Accused made a circle round the spot with his stick". N--- directed the brother of X to dig on that spot while he read his Bible silently. On N---'s directions some water was thrown into the hole and N--- himself poked about in the mud with his stick until he "pushed it down" at a certain spot. With both hands he took some mud from next to the stick and deposited it in a basin which N--- told X's brother to take into the house while the others followed. N--- called everybody to come and see, and on his directions the brother of X poured some more water onto the mud. "I then noticed, "X said, "there was an article in the mud and the accused took it out with one hand and put it on the floor and I saw it was something wrapped in a cloth. Accused opened the cloth with a knife and took out something black and sticky and which gave off a very bad smell. He said this was the cause of the bad spell which had been cast over the house. After telling X to burn the object N--- "went to the benediction and closed his service" and X forthwith paid him twelve pounds ten. N--- also still searched for and produced a wristlet that had been missing. In his search he held his stick in front of him. Under cross-examination X said that this performance took place at night.

At another man's homestead X in much the same manner produced from the mud a piece of a beast's horn, indicated as being about six inches long, which was filled with "something like black grease". He broke three eggs into the horn and put it into a bottle which he told his client to bury.

A woman gave evidence of how N--- treated her child "who was suffering from fits". After N--- had seen the child and had placed his stick on her chest he said "she was suffering from "Mafufinyane (said to be a sickness caused by drugs causing people to go mad)" N--- produced some "water" which was mixed in bottles with some water the witness had brought on his directions. This the child had to drink afterwards. N--- prayed and held a service and after touching the girl with his stick again, "tied a girdle round her body and round her wrists." He charged thirteen pounds but the witness' husband "paid him with a head of cattle."

A fourth witness gave evidence that the accused, in treating her, made her stand over boiling water and covered her with a blanket. He put nothing in the water, however. After this he prayed for her and gave her some water to drink. N--- is also said to have administered enemas, prescribed the wearing of spectacles and to have given the same patient medicine with which to wash the eyes, and to have undertaken to bring about the return of a child who had been away from home for a long time. There was at least one more teacher - a woman - among his clients besides the witness mentioned above.

N--- was charged on five counts of "wrongfully and unlawfully pretend/ing/ to practice witchcraft /sic/" or alternatively of theft by means of false pretences, and on seven counts of practising as a medical practitioner without a licence. Some of the counts were eventually withdrawn but he was finally found guilty on nine of the counts and sentenced to ten pounds or one month imprisonment on each count.

As we shall try to illustrate in greater detail at a later stage, pagan rites and beliefs or elements of these, have been incorporated into the ritual and beliefs of Zulu Zionist churches to a larger degree than in any of the Separatist churches in Taung. In view of this fact, it is significant that the Shangaan 'minister', a foreigner, accepted and incorporated certain aspects of traditional belief and custom into his activities and teaching more openly and spectacularly than any of the local church leaders. Not only did he accept the reality of sorcery as the others do, but he also acted against it in accordance with tradition by revealing the objects of sorcery, although his methods of discovering it did not follow a traditional Tswana pattern.[1] His discovery of lost objects and the administering of a steam bath also have precedents in the activities of Tswana native doctors. We may also point out here that the readiness with which local people patronised the Shangaan "minister" is in keeping with the fact that foreign native doctors and rainmakers were even in former times readily patronised and were often thought to be more powerful than the local ones.

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1) His methods do however resemble that of a type of Shangana-Tonga diviner who, when in a peculiar psychological state "could guess anything". (Junod, Henri A., The Life of a South African Tribe. Vol. II, p. 538. Second Edition London, 1927.

Just like some other church leaders, he also administered enemas, a method also known to native doctors. This may, however, also have been borrowed from European techniques of healing. (The native doctor uses a horn for administering enemas, not a rubber tube etc. like the church leader whom we cited above.) The treatment with holy water, a usage which the Shangaan minister has in common with several others, also has a precedent in traditional practice. Tolonyane, who is held to be "a real Tswana prophet" also made the people drink water for which he had prayed (ch. III, pp. 121 - 122).

The only other examples of traditional elements entering the ritual of healing in these churches are the laying-on of hands, seen as a parallel to the native doctor's technique of massaging (p. 356), and the fainting of Pentecostals which might be associated with the fainting of the ngaka ya sedupi (p. 356 n 2). It is doubtful, however, whether the association actually exists in the latter case and one should remember that this type of doctor (ngaka ya sedupi) is little known nowadays.

The outstanding instance of traditional belief being incorporated in the ritual and belief of these Pentecostal Separatists is the belief in sorcery. Besides in the activities of the Shangaan minister to which we have just referred, it is also evident from the explanations that the beating during the laying-on of hands was being directed against medicines of sorcery, in the diagnosis that there were snakes in the girl's liver as a result of sorcery, and in the statement that the cords are effective against any medicine of sorcery. The two latter cases are both from one church - the Foundation Apostolic Church in Jerusalem. The belief was most explicit in this church and it emerged particularly in the visions which church members related (cf. p. 362) and in the interpretations of these visions. The Evangelist once related that he had "seen" someone passing the Preacher's homestead, carrying a bag of medicines. All were agreed that this meant that someone intended to perform sorcery against the Preacher. When a girl told how she had seen a woman remonstrating with her and asking why she (the girl) could read, whereas her own child could not, it was in-

terpreted as a sign that the woman wished to perform sorcery against the girl. The same girl also saw a baboon following her, and this was immediately interpreted as a sign of sorcery (boloi). The association of the baboon with sorcery is not peculiar to this church only but it does not seem to be a typical Tswana belief. At least one informant outside the church who knew of such an association, said that it was a belief that had been taken over from the Nguni people.

On one occasion when the Preacher himself was absent there was a quarrel between his wife and the Evangelist, so that the former "walked out". At the end of the service a girl said that while she was praying she saw a mongana tree[1] behind the Evangelist. This was interpreted as a sign that there was someone who disliked him and who contemplated performing sorcery against him. I never heard a particular person's name mentioned in connection with such visions about sorcery, but in the latter instance I had the feeling that it was being connected with the quarrel that had taken place that morning. I am not aware of a regular association between a mongana tree and sorcery outside this church.

Outsiders say that the leader of the church of St. Paul Apostolic Faith Morning Star does not deny the reality of sorcery, but he holds that sorcerers have no power over Christians, and encourages his followers to give up the use of traditional anti-sorcery charms and medicines. It is said that people whom other churches could not induce to give up these traditional protective measures, surrendered their protective medicine horns to him to be burnt.

Although the validity of traditional beliefs about sorcery is recognised by these churches, the techniques used to counteract it are innovations. Where it is held to have no power over Christians no measures are taken of course. It does not appear as if particular techniques are used against sorcery but the same kinds of treatment applied against illness and misfortune in general may also be used where sorcery is supposed to be the cause, and the choice of treatment against sorcery also usually depends on revelation.

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1) A species of thorn tree (Acacia detinens).

The instances which we have mentioned above of traditional elements being incorporated into church ritual and belief connected with illness and healing, are not particularly numerous. However, it is important to note that the rites of healing performed in the Pentecostal Separatist churches often bear a distincly magical character. It is clear that the flowing coloured robes of some of these churches, adorned with their coloured figures, and all their bands and cords, their flags and staffs are magical charms which have a strengthening, protective or healing influence. We have observed how they are sometimes even consciously compared with traditional magical medicines, medicine-horns, and with the slaughtering of a goat to procure medicines. The staffs of leaders that have been prayed over are supposed to be imbued with the potency to assist in divining the presence of a lost object or served a purpose in healing, or in revealing a hidden danger. The consecrated cords which the two preachers placed over the heads or shoulders of people for whom they were praying, were said to link them with the prayers of the superior officials who had consecrated them. They were not mere symbols of such a spiritual link, but were themselves efficient links, magical links. A prayer said over a bottle of water imparts healing powers to the water and the water itself heals and is no mere symbol representing a healing influence. The insistence of one leader that the bottle should be open when one prays for it, suggests the notion that something enters the water so that it becomes different from what it was before. The belief that such water possesses healing power surely belongs to the domain of magic; so also the idea that water from the places of baptism may be used for healing. The ashes sometimes put into the water might have some real medicinal value, but when it is rubbed on the hands of the person performing the laying-on of hands, or when it is sprinkled on the ground beforehand or on the cord before it is put on for the first time, a magical value is attached to it. The fact that one leader called it a medicine horn shows that it is not merely a symbol which is representative of something else but that it is regarded as being effective in itself.

The laying-on of hands tends to become not a mere symbolic action representing the blessing or healing influence that is imparted by God Himself, but an action which, if performed in the correct circumstances and by the proper persons - those who have been ordained to it by the laying-on of hands by superior church leaders - is supposed to have a healing influence in itself. This was very clearly illustrated by a remark made by a church leader to the effect that he could not pray for others (i.e. with laying-on of hands) when he was ill himself, because if he were to do it, he would cause his own ailment to "enter"them. The laying-on of hands literally becomes "the magic touch". I suggest that that is why it has with some churches become not just a light touch with the hand on a single place, but a violent pressing and rubbing over various parts of the body. That would also explain why the bottle of water is often handled by the person praying over it, not just touched. The same applies to the consecration of church garments and other accessories before they are put on for the first time or after they have been washed. They are not merely touched but handled and in one case the staff, in another the flag, of the Prayer was also utilised in the process. Once also I saw a church leader taking the collection money in his hands and handling the coins as he prayed for the money before presenting it to a distinguished visitor.

Candles are connected with revelation not only because of the logical association between light and revelation (revealing that which is in darkness), but more particularly because of the mention of candles (actually candlesticks) in the book of Revelation. They are not merely interpreted as symbolic representations of the process of revelation, but as giving the officiant a certain power, and helping him to "see" more than ordinary persons see in the every day course of events. When such a mystic effect is ascribed to candles their use can be said to belong to the domain of magic.

I also have the impression that activities such as praying or conducting a church service are considered as having beneficial influence, more particularly as having a preventive influence against sorcery. It must be stressed that there is no direct evidence of this, but

there are one or two suggestions of it. The amount paid by the teacher to the Shangaan minister (J---N---) in connection with the rite described above (pp. 367f.) was not only for removing the object which was causing trouble at that time but included amounts for the protection of the houses against "this sort of thing". If the evidence of the witness was complete, the ritual performed consisted of an ordinary church service, except for the part which was concerned with discovering the buried object. Immediately after the service, payment was made not only for removing the object but also for protecting the houses against a repetition of the same thing. From this it would appear that the service - held at night - was the right which was to protect the homestead against future sorcery.

There is also another instance. I have already referred to a night service I attended which was held to "open" a new house which had been added to the leader's homestead. Some time later when I was questioning the leader about various subjects I asked him whether their church has a manner of charming homesteads. (I used the verb go phekola, which is also used of a doctor's charming or treating a homestead which is chiefly a preventive measure against sorcery). He answered that they perform no charming beside prayers (kwantle ga dithapelo). It then emerged that he was referring to the service for opening the house. I also asked whether they have any charming of the stock pen, whereupon he said that the prayers that he had spoken of covered the stock pen also, just as the same native doctor would charm the house and the stock pen at the same time. This cannot be taken as final evidence that the service for opening the house bore a magical character and was directed against sorcery, but it seems at least probable that this was the case. The service did not differ much from ordinary services. In the preaching reference was made to the help God had given to build the house. As usual the content of the prayers could not be discerned. (Incidentally many of the parallels drawn between church rites and traditional techniques of healing which have so far been cited, were made by this man.)

When all pray at the same time, as is the custom in Pentecostal Separatist churches, it is impossible to follow even a single prayer, but these prayers gave the impression of consisting of rigmaroles

of clichés, and of sounds which in ordinary conversation have no meaning, but which are interpreted as speaking with tongues (see below). The repetition of the same sounds and the same set phrases, and the quick tempo at which they are expressed, give these prayers the character of magical formulae rather than of attempts to formulate and express heart-felt needs as petitions very consciously directed to a personal God.

Although, then, there are not very many similarities of form between behaviour and belief in respect of illness and healing in the churches on the one hand, and traditional ritual and belief on the other, the ritual and belief have this in common with the traditional rites and beliefs that they very distinctly bear a magical character.

Water Rites and Purification.

A number of rites have already been described or referred to in which water plays an important role. I refer to baptism and passing through the water after baptism, to feet washing, drinking of holy water and sĭaʟ water enemas. To these we shall add several others which are either explicitly called rites of purification or in which water is used in a ritual context. We shall find that it is in the Pentecostal Separatist churches that these rites are important and that they are most commonly connected with death. With one exception I did not have the opportunity of witnessing any of the rites described in the following paragraphs.

In three of the Pentecostal Separatist churches a rite of purification is performed involving immersion in water as at baptism, and prayer. A Preacher of one of these churches described the rite as follows:-

> "When a person has been bereaved we take him to the water; we wash (tlhapisa) him with water." The rite is referred to as sewasô. Before entering the water and while entering the officiant prays that "the water should be right"(metsi a siame), because there may be a snake in the water. (cf. above p.339) The one who has to be purified (tlhapisiwa) then follows him into the water and the officiant immerses him as many times as he considers suitable. As to the purpose of the rite he said: "we remove his sehihi" (re mo tĭlosa sehihi).

In this and in another church those requiring purification after a funeral are the close relatives of a deceased such as parents

of a deceased child or the children or spouse of a deceased adult, but in the third church all the church members who attend a funeral are thus purified after a day or two. Someone who did not attend the funeral officiates. "He puts them into the water; he prays for them in the water."

In two of the churches the same rite is also performed for a woman when she "comes out of the house" after childbirth, as well as in connection with illness. One leader said that it is performed for a person who has recovered from an illness "to make him clean" (or pretty - ntlahatsa). Another said that if a patient does not recover after the usual prayers, they "take him to the river and make him stand (emisa) in the water and pray for him." In the third church it was said that apart from bereaved persons anybody who "is not right", such as a church member who still drinks a lot of beer, should also be purified thus. Apparently this is not forced on him, however, because it was also said that anybody who desires to be purified may ask that the rite be performed for him.

In the Zion Apostolic Church a rite of sprinkling is performed for a close relative of a deceased person to purify (itshekisa) him. The officiant and the person undergoing the rite first wash their hands in the same dish of water. The officiant has his green cord hanging loosely round his neck as in the rite of the laying-on of hands (see above pp. 357) he dips the tasseles of the cord in the water and sprinkles the person, and then he and another church official pray. Only a minister and an Evangelist can officiate in this rite, not a Preacher. It is said that if the person is not purified in this manner, he cannot live "nicely" (sentle) and cannot forget the deceased person.

In the church of St. Paul Apostolic Faith Morning Star water plays a more prominent role than in any other church. As we have seen they perform baptism in an artificial pool and after the sacrament has been administered children and adults "go through" the water, a practice which is said to promote good health. Like several other churches they have a rite of foot washing before holy communion and drink "holy water" to promote the well-being of body and mind, while enemas were formerly also administered by the minister. After a death they perform ritual simil[illegible]r

to the Mosaic ritual of purification which they explicitly connect with Numbers 19:11. In their funeral rites all the people present at the funeral are sprinkled with water when the funeral is over. For seven days subsequent to it church members who have attended any funeral may not take an active part in church activities. They may attend services but may not e.g. preach and pray in public. On the seventh day they are finally purified. One set of informants said they wash with water that has been "prayed for" while others held that they wash in the pool at the leader's homestead.[1] The leader himself is also subject to the rule of abstaining from church work until he has been purified.

At one service of this church I attended a rite of sprinkling which was performed in respect of newly bought articles belonging to church members.

> After the rite of drinking water the minister announced: "Let the things which 'are prayed for', come." About five people came forward and placed the following on the floor: a jar of "Vaseline", a pair of child's shoes, one or two coloured shirts, a man's sports jacket, a towel, and a pair of child's shorts. All the articles were new. The minister spoke about gratitude and added: "These things are gifts of God; it is not by the power of man. May God glorify (or sanctify: galaletsa[2]) them." After he stressed that one may not steal, a prayer was said by the congregation. When the owners were directly asked whether any of the things had been stolen they denied it. The minister warned them that the "side-car will come"[3] if any of the articles had been stolen. While the congregation sang, the minister moved around the articles, sprinkled them with water from a mug and touched each object in turn. With each step he acted as if his kness gave way, more or less as some people act when he lays hands on them. (See p. 357).

For this rite I was able to get an explanation from the leader. The articles are presented "to be thanked for before God. If we do not thank, Jehovah will give us a roguish spirit (moya o bolotsana). I sprinkle them with water so that they may become blessed." It was further explained

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1) For reasons already mentioned I was not able to discuss this rite with the minister or members of the church.

2) According to Rev. J. Tom Brown, op. cit, galalêla (of which galaletsa is the causative) means: "shine; glare; glitter; be glorious", but this minister often uses Southern Sotho terms, and in S. Sotho Halalêla means"to be holy". (Mabille and Dieterlen, op. cit).

3) In towns a motor-cycle and side-car are often used by the police to "pick up" arrested persons.

that he encircles the articles so that everything may be included; if there was only one object he could merely have placed his hand over it. [1]

Water and general cleanliness is also important in this church, apart from ritual. On the occasion of the feast which followed the baptismal ceremony (see above p. 337) the guests of honour who were served (inside the house, were served) with a basin of water, soap, and a towel before sitting down to the meal. A woman made the round, holding the basin for every guest in turn, but she fetched clean water for every guest. On another occasion when the minister and I were alone, the same thing happened before we sat down to look at some photographs. This time he ordered the girl to pray before he washed, and she whispered a few hardly audible sounds. Furthermore an outsider reported that he once heard it told that the leader had come into the church in a state of exitement and after he had calmed down told the congregation that "a voice" had told him the following: if children make a noise in church, they should be taken out quietly; the people should not spit just in any place but use their handkerchiefs or spit somewhere away from the houses; they should not drink from the same containers without first washing them. Another said that he exhorts his congregation not to worship with dirty clothes or without cleaning their teeth or washing their feet. (It should be realised that injunctions such as these are by no means superfluous in a society such as the one with which we are concerned.)

All the rites mentioned so far in this section are rites of Pentecostal Separatist churches. In a Baptist Separatist Church which we have classified in group "A" a rite is performed for the bereaved two or three months after the death of a close relative. In this rite the bereaved's clothes of mourning are removed and they receive the laying-on of hands. This was described to me as the church's manner of purification (tlhapisô) when I questioned the Bishop about his attitude to

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1) One informant maintained that they sometimes slaughter sheep or a head of cattle as a sacrifice in respect of a person who is ill, as a means to procure healing. Of this the informant said: "It is their purification" (tlhapisô). I have no further material to substantiate or explain this. (See further p. 399.)

the traditional rite of purification from death. He connected it with Zach. 3:3-5 where mention is made of the high priest Joshua whose "filthy garments" were removed and who was given other garments to put on.

Before discussing the significance of these rites it should be pointed out that not only the Pentecostal Separatist churches, but also most other churches are opposed to the traditional Tswana rites of purification in which a doctor officiates.

With reference to baptism and purification rites Dr. Sundkler laid down the thesis "that the propensity of the Zulu Zionist to total immersion is intimately linked up with traditional Zulu ritual practices in streams and pools."[1] He also shows how baptism tends to be repeated, thus distincly becoming a rite of purification. This does not hold, however, in respect of the Tswana Separatists and traditional Tswana ritual practices. The churches attaching particular value to baptism by immersion have a considerable proportion of the total membership of the Separatists in Taung. There is also the tendency with them to view baptism as a rite of purification (p. 334) and to repeat a rite similar to baptism by immersion as a rite of purification. Yet in traditional ritual of the Tlhaping we search in vain for numerous rites connected with rivers and pools. Hardly anything of the kind is performed nowadays while in the past such rites were only performed in very special circumstances, as when the fabulous water snake(phikakgolo) had "taken" a person. For rain ceremonies driftwood from the river was used and some doctors also claim that they spent some time in a pool of water during their peiod of initiation. Even in the literature on Tswana ritual I have come accross very little beyond these examples. When this is compared with the numerous occasions on which Zulus wash in a pool or a river as part of a ceremony of purification,[2] the contrast is striking. Baptism by immersion is therefore not similar in form to common traditional Tswana rites. Moreover, some of the churches have rites of purification

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1) Op. cit., p. 201.

2) Cf. Sundkler, op. cit., pp. 22,314 and Krige, The Social System of the Zulus, pp. 82 (note), 90,158,165,228,319, etc.

which are definitely connected with traditional notions of "impurity", such as lehihi, for which the traditional rites of purification were performed, but the church rites performed to remove the impurity often resemble the rite of baptism by immersion, and not the traditional rites. On the whole they the propensity for baptism by immersion and rites of purification in rivers or pools cannot for the Taung churches be directly related to particular traditional Tswana rites in respect of form. Therefore we have to seek another explanation.

As I have hinted above (p. 334 - 335) the explanation seems to be found in the nature of the teaching which is usually connected with baptism in the European churches which favour baptism by immersion as opposed to other forms of baptism. It is typical of many "western" Baptist[1] churches that they tend to make baptism all-important to salvation, so that one cannot be saved, or one can scarcely be saved, without being baptized. Hereby a certain efficacy is attached to the rite itself. It is not seen as a mere representation of a spiritual process or action which makes one acceptable to God, but the rite itself is seen as bringing one in that condition, or at least as contributing a great deal towards the attainment of that goal. This type of doctrine which ascribes this kind of direct efficacy to a rite, I hold to be distinctly magical (pp. 307ff.) Its magical nature also comes out in the stress that is laid on the particular form the rite has to take. Baptists in general tend not only to consider baptism as indispensable or almost indispensable to salvation, but also hold that it must be just the one particular form of baptism; only that is valid, not the other forms. When a rite is merely a symbolic representation, the smaller particulars of form need not be stressed, as long as it arouses the appropriate associations in the minds of those concerned, but in magic even a minor deviation from the proper form of a rite may rend it ineffectual.

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1) I use 'Baptist' in its broad sense of churches which stress the necessity of adult baptism by immersion, as opposed to infant baptism by sprinkling or pouring. It therefore includes Pentecostals and Sabbatarians.

The traditional religion of the Tswana bore a strongly magical character and such of its ritual that still exists is predominantly magical. Having this background of magic, it is to be understood that new doctrines which attach a magical interpretation to the modes of behaviour with which they are concerned will have a stronger appeal to them than doctrines which are distinctly non-magical. The intrinsic efficacy which Baptist churches, also among Europeans tend to attach to baptism by immersion gives it a magical character and thus renders it particularly acceptable to people like the Tswana.

I also drew attention earlier to the literal and fragmentary application of portions from Scripture which characterises teaching about baptism in the Baptist churches in Taung, but which may also be said to be a general characteristic of their teaching. (Cf. above pp. 332ff., and ch. V. pp. 202 - 203). This also is typical of many "western" churches. Certain passages which favour the particular view of a church receive all the attention and stress, without reference to the context or to the general trend of Scripture as a whole. This is often combined with a very literal interpretation of Scripture. We should contrast this mode of interpretation of Scripture with that which aims at obtaining a comprehensive impression of the content of Scripture as a whole, and which seeks to interpret every particular verse or passage within its immediate context and the context of Scripture as a whole. I suggest that the former method, i.e. a literal and fragmentary application of Scripture, is closely akin to the mode of thought underlying magic. What Prof. Evans-Pritchard writes about Zande beliefs seems to me to apply to the combined beliefs of any society in which religion bears a strongly magical character. At the end of his treatise on Zande magic he writes that Zande beliefs "are not indivisible ideational structures but are loose associations of notions. When a writer brings them together in a book and presents them as a conceptual system their insufficiencies and contradictions are at once apparent. In real life they do not function as a whole but in bits. A man in one situation utilizes what in the beliefs are convenient to him and pays no attention to other elements which he might use in different situations."[1]

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1) Witchcraft, Oracles and Magic among the Azande, O.U.P., 1937, p. 540

In other words the beliefs are not seen in their totality, and a particular belief is not seen within the context of the whole body of belief. This could also be said of traditional Tswana belief, and, I think, of all systems of belief which are predominantly magical. In a society of which the members are accustomed to this mode of thought, it is to be expected that there should be particular receptivity for the type of Christian teaching which uses Scripture in a fragmentary and literal manner, i.e. not viewing it comprehensively as a whole.

This explanation of the predilection shown for the particular form of baptism - (immersion) - as opposed to the other forms - (sprinkling and pouring), does not imply that the church rites of purification are not in some aspects more directly connected with traditional beliefs and practices. No doubt the importance of water in the church ritual must in a general sense be related to the traditional notions of impurity, particularly malevolent 'heat', and the purifying or 'cooling' ritual in which water was (and still is) so important. There are also some close parallels between particular aspects of church ritual and tradition. Both in tradition and in the churches, death is connected with sehihi and calls for purification. In two churches some purification rites take the same form as in traditional purification, viz. that of a rite of sprinkling. Further, the drinking of holy water for purposes of health is very similar to the traditional prophet Tolonyane's actions of making the people drink water that had been "prayed for" (called letsididi, coldness) in order to make the imminent disease 'cool' (see ch. III, pp. 121f.)

In Zulu Zionist churches the use of ashes is closely connected with purification. It is particularly used as an emetic, the vomiting being part of the process (of which confession also forms a part) of cleansing both body and soul.[1] None of the leaders in Taung referred to the use of ashes as Tlhapisô, but one spoke of it as

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1) Sundkler, op. cit., pp. 210 - 212. In the Zulu churches the vomiting is related to the significance of vomiting in traditional ritual. Among the Tlhaping vomiting does not play this important role, neither in the churches nor in traditional ritual.

sewasô, which is the Tswana form for the Zulu isiwasho, the name for the purgatives and enemas used by Zulu Zionists in connection with purification. Another Taung leader when questioned about sewasô, said that it was the Nguni term for tlhapisô. This definitely shows that at least in one church ashes are connected with the idea of purification. It is important to note, however, that in Zulu Zionist churches its use as a purificant also finds a precedent in traditional Zulu rites of purification. I do not know, however, of any Tswana traditional rites of purification in which it is used, so that such a use does not have the same sanction of tradition in the Taung churches as with the Zulu Zionists. Probably its use as purificant was first introduced by Zulu Zionists and this example was later followed by non-Zulu leaders. It should also be remembered that some of the churches in Taung have Nguni people in their ranks, and it is known that important higher officials of some are Zulus. Whereas the use of ashes as a purificant is not sanctioned by Tswana tradition it seems as if in Taung churches its use is again more closely connected with Mosaic law. (See above p. 360)

Mention must here be made of the fact that there are many religious bodies among Europeans which also lay great stress on the use of water in healing. The possibility of influence from that source must also be borne in mind in connection with the importance of water in these Pentecostal Separatist churches.[1]

One suspects that more or less all the rites of purification bear a magical character. In some cases our evidence is not conclusive, but where a rite is thought of as removing a dangerous condition such as sehihi, there is no doubt about its magical character.

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1) Several of the Separatist "Prayer-healing Churches" in Ibadan which are described by Dr. Geoffrey Parrinder also make use of holy water in healing. The author does not say whether this practice has any connection with the pagan or Islamic background. (Parrinder, Geoffrey, Religion in an African City, Oxford University Press, 1953.)

Revelation and the Spirit.

In this section we shall again be almost entirely concerned with the Pentecostal Separatists. It is not that members of other churches do not also believe that individuals may receive direct revelations, but belief and behaviour connected with revelation is not such an important and integral part of church life and doctrine as in some of the Pentecostal Separatist churches. In these other churches many people believe that particular revelations may be received through dreams, and these are partly interpreted on traditional lines. Christians say that dreaming such dreams is "a gift of God". I have not heard of Christians attaching the traditional interpretations to dreams about deceased persons, but many do believe in the other dreams which, as in traditional belief, are interpreted as predictions of future events. (See ch. III).

Some dreams are interpreted as directing a particular course of behaviour, usually as calling for a change or reform in behaviour. Not only church leaders but also ordinary members are known to have changed their church affiliation as a result of dreams which were interpreted as directing such a course. Visionary experiences play a similar role. (Ch. V, pp.188 - 189) The following dream about which a minister of a Separatist church of type "A" told me, is an example of a dream calling for a reform in behaviour. It was a dream another man (say X) had dreamt, of which he came to tell the minister.

> In his dream X saw the minister beside a deep hole in the ground and he called him to come and have a look. X came and saw a coffin at the bottom of the hole, but the minister told him that that was not a coffin but a man, and that he would call him and that he would come out. When the minister called out: "Elijah" the man came out, taking only one step to reach the top, and walked off towards the east. Then the minister said to X: "Do you see what happens to those who do the work of God? That man is going now to earn his everlasting life." -- So far the dream. The minister

could not offer an explanation of the dream, but X himself then said he thought it meant that he had been busy with "bad works" and that in the dream the minister was trying to bring him back and show him that if he did not do the works of God he would not inherit eternal life.

Several church leaders said that members sometimes come to consult them about dreams and that they try to explain such dreams as they understand them. A leader of a Sabbatarian Separatist church said in respect of dreams: "The Bible refuses it", with prompt reference to Jer. 23:16-17 which cautions against false prophets.

In two of the Pentecostal Separatist churches no more attention is paid to dreams and revelations than in the churches referred to above. A leader of one of these said that if people of other churches prophesy to them, they only accept these prophecies if their content agrees with Scripture. The rest of the material in this section pertains almost entirely to the remaining four Pentecostal Separatist churches.

The Holy Spirit, mostly just spoken of as "the Spirit" (Mŏya or Mŏwa) or "the spirit of God", is particularly thought of as the source of revelation. The revelations sometimes come as dreams, but more often as visions, or as the speaking of a voice. The Spirit also reveals its presence in people by making them perform certain bodily movements and pronounce utternaces which do not form part of everyday language (speaking with tongues).

Revelation through visions and dreams appear to be of the same nature, but people usually distinguish clearly between what they have "seen" and what they have dreamt. A few instances are known of people receiving visions when they were unconscious, but most visions are received in a waking condition. Sometimes a vision comes when someone is moved by the Spirit to dancing and similar movements (see below,) but it may also come when he sits still. One leader said of such visions that he saw them "like a bioscope". Revelations may also come in the form of a voice speaking to a person. This form of revelation is received under the same conditions as visions. Such visionary and audible revelations are referred to in terms such as "a gift of the Spirit", being "shown (bontshiwa) by God" or "revealed (senolwa) by God", and "the Voice says (lentswe le re)." In one church it is spoken of as prophecy.

One leader is said to have been able to predict events before he joined the church. Another one himself speaks of his "seeing"

as a gift of God, which he claims is inherited. Both his father and mother possessed the gift, he says. He refers to it as "being born with maséré"[1] which was said to be equivalent to the notion of European folklore of the "being born with the caul" signifying clairvoyancy. Even in the churches of these two men the gift of prophecy or receiving revelations is not confined to the leader only, but is shared by most, if not all members of the congregation.

In the church in which revelation is referred to as prophecy,[2] one becomes a prophet, so I was told, by going alone "to the mountain" to fast for three or four days, and to pray that God should enable one to diagnose illness, to pray for patients and prescribe the manner in which they will be healed. A person seeking this gift will know that he has acquired it if, while praying for a person, he hears with his ears what has to be done.

A leader of another church explained that one starts receiving revelations in the following manner:

> After baptism "Prayers" regularly pray for you that God should help you, that He should forgive you. "You keep on praying; you have observed prayers. Now one day God will visit you; He will show you visions. It comes to you as if you feel dizzy.... God is busy making /something/ manifest (senosetsa) to you. Now you will speak with new tongues of angels. Those who are not in the Spirit cannot understand /lit. hear/ you; you will be heard only by those who are in the Spirit, - what you are saying ..... It is the Hebrew language."

He also explained the manner in which the Voice comes to him: first he hears a sound like that of a bee and then he hears the Voice speaking to him "in Hebrew",[3] sometimes also in a language commonly known.

The speaking with tongues is often accompanied by movements of the body which are explained as "the entrance of the Spirit into the person". It is hardly possible to discern a general pattern which the

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1) This was said to be a Southern Sotho expression. Leséré according to Mabille and Dieterlen's Dictionary is "light beer".

2) This is a predominantly Nguni church.

3) An informant from another church also referred to the speaking with tongues as "Hebrew". On a different occasion he said there are two kinds of speech of which the one is "Gaboe, dimeg, gaseg" (With aspirated g as in Afrikaans and Tswana).

sounds and the movements follow and I can only give some examples at random in addition to what has been mentioned in connection with the violent type of Pentecostal service described in the previous chapter. The buzzing sound like that of a bee seems to be commonly connected with the working of the Spirit and was heard in different churches. Others make blowing or hissing sounds, or snort. When praying or preaching, whole phrases of apparently meaningless sounds are often interjected. They may phonologically resemble (or partly resemble) Bantu speech: one leader often ended such phrases of speaking with tongues with something like "ntikala ba kurrrrrr". When I asked him the meaning of it, he said it was a prayer. He also sometimes smacked with his lips when praying, producing a sound like a kiss: this meant "amen"! Others sometimes utter sounds more reminicent of the phonology of English words. Sounds like "great pied" and "thiripied guide" often recurred in one leader's blessings and prayers. Whether all such sounds and phrases which recur have a recognised meaning I do not know.

The jerks of the body, stooping postures, twitchings, shivering, waving of arms, and similar bodily movements which have already been described are also interpreted as the work of the Spirit. Some more examples of the manner in which the Spirit is thought to work may be observed in the following account of some of the people who attended night service for the "opening" of a house of the Preacher of a Pentecostal Separatist church.[1]

> The Evangelist was also present, but the Preacher conducted most of the service. A young man and a young girl were so restless through the Spirit working in them that the Preacher became quite desperate at times. They were up and down, in and out at the door, interrupted the speaker, and chattered to each other, mostly speaking with tongues and often talking simultaneously. Once when everybody was singing and jumping about as if performing a kind of dance, the girl stood with her arm round the Preacher's waist. Later again, while someone was speaking, she stood beside the Preacher with her hands on his head, as if praying for him. While she was busy he uttered a kind of roar and eventually jumped up, his body vibrating. The girl and the young man remained restless for hours, causing endless interruptions although the Preacher had scolded them several times and at last burst out in a series

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1) For a description of the service as a whole, see ch. V. p. 233.)

of English and Afrikaans words of rather uncouth and blasphemous nature. (Whether this was also regarded as speaking with tongues, I do not know!) The young man seemed to be as disturbing as ever after this.

Once when the Preacher was again speaking, he suddenly interrupted himself, and called out: "Who has got shoes on?" He started hunting around and came to a man (not a member of the church) sitting next to me. Both he and I had our shoes on.[1] Yes, said the Preacher his stick had told him so! Soon after this, my friend and several other people who were also wearing shoes, chose to hurry out of the room.

Later on there was singing and dancing as before, but the Preacher started dancing in the middle of the room, waving his arms, and spinning around like a top, as people often do in this church. Once he came to me and put his hand on my head and the other on the head of my neighbour, praying and speaking with tongues. When he had finished he asked whether I had felt something and seemed rather taken aback that I had not.

This kind of behaviour seems so disconnected and so without a fixed pattern that it is impossible to present an adequate description of it in words, but this short account may give an approximate idea of it.

The episode shows how the belief in direct inspiration and revelation by the Spirit can be a source of internal troubles and disputes. From an outsider's point of view the two young people were all the time flouting the authority of a church official who was their senior. A few days later when I discussed the service with the Preacher he said that the disturbers held that it was the Spirit (or "their Spirit") which made them act in such a manner, but he himself doubted it. He was "a man of the Spirit" himself, but the Spirit did not move him to act as they did. It was not the custom of the church, but the young man had returned from Johannesburg with this kind of behaviour. He, the Preacher, had now written to the minister (the Leader or a senior church official) in Johannesburg to enquire about this behaviour because the minister did not teach him to act in such a manner.

An expression he used during the service also implied that he did not recognise their manner of behaviour as being caused by the Spirit. When scolding them once he said: "We should leave badimo /the word for spirits of the deceased/ outside." When I enquired about

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1) I usually observed these rules myself and had done so on this occasion too, but with the endless sitting, and with so little space to move, my feet had become cold and I slipped on my shoes again!

this later, the Preacher avoided giving a full explanation for it and merely said that he said this to the trouble makers because they were hindering him. Apparently he was hinting that what they were doing was not the result of "the Spirit" (i.e. God's Spirit) working in them but that it was the work of the spirits of the dead, thereby implying that their behaviour was not the genuine type from a church point of view.

The presence of someone wearing shoes was also connected with the disturbance. The Preacher explained that "if we enter with shoes on, we cannot agree", but he also added that if this was really what was troubling the two they would have revealed it. As I have observed above he said his stick (or staff) had "told" him about the presence of someone wearing shoes. These staffs are generally thought of as "giving strenth" when one is praying or preaching, but are also particularly connected with divination or prophesying. I have already referred to the leader who said that his staff would help him, for instance, to reveal the presence of a snake. The "Shangaan" minister also used his stick in finding hidden or lost objects. In another church the staffs were also spoken of as "belonging to prophecy", and it was said that members take their staff in their hand when they prophesy.

When discussing the service the leader said that when he was spinning around he received the revelation about the people wearing shoes.[1] This kind of dancing is called "tress" (pronounced as in English). The same term is also applied in this church to the running around in a circle in the manner described in the previous chapter (pp. 283ff). The spinning around on one place is a substitute for running around in a circle when there is not much moving space. The Preacher said he performs the action so that the Spirit should tell him something, "... so that understanding will come to me, whatever it may be..... so that I may know something that will happen." He might also receive a revelation about something the congregation has to do.

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1) Actually the spinning around only came after the episode of the shoes.

"Tress" is often also performed by the whole congregation during a service, particularly around a prayer and a member for whom he or she is praying. When the service is over they usually file out and run around in a circle for a little while before disbanding. About this it was said: "If someone has a bad spirit it will throw him out of the circle". "A bad spirit" was defined as "his original spirit (mŏwa wa tlolêgô ya gagwê)." A good spirit "is to be loving".[1]

In connection with the act of placing his hands on our heads, the Preacher explained that the hand on the other man's head becomes heavy. He claimed that even as he spoke to me his hand was still feeling heavy and this was more than three days later! This was a sign that the man had a very serious ailment. In my own case he said he "felt" a pain going down my neck and back. He himself experienced the pain coming up his arm to his neck and this showed him that I had such a pain. He held that perhaps I did not feel it at the time, but some time or other I would still feel it and remember what he had said.[2] He added that "this ailment comes from God only."

The revelations received are mostly concerned with the treatment or prevention of illness: they are about the cause of illness, what clothes or figures should be worn, whether to use holy water, whether to use ashes, and so on. In one church particularly many visions revealed that sorcery was being performed. A vision about the arrival of a stranger clad in white robes, who came in and knelt in the homestead enclosure before greeting various members of the congregation was interpreted as pointing to the expected visit of superior church officials from Johannesburg. 'About the St. Paul Apostolic Faith Morning Star outsiders say that they undertake no work unless the spirit has revealed to them that they should do it.

/For ...

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1) The term "Tress" is probably a mispronunciation of "dress", in its military connotation, and refers to their proper alignment in the circle.

2) Of course I did experience a stiff and sore neck some three weeks later!!

For instance, the itineraries of the leader are decided by revelations he receives. This leader is also the only one I know of who foretells events of general importance to the community as a whole. He is said to have given warnings beforehand about a recent epidemic of smallpox and about a severe hail-storm which occurred in November 1952. During my second field trip he announced at his headman's kgotla that there would again be a severe hailstorm, worse than the previous year (1952). The headman again reported this warning at the chief's kgotla in a general tribal assembly. When foretelling such calamities the minister in question usually exhorts the people to pray and humble themselves before God so that it may pass soon or come with moderation. Such predictions of general importance are only made by the leader and not by other office-bearers or members. He is the one of whom it is said that he used to receive revelations even before he joined the church.

Mention must here also be made of the mechanical manner in which the Bible is sometimes used for the purpose of divining or obtaining a revelation. This manner of divination was practised by the Shangaan minister as well as by the other leader who appeared in court. Another man who still follows this method explained that he uses it in connection with illness. He takes the Bible and prays over it and opens it with his eyes still closed. He reads at the place he has opened and from the portion he reads he is able to diagnose the nature of the illness and it reveals to him what treatment should be administered. It is the same man who burns seven candles to help him to receive the revelation when dealing with difficult cases. (See above p.366).

Dr. Sundkler has shown that a remarkably close parallel exists between the Zulu diviner and the Zulu Zionist prophet. [1]

/The ...

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1) Op cit, pp. 313 ff., cf. also pp. 109, 258 ff., 256 ff., 313 ff.

The Pentecostal Separatist "prophet" or "apostle" in Taung is comparable to the commonly known traditional Tswana doctor-diviner in that both of them combine the activity of divining or revealing what is unknown, with that of healing. There are, however, important differences which rule out the possibility of drawing such a close parallel as that which Dr. Sundkler has drawn. In the following paragraphs I compare Zulu diviners and Zionist prophets on the one hand, and Tswana diviners and Pentecostal prophets on the other hand.

(a) Among the Zulu the initial development in becoming a diviner is a deterioration of health which is eventually ascribed to possession by an ancestor spirit. Zulu Zionists (in common with Pentecostal Separatists from Taung) often join the church as a result of seeking healing in time of illness. An important aspect of their development as church members consists in their "being entered" by "the Spirit". The Tswana diviner, on the other hand, is not a person who has become ill through spirit possession and does not show particular psychic or somatic characteristics. He has learnt the art of divining and doctoring from a close relative or from an un-related person to whom he has made a payment for the instruction.

(b) The Zulu diviner often has to perform ablutions in a stream and Zulu Zionists as well as Separatist Pentecostals in Taung undergo baptism by immersion and perform purification ceremonies in rivers. Some Tswana doctors claim to have spent some time under water in a river or pool during their initiation but do not regularly perform ritual activities in rivers or pools.

(c) A Zulu diviner divines with the help of the spirits by a process of asking leading questions and observing the reactions of his audience. Zulu Zionists also prophesy by a process of questioning. Taung Pentecostal Separatists mostly receive revelations through direct inspiration by the Spirit but sometimes also by opening a Bible.

/Tswana ...

Tswana doctors divine by the use of sets of dice. In this case the general pattern of Tswana Pentecostal Separatists' revelations is different from that of the Tswana diviner. There are however one or two parallels in respect of smaller points. The falling of the Tswana diviner's dice is sometimes thought of as being controlled by the ancestor spirits and this might perhaps be taken as a parallel to the role the Spirit of God plays in the revelations received by Pentecostals.

A closer parallel is that between the use of a Bible for "divining" and the throwing of dice. (i) Before throwing them the Tswana doctor recites the praises of his dice. These contain the names of deceased relatives of the doctor and are interpreted as prayers to the spirits of the deceased to make the divining successful. The prophet or apostle also prays before opening the Bible. (ii) The throwing of the diviner's dice and the basing of a verdict on the position of the dice is of a similar nature to opening the Bible with closed eyes and giving a pronouncement based on the passage of Scripture where the Bible has been opened. In both cases the exact outcome of the action cannot be controlled or predicted. The positions in which the dice fall on the one hand, and the exact page at which a Bible is opened are in the last instance a matter of chance we would say. (In practice one could of course treat a book in such a manner that it always falls open at a certain page, but this is in any case not supposed to be the case.) (iii) The doctor bases his verdict on an examination of the position of the dice and on the rules relating to the particular praises or formulas connected with the different positions of the dice. The Pentecostal prophet or apostle reads the passage where the Bible has been opened and arrives at a verdict by interpreting the passage in terms of the values and doctrines of his church.

/(d) ...

(d) Zulu diviners, according to Dr. Sundkler, often act as a group and their "group pattern" provides the pattern on which Zionist congregations are organised. There is no "group pattern" of Tswana diviners to which the organisation of Pentecostal Separatist congregations can be compared. Among the Tswana one becomes a doctor by being apprenticed to an established doctor for a time, but teacher and pupil do not maintain a particular relationship after the period of apprenticeship is over. At times the chief may summon a number of doctors to perform divination collectively, for instance in connection with rain, but doctors do not "band together in fairly distinct groups" as is the case among the Zulu. [1]

This comparison shows us on the one hand that there is a whole range of similarities between Zulu diviner and Zulu Zionist prophet. These similarities do not merely consist of a number of isolated aspects, but it is a comprehensive similarity involving a complete pattern: Zionist prophet follows the diviner-prophet in all the important aspects. On the other hand we immediately encounter two major differences between Tswana Pentecostals and the commonly known Tswana doctors, viz. the manner in which they come into their particular role of divining or prophesying, and the absence of regular group activities and a group pattern on the part of Tswana doctors, to which the Pentecostal church group could be paralleled. Parallels between the two do exist on a number of smaller points, however. There is a degree of similarity between the Tswana doctor's initiation and the Pentecostals' baptism and some forms of church purification and that which the doctor performs. The more common form of receiving revelations among Pentecostals of Taung (inspiration by the Spirit) is dissimilar to the traditional method of throwing the dice, but there is close similarity between the latter and the method of opening the Bible as it is occasionally used in the churches.

/There ...

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1) Op. cit., p. 515. Cf. Schapera, The Tswana, p. 62.

There is more resemblance between the nowadays little known ngaka ya sedupi (see Ch.III, p.126) and Separatist prophets and apostles. According to one informant the particular abilities of the ngaka ya sedupi were ascribed to the fact that "badimo were in him." He is said to have made strange sounds while performing, and people had to sing while he was busy. We have already referred to his fainting if people used tobacco during a performance and to his being revived by singing, praying to the ancestor spirits and clapping of hands. This is comparable to the prophet's and apostle's being entered by the Spirit, their speaking with tongues, and their singing and clapping of hands while a healing ceremony is performed, and also to the fainting of some people under treatment and the opposition to tobacco.

There are also points of similarity between the prophet, Tolonyane, who is said to have acted on traditional lines (Ch. III, pp.121-122), and Separatist prophets and apostles. Tolonyane also received revelations through direct inspiration by the ancestor spirits, as Separatists claim to receive it from the Spirit of God. Someone who accompanied Tolonyane into the cave which he used to frequent is reported to have heard a confusion of unusual sounds, believed to be the voices of the ancestor spirits. This is comparable to the Separatists speaking with tongues when they "are entered" by the Spirit. We must also note that the prophecies of the leader of the church of St. Paul Apostolic Faith Morning Star are of a similar nature to the predictions of Tolonyane. Both of them predicted a small-pox epidemic and both made predictions about rain and climatic phenomena on various occasions. One of my most trusted informants on traditional matters, himself not a member of any church, connected the above-mentioned church leader with the prophetess Botlhale (who also came from the ranks of the church, Ch. IV, pp. 9-10), whom he again mentioned in one breath with

/Tolonyane ...

Tolenyane on another occasion. He holds the activities of all three to be of a similar nature. [1]

On the whole then, we may say that there is considerable difference between the ordinary traditional Tswana doctor who divines with dice and the prophet or apostle of Pentecostal Separatist churches. Certainly it cannot be said that the activities of the Separatists are based on the pattern of activities of the doctor-diviner in the same degree as Zulu Zionist activities follow the same patterns as traditional Zulu diviners. Tswana tradition does, however, offer some precedents for various aspects of Pentecostal Separatists' beliefs and activities, but most of these precedents are found in the activities of certain less common and lesser known types of specialists in the field of magico-religious beliefs and ritual.

I must further point out that it seems probable that some of the differences between Zulu Zionists and Pentecostal Separatists in Taung are related to the differences between traditional Zulu diviners and traditional Tswana diviners. For instance whereas some Zulu Zionist congregations are unstable vagrant groups, in Taung such groups do not exist (See ch. V, p.179). This "spiritual vagabondage" is related by Dr. Sundkler to the vagrancy of traditional Zulu diviners. [2] The absence of vagrancy in Taung Separatist churches may be related to the fact that traditional Tswana diviners do not roam about the country as Zulu diviners do. Perhaps this could be termed a "negative" aspect of the relation of traditional beliefs and practices to ritual and belief in the churches.

/Another ...

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1) The particularly important role of water in the ritual of this Church also brings it in line with Botlhale and Tolenyane, both of whom made the people drink water that had been "prayed for".

2) Op. cit., p.316; cf. pp. 96-97.

Another instance is provided by the role of women in the churches. Women are particularly prominent in Zulu Zionist churches. According to Dr. Sundkler "some 80 per cent" of their members are women, and women may rise to important positions of leadership in these churches, which he calls "the real power basis for women leaders". This particular predominance of women in Zionist churches he relates to the fact that most traditional Zulu diviners are women. [1] In Taung there is, as we have already shown (Ch. V), a general predominance of women in the churches. Numerically this predominance is, however, insignificant - women constitute 52.9% of their members - in the Pentecostal Separatist churches, which would roughly coincide with the type which Dr. Sundkler calls Zionists. Moreover, although women do have particular opportunities for self-expression in Pentecostal Separatist churches in Taung, they do not become important leaders. This distinct difference between Zulu Zionists and Tswana Pentecostal Separatists may be related to the fact that few women become diviners among the Tswana. In this instance Zulu Zionists have been strongly influenced by tradition, whereas in Taung such an influence is absent in this particular connection, and for that reason women are not as exceedingly prominent in Taung Pentecostal Separatist churches as in Zulu Zionist churches.

We have already referred to the parallel between the role of the ancestor spirits in traditional notions of revelation (both Zulu and Tswana) and the role of the Spirit of God in Pentecostal Separatist or Zionist churches. In this connection the question may be asked whether the idea of being ill through possession by a spirit is altogether foreign to the Tlhaping. It is difficult to know in how far present-day Tlhaping recognise such a possibility. In Tswana insanity or a state of mental derangement is indicated by a verb which means "to be entered" (go tsenwa). In connection with this verb which he translates

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1) Op. cit., pp.141 ff., 316.

as "to be possessed", Dr. Willoughby says that "all insane people are held in awe, unless they are harmless simpletons of the milder sort; but not all of them claim to be 'possessed' by a particular spirit."[1] From this we may deduce that at least some such people were believed to be possessed by a spirit.[2] In a few cases in which I heard this word (go tsenwa) used or when I asked an informant about it, it was not connected with spirit possession, but I was told that it was illness that had entered the person's head. When I suggested the ancestor spirits, it was denied. It was also said to be caused by God or by people performing sorcery.

This further adds to the impression which may already have been given by our preceding material, namely that in so far as beliefs about the Spirit in Tswana Pentecostal Separatist churches can be related to traditional beliefs about the ancestor spirits, the relation is of a vague and distant nature. It is certainly not as clear and distinct as among the Zulu where traditional beliefs about possession by an ancestral spirit - which still show great vitality in Zulu society - have been transferred to the idea of being filled with the Holy Spirit as found in some churches.

The belief in the Spirit, however, does not completely displace the belief in ancestors in Zulu Zionist churches, and in spite of substituting it in some instances, it is nevertheless used to uphold and sanction it in others. Dr. Sundkler shows that "Spirit and Angel are concepts which Zionists use rather indiscriminately". He then points out that "the Angel's main reproach in churches of Zionist type is that the ancestral spirits have been neglected," and Zionists often slaughter animals as sacrifices to their ancestral spirits.[3] We

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1) The Soul of the Bantu, p.110.

2) Cf. also op. cit., pp.108 ff.

3) Op. cit., pp.249 ff.

have noted one instance in which a Pentecostal Separatist church in Taung slaughters an animal, which is interpreted in terms of the belief in ancestor spirits (see above pp. 330-331), but as we pointed out it is a unique example and almost the only instance in which belief in the ancestor spirits was clearly expressed in these churches.

In one church, the church of St. Paul Apostolic Faith Morning Star, animal sacrifices are known to be made. For reasons already mentioned I could not investigate everything about this church, but as far as my information goes, these do not seem to be connected with the ancestor spirits. According to two informants who have close contacts with this Church but are not members themselves, the animals slaughtered are definitely spoken of as sacrifices (ditlhabêlô) and reference is made to Old Testament sacrifices to sanction them. Cattle and sheep are sacrificed, as many head at a time as church members bring. They are slaughtered in the stock pen and each animal is prayed over before being slaughtered. All the meat is eaten at a feast in which the congregation as well as visitors take part. Such sacrifices are made at about Easter time and about September each year. The latter is spoken of as a thanksgiving (tebogô). On a Saturday in January I visited the leader of this Church and on my making a remark about two carcasses hung outside to dry, he remarked: "I am making a feast. It is a thanksgiving. I am thanking God." This feast seems to have been a kind of New Year thanksgiving.

On the evidence available we may say that Taung Pentecostal churches also differ from Zulu Zionists in that in the latter the belief in ancestor spirits is still strong and sacrifices to them are common, whereas in the Taung churches this is not the case. The immediate explanation of this is to be found in the fact that among the Tlhaping the cult of the ancestors has obviously disintegrated much further than among the Zulu. I would also suggest that even in traditional Tswana society the ancestor cult was less important and sacrifices were less

/numerous ...

numerous than in traditional Zulu society. We shall discuss this theory in greater detail in the following chapter.

A final remark must here be made about the influence which traditional attitudes to dreams have on belief and behaviour in connection with revelation as found in the churches. Many Christians, also outside the Pentecostal Separatist churches, still believe in dreams as predictions of future events in much the same way as pagans believed in them. The belief that ancestor spirits communicate with the living through dreams, is comparable to the belief that the Spirit of God reveals certain things directly to church people through dreams or visions or by making them hear a voice.

Prayers for Rain.

In some years, if not every year, weekly prayer meetings for rain are held at the beginning of the rainy season. These are organised by the chief and his councillors and headmen. During the 1955 season the first reference I heard to it was when a headman, speaking in a tribal assembly, asked that the chief should "open" the prayers for rain. The prayer meetings were started at the chief's kgotla on a Monday morning and on subsequent Mondays similar services were also held at the headmen's places. At the chief's place the services were conducted by the L.M.S. African minister by request of the chief's chief councillor. At the headmen's places the local leaders of different churches took turns in officiating. In the services at Taung the chief and his two important councillors sat in the central position, facing the congregation. The officiating minister and the church leaders accompanying him took up positions to one side.

The idea that the chief should "open" the prayers for rain and that they are organised by councillors acting on his behalf appears to be a remnant of the old tribal structure in which the chief also had purely religious functions and was responsible for having certain important rites performed on behalf of the whole tribe, albeit through

/specialists ...

specialists appointed or summoned by him. This was particularly the case with rain rites.

I suggest further that the Christian prayer meeting for rain has developed as a substitute for some of the pagan rain rites which have fallen into disuse. It must be pointed out, however, that some of the pagan ritual in connection with rain is still performed. The chief still sometimes summons doctor-diviners to find out the possibilities of rain, or to disclose objects which might be preventing rain from falling and to perform the appropriate rites of purification (Ch. III, p. 116 f.).

Summary.

It is a commonplace that Christian missions and churches have profoundly influenced the life of the indigenous peoples of South Africa. The material in this chapter shows in respect of Tlhaping society that the traditional culture and the social structure on which it was based has on the other hand also influenced the forms of belief and worship that are found in the churches.

In some instances elements of pagan ritual and belief have found their way into church ritual and belief. In one church the rite of eating the mogôga-animal is performed in much the same way and with much the same significance as in pagan ritual. The role of the chief in connection with prayer meetings for rain is also a remnant of the traditional background. Most funerals contain remnants of pagan ritual, but these seem to have lost their traditional significance. The belief in ɬikakgolo (the water snake) is recognised in the ritual of one church, while several recognise the belief in sorcery. We observed an instance of a Christian woman holding what is apparently the belief that the spirits of people who die in discontent do not rest. The belief that children are sinless may also be a remnant from paganism.

/A few ...

A few Christian rites and usages which are not part of the heritage which Christian churches have brought with them from abroad have developed as substitutes for traditional rites or social ceremonies. [1] This is the case with prayer meetings for rain, the service for bringing out a new-born baby, and memorial services some time after the death of important persons. The Roman Catholic priest also sometimes performs a rite of "blessing" the food for a wedding feast, with the express purpose of encouraging church members not to summon a native doctor to perform traditional ritual. Divining with the use of the Bible might also be regarded as a 'Christian' substitute for the traditional custom of divining with dice.

There are also a number of instances in which parallels may be seen between church rites [2] and traditional rites, as between the role of the Holy Spirit and ancestor Spirits in divining or prophesying, the secrecy of communion and of initiation ceremonies, rules of avoidance in the churches and traditional taboos, beliefs about dreams, visions and revelation through "the voice" in the churches and traditional beliefs about dreams, and between beating during the laying-on of hands and the massaging as part of traditional techniques of healing. Such parallels also exist in respect of the occurrence and purpose of rites of purification, the drinking of holy water, and the combination of healing activities with divining (or the receiving of revelations). Similarity in form need not imply that traditional beliefs and rites have influenced beliefs and rites in the churches, particularly when such beliefs and rites do not occur in Bantu churches only. However, as we have shown in some cases, it is possible that the existence of such similarity in form has given particular sanction to the church rites and beliefs in question and have made them particularly acceptable to Bantu converts.

/When ...

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1) Some of the usages mentioned here may show a certain resemblance to usages which are found outside Bantu churches, but from their particular form and from the particular situations in which they occur it is clear that among the Tlhaping they have developed as substitutes for indigenous customs.

2) The reference here is to Church rites which are widely known and which are not confined to Bantu Churches.

When comparing the similarities of form between traditional beliefs and usages and beliefs and ritual in the churches as observed in Tlhaping society on the one hand and in Zulu society on the other, there is a marked difference. In Taung the similarities are mostly of a general nature, or relate to isolated particulars. Among Zulu Zionists whole patterns closely resemble certain traditional patterns. Dr. Sundkler has shown how closely the Zionist prophets and the organisation of the Zionist group resemble the Zulu diviners and their group organisation. Beliefs about the Holy Spirit are moulded on the pattern of traditional beliefs about ancestor spirits. Purification ceremonies in Zulu Zionist churches reflect the pattern of traditional rites of purification. These are only the most outstanding examples but they suffice to show that in Zulu Zionist churches ritual and belief resemble traditional beliefs and practices much more closely and strikingly than is the case in Taung. This, I think, is to be explained by the fact that the pagan system of magico-religious beliefs is still much stronger and much more of it can still be observed among the Zulu than in Taung. 1)

We have seen, however, that much of ritual and belief in Taung churches, particularly with the Pentecostal Separatists, bears a magical character. This is particularly evident in connection with baptism, healing and rites of purification. This, I suggest, is the most important aspect in which Christianity has been influenced by the traditional background. This traditional background of magic not only influences African converts to attach an "indigenous" magical interpretation to Christian rites and beliefs which they are not generally given, but it also makes them particularly susceptible to the teachings of the branches of Christianity which tend to attach magical value to their ritual. This has been illustrated with particular reference to baptism.

/Finally ...

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1) For a discussion of this point see Ch. VIII.

Finally it must be pointed out that some of the rites in the churches are new "inventions" which have no precedent either in the heritage of Christian churches or in the indigenous traditional background. Several such examples come from the St. Paul Apostolic Faith Morning Star. I refer to the reinstatement of a "lost sheep" through partial baptism, passing through the baptismal pool after baptism, the coffin as ritual symbol on the holy place, and blessing newly bought articles. Other examples are the coloured robes and patterns worn by some Pentecostal Separatists in connection with health, and the use of candles to assist in revelation. Other rites again, for which there are precedents in "western" churches, are elaborated, particularly by the Pentecostal Separatists, as we have shown in connection with the rite of the laying-on of hands. In other instances Old Testament ritual which is usually no longer adhered to by Christians, has been revived in these churches. This is the case with the use of ashes as a purificant, the slaughtering of animals as sacrifices, and some rules of avoidance. In the next chapter we shall pay further attention to this tendency towards an increase in ritual.

TABLE VII - Summary of RITUAL AND REVELATION in the churches.

Name of church	Type.	Only ADULT BAPTISM by immersion recognised.	RITUAL AVOIDANCE applied in respect of..... FOOT WASHING before Holy Communion.	Tobacco.	Beer & o. alcoholic drinks.	Pork.	Carrion.	Blood.	Wearing shoes	Shaving beard	Other.
R.C. Church.	R.C.										
Methodist	Type "A", connected with Europeans.				X						
L.M.S.					X						
Anglican											
Lutheran											
Bantu Baptist		X			X						
D.R.C.											Meat of asses and donkeys.
S.D.A.	Type "B", conn.-Eur.	X	X	X	X	X	X	X			
Full Gospel	Type "C" conn. with Europeans	X	?	X	X	?	?	?			
Pent. Holiness		X		X	X	X	X	?			
Watch Tower	Unclassif.	X	?								
Nat. Ind. Cong.	Type "A", Separatist										
A.M.E.					X						
Afr. Lutheran					X						
S.A. Nat. Bap. C. Mis.		X			X						
Bech. Meth.					X						
Afr. United					X						
Eth. C. of Afr.					X						
Eth. Cath. C. in Z.					X						
Afr. Cath.											
Eth. C. of X. by Rel.											
Witness of X. (Sab.)	Type "B", Separatist	X	X	X	X	?	X		X		As in Deut. 4:9 and Gal. 5.
C. of the 1st-born		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X		
Holy C. of X		X	X	X	X				X		
New Ap. C. in Z	Type "C", Separatist	X	X	X	X	X		X	X		Menstruation, pregnancy, and death.
St. P. Ap. F.M.S.		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X		
Z. Ap. C. of S.A.		X	X		X	X	X	X		X	Things impure according to Bible.
Holy Xian Ap. C.		X	X	X	X	X	X		X	X	
Found. Ap. C. in J.		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X		Things impure according to Bible.
Holy Gosp. C. in Z.		X	X	X	X	X			X		
"Shangaan minister" [1]	Unclassif.	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	

Name of church	HEALING Opposition to..... Traditional techniques	European techniques	Techniques applied: Healing as part of regular specialist	Laying-on of hands	Unction	Holy water	Ashes	Robes & revealed symbols	Enemas (salt)	Holy objects of leaders	Sorcery revealed as cause	Other.
R.C. Church.	X				X							
Methodist	X											
L.M.S.	X											
Anglican	X				X							
Lutheran	X											
Bantu Baptist	X											
D.R.C.	X											
S.D.A.	X											
Full Gospel	X	X	X	X	?							
Pent. Holiness	X	X	X	X	X							
Watch Tower	X											
Nat. Ind. Cong.	X											
A.M.E.	X											
Afr. Lutheran	X											
S.A. Nat. Bap. C. Mis.	X				X							
Bech. Meth.												
Afr. United	X											
Eth. C. of Afr.	X				X							
Eth. Cath. C. in Z.	?											
Afr. Cath.					X							
Eth. C. of X. by Rel.					X							
Witness of X. (Sab.)	X	X	X	X	X							
C. of the 1st-born	X		X	X	X							
Holy C. of X	X				X							
New Ap. C. in Z	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	?			
St. P. Ap. F.M.S.	X		X	X	X	X		X	X [2]			
Z. Ap. C. of S.A.	X			X	X	X						
Holy Xian Ap. C.	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X			X	
Found. Ap. C. in J.	X	X	X	X	?	X	X	X			X	
Holy Gosp. C. in Z.	X	X	?	X		X		X				
"Shangaan minister" [1]	?	?	?	?	X	?	X	?	?	X	Faith X Lord	X

Name of church	PURIFICATION and ritual use of water. Washing in river or pool. After death	After childbirth	After illness	By sprinklings after death	Other (see also under "HEALING", "Holy water", "Enemas", "Other".)
R.C. Church.					
Methodist					
L.M.S.					
Anglican					
Lutheran					
Bantu Baptist					
D.R.C.					
S.D.A.					
Full Gospel					
Pent. Holiness					
Watch Tower					
Nat. Ind. Cong.					
A.M.E.					
Afr. Lutheran					
S.A. Nat. Bap. C. Mis.					Removal of clothes of mourning.
Bech. Meth.					
Afr. United					
Eth. C. of Afr.					
Eth. Cath. C. in Z.					
Afr. Cath.					
Eth. C. of X. by Rel.					Washing & swilling of mouth before Holy Communion.
Witness of X. (Sab.)					
C. of the 1st-born					
Holy C. of X					
New Ap. C. in Z					Water from place of baptism.
St. P. Ap. F.M.S.	X				Passing through baptismal pool, spending some time at leader's home.
Z. Ap. C. of S.A.					
Holy Xian Ap. C.	X	X	X		Drinking oil, which has been prayed over.
Found. Ap. C. in J.	X				Purif. in river if member is not "right" (e.g. drinks excessively.)
Holy Gosp. C. in Z.					
"Shangaan minister" [1]	?				Vapour bath.

Name of church	REVELATION Dreams recognised as means of revelation	Action of the Spirit revealed: Visions, inward audible Word	Speaking with tongues	Bodily movements, "Trees"	Divination with Bible	Other means of revelation.	DIVERSE rites or ritual characteristics. Carrying flags or staffs.	Other.
R.C. Church.								
Methodist								Burial: certificates, etc. placed in coffin.
L.M.S.								
Anglican								Do.
Lutheran								
Bantu Baptist								
D.R.C.	X							
S.D.A.								
Full Gospel	X	?	?	?				
Pent. Holiness		?	?	?				
Watch Tower								
Nat. Ind. Cong.								
A.M.E.	X							
Afr. Lutheran								
S.A. Nat. Bap. C. Mis.	X							
Bech. Meth.								
Afr. United								
Eth. C. of Afr.								
Eth. Cath. C. in Z.								
Afr. Cath.	X							
Eth. C. of X. by Rel.								
Witness of X. (Sab.)								Burials special niche made in grave for coffin.
C. of the 1st-born								
Holy C. of X								
New Ap. C. in Z	X	X	X	?	X	Being born with caul, burning candles.	X	Death: mogoga - animal slaughtered as sacrifice for deceased.
St. P. Ap. F.M.S.	X	X	X	X	X [2]			"Holy place" for certain ritual.
Z. Ap. C. of S.A.								Burial: blue coffin cover, coffin placed on holy place, ashes thrown in grave, no feast.
Holy Xian Ap. C.	X	X	X	X	X	"Feeling" illness by laying hand on head.	X	Keeping pigs condemned; sacrifices of thanks giving; special manner of greeting; women wear long dresses; pray when passing graves
Found. Ap. C. in J.	X	X	X	X	X		X	
Holy Gosp. C. in Z.								Burial: no feast.
"Shangaan minister" [1]	?	?	?	?	?	X	?	

[1]) This refers to the activities of the "minister" who was described in court as a "Shangaan". (See pp. 367 ff.)

[2]) Used to be performed in this church but has now been dropped.

CHAPTER VIII

TRENDS AND INTERCONNECTIONS

In concluding we may now review the main trends in the present religious situation in the Phuduhutswana chiefdom and note how religion and changes in religion are connected with other aspects of the social structure. The trends in paganism and Christianity respectively will be dealt with separately, but we should bear in mind that the society is not divided into two distinct groups, of which the one is attached to paganism and the other to the Christian churches. Some of the people who profess Christianity still adhere to some of the pagan beliefs and rites, while most people, also those who do not profess Christianity have accepted some Christian beliefs and rites. For instance they believe in direct prayer to God and have Christian rites performed for "bringing out" a child or for burial. This overlapping of paganism and Christianity is in itself an important trend. It goes to show that although paganism is receding before Christianity, the break with the traditional pagan background is not easy.

Trends in paganism.

Apart from the general waning of paganism as illustrated by the fact that some pagan ritual has already become completely obsolete and many people have abandoned paganism altogether, the most important fact about it is that different aspects of the traditional system of magico-religious beliefs and activities are not receding in equal proportion. The ancestor cult has largely disintegrated but traditional magic tends to persist to a considerable degree. Moreover, even where traditional beliefs about the role of the ancestors are still adhered to, the belief in God is much more prominent, more clearly expressed and more consciously held than appears to have been the case in former times. There is at least a closer approximation to Christian monotheistic

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teaching than used to be the case. These trends ask for explanation. Why is it that the ancestor cult is disappearing more rapidly than magic? Why is Christian teaching about God being accepted while teaching against pagan magic is not, or at least not to the same degree?

The explanation seems to be found in the connection between ancestor cult and the social structure. Prof. Radcliffe Brown has already made this point in respect of South African (indigenous) societies in general. [1] He holds that an ancestor cult is a concomitant of a kinship system which stresses unilineal descent, and that its social function is the strengthening of the sentiments which bind together the members of the lineage. Where these sentiments are weakened through the impact of "European culture", as is the case in South Africa, the ancestral cult disintegrates. In Chapter II we have drawn attention to the weakening of the principle of unilineal descent among the Tlhaping, which is particularly reflected in the scattering of the population and the fact that the rule of patrilocal residence is fast disappearing. As the lineage ceases to be an important group in the social structure, the ancestor cult also becomes unimportant and disintegrates or is easily substituted by a new set of rites and beliefs.

I would suggest, however, that an ancestor cult may also have a wider social significance than in respect of the solidarity of the lineage. In a patrilineal society the spirits of the dead other than those belonging to one's own lineage may also be believed to influence one or they may be the objects of the rites one performs.

Among the Tlhaping the ancestor cult is not only concerned with deceased patrilineal relatives, but also with others, e.g. those on the mother's side. As we have observed (Ch. III) the remnants of the cult hardly reflect the predominance of one's lineage ancestors which

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1) A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, Structure and Function in Primitive Society. Cohen and West, London, 1952, p. 164.

apparently used to characterize the cult in former times. Apparently then the social function of the cult among the Tlhaping was not only that of strengthening the sentiments which served to preserve the unity of the lineage, but it also sanctioned the relations that one was expected to maintain with one's kinsmen generally. [1] The disintegration of the ancestor cult is related then, not only to the decreasing importance of the unilineal principle of kinship, but to the neglect of kinship obligations in general.

Remarks made by some of my informants implying that the performing of sacrifices to the ancestor spirits is not important in Tswana ritual, suggest that among the Tswana the cult is less elaborated than among the Nguni and Southern Sotho peoples.

Sacrifices and prayers directed to the ancestors are of course not the only forms of ritual implying the existence of an ancestor cult. Among the Tswana the belief in dikgaba and the rite it involves also seems to be part of the cult. (See Ch. III, pp. 119-120.) However, although it may be believed that the misfortune referred to as dikgaba is caused by the ancestors, they seem to be in the background in the ritual: the rite is essentially a magical rite of purification (it is called tlhapisô, washing). It shows more concern with appeasing the

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1. To give another instance of an ancestor cult having a wider social significance than in respect of lineage solidarity, I refer to the Mende. Dr. Kenneth Little has shown that the Mende (like the Tlhaping) believe that the ancestral spirits occupy a position in the cosmos nearer to the Supreme Being, serving as a link between the living and "the final source of supernatural power." The rites performed by the Mende imply that the spirits expect a share of the prosperity experienced by their living relatives and the latter's households. "These relatives are surviving sons, grandsons, and great-grandsons, and nephews on both sides of the family." It is obvious, therefore, that among the Mende one is not only concerned with the spirits of one's deceased patrilineal relatives. Dr. Little also makes clear that the ancestor cult sanctions the relationship that should exist between oneself and one's important living kin generally, not only one's lineal kin. "The ancestral spirits stand, conceptually, in the same relationship to the family as do its senior members on earth to their own sons and daughters and nephews and nieces."
(Little, Kenneth, "The Mende in Sierra Leone," in Darryl Forde (Ed.), African Worlds, Oxford University Press, 1954, pp.116, 120 ff. The italics are my own.)

living senior whose displeasure at the misbehaviour of his junior is the initial cause of dikgaba, and with washing away the 'impurity', than with the ancestors, although they enter the train of belief. Prayers and sacrifices on the other hand imply more direct dealings, more direct concern, with the ancestors themselves. Therefore, in spite of the importance of dikgaba I think we may still say that the unimportance of sacrifices (and the prayers which usually accompany them) is evidence of the lesser elaboration of the ancestor cult.

At present sacrifices to the ancestors certainly seem to be less common among the Tlhaping than among the Nguni and Southern Sotho peoples. We have observed that among the Zulu, sacrifices to the ancestors are common, even as a part of Zionist church ritual. Fairly recent accounts of the Pondo and Swazi show that sacrificial slaughtering and other rites connected with the ancestor cult are still common among these people. 1)

Among the people of Basutoland, particularly the Tlokoa, the ancestor cult also appears to persist with greater vigour than among the Tlhaping, although here too it seems to be rapidly disintegrating. 2) In part this difference between the Tlhaping (and, in fact, the Tswana generally 3)) on the one hand, and the Nguni and Sotho peoples on the other, is probably to be explained by the fact that the Tlhaping have been in closer contact with European culture than the others. They inhabit a relatively small reserve which is surrounded by European farms and is within easy reach of large European centres by rail or road and which therefore has nothing of the relative isolation of some parts of

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1) Hunter, Monica, Reaction to Conquest, Oxford University Press, 1936, and Kuper, Hilda, An African Aristocracy, Oxford University Press, 1947, and The Swazi (Ethnographic Survey of Africa, Southern Africa, Part I), London, 1952, p.45.

2) See Ashton, Hugh, The Basuto, Oxford University Press, 1952, pp. 114-116.

3) See Schapera, The Tswana, p.61.

Swaziland, Zululand, Pondoland and Basutoland. Furthermore they are isolated from any large unit of Tswana people. In these circumstances it is to be expected that the traditional culture as a whole and the ancestor cult as part of it have reached a further stage of disintegration than among the other peoples mentioned.

My Tlhaping informants' remarks, however, seemed to imply that even traditionally they were not accustomed to sacrifice to the ancestors as commonly as the Nguni and Southern Sotho. In my earlier enquiries when asking directly about sacrifices to the ancestors, I was told by some individual informants and also by a group of men that the Tswana do not "give to the ancestors". Some said that the Nguni (Matebele) and Sotho are the people who sacrifice to the ancestor spirits not the Tswana, or that the Tswana had learnt about ancestor spirits from other people. (At least one of these informants gave various examples of sacrifices to the ancestor spirits at a later stage.) Quite a different informant on a later occasion told me of an offering which a rain-doctor required should be made to the chief's ancestors in connection with rain magic. [1] When I confronted him with the information which the other informants had given to the effect that the Tswana "do not give to the ancestors" but that the Nguni and Sotho do this, he immediately responded as if he was well acquainted with this opinion. He went on to explain that the Tswana make such sacrifices only when a diviner divines that it should be done whereas the Nguni and Sotho make sacrifices as family rituals. This explanation is not quite clear and probably not quite correct but it is consistent with the opinion that sacrifices are more common among these other people than among the Tswana.

One of my most reliable informants on traditional matters who never denied that the Tswana traditionally made sacrifices to the ancestors also made a remark referring to the Sotho and Nguni. When I asked him

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1) This was not a local doctor but one in the Transvaal to whom representatives of the tribe had been sent.

whether a deceased person appearing in a dream sometimes asks that an animal should be slaughtered, he answered in the affirmative, and said that the custom of slaughtering the mogôga-animal (see ch. III, pp.110f) had started in this manner from dreams. Quite voluntarily he added that the people who do this very much - I had the impression that he was referring to slaughtering for the ancestor spirits in general - are the Sotho and Nguni peoples.

The fact that even among the Tswana of the Protectorate, who do not seem to have been as heavily exposed to the influences of European culture as the Tlhaping of Taung, little of the ancestor cult persists at present, supports our suggestion that even in pre-European times sacrifices to the ancestor spirits were less important among the Tswana than among the Nguni, and perhaps also the Southern Sotho. Moreover this suggestion is consistent with the lesser ritual value that cattle nowadays have among the Tswana than among the Nguni, and the readiness with which the former sell their cattle. [1] (See ch. II, p.62.)

Leaving the Southern Sotho out of the argument for a moment, I think this difference in the ancestor cults of the Tswana and Nguni respectively could be related to difference in traditional social structure. Granted that the anger or displeasure of ancestor spirits on the one hand and sorcery (and/or witchcraft) on the other are two alternative possibilities for explaining misfortune (not necessarily the only two possibilities), and "that accusations of practising witchcraft or sorcery are an expression of conflict", [2] I suggest that the lesser importance of sacrifices to the ancestor spirits among the Tswana may be related to their traditional pattern of territorial distribution. As we have observed this pattern was one of concentration

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1) Perhaps this lesser elaboration of the ancestor cult partly explains why Moffat did not recognise the existence of a cult of the dead. Cf. the fact that Fritsch also maintains that the ancestor cult is less elaborated among the Tswana than among the Xosa. (Fritsch, Gustav, Die Eingeborenen Süd-Afrikas, F. Hirt, Breslau, 1872, p.198.)

2) Wilson, Monica Hunter, "Witch Beliefs and Social Structure", The American Journal of Sociology, Vol. LVI, No. 4, Jan. 1951, p.315.

in large, relatively densely populated towns. In contrast with this the Nguni pattern is one of decentralisation of the population in scattered homesteads or small villages. [1] It seems reasonable to assume that in a large, densely populated town an individual comes into regular contact with a much greater number of people than would be the case in a society of which the members are scattered. Consequently conflicts and suspicions may develop in greater number in the former type of society. If this assumption is correct it follows that the structure of Tswana society offered more opportunities for interpreting misfortune in terms of witchcraft and sorcery than Nguni society. I suggest then that because of this the Tswana tended to be more concerned with witchcraft and sorcery and less with the displeasure of the ancestor spirits as a cause of misfortune than was the case among the Nguni. For this reason they were also less concerned with propitiating the spirits of the dead and did not have such an elaborate ancestral cult as the Nguni.

Unfortunately I have no information on the incidence of accusations of sorcery among the Tlhaping. The findings of diviners in this connection are not published and I never heard accusations directed against particular persons. Moreover, if such information should provide some degree of a check on the hypothesis put forward above it would have to come from a large Tswana town, and this no longer exists in Taung. The argument put forward is therefore nothing more than an unproved hypothesis offered as an explanation for what appears to be a greater elaboration of the ancestor cult among the Tswana than among the Nguni.

We have left out the Southern Sotho from the argument because there are not the same clear-cut contrasts between them and the Tswana. In their pattern of territorial distribution the Southern Sotho fall

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1) Kuper, Hilda, The Swazi, p. 17; Gluckman, Max, "Kinship and Marriage among the Lozi of Northern Rhodesia and the Zulu of Natal", in A. R. Radcliffe-Brown and Daryll Forde, African Systems of Kinship and Marriage, p.169; Hunter, Monica, Reaction to Conquest.

between the Nguni and Tswana: villages show great variation in size, some being quite small and some being as large as four or five hundred "families". [1] There is some concentration of population but it is not such a consistent pattern as among the Tswana. Probably the Southern Sotho fall in an intermediate position between Tswana and Nguni in respect of the elaboration of the ancestral cult also.

The main argument with which we are here concerned, however, is that the ancestor cult is related to the kinship system and that as the kinship system of the Tlhaping disintegrated their cult of the dead was bound to fade in impertance also. As we have observed that the ancestors were believed to form a link between the living and God, it is to be understood that as the ancestors become less important, it became easy to accept the idea taught by the missionaries, that God is directly interested in the affairs of men and can be approached in direct prayer. The fact that there is greater approximation, even among non-Christians, to Christian monotheistic teaching than used to be the case formerly, is therefore not merely a result of missionary teaching, but is also connected with the waning of the ancestor cult which on its part is related to the disintegration of the kinship system.

Whereas the belief in the ancestors has been undermined unobtrusively by the disintegration of the kinship system, the missions and schools have not been assisted by such an unseen ally in combating the belief in magic. The conditions calling for the practice of magic persist. In spite of the spread of European education, the bulk of the population still understand little about the causation of misfortunes like illness, death, droughts and hail. The belief in magic is therefore still adhered to to explain these phenomena, and magic is still practised to counteract them.

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1) Ashton, op. cit., p. 21.

General trends in the churches.

In our discussion of the churches a number of general trends have emerged which we may briefly recount here, with the addition of some remarks for which there has not yet been occasion. Some of the trends pertain more particularly to organisation and leadership in the churches, others to ritual and doctrine. We may first deal with organisation and leadership.

In various passages I have drawn attention to the social importance of the church group, particularly the local church group. It provides the most important opportunities for group activity and social contacts, many of its activities bear a strong social character, its small size makes for intimate in-group relations, and church membership offers valuable contacts abroad.

When trying to understand the importance of the church as a social group, we should bear in mind the nature of traditional Tswana social structure. The most important social units were the family group, consisting of several households, and the ward, consisting usually of a few family groups. The members of the same family-group or ward were mostly connected by agnatic kinship ties. Within the family group there was constant co-operation in economic, ceremonial and legal affairs, and there was also a great deal of co-operation between the family-groups composing the ward. The set-up of the homesteads of the ward around a common kgotla and meeting place, resulted in their members sharing much of each others' lives. [1]

As we observed in chapter II this old ward system has passed from Tlhaping society, and with it most of the opportunities for social contacts and group activity which the traditional society had to offer. In the changed and changing society the church is the only institution which has so far emerged as a possible successor to these important

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1) Cf. Schapera, The Tswana, pp. 40, 46-47; Native Land Tenure in the Bechuanaland Protectorate, p. 29.

functions. The inhabitants of the new type of headman's area, as we have shown, hardly form a corporate group, and within it there are no clear sub-divisions with any degree of solidarity. It is to be understood that in these circumstances the church group has become such an important social group. Its small size and intimate in-group relations which make it comparable to the traditional family-groups and wards may have contributed to its acceptability as successor to some of the functions of these groupings.

With the decay of the old social structure many of the excitements and amusements of tribal life in the past have disappeared. There are no more inter-tribal wars and cattle raids, no important tribal ceremonies apart from initiation, and enthusiasm is lacking for tribal assemblies. Moreover beer drinks are less and many Christians may not attend them, and there are few work-parties nowadays. This further stresses the dearth of opportunities for recreational and other activities which provide some excitement and diversion in a condition under which life can be dull and uninteresting. Undoubtedly this has stimulated the social activities of the churches.

Another important trend in the Protestant churches is that a large number of people act as preachers. In part this is a concomitant of the fact that local church groups are small and therefore numerous, but even in the small local church groups there are often several people who may officiate as preachers. The churches therefore offer wide opportunities for exercising leadership.

This trend may also be related to some aspects of the traditional social structure and the social changes taking place. In traditional society the most important leaders were the chief and his advisers, the ward headmen and their advisers (and perhaps to some extent also the more successful doctors). These offices offered opportunities for leadership to a considerable number of men. These opportunities were not exclusively held by members of the "royal" lineages, since

/there ...

there were also "commoner" wards which had their hereditary leaders with their own advisers. Moreover all male members had (and have) the right to speak in tribal assemblies. The offices of chief and headmen were hereditary and to a considerable extent their choice of advisers was decided by the descent of the men. We may say then that opportunities for non-hereditary leadership were restricted even in traditional society. Moreover, none of the opportunities mentioned were open to women.

The scattering of the population and the decay of the old ward system have given rise to the new type of headmen's areas of which there are only eighteen at present. Judging by the number of remnants of old wards still observable at Taung there must have been a considerably larger number of wards of the old type than there are of the new type at present (See ch. II, pp. 21-22). This means that the opportunities for leadership have become less. Moreover, headmen nowadays all come from the ranks of the royal lineages, so that the commoners particularly have very little opportunity for exercising leadership in the sphere where almost all the available opportunities offered by traditional society were found.

The opportunities for leadership in the churches [1] now make up for the loss of such opportunities in the political and administrative sphere. Church leadership also makes up for a lack of opportunity for non-hereditary leadership which always used to exist even in traditional society, while women, who had hardly any such opportunities may now also become leaders in the churches. In general terms it can be said that opportunities for leadership in the churches are complementary to the opportunities for leadership which still exist in the

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1) Here I think of all who hold office in churches as leaders or potential leaders. In chapter VI I used the term "leader" in a somewhat more restricted sense.

sphere of tribal politics and administration. This is consistent with the fact that on the one hand none of the men holding important political positions take a keen interest in a particular church, and on the other hand church leaders do not show a very keen interest in tribal politics.

Dr. Sundkler connects the desire for leadership as expressed in Zulu Separatist churches with the colour bar in South African society. [1] No doubt the fact that the Bantu are excluded from most opportunities for political and economic leadership open to Europeans is significant in respect of leadership higher up in the hierarchy of church organisation. In the rural churches which we have investigated leadership does not seem to be strongly conditioned by this factor, however.

What is perhaps significant is the example of the pattern of leadership in European society. As we have seen, the pattern of leadership which predominated in traditional Tswana society was that in which leadership was connected with offices which were inherited in the male line. In a society built on a lineage structure this pattern is consistent with the whole social structure so that the absence of non-hereditary leadership was probably not felt as something lacking or irksome. However, the contact of the Bantu with European society introduced them to non-hereditary leadership and to the important role it can play in a society. It may then be that this contact created and stimulated the ambition or desire for such leadership. One may further also expect that the weakening of the principle of unilineal descent would have added to the significance of this new type of leadership which exists independently of the lineage structure. These factors perhaps also help to account for the large number of 'leaders' in the churches since the church is about the only institution in the society offering opportunities for realising the ambition for leadership to those who cannot exercise it in some hereditary capacity.

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1) Op. cit. p. 100.

To these two trends in church structure and organisation - viz. the importance of the local church group and its social functions, and the importance of leadership in the churches - we may add a few others which have already been discussed in some detail and which I only mention here. Like the two trends discussed above these others have also been shown to be related to the traditional social structure or to structural changes that have taken or are taking place. As I have observed in chapter V church organisation tends to follow the pattern of traditional political organisation, while strong tribal solidarity connected with a high degree of concentration of the population in former times tended to make the earliest mission church in the chiefdom a tribal church, which, however, waned in importance as the solidarity broke up and the population scattered. Particular attention has also been drawn to some aspects of the traditional structure which have contributed to the trend by which women play such a prominent role in the churches. This we have seen to be connected to some extent with the traditional roles of men and boys as warriors and herders which restrained them from joining the churches, while prohibition of polygyny did not act as a stumbling-block to women in the same degree as to men. The role of the political officials, all men, in connection with initiation ceremonies has also acted as a deterrent. The inferior position of women in traditional society on the one hand and the enhancement of this position in and by the churches on the other hand, also contributed to the greater popularity of the churches with women than with men.

When turning to trends in ritual and belief I would first point to the fact that a number of parallels exist between rites and beliefs (or fragments of these) in the churches on the one hand and traditional beliefs, rites and customs on the other. Sometimes, although not always, it could be shown that the churches have directly borrowed from, or have been influenced by pagan tradition. These similarities in form

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have been discussed in the previous chapter and need not be listed here again.

Taken collectively the similarities in form were in respect of isolated traits and although there were quite a number of them they cannot be compared to the spectacular and sweeping similarities which Dr. Sundkler has shown to exist between patterns followed by Zulu Zionist prophets and those followed by traditional Zulu diviners. However, although the indigenous tradition has not influenced the form of ritual in Taung churches considerably, its influence does come out in the strong tendency to attach magical value to rites. This is the case particularly in the Pentecostal Separatist churches. In this trend toward magical church ritual the force of tradition still exerts itself in spite of so many forces making for change.

It is worth noting that these churches (the Pentecostal Separatists) which have been so strongly influenced by the predominantly magical nature of traditional patterns of belief and ritual, tend to denounce traditional pagan ritual as performed by native doctors even more emphatically than other churches. They also lay great stress on the Biblical foundation of their beliefs and usages. We observe here two opposing tendencies: on the one hand the conscious rejection of tradition and acceptance of what is new, but on the other hand that which is new is re-interpreted according to traditional (magical) patterns of thought and is often given a peculiar elaboration. Perhaps the multi-racial character of South African society with its inter-racial tensions comes into play here. One could expect that the Bantu, aware of their inferior position in the total South African society, would tend to simulate European patterns of living wherever possible, in order to deny their being different, because difference from Europeans with their technically superior culture is only too often interpreted as inferiority. Perhaps the very emphatic rejection of pagan ritual

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and acceptance of ritual which is believed to have a Biblical foundation (thus being in line with Christianity, the dominant European religion) is one way of simulating European patterns and of expressing the desire to be accepted as the equals of the superior European class.

Nevertheless the break with tradition is not easy and it still asserts itself. The ritual reveals acceptance of the general patterns brought by European missionaries, but as they are, these patterns are too 'foreign' to give full satisfaction. By their greater elaboration and the magical value attached to them they are to some extent brought in line with patterns which are known in the society, thereby losing some of their foreignness and gaining in acceptability. The elaboration of ritual will be discussed in more detail presently. Here I wish first to discuss the persistence of magical patterns of thought.

In connection with the extant forms of pagan magic I have already indicated that the reason for the persistence of magic in a society such as that of the Phuduhutswana is the relative absence of knowledge about the causes of processes and phenomena which are of vital importance to the society and its individual members. In spite of their contact with modern industry, mining, agriculture, and medicine, a large proportion of the society still adheres to magical patterns of thought because the mere knowledge of the existence of scientific techniques is not enough to dispel magic. I suggest that it is only a real insight into the processes involved, particularly an insight into the causes of disease, death, crop failures, droughts, and other natural phenomena, that will lead to a more complete rejection of magic as such. It may be relatively easy to educate isolated individuals to an understanding of such processes but to attain this for a society as a whole seems to be a tedious task. It certainly has not been attained for the society with which we are concerned. There are highly educated individuals possessing a considerable degree of knowledge (and even some of them sometimes turn to magic) but the larger proportion of the members of

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this society still lacks the knowledge referred to above. In spite of the considerable extent to which schools have become part of the society, most scholars attain only an elementary standard of schooling. As long as only a small margin of the society possesses the type of knowledge I have mentioned, one must expect that the traditional magical patterns of thought will persist.

In another context I have already discussed the tendency toward a literal and fragmentary interpretation of Scripture which shows affinity with the traditional pattern of thought underlying magical ritual (See ch. VII, p.381). In both cases there is a lack of a comprehensive approach which seeks to view each particular rite and belief within the framework of the totality of rites and beliefs.

A distinct moralistic and legalistic trend has also been observed in ritual and teaching. The essence of Christianity is to many people the adherence to a particular code of behaviour - putting aside traditional practices such as initiation and beer drinking, not having illicit sexual relations, going to church, giving church contributions and doing good "works". Some churches stress particular objects and activities which have to be avoided and preach the keeping of "the law". "Baptist" churches stress the necessity of adult baptism by immersion, Sabbatarians make the keeping of Saturday as Sabbath an indispensable part of Christianity. The particular pattern of behaviour is usually connected in a very direct manner with the condition of the individual in future life, that is, with the judgment which will decide that condition.

At an earlier stage (ch. V, pp.199-200) we saw that this moralistic or legalistic tendency may partly be related to the tendency on the part of missions to require certain outward observances of their converts. I would further suggest that it is related to the disintegration of society. Through the changes in the old social structure, old values (e.g. respect for the chief and for old age, and filial obedience) have

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passed and are passing away, old rules of behaviour are disappearing and there is the feeling that the society is becoming increasingly lawless. In this situation there is an acute need for a new clear-cut set of rules of behaviour backed by a strong sanctioning force. A form of Christianity stressing adherence to a definite set of laws, sanctioned by the notion of future judgment undoubtedly meets this need. This connection between a Christian moralism and the instability of present-day social relations was very clearly expressed by the minister who exhorted the parents to teach the children "the law" and enforce filial obedience with chastisement if necessary, "because to-morrow you will find them playing dice." (See ch. VII, p.314) In part the values stressed are new values, but in part they are a re-statement of old values in a new (Biblical or Christian) idiom or backed by a new sanction as e.g. the enjoining of filial obedience and strict discipline enforced by corporal punishment.

It also seems, however, that there is a connection between the kind of moralism found in the churches and the tendency toward magical ritual and doctrine. We have observed that a close causal connection is made between the pattern of behaviour in this life and one's fate in future life. It is not that this process is thought of independently of the belief in God: God is thought of as the Law-giver and also as the Judge, and His judgment decides one's fate. God's judgment is thought of as being based on man's behaviour, but within this pattern of belief, keeping of the law, adherence to the proper pattern of behaviour, is thought of as an effective surety for obtaining favourable judgment.

To bring out more clearly the affinity of this kind of moralism with magical belief, we should contrast it with a different form of Christian belief. I have in mind a form of Christian doctrine which, without denying the reality of a divine law or of future judgment, denies the ability of man to ensure a favourable judgment by adhering

/to ...

to a particular pattern of behaviour, i.e. by keeping a set of laws. In this line of thought man's depravity resulting from the fall is such that he is unable to keep God's law to God's satisfaction. The only way of salvation is through grace and faith. In the belief that Christ as Mediator fulfilled the law to perfection and made full payment for man's transgressions, Christ is seen as meeting all the requirements of God's righteousness, all that is necessary for man's salvation. Man has to recognise his transgression of God's law and in sincere repentance of this, believe that he is granted forgiveness and salvation by virtue of Christ's accomplishment as Mediator. The "good works" of the believer are then in no way efficacious in attaining salvation but testify to man's gratitude for grace received.

This is not an adequate account of the particular trend of Christian teaching I have in mind but the few lines I have drawn are perhaps enough to contrast it with the moralistic teaching referred to above. The difference lies in the value of adherence to a particular pattern of behaviour. In the moralistic pattern of belief the activities of the individual have a certain degree of direct efficacy in ensuring salvation, in the other these activities have no such efficacy but serve as an expression of gratitude. As I have shown in the previous chapter I hold that in as far as a ritual object or act is believed to have a certain direct efficacy it bears a magical character. Therefore we may say that in as far as moralistic teaching attributes a certain direct efficacy to correct behaviour, i.e. efficacy in ensuring favourable judgment and salvation in future life, in so far it is akin to magic. This affinity with magic, I suggest, makes this kind of moralistic teaching particularly acceptable in a society in which belief in magic is still strong. [1]

We must be reminded of the fact, however, that even the churches

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1) Cf. what the Wilsons have termed "magical morality". Wilson, Godfrey and Monica, The Analysis of Social Change, Cambridge, 1945, p.92.

in which the moralistic trend is very obvious, proclaim a gospel of forgiveness, they also preach that one is justified by faith, but conduct and "works" are nevertheless indispensable to salvation, so that "forgiveness is when we behave well" and "faith is works". (See ch. VI, p. 296 ff.)

Another trend is the tendency toward emotionalism. I have not mentioned emotionalism very often, but it is evident in the descriptions of Pentecostal services. I also observed it to a lesser extent in the delivery of some preachers of churches of type "A" and "B". [1] The emotionalism is particularly intense in the more violent type of Pentecostal churches where the service takes place in an atmosphere of high tension which contrasts strikingly with the casualness of relations immediately after the service. [2]

There is another tendency which must be mentioned in connection with emotionalism and that is the elaboration of ritual. This ritualistic trend is particularly evident in Pentecostal Separatist churches where we have observed how new ritual has been added to that which is known in non-Bantu churches, while known ritual has been further elaborated. In churches of type "A" and "B" this trend is not so obvious but even in these churches one may notice liturgical additions which are not to be found in the non-Bantu church of which the general pattern is followed. I may here also refer to the processions and formalised greetings at the end of services. (See ch. VI, p. 277 .)

/Ritualism ...

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1) As missionary in Kimberley I attended two ceremonies at which new members of the Women's Associations of the Dutch Reformed Church Mission in the locations in Kimberley were "robed". Some of the new members cried and sobbed and one or two fainted. This happened in spite of the fact that the D.R.C., in common with most Presbyterians, does not encourage emotionalism.

2) The first marked success that Moffat saw on his missionary labours at Kuruman was a spiritual awakening accompanied by considerable display of emotion. (See Moffat, Robert, Missionary Labors and Scenes in Southern Africa. 12th Edit. Cincinatti, 1856, pp. 328 ff.)

Ritualism and emotionalism may be interpreted as expressions of a desire for a religion which is vividly experienced. Ritualism provides a religion which is seen and sometimes also felt, it provides for sensual experience. The liturgical additions in churches of type "A" and "B" perhaps do not give a definite sensual or emotional experience, but they provide for active participation of the rank and file. Active participation may not be exactly the same as sensual or emotional experience, but it is akin to it. In connection with this desire for a religion which is sensually and emotionally experienced particular reference may be made to the Pentecostals' preference for a "swing"-type of rhythm in singing, which more or less impels one to bodily movement, to the wide range of movements and utterances ascribed to the working of the Spirit, to the laying-on of hands, and to the freedom ordinary members have of addressing the congregation and of interrupting other speakers with the customary exclamations and singing. The avowed reception of direct revelations through dreams or visible or audible revelations also illustrate the desire for a vividly experienced religion. Baptism by immersion is also relevant in this respect, because it provides a more vivid sensual experience than baptism by sprinkling or pouring.

The question arises whether ritualism and emotionalism may be related to the traditional background. Traditional magico-religious practices did not include long sermons; they did include prayers, but they included more action. Sacrifices (which meant sacrificial meals), sprinkling or washing with medicines in rites of purification and observing the fall of the dice in divination provided the opportunity for seeing, feeling, and actively participating in the magico-religious sphere. It is difficult to say what role the display of emotion played in traditional society, but with the dullness and lack of excitement which typifies life in the society at present, religious emotionalism may well be a form of compensation.

/Dr. ...

Dr. Sundkler has shown that among Bantu on the Witwatersrand new class distinctions, based on education and economic success, are emerging, and that the "upper class" are turning to a church like the A.M.E.Church. The Zionists, similar to our Pentecostals in respect of emotionalism and violent ritual, "take care of the uneducated."[1] In Taung there is also some evidence of the emergence of a "professional" class, but it is still too small to allow of generalisations of the kind referred to above. We may say that the bulk of the population are still at a relatively low stage of economic development and that in the society as a whole the standard of empirical knowledge is still low.

In this connection I think it is significant that the kind of religion which produces vivid emotional or sensual experiences is popular with American Negroes. This is more apparent in the Southern states than in the North and is particularly evident in Lower Class churches.[2] Their patterns of "getting religion" and "shouting" are typical examples of such vivid experiences. On the other hand denominations of which the teaching and ritual are held to appeal to the intellect are said to have had little success among Negroes in the Southern States. However, Negroes of the Upper Class generally prefer these churches.[3]

/Furthermore ...

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1) Op. cit. pp. 81, 86.

2) Cf. Dollard, John, Caste and Class in a Southern Town, Yale University Press, 1947, p. 225; Frazier, E. Franklin, Negro Youth at the Crossways, American Council of Education, Washington, 1940, p.133; Powdermaker, Hortense, After Freedom, New York, 1939, pp. 258 and ch. 12.

3) Frazier, op. cit., p.128; Powdermaker, op. cit., ch.11; Woodson, C. G., History of the Negro Church, p.97, quoted by Dollard, op. cit. p. 224n.
Cf. also what Arthur T. Porter relates about religious affiliation in Freetown, Sierra Leone: "In the earliest period the more respectable and wealthy members of the population belonged to the various Wesleyan denominations". The rest of the population was divided among other "less orthodox" churches in which "were to be found displays of emotionalism - shouting and shaking and what has been described as 'an exciting exhibition of finding the Lord'" ("Religious Affiliation in Freetown, Sierra Leone," Africa, vol. XXIII, No. 1, Jan. 1953, p.7.)

Furthermore it is significant that the same type of religion, although perhaps not in such extreme forms, is also found among Lower Class Whites of the Southern States of the U.S.A. [1] To this I may add that among Europeans in South Africa the churches in which the more extreme forms of emotionalism and a relatively violent type of ritual are found, seldom attract followers from the ranks of those prominent in the field of economy, politics or "cultural" activities.

The foregoing facts do not provide final evidence for a theory that the type of religion referred to is related to particular social conditions. It does, however, suggest the possibility that there is such an interconnection, and that a religion of intense emotional and or sensual experiences goes with a low standard of knowledge and economic conditions offering a relatively small degree of security. When societies are stratified on the basis of the standard of knowledge and economic success this type of religion may also serve as a form of compensation for those in the lower strata of society. I present this as a mere hypothesis, suggested but not proved by the material in hand.

Typology of the Churches.

To complement the mere outline of a typology of the churches put forward in chapter IV, we must now give a more detailed characterisation of the different types, as well as of the variations within each type.

The Roman Catholic Church is clearly set-off from the other churches by its large following, the imposing and ambitious set-up of its mission enterprise and the predominance of European mission workers. In how far the Bantu Christians themselves consider the cleavage between Roman Catholicism and Protestantism as being deeper and different from the cleavages between different Protestant churches is difficult to say. I have the impression that many of them consider the Roman Catholic church as one church among others. The easy relationship between

/ordinary ...

1) Powdermaker, op. cit., chs. 11, 12; Dollard, op. cit. p.220.

ordinary members of the Roman Catholic Church and those of other churches supports this impression. We may also here refer to the instance mentioned earlier of the member of the Dutch Reformed Church who temporarily joined the Roman Catholic Church (Ch. V, p.242). It can with safety be said that at least the cleavage is not as profound as it tends to be in European communities.

Roman Catholicism is present in Taung with its typical hierarchical organisation, with its typical elaborate ritual, and with its typical comprehensive approach. The latter is not only evident from the fact that besides its strictly religious work it also has educational, industrial and medical enterprises, but also from its large range of associations and the co-ordinating Catholic African Union (ch. VI, p.269).

Among the Protestant churches we distinguish between those that are connected with Europeans and the Separatist churches, the latter being those which have neither European members nor European leaders in the ranks of the church as a whole. As far as the church activities within the chiefdom are concerned, however, even the churches connected with Europeans are to a high degree organised and conducted by the Bantu Christians themselves and on this level the fact that they are connected with Europeans is not very conspicuous. Except, perhaps, in churches of type "C", the differences between Separatists and non-Separatists are not profound. Some churches connected with Europeans are perhaps organised better and in a more formal manner than the Separatists, but this is not always the case. Non-Separatists also tend to require a longer period of instruction before a convert is accepted into full membership, and they usually discipline erring members for a longer period than Separatists. What other differences there are we shall point out in respect of each of the different types of churches and in a later section dealing with some aspects of Separatism.

Although theoretically a number of different types of church organisation are represented among the Protestant churches in the

/chiefdom ...

chiefdom there is a general tendency to view the different church offices and councils as forming a hierarchy. It is therefore not practicable to base a typology of the churches on forms of church government and I have chosen to classify the Protestant churches according to whether certain aspects of ritual and teaching are stressed, such as observing Saturday as Sabbath, recognising only adult baptism by immersion, the avoidance of tobacco, alcoholic drinks and certain forms of food, and giving particular prominence to healing activities and the receiving of direct revelation through the Holy Spirit.

Type "A": Those churches which do not lay particular stress on a combination of some of these aspects, have been grouped together as group "A". Two "Baptist" churches which do stress adult baptism by immersion, but not the other aspects mentioned above, have also been included. In this group the predominating pattern of sermons is that in which there is a single text and theme. The six churches connected with Europeans are all branches of well-known denominations, and need not be further qualified. Of the Separatist churches in group "A" several follow the Anglican pattern of terminology and ritual (the African United Church, Ethiopian Catholic Church in Zion, African Catholic Church and perhaps the Ethiopian Church of Christ by Religion. [1] The Ethiopian Church follows many Anglican liturgical usages, but the terminology used in respect of church organisation shows greater similarity with that used in the Methodist Church (e.g. Church Steward, Exhorter, Local Preacher, Deacon, Minister (though Priest is also used), Presiding Minister, President, Annual Conference). It also follows the

/Methodist ...

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1) I am not quite sure about this church, since I could not obtain its constitution, while the only service I attended was very simple and without any ritual, being conducted by the minister's daughter in his absence.

Methodist "class" system. [1] The patterns followed by the other Separatist churches of type "A" are reflected in their names (Native Independent Congregational Church (an offshoot from the L.M.S.), African Methodist Episcopal Church, S. A. Native Baptist Church Mission, and Bechuana Methodist Church (an offshoot from the A.M.E.).

There may be some reason to argue that the two Baptist churches included here, should rather have been grouped with the Pentecostal churches. However, apart from laying stress on adult baptism in common with the Pentecostals, I do not think that the two churches tend to the more extreme forms of religious expressions as the Pentecostals do, and for this reason I place them here.

Type "B" (Sabbatarian Churches): I have taken the observance of Saturday as Sabbath as the basis for a separate group of churches (group "B"). In common with the churches of group "C" these churches recognise only adult baptism by immersion, observe specific ritual avoidances, and perform a rite of foot washing before Holy Communion. Their services are quieter and more orderly, with less display of emotion than most of the Pentecostal services. A particular type of sermon, consisting of a series of related texts with comments on each text separately, is common in these churches.

The three Separatist Churches in this group are very similar, which is to be explained by the fact that all three in some way or other

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1) According to Dr. Sundkler (op. cit. pp. 39 ff.) the Ethiopian Church was founded by a "Wesleyan" minister, Mokone and other "malcontents" from the Wesleyan Church in 1892. A few years later the Ethiopian Church was incorporated in the African Methodist Episcopal Church (A.M.E.) of America. From Dr. Sundkler's information one is led to think that the Ethiopian Church ceased to exist. According to a Constitution which contains references to Annual Conferences of 1930 and 1951, the Ethiopian Church which is represented in Taung was established in 1892. In connection with the initial organisation of the Church the names of ten ministers are listed, four of whom were ordained by Bishop H. M. Turner, four by Bishop L. J. Coppin, and two by Bishop W. B. Derrick. Turner and Coppin were American (Negro) officials of the A.M.E. Church. (See Sundkler.) Perhaps the Ethiopian Church, after being incorporated into the A.M.E., was later again revived as a separate church by the ten ministers mentioned above.

have developed out of the same larger Separatist Church, the Church of Christ (Thandla lika Kreste, see ch. IV, p.153). In Taung their membership is almost altogether confined to Nguni people, which is consistent with the fact that the parent church, the Church of Christ, is under Nguni leadership and is centred in Port Elizabeth. All three churches sing only unrhymed portions from Scripture to original melodies. Two of the churches pay particular attention to healing and include rites of healing in their regular services. (The third also includes laying-on of hands with prayers for the sick, but not as a part of regular services. Only in cases of very serious illness do they perform unction.)

Type "C" (Pentecostal Churches): The common characteristics of the churches of this group are insistence on adult baptism by immersion, the observance of ritual avoidances, and particular stress on healing activities. These they share with churches of type "B", from which they are however differentiated by observing Sunday, and not Saturday, as a day of rest. Some also perform certain rites of purification and claim that they receive direct revelations from the Holy Spirit and that certain bodily movements which they perform and sounds which they utter are a sign of the Holy Spirit working in them. Their services often last several hours and usually fall into two parts, the main feature of the first part being a series of sermons, while the second consists of the ritual of healing. In varying degrees these churches tend to a more extreme type of religion than the other churches.

I hinted above that in this group of churches there is a marked difference between churches connected with Europeans and the Separatists. This statement must be further qualified, however, since actually it is not a matter of contrast between Separatists and non-Separatists. We rather have a continuing series with the non-Separatists at the one end and some of the Separatists at the other. The extreme ends of the series contrast sharply, but a Separatist church such as the Zion Apostolic Church of South Africa is not so profoundly different

/from ...

from the non-Separatist Pentecostal Holiness Church; in fact, it is more similar to the latter than it is to some of the Separatist churches which have extremely violent and elaborate ritual.

Three of the churches which have the most elaborate ritual also share more or less the same set of rites. (They are the New Apostolic Church in Zion, the Holy Christian Apostolic Church, and the Foundation Apostolic Church in Jerusalem.) They share a few techniques of healing with the other Pentecostals, but only these three use ashes and wear special clothes for healing, carry staffs and flags to give strength, and perform rites of purification in a river or pool. [1] Services of two of these churches were attended by me and in both cases they were of an extremely violent nature (see ch. VII). I suspect that this is also the case with the third.

Another Church which also has very elaborate ritual is the St. Paul Apostolic Faith Morning Star, but a great deal of the ritual is different from that of any of the other churches. It differs also in other aspects than in ritual, and although it answers to the basis which we have chosen for grouping together the churches of type "C", it is amongst these almost a type on its own. First of all we must mention the fact that the leader's homestead forms an interesting complex not paralleled in the case of any other church. Beside his dwelling is a small church and a separate small building nearby serves as his special office, while there is also a small hut for the convenience of church members staying at the church centre for a while. In front of the house is the holy place, an open area with a cement surface and a coffin-shaped concrete block in the centre. Nearby is also the small reservoir used for irrigation and for ritual purposes (See ch. VII, pp.335ff). Around the homestead are gardens and a considerable number of fruit

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1) The St. Paul Apostolic F.M.S. also performs a rite in a pool, but it is part of a more elaborate ritual including a sprinkling immediately after the funeral, and a seven days' period of impurity as enjoined in Numbers 19. (Ch. VII, p.377.)

trees, all closed in with hedges, fences and stone walls. There is a small plantation of bluegum and other trees, planted with a view to producing timber for building, for their own use and for sale. Besides some rites which they share with other churches, they have a whole series of rites which are particular to them such as the placing of the coffin on the holy place before burial, a set of purification rites, different from that of other churches, reinstatement of a lapsed member by a kind of partial baptism, passing through the baptismal pool for health purposes, the performance of certain sacrifices, and the blessing of newly-bought articles. Their rite of laying-on of hands is different from that of other churches, and although others also use holy water for healing, none of them perform a ceremonial drinking of water like this church. Then there is the custom of staying at the church centre for a time, and the wearing of long dresses by the women. [1] When church members greet each other on arriving at the church centre they kneel and utter a prayer or a blessing, and when passing graves they stop and say a prayer. The leader is a man generally held in high esteem and has a reputation for kindness and humility. Besides baptism and good works in general, he stresses certain topics such as submissiveness to one's superiors, and diligence. A particular terminology is used in respect of church organisation. [2] Church members render a great deal of assistance in cultivating the

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1) All these rites and customs are described or mentioned in Chapter VII.

2) This is not evident in the local church where commonly known Tswana terminology is used, but it emerged in correspondence which I conducted with superior church officials in an attempt to obtain more information. The local leader was referred to as the Field Gospel Servant, and there was reference to a Gospel Troop Sectional Overseer. I was first informed that information could only be obtained from "Quarters of the Divine Government Offices", and after sending a questionnaire I was told that it was receiving "the attention of the Responsible Division for the Universal Mass Christianity under which this Gospel Troop of 'ST. PAUL APOSTOLIC FAITH MORNING STAR' is guided." Unfortunately this was the last I heard from them in spite of my repeated enquiries.

gardens, orchards, and plantations at the church centre, but it is not known how the proceeds from this undertaking are used.

I must here draw attention to the fact that the typology used by Dr. Sundkler in his account of Zulu Separatist churches has not been followed in the present study. Dr. Sundkler distinguishes between two types of churches, viz. Ethiopians and Zionists. As Ethiopians he classifies "such independent Bantu churches as have (a) seceded from White Mission Churches chiefly on racial grounds, or (b) other Bantu churches seceding from the Bantu leaders classified under (a)." With this type of church he associates the "chief-type" of leader. Of Zionists he says that they are "a syncretistic Bantu movement with healing, speaking with tongues, purification rites, and taboos as the main expressions of their faith." With this type of church he associates the "prophet-type" of leader. [1] I have not used this typology in the present treatise since Dr. Sundkler formulated it particularly with a view to Bantu Separatist churches, whereas my own investigation was directed also to churches connected with Europeans, so that a typology had to be formulated which was applicable to Separatist and non-Separatist churches. But Dr. Sundkler's typology would not have been adequate, even if we had been concerned only with the Separatist churches in Taung. To a certain extent my type "A" churches probably fall into Dr. Sundkler's Ethiopian type, and the type "C" churches into the Zionist type, but I do feel that the Sabbatarians, although they have much in common with the Pentecostals, stand apart as a type by themselves. Moreover, as we have had occasion to show, it is not possible to distinguish between distinct types of leaders in the Taung churches. Finally neither racial antagonism nor syncretism are obvious enough in Taung Bantu Separatist churches to make these the bases of a typology as Dr. Sundkler has partly done.

/Preferences ...

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1) Op. cit., pp. 54-55, 106 ff.

Preferences for certain denominations and types.

From the analysis of church statistics given in Chapter IV, a few trends emerged which call for further elucidation in the light of the material presented in subsequent chapters. I refer to the exceedingly large number of Roman Catholics, the strength of Methodism among Protestant denominations and, perhaps less spectacular, but nevertheless important, the total strength of Sabbatarian and Pentecostal Churches.

(a) R O M A N C A T H O L I C I S M. It is indeed remarkable that in an area where a Protestant Mission has had the advantage of a much earlier start, and in which many Protestant denominations have been working in later years, nearly half of the people who have official connections with churches are Roman Catholics. The effort of the Roman Catholic Mission to win the people has, however, been of an intensive and comprehensive nature, far surpassing anything that has been done by any other church or mission. This I think is the main reason why they have comparatively speaking such a particularly large membership.

I would suggest, however, that certain aspects of Roman Catholic ritual and doctrine add to its acceptability. I have tried to show above that a type of religion which is vividly experienced seems to have particular attraction in this society and that ritualism does increase religious experience. If this conclusion is correct, it goes without saying that the elaborate ritual of Roman Catholicism adds to its acceptability. There is even a certain morphological resemblance between some R.C. ritual acts and some traditional Tswana rites. The sprinkling of holy water is comparable to the central act in Tswana rites of purification, and the burning of incense (e.g. over a corpse) is reminiscent of the burning of medicines by a Tswana doctor.

Roman Catholic ritual may also produce a certain type of emotional effect which I have myself experienced. It was on the evening of the

/8th ...

8th of December, the celebration of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin. After an evening service in church a congregation of about a hundred-and-twenty people, mostly young people and children, walked in procession to the artificial grotto, which contains an image of the Virgin. Each one was carrying a burning candle and the grotto was also illuminated with candles and small electric lights. During the short service which followed at the grotto there was an atmosphere which one could "feel": the candles threw a soft light on the faces of the young people and the singing was particularly pleasing - to my personal taste the best I heard at any service I attended. I could not help thinking of the violent Pentecostal services where I also experienced "atmosphere", but of a very different nature. With its elaborate ritual Roman Catholicism appeals to the senses and can provide distinct emotional experiences. [1] This, I suggest, adds to its acceptability.

I would also suggest that the R.C. doctrine of the sacraments is more acceptable than the teaching of some Protestants in this connection. Roman Catholics see in the sacraments not merely symbols representing certain divine acts of grace, but they also believe that the sacraments, when administered in the right way, necessarily communicate divine grace to those to whom they are administered. In connection with baptism, for instance, an R.C. writer writes of "The Catholic doctrine of <u>regeneration</u> of infants <u>effected infallibly</u> through baptism." [2] The bread and wine becomes in the R.C. Mass the actual flesh and blood of the Redeemer and the celebration of the sacrament imparts the supernatural grace associated with Christ's death to those who partake of it. To me it seems that this view of the sacraments to a certain

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1) The repetitive element in R.C. liturgy, e.g. in the responses of the congregation, reminds one of the repetitive element in other churches where it is a particular "African" development. (Ch. VI, p.290.)

2) Magrath, Oswin, O.P., S.T.L., "Catholic and Reformed Doctrine Compared - VIII: The Sacraments." <u>Catholic Times</u>, Nov. 1945. (Italics my own.)

degree gives them a magical character. They are not purely magical of course, but the direct connection made between the sacraments and the grace received by those who partake of them, gives them a distinctly magical character, in the sense of magic as we are using it. [1] It is this that makes them particularly acceptable to people accustomed to thinking in terms of magic.

Reference must here also be made to the positive efforts made on the part of R.C. missionaries to substitute Christian rites for pagan rites. Sometimes new rites are evolved to suit local customs, as in the case of blessing the food for wedding feasts (See ch. VII, p.402). Other rites which are also said to be performed with the express purpose of counteracting the activities of native doctors are the blessing of new houses (which includes the sprinkling of holy water), the blessing of fields, of stock and stock pens and cattle byres, and the blessing of women before and after childbirth. Of particular interest also are the medallions bearing the images of saints, which are very commonly worn by adults and children. Roman Catholics may buy these from the Church and then wear them, after they have been blessed. The wearing

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1) The following definition is given of the sacraments: "According to the teaching of the Catholic Church .... the sacraments of the Christian dispensation are not mere signs; they do not merely signify Divine grace, but in virtue of their Divine institution they cause that grace in the souls of men." The Catholic Encyclopedia, Robert Appleton Company, New York, 1912.

Cf. also the following: ".... For the Reformed the grace symbolised (in general, increased union with Christ) is not conveyed by and through the sacrament, but is the fruit of an independent working of the Holy Spirit (and of Christ) in the soul, making it respond to the symbol of the sacrament and the seal it carries of God's promises by an increased faith (in the Reformed sense of faith). Hence for the Reformed the connection between sign and grace is moral only, and, though normal, is not infallible even if the sacrament is received with due dispositions. Whereas for Catholics the connection is causal, [should be: causal] and the grace is always given if no obstacle is placed by unsuitable dispositions, independently of the actual faith and love of the recipient. They work, as it is said, ex opere operato ....." The same writer says of the Catholic view: "..... The grace is caused immediately by God, but yet has an infallible connection with the Sacrament, which, when rightly performed, always obtains this effect from God." (Magrath, op. cit. Italics my own.)

of these medallions is encouraged to counteract the use of pagan amulets. There are then in R.C. ritual many rites which are performed, or ritual objects which are used, in circumstances closely parallel to the circumstances in which pagan ritual acts and objects are performed or used. I should think that the change of allegiance from paganism to Christianity is made easier by the existence of such parallels.

We have noticed above that there is a general trend in the churches toward a type of moralism which makes a close connection between one's pattern of behaviour in this life and one's fate in future life. I have also tried to illustrate that such a type of moralistic teaching has affinity with the pattern of thought underlying magic. If it is possible to show, as I think it is, that the same type of moralism is typical of Roman Catholicism, it follows that we have in such moralism another factor making for acceptability. Such moralism is apparent in the R.C. doctrine of the meritoriousness of good works according to which "the just, in return for their good works done in God through the merits of Jesus Christ, should expect an eternal reward," [1] and in the idea that the duration of the period the faithful have to spend in Purgatory is conditioned by the good works performed by them during their earthly sojourn.

(b) M E T H O D I S M. The numerical strength of the Methodist Church also calls for some comment. The only Protestant church rivalling it in strength is that of the L.M.S., both having over a thousand members (communicant and non-communicant members - cf. chapter IV). Third comes the Anglican Church with less than four hundred. As we have observed, the missionary undertaking of the L.M.S. is by far the oldest and it is the only Protestant mission which has had a permanent European missionary in the reserve. If

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1) Catholic Encyclopedia, "Merit".

perhaps the Methodists formerly had an ordained minister in the reserve, they have not had one for a considerable time now. In these circumstances it is remarkable that the Methodist Church, which has only six church buildings compared to the twelve of the L.M.S. and only one school (and a share in another) compared to the eight (and a share in one) of the L.M.S., to-day has a larger official following than the L.M.S.

It is difficult to give a clear-cut explanation for the strength of the Methodists, but I wish to suggest a few factors which may have played a part in furthering Methodism in Taung. First of all it is important to note that the Methodist Church - unlike the L.M.S. - has branches throughout South Africa, and has among the Bantu population of the Union of South Africa a very marked lead on all other denominations. In the 1946 census 1,002,995 natives were enumerated as Methodists. As we have already pointed out, this is about 25% of all Bantu professing adherence to churches according to the above-mentioned census. After the Methodists come the Anglicans with 552,635. [1] The point I want to make here is that Methodism in Taung has been fed to a considerable degree by the influx of Bantu from other areas. The fact that Methodism is the strongest church among the Bantu population of the Union as a whole, makes it probable that in Taung they have benefited from the influx of "foreigners" more than any of the other churches. This is borne out by the fact that there is a strong "foreign" element in the Methodist Church in the reserve. (Not all these people who themselves, or whose forebears immigrated to Taung from other areas, are Nguni. There are also many Tswana, e.g. Rolong from Thaba'Nchu.) It is said that the leadership in the Methodist churches of Taung is largely in the hands of this foreign element and none of the leaders I personally got to know were men who

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1) 755,891 were enumerated as belonging to Native Separatist churches. No single Separatist church could have a following comparable to that of the Anglicans.

had been born in Taung.

As I have already shown (p.414) the small size of the local church group with its intimate in-group relations appears to have particular appeal in the society with which we are dealing. We have also observed the important role of the lay element in leadership in most churches (pp. 415 ff.). These factors, which seem to appeal not only to the Tlhaping, but to the Bantu of South-Africa in general, are inherent in the typical Methodist pattern of church organisation with its "class" system making for the forming of small regularly co-operating groups of church members, and its range of lay preachers (Local Preachers, Preachers on trial, Exhorters) and Class Leaders offering extensive opportunities for leadership. 1)

The acceptability of the "class" system, and the extensive mobilisation of the lay element in spreading the gospel, 2) combined with Methodist ardour for "winning souls" have probably contributed to the remarkable strength of Methodism in Taung and among the Bantu of South Africa in general. 3)

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1) As Dr. Sundkler has shown, the Methodists have with this type of organisation set a pattern followed by other churches in their missionary activities. "Other Mission Churches in South Africa ... have with certain modifications followed the Methodist scheme of lay organisation, and now find themselves with a much stronger emphasis on lay work in the Bantu Church than is the case in the mother-Churches in Europe." (Op. cit., p.137.)

2) From the numbers of preachers given in chapter V, Table IV, it might appear as if lay preachers are comparatively speaking more numerous in some of the other churches. It should be born in mind, however, that we could only enumerate full Preachers, and that there are a large number of Preachers on Trial, Exhorters and Class Leaders of the Methodist Church who are not included in the statistics. All these nevertheless take part in spreading the gospel.

3) (a) Cf. the movement known as Umzondelelo, which arose subsequently to a revival in 1866, in which Bantu Christians (Methodists) "banded themselves together to carry the Gospel to the heathen kraals and reserves which abound in Natal." J. du Plessis, A History of Christian Missions in South Africa, Longmans, Green & Co., London, 1911, pp. 301-302.

(b) In view of the fact that Methodism has spread rapidly in other parts of the world as well (e.g. in Britain and the U.S.A.) the factors mentioned are probably not relevant to its spread among the Bantu only, although the degree of the importance could be expected to vary in different societies.

A final remark about Methodism refers to emotionalism. Unfortunately I attended only one service of the Methodist Church in Taung [1] and that was an ordinary Sunday morning service which was not characterised by a particular degree of emotionalism. Revivals which are marked by the display of a considerable degree of emotion (e.g. strong feelings of fear of the coming judgment, feelings of remorse, and tearfulness) are, however, usually taken to be typical of Methodism. [2] In view of what I have said above about the significance of religious emotionalism as providing a vivid experience in religion the tendency to emotionalism which is typical of Methodism has probably also added to its acceptability.

(c) PENTECOSTALISM and SABBATARIANISM.

Out of a total of 10,203 church members in the Phuduhutswana chiefdom, 1,130 or just over 11% belong to Sabbatarian and Pentecostal denominations. It might be said that these figures do not give reason for speaking of a trend toward Pentecostalism and Sabbatarianism. It should be appreciated, however, that most of these denominations started their activities in Taung quite recently (see chapter IV, Table II). Moreover the missionary activities of churches and missionary bodies conforming to these types are very small in extent compared to the

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1) Had I realised the strength of the Methodists while I was in the field, I would probably have made an effort to attend more of their activities. I did not get the impression that they had a particularly large membership until I obtained their statistics, and this was only shortly before the termination of my field-work.

2) Methodism is mentioned as one of the "schools" in which religious feeling or experience (Dutch: "gevoel als affect") takes "an important place, if not the most important place." (Article on "Gevoelstheologie" in Christelijk Encyclopedie voor het Nederlandsche Volk, J. H. Kok, Kampen.) Cf. also what Prof. Latourette writes of John Wesley's sermons: " .... As with those of Whitefield and as in the Great Awakening in the Thirteen Colonies and some of the later revivals in the United States, they often released striking emotions. Men and women screamed, were physically convulsed, or fell insensible." (Latourette, Kenneth Scott, A History of Christianity, Eyre and Spottiswood Limited, London. (1953?), p. 1026.)

activities of those conforming to type "A". I think this is true not only of Taung but of the Union of South Africa as a whole. Bearing this comparison in mind the numerical strength of the Pentecostals and Sabbatarians in Taung does seem to be remarkable. They definitely have a larger proportion of the Bantu Church members in Taung than amongst the European population of the Union professing adherence to churches. [1] However, it is particularly in view of the fact that 36.96% (i.e. 765 out of 2,070) of the total membership of all Separatist Churches are Sabbatarians and Pentecostals, that one is justified in concluding that Sabbatarianism and Pentecostalism have a particular appeal to the natives of the society with which this study is concerned. In this connection I also wish to remind the reader of the drift to these churches as illustrated by the life histories of Church leaders (See ch. V, p.191).

In the previous chapter I have tried to show that a literary and fragmentary application of portions from Scripture is closely akin to the pattern of thought underlying traditional magical beliefs and that therefore in a society with a traditional background in which magic was important there should be particular receptivity for a type of Christian teaching which uses Scripture in a fragmentary and literal manner. I think there is reason for saying that Sabbatarians and Pentecostals in general tend to use Scripture in this manner. [2] /All ...

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1) According to the 1946 Census 2,225,406 Europeans professed adherence to Christian churches or religious bodies. Of these, 2,084,382 or 93.75% were enumerated under the following churches, all of which are very definitely not Sabbatarian or Pentecostal: the three Afrikaans-speaking Reformed Churches, Anglicans, Presbyterians, Congregationalists, Methodists, Lutherans, Roman Catholics and the "Greek Church" (probably the Greek Orthodox Church). Besides denominations which are distinctly Sabbatarian or Pentecostal the remaining 6.26% include the Baptist Church, Christian Scientists, Salvation Army, Plymouth Brethren and Spiritualists. - Extracted from census returns as published in Official Yearbook of the Union of South Africa, No. 26, Government Printer, Pretoria, (Published 1945).

2) Cf. the concentration on passages dealing with adult baptism, particularly the baptism performed by St. John the Baptist in Jordan; on Old Testament passages about the Sabbath and on Old Testament ritual prescripts; or on certain outward characteristics of the primitive church such as the performance of miraculous healing and speaking with tongues. - We can only refer to these few points in passing.

All might not agree with this statement, but if it is accepted, it follows that in this, Pentecostals and Sabbatarians possess another characteristic making for acceptability in this society.

In different contexts I have already paid attention to the stress on adult baptism by immersion which Sabbatarians and Pentecostals have in common. In the previous chapter I tried to show that the typical Pentecostal and Sabbatarian doctrine which makes this one form of baptism all-important to salvation imparts to baptism a certain degree of magical value. This, I argued, makes their teaching particularly acceptable to a people like the Tlhaping, whose extant traditional (pagan) ritual is predominantly magical. On the other hand, I have suggested in the present chapter (p. 424ff.) that in the society with which this study is dealing there is a tendency toward a type of religion which is sensually or emotionally vividly experienced. In this setting the requirement of adult baptism by immersion adds to the acceptability of a denomination or type, because this form of baptism provides a more vivid sensual experience than baptism by sprinkling or pouring. People already baptised in infancy are not excluded from this experience because they are usually baptised again, since the earlier baptism in childhood is not recognised.

Pentecostalism particularly "caters" for this desire for a vividly experienced religion. As we have seen, the greatest elaboration of ritual and the most violent forms of it, are found in these churches, and all this makes for vivid, often distinctly sensual experience. The particular stress on the role of the Spirit as agent of revelation has the result that these churches are less strictly bound to forms handed down from the past, and if they wish to, can easily give a very individualistic interpretation of Scripture which is supposed to be

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sanctioned by their own revelation. All this makes for greater freedom of expression generally, and particularly clears the way for greater elaboration of ritual or the development of altogether new ritual.

In as far as Pentecostalism and Sabbatarianism are representative of a type of religion connected with vivid or intense emotional and sensual experiences the importance of churches of these types in Taung is consistent with the suggestion made above to the effect that there is a particular connection between this type of religion and the type of society with which we are dealing.

T H E C H U R C H O F T H E L. M. S.

Before proceeding to the following section we should try to find an answer to the question why the L.M.S. has fallen behind other churches in numbers, in spite of its advantage of an earlier start and the prestige of being to a certain extent considered as a tribal church. My own impression is that the Church has drifted into a condition which reminds one of stagnation. In this connection we may think of the lack of opportunities for the younger generation and educated men, the very small number of male members and the large undefined body of adherents who nominally claim adherence to the church but nevertheless do not come to an open acceptance and confession of Christianity. The services conducted by untrained workers are often uninspiring and contain little ritual, while the singing often lacks the enthusiasm and vigour which is typical of the singing in some other churches.

The statistics of membership for the whole L.M.S. district (in which Taung is one of four sub-districts) [1] suggest that, after an initial period of relatively fast progress, the progress slackened. The figures which follow give the numbers of <u>communicant</u> members for

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1) Figures for the Taung sub-district, which more or less coincides with the Phadubatswana chiefdom, are not available for a stretch of time long enough for comparative purposes. The district figures presented here have been extracted from Hailo, A. J., <u>A Brief Historical Survey of the London Missionary Society in Southern Africa</u>, Bulawayo, 1951.

different years. The only pre-1900 figure available is the one for 1879.

1879	-	207
1901	-	710
1906	-	807
1911	-	1200
1916	-	1183
1921	-	1175
1926	-	1200
1931	-	1355
1936	-	1468
1941	-	1575
1946	-	1595

These figures show differing trends during different periods. In the earlier stages the progress was relatively rapid: during twenty-two years (1879-1901) there was an increase of 503 (or 243%). In 1910 part of the Barkly West Mission of the L.M.S. was transferred to other missions, while the part which was retained by the L.M.S. was incorporated into the Taung district. That explains why the figure for 1911 is so much higher than the one for 1906. Then for fifteen years, from 1911 to 1926 there was no increase in membership at all, but after 1926 there was again very slow progress making for an increase of 395 (or 32.9%) during the twenty years up till 1946. [1]

I can only suggest a few factors that may have contributed to this loss of vitality. No doubt the entrance of other denominations into the field had a discouraging effect on the L.M.S. churches and their leaders. A missionary who had been stationed at Taung at an earlier stage and after many years' absence returned in 1929 suggested this in his report for the latter year. After commenting on the many changes - amongst others the depopulation of the native village at Taung - he wrote that "the Church work seems to progress slowly. The opposition

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1) It may be that some Taung outposts were transferred to other districts during later stages. I know of one such instance: in 1904 the Madibogo church with 145 members was transferred to the Vryburg district. This example, however, does not affect the argument based on the statistics. On my knowledge of the area it seems unlikely that any other churches were transferred in this manner.

of the Roman Catholic, the Seventh Day Adventists, the Church of England, the Wesleyans and the Independents, not to speak of the Ethiopians, seems to have taken much of the vigour out of the remaining workers in the L.M.S. Church. [1]

The scattering of the population also seems to have affected the L.M.S. Churches in the reserve adversely. In times of drought the people not only scattered to outlying parts of the reserve, but some left the reserve altogether to settle elsewhere, e.g. in the Transvaal. My own informants in Taung gave information to this effect and it is borne out by L.M.S. reports. It is to be understood that such a process affected an old established church like the L.M.S. more seriously than others of more recent origin. [2] The 1928 report particularly refers to the "withdrawal of young life" from the church as a result of the large number of young people "disappearing" to the towns or diamond diggings in search of work. Possibly this contributed to the present condition in which the older generation seems to monopolise church organisation and leadership. (See chapter V.)

The high standards required for acceptance into church membership, and the strict church discipline of the L.M.S. also seem to have been responsible for such a large number of people remaining adherents, without officially joining the church. No doubt many who had already been influenced by the preaching of the L.M.S. eventually joined other churches which set lower requirements and whose discipline was less strict. The L.M.S. report for 1925 states that new members had on an average spent four years in the Enquirers' Class. Nowadays the general term is three years. In many other churches the period is considerably shorter. Generally speaking the L.M.S. discipline is strict, but it is

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1) Annual Report for Taung Mission, 1929 (L.M.S. Archives). All further references to L.M.S. reports in this section are to reports in the L.M.S. Archives.

2) Many of those who went to the Transvaal, nevertheless still remained within the Mission district to which the statistics given above apply.

of particular importance that non-payment of church contributions has also led to disciplining, except in the case of members who lack the means. At times this has caused many lapses. The report for 1923, after stating that there were 1059 members and 391 Catechumens, adds that "it should be remembered that the real membership stands at about 2,000. Owing to the hard times there are many lapses and the names of these do not show for the current year until they have secured their new membership cards ((on payment of their contributions, I presume)). The same applies to the enquirers who really number about 700." The present figures show that many of these lapsed members never rehabilitated themselves and either remained to be mere adherents of the L.M.S. or joined other churches.

It is also possible that the size of the L.M.S. personnel and the means at their disposal did not allow rapid progress in numbers beyond a certain point and that once this "saturation point" was reached the Mission was kept so busy with tending to the flock that had been gathered that it was not possible to proceed with intensive evangelical work among that portion of the population which had not yet fully accepted Christianity. Instead other churches stepped in and reaped the harvest. It has been stated by a member of the Society that "it has often been said that the L.M.S. holds too long a line and holds it too thinly: other Missions ought to be called in to take a share in the work." [1] In Taung where there also seems to have been a lack of sustained concentration and intensive missionary labour the other Missions and churches were not "called in to take a share of the work" but stepped in to gather their own flocks. [2]

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1) Hailo, A. J., op. cit., p.29.

2) After the completion of my manuscript the Rev. Joseph Wing of Taung informed me that the total membership of the L.M.S. in the Taung mission district was 2,449 in 1955, which shows that in recent years there has again been more rapid progress.

Some aspects of Bantu Separatism.

Although this study has not been confined to Separatist Churches alone, I have been paying particular attention to them and a separate discussion of a few outstanding aspects of Separatism in Taung is therefore not out of place in our conclusions. I may start by pointing to two important differences between Zulu Separatists and the Separatist churches studied in Taung which is a Tswana area. The first is that the churches in Taung are less consciously concerned with the inter-racial situation than the Zulu churches, and secondly the Pentecostal Separatists of Taung are not as distinctly nativistic as the Zulu Zionists.

Dr. Sundkler has indicated the cleavage in South African society on lines of colour as one of the main reasons for Bantu Separatism, and he has shown how Zulu Separatists express their resentment of their subordinate position as Africans in the stress that is laid on the Old Testament, on the exodus of Israel from Egypt and the role of Moses as liberator, in the idea of a Black Messiah, and particularly in the idea of a hereafter in which they will no longer have an inferior position. (Cf. above ch. VI, pp. 298 ff.) The Separatist Church movement according to Dr. Sundkler, is often nationalistic and he admits of "much outspoken anti-white propaganda in most Independent Churches." 1)

In Taung churches also there is evidence of reaction to the inter-racial situation and we shall return to this below, but I have no evidence of Separatist churches being used as channels for voicing protest against the subordinate position of the African, neither am I aware of any anti-European propaganda forming part of the programme

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1) Op. cit., p.295. (The italics are my own.)

of Separatist Churches. [1] It could of course be that such an aspect of the church programme was purposely suppressed when I attended services or in conversations and interviews I had with leaders. However, I am quite sure that in at least two churches submission to the government of the country and to one's European employers is enjoined.

This aspect of Separatism is consistent with the attitude encountered in the society as a whole. As I have already observed (Ch. II, pp. 76-77), one seldom encounters expressions of acute anti-European feeling neither does there seem to be particular enthusiasm for a broad Bantu nationalism. In this connection the absence of any modern political association in the chiefdom is also significant. On the other hand, according to recent observations in Zululand, one observes in Zulu reserves a growing sense of solidarity on a broad African front and there is increasing interest in African nationalism. "There is much talk of 'African liberation', both in the reserves and in the towns." [2] The contrast is therefore not merely one between Zulu Separatism and Tlhaping Separatism but between Zulu society and Tlhaping society.

Without attempting a complete explanation of this difference, I wish to mention a few factors which may be in part responsible for

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1) (a) Some of the earlier Separatist "prophets" in Taung do seem to have had an anti-European and anti-Government note in their teaching. (See ch. IV.) Cf. the following remark made by G. Shepperson: "After 1916 it might be said that the African independent churches of Nyassaland ceased to act in a genuine revolutionary capacity. Their function had become, perhaps, that of the safety-valve." *

(b) The Watch Tower Movement, which has the reputation for anti-European tendencies in other parts of Africa, is still very weak in Taung and has so far not displayed such tendencies there. (For anti-European tendencies of the Watch Tower Movement, see Quick, Griffith, "Some Aspects of the African Watch Tower Movement in Northern Rhodesia", in The International Review of Missions, Vol. XXIX, No. 114 (April 1940), pp. 216 ff, and Cunnison, Ian, "A Watch Tower Assembly in Central Africa," in The International Review of Missions, Vol. XL, No. 160 (Oct. 1951), pp. 456 ff.)

2) Koornhof, P.G.J., The Drift from the Reserves among the South African Bantu, unpublished D.Phil. thesis, Oxford University, 1953, p. 482.

* Shepperson, G., "The Politics of African Church Separatist Movements in British Central Africa, 1829-1916", Africa, vol. XXIV, No. 3, July 1954, pp. 233-246.

this different attitude of the Tlhaping. In the first place it seems important that they have not been involved in major clashes with Europeans comparable to those in which the Zulu and other Nguni were involved. The two or three clashes that there were, were of minor significance compared to that between the Voortrekkers and the Zulu king, Dingane, and the Zulu war of 1879, not to mention the whole series of wars waged between the colonists and the Cape Nguni tribes on the eastern frontier of the Cape Colony.

Moreover, the Tlhaping, although they also had their armies and regimental system do not possess the same great military tradition on which the Zulus look back and of which Shaka is the personification. The Zulu reached the height of their glory, a nation of considerable size having been formed as a result of military conquests, at a time when the Tlhaping lived in a state of unrest and tribulation and when the tribe was on the point of splitting up into four or five sections. [1] At this low ebb the Tlhaping began experiencing their more intensive contacts with Europeans, so that their ultimate subordination was perhaps not as keenly resented as that of the Zulu. [2] Further, if ever the warrior was the Tlhaping ideal of manhood, there is nothing left of that attitude at present.

Another factor is the advanced stage which the disintegration of the old social structure and the way of life connected with it has reached among the Tlhaping. The old values have been undermined and have disappeared, and in terms of European values they are economically poor and politically insignificant. Consequently there is little to bolster up their self-esteem and they give the impression of an uninspired people. Ruins, and dilapidated homesteads, inhabited but not

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1) This is in fact typical of the Tswana tribes generally. See Schapera, The Tswana, p.15.

2) Cf. Agar-Hamilton, The Road to the North, p.12.

kept in repair, are typical of the area around the chief's place. The chieftainship is of little significance and tribal assemblies are small and inefficiently conducted, not seldom ending in confusion. Perhaps the absence of strong anti-European feeling and of interest in Bantu nationalism is part of a general lack of interest resulting from the breakdown of tribal life.

Although the Taung Separatists do not reveal strong nationalist tendencies, the phenomenon of Separatism, as observed in Taung, is certainly affected by the inter-racial situation and conditions resulting from contact with European society and culture. I hold Separatism to be the expression on the part of Africans of a desire to act independently, free from the control of Europeans and free from the embarrassing comparison with the technically more efficient European leaders. In the field of religion, unlike that of politics or economy, there are no barriers which prevent such independent action. However, the desire for independence, owing to factors mentioned above, is apparently not so strong as to create open and acute hostility to the barriers preventing independent action in other fields.

Apart from the absence of strong anti-European feeling and interest in Bantu nationalism, the large membership of the Roman Catholic Church also seems to imply that the urge for independence must not be overrated as far as Taung is concerned. We have seen that the efficient and comprehensive nature of the R.C. Mission effort is an important reason for their success. Bearing in mind that Bantu Roman Catholics participate much less in church leadership and the conducting of their own church activities than do their Protestant brothers, it could be argued that the preponderance of Roman Catholicism shows that the technical superiority of European techniques (cf. imposing buildings of R.C. Mission, electric plant, educational qualifications of workers, medical work) carries more weight with a considerable section of the society than the urge for independent leadership in church affairs.

/Nevertheless ...

Nevertheless, I do think that Separatism expresses an urge for independence from European control and this is one aspect in which it constitutes a reaction to the inter-racial situation. Another example of this reaction is the manner in which the European way of life is sometimes idealised. (See chapter V.) We have also observed that the moralistic trend which is evident in churches generally, seems to be in part a reaction against the disintegration of the bonds which made for stable social relations in traditional society.

Particular mention may here be made of the St. Paul Apostolic Faith Morning Star. We have already mentioned cleanliness as something which is particularly valued in this church. Another is diligence, also in economic undertakings. In sermons the minister enjoins his members to exploit the opportunities offered by the Irrigation Scheme. He himself, with the help of the congregation, has shown a degree of economic initiative which is rare in his society. With a great amount of labour he has planted a number of fruit trees on the stony slope around his homestead, besides a small plantation for timber nearby. Part of his garden can be irrigated from the small reservoir, fed by hand-pump from his own well, but water must be carried to most of the fruit and other trees. In this he is assisted by the members of the church, of whom there always appears to be a number at the homestead. Economic progress therefore also seems to be included in the church programme. Perhaps the rite of blessing newly bought articles is in part also a form of display of economic progress which serves to enhance it. The stress on hygiene and economic progress expresses a desire to lift the society out of its "backwardness" which is stressed and aggravated by the conditions resulting from contact between Bantu and Europeans.

The second important difference between Separatism in Taung and among the Zulu is the absence of such a distinct nativistic trend as that found among Zulu Zionists, i.e. if the term "nativistic"

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implies the incorporation of traditional pagan forms into church organisation, belief and ritual. In ch. VII we observed the remarkable parallels between some aspects of Zionism and some traditional Zulu institutions and I have pointed out that in Separatism in Taung one searches in vain for similar parallels. There are similarities between certain aspects of Pentecostal Separatist ritual and some traditional Tswana practices, but these are vague compared to the parallels found in the Zulu churches. The absence of such distinct nativistic trends in Taung must probably be related to the advanced stage of disintegration of the traditional culture to which we referred above. A traditionally less elaborate ancestor cult among the Tswana (see above, pp. 408ff) may also be responsible for this difference. Furthermore baptism by immersion and beliefs about being filled with the Holy Spirit which results in certain utterances and bodily movements characteristic also of Pentecostalism among Europeans, have striking precedents in Zulu purification ceremonies and beliefs about possession by ancestral spirits. It does not seem improbable that these similarities caught the imagination of Zulu converts and either served to suggest further elaboration of church ritual on traditional (pagan) lines or al least stimulated the nativistic trend. Tswana traditional culture did not present the same precedents to Pentecostal belief and ritual and therefore there was not the same suggestive or stimulating force to foster nativistic tendencies in the churches.

Although I would not apply the term "nativistic" to Separatist churches in Taung, we do find expressed in Separatism a desire for a religion and a church which is less "alien", which has greater affinity with the traditional background. In this connection I may point out that on the whole little has been done by missions to foster the development of indigenous liturgical and other forms. Missionaries seem to have tended to take it for granted that Bantu churches and congregations must necessarily follow the same patterns of

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devotion, organisation and church life as the 'mother' churches. [1] Whereas the urge for an indigenous interpretation of Christianity finds little scope in mission churches, it can be given free play in Bantu Separatist churches. This urge for more familiar forms I see expressed in a simpler and less formal church organisation and in the preference for a hierarchical arrangement of church offices and councils. As we have observed, there are some minor similarities in form between church ritual and aspects of the traditional background, but it is particularly the magical value attached to Christian ritual which illustrates how an "indigenous" interpretation of Christianity emerges in the Separatist churches. It also emerges in the greater lenience toward polygynists (although all condemn polygyny), the favouring of marriage payment (bogadi), and the recognition of beliefs in sorcery and the water snake. The trend toward a religion that is vividly experienced through ritualism or emotionalism is probably also part of the indigenous interpretation of Christianity. [2] I have also tried to show that the kind of moralism which is common in

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1) For the absence of indigenous forms in South African missions and churches among the Bantu, see International Missionary Council, The Life of the Church, Tambaram Series, vol. II, O.U.P., London 1939, p.15f. A well-known instance of the development of indigenous forms of Christianity under missionary guidance is found on the island of Bali. See Swellengrebel, Dr. J. L., Kerk en Tempel op Bali, N.V.Uitgeverij W. van Hoeve, S-Gravenhage, 1948.

2) (i) Dr. Sundkler has described the emphasis on ritual as "an important intimation of the true interpretatio Africana of the Christian message." (Op. cit., p.296.)

(ii) I may here draw particular attention to the significance of the coffin as a symbol in the St. Paul Apostolic Faith Morning Star. The holy place with the symbolic coffin in the middle of it is the central feature in the complex of buildings and objects at the church centre. Note that the central symbol is not a cross as one might expect in a Christian church, but a coffin, which is taken to symbolise the universality of death (it must serve as a reminder that all people must die) but like the cross, it also symbolises the death of Christ. The cross, which is a foreign symbol is substituted by a more familiar symbol to which a similar significance is attached as that usually attached to the cross. Although the coffin is not an object belonging to the traditional background, it has already become a very familiar object and one of immediate significance in the life of the society, so that it is not something foreign any more. The cross has remained foreign because it lacks a similar association with everyday life from which it may derive its symbolism.

the churches shows a pattern of thought akin to that which underlies magic.

It must be pointed out that the desire for an indigenous form of Christianity does not find expression in Separatist churches only, but also in churches connected with Europeans. Church organisation, for instance, tends to be informal and to be interpreted in terms of the traditional pattern of political organisation even in some churches connected with Europeans. Magical value sometimes seems to be attached to ritual in these churches as well. The church papers placed in the coffin as the "certificates" with which to arrive in heaven, are an example of indigenous interpretation in non-Separatist churches. In the Separatist churches, however, where the clergy generally receive little theological training and where the control of theologically trained missionaries is absent the tendency toward such an indigenous interpretation enjoys freer play and is more completely expressed.

The progressive multiplication within Separatism has already been related to the fact that Christianity, particularly Protestantism, has not presented a united front to the African. [1] Pentecostalism, which is particularly prone to secessions, even among Europeans, has no doubt given considerable impetus to the tendency toward fragmentation within Separatism, the more so since some aspects of Pentecostalism make it particularly acceptable in a society such as the one we are dealing with (see above pp.441ff). However, even where a missionizing church or society has brought with it the heritage of a strong sense of church unity or a strong ecumenical sense there are factors inherent in the traditional indigenous background which may well make it difficult to realise the same degree of church unity and ecumenism in the Bantu church.

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1) Sundkler, op. cit., pp. 295 ff.

I illustrate this with a few characteristics of traditional Tswana society and religion. The largest corporate group in that society was the tribe, the bulk of which was often concentrated in a relatively small geographical area. Occasionally the tribe as a whole co-operated in ritual or ritual was performed on behalf of the whole tribe, but solidarity in the magico-religious sphere did not extend beyond it. Furthermore, tribal unity was not inviolable and the splitting of tribes is not an uncommon feature in the history of the Tswana. [1] Moreover, the ancestor cult really centred in the family or family-group. This was the regular cult group - a very small unit which did not retain its unity indefinitely but tended in time to split up. [2]

The transition from the traditional small-scale society to a large-scale society is of course in progress, but the pattern of thought of many members of the society is still conditioned by the traditional background. To this background the idea of a church as a corporate body of people which far transcends the geographical area known to the individual and which remains united indefinitely is clearly foreign. I suggest that under these circumstances, unless the unity of the Church is very strongly accentuated, malcontents easily secede, and that this is an important factor in the progressive fragmentation within Separatism.

Protestant missions in South Africa have probably failed to draw enough attention to the doctrine of the Church amongst peoples to whose traditional background ideas such as church unity and ecumenism are completely foreign. In the Roman Catholic Church on the other hand, the unity of the Church has a very strong sanction in the doctrine that there is no salvation outside the Church (extra ecclesiam

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1) Cf. Schapera, The Ethnic Composition of Tswana Tribes, pp.86f. and The Tswana, p.15.

2) This is typical of a society made up of corporate lineages. (Cf. Fortes, Meyer, "The Structure of Unilineal Descent Groups", in American Anthropologist, Vol. 55, No. 1, Jan.- March, 1953.)

nulla salus) and in the notion that secession from the Church endangers the eternal salvation of the soul. This sanction has no doubt acted as a strong deterrent to Separatist secessions from the R.C. Church. [1]

Interconnections.

If one were to characterise the society which constitutes the Phuduhutswana chiefdom from a religious point of view in a single sentence, it could be called a society in an advanced stage of transition from paganism to Christianity. To a large extent this transition is the result of conscious efforts on the part of missions and churches to effect such a change, and in the main it may be seen as a process in which the Christian religion is taking the place of the traditional pagan religion and magic. However, the transition involves much more; it is a much more complex process than the mere supplanting of one religion by another. In the first place this complexity results from the fact that the old and the new mutually influence each other in the contact situation. Moreover, because of the complex nature of society an attempt to change one aspect of its life must necessarily have repercussions on other aspects. Further, other agents beside missions and churches, such as foreign governments and traders, at an early stage exerted their influence to effect certain changes in the life of the people, and in time a range of forces and processes developed, so that the whole society is now involved in a process of transition affecting almost every aspect of its life and involving a comprehensive change of its whole social structure. (See ch. II) The changes in the sphere of religion form part of this wider process of change, are linked to it in numerous ways, and therefore cannot be isolated from it. In this final section

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1) Katesa Schlosser points out that the movement connected with the prophet Kimbangu in the Congo affected the Roman Catholic Missions less than the Protestants because of "der autoritären Doktrin des Katholizismus." (Schlosser, Katesa, op. cit., p. 303.)

I shall try to summarise the different types of interconnections between the old and the new and between religion and the social structure as a whole, which are involved in the present religious situation, which is a stage in the process of religious change.

Perhaps the simplest type of interconnection which can be identified is that between the two religions or magico-religious systems which are in conflict or in contact. Apart from the fact that Christianity has largely supplanted paganism, the two have also mutually influenced each other. Pagan thought has been influenced by Christian monotheistic notions, so that even among non-Christians the belief in God seems to be much more prominent than it used to be in former times. On the other hand the religion of the churches has been modified through its contact with paganism in various manners: traits of pagan ritual and belief have found their way into the churches; new rites not forming part of the heritage of missions and churches that brought Christianity to the Bantu have developed as substitutes for pagan ritual; there is in the churches a trend toward belief and ritual which is magical or which shows affinity with magic, and a trend has also developed toward the type of religion which provides distinct religious experience in the form of emotionalism or ritualism. Reference may here also be made to parallels in form between rites introduced by European missionaries and traditional pagan rites, which, where they existed, made for the acceptability of such rites. Although this cannot actually be described as paganism influencing Christianity, it does constitute a connection between the two. [1)]

Another type of interconnection which, like the former, also refers to reciprocating influences or 'relatedness' between the old

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1) For actual examples of these different types of connections between paganism and the churches, see ch. VII; pp.401-404 and above, pp. 421-425 where these connections have been formulated.

and the new is that between the religion of the churches and other aspects of the traditional background which do not belong to the magico-religious sphere. Missions and churches have directly attacked or tried to modify some traditional institutions such as the initiation ceremonies, polygyny and the giving of bogadi and, sometimes with the help of other forces, have had some degree of success. Moreover the attack on the magico-religious sphere of the traditional background, or innovations of a religious nature, sometimes had indirect results or repercussions in the general social structure. It contributed, for instance, to the disappearance of some of the chief's magico-religious functions (as a link with the tribal ancestors and as an initiator of important rites) thereby weakening the religious sanctions of his authority. Further the fact that missions set up a new type of authority beside that of the chief also contributed to the weakening of his authority. Or to mention another example: in as far as the churches prevented or discouraged converts from taking part in pagan ritual, they detached them from their cult groups which were kin groups as far as the ancestor cult was concerned. Since the co-operation of kinsmen in ritual was an important factor in strengthening kinship ties, the missions, by adversely affecting such co-operation, contributed to the weakening of kinship ties.

On the other hand we have observed numerous instances in which the structure and organisation of the churches are related to aspects of traditional social organisation and structure. There is some connection between the local church group and traditional groupings such as the family-group or ward. Church organisation tends to follow the pattern of traditional political organisation. The secrecy attached to Holy Communion in some churches has been shown to be related to the secrecy in connection with initiation ceremonies.

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The position of women in the structure of the churches is connected with the relation of the sexes in traditional society, as well as with institutions such as polygyny, tribal initiation, and warfare, and with traditional economy (herding). We have also observed how the concentration of population and concomitant factors fostered the tendency for the L.M.S. to become a tribal church in the earlier stages while the traditional pattern still existed. The importance of leadership in the churches has some connection with traditional patterns of leadership. Further the traditional structure was one of a small scale society and this tradition makes the acceptance of the idea of a broad church unity and ecumenism difficult. Another factor, which like the former, seems to be related to Separatism; is the fact that Tswana tribes, and also smaller units such as wards and family-groups frequently split into two or more sections. This characteristic of traditional society may be related to the fissiparous tendency in Bantu Separatist churches.

The third type of interconnection is that between <u>present conditions in the magico-religious sphere or changes in this sphere on the one hand, and other processes of change which do not strictly belong to that sphere</u>. For instance, <u>pagan religion</u> has been affected by other factors besides missions and churches. I refer to the waning of the ancestor cult which is related to the weakening of kinship ties, particularly the weakening of the principle of unilineal descent. Further certain characteristics or trends in the <u>religion of the churches</u> which form part of the process of religious change, are related to processes of change which are not of a magico-religious nature. To this aspect we must pay particular attention.

Reference has been made to the traditional pattern of concentration of population and its relation to the tendency at an earlier stage for one church to become a tribal church. I have also shown, however, that the changing of this pattern which took the form of a

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scattering of the population, concomitant with the weakening of tribal solidarity and the chief's authority, is related to the multiplication of denominations in the chiefdom and the waning of the prestige of the tribal church. Further we have seen, for instance, how the importance of the local church group as a social group is related to the disintegration of the wards and family groups which were localised kin groups and were the important social groups in traditional society. I have mentioned the fact that the importance of leadership in the churches seems to be connected with traditional patterns of leadership. At the same time it seems to be connected with processes of change. This comes out in the suggestion made earlier in this chapter that the example of European society has fostered the urge for leadership that is not tied to inheritance in the male line, and that outside the churches there is not much opportunity for satisfying this urge. This connects the importance of church leadership with the general contact situation. Further we have seen that it is probably also connected with the weakening of the principle of unilineal descent. These examples show how changes in the religion of the churches are related to changes in the pattern of territorial distribution and in the political and kinship structure.

Characteristics of, and trends in the churches are also related to changes which are primarily economic. Migrant labour, which is itself a product of change, is responsible for certain characteristics in the structure of the churches. We have seen that the relative absence of young males in the churches may be related to migrant labour, since the young men are the people who migrate most, and as a result of this live the most unsettled lives and are more strongly subjected to secularising influences. On the other hand I have shown that migrant labour has contributed to the multiplication of denominations.

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It has been suggested that some characteristics and trends in church religion are related to economic conditions offering a small degree of security. To a certain extent the relative poverty of the people of the Phuduhutswana chiefdom is a heritage from their past, since their traditional economy did not give them much security either. However, their present poverty is also closely connected with processes of change, particularly with the restriction of land through European settlement and with the fact that under these changed conditions they continued to apply traditional methods of production. Therefore if the trends toward a religion that is sensually or emotionally experienced, is related to economic conditions providing only a low degree of security (and to a low degree of knowledge) as I have suggested, it follows that this trend in religion is related to the processes of economic change mentioned above.

There are also changes of a more general nature which have a bearing on trends in the churches. The social importance of the local church group and its activities may be connected with the disappearing of traditional amusements and excitements, which is a concomitant of the general decay of the old social structure. Another concomitant of this general disintegration is that old values have passed and are passing away, and we have seen that the trend toward moralism in the churches may be related to this disappearance of traditional values.

There are, then, these three types of interconnections: the mutual influence of paganism and Christianity, the reciprocating influence between the missions and churches on the one hand, and such aspects of the traditional background as do not belong to the magico-religious sphere on the other hand, and thirdly the interconnections between religion and magic on the one hand, and processes of change which do not strictly belong to the magico-religious sphere on the other. Here I must point out that different interconnections

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and even different types of interconnections may be involved in a particular phenomenon or in a particular trend. The fact that in paganism as it persists to-day, monotheistic notions are more explicit than they seem to have been in the past, has been connected with the influence of missionary teaching, but it is also connected with the waning of the ancestor cult, which is largely the result of the weakening of kinship ties. We should also remember that different influences sometimes oppose each other so that the one has a neutralising effect on the other. We have seen, for instance, that the activities of missions and churches have contributed to the weakening of the chief's authority. On the other hand, in as far as the chief is given prominence in church ritual and activities, his prestige may be enhanced by this. In this instance the enhancement is or was probably not very considerable and the neutralising effect this has had, is small, so that the main direction of the influence of the churches has been toward the weakening of the chieftainship, in spite of this neutralising factor. Nevertheless, the presence of such a factor exercising even this small neutralising effect, adds to the complexity of the total situation.

We have seen now that present-day religion in the Phuduhutswana chiefdom represents a stage in a complex process of transition. It is complex not only because it involves the contact of different religions affecting each other but also because of the complex nature of society. The religion of a society cannot be isolated from the social relations between its members, so that changes in religion affect the whole social structure and therefore also affect other aspects of the life of the society. Similarly, changes in other aspects of their life affect the social structure and therefore have repercussions in the sphere of religion.

/To ...

To appreciate fully the complex nature of the process of religious change the discussion of interconnections that I have given here should be placed against the background of the outline of structural changes which I tried to give in the first part of this study (ch. II). This will show that a particular change in religion may link up with a whole series of interconnections. I give only a single example to illustrate this: we have seen that the waning of the ancestor cult is related to the weakening of kinship ties, particularly the decline in importance of unilineal descent. But these changes in kinship structure are again related to other factors such as the scattering of the population, and the growth of individualism, and the latter is related particularly to economic changes. The scattering of the population is again related to the weakening of the chieftainship. The latter change in turn is related to the process by which Tlhaping territory was hemmed in as a result of European settlement, and to the loss of political independence. In this manner the change that is observed in the religion of the people links up with a whole network of change.

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APPENDIX I

TLHAPING GENEALOGIES

The genealogies ("A", "B", and "C") are given on the following pages. A number of headmen provided information on their own line of descent, but most of the information was obtained from headman Jim (Tlhapietsile) Molala and Sekate Mahura who are widely recognised as two of the best informants on Tlhaping genealogies. Where my informants claimed that one person was descended from another, without knowing the exact links in the line of descent, I indicated the connection with a line interrupted by question marks (——?——?——).

The following remarks serve as footnotes to these genealogies. (Cf. the corresponding numbers in the genealogies.)

1) Recognised by the Phudulwatswana-Tlhaping of Taung as former chiefs.

2) Died before succeeding to the chieftainship.

3) Acted as regent chiefs.

4) Ruling line of the Phokwane section of the Tlhaping. After a rebellion under Galesiwe (I) they lost their territory and were scattered (see ch. I). Galesiwe now lives in the territory of the Taung chief with a small remnant of followers.

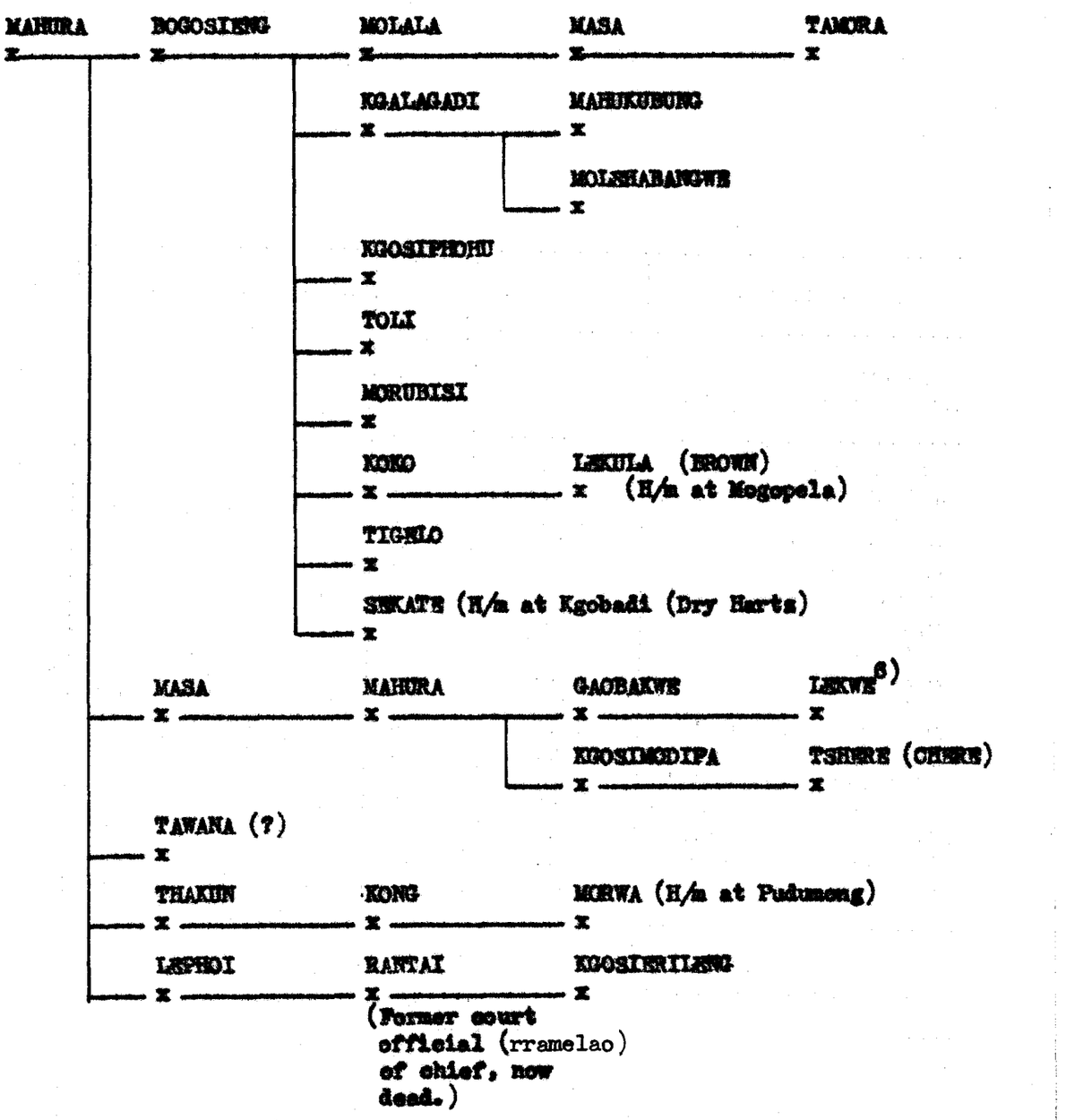
5) One of the sections of the Tlhaping which left Kuruman (see ch.I) eventually settled at Dikgatlhong under Yanki. This section no longer exists as a political unit.

6) A headman at Dithakwaneng, a small reserve in the Vryburg district, who pays allegiance to the Taung chief.

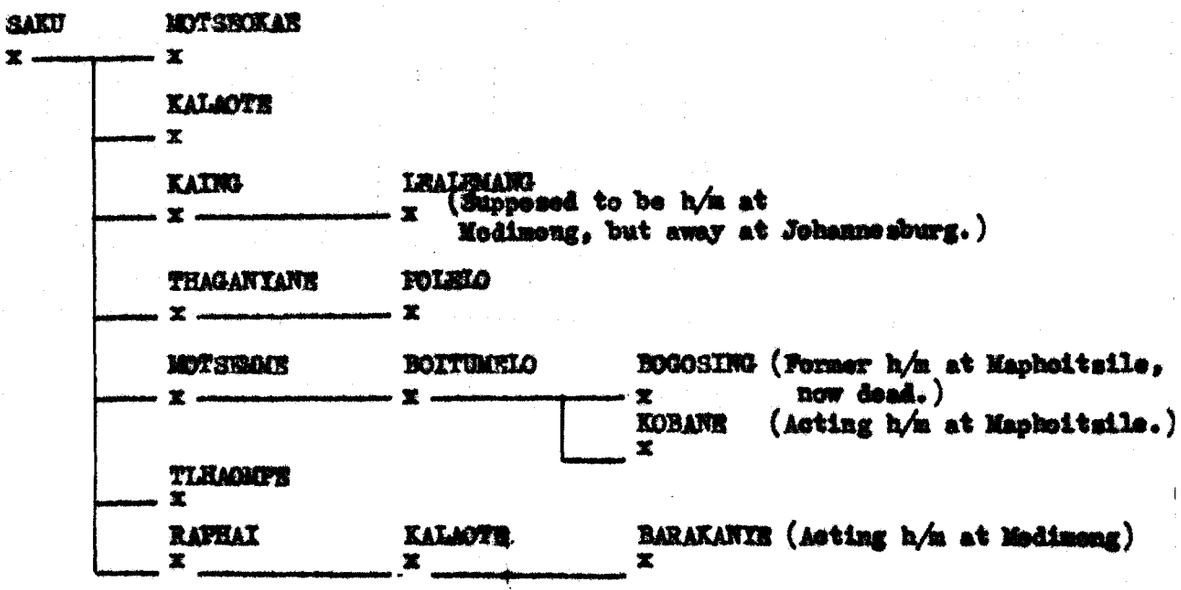
GENEALOGY "A": OUTLINE GENEALOGY OF TLHAPING CHIEFS AND HEADMEN, SHOWING THE THREE MAIN TLHAPING LINEAGES (BOO-MAHURA, BAISITSE, AND BOO-RAMAGABANE).

MAMAE ? ? ?

GENEALOGY "B" : MAHURA - Branch of the RAMASWE-lineage.



GENEALOGY "C" : SAKU-Branch of the RAMASWE-lineage.



APPENDIX II

PARTICULARS RE SAMPLE SURVEY

In various parts of the present study reference has been made to a small sample survey which formed part of my field-work. Here I wish to present a few particulars about the manner in which the survey was conducted. I decided to select two sample areas, one at Taung, which included the chief's kgotla and homesteads to the south and north of it, and another at Mokgareng (south), including a headman's kgotla and a certain area around it (but for the greater part to the north of the kgotla itself). I chose these two areas so as to be able to discern what remains of the old pattern of territorial distribution of the population on the site of the old tribal capital which has disintegrated, and in order to see whether the distribution of the population shows any particular pattern in an area which has been populated more recently. Neither of these areas constitute separate territorial units. The important territorial units are headmen's areas, all of which are too large to be submitted to a survey as the one I had planned. (Cf. ch.II.)

The Taung sample area included 49 homesteads, and I was able to obtain complete information in respect of 42 of these. The inhabitants of the other seven were all absent at the time of the survey (i.e. absent for several weeks or longer, visiting or working) and these homesteads were not taken into consideration for statistical purposes. At Mokgareng the sample area included 25 homesteads. For 21 full particulars were obtained, at two the heads of the homesteads (a father and his son) were unwilling to give information, and at two others the inhabitants were absent at the time of the survey. Complete information was therefore obtained from altogether 65 homesteads. (For most of the other homesteads some genealogical information could be obtained from kinsmen and neighbours.)

/At ...

At every homestead I took the genealogy of the head of the homestead, and obtained particulars about his or her marriage(s), and about the marriages of married children. Information was also collected on the composition of the homesteads and the whereabouts of each member, and on the educational qualifications and religious affiliation of each. Some particulars on economy were also collected from each homestead.

The survey was started in September, 1953, after I had spent altogether eight months doing field-work, and was completed early in November. All the information was collected by myself.

APPENDIX III

NOTES ON A COMPARISON BETWEEN THE TLHAPING AND SOME OTHER PEOPLES OF THE SOTHO GROUP IN RESPECT OF TERRITORIAL DISTRIBUTION AND TRIBAL ADMINISTRATION.

It is interesting to compare the pattern of distribution of the population and the system of tribal administration in Taung with that found in other societies belonging to the Sotho group of Bantu-speaking peoples. Among the Tawana, a Tswana tribe in the northern part of the Bechuanaland Protectorate, there has also been a process of scattering of the inhabitants of the capital (Maun) to their cattle-posts. But there are important differences between the Tawana and the Tlhaping. Among the Tawana the majority of the population of about 39,000 consists of foreign communities, most of whom did not live in Maun, but had their own outlying villages, even before the capital broke up. The Tawana reserve has for purpose of tribal administration also been divided into a number of areas which Dr. Ashton terms districts. First there were ten such districts, each under a "commoner" headman, but later they were grouped into only four, three under "commoner" headmen and one under a headman of royal blood. This district organisation seems to be concerned mostly with the foreign communities living in their own villages. The Tawana who have left the capital are still considered as members of the wards of the capital from which they emigrated. The old ward system still functions although many of its members have become dispersed. Moreover, in the capital the old ward pattern of settlement is still adhered to by those remaining there. In 1940 when Prof. Schapera visited Maun, the ward remnants were still much more substantial than those found in Taung. He refers to five which contained 14, 40, 10, 42, and 15 families respectively. [1] The main difference between the Tawana and the Tlhaping is that the wards in Maun have not disintegrated to the same extent as in Taung. Moreover, among the Tawana the old ward system still functions beside the new system of administration while in Taung it has disappeared altogether.

Among the Southern Sotho of Basutoland [2] the population is also scattered to a considerable degree, although fairly large villages do exist. In 1938 Basutoland was "divided into eighteen districts, varying in size from 30,000 to 130,000 inhabitants, 316 sub-districts, varying from 600 to 20,000 inhabitants and 1,008 wards, varying from less than 50 to over 500 inhabitants. This official division followed the traditional division fairly closely except where it eliminated many of the smaller sub-districts and wards." [3] What

/Dr. ...

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1) See Ashton, E. H., "Notes on the Political and Judicial organisation of the Tawana", Bantu Studies, Vol. XI (1937), pp. 69 ff., and Schapera, The Ethnic Composition of Tswana Tribes, pp. 93-102.

2) See Ashton, E. H., The Social Structure of the Southern Sotho Ward, University of Cape Town, Communications from the School of African Studies, New Series No. 15, Sept. 1946, and The Basuto, O.U.P., London, 1952; Sheddick, V.G.J., The Morphology of Residential Associations as found among the Khwakhwa of Basutoland, University of Cape Town, Communications from the School of African Studies (New Series No. 19) August 1948.

3) Ashton, The Basuto, p. 186.

Dr. Ashton here calls wards, is termed rural areas by Mr. Sheddick (to avoid confusion with the term as officially used by the Basutoland Government to denote the "major divisions into which the country is split"). The rural area (or ward) is the "smallest complete administrative unit within the state organisation" 1) Within the rural area of Basutoland there may be several villages which, according to Sheddick, are sometimes compact, but mostly dispersed, and separate hamlets can sometimes be distinguished within the village, the hamlet being "a territorially distinct residential unit built up around a nuclear family". 2) Mr. Sheddick distinguishes still another unit consisting of contiguous homesteads united by "family bonds". The headman of the area "delegates authority to his village heads" while many of "the heads of compact family units" hold 'posts' as officials assisting the headman in area administration.

The Basutoland rural area is comparable to the headman's area in the Taung reserve, in that it is essentially an area with a relatively scattered population, not a section of a large compact town. The important differences are that in Basutoland there are smaller groupings of homesteads in the area, ranging from the village down to the homestead cluster, that the smaller residential units consist of, or are built up around, groups of kin and that the leaders of these units function in the administration of the rural areas. As I have pointed out in the text one does find isolated settlements in Taung which could be called villages, as well as clusters of homesteads of which the members are related. Senior members of groups of patrilineal kin do sometimes play a role in tribal administration, but such cases are exceptions rather than examples of a regular pattern. The Basutoland rural areas (or wards) are also smaller population units than the headmen's areas in Taung, which have an average population of well over a thousand.

The Lovedu living within the bounds of their reserve in the Transvaal also constitute a scattered population. They live in small villages "five to fifteen huts being the average size; a few large villages of from forty to eighty huts represent the old order of things, just as those of only two huts do the new." 3) "The village is a group of relatives, chiefly on the father's side, but sometimes including one or two people from the side of the mother or wife, and even the district consists largely of kin. The modern tendency towards smaller and smaller villages has, in contrast to what one might have expected, hardly acted as a counteracting force, for so often a cluster of small villages each with no more than two or three huts, turns out on closer inspection to represent what was once a single village. They have moved apart in space, but the ties are still recognized, sometimes even to the extent of acknowledging one man as their 'village' head." 4) The Lovedu therefore tend toward an even larger degree of scattering than used to be the case formerly, but kinship still seems to be a much more important factor in deciding domicile than is the case among the Tlhaping of Taung at present. The Lovedu political units are districts, i.e. they are also areas but they are much smaller population units than the Tlhaping

/headmen's ...

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1) Sheddick, op. cit., p. 48.

2) Idem., p. 57.

3) Krige, E. Jensen and J. D. The Realm of a Rain-Queen. O.U.P. London, 1943, (Third impression 1947), p. 17.

4) Ibid., p. 70.

headmen's areas. (The Kriges estimated the population of the Lovedu reserve at 55,000, and there were 90 districts on native-owned land at the time of their investigation.)

Pitje has described the Pedi of the Transvaal [1] as having a territorial distribution following much the same pattern as that of most Tswana of the Protectorate. The "central villages" which he mentions are much smaller than the large Tswana towns, however.

The Tlhaping then differ from most other Tswana and from the Pedi in that the former are no longer concentrated in towns as the others, and the traditional wards, each consisting largely of agnatic kin and constituting the basic administrative units, have disintegrated. Among the Tswana who have also scattered like the Tlhaping, the old ward system still functions to a certain extent. The Southern Sotho of Basutoland and the Lovedu are also scattered over their territories, but among them kinship is still of greater importance as a factor deciding domicile than in Taung.

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1) Pitje, G. M. "Traditional Systems of Male Education among Pedi and Cognate Tribes", (Part I) African Studies, Vol.9, No. 2 (June 1950).

ILLUSTRATIONS

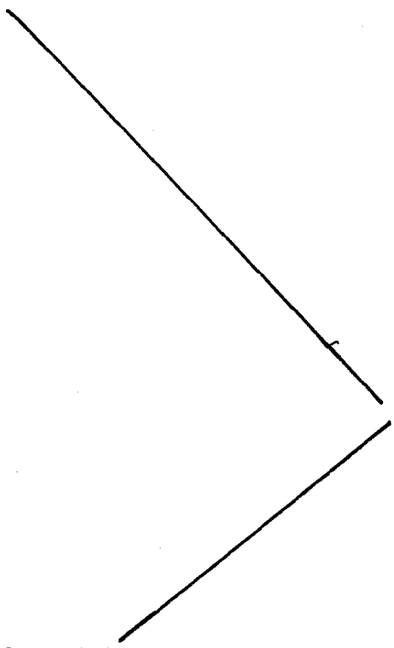
(The plate numbers correspond with the numbers of the chapters which the photographs are supposed to illustrate, e.g. Plate I serves to illustrate chapter I, Plates II (A) to II (E) serve to illustrate chapter II, etc.)

(All photographs are my own.)

PLATE I

1. View across the broad valley running through the Taung Reserve from north to south, showing blocks of irrigated lands.

2. The Hartz River as it winds through the eastern part of the reserve.



3. A scene on the Taung Irrigation Scheme.







PLATE II (A)

THE SITE OF THE OLD TRIBAL CAPITAL AT TAUNG

1. The chief's cattle byre and the tribal kgotla (in the centre) with the surrounding area. Around the kgotla, forming a horse-shoe, are the homesteads forming the remnants of Kgosing ward. In the background to the left is the L.M.S. church.

2. Another area near the tribal kgotla. The L.M.S. church is in the background to the right.



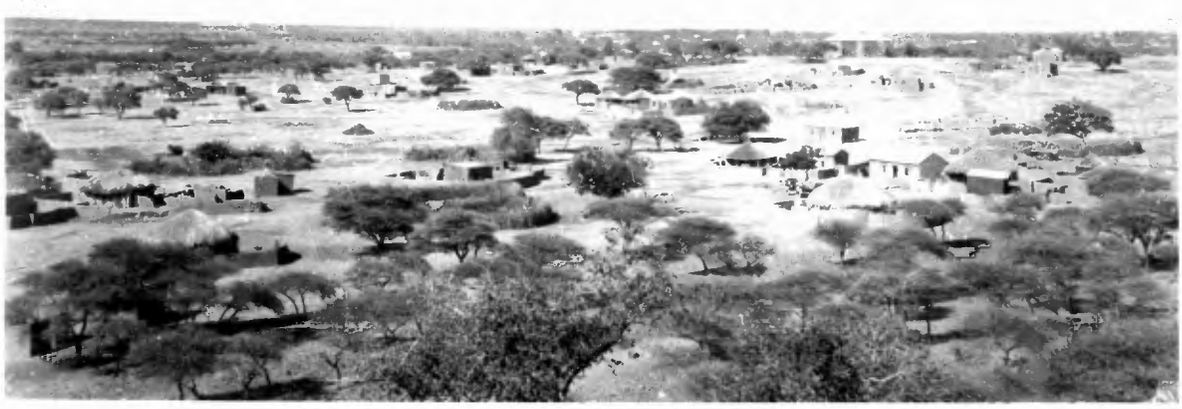


PLATE II (B)

1. The homestead of the headman at Upper Tshokonyane (Chokonyane). Note the stock-pen in the foreground.

2. "Madonna and child". The Mother is a woman of Nguni stock.

3. Gifts of beer being delivered at a wedding feast.







PLATE II (C)

WEDDING CEREMONIES

1. A bride and her bridegroom with the most important members of their following.

2. On various occasions during the three-day festival the wedding procession parades around the homestead. Those taking part in it dance, sing and clap hands.

3. Beer being served to members of the bridegroom's father's age-set at a wedding feast.







PLATE II (D)

1. Women reaping native-grown wheat on the Taung Irrigation Scheme.

2. Children at play immitating the activities on the Irrigation Scheme by filling a small dam with water and letting it run onto small beds. Note the home-made cart in the foreground.

3. A team of reapers just back from a reaping expedition on farms in the Transvaal. The farmer has dropped them at the chief's kgotla.







PLATE II (E)

1. A man shaking pods off a *moku*-tree to feed his goats.

2. Fashioning a traditional type of mortar with modern tools. The mortar (*kika*) which is used for stamping mealies is one of the few traditional household utensils which are occasionally still made. The type of home-made folding chair on which the man is sitting is also seen quite often still.

3. Making rough mud bricks of the kind that are nowadays often used.







PLATE III

1. Digging a grave in a cattle byre. Note that the regular entrance behind the men is closed during the funeral with a cross-bar and some branches.

2. A native doctor wearing special regalia. Such outfits are hardly ever seen nowadays.

3. Wood being unloaded prior to being doctored in preparation for the wedding feast.

4. A doctor sprinkling medicated water along the path along which the bridal procession is to approach the homestead.









PLATE IV

1. Molala Baisitse and his wife. Molala was a confidant of the prophetess Botlhale and also knew the prophet Tolonyane in his youth (see ch. III). He was furthermore one of my trusted informants on traditional matters.

2. The entrance to Mmoloki's cave. The prophet Kgokong(Mmoloki) is said to have frequented this cave and to have taken refuge in it after a boy was drowned while the prophet was busy baptizing him. The cross marks still visible on the rocks above the entrance are said to have been painted by the prophet.





PLATE V (A)

SEPARATIST CHURCH LEADERS

1. The Archbishop of the Ethiopian Catholic Church in Zion who lives in the Transvaal, on a visit to the Taung Church.

2. A Bishop of a Sabbatarian church (the Holy Church of Christ) officiating at the laying of the foundation stone of a church in the reserve. He specially motored from Bloemfontein for the occasion.

3. The head of the Witness of Christ (Sabbath) (the one with the Bible under his arm) and one of his church officials. They are both inhabitants of the reserve but are of Nguni stock.

4. A Preacher of the Foundation Apostolic Church in Jerusalem which is a Pentecostal church.









PLATE V (B)

1. Uniformed Leading Women of the L.M.S. coming out of church.

2. Church officials and uniformed women members of the Ethiopian Catholic Church in Zion.

3. Voluntary workers who assited in cleaning and painting the S.D.A. church enjoying a meal for which a special collection was held among church members. The church building is in the background.

4. Beating pennies on the table at an all-night drive for funds. Most of the people around the table are members of a church with predominantly Nguni membership.









PLATE VI (A)

1. The sexton ringing the "bell" — in this case a piece of rail. In the background is the newly erected church of the Bechuana Methodist Church.

2. A service for consecrating a new Lutheran church. On the platform are the European missionary from Kimberley and some Bantu ministers of the Church.

3. Important church officials of the Holy Church of Christ enyoying a meal after a baptismal ceremony. Food and drinks are served in connection with many church activities.







PLATE VI (B)

1. A service of the African Catholic Church.

2. Men of the Holy Christian Apostolic Church in Zion (mostly Nguni) singing a hymn. Note their robes and the different types of staffs.

3. Members of the Holy Christian Apostolic Church in Zion after a service.







PLATE VI (C)

1. In Pentecostal churches singing is often accompanied by clapping of hands. These women of St. Paul Apostolic Faith Morning Star are singing beside the baptismal pool.

2. A drummer of a Pentecostal Separatist church. Drums are the only form of instrumental accompaniment used in the churches and there are only a few Pentecostal churches using them.





PLATE VII (A)

1. A mother and her baby being taken to a service for "bringing out" the baby. The mother is wearing her "change" dress (part of her wedding outfit) for the occasion.

2. A baby being given a blessing in a Pentecostal Separatist Church.

3. Members of the St. Paul Apostolic Faith Morning Star filing onto their "holy place", an open square paved with red cement in the centre of which is a coffin-shaped concrete block painted blue.







PLATE VII (B)

FUNERALS

1. Singers at a night watch (tebelêlô) the night before the funeral.

2. A woman making a note of contributions made during a night watch to help cover funeral expenses.

3. The coffin is not closed until halfway through the funeral service after all the people present have taken a look at the face of the deceased.



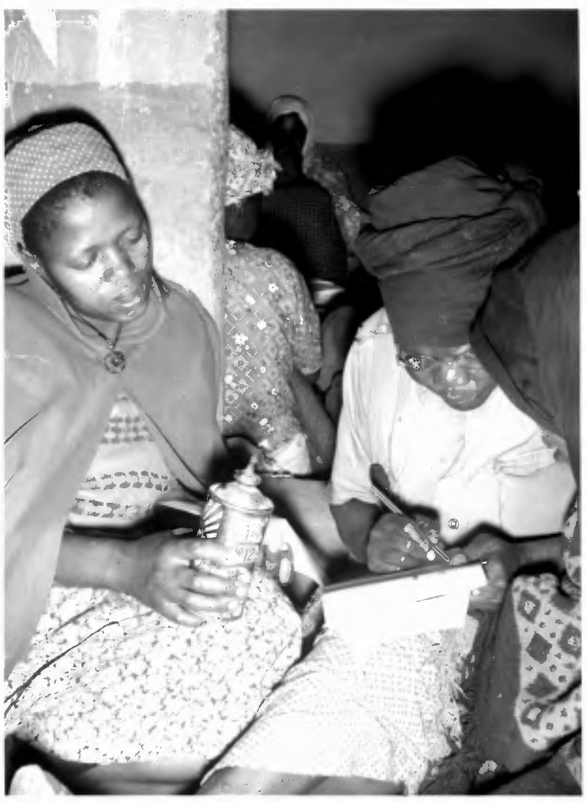




PLATE VII (C)

1. Baptism being administered to two old people in the Lutheran Church.

2. An S.D.A. Bantu minister administering baptism in the river.





PLATE VII (D)

BAPTISMAL CEREMONY OF THE ST. PAUL APOSTOLIC FAITH MORNING STAR

1. The minister enters the baptismal pool, staff in hand, while an evangelist (standing on the wall) reads a portion from Scripture. Behind the evangelist, blankets on head, the candidates for baptism are lined up.

2. A woman being baptized by triune immersion.

3. Women lining up to pass through the baptismal pool for health purposes. They have their blankets ready to be passed on to where they will emerge from the pool.







PLATE VII (E)

BAPTISMAL CEREMONY OF THE ST. PAUL APOSTOLIC FAITH MORNING STAR (CONT'D)

1. Small children are not baptized but are also taken through the baptismal pool for health purposes.

2. Children standing in the sun to dry after passing through the water.

3. "The whole atmosphere toward the end of the baptismal ceremony reminded one very much of a picnic at a watering place".







PLATE VII (F)

HEALING THROUGH PRAYER AND LAYING-ON OF HANDS

1. A Pentecostal Separatist Preacher praying and laying-on hands for his wife. He rubbed ashes on his hands before praying. Note the robes and cords and the figures on the robes (stars and crosses, and down at the bottom an angel).

2. Sometimes unction forms part of the rite of laying-on of hands as in the case of the Witness of Christ (Sabbath).

3. In the Zion Apostolic Church particular use is made of cords over which superior church officials have prayed.

4. A member of the St. Paul Apostolic Faith Morning Star receiving the laying-on of hands. In this church the people undergoing the rite perform unusual bodily movements. The one on the picture inclined forward and turned around like a top. He is wearing the badge of the church (a crescent moon, a star and a cross). The rite was performed on the holy place. Note that they are not wearing shoes.



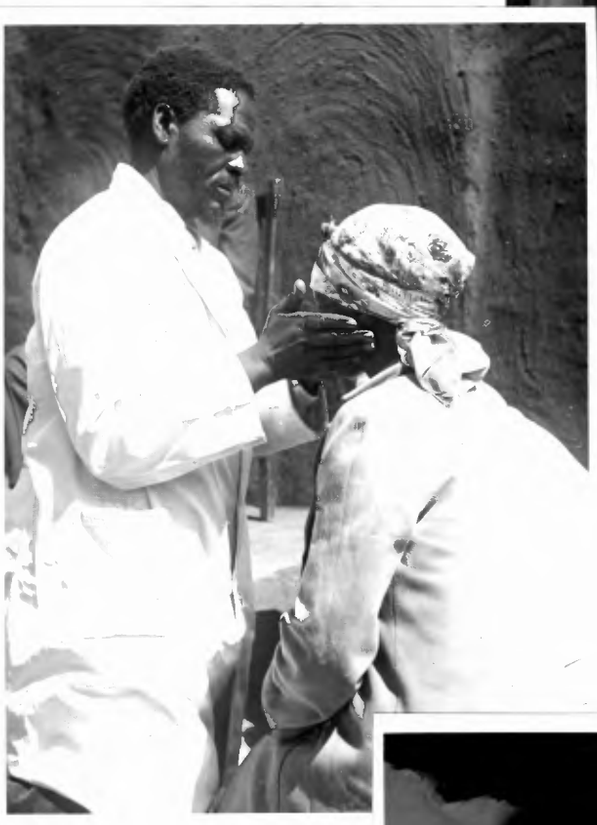






PLATE VII (G)

1. A number of women of the St. Paul Apostolic Faith Morning Star with the minister's wife (in centre). Most of them were spending a few days at the minister's homestead. Some people maintain that the visitors come to be prayed for when in ill-health, and it is also suggested that such visits are made to do penance.

2. Pentecostal Separatists often run around in a circle as in this picture, or spin around as a top. This action is referred to as "tress" and is connected with the activity of the Spirit.

3. A prayer-meeting for rain held early on a Monday morning (at sunrise) at the chief's kgotla. Because women also attend, it is not held inside the kgotla but just outside, next to the kgotla house. On the right (standing) is the L.M.S. minister who officiated, and in the centre, facing the congregation are the chief and his two most important councillors.







PLATE VIII

1. The church centre of the St. Paul Apostolic Faith Morning Star. On this bare and stony slope the minister has with the help of church members made gardens, planted fruit trees and other trees, for timber, and built stone walls and fences. The fence in the foreground encloses a plantation of bluegum and other trees, planted with a view to producing timber. On the left is the small reservoir which serves as baptismal pool and is also used for irrigation.

2. Buildings at the church centre of the St. P. Ap. F.M.S. : The largest one is the minister's dwelling, in front of which the holy place is situated, and the white-walled (foremost) hut is his office. On the extreme right is a hut for the convenience of visitors, and between the dwelling and the office the roof of the provisional church building can be seen. Note the fruit trees in bloom.

3. Roman Catholic devotions at the artificial grotto which contains an image representing the Blessed Virgin. The effect of the soft candle-light on dark faces (which is lost on the photograph in the sharp flash of the camera) combined with the pleasant singing of young voices to produce a remarkable atmosphere.







I am very much indebted to Dr D.Brink of Bellville for his assistance and advice in drawing this map, and to Messrs De Beers Consolidated Mines, Ltd., of Kimberley for making photostatic copies of it free of charge.

NB THIS MAP SHOULD BE PLACED OVER MAP "C"

MAP "C": PHUDUHUTSWANA CHIEFDOM OF THE TAUNG RESERVE

MAP "D": CHURCHES IN THE CHIEFDOM

THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC BACKGROUND

SCALE 0 1 2 3 4 5 MILES

N

LEGEND

- BOUNDARY, RESERVE
- " , CHIEFDOM
- RAILWAYS
- ROADS
- RIVERS
- REPRESENTS APP. 100 PERSONS (BANTU)
- " " 10 " "
- EUROPEAN SETTLEMENTS
- NATIVE COMMISSIONER'S OFFICE
- MEETING-PLACE (KGOTLA) OF CHIEF
- " " " " HEADMAN
- " " " " SUB-HEADMAN
- MAJOR CHURCH BUILDINGS
- SCHOOLS
- OMC TRADING STORE
- " STORES (APE)
- HOSPITAL
- LIME MINE
- DAMS AND VLEIS
- IRRIGATION LANDS
- IRRIGATION FURROW

EUROPEAN FARMS

- CHURCH BLDG (of ch. conn. with Europeans)
- CENTRE FOR REGULAR SERVICES (ch. conn w. Eur.)
- CHURCH BUILDING (Separatist ch.)
- CENTRE FOR REGULAR SERVICES (Separatist ch.)

KEY TO NUMBERS (Each number represents the name of a church, as follows:-)

1. Roman Catholic Church
   Type "A", conn. W. Eur.
2. Methodist Church
3. L.M.S.
4. Anglican Church
5. Lutheran Church
6. Bantu Baptist Church
7. Dutch Reformed Church

Type "A", Separatist
8. Nat. Ind. Cong. Church
9. A.M.E. Church
10. Afr. Lutheran Church
11. [illegible]
12. S.A. Nat. Bap. C. Mission
13. Bechuana Meth. C.
14. Afr. United C.
15. Ethiopian C. of Afr.
16. Eth. Cath. C. in Z.
17. Afr. Catholic Church
18. Eth. C. of X. by Rel.

Type "B", conn. W. Eur.
18. S.D.A.

Type "B", Separatist
19. Witness of X. (Sab.)
20. C. of the 1st-born
21. Holy C. of X.

Type "C", conn. with Europeans
22. Full Gospel C.
23. Pent. Holiness C.

Type "C", Separatist
24. Zion Ap. C. of S.A.
25. New Ap. C. in Z.
26. St. Paul Ap. Faith Morning Star.
27. Holy Xian Ap. C.
28. Found. Ap. C. in J.
29. Holy Gos. C. in Z.

Unclassified
30. Watch Tower Movement.