

Contested Terrain: Scouting for Girls in South Africa, 1910-1994

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Abstract

This paper focuses on three South African girls' scouting movements that began during the segregationist regime of the early Union of South Africa (1910-1948) and survived the apartheid era (1948-1994): Girl Guides, Wayfarers, and Voortrekkers. All sought to teach girls Scouting, a citizenship-training program that Robert Baden-Powell had invented for British boys and girls during the first decade of the twentieth century. Though these three girls' scouting movements originally offered very similar programs, during the thirties and forties, Girl Guides, Wayfarers, and Voortrekkers developed unique programs that conceptualized citizenship differently; each promoted a different imagined community that their members would belong to as future citizens. The scouting experiences of Afrikaner and African girls between the 1920s and 1990s in South Africa show how youth movements reflect larger social and political processes and events.

"We all learned to shoot guns at about ten years of age, and we used to go to camp where we would participate in staged battles.... We were being prepared to deal with the 'black onslaught' [the expectation of being attacked by black people], and we used .22 guns with real bullets."

—Hettie V.¹

Hettie V. belonged to the Voortrekkers, an Afrikaner scouting movement modeled on Robert Baden-Powell's Girl Guides. Her memories force historians, who have often neglected youth movements such as scouting as benign, impotent expressions of greater historical forces, to reconsider youth movements as invaluable historical lenses into popular social conceptions of belonging to different kinds of

¹ Diana E. H. Russell, *Lives of Courage: Women for a New South Africa* (New York: Basic Books, 1991), 281.

imagined communities—imperial states, independent nation states, or “invented” tribal communities.² The controversies surrounding scouting for South African girls demonstrate the contested views of citizenship that emerged in the early twentieth century and persisted until the end of apartheid.

This paper focuses on three girls’ scouting movements active in South Africa that began during the segregationist regime of the early Union of South Africa (1910-1948) and survived the apartheid era (1948-1994): Girl Guides, Wayfarers, and Voortrekkers. All sought to teach girls Scouting, whose founder Robert Baden-Powell described as “a system of training citizenship, through games, for boys or girls.”³ However, each movement conceptualized citizenship differently; each promoted a different imagined community that their members would belong to as future citizens.

Girl Guides, the first scouting movement for girls in South Africa, emerged in 1910 to train white South African girls in their duties as the daughters and future mothers of the British Empire. White liberal segregationists and white Afrikaner nationalists both contested the Guides’ concept of exclusively white imperial citizenship. American and British liberal segregationists wanted the movement to train all South African girls as obedient Christian citizens. Because the Girl Guides Association of South Africa [GGASA] and Olave Baden-Powell, the leader of the international Guiding movement, resisted their petitions, a group of white women under the leadership of Edith Rheinallt Jones created the Wayfarers, a scouting

² As of yet, no historian has published a study regarding the Voortrekker youth movement. Many historians mention it in passing. See Patrick J. Furlong, *Between Crown and Swastika: The Impact of the Radical Right on the Afrikaner Nationalist Movement in the Fascist Era* (Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 1991), 224; Hermann Buhr Giliomee, *The Afrikaners: Biography of a People* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2003), 170; David Goldblatt and Neville Dubow, *South Africa: The Structure of Things Then* (New York, N.Y.: Monacelli Press, 1998), 183, 247; June Goodwin and Benjamin N. Schiff, *Heart of Whiteness: Afrikaners Face Black Rule in the New South Africa* (New York: Scribner, 1995), 129; David Harrison, *The White Tribe of Africa: South Africa in Perspective* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982), 201-201; Robert Harvey, *The Fall of Apartheid: The Inside Story from Smuts to Mbeki* (Houndmills/ Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave, 2001), 42-43; T. Dunbar Moodie, *The Rise of Afrikanerdom: Power, Apartheid, and the Afrikaner Civil Religion* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975), 20, 151, 183; Timothy Parsons, *Race, Resistance, and the Boy Scout Movement in British Colonial Africa* (Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press, 2004); Ivor Wilkins and Hans Strydom, *The Broederbond* (New York: Paddington Press, 1979), 65, 105, 271, 294, 419; Deborah Gaitskell and Tammy Proctor have published detailed studies of the scout movement in its formative period before National Party gained power. See Deborah Gaitskell, “Upward All and Play the Game: The Girl Wayfarer’s Association in the Transvaal 1925 – 1975,” in *Apartheid and Education: The Education of Black South Africans*, edited by Peter Kallaway (Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1984), 222-264; Tammy M. Proctor, “‘A Separate Path’: Scouting and Guiding in Interwar South Africa,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 42, no. 3 (July 2000): 605-631.

³ Proctor, “‘A Separate Path,’” 625-626; Alan Gregor Copley, *The Rules of the Game: Struggles in Black Recreation and Social Welfare Policy in South Africa* (Westport, Conn: Greenwood Press, 1997), 81; Richard Voeltz, “Adam’s Rib: The Girl Guides and Imperial Race,” *San Jose Studies* 14, no. 1 (1988): 97. I will use “Scouting” to refer collectively to Boy Scouts and Girl Guides and “scouting” to refer to the wide variety of youth organizations that modeled their program from that of Baden-Powell.

organization for black and Coloured Christian girls, and continued to seek the repeal of the GGASA white-only policy. Afrikaner nationalists rejected the Guides' concept of white imperial citizenship and in the early thirties founded the Voortrekkers, a scouting organization that promoted a more exclusive citizenship that included only Christian Afrikaners.⁴

Until the late thirties, these movements offered very similar programs to their members based on community service, badgework, camping, leadership experience, and domestic arts and embraced a similar idea of citizenship that emphasized responsibilities over rights. The growing power of the Afrikaner Broederbond, an exclusively male Afrikaner organization that sought to make South Africa into a white Afrikaner nation, and GGASA's decision to allow all South African girls to participate led the movements to diverge radically. These developments particularly changed scouting for Afrikaner and African girls. When the Girl Guides decided to permit Indian, Coloured, and African members in 1936, only the white officer corps of the Wayfarers in the Transvaal province rejected the offer. Instead, they created the Transvaal Wayfarers and promoted Wayfarers as a version of scouting that especially addressed the African mindset.⁵ After the 1938 Great Trek Centenary Celebrations, Voortrekkers stressed Afrikaner nationalism and white supremacy and forgot the sections in its handbooks that encouraged members to help all people regardless of race or nationality.

With the rise of the Nationalist government and apartheid, the differences between the movements became more glaring. The Voortrekker youth movement became a vehicle for the Broederbond to recruit members and indoctrinate children with the ideals of white nationalism. Faced with the increasingly rigid apartheid laws that forbade interracial collaboration and forced Africans out of their homes to live in Bantustans, rural regions that the Nationalist government claimed were African controlled nations, the Transvaal Wayfarer Association transformed itself from an organization run under the auspices of white missionaries to an African-run organization that met the government's approval. Lastly, Girl Guides stressed its dedication to the Fourth Law, "A Guide is a friend to all and a sister to every other Guide," though it continued to enforce segregated companies and camps. This examination tracks the leaders, policies, and programs of these three distinct South

⁴ Agnes Baden-Powell, *The Handbook for Girl Guides or How Girls Can Help Build the Empire* (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1912), 39.

⁵ In this paper, I use "white" to refer to people that South African society of the early twentieth century identified as European. If significant and known, I identify their national affiliation—American, Afrikaner, or British. In the context of South Africa, "Coloured" refers to people of mixed-race, who initially qualified for the right to vote until apartheid. I use both "black" and "African" to refer to people of African heritage that South African society frequently referred to as Bantu until the end of apartheid. "Non-Western" is used as a general term for Indians, Cape Malays, Coloureds, and Africans.

African scouting organizations and how they shaped the lives of Africans and Afrikaners.

Imperial Origins of Scouting

After Robert Baden-Powell, the hero of the Siege of Mafeking, returned to Britain from his victorious military tour in South Africa, he quickly fell under the imperial malaise that gripped the metropole. He believed that the rising generation of British boys had become passive, effeminate, and unprepared to defend the Empire.⁶ When Baden-Powell published *Scouting for Boys* in 1908, he had no intention to start a new boys' youth organization much less one for girls. He had hoped existing youth movements would adopt his proposed methods.

Nonetheless, as boys and girls across Britain organized troops he decided to build an international boys' movement called Boy Scouts. Despite clear prohibitions on female membership, girls joined Boy Scouts with male aliases and procured equipment and badges through male middlemen. Because Baden-Powell feared that girl Scouts would emasculate the movement, he announced the creation of a girls' Scouting organization called Girl Guides in 1909 and placed his older sister, Agnes Baden-Powell in charge. Under Agnes, Girl Guides developed into an insular, imperial organization with strong ties to bastions of feminine youth imperialism like the Primrose League, Junior Associates of the Victoria League, and the Girls' Patriotic League.⁷

Scouting Comes to White South Africa

The first companies of Girl Guides began to appear in South Africa in 1910. Baden-Powell convinced the Governor General and his wife to take interest in his Scouting movement. With little success he also attempted to woo the support of prominent Afrikaners. Intent that Scouting would bring together the white races of South Africa, Baden-Powell sanctioned the exclusion of Cape Coloreds, Indians, and

⁶ Anna Davin, "Imperialism and Motherhood," *History Workshop* no. 5 (Spring 1978): 12; Robert Baden-Powell and Robert Stephenson Smyth, *Lessons From The 'Varsity of Life'* (London: Pearson, 1933), 17, 44, 67, 139, 148.

⁷ Kitty Barne, *Here Come the Girl Guides* (London: Girl Guides Association, 1946), 14-15; Allen Warren, "'Mothers for the Empire?': The Girl Guides Association in Britain, 1909-1939," in *Making Imperial Mentalities: Socialisation and British Imperialism*, edited by J. A. Mangan (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1990), 104-105; Davin, "Imperialism and Motherhood," 9-65.

Africans when they began to apply in 1911.⁸

Despite Baden-Powell's efforts, Afrikaner membership remained low as British membership increased rapidly. Afrikaner intellectuals and politicians perceived Scouting as a form of anglicization and desired a youth movement based on Afrikaner culture. Baden-Powell, convinced that he eventually would gain the support of the Afrikaners and doubtful of the abilities of all non-Western children, stood by his decision to exclude nonwhites from the South African Scouting movement.⁹

By 1920, South Africa stood out as one of the only parts of the British Empire that refused to include non-Western children in Girl Guides and Boy Scouts.¹⁰ After World War I, Baden-Powell had developed a new Girl Guide program that lessened the importance of motherhood and domesticity, encouraged the frontier life of camping and outdoor adventure, and emphasized girls' responsibilities as world citizens rather than empire builders. He publicly embraced the inclusion of non-Western children. With the new program and his wife, Olave Baden-Powell, in charge, Guiding experienced tremendous international growth especially among non-Western girls across the British Empire.¹¹

White missionaries and educationalists, many who had already started unofficial scouting programs for girls, forcefully campaigned for the inclusion of non-Western girls in South Africa. Guide leaders in Britain and South Africa sent letters to the Girl Guide Headquarters in London that pointed out the hypocrisy between the Fourth Law of Girl Guides and the white-only policy of the GGASA.

⁸"Girl Guides: The Transvaal Corps," *Rand Daily Mail*, May 13, 1910, 4; Deborah Gaitskell, *Race, Gender and Imperialism: A Century of Black Girls' Education in South Africa* (African Studies Seminar Paper. University of the Witwatersrand: African Studies Institute, 1988), 17; Timothy Parsons, *Race, Resistance, and the Boy Scout Movement*, 94; Proctor, "'A Separate Path,'" 612.

⁹ Parsons, *Race, Resistance, and the Boy Scout Movement*, 72-95; Proctor, "'A Separate Path,'" 612-613. See also *The Girl Guide Magazine: Organ of the Girl Guides South Africa Association, 1924-1931*. Within each issue of the magazine, various articles, photographs, and news blurbs emphasize that the Girl Guide Association of South Africa was an exclusively white only organization. The text and pictures depict Africans as too uncivilized and child-like to participate in scouting activities. For example, the June issue of 1929 featured a photograph of three white Guides in a rickshaw pulled by a black man. The caption, "A Brownie 'Pack'! Some Brownies Arriving At the Transvaal Toon Moot" refers to an all-Transvaal Girl Guide gathering named after the Afrikaans word for demonstration (toot) and the Saxon word for rally (moot). Additionally, the magazine contained features to specifically appeal to Afrikaner girls and Guide leaders: articles in Afrikaans, reports on the Robert Baden-Powell's fundraising and promotional efforts to increase Afrikaner membership, and advertisements Girl Guide literature in Afrikaans.

¹⁰ Proctor, "'A Separate Path,'" 614; Rose Gough Kerr, "Story of the Girl Guides, 1908-1938: Official History of the Girl Guides Association," in *The Story of the Girl Guides*, edited by Alex Liddell (London: Girl Guides Association, 1976), 188; Tammy Proctor, *Scouting for Girls: A Century of Girl Guides and Girl Scouts* (Santa Barbara: Praeger, 2009), 67-68. The other areas that prohibited non-Western membership were Bermuda and the Bahamas.

¹¹ Warren, "Citizens of the Empire: Baden-Powell, Scouts and Guides, and an Imperial Ideal," in *Imperialism and Popular Culture*, edited by John M. MacKenzie (Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 1986) 245; Warren, "'Mothers for the empire?'," 101-105; Davin, 9-65.

Tammy Proctor shows in her case-study of South African Guiding between 1910 and 1936 that hopes of Afrikaner-British unity and fears of miscegenation led Olave to resist their requests and remain firmly against the inclusion of non-Western South African members.¹² She affirmed, “our policy is one of complete sisterhood,” but claimed, “it would not be possible to lay down defining laws within the Movement which would secure the complete safety of white girls and the peace of mind of their parents.”¹³ Instead, the GGASA continued to cater to Afrikaners. It created badges such as the *Voortrekker* [Pioneer] and *Haisvrou* [Housewife], used Afrikaans for the titles of region-wide Guide rallies, mandated that all flag ceremonies include the Union Jack and National Flag, and translated official literature into Afrikaans.¹⁴

Scouting for Black South Africans

In response to the exclusionary policies of the GGASA, missionaries, predominately white, started unofficial scouting groups across South Africa for non-Western girls and continued to press for official recognition throughout the 1920s. C. T. Loram, a member of the Native Affairs Commission, whom whites considered as one of South Africa’s most distinguished educationalist and black activists dismissed as a “government lackey,” proposed that these many unofficial scouting organizations for girls, which ranged from the Lightfinders of the Transvaal to the Girl Pathfinders at the Marion Institute for Coloured Girls in Cape Town, merge into one central organization. In 1925, a council of missionary leaders met and established the Girl Wayfarers Association.¹⁵

The GGASA welcomed the Wayfarers Association as a means to quiet the controversy that had brewed over the hypocrisy between the Fourth Law of Guiding and its white-only policy. They promised to help create a handbook and develop a training program for Wayfarer leaders. They even attempted to export Wayfaring to neighboring colonies in order to avoid additional controversy over the segregated

¹² Proctor, “A Separate Path,” 617; Ray Phillips, *The Bantu in the City: A Study of Cultural Adjustment on the Witwatersrand* (Lovedale, South Africa: Lovedale Press, 1938), 301.

¹³ Quoted in Deborah Gaitskell, “Upward All,” 244.

¹⁴ Proctor, *On My Honour Guides and Scouts in Interwar Britain* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 2002), 149; Proctor, “A Separate Path,” 614, 618; Parsons, *Race, Resistance, and the Boy Scout Movement*, 94; G. Walton, “The Scout Movement in Africa,” *Journal of the Royal African Society* 36, no. 145 (October 1937): 479; *The Girl Guide Magazine* 7, no. 3 (Autumn 1931): 13, 14, 18; *The Girl Guide Magazine* 6, no. 4 (July 1930): 19; *The Girl Guide Magazine* 6, no. 1 (September 1929): 3, 13, 16; *The Girl Guide Magazine* 5, no. 4 (June 30, 1929): 18; “The Transvaal Toon-Moot, Ellis Park, Johannesburg, March 2, 1929,” *The Girl Guide Magazine* 5, no. 3 (March 30, 1929) 4-7; *The Girl Guide Magazine* 5, no. 1 (September 30, 1928): 8-10, 22.

¹⁵ Parsons, *Race, Resistance, and the Boy Scout Movement*, 86; Gaitskell, “Upward All,” 233; Barbara Bush, *Imperialism, Race and Resistance Africa and Britain, 1919-1945* (London: Routledge, 1999), 153.

nature of South African scouting. However, until the creation of Voortrekkers in 1931, the GGASA refused to publicly associate with the Wayfarers. Not wanting to offend potential Afrikaner members, the Association prohibited Girl Guides from helping Wayfarers while in uniform. When Lady Baden Powell visited in 1927, officials of the GGASA enforced this rule and requested that she not wear her Guide uniform when inspecting detachments of Wayfarers.¹⁶ Fueled with hope of attracting Afrikaners, GGASA drew firm boundaries between itself and the Wayfarers in public, closing off the possibility of a truly collaborative relationship.

Most contemporary white observers and proponents of Wayfarers claimed that the differences between the Girl Guide and Wayfarer programs were merely superficial. The movements shared an ardent loyalty to King and Empire demonstrated through their elaborate performances for imperial officers, members of the royal family, and the Baden-Powells. Both looked to the wife of the Governor-General as their patron. The white leadership of both organizations saw Africans as less civilized than Westerners and believed that African and white girls had different needs and abilities.¹⁷

In her provocative study that focuses on the formative decades of the Wayfarer movement, historian Deborah Gaitskell documents that in practice the Wayfarer program differed considerably. It required members to be Christian and “simplified” the laws and badge program.¹⁸ Importantly, it did not require that members befriend girls despite class or race as the Fourth Law of Guiding did. Moreover, the handbook neglected the importance of religious tolerance, camping, or international outreach, topics that the Guide movement stressed in its literature. Gaitskell demonstrates that the program reflected the educational philosophy of adaptation that had become popular among prominent liberal segregationists since the Phelps-Stokes educational committees of the early 1920s. C. T. Loram, the first to call for a nationwide scouting movements for non-European girls, firmly believed that education should speak to students’ experiences and social positions. For black South African girls, this meant a focus on the skills they might need for domestic

¹⁶ Parsons, *Race, Resistance, and the Boy Scout Movement*, 86, 88; *The Girl Guide Magazine* 7, no. 3 (Autumn 1931): 2.

¹⁷ “Wayfarers in the Cape Province,” *South African Outlook* 62 (1932): 112-114; Margery Perham, *African Apprenticeship; An Autobiographical Journey in Southern Africa, 1929* (New York: Africana Pub. Co, 1974), 48-49; Proctor, “A Separate Path,” 616; Gaitskell, “Upward Play,” 238, 242-243; *Race, Gender and Imperialism*, 18; Alan Paton, *Apartheid and the Archbishop: The Life and Times of Geoffrey Clayton, Archbishop of Cape Town* (New York: Scribner, 1974), 124; “Girl Wayfarer Association,” *Bulletin* 1, 1947, Historical Papers, William Cullen Library University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, South Africa; *Girl Wayfarers’ Association: Annual Report 1945-1946* (Johannesburg, 1946), 3.

¹⁸ Kerr, “Story of the Girl Guides,” 176; “Wayfarers in the Cape Province,” 112-114; Perham, *African Apprenticeship* 47; Gaitskell, “Upward Play,” 237, 256; Ashley Audrey, *Peace-Making in South Africa: The Life and Work of Dorothy Maud* (Bognor Regis, West Sussex: New Horizon, 1980), 38-39; Proctor, “A Separate Path,” 620; Gaitskell, “Upward Play,” 235.

work, nursing, or missionary work and the values that would make them successful second-class citizens in a segregated imperial society.¹⁹

The leaders of Wayfaring, Dora Phillips and Edith Rheinallt Jones, advertised the program as tailored to the particular needs of African girls. They hoped that badgework in home life, health, handicrafts, the environment, and the Bible combined with hymn singing and games would teach young African girls moral leisure activities and prepare them to serve the Empire as bearers of Christian civilization. Jones specifically hoped “to replace the old initiation schools which, whatever their defects, did adjust the adolescents to Bantu life.”²⁰ At the 1933 General Missionary Conference of South Africa, L.M. Forest, a Wayfarer, summarized Jones’s hopes for the movement: “‘The fun of the fair’ to our Christian girls whom we have cut off from all the fun and excitement of heathen life. We don’t want them to dance and yell and sing as the heathen girls do, and if we put nothing in the place of that, we have the danger of the empty house into which the seven devils enter.”²¹ The white leadership of the organization enthusiastically supported Jones and Phillips. In addition to their work with African girls, they led trainings, garnered financial and political support, and continued to lobby against the Girl Guides’ white-only policy.²²

By the late 1920s, the white officers of the Association had gained support of many prominent South African Christian intellectuals, who had begun to suggest at conferences and in their publications that Wayfaring and Pathfinding, its male equivalent, might provide a solution to the “native problem.” Supporters saw scouting as a means to thwart pre-marital pregnancy, convert young girls and then their parents to Christianity, create more industrious workers, and limit antagonism towards whites. At a conference in 1928, F. B. Bridgman, the head of the American Board of Missionaries claimed, “Unquestionably these organizations [Pathfinders and Wayfarers] are responsible for the marked improvement to our schools in discipline and moral tone.”²³ In their 1930 *The Bantu Are Coming*, two well-known

¹⁹ Parsons, *Race, Resistance, and the Boy Scout Movement*, 40-41; E. H. Brookes, *In Appreciation of the Life of John David Rheinallt Jones and His Work for the Betterment of Race Relations in Southern Africa* (South African Institute of Race Relations, 1953), 4-6, 10; Gaitskell, “Upward Play,” 232-235; Cobley, *The Rules of the Games*, 82-83.

²⁰ “National European-Bantu Conference, Cape Town, 1929,” in *Report of the National European-Bantu Conference, Cape Town, February 6-9, 1929* (Lovedale: Lovedale Institution Press, 1929), 22-23, 207-208.

²¹ L.M. Forest, “Evangelism and the Bantu Girl,” *Evangelism: The Methods and the Message*; A Report of the Proceedings of the Eighth General Missionary Conference of South Africa, Pretoria, 1932 (1933), 140

²² Kerr, *The Story of a Million Girls; Guiding and Girl Scouting Round the World* (London: The Girl Guides Association, 1937), 71; Gaitskell, “Upward Play,” 223-247; Cobley, *The Rules of the Games*, 83.

²³ F. B. Bridgman, “Social and Medical Work for Native Women and Girls in Urban Areas,” in *General Missionary Conference for South Africa, The Realignment of Native Life on a Christian Basis; Being the Report of the Proceedings of the Seventh General Missionary Conference of South Africa Held at Lovedale, June 26-29, 1928* (Lovedale: Lovedale Institution Press, 1928), 66.

educationalists, Ray Edmund Phillips, the husband of Dora Ray Phillips, and C. T. Loram asserted that Wayfarer leaders were among the first reformers to translate the benefits of heathen dance into more appropriate demonstrations of rhythmic expression, folk-dances, and musical games.²⁴ The financial support that such publicity garnered was key to the success and expansion of Wayfarers outside of the urban townships where most white missionaries lived and worked.²⁵

However, African women, mostly teachers or nurses who had attended missionary school, carried out the expansion of the movement and led most of the companies of girls. Though faced with a color bar, African Wayfarer leaders were not passive participants who carried out the wishes of the white officers who trained them and loosely monitored their activities. Timothy Parsons, a historian who has examined scouting in Anglophone Africa, asserts that the African leaders, who organized detachments of Wayfarers at village schools, had virtually complete autonomy to alter the Wayfarer program to reflect their own beliefs and goals. Memories that African women have of their experiences as Wayfarers confirm Parson's thesis.²⁶ Because African leaders usually had limited access to handbooks and other materials, they often had to invent much of the program. Moreover, evidence available suggests that African Wayfarer leaders rarely sought out the help of white officers, often distrusted it, and occasionally raised complaints to the Wayfarer Council if they believed a white officer was abusing her power.²⁷

Not all Africans wanted a scouting movement, especially not one for girls. Chiefs often opposed Wayfaring because of its overt Christian, imperial purpose.²⁸ Some parents preferred to send their daughters to traditional circumcision schools.

²⁴ Ray Edmund Phillips and C. T. Loram, *The Bantu Are Coming* (London: Student Christian Movement Pr, 1930) 103.

²⁵ Gaitskell, "Upward Play," 230, 232, 247

²⁶ Parsons, *Race, Resistance, and the Boy Scout Movement*, 21, 26, 46; Dora Thizwilondi Magidi and John Blacking, *Black Background: The Childhood of a South African Girl* (New York: Abelard-Schuman, 1964), 82-86, 156, 197; Deborah James, "Black Background: Life History and Migrant Women's Music in South Africa," in *The Musical Human: Rethinking John Blacking's Ethnomusicology in the 21st Century*, edited by Suzel Reily (Ashgate, Aldershot: SOAS Musicology Series, 2006), 73, 75-78 80-81, 85; Minutes of a Meeting of the Wayfarer Council Held in the Rooms of the Methodist Church, Pretoria, May 26, 1945, Historical Papers, William Cullen Library University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, South Africa; Gaitskell, "'Wailing for Purity: Prayer Unions, African Mothers and Adolescent Daughters, 1912-1940,'" in *Industrialisation and Social Change in South Africa: African Class Formation, Culture, and Consciousness, 1870-1930*, edited by Shula Marks and Richard Rathbone (New York: Longman, 1982), 352; Audrey, *Peace-Making in South Africa*, 24-25, 30; Hannah Stanton, *Go Well, Stay Well: South Africa, August 1956 to May 1960* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1961), 69.

²⁷ Minutes of a Meeting of the Wayfarer Council Held in the Rooms of the Methodist Church, Pretoria, May 26, 1945; Tilly Malan to Mrs. Jones, October 16, 1931, Historical Papers, William Cullen Library University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, South Africa.

²⁸ Tilly Malan to Mrs. Jones, October 16, 1931, Hugh Macmillan, "A Nation Divided? The Swazi in Swaziland and the Transvaal 1865-1986," in *The Creation of Tribalism in Southern Africa*, edited by Leroy Vail (London Berkeley: Currey University of California Press, 1989), 301. For an example, see Sobhuza II in Swaziland.

Consequentially, white leaders saw the circumcision school as the antithesis of the Wayfaring movement: unclean and immoral. One white missionary warned that if “an enrolled Wayfarer attends a circumcision school I don’t see how she can be allowed to remain a member as the two things hardly go together.”²⁹ To overcome community opposition and define membership requirements, Wayfarer leaders and officers usually worked with the local chief, magistrate, and health authorities. When they were successful, they built lasting relationships and gained the respect of the communities they worked in.³⁰

Even when Wayfarer leaders and officers overcame opposition within a community, they still faced many practical limitations: language, transportation, malnutrition, and poverty.³¹ Many Wayfarers did not speak English, which meant inspections, rallies, and performances required interpreters.³² To participate in such scouting activities, both Wayfarers and their leaders traveled great distances.³³ Furthermore, Wayfarer leaders and outside observers feared that poverty limited the extent that African girls could participate. According to Ray Phillips, Wayfarers living in the townships surrounding Johannesburg often passed out during drill from exhaustion brought on by malnutrition.³⁴ Families frequently spent money that they did not have on fabric for their daughters’ uniforms. Alan Paton, who became a prominent South African author and anti-apartheid political activist in the fifties, observed in the early forties, “It had no doubt strained the family resources to make the uniforms they [Wayfarers] wore.”³⁵ Unlike white South African Girl Guides, Wayfarers wore no shoes or stockings, and few ever attended rallies or camps because of the costs involved.³⁶

Despite the opposition and limitations that the Wayfarer movement faced, it became extremely popular among the minority of African girls who had the opportunity to attend school. It gave girls who abandoned the traditions of their

²⁹ Tilly Malan to Mrs. Jones, October 16, 1931.

³⁰ Alan Paton, “Prologue: ‘A Deep Experience,’” in *The Long View* (New York: F.A. Praeger, 1968), 55; Tilly Malan to Mrs. Jones, October 16, 1931.

³¹ Minutes of a Meeting of the Wayfarer Council Held in the Rooms of the Methodist Church, Pretoria, May 26, 1945; Mrs. M. E. Whyte, Girl Wayfarer Association of South Africa, Historical Papers, William Cullen Library University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, South Africa; *Girl Wayfarers’ Association: Annual Report 1945-1946*.

³² Eva Tatham, “Guiding with Africans in the Transvaal,” *Council Fire* 22, no. 1 (January 1947): 10; *Girl Wayfarers’ Association*.

³³ Brookes, *In Appreciation of the Life of John David Rheinallt Jones*, 25; “South Africa.” *Council Fire* 22, no. 3 (July 1947): 39; Alan Paton, “Prologue: ‘A Deep Experience,’” 55; Minutes of a Meeting of the Wayfarer Council Held in the Rooms of the Methodist Church, Pretoria, May 26, 1945; Mrs. M. E. Whyte, Girl Wayfarer Association of South Africa.

³⁴ Phillips, *The Bantu in the City*, 120-121; Dora Thizwilondi Magidi and John Blacking, *Black Background: The Childhood of a South African Girl* (New York: Abelard-Schuman, 1964), 101-107.

³⁵ Paton, “Prologue: ‘A Deep Experience,’” 56.

³⁶ Minutes of a Meeting of the Wayfarer Council Held in the Rooms of the Methodist Church, Pretoria, May 26, 1945; “The Story of the Sunbeams,” *Council Fire* 26, no. 2 (April 1956): 75.

communities a new sense of belonging.³⁷ In 1935 twice as many African girls participated in Wayfaring than in the Pathfinder movement, its male counterpart. More teachers took part as well; in the Transvaal during the interwar period, 63% of female teachers served as Wayfarer leaders as opposed to 42% of male teachers who served as Pathfinder leaders. Wayfarer detachments performed plays, attended regional rallies, and organized community events. The focus on first aid and sanitation led many Wayfarers to join the nursing profession.³⁸ Some detachments participated in activities that subversively challenged segregation. For example, a detachment of Wayfarers under the guidance of Dorothy Maud, a white missionary, performed “their own African stories” at Roedean, an exclusive private white girls’ school.³⁹

Moreover, the program encouraged black girls and women to take on leadership roles and gave them access to a missionary philanthropic network. The Wayfarer Council offered a few paid positions for African leaders and provided all leaders and members with material resources. The program taught participants leadership skills through the patrol system. Each adult Wayfarer leader guided a detachment of about thirty girls that was divided into small groups known as patrols. Two girls led each patrol.⁴⁰ Maud described the benefits of the patrol system: “Native leadership can be developed here by training various girls to shoulder responsibility and teach the younger ones as they come into the movement.”⁴¹ The Association paid for Wayfarers’ badges and helped them pursue jobs in domestic work, teaching, and nursing. Though Wayfarers promised members citizenship in the Empire laden with responsibilities yet free of any concrete rights, it enabled women and girls who participated to imagine belonging to a community that valued and rewarded their service.⁴²

³⁷ Parsons, *Race, Resistance, and the Boy Scout Movement*, 7-8; Perham, *African Apprenticeship*, 49; Lily P. Moya, Mabel Palmer, Sibusisiwe Makhanya, and Shula Marks, *Not Either an Experimental Doll: The Separate Worlds of Three South African Women: Correspondence of Lily Moya, Mabel Palmer, and Sibusisiwe Makhanya* (Durban: Killie Campbell Africana Library, 1987), 9.

³⁸ Gaitskell, “Upward Play,” 227, 236; Phillips, *The Bantu in the City*, 136, 142.

³⁹ Audrey, *Peace-Making in South Africa*, 48.

⁴⁰ Mrs. M. E. Whyte, Girl Wayfarer Association of South Africa; “Wayfarers in the Cape Province,” 114; *Girl Wayfarers’ Association*, 10; “Wayfarers in the Cape Province,” 113.

⁴¹ Dorothy Maud, “The Daughters of the Golden City,” *Journal of the Royal African Society* 32, no. 129 (October 1933): 385.

⁴² *Girl Wayfarers’ Association*, 10; Deborah Gaitskell, “‘Christian Compounds for Girls’: Church Hostels for African Women in Johannesburg, 1907-1970,” *Journal of Southern African Studies* 6, no. 1 (1979): 44-69; “Faith Maqubela,” Legal Resources Centre Oral History Project, July 10, 2008, Historical Papers, William Cullen Library University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, South Africa, <http://www.historicalpapers.wits.ac.za/?inventory/U/collections&c=AG3298/R/> (accessed October 23, 2011).

The Girl Guides Abandon the White-Only Ideal of Citizenship

In the late 1930s, the South African Girl Guide Association became more receptive to public appearances with Wayfarers. Their white-only policy had come under increasing international scrutiny and their campaign to recruit Afrikaners had failed. In 1930, A. Exley, a Provincial Wayfarer Superintendent, campaigned in England for the incorporation of Wayfarers into the international Guide movement and Edith Rheinallt Jones petitioned the World Guide Headquarters for recognition. Though headquarters directed Jones to file her petition directly to the GGASA, the international attention the incident generated embarrassed the South African Girl Guide officialdom. When in 1931 Afrikaners officially founded their own scouting movement, the Voortrekkers, the Guide Association began to host joint rallies with Wayfarers and opened negotiations for a possible merger between the two organizations.⁴³

In January 1936, the two Associations reached an agreement that permitted non-Western girls to enter the international Guide movement and gradually become equal members. The agreement incorporated the President of Wayfarers as the Vice President of the Guide Association and reserved seven seats of the South African Girl Guides Headquarters Council for Wayfarer officers. African members initially would become Wayfarer Guides, retain their uniform, and follow the Wayfarer program. In nine years, African girls would become Girl Guides with the same uniform, badges, and name as their white counterparts.⁴⁴

Edith Rheinallt Jones had fought for over a decade for the inclusion of Africans in the Girl Guide movement. During negotiations, she served as head spokesperson for the Wayfarers. Yet she refused to accept the final merger. Jones believed the final agreement benefited white Girl Guides far more than African Wayfarers. She resented that the merger required Wayfarers eventually to follow the secular Guiding program that Baden-Powell had developed. Jones wanted Wayfarers to remain a segregated Christian branch of the Girl Guide Association and insisted that the governance of the Girl Guide Association include African leaders.⁴⁵ To prove her point, she nominated an African Wayfarer representative to the Girl Guide Council. When her colleagues rejected her nomination, she began to encourage the Wayfarer Council to vote against the merger. Nonetheless, the Girl Guide and Wayfarer Councils agreed to the merger.

Before the merger had been finalized, the negotiations were leaked to the

⁴³ Parsons, *Race, Resistance, and the Boy Scout Movement*, 99; Proctor, "A Separate Path," 617.

⁴⁴ Parsons, *Race, Resistance, and the Boy Scout Movement*, 100; Tatham, "Guiding with Africans in the Transvaal," 10.

⁴⁵ Parsons, *Race, Resistance, and the Boy Scout Movement*, 100; Proctor, "A Separate Path," 622-623.

press. In response, many Dutch Reform churches threatened to disband Wayfarer companies and the Boy Scout Association complained to Baden-Powell that the agreement was far too liberal.⁴⁶ At this point, Jones decided that rather than join the Girl Guides like the other provincial Wayfaring organizations, she would maintain a separate organization: the Girl Wayfarers Association of Transvaal [GWAT]. The rest of the provincial representatives of the Wayfarers Council, who had all favored incorporation, resented Jones's decision. One article pointed out, "It is cutting at the root of democratic rule if any minority, finding its views unacceptable to other parts of the country, carries on as if no decision were taken."⁴⁷

Consequentially, most Anglican missionaries in the Transvaal, the province under Jones's authority, decided to defect from the GWAT and join the Girl Guides. Many, especially those from Britain, had always believed Wayfarers to be an inferior program to Girl Guides. Clare Lawrence, one of the missionary Wayfarer leaders who defected to the Girl Guides, accounted in an oral interview that she had always believed the Wayfarers to be a sort of training program for domestic work rather leadership.⁴⁸ Thus, Wayfarers and Girl Guides competed for membership and coexisted among African girls in the Transvaal from 1936 onwards.⁴⁹

Not only did the merger split the leadership of the Wayfarers and the cohesion of scouting in the Transvaal, it also provoked an outcry from the white community and many officers in GGASA. Most of the Afrikaners who remained in Girl Guides defected. By 1957, Afrikaner girls represented only 2% of the Guide movement. Many Transvaal officers resigned. Parents complained, and journalists published incendiary editorials. One letter from an "Interested Father" demonstrates the scare tactics that critics of the merger employed: "And I wonder if sisterhood in training camps will extend to joint use of tents, beds, cooking, utensils and bathing pools."⁵⁰ Another "Father of Guides" threatened that if the amalgamation occurred, "we shall watch the inevitable dissolution of the Guide movement with regret."⁵¹ Critics feared that the merger would incite native unrest and might lead to miscegenation. One journalist warned, "If the social barrier is removed by the Guide organization, how has that mother the right to say at home, 'You may not play with the little black boy in the yard.'"⁵²

⁴⁶ Parsons, *Race, Resistance, and the Boy Scout Movement*, 100.

⁴⁷ "Transvaal Girl Wayfarer Association," *South African Outlook* (October 1937): 221.

⁴⁸ Gaitskell, "Upward Play," 236; Audrey, *Peace-Making in South Africa*, 17.

⁴⁹ Parsons, *Race, Resistance, and the Boy Scout Movement*, 100, 225; Hannah Stanton, *Go Well, Stay Well*, 50; Phillips, *The Bantu in the City*, 301.

⁵⁰ "Natives Can Be Girl Guides," *Rand Daily Mail* 6 (February 6, 1936), 14.

⁵¹ "Guide Movement Facing Crisis: Amalgamation with Wayfarers Would Kill It," *Rand Daily Mail* (February 8, 1936), 14.

⁵² Proctor, "'A Separate Path,'" 624; Sheila Patterson, *The Last Trek: A Study of the Boer People and the Afrikaner Nation* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1957), 265; "Commissioners Resign: Dangers of Amalgamation Stressed by Objectors," *Rand Daily Mail* 7 (February 7, 1936).

Olave Baden-Powell refused to give in to the critics. She asserted, "Though not completely supported by some sections in the Transvaal and elsewhere, the Girl Guide Headquarters cannot break faith with its members and treat as 'a scrap of paper' the agreement which was ratified last month." With impending war in Europe and active anti-colonial nationalisms emerging across the Empire, Olave believed that if she did not stand up to the criticism, the growing number of non-Western Guide leaders and Guides in Asia, Africa, New Zealand, and the Atlantic would lose faith in the international promises of the movement. She asked officers who condemned the amalgamation to resign and insisted that the opposition to the decision was confined to South Africa, "But quite definitely I wish to refute the catch phrase, that the Guide Association is 'split from top to bottom.'"⁵³ Robert Baden-Powell, who had just reached a far more conservative agreement with Pathfinders, supported his wife's position and reassured the press, "This comradeship of the Scout and Guide movement will contribute to an improved mutual relationship between the different elements in the population."⁵⁴

Competition and Cooperation: Girl Guides and the Transvaal Wayfarers

After Jones held out against the officer corps of the Guides and the majority of the Wayfarer Council, she stressed the adaptation approach that taught African girls that their role in the Empire was as obedient missionaries of Western culture and Christian religion. Annual conferences, literature, and public performances featured Christian themes, exhibited British patriotism, and demonstrated African traditions that met the Association's Christian standards. A 1941 report claimed the purpose of Wayfarers was "to meet the special needs of those who, with an ancestral heritage from tribal Africa, seek to blend the best from the ancestral heritage with the new life which the coming of Christianity has opened to them."⁵⁵ Moreover, Jones redoubled her efforts to popularize the movement in rural areas. She encouraged Wayfarer leaders to conduct "experiments in the replacement of heathen initiations for girls by modern health and social training."⁵⁶ In response to Jones's wishes, a few white Wayfarer leaders in the Northern Transvaal in the early forties set up Wayfarer camps to replace the "degrading teaching" of the traditional initiation schools and

⁵³ "No Split in Guide Association: Lady Baden-Powell Regrets Resignations," *Rand Daily Mail* 7 (February 7, 1936).

⁵⁴ Proctor, "'A Separate Path,'" 623-625; Parsons, *Race, Resistance, and the Boy Scout Movement*, 100; Robert Baden-Powell, "A New Development in the Scout Movement in South Africa," *Journal of the Royal African Society* 35, no. 141 (October 1936): 371.

⁵⁵ Quoted in Gaitskell, "Upward Play," 252.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

“native” handicrafts and dances altered to comply with Christian principles became popular activities at meetings.⁵⁷

Under Jones’s influence and after her death in 1944, the all white governing council of the GWAT continued to adhere to an adaptationist, evangelical program that celebrated Christianity, allowed for local interpretations, and did not demand that participants meet the exact badge requirements. In the first conference held after Jones’s death on May 26, 1945, an officer of the Council remarked, “It has been touching to hear that many heathen children have learnt their first prayer—the Wayfarer prayer—listening on the outskirts of Detachments—and the parents are beginning to link up Wayfaring with Church life.”⁵⁸ The Council encouraged the use of vernaculars and accepted detachments under men or detachments that mixed Pathfinders and Wayfarers. As each white Wayfarer officer ran numerous detachments over a large geographical expanse simultaneously, African women ran the everyday administration of detachments with little oversight.⁵⁹ Jones’s efforts to create a program specifically tailored to the needs of the African girl had a lasting legacy over Wayfarers and initially ensured that it would attract far more members than Girl Guides.⁶⁰

Because of the leadership of Jones and its rhetoric of conversion and adaptation, Wayfaring gained the support of educationalists and missionaries.⁶¹ Jones worked tirelessly to ensure the expansion of the Wayfarers and its presence in African girlhood. Girl Guiding lacked a similar advocate and thus had a very small presence among Africans in the Transvaal.⁶² Throughout the early forties, Guide officers attempted to encourage more white women to become involved.⁶³ Their efforts achieved little. Guides never found a leader able to compete with Jones or her legacy, whom Alan Paton described as “the best-known white woman in the whole of South Africa, and one of the best loved too.”⁶⁴ Jones commanded a loyal corps of white officers, many of whom had worked for Wayfarers since 1925, African leaders,

⁵⁷ Gaitskell, “Upward Play,” 240, 246, 252, 254; “Photograph: Wayfarers at Mocapoo,” 5; *Girl Wayfarers’ Association: Annual Report 1945-1946*; “Photograph: Wayfarers in Johannesburg, Transvaal, Celebrated the Coronation of King George VI,” *Listen* 6, no. 5 (September-October 1937): 3; “Photograph: Wayfarers at Mocapoo,” *Listen* 6, no. 1 (January –February 1937), 5.

⁵⁸ Minutes of a Meeting of the Wayfarer Council Held in the Rooms of the Methodist Church, Pretoria, May 26, 1945.

⁵⁹ Cobley, *The Rules of the Game*, 83; Paton, “Prologue: ‘A Deep Experience,’” 54-60

⁶⁰ Cobley, *The Rules of the Game*, 83. By 1956 there were 36,000 girls enrolled in the Wayfarer Association.

⁶¹ Gaitskell, “Upward Play,” 250.

⁶² Gaitskell, “Upward Play,” 251; Tatham, “Guiding with Africans in the Transvaal,” 10; Phillips, *The Bantu in the City*, 301; “South Africa,” *Report of the Commission on Native Education, 1949-1951* (Pretoria: Government Printer, 1951).

⁶³ Tatham, “Guiding with Africans in the Transvaal,” 10-11.

⁶⁴ Paton, “Prologue: ‘A Deep Experience,’” 55.

and liberal educationalists and missionaries.⁶⁵

White Girl Guide leaders in the Transvaal also failed to attract African volunteers and participants. Unlike the GWAT, Girl Guide leaders boasted that they strictly adhered to the program outlined in the handbook. This meant, to become a Guide, a girl had to demonstrate understanding of the Promise, Laws, and the British and South African flags. To the frustration of white leaders, only knot tying and camping seemingly came easily to African girls. In 1940, a white Guide leader complained that after testing over 100 African girls she could only enroll twenty as official Guides as “the standard cannot be lowered and the Tenderfoot test must be known.”⁶⁶ The strict standards of Girl Guides discouraged many girls and women from joining. Thus, Wayfarers, though it adhered to the adaptation approach, functioned to attract more black women and girls than the Guides would in the Transvaal, especially in the rural regions that soon would become the Bantustans or designated African homelands of apartheid South Africa.

Despite their different approaches and competitive attitudes towards recruitment, Guide companies and Wayfarer detachments also cooperated together, especially within urban areas. Rallies, inspections, and camps generally incorporated both Guides and Wayfarers. Memoirs of participants living in townships portray Wayfarers and Girl Guides as united on a mission to distract African girls from nefarious influences of urban living.⁶⁷ For example, in the 1930s, three mission stations located in African townships outside of Pretoria and Johannesburg, *Ekutuleni*, “House of Peacemaking” in Sophiatown; *Lesedling*, “House of Light” in Orlando; and *Tumelong*, “Place of Faith” in the Lady Selborne Township, became centers of scouting, both Wayfaring and Girl Guiding. Before the merger between these organizations, Wayfarers had been very strong at *Ekutuleni*. In 1933, Dorothy Maud described, “Ekutuleni possesses nine detachments of Wayfarers and Sunbeams, in which the children are led through team games, team drilling and various instructions towards the ideal of serving and helping other people in their own homes and outside.”⁶⁸ After the merger of Girl Guides and Wayfarers in 1936, companies of Guides began to appear in the townships, and white Guides took a more active interest in African scouting.⁶⁹ Wayfarer detachments started to work with Guide companies to arrange performances. For example, every Sunday at the Tumelong Mission, Girl Guides and Wayfarers staged a procession that marched up

⁶⁵ Paton, “Prologue: ‘A Deep Experience,’” 54-56, 57, 59; Gaitskell, “Upward Play,” 253; Brookes, *In Appreciation of the Life of John David Rheinallt Jones*, 18.

⁶⁶ Tatham, “Guiding with Africans in the Transvaal,” 10.

⁶⁷ Clive Glaser, *Bo-Tsotsi: The Youth Gangs of Soweto, 1935-1976* (Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann, 2000), 107.

⁶⁸ Maud, “The Daughters of the Golden City,” 385; Paton, *Apartheid and the Archbishop*, 123-124.

⁶⁹ Phillips, *The Bantu in the City*, 354.

and down the streets.⁷⁰ This cooperation also influenced the recruitment and training of African leaders. Because these missions were one of the few places that whites and blacks could work and live together legally during the early twentieth century, white Wayfarer and Guide leaders, mostly missionaries, worked together to develop trainings that enabled hundreds of African women to gain the skills and resources they needed to take scouting into new areas.⁷¹

Diverging Ideas of Citizenship: Girl Guides and Wayfarers Under Apartheid

Girl Guides and the Transvaal Wayfarers adopted very different tactics to survive under the Nationalist regime of apartheid. Guides encouraged Africans to understand themselves as citizens of an international community rather than of South Africa or one of the ten Bantustans. With the all-white referendum of 1960 and the resulting withdrawal of South Africa from the British Commonwealth in 1961, the GGASA publicly demonstrated its opposition to the government's conception of citizenship in which whites were the only true citizens and black South Africans belonged to one of the ten Bantustan Homelands even if they lived inside of South Africa proper.⁷² While the GGASA became increasingly vocal in the disapproval of the racial regime during the late sixties and seventies, the GWAT embraced the Nationalist program to place black South Africans under tribal authority in the government-invented homelands.⁷³

The GGASA began its policy of opposition at the inception of the Nationalist government. It first came under the suspicion of the government in 1948 when it hosted an interracial All-African Conference in Johannesburg.⁷⁴ In order to continue to host interracial gatherings and encourage interracial cooperation, it refused state and provincial funding. Olave Baden-Powell, the World Chief Guide until her death in 1977, pushed GGASA to continue to resist the mandates of apartheid and stress the importance of the Fourth Guide law no matter the consequences. In 1969, Olave provoked the censure of right-wing Afrikaners when she inspected an interracial rally. Even after the incident, she continued to encourage the Association to develop

⁷⁰ Stanton, *Go Well, Stay Well*, 51.

⁷¹ Audrey, *Peace-Making in South Africa*, 32-35, 56, 92, 103, 106; Stanton, *Go Well, Stay Well*, 35, 58, 104-105; Maud, 384. This was unusual as after the Nationalist victory in 1948, most missionaries no longer could live at the missions in the townships but had to commute daily.

⁷² Derek Heater, *Citizenship: The Civic Ideal in World History, Politics, and Education* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004), 116-117.

⁷³ Mahmood Mamdani, *Citizen and Subject: Contemporary Africa and the Legacy of Late Colonialism* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1996), 20, 94-95, 100-101, 293; Gaitskell, "Upward Play," 254.

⁷⁴ Sheila C. Patterson, *Colour and Culture in South Africa* (Routledge, 1953), 138; "News From the Far and Near: First All-Africa Girl Guide Conference Johannesburg," *Listen* 17, no. 7 (July 1948): 1.

cross-cultural programs that encouraged interracial relationships. Finally, in the 1970s, Olave's persistence paid off. The GGASA appointed a black delegate to represent South Africa at the 21st triennial World Conference in Toronto and developed the Guide Friendship Badge that required a girl to get to know a person of another race, learn twenty five words in the language of that person's community, and be able to describe the traditional customs and foods of that person's culture.⁷⁵

Moreover, many leaders and Guides followed Olave's lead and resisted at the local level. For example, after the Sharpeville massacre in 1960, the police arrested the white Guide leader Hannah Stanton because of her involvement in interracial training for Girl Guide and Wayfarer leaders. In the late sixties and seventies despite government oppression, an African Guider, Daphne Duduzile Tshabalala, organized Zulu classes for interested white leaders even though such informal interracial gatherings were illegal. In 1979, when the GGASA elected her as the South African Headquarters Advisor, the most powerful position in the GGASA, Tshabalala began to work with Guides of all races.⁷⁶

While the Guides did not go as far as to support integrated companies, when compared to the Boy Scouts their resistance to apartheid appears striking. Because the Boy Scouts had opted for a segregated federation of various scouting organizations that discouraged interracial cooperation, the government continued to fund Pathfinders and Boy Scouts throughout apartheid.⁷⁷ Moreover, the Boy Scouts developed a working relationship with the Voortrekkers during the thirties and continued to encourage white solidarity. These efforts were largely unsuccessful and damaged their relations with African, Indian, and Coloured scouting organizations in South Africa and other national Boy Scout Associations in Africa.⁷⁸ While Boy Scouts saw African Pathfinders as a thorn in its side that made it susceptible to charges of hypocrisy and discrimination, after 1936 Girl Guides publicly embraced African Guides as evidence of its liberal segregationist values. Parsons notes, "Where the SABS used the government's refusal to issue permits for interracial functions as an excuse to duck the Fourth Scout law, the Guides simply held their rallies without official permission."⁷⁹

The Wayfarers of Transvaal confronted apartheid in a radically different manner than the Girl Guides. Until the late 1950s, the Transvaal Wayfarers largely escaped the Nationalist government's radar even though it had expanded rapidly to

⁷⁵ Parsons, *Race, Resistance, and the Boy Scout Movement*, 219.

⁷⁶ Stanton, *Go Well, Stay Well*, 103-105, 179, 183-185; Ernest H.B. Mkize, "Daphne Duduzile Tshabalala," *Natalia* 13 (1983): 87-89.

⁷⁷ "South Africa," *Report of the Commission on Native Education, 1949-1951* (Pretoria: Government Printer, 1951), 94-95.

⁷⁸ Proctor, "'A Separate Path,'" 624; Walton, 479. Patterson, *The Last Trek*, 265.

⁷⁹ Parsons, *Race, Resistance, and the Boy Scout Movement*, 219. The government mandated that all organization that received state funding had to strictly adhere to apartheid laws.

over 600 schools or community centers by 1955. However, during this expansion, the movement had lost many of its founding white officers to retirement and with them went many of its financial backers. After the Group Areas Acts of the fifties that forced non-Westerners into underdeveloped regions designated for their race, the government pressured the remaining white officers to leave the Association and for African leaders to take their place. It seems that the government promised funding to the GWAT if they complied. Since the Transvaal Wayfarers had refused to merge with the Girl Guides in 1936, it had not received government funding, and without the network of its white officer corps and their financial connections it needed government funding to fuel its rapidly expanding organization. Thus, the GWAT complied with the government's demands. African Wayfarer leaders, most of whom had been involved in the movements since girlhood, replaced the white officer corps. White women could only participate as part of the advisory committee. They could no longer lead trainings, solicit funding, or organize detachments. The new African officers stressed self-help and attempted to encourage girls to work to develop their designated homelands. In retrospect, the actions of the Transvaal Wayfarer Association appear as willing collaboration with the apartheid regime. Gaitskell, however, offers an alternative viewpoint: "For many African girls the only game they were playing that mattered was the literal, energetic, team one."⁸⁰

Both the Wayfarers and Guides, despite their differing visions of citizenship, successfully attracted more African participants than their counterpart Pathfinders, which after 1936 was the African branch of the South African Boy Scout Association [SABSA]. More women, predominantly African teachers and principals, volunteered to lead companies and detachments, and thus more girls had the opportunity to participate.⁸¹ Some Wayfarer and Guide leaders and Guides, both white and black, became anti-apartheid activists.⁸² The popularity of scouting among African girls also may be attributed to the well-educated African women that encouraged African girls to embrace voluntary service and master necessary life skills such as first aid, nutrition, and hygiene.⁸³

Available records show that both Girl Guides and Wayfarers empowered

⁸⁰ Gaitskell, "Upward Play," 257.

⁸¹ Glaser, *Bo-Tsotsi*, 107. "South Africa," *Report of the Commission on Native Education, 1949-1951* (Pretoria: Government Printer, 1951), 94.

⁸² Brian Stewart, "Eulogy June 2, 2009," in *A Virtual Novel Book About Port Alfred* (Kowie), 220, <http://www.kowietales.co.za/page220/> (accessed July 21, 2012); Candice Ludick, "Matriarch passes away," *Knysna-Plett Herald*, Thursday December 2, 2010, www.knysnaplett Herald.com/printnews.aspx?id=3095 (accessed July 26, 2012); Meghan Elisabeth Healy, "Mabel Christofersen, Inanda teacher, 1946-1980, Interviewed in Durban, 9 December 2008," Inanda Seminary Oral History Project, http://scholar.harvard.edu/mehealy/files/chistofersen_3.pdf (accessed July 26, 2012).

⁸³ Parsons, *Race, Resistance, and the Boy Scout Movement*, 219; Gaitskell, "Upward Play," 255; André Odendaal, *The Story of an African Game*. (Claremont, South Africa: DavidPhilip, 2003), 247.

African girls with a sense of belonging to a community of likeminded citizens before and during the apartheid era.⁸⁴ The uniform, especially the Guide uniform adopted after 1945 that white and black South African members wore, gave African participants a sense of equality, authority, and legitimacy. Eva Tatham, a white Guide leader, described the effect of the shared uniform: "Guiding has meant more than ever before to the African Guides, and has shown them that the Fourth Guide Law is a very real part of South African Guiding."⁸⁵ Though the Wayfarers in Transvaal continued to wear a different uniform, it still gave girls a sense of status especially because Bantustan schools rarely had uniforms and the Association paid for badges so that even poor Wayfarers could show achievements.⁸⁶

Former Wayfarers and Guides often testified that the sense of community the movements provided and the skills they learned helped them overcome the obstacles of adolescence and prepared them for the responsibilities of adulthood. A former Guide explained that Sunbeams, Wayfarers, and Girl Guides kept African girls who lived in townships from becoming involved with gangs and street violence.⁸⁷ Clare Lawrence, the founder of *Tumelong*, recalled at the mission's 1959 Anniversary celebration, "One girl came to see me the other day and told me how much she had learnt in Sunday School and Guides had trained her for life. Now she is a social worker among her own people."⁸⁸ An Annual Wayfarer's Report of 1964 asserted that many of its African leaders went on to hold positions of responsibility within their communities. One former Wayfarer officer credited the movement with her professional success working as an activist at the YWCA, South African Institute of Race Relations, and Legal Resources Centre.⁸⁹ The Free State premier from 1999 to 2004 who had been involved in the Guiding movement since 1942 and became the first African Chief Commissioner in 1992, Isabella "Winkie" Direko, explained, "Without a doubt, I owe my success to the education, training and support I received from the Girl Guides, particularly the courageous Guiding women who, while the black people were being controlled and repressed, encouraged and helped me to be strong and assertive, who inspired me to help others as I had been helped, and who gave me the courage to overcome all obstacles to triumph in the end."⁹⁰

⁸⁴ Cobley, *The Rules of the Game*, 84; Parsons, *Race, Resistance, and the Boy Scout Movement*, 26.

⁸⁵ Tatham, "Guiding with Africans in the Transvaal," 10; South African Federation of University Women, "Questionnaire from the World Bureau of Girl Guides and Girl Scouts," *Questionnaire on Secondary Education from World Bureau of Girl Guides* (1938): 1.

⁸⁶ Quoted in Gaitskell, "Upward Play," 239; Girl Wayfarers' Association, 10.

⁸⁷ Glaser, *Bo-Tsotsi*, 107.

⁸⁸ Audrey, *Peace-Making in South Africa*, 92, 97.

⁸⁹ Cobley, *The Rules of the Game*, 84; Lawrence Mathae, "A Jewel has Fallen from the Crown," *Free State Times*, February 24, 2012, <http://fstimes.co.za/?p=3600> (accessed July 21, 2012).

⁹⁰ Rosemary Swemmer, "Isabella 'Winkie' Direko," *Girl Guide Association of South Africa* (February 2012): 1-2, <http://africa.wagggsworld.org/en/grab/.../17-2012-isabella-winkie-direko.doc> (accessed July 26, 2012).

Often both Associations affected its members in ways that their designers never could have anticipated. In a short biography of Dolly Rathebe, a popular jazz singer who performed in film and at all-white clubs, Can Themba, one of the most prominent writers of the Sophiatown Renaissance of the fifties, recalled that she had been an “ardent girl guide and entered all the activities of the Girl Guide movement. She loved going on parade, going camping, or just going about the streets of Sophiatown in her smart, always neat, Girl Guide uniform.”⁹¹ Alan Cobley, a historian of South Africa, concludes that the Wayfarer program led to similar unanticipated results. He explains, “Those women and girls who participated in the Wayfarers Association did much to subvert and transform its intended objectives.”⁹² Though the programs of the Girl Guides and the Transvaal Wayfarers reflected the racial biases of their white liberal segregationist founders, some African girls and women used them to achieve greater prestige and respect in their communities.⁹³

Voortrekkers

At the time of the merger between Girl Guides and Wayfarers in 1936, most Afrikaner Guides had already left the Girl Guides to join Voortrekkers. Most of those who had not previously left did so after the merger. While the founders and first adult leaders wanted an all-white apolitical scouting program that embraced the Afrikaner identity and culture as the basis of South African citizenship, the movement by the late 1930s became politicized. It gradually abandoned its call of community service that it shared with the Wayfarers and Girl Guides for the increasingly violent rhetoric of the Broederbond and government.⁹⁴

Afrikaners never felt comfortable with the imperial aspects of Baden-Powell’s Scouting program. From its arrival in South Africa, Afrikaner women had developed local alternatives, yet none of these scouting initiatives grew into a national movement.⁹⁵ In the 1920s, Dr. C. F. Visser, a member of the Broederbond in the Orange Free State and Dr. J. V. Hesse in the Cape Province developed a scouting program for Afrikaner boys. Martha Mabel Jansen, an Afrikaner nationalist, author, and suffragette, adapted the program for girls. In 1931, the movement became

⁹¹ Can Themba and Essop Patel, *The World of Can Themba* (Johannesburg, South Africa: Ravan Press, 1990), 180.

⁹² Cobley, *The Rules of the Game*, 84.

⁹³ Cobley, *The Rules of the Game*, 84; Glaser, *Bo-Tsotsi*, 107.

⁹⁴ Parsons, *Race, Resistance, and the Boy Scout Movement*, 94-95; Patrick J. Furlong, *Between Crown and Swastika*, 224; Moodie, *The Rise of Afrikanerdom*, 151; Human Sciences Research Council, *Women Marching into the 21st Century: Wathint’ Abafazi, Wathint’ Imbokodo* (Pretoria: Human Sciences Research Council, 2000), 249-250

⁹⁵ “Girl Guides: The Transvaal Corps,” 4.

official, made its headquarters in Bloemfontein, and chose its name in honor of the Boer pioneers of the Great Trek. Martha Jansen became the deputy leader of the girls' branch. Because of the network of women activists Jansen brought with her and the movement's connection with the Broederbond and Afrikaner politicians and government officials, Voortrekkers grew quickly.⁹⁶

In many ways the Voortrekker program resembled that of the Girl Guides and Wayfarers. Members wore similar uniforms, recited a promise that encouraged participants to serve their God, nation, and neighbor, learned songs and dances, earned badges, attended camps and rallies, and organized community projects. Like the Wayfarer movement, the Voortrekker hoped members would grow up to be ambassadors of Western civilization and Christian values to what one Voortrekker called "barbarous southern Africa."⁹⁷ Unlike Girl Guides and Wayfarers, Voortrekkers taught participants that only white Christians who spoke the Afrikaner language could become true citizens of South Africa. Its handbook, only published in Afrikaans, encouraged members to help all people, but also stressed, "Our nation is the Afrikaner nation. Its color is white, its language and culture Afrikaans, its land South Africa.... My fellow-man is the person near me. He is in the first place the person within my nation who shares my beliefs, my history, my language and culture. He is Afrikaner like me."⁹⁸

Despite the wishes of its founders, the Voortrekkers grew into an overtly politicized youth movement bent on building the defensive capacity of future South African citizens.⁹⁹ The Voortrekkers' participation in the 1938 centenary of the Great Trek cemented its ties to the National Party. South African photographer, David Goldblatt and the prominent South African art critic, Neville Dubow, explain, "The ardour and unity generated by the 1938 trek swept the National Party to power in 1948 and helped keep it there for forty years."¹⁰⁰ By the 1940s, Voortrekkers had become a prominent feature of *volksfeeste* or Afrikaner folk festivals. After the Nationalists rose to power in 1948, the government heavily subsidized the Voortrekkers, and many members of the government and their wives became leaders

⁹⁶ Ernest G. Malherbe, *Education in South Africa, 1923-75* (Cape Town: Juta, 1977), 400; Furlong, *Between Crown and Swastika*, 224; Patterson, *The Last Trek*, 265; Human Sciences Research Council, *Women Marching into the 21st Century*, 249-250.

⁹⁷ Pieter le Roux, "Growing Up Afrikaner," in *Growing Up in a Divided Society: The Contexts of Childhood in South Africa*, edited by Sandra Burman and Pamela Reynolds (Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1986), 190.

⁹⁸ David Goldblatt and Neville Dubow, *South Africa*, 247; World Association of Girl Guides and Girl Scouts, *Trefoil Around the World: Girl Guiding and Girl Scouting in Many Lands* (World Association of Girl Guides and Girl Scouts, 1967), 227;

⁹⁹ Goodwin and Schiff, *Heart of Whiteness*, 129; Harrison, *The White Tribe of Africa*, 202; Wilkins and Strydom, *The Broederbond*, 65.

¹⁰⁰ Wilkins and Strydom, *The Broederbond*, 105; Goldblatt and Dubow, *South Africa*, 183, 247; Giliomee, *The Afrikaners*, 170; Robert Harvey, *The Fall of Apartheid*, 42-43; Moodie, *The Rise of Afrikanerdom*, 183.

in the movement.¹⁰¹

By the Sharpeville Massacre in 1960, the Voortrekker girls' scouting program reflected the militarization of Afrikaner society. It had become a training ground not only for the dutiful wives of future Broederbond members, but also for future warriors equipped with the military skills to defend their family and society.¹⁰² Hettie V., a Voortrekker during the sixties and seventies, recalls, "We learned about politics, basic survival, how to operate a two-way radio, how to do first aid. It was designed to fit us into a civil defense system." During the Soweto Uprising of 1976, when her school armed student patrols to guard the school and surrounding community, Hettie felt Voortrekkers, with their experiences with guns and mock wars, would have an advantage on their classmates if they were forced to defend the school.¹⁰³

Hettie's experiences were typical. The average Voortrekker camp included not only outdoor living skills but also political sessions.¹⁰⁴ After the Soweto Uprising, girls who attended camp had contact with soldiers of the South African Defense Force (SADF) and learned "how to detonate a landmine, fire the Kalashnikov AK-47 assault rifle, the LMG machine gun, the R-1 rifle, and the RPG rocket."¹⁰⁵ At a political session of the Voortrekker Easter Competition Camp that journalist David Harrison filmed, a group of campers defended minority rule in South Africa: "From one innocent young Afrikaner after another came the same answers. Our system is different. It is wrong that the outside world should see us as one country because here there are different *volk* with different identities."¹⁰⁶ Even the badgework became politicized. To attain the highest level, *Staatmakers*, girls had to demonstrate "a sound understanding for the political situation of South Africa" to a member of the Nationalist Party.¹⁰⁷

Critics of the Voortrekkers compared it to the Hitler Youth. By the early 1980s, journalists and former members who had become involved in anti-apartheid politics claimed Voortrekkers had direct ties to the Broederbond. The *Federasie van Afrikaanse Kultuurverenigings* (FAK), the public cultural wing of the Broederbond, oversaw and funded the organization. Ivor Wilkins and Hans Strydom, reporters who exposed the

¹⁰¹ Malherbe, *Education in South Africa, 1923-75*, 400, 402; Furlong, *Between Crown and Swastika*, 224; le Roux, "Growing Up Afrikaner," 191; Moodie, *The Rise of Afrikanerdom*, 20.

¹⁰² Jacklyn Cock and Laurie Nathan, *War and Society: The Militarisation of South Africa* (Cape Town: D. Philip, 1989), 53, 289; John D. Brewer, *After Soweto: An Unfinished Journey* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986), 5.

¹⁰³ Russell, *Lives of Courage*, 281.

¹⁰⁴ Elaine Unterhalter, "Women Soldiers and White Unity in Apartheid South Africa," in *Images of Women in Peace and War: Cross-Cultural and Historical Perspectives*, edited by Sharon Macdonald, Pat Holden, and Shirley Ardener (Madison, Wis: University of Wisconsin Press, 1988), 100-121.

¹⁰⁵ Brewer, *After Soweto*, 5.

¹⁰⁶ Harrison, *The White Tribe of Africa*, 201.

¹⁰⁷ Harrison, *The White Tribe of Africa*, 202. For a personal recollection see Russell, *Lives of Courage*, 282.

extent of the Broederbond's control, suggest that the Broederbond may have used Voortrekker gatherings as fronts to hide their secret meetings. Others inside and outside the Movement believed that the Broederbond chose its members from among the best performing male Voortrekkers.¹⁰⁸

Unlike male Voortrekkers who could hope "to join the ranks of the Super-Afrikaners" and use their military skills in combat missions against anti-colonial activists in Namibia and South Africa, female Voortrekker only exercised their leadership skills as troop leaders, lower officers with the organization, and behind the scenes labor in the SADF.¹⁰⁹ This may account for why Afrikaner boys joined Voortrekkers in higher numbers than girls.¹¹⁰ Even in the 1970s, when the government opened the Army Women's College and allowed women to participate in the commandos of the SADF, many leadership roles remained closed to them because they were not allowed to participate in combat.¹¹¹ Because Voortrekkers continues today, its history remains contested and closely guarded making it difficult to determine how its politicization under apartheid affected the girls who joined. The former Voortrekkers who have published their experiences did so as part of anti-apartheid compilations in the late eighties and early nineties.¹¹² Clearly, more research is needed. Nonetheless, the evidence available suggests that female Voortrekkers rarely gained the empowerment and encouragement to succeed from scouting that African Wayfarers and Guides did.

Conclusion

After apartheid ended and the Commonwealth readmitted South Africa, the differences between the three scouting organizations for girls became less overt. Wayfarers gradually subsumed into Girl Guides, which has continued its message of international citizenship. GGASA began to emphasize South Africa's African roots,

¹⁰⁸ Wilkins and Strydom, *The Broederbond*, 271, 394; le Roux, "Growing Up Afrikaner," 189, 191; Russell, *Lives of Courage*, 280-281; Harrison, *The White Tribe of Africa*, 201; Malherbe, *Education in South Africa, 1923-75*, 400.

¹⁰⁹ Elaine Unterhalter, "Women Soldiers and White Unity in Apartheid South Africa," in *Images of Women in Peace and War: Cross-Cultural and Historical Perspectives*, edited by Sharon Macdonald, Pat Holden, and Shirley Ardener (Madison, Wis: University of Wisconsin Press, 1988), 100-121; Wilkins and Strydom, *The Broederbond*, 419; Malherbe, *Education in South Africa, 1923-75*, 400.

¹¹⁰ Wilkins and Strydom, *The Broederbond*, 419; Malherbe, *Education in South Africa, 1923-75*, 400. By 1972, Voortrekkers included over 35,000 members, 46% of whom were girls.

¹¹¹ Unterhalter, "Women Soldiers and White Unity in Apartheid South Africa," 100-121; Cock and Nathan, *War and Society*, 62-63.

¹¹² Le Roux, "Growing Up Afrikaner," 184-207; Russell, *Lives of Courage*, 201, 201

though it has continued to acknowledge its British connections.¹¹³ The Voortrekker movement has remained committed to teaching youth the values of Christianity and the Afrikaner language, culture, and history; yet rhetorically, it has conformed to the multicultural nation of South Africa.¹¹⁴

The histories of these three scouting movements before and during apartheid in South Africa demonstrate the complex issues that citizenship youth training programs unearth. The movements shared a common purpose—to prepare girls for the responsibilities and obstacles that society would foist upon them during adolescence and adulthood. In the early thirties, their programs taught many of the same skills, encouraged members to engage in similar activities, and portrayed citizenship as a list of communal obligations. Despite their similar programs and purpose, each movement differently conceptualized the imagined community which members would take responsibility for in the future.

For Girl Guides, they initially wanted to promote a white imperial citizenship that would unite Afrikaner and British girls and women in friendship and cooperation. The Wayfarer movement mixed the Girl Guides' ideals of imperial citizenship with Christianity and the adaptationist education theories popular among liberal segregationists. Voortrekkers envisioned members as future citizens of a white Afrikaner nation.

From the late thirties to the late fifties, the movements' ideals of citizenship diverged more sharply. Edith Rheinallt Jones molded the Transvaal Wayfarer program to reflect what she and other white liberal segregationists believed to be the unique needs of African girls in order to justify her refusal to accept the merger between Girl Guides and the Wayfarers after her years of petitions. Until apartheid and the legalization of the Afrikaner idea of a white South Africa, Girl Guides and Wayfarers embraced a similar ideal of citizenship to an imperial community. During the late fifties and early sixties, Wayfarers abandoned this model and became an organization run by African women primarily living in the homelands. They encouraged girls to see themselves as members of their parents' communities with the responsibility to improve conditions through Christian service. The imperial

¹¹³ Proctor, "A Separate Path," 623; "Who's Who," Girl Guides of South Africa, http://www.girlguides.org.za/index.php?option=com_content&view=category&layout=blog&id=45&Itemid=77 (accessed July 26, 2012); Kathy Heath, District, "Cape West Region-Cape Peninsula: Jubilee Celebrations at Cape Pen," *Girl Guides of South Africa*, June 6, 2012, http://www.girlguides.org.za/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=165&Itemid=156 (accessed July 26, 2012).

¹¹⁴ Rudi Prinsloo, "Praag Celebrates New ANC-Afrikaner Entente," *praag.co.uk. South Africa's premier news site*, Saturday, April 4, 2009, <http://praag.co.uk/news/southern-africa/340-praag-celebrates-new-anc-afrikaner-entente.html> (accessed July 26, 2012); "Voortrekker Group Upset About 'Pink' Event," *Independent Online*, August 18 2009, <http://www.iol.co.za/news/south-africa/voortrekker-group-upset-about-pink-event-1.455568#.UBLhyHBht10> (accessed July 26, 2012).

legacies of Girl Guides diminished with the convergence of the rise of apartheid and the decolonization of the Empire. Through its rhetoric, interracial rallies, and policy to accept the election of African leaders to positions of power, the GGASA began to stress global citizenship.

The observations and recollections of former leaders and members of Wayfarers and Girl Guides, despite their different models of citizenship, stress the empowerment their scouting experiences gave them in their adult lives. That a greater percentage of African girls and women were involved in these two movements as compared to Pathfinders (the only scouting program that was available to non-Western South African Boys) confirms these interviews and reports. Moreover, both movements offered paid positions to African women at the officer level. The Voortrekker movement, with its exclusive Afrikaner definition of citizenship, was a predominately male scouting organization that marginalized girls and women from leadership roles. With apartheid and the growing militarization of South Africa, Voortrekkers stressed citizens as defenders of white power. Though girls like Hettie V. of the epigraph felt a sense of physical power through the weaponry skills they learned at camp from a young age, the movement's connections to the all male Broederbond and the prohibitions placed on women in it, the government, and the SADF provided girls with few opportunities to see women accomplish the responsibilities that they understood Afrikaner citizenship to demand from men and women. Still, further research is needed to clarify the extent that the Voortrekkers, Girl Guides, and Wayfarers' conceptions of citizenship diverged during the apartheid era and, since the demise of apartheid, intersected.

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