

Tswana and Sotho are lumped together as "Abe-Sutu" are cowards, stingy people who for lack of many weapons like spears which demand hand-to-hand combat fight with stones and are in any case no match for them in anything. But even within these tribal groups themselves there are differences which are not significant from the point of view of the white man but count for much in the eyes of the Native. Thus the Morolong has a deep-seated contempt for the Motlhaping because of his admixture of Bushman and Hottentot blood (a characteristic of which the Barolong are by no means devoid themselves) and his pristine living on fish, although they belong to the same cluster of tribes linguistically and culturally and can be shown historically to have been one tribe at one time. Similarly there is not over much
See Brown, J.T. "Among the Bantu Nomads" for history of Tswana tribes

love lost between the Bangwato, the Bakwena, the Bangwaketse and Bahurutse although historically they have a common origin. Their different chiefs would no more think of combining under one chieftainship than they would^{think} of flying or of joining the Union of South Africa.

Thus it would be difficult to convince the average Zulu or Xosa that they belong to the same cultural division, namely the Nguni cluster of Southern Bantu or to persuade the Tswana and the Sotho that they fall within the same division linguistically and culturally. The average Zulu would deny emphatically that the Xhosa were Bantu, and the Xhosa would protest that the stupidity (ubudenge) of the Zulu alone was sufficient to place them in a different category from themselves, while the placing of the Xosa and the Fingo within the same subdivision of the Nguni cluster would be regarded as most offensive by either of these tribal groups. It would be even more difficult to persuade Tswana and Xhosa, Sotho and Zulu that they conform in the main to one cultural pattern. These attitudes may to the stranger appear to be slight prejudices which can easily be explained away, but anyone who has tried to work with members of different tribes will testify to

the tenacity with which they are

to the tenacity with which they are adhered, making co-operation

them extremely difficult.

It is extremely important that some note must be taken of these tribal differences as they strike the Native. It seems to writer that more ^{information} ~~is~~ ought to be gathered about, ^{it} as they throw light on some of the difficulties which are sometimes encountered in attempts to secure unity of purpose and co-operation among the Bantu in projects intended for their benefit. Little is known by white people about the squabbles which go on behind the scenes in Church matters, Social centres, recreational activities, in political organisations which are ~~a~~ more or less direct result of these differences in outlook, historical and cultural background. To the anthropologist the obvious thing to do about such differences is to recognise them and make them the basis of administrative, religious and social measures intended for the Native, for to him they are evidences of that tribal solidarity which is his delight. To the intelligent Native they are to be frankly recognised, but by no means regarded with equanimity. To stereotype them and sanctify them with the halo of tradition is to him to impede Native progress. Their recognition must be made the preliminary step towards a intertribal unity which is indispensable for life under modern conditions, the main integrative agency being education.

17

The problem of the classification of the Bantu tribes on cultural and historical lines is likely to be vitiated by the fact that since the coming of the European with his drawing of the Bantu to a greater or less into the vortex of the new "civilisation" which he is endeavouring to establish in South Africa, the Bantu have formed a series of new alignments which cut across the old divisions. Thus among almost all tribes now it is necessary to draw a distinction between the Christian and the Non-Christian, the educated and uneducated, the rural and urban, the exempted and unexempted (from Native Law) primarily in Natal, the voting and the non-voting in the Cape, the pass-bearing and the non-passing bearing. It may be said there has grown up among the Natives of the different provinces-Natal, Cape, Free State and Transvaal--a provincial feeling which is vague and undefined but is strong enough to show itself now and again in provincial antagonisms in political organisations such as the African National Congress and the Industrial and Commercial Workers Union, and in the teaching profession and in other directions. As long as the Provincial Administrations of the Union exist, and they cannot but exist, this provincial sentiment among the Bantu will continue to grow and cut across the original tribal divisions. Churches, schools, trades, professions, legislative measures affecting different Natives differently, recreational activities, cultural associations all combine to vitiate a classification based on original cultural and historical affinities. In this connection the remarks of Dr Eiselen (p.243) are of great significance: "Hitherto we have spoken exclusively of a tribal life of which a great deal now belongs to the past. The most serious gap in our knowledge is concerning the present day conditions of the Basotho (or any Natives, he might have added) as farm servants on European-occupied farms, as lessees of farms, as urban natives, in tribal reserves, and on mission property. In other words, we find ourselves practically on terra incognita as far as concerns the adjustment of the Basotho (and other Natives) to the new conditions which have been created by mission activities and by the

But this enlargement of the scope of Anthropology is not only of importance on theoretical grounds in that it is calculated to give a ~~much~~ more accurate, much more realistic and therefore much more scientific turn to the study of primitive peoples leading perhaps to the formulation of useful generalisations or social laws, governing the diffusion of cultures in human societies in general and the resultant disintegration and subsequent re-integration of cultural elements of diverse origin; it has ~~also~~ also has a practical interest for those who in one way or another are brought into contact with primitive peoples--either as administrators, missionaries, professional men and women of various kinds, as settlers or as traders. A correct understanding of the primitive man's attitude and his traditional code of behaviour and the modifications which are being made thereanent by the primitive man ~~as a result of internal or external forces~~ as a result of internal or external forces is for the latter of utilitarian value ^{to} in that it may enable him "get across" to the primitive either his administrative policy or his religious message or his commercial wares or his methods of controlling labour more effectively than he could otherwise. In this connection South Africa has "a magnificent opportunity of making a significant contribution to one of the major problems of Social Anthropology, the study of culture contact. A record of the manner in which contact with the European ~~has modified~~ has modified the traditional culture of our Natives, and of the way in which the Natives have reacted to the new influences bearing upon them, would provide invaluable material for dealing with the general problems theoretical of the diffusion and assimilation of cultures. Studies of this sort, moreover, are in this country of real practical importance. To the Europeans ~~of~~ inhabitants of South Africa the Native is more than merely an object of ethnographical curiosity. His presence has affected the whole structure of our civilisation, and upon his future welfare depends the the future welfare of the country. We need to know in our own

symbiosis of White and Black. Here there is a vast field for research work; and this can most faithfully be undertaken provided an experienced field-worker first gives his full attention to the cultural institutions of a single tribe, as already suggested, and then ^{studies} carefully the transformations undergone by these institutions under modern conditions. This point ~~has~~ is in conformity with modern developments in Anthropology which is tending to lay more and more stress on Native life as lived today rather than on the reconstruction of the Native past only. As Edwin Smith has observed in Africa Vol. VII, No. 1 (Jan. 1934) "Many excellent monographs have been written on African tribes, but invariably these have aimed at portraying the life of the people as it was before contact with Europeans had affected it. Of such descriptions we cannot have too many, provided they be accurate. All sociological study of the African must be based upon them. But they do not go far enough. As conditions are today they present only one side of the picture, and therefore they are inadequate if not misleading. For the all-important fact is that new forces are impinging in an ever-increasing degree upon the African and modifying his attitude towards traditional codes of behaviour. The changes that are being produced are just as much sociological facts as anything in the old more static life, and equally need be, and are capable of being, studied scientifically. Unless we know what is happening, not only in the outer world of organisation, but also in the inner world of the African's mind, all our efforts to work for and with the African are so much groping in the dark". This new tendency in Anthropology which is generally associated with the Functional School of Anthropology whose best exponent is perhaps Professor Malinowski who has described it as "the anthropology of the changing Native" or "the study of the diffusion of western cultures among primitive peoples" which requires to be undertaken with as much theoretical zeal and direct interest as the old constructive study.

Southern Bantu

South Western

South-Central

South-Eastern

Ambo

Herero

North-South Shona
Venda
Sotho

North Nguni

South Nguni

Nyame-Ofa

interests, what is happening to him, how he is being affected by and is reacting to the civilization we have thrust upon him. The anthropologist more than anyone else should be in a position to speak with authority upon the present day life of the Natives, and he is failing in his duty both to his science and to his country if he neglects this side of Native life in favour of the possibly more glamorous but nevertheless obsolescent institutions of old. Only through such knowledge will we be able to judge of the success or failure of our present treatment of the Natives; and only by applying such will we be able to help to avoid conflict between Black and White and promote their harmonious co-operation." (Schapera B.S. March 1935)

The study of the changing Native is already being pursued with commendable enthusiasm and scientific ardour by a number of the younger anthropologists^{J. Hay} and some of the results of their research have already seen the light. It is perhaps only right to say that some of these first essays into this new field are not entirely satisfactory. There is still much of a tendency for them to emphasise evidences of the disintegration of Native life and to be unable to suppress their desire to defend the dying past in Native culture and to advocate the policy of "festinate lente" on which they and the Natives whom they are studying will probably never agree. The processes of disintegration are of course patent on every hand--they are embodied in some cases in legislative measures bearing on such institutions as Chieftainship, land tenure, taxation; marriage, property rights, etc.; they are embodied in new institutions such as the School, the Church, the Political Organisation, the Native Newspaper, Recreational Grounds, Planters' Associations, new Religions, and in such obvious things as material culture--new types of dress, houses, furniture, money, the plough, the gramophone. Other easily observable features of the life of the new Native include the emancipation of women from certain forms of labour such as hoe cultivation and excessive domina-