

**'COERCIVE AGENCY':
JAMES HENDERSON'S LOVEDALE,
1906-1930**

by

GRAHAM ALEXANDER DUNCAN

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PROMOTER: PROF WA SAAYMAN

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Student Number : 3053-918-8

I declare that “Coercive Agency: James Henderson’s Lovedale, 1906-1930” is my own work and that all the sources that I have used or quoted have been indicated by means of complete references.

Graham A. Dunca
SIGNATURE

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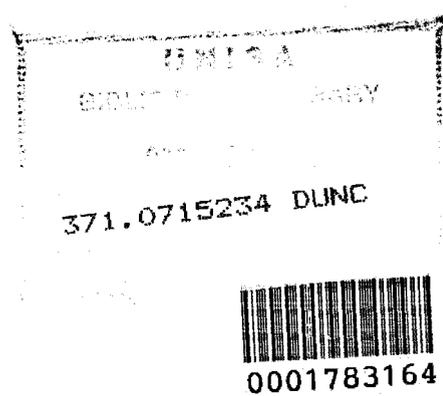


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SUMMARY

Any society is by nature coercive and its institutions are no exception. This was true of mission institutions in South Africa. While acknowledging the invaluable contribution of mission education to the development of black South Africans predominantly, it is clear that Lovedale Missionary Institution exemplifies the concept and reality of a 'total institution' which was as susceptible to the problems of power relations as any institution, secular or religious. Idris Shah's concept of 'coercive agency' is apposite for this study. Lovedale's foundation was laid and developed by the first two Principals. In a very real sense, it was perfected by the third Principal of Lovedale, James Henderson who, like his predecessors, emphasised the ultimate aim of conversion through a thorough process of character formation which infiltrated every aspect of life at Lovedale, especially discipline and the programme of industrial education. Those who studied there internalised its ethos in a manner which could not simply be discarded on leaving the Institution for it had become part of their identity, their indigenous personality and traditional life-style having been largely obliterated and reconstructed according to the ideological ideals of western Christian civilisation and European colonialism. Coercive agency was successful in that it effectively encouraged adaptation to missionary ideology. However, this was not an irreversible process for many Lovedale students came to reject the mores of the religion and education they received both during their stay at Lovedale and in later life in a variety of ways as they challenged and resisted the effects of the coercive agency of internalisation. Institutionalisation is, by nature, resistant to change as can be seen in the policies of the respective Principals. Yet, Henderson was able to initiate change while maintaining essential continuity of purpose. Consequently, black people were alienated by a process of 'exclusion'. The Christian principles of justice, love and peace have a universal application and are appropriate tools for the development of a new model of education in South African society whose mission is to work towards reconciliation between individuals, within society and with the God who wishes to 'embrace' the totality of creation.

KEY TERMS:

Character formation, coercive agency, conversion, embrace, exclusion, William Govan, hegemony, James Henderson, ideology, industrial education, institutionalisation, Lovedale, mission education, power, resistance, James Stewart, total institutions, symbolic universes

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 The University of South Africa Library, Pretoria

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ABBREVIATIONS

AICs	-	African Initiated Churches
ANC	-	African National Congress
BPCSA	-	Bantu Presbyterian Church of South Africa
CE	-	Christian Express
CMS	-	Church Missionary Society (Church of England)
Cory	-	Cory Library for Historical Research
EPCSA	-	Evangelical Presbyterian Church of Southern Africa
FCoS	-	Free Church of Scotland
FMC	-	Foreign Mission Committee of the FCoS
GMCSA	-	General Missionary Conference of South Africa
GMS	-	Glasgow Missionary Society
IMC	-	International Missionary Conference
IRM	-	International Review of Mission
JTSA	-	Journal of Theology for Southern Africa
KE	-	Kaffir Express
LMI, Lovedale	-	Lovedale Missionary Institution
LMS	-	London Missionary Society
NEA	-	Native Educational Association
PCA	-	Presbyterian Church of Africa
PCSA	-	Presbyterian Church of South Africa
RPCSA	-	Reformed Presbyterian Church in Southern Africa
SANAC	-	South African Native Affairs Commission
SANNC	-	South African Native National Congress
SAO	-	South African Outlook
UNISA	-	University of South Africa

CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 The Aim of the Study

This thesis is an attempt to explore the concept of 'coercive agency' as it is described in the writings of Idris Shah (1968:197-199). While Shah's primary concern is with the internalisation of coercive agency, and it will be argued that cannot be separated from its externalised expression, our primary concern will be to examine its effects in the policy of James Henderson, Principal of Lovedale Missionary Institution, during the period, 1906-1930. Henderson did not come to Lovedale as a *tabula rasa* nor did he find such at Lovedale. He himself was well experienced in educational matters and, by 1906, Lovedale was already a well-established institution, with a clear ethos which had been developed over a period of more than sixty years by Henderson's predecessors, William Govan and James Stewart. Lovedale was regarded throughout Southern Africa as the pre-eminent educational establishment. Robert Ross, Inspector General in the Cape Colony described 'the Institution as a whole [a]s the greatest educational establishment in South Africa' (De Kock 1968:77; cf. Baur 1994, Burchell 1976, Christie 1985, De Kock 1992, Du Plessis 1911, Hastings 1994, Hewat 1960, Hinchliffe 1968, Hofmeyer & Pillay [ed.] 1994, Landman 1998, Lennox 1903, Lyon 1998, Matthews 1981, Maylam 1986, Murray 1929, Peires 1979, Saayman 1996, Switzer 1993):

Lovedale has been the pioneer and is the pioneer, essential to Native advancement, opening the doors for the others and we have to pay the price for the distinction of this more difficult service. If Lovedale had no High School, there would be no Native High School in the Union of South Africa, and no stepping stone to the Native College, and preparatory course for the ministry and for medicine obtainable, except by private study and the partial sidewind of a teachers' training ((NLS MS 7814, Henderson to Ashcroft, 10 June 1924:80).

It will be argued that Lovedale was governed from a definite ideological perspective, that of western Christian civilisation, and that its leaders were, to a greater or lesser degree representatives of that worldview:

missionaries brought a totally contextualised European worldview to South Africa. They did not merely seek to supplant African traditional religion but brought that as part of a wider ideologically based perspective on life and all its implications - social, political, economic and cultural (Duncan 1997:5-6).

This had both good and bad aspects but, unfortunately, due to generations of hagiographical research and study, the good has been over-emphasised to a degree out of proportion to its balanced worth.

This is not a study in the pure revisionist mould seeking to uncover the place of those on the underside of history though the views and concerns of such participants, where they are available, will be used to contribute to a well-rounded picture of the Lovedale of the period. The study is more concerned to establish Lovedale as a ‘total institution’ in sociological perspective and to show that it conformed to this definition, despite being of Christian origin and orientation, and to demonstrate that it was as susceptible to the problems of power relations as any institution, and that it produced graduates who remained subject to its ethos long after they left the Institution¹.

It will be argued that while Henderson was innovative in certain areas, to a considerable degree he followed the policy of his predecessor, James Stewart, and maintained the coercive and suffocating nature of the Institution. Stewart’s:

language reveals many of the preconceptions which operated throughout the [nineteenth] century and which were enforced as education on the subjects of missionary endeavour. After introducing the light-darkness idea almost as a literal fact, Stewart exerted his language even further: ‘[The] new religion took [the African] by the hand and led him out of a land of thick darkness, gloom, and horror – filled with malevolent shades and dreaded spectral powers – and brought him into the clear, sweet light of a simple belief in a God of goodness and love, such as Christianity reveals’ (Stewart 1984 [sic] 1894:43 in De Kock 1992:43).

¹ In a chance meeting and subsequent conversation with a former Lovedale student on 20 February 1999 at Tsolo, Transkei, Henderson was repeatedly described as “purposeful”. It is interesting to note that this term can have both a positive and negative connotation and is non-committal even at a lapse of seventy years from Henderson’s death

This is also demonstrated in Stewart's used of the 'infant metaphor' (De Kock 1996:88-90, 112):

In the advance of the African races there is one danger ahead. It is the over-confidence and satisfaction with themselves displayed by so many of those who have been partially educated; and the entirely wrong impression, many of them seem to entertain, that it is possible for them to reach in one or two generations the level which other races have taken long centuries to reach. From this fallacious conclusion they are apt to claim an equality, political and social, for which *as a race* they are not yet prepared (Stewart 1906:370).

Hence, De Kock (1996:46) avers that Stewart's language 'reveals many of the preconceptions which operated throughout the [nineteenth] century, and which were enforced as "education" on the subjects of missionary endeavour'.

The primary sources used will be Henderson's voluminous correspondence along with his papers, those of Lovedale Missionary Institution, papers from other eminent Lovedale Principals and from related areas of study. Secondary material will be drawn from relevant sociological studies and from the areas of history, Church history, missiology and mission history in South Africa.

I have made my own apologia for becoming involved in this fruitful field of study elsewhere (Duncan 1997:1-3), so suffice it to say here that I concur with the assessment offered by Simopoulos (1999:10):

What is significant is the fact that I am attempting this ... exercise in the post-colonial, post-apartheid South African context where there is great opportunity for a new order but where there is also the grave danger of creating new forms of domination and legitimization. The ultimate question that arises concerns how power will be yielded currently and in the future in South Africa. Regarding my context, as ... [one] who is neither African-born nor a permanent resident of Africa, it is important to note that as a member of a nation that has dominated indigenous peoples and enslaved Africans, the colonial legacy is part of my heritage. Hence, an attempt to critique my own heritage, an attempt to understand this period of history from what we know of the experiences of the underside.

This is my entry point of personal commitment where I agree with Polanyi's 'acceptance of calling' as a part of his 'justification of personal knowledge' (1962:324):

Commitment offers to those who accept it legitimate grounds for the affirmation of personal convictions with universal intent. Standing on these grounds, we claim that our participation is personal, not subjective, except in so far as it is compulsive. While it then lies beyond our responsibility, it is yet transformed by our sense of responsibility into part of our calling. Our

subjective condition may be taken to include the historical setting in which we have grown up. We accept these as the assignment of our particular problem. Our personhood is assured by our simultaneous contact with universal aspirations which place us in a transcendent perspective.

From this perspective, it is necessary to move to the actual context of the thesis.

1.2 Setting the Scene

As Missionary-in-Charge of Lovedale Institution from 1978-1981, I was aware of the work of Dr James Henderson from reading the work of RHW Shepherd² (1940, 1971). As part of my work I was responsible for a number of trust funds including the Henderson Memorial Church Fund. This fund had been established subsequent to the death of Dr James Henderson with the original intention of building a church to his memory. For a number of reasons, including the inability of those responsible to agree on a suitable site, the church had never been built (Cory, PR 4175, Henderson Memorial Committee, Lovedale Mission Committee 3/3/64-11/9/64) and by 1978 the project had become a matter of dispute between the Church of Scotland South Africa Joint Council, which was ultimately responsible for the fund, and Mrs Margaret Ballantyne and Mrs Elizabeth Welsh, daughters of Dr Henderson³. This was my first and only direct contact with any who had known Henderson intimately.

My next contact also came in 1978 when the historian David Burchell was resident in Alice working on his Master's dissertation: 'A History of the Lovedale Missionary Institution: 1890-1930' (1979). Burchell⁴ suggested that there was considerable work to be done on

² Shepherd was the fifth and final missionary Principal of Lovedale.

³ Fortunately, I was only marginally involved in the dispute as it was between the Church of Scotland's official representative in South Africa, the Church of Scotland and South Africa Joint Council of which I had only recently become a member.

⁴ At a dinner party held at Lovedale Mission in October 1978.

Henderson's papers⁵ in the Cory Library for Historical Research at Rhodes University, Grahamstown. At that time Shepherd's was the only work on Henderson that was available, apart from the study Burchell was on the point of completing, and it was clearly written in the hagiographical style typical of its period. I began to entertain the idea of pursuing Henderson's vocation from a more critical point of view.

This idea lay dormant for a number of years until my interest in missiology as a theological discipline was stimulated during a visit to the University of South Africa's (UNISA) Department of Missiology where a former student at the Federal Theological Seminary of Southern Africa (FedSem), Rev Prof Tinyiko Maluleke, was teaching. Maluleke's own work on the Evangelical Presbyterian Church of Southern Africa (EPCSA)⁶ was critical of mission Christianity (1993, 1994a & b, 1995, 1995a) and although I attempted to defend the record of the Reformed Presbyterian Church of Southern Africa (RPCSA)⁷ in this regard, I later came to the conclusion that it had been as susceptible as the EPCSA to the negative effects of mission Christianity. Since the missionary educational institutions had been the vanguard of missionary advance, I suspected that they were a major source of the coercive nature of missionary advance. The next section will set the study in the context of mission which is the wider context of the thesis.

1.3 Mission in Context

Mission is ... the attempt to embody God's liberating presence [incarnation] in every human situation. It never takes place in a vacuum, but is always concerned with specific people in specific situations,

⁵ At that time they had not been catalogued and there were far fewer accessions than there are now.

⁶ Formerly Swiss Mission, then Tsonga Presbyterian Church of South Africa until 1st January 1982.

⁷ Formerly Scottish Mission and Bantu Presbyterian Church of South Africa until 1st January 1979.

and searches to discover the meaning of the Good News in each context (Kritzinger 1988:6 in Saayman 1995: 188).

Our specific context is Lovedale Missionary Institution in the opening decades of the twentieth century. It will be shown that, to Henderson and his colleagues, liberation meant release from the strictures of primitive culture and freedom to aspire to all that Christian civilisation could offer. This was their mission. It was contextual to the extent that it sought to eradicate what was not found to be compatible with their intellectual, moral and religious world-view:

... the responsibility of Christian mission is therefore the identification of the bad news in every context, and the presentation of God's good news in such a way that it is comprehensible and attractive (Saayman 1995:199).

However, not all found it attractive. Isichei (1995:95) comments that blacks did not accept mission Christianity uncritically but:

explored a variety of options. Some sought western education and technology without Christianity, while others reacted against white hegemony by founding independent churches. In doing so, they not only enriched the African expression of Christianity and its global development, but also contributed to an ongoing process of emancipating Christian thought and praxis from the domination of European concepts and values.

This was bad news to the missionaries who displayed little understanding or acknowledgment of the religious dimension of the culture to which they came so there could be no rapprochement with it in terms of acculturation. The achievable freedom, however, could be interpreted as another form of captivity to the extent that it restricted the creativity of students and demanded a degree of conformity. A contextual approach to coercive agency such as that at Lovedale does, however, have certain universality:

Contextualisation places more emphasis on the *specific* contexts of people, than on the *universal*. The supposition behind this is the conviction that it is in being fully true to one's *particular* locality (the total context), that one can also be fully true to the *universality* of the Christian community (Saayman 1995:191).

We now review the period of mission history under consideration.

1.4 The Phase of Mission History Under Review

The period 1906 – 1930 represents a significant phase in mission development in South Africa and further afield. It falls into the latter half of what is recognised as the high imperial era of missions (1880 – 1920) when mission activity was at its height. Walls (1982:159; cf. Etherington :191 in Christensen and Hutchison 1982) equates the ‘high imperial era’ with the ‘high missionary era’ as ‘Missionary opinion ... for the most part took the empire for granted’. This era has also been delineated as the late colonial period (Venter 1998:433).

Domestically:

It was a time of great social, political and economic changes. This was the era of ... the establishment of the Union of South Africa (1910), the formation of the South African Native National Congress (1912)⁸, the Land Act (1913) and the First World War (1914 – 1918). In addition, this was a time of rapid economic and industrial development and of worker resistance which had a substantial impact on the lives of black South Africans. It was also a time of growth in the African Initiated Church (AIC) movement as a response to increasing control in the secular domain as well as in contemporary church and religious life which was dominated by the historic mission churches (Duncan 1997: 3-4).

However, the scene was set in the nineteenth century in terms of what Comaroff (1989:673-4) has called the ‘*civilising colonialism* of the mission’ which was not restricted to the religious sphere of life but embraced the entire existence of its subjects. Their aim was:

to (1) create a theatre of the everyday. Demonstrating by their own exemplary actions the benefits of methodical routine, of good personal habits, and of enlightened European ways; (2) banish ‘superstition’ in favour of rational technique and Christian belief; (3) reduce the landscape from a chaotic mass of crude, dirty huts to an ordered array of square, neatly bounded residences (with rooms and doors, windows and furniture, fields and fences), enclosure being both a condition of private property and civilised individualism, and an aesthetic expression of the sheer beauty of refinement; (4) recast the division of labour by making men into hardworking farmers and bringing women ‘indoors’ to the domestic domain, much along the lines of the English middle-class family; (5) encourage these families to produce for the market by teaching them advanced methods, the worth of time and money, and the ethos of private enterprise – the explicit model being the late British yeomanry; all of which (6) demanded that Africans be taught to read and reason, to become self-reflective and self-disciplined. It followed, as axiomatic, that ‘heathen society would be forever destroyed’.

African society was to be radically remade, with or without its own consent, in the image of

⁸ Renamed the African National Congress in 1923.

bourgeois ideology. Its communal nature was to be subsumed under the needs of the individual by forces which were both subtle and not so subtle. The imposition of capitalist values and the development of a resource of labour:

was achieved particularly violently, through wars of pacification, the imposition of hut and poll taxes, the use of forced labour, and the application of a legal code equating worker mobility with criminality. Africans responded by desertion, by withdrawal or by revolt [and even by] symbolic desertion (Cohen sa:16).

However, this was not to be accepted unquestioningly or without protest. The ruling class:

would in due course, lay bare the hidden structures, the unspoken and undisclosed ideological scaffolding, on which its particular structure of domination rested. In South Africa, as in other parts of the globe, the revelation of such contradictions was to feed the rise of black protest and resistance (Comaroff & Comaroff 1989:681).

The process of protest and resistance did not arise in a vacuum. It was not only the result of the rejection of externalised oppression but was also more concerned with the realisation and defiance of internalised coercive agency. The repressive effect of colonialism on human expression led to the situation where:

Those who endure protracted colonial oppression internalise the attitudes of those who oppress them. The anger of tribal people is intense, but often directed inward. And they fall into a deep silence ... have an intensely difficult and complicated relationship to their own voices ... have survived by remaining silent and unnoticed, at the margins of the colonial world. Silence is appropriate in many ways, but this silence can also be deep within the psyche as well as a matter of wise strategy (Brody 1999:5).

The subject of the control of language as a means of oppression and of liberation will be considered in Chapter Two.

However, the importance of the process of internalisation is vital for the development of the thesis:

Having externalised ourselves into culture and society, and culture and society having taken on a life of their own, the empowerments and limitations of that world are now taken back into our consciousness as our own. The possibilities and parameters that our social/cultural context appears to offer become our own perception of our possibilities and parameters. In other words the objectified culture and society created by us and our predecessors became internalised as the basis of our own self-identity (Groome 1980:112 cf. Berger 1969:17).

Groome suggests two stages in this process of internalisation. First, 'one's self is constituted by the attitudes and expectations of individual others on a one-to-one basis. But these

significant others coalesce in our consciousness and come to constitute one “generalised other”. Then, ‘self is constituted not only by an organisation of these particular individual attitudes, but also by an organisation of the social attitude of the generalised other or the social group as a whole to which he belongs’ (Mead 1934:158 in Groome 1980:112).

Basically, Groome is saying that we have a human tendency to conform to others’ (ie. society’s) expectations of us by making those expectations part of our own self-definition both in an individual and a group sense.

Thus the scene is set for the introduction of the focus of the study.

1.5 Coercive Agency

Coercive Agencies

Make it your business to study in your life and in your surroundings:

The growth, development and activity of informal coercive agencies, not often recognised as such because of the poorly delineated identification and measurement tools in current use.

Such tyrannies seldom have guns, clubs, centralised propaganda machines, uniforms and recognisable officials.

If you set up an experiment in any expectation, this expectation becomes a coercive agency whose attempts to lead you to certain conclusions you will have to take into account. Certain customs, social pressures, personal predilections, even individual decisions, can become coercive agencies in your life.

One of the reasons why man struggles against what he takes to be undesirable is that he unconsciously recognises the coercive influences in the surroundings and in himself. He then chooses a measurable form of them, to satisfy and therefore ‘abolish’ his need to resist or frustrate them.

He has in so doing, of course, only begged the question.

Thoughts, circumstances, the social milieu, a hundred and one things, can provide as powerful coercive agencies as anything that the human being can point to as a ‘despotism’ or ‘tyranny’.

If you are against tyranny, you must be against all tyranny in order to be consistent; not just aunt-sally tyranny.

A set of misunderstood ideas or practises may become such a tyranny. A group of people who deal with each other with the greatest kindness yet who perform practises or carry out other activities unsuitable for their development are such an agency.

The tyranny of ideas or practises is far subtler and more effective than the avowed repressive institution because the participants are not aware that they are being constrained. The extreme case, the man who spends all his time shouting ‘I’m free, I tell you!’ is not free, because of lack of time, to do anything other than shout ‘I’m free!’

Certain coercive agencies have become indispensable to the victims. People with closed minds or small ranges of thought and action depend for their pleasures upon the rewards offered by obedience to the coercive agency. If this obedience is couched in the form of ‘disobedience’, they feel they are not coerced.

Such people cannot make progress towards their mental liberation at one bound. Their world has to be made larger, and to be seen to be larger, before they can take any step beyond their narrow life.

There is no repression like that of the man who causes his own, in the name of freeing himself. Since he cannot attribute it to any outside source, and since he cannot see himself suppressing himself, he

CHAPTER 2 INSTITUTIONALISATION

2.1 Lovedale Missionary Institution as an Institution

The very name of Lovedale Missionary Institution (Lovedale) defines its chief characteristic. It is an institution based on a missionary ideal and function, a centre from which outreach extends into the wider community which is not necessarily continuous with it but which influences it and is influenced by it. It is a socially constructed reality (Berger & Luckmann 1966) in that it was formed as part of the conscious intention of a group of missionaries acting in accordance with the wishes of a sending church at a particular time, in a certain place and with a specific agenda in mind. Therefore, it is 'a distinctive complex of social actions' (Berger 1963:87), eg. organised religion. Berger (:87) quotes Gehlen's concept:

as a regulatory agency channeling human actions in much the same way as instincts channel animal behaviour. In other words institutions provide procedures through which human conduct is patterned, compelled to go, in grooves deemed desirable by society. And this trick is performed by making those grooves appear to the individual as the only possible ones.

This definition appears to have an ulterior purpose which Berger (:90) explains: 'every institutional structure must depend on deception and all existence in society carries with it an element of bad faith'. He further claims that:

every *Weltanschauung* is a conspiracy. The conspirators are those who construct a social situation in which the particular world view is taken for granted. The individual who finds himself in this situation becomes more prone every day to share its basic assumptions. That is, we change our worldviews ... as we move from one social situation to another (:62-63).

This would explain the necessity of rules and regulations as a means of social control since 'location in society constitutes a definition of rules that have to be obeyed' (:68). It would also explain how in a sociology of knowledge 'ideas as well as men [sic] are socially located [ie.] ... with the social location of ideas' (:110) which confirms that 'reality is socially constructed' (:118).

may well be lost. He is already under the duress of 'Slavery is freedom'. It is interestingly indicative of his state that he fears loss of freedom while he has already lost it. He does this because - like a child - if he has lost something and merely pretends that he might lose it, this implies that he has still got it.

We need not talk of social action, politics nor economics, nor even sociology in this matter. The individual, and groupings of people, have to learn that they cannot reform society in reality, nor deal with others as reasonable people, unless the individual has learned to locate and allow for the various patterns of coercive institutions, formal and also informal, which rule him. No matter what his reason says, he will always relapse into obedience to the coercive agency while its pattern is within him.

This is one reason why you see people converted from one system of belief or practise to another: they are aware of the shortcomings of the first; they can pretend that the second, because it does not have the outer defects to which it takes exception, is 'true', when the former was 'not true'.

The Study of Coercive Agencies and Man is what I would call this effort (Shah 1968:197-199).

Coercive agency as a powerful force often manifests itself in covert rather than overt or blatant form. Consequently, it requires 'study in your life and in your surroundings' to be discerned. All are susceptible to such agencies and their effects. They operate at the unconscious level of perception and a degree of coercion is accepted as a means of dealing or coping with it. People make their own coercive agencies as well as falling under the designs of others. They have their origin in 'customs, social pressures ... circumstances, the social milieu' and other factors which we recognise as "despotism", or "tyranny" (Shah 1968:197-198). For example, people who perform deeds which hinder human development constitute a coercive agency despite their own perceived benevolent motivation: 'The tyranny of ideas or practises is far subtler and more effective than the avowed repressive institution' (:198). This results from lack of awareness of the tyranny. However, this tyranny can be a feature of such institutions as are mentioned. The necessity of coercive agency for the 'victims' derives from the need for recognition, security and affirmation.

Mental freedom emerges from seeing the wider context and the opportunities it offers, which are not available within the restricted frame of reference imposed by the coercive agency.

Submission to such agency may arise out of attempts to achieve freedom or self preservation.

People are liable to place themselves in bondage in an attempt to liberate themselves, eg. by education. It will be argued that students had to submit to the coercive agency at Lovedale and adapt to its standards, ie. they exercised a form of sacrificial freedom or 'deferred

gratification' (Strauss 1962). Authentic reform of society has its source in self-knowledge and understanding of the forces that control both individuals and groups, eg. the submission to authority through the need to succeed. Otherwise, the tendency is to revert to form if this awareness and insight is not attained by giving up one way of life for another, or one culture for another, eg. African Traditional Religion (ATR) for Western Christianity, arising out of an awareness of deficits in the former. Therefore, because the latter does not resemble the former, it assumes the status of the authentic.

A number of points raised above will be discussed in the course of this study as applying to the system of education offered at Lovedale. A few pointers will suffice here:

- the covert nature of the philosophy undergirding the system operating at Lovedale;
- the unconscious level at which the system worked in students' perceptions;
- the origin of this agency within the established traditions at Lovedale;
- the success of coercive agency insofar as it met human needs;
- coercive agency offered a defective, incomplete frame of reference with Lovedale purporting to represent a microcosm of what it wished South African society to become;
- students submitted to the discipline of Lovedale in order to escape from it in a form of 'deferred gratification'. Only by understanding the self and the nature of coercive agency could students break free from it either by leaving it or resisting from within.
- the key to freedom from coercive agency lay in enlarging their world view to see that Lovedale's education which was based on western models was neither the first nor the last word in education (cf. Saayman 1991).
- collusion with coercion was not to be confused with the attainment of freedom.
- the relationship of obedience to disobedience in terms of obedience being 'couched in

the form of “disobedience” may be discerned in covert resistance or ‘subversive subservience’ (De Kock 1996; cf. Saayman 1997:523-36).

Having established a theoretical foundation for the study, we now outline the course which will be followed.

1.6 The Thesis in Outline

Chapter Two will examine the nature of institutionalisation, the exercise of power and coercive agency as well as resistance as the sociological basis for the study of Lovedale and its development.

Chapter Three will trace the beginnings of Lovedale Missionary Institution under the Principalship of Rev William Govan and the development of institutionalisation from its origin in 1841 until 1870.

Chapter Four will consider the influence of Rev Dr James Stewart in changes in policy at Lovedale and the refinement of the institutionalising of education from 1870-1905.

Chapter Five will study in depth the Principalship of Rev Dr James Henderson (1906-1930) on the continued development of Lovedale as a ‘total institution’ in contemporary context.

Chapter Six will attempt to draw conclusions from the study on the effects of institutionalisation on the development of mission education as a tool of the wider missionary enterprise and will seek to offer a way forward in which the Kingdom values of justice, peace and love can be appropriated in a national education programme.

CHAPTER 2 INSTITUTIONALISATION

2.1 Lovedale Missionary Institution as an Institution

The very name of Lovedale Missionary Institution (Lovedale) defines its chief characteristic. It is an institution based on a missionary ideal and function, a centre from which outreach extends into the wider community which is not necessarily continuous with it but which influences it and is influenced by it. It is a socially constructed reality (Berger & Luckmann 1966) in that it was formed as part of the conscious intention of a group of missionaries acting in accordance with the wishes of a sending church at a particular time, in a certain place and with a specific agenda in mind. Therefore, it is 'a distinctive complex of social actions'

(Berger 1963:87), eg. organised religion. Berger (:87) quotes Gehlen's concept:

as a regulatory agency channeling human actions in much the same way as instincts channel animal behaviour. In other words institutions provide procedures through which human conduct is patterned, compelled to go, in grooves deemed desirable by society. And this trick is performed by making those grooves appear to the individual as the only possible ones.

This definition appears to have an ulterior purpose which Berger (:90) explains: 'every institutional structure must depend on deception and all existence in society carries with it an element of bad faith'. He further claims that:

every *Weltanschauung* is a conspiracy. The conspirators are those who construct a social situation in which the particular world view is taken for granted. The individual who finds himself in this situation becomes more prone every day to share its basic assumptions. That is, we change our worldviews ... as we move from one social situation to another (:62-63).

This would explain the necessity of rules and regulations as a means of social control since 'location in society constitutes a definition of rules that have to be obeyed' (:68). It would also explain how in a sociology of knowledge 'ideas as well as men [sic] are socially located [ie.] ... with the social location of ideas' (:110) which confirms that 'reality is socially constructed' (:118).

Following Durkheim, Berger (:91) suggests that:

Society is external to ourselves. It surrounds us, encompasses our life on all sides. We are *in* society, located in a specific sector of the social system. This location predetermines and predefines almost everything we do, from language to etiquette, from the religious beliefs we hold to the probability that we will commit suicide. Our wishes are not taken into consideration in this matter of social location, and our intellectual resistance to what society prescribes or proscribes avails very little at best, and frequently nothing. Society, as objective and external fact, confronts us especially in the form of coercion. Its institutions pattern our actions and even shape our expectations.

Lovedale was established as a centre of outreach as the result of the British being in control of part of the Eastern Cape since 1819 though ‘the first recorded encounter between African and whites was on the banks of the Great Fish River in 1770’ (Manganyi 1973:8). ‘The land wars of 1799, 1811, 1819, 1834 and in the ‘forties against the Xhosas, opened the way for their dispossession by the British’ (Van Schoor 1951:11). This was in addition to possessing the goodwill of the local chiefs who extended ‘warm invitations ... to come and instruct their subjects’ (Shepherd 1940:64) though this latter point might reflect a rather romantic view of relations with the chiefs (cf. :74-75). Following the destruction of the mission in the war of 1832, a new site was chosen for Lovedale in 1836 on the east side of the Tyumie River close to the residence of Captain Charles Lennox Stretch, government commissioner of the Ngqika tribe. In 1847, at the close of the War of the Axe:

The land for the Institution had been allotted [it now fell within the Ceded Territory] with the goodwill of Chief Tyhali. As chiefs of the Xhosa were no longer to have any place in the tract, arrangements were made for obtaining the land, which consisted of some thirty-one acres, as a grant from the government on behalf of the missionaries (Shepherd 1940:117).

This was framed in the Governor’s proclamation of 23rd December 1847:

All missionaries are invited to return to their missions; and, that no misunderstanding or misconception may arise, Her Majesty’s High Commissioner gives notice that the land of their mission stations shall be held from Her Majesty, and not from any Kafir chief whatever (Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland, May, 1848:190 in Shepherd 1940:117).

So from its inception, Lovedale was no stranger to the concept of coercive agency despite the goodwill, or otherwise, of the local chiefs. Its relationship to and dependence on the colonial power was fundamental to its establishment.

This was the immediate context for the process of institutionalisation which began at Lovedale as the result of a desire on the part of the missionaries to re-establish their work on a site which was ‘more likely to be attractive as a settlement to the Native people’ (:87).

Clearly the nature of the location was an incentive for blacks to come to the mission where education was to provide the main focus of mission work (:88). And so

the process of becoming [hu]man takes place in an interrelationship with an environment [which] is both a natural and a human one. That is, the developing human being not only interrelates with a particular natural environment, but with a specific cultural and social order, which is mediated to him by others who have charge of him. Not only is the survival of the human infant dependent upon certain social arrangements, the direction of his organismic development, is socially determined ... [and is] subjected to continuing socially determined interference The human organism manifests an enormous plasticity in its response to the environmental forces at work on it. This is particularly clear when one observes the flexibility of [hu]man’s biological constitution as it is subjected to a variety of socio-cultural determinations (Berger & Luckmann 1966:66).

This suggests that ‘Man constructs his own nature, or more simply, man produces himself’ (Berger & Luckmann 1966:67). Yet, this is not a process in which people are independent agents for humans are ‘a social enterprise’ (:69) and ‘social order exists *only* as a product of human activity’ (:70). However, this does not allow for any non-human agency to influence the ordering of human society, eg. environmental agency such as natural disaster or disease or of a higher agency, eg. God as ultimate concern. This does not underestimate ‘[t]he plasticity of the human organism and its susceptibility to socially determined interference [which] is best illustrated by the ethnological evidence concerning sexuality’ which is ‘directed, sometimes rigidly structured, in every particular culture’ (:67). And this was nowhere more true than in missionary institutions!

This is precisely what was to happen at Lovedale with the development of the mission station.

2.1.1 The Mission Station

Orphans, the aged and the disabled found a refuge at the stations. So did those accused of witchcraft, girls seeking to escape the husbands their parents had decided upon for them, and widows seeking to avoid the obligation to marry their deceased husband’s brother. From the missionary point of view,

the missions were havens of refuge for the victims of heathen superstition and oppression. From the traditional African point of view they were centres of immorality, havens for the dissolute, criminals and ne'er-do-wells. Those who had no apparent motive for joining a mission – who were motivated by religious conviction alone – seemed to be simply insane.

The inhabitants of the mission stations tended to be ethnically distinct from the surrounding people, or at least drawn from far afield (Cope 1979:14-15).

Mission stations were one of the main means by which Africans came under the influence of mission Christianity and these were no mere accidental creations. As the missionaries developed the physical site for the Lovedale Institution near to a source of water, they imposed their western Christian cultural stamp upon it and required those who sought its benefits, ie. boarding school education, to conform to a pre-determined order which would, in turn, determine the nature of the person which it produced, ie. as occurs at a boarding school. The truth of the above statement becomes clear when it is realised that much of the surrounding population consisted of Mfengu¹ who were susceptible to incorporation due to their loyalty to the British and were 'a ready field for evangelisation' (Shepherd 1940:117):

The Mfengu's social structure had already broken down; in the Xhosa country they were of inferior status; they looked to the white man for protection and help; all this smoothed the way for their acceptance of the gospel (Cope 1979:15).

The fact of their dispossession is a crucial factor in their incorporation into the orbit of mission Christianity as their socially cohesive northern Nguni neighbours in Natal and Zululand, in comparison, successfully resisted incorporation. 'This appears to support the hypothesis that social disorientation rather than cultural factors or missionary strategies was the crucial element in conversion' (Etherington 1976:593 n.4) as can be seen from the fact that although 'conversions were hard to come by, they often occurred among a people already disintegrated' (Cochrane 1987:33). They 'were perceived by their traditional societies as an act of disloyalty' (Cope 1979:1). It is also clear that 'it is no easy task to effect changes in a

¹ From *siyamfengusa*: we are wanderers seeking refuge, ie. dispossessed peoples (Ashley 1980:31; Crais 1992:107; Edgar 1982:403-4, n.11)).

socio-cultural system which is operating more or less satisfactorily' (Heise 1967:52).

Certainly, conversion may be perceived as reorientation or 'resocialisation':

Recent sociological literature devoted specifically to the phenomenon of conversion/recruitment has begun to examine its nature as a personal and interactive social experience. The convert is thought to be active in the process of his or her own transformation. The emerging consensus views conversion as a special case of socialisation. While no agreed definition exists, conversion can be conceptualised as an 'identity transformation process' or as a process involving 'a change in self-concept' or 'a change in the way a person thinks and feels about his or her self'. For such a change to be regarded as a conversion, it must involve a radical transformation of the individual's fundamental or real self-concept of who he or she is through 'an uprooting and replacement of the basic structure of attitudes, values and identities originally held by the individual'. Snow and Machalek [1983] insist that a change takes place in the convert's 'universe of discourses'. The universe of discourse provides the individual with the 'broad interpretive framework' by which reality is understood and experienced. In other words conversion entails a process of socialisation, or more accurately resocialisation, by which the individual 'learns a language and a life-style which become a part of himself as he takes on a new definition of his own individuality and personality and of the social collectives in which he participates' (Wanamaker 1999:18-19).

It is the adoption of a radically new or alternative world view that constitutes conversion involving 'the displacement of one universe of discourse by another or the ascendance of a formerly peripheral universe of discourse to the status of primary authority' (Snow and Machalek 1984:170 in Wanamaker 1999:22). But the mission stations did not only receive those whose lifestyles had already been disrupted, they were themselves:

(as distinct from the Christianity they taught) ... a powerful source of social disruption and change. They were, moreover, a source of new material wants and technical innovations carrying with them important social and economic consequences. The missionaries encouraged the adoption of western clothing, the consumption of European goods, the growing of new crops, and the use of new tools and implements (Hutchinson 1957:162-3).

This was because as:

A colonialist institution *par excellence*, the mission station communicated many of the essential ingredients of British rule and the capitalist world economy. Over the course of the nineteenth century evangelical Christianity became a crucible within which a new and syncretic South African culture emerged. This integration of cultural symbols and knowledge could be both hegemonic and potentially revolutionary: religious belief could legitimate the inequalities of the present as well as provide a radical critique and understanding of the alienation which accompanied conquest and dispossession (Crais 1992:104 in Etherington 1996:201).

Consequently, the social and cultural dislocation that resulted from conversion resulted in 'groups of converts [who] removed themselves from the jurisdiction of the chiefs into the protective shell of the mission stations' (Williams 1970:375). It is clear that the mission stations played a significant role in the transformation of relationships for they were perceived

not only as ‘the demoralising conversions to Christianity [effected] by the missionaries’ (Van Schoor 1951:11) but also as ‘an invasion of the sovereignty of the chiefs. The mission people considered themselves British citizens under the protection of the British government’ (Beinart 1982:4 in Cochrane 1987:28), but their work also resulted in a change in traditional land relationships (Cochrane 1987:25). So it was that the Mfengu found security in their new routine of rules and routines: ‘life in these settlements was orderly, diligent, and far superior to anything that the Africans could see in their own villages. Yet this was a ghetto existence...’ (Neill 1964:380):

Mission stations in independent African societies tended to be alien islands in an otherwise unaffected sea of paganism. They did not leaven the pagan lump; they were not seeds of Christian growth; they were isolated and quarantined by African rulers (Cope 1979:16; cf. Ranger 1993:65-98 in Etherington 1996:216).

These places were not accidental establishments; they were locations of ideological transformation:

Conversion to Christianity involved dislocation, a break from the traditions of the past, and it came more easily to those who had endured disruption already. The ethnically mixed communities of the South African frontier welcomed Christianity, a transition made more readily as the individuals that comprised these communities had already moved far from their original cultures (Isichei 1995:105).

Disruption occurred for various reasons:

Children were drawn to schools by the charm and power of the written word, and often became Christians with little conscious choice However, here, as elsewhere in the world, the factors that led to a particular religious adherence often had little bearing on the subsequent quality of a person’s life (Isichei 1995:133).

Also, ‘the establishment of Christian villages often reflected the belief that Africans could not practice a Christian life in a traditional environment, that it was necessary to make a clean break’ (:135). This was so because ‘The missionary saw that new beliefs could be more easily upheld by converts who were not the daily object of tribal disapproval and hostility’ (Hutchinson 1957:162). Disruption occurred as the result of war. During the war of dispossession (1850-53) ‘[t]he Institution became indeed a “city of refuge” to missionaries and others A place of safety in the event of ... being attacked’ (Shepherd 1940:128). Hence, it was relatively easy for missionaries to ‘take advantage’ in an act of deception (cf. van Schoor 1951:12) of those who had lost all in a rapidly changing society. This concurs

(1963:63) assertion that '[i]ndividuals who change their meaning systems must, therefore, change their social relationships' and often vice versa.

Ashley (1980:37) raises a question concerning the status of such deviants among the amaXhosa, as pariahs and heretics, whose sanity was doubted as the result of their challenging their traditional symbolic universe by submitting, *inter alia*, to the missionaries' educational system. Notable among these peoples in the Eastern Cape were the Mfengu and Gqunukwebe:

These groups showed far greater readiness to accept Christianity and European civilisation In addition, there were individuals who for a variety of reasons had detached themselves from tribal society Lovedale was on its site because of Mfengu and Gqona propinquity (Ashley 1980:37).

Referring to the Mfengu, Shepherd (1940:129) notes that '... to the west of Lovedale there were some four thousand souls' 'who had been settled in the colony in 1835 [and] were broken remnants of people without hereditary chiefs of their own' (Wilson & Thompson 1971 I:263). Others were relocated there in 1848 and to whom missionaries extended their work (Hofmeyer & Pillay 1994:74). Yet, Shepherd (1940:87-88) does not refer to this as a reason for siting the institution on this site when he speaks of the establishment of the 'New Lovedale'.

However, there were various reasons for aliens gravitating toward mission stations (Etherington 1976:595 ff.). Many were aliens from within or beyond the territory occupied by the mission station but 'the disorientation characteristic of the first black Christians was more than geographical' (:596) as many were refugees from their former communities. Miscreants were admitted provided their offences did not contravene European ethical expectations as in the cases of suspected *tagati* (sorcerers). Others were avoiding the call to become diviners with the frequent accompanying symptoms of insanity while yet others saw the stations as a source of much needed employment. Hutchinson (1957:163-4) cites

psychological and emotional instability, epilepsy and accusations of witchcraft as reasons for disoriented persons being admitted into the communities of mission stations. It was also not unusual for ‘dyadic personalities’² to follow a missionary from a previous location to a mission station having become attached to him and his family as a shield from insecurity: ‘it may be that missionaries of the concentrated orientation demand such fealty that any “backsliding” such as might occur in returning to old circumstances is unacceptable’ (Heise 1967:52). This often reinforced the image of a mission station as a refuge for aliens, eg. ‘Moffat’s station [Kuruman] eventually became a site of protection for outcasts of different origins (Du Bruyn 1980:171 in De Kock 1996:154; cf. Hutchinson 1957:163). Some simply saw advantage in joining a mission community with its ‘vast acreage’ (Isichei 1997:428) drawn by the promise of land (Hutchinson 1957:163, 164, 165). A much smaller group was that which were attracted purely from religious motives. The families of those living on stations were also attracted to such communities seeing them as ‘stable and prosperous’ (Etherington 1976:599). There were also converts from among the junior members of royal households who had little hope of succeeding to chieftainship, eg. the Tlhaping and the Rolong (Comaroff & Comaroff 1991:240). The situation is summarised by Etherington (1977:35):

The common feature of all these cases is of course the desire for security, material or psychological. Unless missionaries could offer certain kinds of security they failed; they could not offer security without bending their theology to conform to local African realities.

So, even despite conversion, ‘professions of new belief belied the fact that older modes of thought and action were never fully laid aside’ (:247). These categories of resident aliens lost their original identities, ‘they were simply African Christians and as such had reasons for adopting new patterns of life which derived from more than Christian doctrine or missionary

² One who needs another in order to know who s/he is (Malina 1981:53-60 in Wanamaker 1999:26)

behaviour' (Etherington 1976:600). These 'ethnically diverse black Christians had no traditional African identity to which they might cling' (:603). Consequently, we can see why the mission stations were places where 'individuals whose social disorientation *predated* their acquaintance with Christianity formed melting-pot societies with a special character' (:593). Etherington (:604) attributes innocence to the motives of the missionaries, however:

Missionaries had not plucked individuals from stable homes and brainwashed them into contempt for traditional society. They had simply provided new homes and opportunities for people who had already cut themselves off from old relationships or who had been torn from these relationships by circumstances beyond their control. In the sociological melting pot of station life, *kholwa* children would have acquired an undifferentiated African identity even if they had not heard a single sermon on African unity.

It is difficult to accept that their response was 'simply' the result of responding to need. The missionaries had their own ideological purposes to advance and were also, to a degree, opportunists. Heise (1967) suggests that missionaries were skilled at identifying groups who were, due to a variety of adverse circumstances, ripe for conversion. They were also skilled in the process of resocialisation:

Prospective converts are removed from their society and sheltered paternalistically in the mission complex (which may include a school, a hospital orphanage, etc.) where they receive intensive reeducation. The effective missionary is adroit at selecting subjects ripe for change because they are dissatisfied or distraught and at resolving emotional crises (which he himself may generate) by inducing personality reorganisation. Successful application of the concentrated strategy seems to produce steadfast congregations intimately tied to the mission and larger church community. Critics claim that the resulting congregations are static groups without proselytising power and that usually they are not self-supporting (Heise 1967:51).

The mission station therefore 'occupied a critical interstice in the colonial encounter in which Africans came to better understand the material and intellectual consequences of colonial expansion' (Crais 1992:101). For the missionaries:

The 'experiment' was an outstanding vindication of abolition and a resounding affirmation of the evangelical spirit of the early nineteenth century that mixed an optimistic vision of history with a millennial outlook on the world that demanded purification and Christian redemption (:82).

But this was not just a matter of faith as can be seen from the missionaries' attitude to and interest in the development of agriculture from which, they believed:

a whole constellation of beneficial results would flow. These were: a stimulated demand for the consumption of British goods, the increase of commerce, of civilisation and of learning, the spread of Christianity and the defeat of heathenism, polygamy, and barbarism – in short, the extension of British control, protection, culture, economy, religion and language (Bundy 1979:38 in Cochrane 1987:26).

Further, the growth of an educated community both within and beyond mission stations produced people who saw these European acquisitions as things to be sought after and strived for (cf. Peires 1987:164). From this it becomes clear that while the wish of the missionaries was to secure conversions, the dynamics of the process 'were by no means politically, economically or ideologically neutral' (Cochrane 1987:32).

The Protestant Enlightenment emphasis on individual development encouraged the construction of a new identity through adoption of the principles of rationalism and duty. Thus black people would become recipients of the undeserved love of God with all its benefits in the next world if not in this one. Combined with this was the acceptance of capitalism as the natural expression of economic organisation along with submission to lawful authority as enshrined in colonial government. Freedom from earlier servitude gave way to adherence to the teaching of mission Christianity. Conversion to this new order made possible the responses of either collaboration or rejection where the:

integration of cultural symbols and knowledge could be both hegemonic and potentially revolutionary; religious belief could legitimate the inequalities of the present as well as provide a radical critique and understanding of the alienation which accompanied conquest and dispossession (:104).

The fact that the missionaries were not entirely successful is demonstrated in the manner in which resistance was perpetrated for:

a wide range of resistance techniques was employed to immunise society against the missionary infection. Girls were forbidden to attend mission schools. Boys were allowed to work for missionaries, but were called home when they took an interest in religion. Emetics were used to purge Christian beliefs from those who showed an appetite for mission teaching. Men and women who agreed to be baptised were mercilessly ostracised by their old associates. In independent Zululand and Pondoland, where there were no white authorities to interfere, the social quarantining of mission communities was state policy.

Under the circumstances, missionaries could not afford to be fussy about their converts. Practically anyone who would conform to mission regulations on church attendance, morals, and dress was welcomed into the fold, and as a result mission stations acquired a very special character (Etherington 1976:594).

The numerical success of the missionaries was limited during the first half of the nineteenth century (Hutchinson 1957:169-170). However, the products of mission stations were

successful in a way their missionary masters were not for ‘the most effective agents for the spread of those ideas were African evangelists, not white missionaries (Etherington 1996:216; cf. Gray 1990:80-81 in Etherington 1996:204). Notwithstanding this, however, mission stations were successful in achieving their aims as we shall see from their development into missionary institutions.

2.2 Institutionalisation in Sociological Perspective

There is inevitably a tension between being human in society and being human, that is between ‘world-openness’ and ‘world-closedness’ (Berger & Luckmann 1966:69), or between what we do and what we are, for ‘Human being is impossible in a closed sphere of quiescent interiority. Human being must ongoingly externalise itself in activity’ (:70), eg. by rejection of authority or coercive agency both internalised and externalised. If the internalised coercive agency is not recognised and challenged then the social personality is truncated. If this is true, it does not present an attractive perspective of what was happening at Lovedale.

Internalisation:

occurs every time the adult is initiated into a new social context or a new social group. Society, then, is not only something ‘out there’... but it is also ‘in here’, part of our innermost being Most external controls work most of the time for most of the people in a society. Society not only controls our movements, but shapes our identity, our thought and our emotions (Berger 1963:121).

This initiation does not take place in a social vacuum but within a reference group of which each person is a part and with whose values we can identify to a greater or lesser degree. It conditions our perspective of social reality, which may be influenced by a particular ideology, which is one factor which constitutes our loyalty to the group. The ongoing existence of domination, be it internalised or externalised, ‘depends on its ability to establish and cultivate an “ideology”, a belief by which its claim to legitimacy can be made socially acceptable (Hamilton 1974:96).

Since all human activity, social and non-social, is subject to ritual and routine its very habitual automatic nature facilitates responses in exceptional circumstances with a minimum of stress where innovative thinking may be required, ie. their 'solidarity is "mechanical"' (:105).

When such action is reciprocally typified then institutionalisation occurs, ie. when certain people routinely perform certain actions such as teachers teaching and learners learning, ie. 'a typified response to a typified expectation' (Berger 1963:95). This explains how an individual 'will habitualise his activity in accordance with biographical experience of a world of social institutions' (Berger & Luckmann 1966:72).

All institutions have a historical base and begin with a shared vision. In order to achieve their goal they 'imply historicity and control' (:72) growing out of a specific time and space and require to be governed by a set of rules to ensure to achievement of the vision. Examples of such would be censure or expulsion for breaking certain rules of the institution. Otherwise, they cannot exist or function because:

by the very fact of their existence [they] control human conduct by setting up predefined patterns of conduct, which channel it in one direction as against the many other directions that would be theoretically possible This controlling character is inherent in institutionalisation as such, prior to or apart from any mechanisms of sanctions specifically set up to support an institution. These mechanisms (the sum of which constitute what is generally called a system of social control) do, of course, exist in many institutions and in all the agglomerations of institutions that we call societies The primary social control is given in the existence of an institution as such (:72-73).

Most institutions are characterised by their large numbers of constituents such as hospitals, schools and prisons, though the process of institutionalisation begins as soon as two persons meet and begin to interact. Berger and Luckmann (1966:110ff.) offer an example which is apposite for our study, that of two persons meeting who come from entirely different 'symbolic universes' and have been 'historically produced in segregation from each other, and that the interaction has not been institutionally defined for either of the participants' (:73-74), eg. they are both introduced to non-racial education for the first time. If we assume that both

are students at Lovedale prior to segregation and that one is white while the other is black, each begins to notice and take account of the ritual behaviour of the other, noting their respective sophistications, the one defined as civilised and the other as primitive. They have not reached the point of institutionalisation, but there is a degree of predictability in their actions and responses which ‘relieves both individuals of a considerable amount of tension’ (:74) in their relationship for:

each action of one is no longer a source of astonishment and potential danger to the other [since they are] constructing a background ... which will serve to stabilise both their separate actions and their interaction. The constitution of this background of routine in turn makes possible a division of labour between them, opening the way for innovations, which demand a higher level of attention A social world will be in the process of construction, containing within it the roots of an expanding institutional order (:75).

By having common goals, both reciprocally typify those actions which help them achieve them such as following the routine and rules of the institution. This institution is, of course much larger than the two, and as the result of others’ involvement ‘institutionalisation perfects itself’ and such social groupings ‘become historical institutions’ (:76) achieving a degree of objectivity so ‘the institutions are now experienced as possessing a reality of their own, a reality that confronts the individual as an external and coercive fact’ for they now have a life of their own and as such become the transmitters of their own ethos. Only the first generation has an actual part in the formation of an institution. Since successive generations discover it as an already existing community ‘it confronts them as a given reality that, like nature, is opaque in places at least’ and ‘appear[s] in the same way as given, unalterable, self-evident’ (:77). By their very nature they are resistant to change by individuals because they possess enduring traditions:

They have coercive power over him, both in themselves by the sheer force of their facticity, and through the control mechanisms that are usually attached to the most important of them (:78).

This resistance may be seen in the conflict which emerged between William Govan and James Stewart, following the visit of Alexander Duff³ to Lovedale in 1864, regarding the very principles on which the Institution was organised and operated (Shepherd 1940:152-153), of which more in Chapter Three. The fact that this dispute arose towards the end of the first generation of leadership at Lovedale and was the central issue in the transfer of power affirms the truth of aforementioned discussion.

For Berger & Luckmann (1966:78), the dialectical process only becomes complete when externalisation, objectification and internalisation take place, ie. '*Society is a human product. Society is an objective reality. Man is a social product*' (:79). This can only happen in a second or subsequent generation and so it emerges as legitimating tradition because memory does not extend back to those who are not part of its inception. In the example cited above, James Stewart was the second generation agent of change. Legitimation and socialisation occur simultaneously and require 'specific mechanisms of social controls' (:79) because 'it is more likely that one will deviate from programmes set up for one by others than from programmes that one has helped establish oneself' (:80). So, for Stewart, 'This reality [the social world of Lovedale] ... is a historical one, which comes to the new generation as a tradition rather than as a biographical memory' (:79).

Therefore, 'legitimating formulas', in the form of explanations and justifications of the tradition, are required to make 'the original meaning of the institutions accessible to them in terms of memory These legitimations are learned by the new generation during the same process that socialises them into the institutional order' (:79). Hence, the necessity of rules and regulations:

³ Convener of the Foreign Mission Committee of the FCoS.

The new generation posits a problem of compliance, and its socialisation into the institutional order requires the establishment of sanctions. The institutions must and do claim authority over the individual, independently of the subjective meanings he may attach to any particular situation. The priority of the institutional definitions of situations may be consistently maintained over individual temptations at redefinition. The children must be 'taught to behave' and, once taught, must be 'kept in line'. So, of course, must the adults⁴. The more conduct is institutionalised, the more predictable and thus the more controlled it becomes. If socialisation into the institutions has been effective, outright coercive measures can be applied economically and selectively. Most of the time, conduct will occur 'spontaneously' within the institutionally set channels. The more, on the level of meaning, conduct is taken for granted, the more possible alternatives to the institutional 'programmes' will recede, and the more predictable and controlled conduct will be (:80).

This brings us to the function of roles which has already been mentioned.

2.2.1 Roles in Institutionalisation

While the above normally relates to the clients of institutions, it is also applicable to those who assist in running them. Thus, such institutions are organised on hierarchical lines which require adherence to both the principles on which the institution is organised and to the expectations held of those who operate at different levels of responsibility within the structure of organisation and perform certain roles and:

as soon as actors are typified, their conduct is *ipso facto* susceptible to enforcement. Compliance and non-compliance with socially defined role standards cease to be optional, though, of course, the severity of sanctions may vary from case to case. The roles *represent* the institutional order (Berger & Luckmann 1966:92).

At one level, the role of teacher, for example, represents all teachers. On the other, 'the role represents an entire nexus of conduct', so the teacher also represents the entire educational process along with the other roles necessary for the maintenance of the educational system: 'roles make it possible for institutions to exist ... as a real presence in the experience of living individuals' (:92).

⁴ We will see in Chapter Five James Henderson's need to keep his staff "in line".

While all roles represent and constitute the institutional order, some roles possess greater symbolic significance than others, eg. the principal of the institution who, possibly along with others, is responsible for the formulation and execution of policy. This is evidence of social stratification which:

refers to the fact that any society will consist of levels that relate to each other in terms of superordination and subordination That every society has a system of ranking Their sum constitutes the stratification of that particular society (Berger 1963:78).

An institution like Lovedale demonstrates the truth of this in terms of hierarchical structures:

The basic split between the inmates of an institution and those who have responsibility for managing and supervising them is an essential aspect of the custodial bureaucratic organisation. There is a great divide which is almost absolute in terms of communication, information, status and power. 'Two different social and cultural worlds develop, jogging alongside each other with points of official contact but little penetration'[Goffman 1961:20]. Furthermore, 'Each grouping tends to conceive of the other in terms of narrow hostile stereotypes ... Staff tend to feel superior and righteous; inmates tend, in some ways at least, to feel inferior, weak, blameworthy and guilty' [:18] (Pattison 1997:141-2).

This was certainly true of Lovedale where the personalities of successive principals were stamped on the institution. To an extent, charisma or '*personal magnetism*' (Scott 1990:221) was a factor in the exercise of roles adopted and played out as perceived by the subordinate though Scott discerns a degree of manipulation in its operation. Yet, more than that, 'historically, roles that symbolically represent the total institutional order have been most commonly related in political and religious institutions' (:94) and Lovedale was both! Apart from its clear religious purpose, it was a seedbed for political activists for much of its history both in the student sphere, as well as representing liberal political inclinations in its leadership, eg. Henderson (Van Der Spuy 1971; Rich 1987).

However, adopting a specific role implies being inducted into the possession of knowledge relative to that role and this leads to the evolution of specialisation so 'the specialists become administrators of the sectors of the stock of knowledge that have been socially assigned to them' (Berger & Luckmann 1976:95) and this in the affective as well as the cognitive

domains (:94). Knowledge, therefore, is ‘socially objectivated’ (:94) and ‘socially defined’ (:95):

we can say that, on the one hand, the institutional order is real only in so far as it is *realised* in performed roles and that, on the other hand, roles are representative of an institutional order that defines their character (including their appendages of knowledge) and from which they derive their objective sense (:96).

But roles extend beyond the control of knowledge to the control of those who occupy subordinate roles in an institution and appear to consent to its powers of domination: ‘Those who work in these systems can be seen as society’s agents of social control or “gate-keepers” of different kinds of means used to exercise it’ (Pattison 1997:89).

Yet, other representations define institutions including ‘linguistic objectifications’, such as theories of teaching and educational terminology, and physical objects, such as the steps at Lovedale where the community gathered for worship and orders for the day as part of the process of ‘Civilising Barbarians’ (De Kock 1996)⁵, which make them real in experience. ‘All these representations ... derive their continuing significance and even intelligibility from their utilisation in human conduct’ (Berger & Luckmann 1976:93).

Society constitutes institutions in order that they provide a mechanism for the maintenance of society. Specific representative roles are assigned to certain individuals by society in order that institutions are maintained and society is, in turn, conserved.

The discussion now requires an examination of the concept of hegemony in order to attempt to demonstrate the relationship between consent and coercion.

⁵ See De Kock (1996: book cover) with boys lined up in military formation before the steps of Lovedale; Major Geddes, Boarding Master, in the foreground.

2.2.2 The Exercise of Hegemony

An understanding of the concept of hegemony is hampered by the lack of an agreed definition (Kiros 1985:100; Comaroff & Comaroff 1991:19). Yet, an instrumentalist interpretation suggests that it is concerned with a type of leadership which is more concerned with inculcating the *Weltanschauung* of the dominant group in a society rather than exercising its authority through violence or coercion:

A successful ruling class is one which before actually obtaining political power has already established its intellectual or moral [as well as 'political and cultural' Joll 1977:99] leadership. To do this it must have as its core a homogeneous social group (Kiros 1985:100).

In our study it achieved this by co-opting 'the dominant cultural forces that accompanied the rise of industrial capitalism' (Switzer 1993:5).

Williams (1960:587) has offered an understanding of hegemony which has been given classic expression by Antonio Gramsci:

By 'hegemony' Gramsci seems to mean a sociopolitical situation, in his terminology a 'moment', in which the philosophy and practice of a society fuse or are in equilibrium; an order in which a certain way of life and thought is dominant, in which one concept of reality is diffused throughout society in all its institutional and private manifestations, informing with its spirit all taste, morality, customs, religious and political principles, and all social relations, particularly in their intellectual and moral connotation. An element of direction and control, not necessarily conscious, is implied.

This equilibrium exists between 'the constraining power of dominance over other modes of thought but also as the inertial authority of habit and instinct' (Hall 1988:44 in Comaroff & Comaroff 1991:18) and so 'hegemony is realised through the balancing of competing forces' (Comaroff & Comaroff 1991:20). Gramsci suggests that such ideas are communicated through the means of "political society⁶ + civil society⁷" (Hall 1986:19), the former

⁶ ie. the educational system, churches, voluntary organisations, the press – cultural institutions.

⁷ Served by the civil service, military institutions and the legal system.

constituted by, ‘the totality of organisms commonly called “private”’ whose function was ‘to legitimate the social order in the consciousness and in the actions of the subordinate social classes. Civil society was influenced by the latter ‘which correspond[s] to the function of hegemony’ (Gramsci in Williams 1960:590). Together, these constitute the state, ie. ‘hegemony protected by the armour of coercion’ (Gramsci 1971:262-263 in Kiros 1985:104; cf. Williams 1960:94; Femia 1975:30; Hall 1986:20). While the missionaries ‘aimed at and in part succeeded in transforming the signs and practices of “native” life, they lacked the capacity to make colonial society conform to their liberal dreams’ (Comaroff & Comaroff 1991:13). However:

The essence of colonisation inheres less in political overrule than in seizing and transforming ‘others’ by the very act of conceptualising, inscribing, and interacting with them on terms not of their choosing, in making them into the pliant objects and silenced subjects of our scripts and scenarios; in assuming the capacity to ‘represent’ them, the active verb itself conflating politics and poetics (:15).

From this it is clear that mission Christianity played a significant role in reconstructing the African continent along with other agents of colonialism:

European settlers, soldiers, administrators, and missionaries during the nineteenth century *habitually* [emphasis mine] ignored the realities of life in these African societies Once their military position was secure, they also tried with some success to manufacture the grievances that inevitably ended in war (Switzer 1993:38).

The Comaroffs (1991:20) have demonstrated the close relationship between culture and hegemony as ‘culture *plus* power *equals* hegemony’ insofar as hegemony is:

that order of signs and practices, relations and distinctions, images and epistemologies – drawn from a historically situated cultural field – that come to be taken-for-granted as the natural and received shape of the world and everything that inhabits it.

And because hegemony is ‘habit forming’ ‘it is rarely contested directly’ (:23). It is implicitly understood. Scott (1990:77) comments that this implicit understanding must not be interpreted as obviating social conflict even though Gramsci’s theory of hegemony operates mainly in the arena of thought rather than that of action.

In civil society power is exercised through a combination of consent and conformity. The idea of consent is important in that it permits those with hegemonic ambitions to rule without having to resort to violence or other means of coercive activity: ‘This system of consent ... was the ruling class’s hegemony’ (Barrel 1998:21). It ranges in definition from ‘wholesale internalisation of dominant values’ which are essentially passive to ‘active commitment’ (Femia 1975:32). This implies that consent comes not only from those who benefit from the hegemonic influence but also from those who may well suffer as a result of its influence and power:

For Gramsci hegemony did not require the active support of the subordinate masses. Compliance was sufficient [as] hegemonic interests seek to neutralise, manipulate, and ultimately incorporate dissent Those who control the state are forced to make a real attempt to bring about the active consent of those who are governed (Switzer 1993:6-7).

Gramsci’s definition of hegemony ‘wants to dictate the culture of our society in such a way that its views are accepted and expressed even by those whose interests it is against. And accepted ... as reality itself’ (Leon 1999:23). Consent and conformity may be given on the part of the subject either consciously or possibly as an internalised reflex response. What Gramsci (CPC 6 in Sassoon 1982:103) says of the factory situation is equally true of the school context: ‘... discipline and a good state of production is only possible if there exists at least a minimum of constitutionality, a minimum of consent on the part of the workers’. Hence, hegemony is not a straightforward exercise of rule/control imposed from above (Feierman 1990 in Crais 1992:109); it ‘involved an act of appropriation and recreation; indeed, the very complexity of its creation in large part accounts for its power and its inherent ambiguity and incompleteness’. Thus the educational function of hegemony can occur:

Every relationship of ‘hegemony’ is necessarily a pedagogic relationship [Gramsci QC:1331; PN:350 in Joll 1977:101]. The degree of success of such an educational process will be shown by the extent to which a new consensus or, to use Gramsci’s phrase, a ‘collective national will’ is formed (Joll 1977:101).

Consequently, there is a need to delegitimise the principles of opponents:

In your struggle to set up your own hegemony, you will be willing to meet some of the demands of your opponents, but always on your own terms. You want an opponent’s consent; but his dissent, where it persists, has no standing (Barrel 1998:21).

This is not always possible as the ideology of domination and subordination is premised on the existence of some form of response or resistance for:

The cultural mechanisms that structured consent ... did not guarantee consent. While Cape liberalism was a dominant ideological discourse for the African petty bourgeoisie between the 1880s and 1930s, the political activities of these elites cannot be interpreted simply as a prolonged reformist attempt to gain entry into white middle-class society Resistance ... occurred outside as well as inside the fabric of organised African politics, and it was expressed in the protocols, etiquettes, rituals ceremonies, festivals, and other routines of everyday life (Switzer 1993:10).

Yet, it is also true that instances of greatest rejection of the dominant ideology originate from those who are among the conformists:

Because they operated as if they accepted the implicit promise of the dominant ideology (If you work hard, obey authority, do well in school, and keep your nose clean you will advance by merit and have satisfying work) they made sacrifices of self-discipline and control and developed expectations that were usually betrayed. Employers preferred not to hire them because they were pushy and hard to deal with as compared with the more typical working-class youth, who were realistic, expected little, and put in a day of work without too much grumbling. The system may have most to fear from those subordinates among whom the institutions of hegemony have been most successful. The disillusioned mission boy is always a graver threat to an established religion than the pagans who were never taken in by its promises. The anger born of a sense of betrayal implies an earlier faith (Scott 1990:107).

Direct coercion is eschewed in civil society, but it remains a reserve tool, for the effects of power:

are internalised, in their negative guise, as constraints; in their neutral guise as conventions; and, in their positive guise, as values. Yet the silent power of the sign, the unspoken authority of habit, may be as effective as the most violent coercion in shaping, directing, even dominating social thought in action (Comaroff & Comaroff 1991:22).

It becomes invisible, habituated and is no longer recognised as a form of coercion. Within the system at Lovedale, for instance, condescension, opprobrium, approbation were largely employed to maintain the hegemony of the staff over the students⁸.

Yet, civil and political society do not operate in isolation from one another. Thus not only the Church but institutions such as the courts and schools combine political and 'private' functions. Gramsci explains that:

⁸ In "political society", by contrast, persuasion by ideas is subordinated to the threat of coercion by force.

every State is ethical in as much as one of its most important functions is to raise the great mass of the population to a particular cultural and moral level, a level (or type) which corresponds to the needs of the productive forces for development, and hence to the interests of the ruling classes. The school as a positive educative function, and the courts as a repressive and negative educative function, are the most important State activities in this sense: but, in reality, a multitude of other so-called private initiatives and activities tend to the same end – initiatives and activities which form the apparatus of the political and cultural hegemony of the ruling classes (SPN 258 in Sassoon 1982:101-102, her emphasis; cf. Switzer 1993:6).

This would explain the great educational thrust of missionaries in nineteenth century South Africa, especially in the Scottish missions as they sought to produce educated blacks to educate and evangelise their own peoples as well as to provide tradespeople who could function in a developing society (Duncan 1997:33). But their work operated at a far more subtle level which necessitated the:

internalisation of a set of values, an ineffable manner of being and seeing it is precisely here that the evangelist left his mark most deeply in southern Africa. For while the colonial process often entailed material dispossession, even brute force, a critical part of the subjection of native peoples lay in the subtle colonisation, by the missionary of indigenous modes of perception and practice (Comaroff & Comaroff 1986:2).

The movement from hegemony to ideology occurs as soon as the exercise of hegemonic power is articulated. It is contended that ‘hegemony and ideology are the two dominant factors in which power ... is entailed in culture’ (Comaroff & Comaroff 1991:22). Ideology performs a dual function in this context as a screen for reality inducing passive acceptance (as in religion which promotes present acceptance of the status quo in the hope of benefits in an after-life), and alternately as ideas in the process of formation which reveal the contradictions in life (as in the opulent lives of leaders in contrast to the abject poverty of subjects). Gramsci goes beyond the former approach to ideology in his contention that critical reflection on the material results of ideology can be intellectually rejected as ideas are formulated through reflection on human experience which is the task of society’s professional intellectuals who work within the confines of civil society (Kiros 1985:102):

Gramsci believed that it was only through historical awareness and historical analysis, through an understanding of the precise historical circumstances in which societies and individual men found themselves that man’s capacity to remake his surroundings and to remake himself become clear. It is this attainment of historical awareness, the realisation of what is the right course for himself and for the society in which he lives that makes the role of the intellectual all-important in Gramsci’s theory of revolutionary change (Joll 1977:90)

However, it is not only on the level of awareness that ideology and hegemony operate but also in the 'realm of partial recognition' or non-conscious recognition 'beyond the grasp of consciousness' (Bourdieu 1977:94 in Comaroff & Comaroff 1985:5 in Duncan 1997:20) for it is here that often:

silent signifiers and unmarked practices may rise to the level of explicit consciousness, of ideological assertion – or from which they may recede into the hegemonic, to languish there unremarked for the time being (Comaroff & Comaroff 1991:29).

It is important to note that ideology is not simply a negative concept:

By ideology, I mean the mental frameworks – the languages, the concepts, categories, imagery of thought, and the systems of representation – which different classes and social groups deploy in order to make sense of, define, figure out and render intelligible the way society works. [But ideology also involves] the processes by which new forms of consciousness, new conceptions of the world, arise, which move the masses of the people into historical action against the prevailing system (Hall 1983:59 in Switzer 1993:8-9).

Despite this, the possibility of each person in society having the potential for intellectual thought is admitted (Joll 1977:90; Kiros 1985:112). However:

Since the 'torrent of ideas' (the worldviews) were given to the great mass of the population, the potential philosophers thus remained at the conformist stage, the stage of uncritical thinking. They remained at the mercy of hegemony of political society and civil society (Kiros 1985:111-112).

With regard to our subject, nineteenth century missionaries participated in and manipulated 'an empire of inequality, a colonialism of coercion and dispossession' as:

parts of the evangelical message insinuated themselves into the warp and weft of an emerging hegemony, while others gave rise to novel forms of consciousness and action that were to spark the earliest reactions – the first, often inchoate and stumbling, expressions of resistance – to the contradictions of the civilising mission. Later, with the rise of a Christian-educated black bourgeoisie, they would fuel black nationalist politics with both causes of complaint and a rhetoric of protest (Comaroff & Comaroff 1991:12).

This is evidenced in the continued existence of forms of passive resistance or 'subversive subservience' (De Kock 1996:105-40; Saayman 1997). Referring to a modern context,

Gramsci (SPN 161 in Sassoon 1982:112) comments:

Undoubtedly the fact of hegemony presupposes that account be taken of the interests and the tendencies of the groups over which hegemony is to be exercised, and that a certain compromise equilibrium should be formed – in other words, that the leading group should make sacrifices of an economic-corporate kind. But there is also no doubt that such sacrifices and such compromise cannot touch the essential.

While peripheral concessions may be made to facilitate the operation of hegemonic structures, the core principles must remain intact. Hence, Gramsci's perception:

that clergy basically as members of the intellectual and professional classes in society, legitimate the rule of the powerful in society but can, if they will to do so, reject this role to put their intellectual and other resources into the service of oppressed people and groups [cf. Joll 1977:90ff]. As educated professionals, clergy and other pastoral workers have considerable resources in terms of understanding and the ability to use and manipulate information (Pattison 1997:227).

This is political action in Gramsci's view where the world is a chaotic political field 'in which rationality is accessible only to a few and philosophy is imposed from without' (Kiros 1985:68).

The staff at institutions like Lovedale constituted the intellectual basis for the establishment of hegemony. The Principals of Lovedale demonstrated such intellectual prowess. Govan was trained in theology and education; Stewart was theologically and medically trained; and Henderson's expertise was in education, theology and medicine, all of which notwithstanding other areas of expertise each developed in the mission field.

The significant role in society occupied by intellectuals focussed on their ability:

to formulate or organise the systems of consent on which ruling classes relied. For that reason, intellectuals were also critically important in challenging or amending a system of consent – or in replacing it altogether. So intellectual and cultural activity were important sites of struggle (Barrel 1998:21).

The function of these "organic intellectuals" is 'to preach the new culture, enforce it in the universities, schools and newspapers and teach children to see that hegemony as reality. People who were, in a word, the carriers of the new dominant culture' (Leon 1999:23). This was the task which was enthusiastically taken up by the missionaries in educational institutions throughout South Africa and elsewhere. This approach to institutionalisation is not a static process, despite the fact that institutions, once established, have a tendency to endure especially in a context where they achieve high levels of support and acceptance as Lovedale

did in the educational sphere as the foremost educational institution in Southern Africa (Saayman 1996:24).

As we have seen, the subject of power is closely related to that of hegemony and ideology although in an implicit rather than explicit sense. Therefore, we now turn to an examination of power in a more explicit sense.

2.2.3 The 'Subject' of Power.

With reference to educational institutions, Foucault (1982:787) says:

the disposal of its space, the meticulous regulations which govern its internal life, the different activities which are organised there, the diverse persons who live there or meet one another, each with his own function, his well-defined character – all these things constitute a block of capacity – communication – power. The activity which ensures apprenticeship and the acquisition of aptitudes or types of behaviour is developed there by means of a whole ensemble of regulated communications (lessons, questions and answers, orders, exhortations, coded signs of obedience, differentiation marks of the “value” of each person and of the levels of knowledge) and by the means of a whole series of power processes (enclosure, surveillance, reward and punishment, the pyramid of hierarchy).

Defined more succinctly, power ‘is a way in which certain actions modify others’ (:788)

either by achieving consensus or conformity, or by the use of force, or yet again by a

combination of the two. It is a means of effecting change in a situation. Hence, it does not

exist in itself as it is a manner of operating rather than a means of achieving a pre-determined

goal. It ‘exists only when it is put into action’ (:788). It is ‘[e]xercised rather than possessed’

and is ‘an effect that is manifested and sometimes extended by the position of those who are

dominated’ (Foucault 1971:26-27 in Crais 1992:58). It does not operate because someone has

given up their freedom though it may be the result of consensus achieved on this point at an

earlier stage. So it does not involve a rejection of freedom though it may lead to the removal

of it:

what defines a relationship of power is that it is a mode of action which does not act directly and immediately upon others. Instead, it acts upon their actions: an action upon an action, on existing actions or on those which may arise in the present or the future Its opposite pole can only be

passivity, and if it comes up against any resistance, it has no other option but to minimise it (Foucault 1982:789),

hence its response (action) to a stimulus (another's action) as in the acceptance of a challenge to any form of authority. Arising out of Enlightenment thinking, 'knowledge has become power *over* rather than power *with*, and the world has been divided into subjects and objects (Bridges-Johns 1997:133). In terms of colonial incursions into Africa, unrestrained force became normative in order to achieve the rationalisation of the continent (Cooper 1994:1531). But a two pronged approach was necessary for the mission failed to achieve the desired results for the colonial enterprise:

while the conquerors could concentrate military force to defeat African armies, 'pacify' villages, or slaughter rebels, the routinisation of power demanded alliances with local authority figures The civilising mission did not end up with the conversion of Africa to Christianity or the generalisation of market relations throughout the continent Colonial violence ... became 'acts of trespass', vivid and often brutal demonstrations distinguishable for what they could violate more than what they could transform (:1529).

Here the colonial thrust is to achieve 'dominance without hegemony' (Guha 1989 in Cooper 1994:1531). Coercion became necessary in order, for example to remove labour to the urban areas as 'power was manifested in a material form through a new economic system that gradually undermined and destroyed the reproductive capacity of African homestead production' (Switzer 1993:4). It is also interesting to note that:

The growth of asylums was intimately associated with the violence of frontier society. Asylums grew up in the wake of the protracted struggle for dominance between white and black and the fragmentation of African societies that followed conquest, settler expansion, and the exodus of African men to the labour markets of the Cape and elsewhere. Settler and official concerns about ensuring stable and prosperous European communities in this historic zone of conflict, with its numerically dominant African population, and about maintaining social order directly imprinted themselves on the institutional cultures and practices of asylums (Edgar & Sapire 2000:38).

For Foucault, two elements are necessary for a power relationship to exist. First, that the "the other" be accepted as one who is capable of acting as a stimulus and second, is also capable of response. Important as force and consent are, neither is of the essence of power itself. Hence, power:

is a total structure of actions brought to bear upon possible actions; it incites, it induces, it seduces, it makes easier or more difficult; in the extreme it constrains or forbids absolutely; it is nevertheless

always a way of acting upon an acting subject or acting subjects by virtue of their acting or being capable of action. A set of actions upon other actions (Foucault 1982:789).

It is therefore, a coercive agency which seeks to mould conduct and pre-determine possible consequences. It is about government in the sense of direction and guidance of conduct, eg. spiritual direction. This is related to freedom because 'Power is exercised only over free subjects, and only insofar as they are free' (:790) and have the option of responding in different ways in any situation for freedom is a pre-condition for the operation of power. At the heart of each person is an "agonism", a rebellious will which refuses to give up freedom which constitutes 'a permanent provocation' (:790). Therefore, Cooper (1994:1533) is correct in his assessment that 'Foucault saw resistance as constitutive of power and power of resistance'.

De Kock (1996:36) contends that 'agonism' is an important and helpful concept in coming to terms with understanding Lovedale:

presenting its education as a free choice, but playing a 'belligerent' role in power relations by promoting as knowledge a particular government of individualisation. No one was ever coerced into enrolling at Lovedale, but pressure to be educated was such that missionary knowledge was widely desired While many people may have been influenced by a typical, missionary-induced 'law of the subject', they were not necessarily submissive to it in the fullest degree A relationship of agonism existed, incorporating elements of freedom and coercion, in which the 'permanent provocation' of 'incitation and struggle' could never be reduced to mere domination.

Within the theory of symbolic universes, we encounter transformation from the values of one culture to another, and the exercise of power within a specific cultural context is central to the process of determining the possible actions of others. Ideologically, it was important for the missionaries to effect changes in converts and transform their community-based philosophy into an individualised one dependent on individual salvation (cf. De Kock 1996:38):

the ideology supporting their evangelism (an ideology which the receiving subject had to accept as 'true' were s/he fully to become a new, Christian subject) depended on a rigid framework of missionary knowledge – a new 'law of truth' and sense of self as a 'locus of consciousness' missionary 'knowledge' inscribed a typology of the Other which ... was severely repressive and served to constrain subjects within cultural codes which were difficult to challenge.

Education was not only desired at Lovedale, it was required if people were to ‘progress’ from ‘barbarism’ and ‘heathenism’ and become acceptable, for example economic units, in a rapidly changing society. Its ‘repressive’ nature was part of the ‘total onslaught’ of a new emerging worldview whose success depended to a large extent upon the disappearance of loyalty to the former symbolic universe. The presence of missionaries and their teaching function ‘threatened the established order. The missionaries aimed at change in belief and custom Theirs was an assault on more than ‘the septic overflow’ of African society’ (Dachs 1972:648). While the missionaries certainly aimed at change through peaceful means, and resistance when it emerged was ‘a reaction against alien pressures’ (:651), ‘the struggle took place around the missionaries as the symbol of a new order of things’ as in the conflict which arose in 1878 between ‘customary and reformed orders of southern Tswana society [and] the British missionaries ... [who] exploited it to resolve the “crisis of orders” [ie. between the chiefs and themselves] and to lead on favourable change’. Hence, Milan Kundera’s assertion that ‘The struggle of man against power is the struggle of memory against forgetting’ (Rostron 1999:26) is apposite for the success of missionary education was attested by the degree to which its ‘beneficiaries’ ‘forgot’ and disposed of their traditional heritage. Freedom, on the other hand, allows the memory to incorporate the past into the contemporary worldview.

Several problems are found in power relations in “circumscribed [total] institutions” (Foucault 1982:791). First, they are modeled with the aim of self-preservation through duplication of their functions. Then, power needs to explain its origin, its “how”, “why” and “for what purpose” in order to justify its existence. Also, the components of rules and means of enforcing them as essentials of power relations leads to the means being seen as variations of the use of force. Hence, institutions are to be assessed in terms of power relations which have

their source beyond such establishments, ie. in society as a whole, eg. in colonial and imperial power.

There are a number of themes which are basic to power relations. 'The system of differentiations' such as status, knowledge, culture and language both determine and result from its operation. 'The types of objectives' set out include 'the maintenance of privileges'. 'The means of bringing power relations into being' varies depending on the manner in which power is to be exercised. 'Forms of institutionalisation' are varied as in total institutions which are characterised by hierarchical structures and a degree of autonomy. 'The degrees of rationalisation' in institutions arises out of their developing systems which meet the needs of their specific context appropriately. An example is the extent to which physical force is necessary to yield required results (:792). This constitutes the 'power strategy the totality of the means put into operation to implement power effectively or to maintain it' (:793).

However, the subject of power is not confined to institutions as corporate bodies. It is also subjective in that it can be internalised in individuals within them and remain coercive indefinitely at an unconscious or subconscious level or on the level of partial awareness:

Inscribed in the mind and on the body of the person – the subject who imagines herself or himself free and yet who bears the terms of subjection within – it saturates all the planes of human existence (Comaroff & Comaroff 1991:17).

The relationship between power and resistance is determined by the existence of a constant tension between the two where there is the possibility of freedom producing a resolution to that tension:

if it is true that at the heart of power relations and as a permanent condition of their existence there is an insubordination and an essential obstinacy on the part of the principles of freedom, then there is no relationship of power without the means of escape or flight (Foucault 1982:794).

While resistance was often considered to be the normal response to the imperial ambitions, it was actually only one response out of various options, eg. flight, neutrality, adaptation, non-

co-operation, collaboration. Whatever the result, resistance must ‘aim at affecting the distribution of power’ (Isaacman & Isaacman 1977:55). Therefore, resolution results from the emergence of ‘stable mechanisms [which] replace the free play of antagonistic reactions’ (Foucault 1982:794). These mechanisms are instruments of control. The tension between a relationship of power and a strategy of struggle produces instability and different ways of interpreting the situation depending on whether the interpreter stands within the struggle or the power relationship. These ‘make visible those fundamental phenomena of “domination” which are present in a large number of human societies’ (:794).

‘Domination is ... a general structure of power whose ramifications and consequences can be found descending to the most recalcitrant fibres of society’ (:795). It is a presupposition which accrues power as long as resistance endures:

what makes the domination of a group, a caste, or a class, together with the resistance and revolts which that domination comes up against, a central phenomenon in the history of societies is that they manifest in a massive and universalising form, at the level of the whole social body, the locking together of power relations with relations of strategy and the results proceeding from their interaction (:795).

James C Scott (1990) offers a persuasive discussion on the subject of ‘Domination and the Arts of Resistance’. He argues that in spite of the existence of a degree of institutionalisation in relations of domination and subordination, the powerful exercise considerable freedom in their attitude towards their subordinates. This is made possible in a revisionist approach where we witness the transition of ‘lower-class actors into social and deliberating beings’ (Scott 1987:418). The forms of domination adopted and pursued are:

institutionalised means of extracting labour, goods and services from a subject population. They embody formal assumptions about superiority and inferiority, often in elaborate ideological form, and a fair degree of ritual and ‘etiquette’ regulates public conduct within them. In principle at least ... subordinate groups are granted few if any political or civil rights. Although they are highly institutionalised, these forms of domination typically contain a strong element of personal rule’ (Scott 1990:21).

In response to this, the subordinate develops a ‘hidden transcript’, ‘a condition of practical resistance’ (:191) whose function is to offer a subtle indirect critique of the power of the

dominant which cannot be explicitly expressed while, at the same time, the dominant similarly operates from a 'hidden transcript' which is the sum of the assumptions on which power is based but which the subordinate also knows and understands. Hence, 'the process of domination generates a hegemonic public conduct and a backstage discourse consisting of what cannot be spoken in the face of power' (Scott 1990:xii). These concealed forms of resistance, on the part of the oppressed, are "'genuine" sorts of consciousness' which:

are at a lower level of consciousness but can be seen as part of an incremental chain of consciousness leading towards a 'higher', more politicised, form of consciousness Any incremental process cannot be viewed deterministically Those informal acts that do involve collective solidarity (eg. feigning illness) can lay the basis for an organisation and leadership, if not a consistent ideology (Cohen sa: 21).

This is the process of progressing 'from latent to "becoming" to actual consciousness' and constitutes involvement in infrapolitics¹⁰. But, this apart, the exercise of power in terms of resistance on the part of the oppressed, latent or conscious, is of necessity shrouded in anonymity for the safety of the perpetrators is of paramount importance (Scott 1987:422). These 'hidden transcripts' are also appropriately defined as 'weapons of the weak' (Isaacman 1990:31) in the case of the subordinate. They may not be articulated or demonstrated overtly, but there is a degree of awareness on the part of both dominated and oppressor that these operate below the level of outward expression. They are certainly not hidden to or from the peer group while again they may also not be explicitly articulated. They 'tended to be individual, localised forms of insurgency' (:32) which aimed 'to block or undercut the claims of the state or appropriate class' (:33). 'To the perpetrators these actions embodied at least some vague notion of collective identity and possessed an internal structure or logic even if it is not easily discernible to scholars' (:32).

¹⁰ 'an unobtrusive realm of political struggle' which is 'resistance that avoids any open declaration of its intentions' (Scott 1990:183, 220).

Therefore, the exercise of power is not only a matter of the actions of the powerful because acts of resistance on the part of subordinates are also actions upon the acts of others and also possess power inasmuch as they do not accept uncritically the use or abuse of power. There would almost seem to be a balance of power in the use of 'public' and 'hidden' transcripts:

If the weak have obvious and compelling reasons to seek refuge behind a mask when in the presence of power, the powerful have their own compelling reasons for adopting a mask in the presence of subordinates. Thus, for the powerful as well there is typically a disparity between the public transcript deployed in the open exercise of power and the hidden transcript expressed safely offstage. The offstage transcript of elites is, like its counterpart among subordinates, derivative: it consists in those gestures and words that inflect, contradict, or confirm what appears in the public transcript (Scott 1990:10).

This is confirmed by the Comaroffs' research among the Tswana who did not simply accept or reject European heritage but also had their 'own powers and capacities' which they employed as they 'set about recasting the image of the evangelists into their own language of cultural relativism' as the result of their consciousness of colonisation (Comaroff & Comaroff 1991:245):

The political quiescence preached by Protestantism has often been put down to much the same thing ['regular and disciplined work'] as if there were open complicity between the cloth and the capitalist in ensuring a smooth control of labour power More subtly, and more to the point here, the rise of capitalist economy and society entailed in its very development the reconstruction of a set of signs, practices and images of the world (:61).

What becomes clear is that the exercise of power 'has consequences for all the actors', ie. it is dialectical for, at the very least, both the powerful and subordinate are aware of each other's 'hidden transcripts'. It requires that the dominant fulfil certain roles which are rooted in assumptions concerning inherent superiority and are maintained by regular demonstrations of that leadership and power witnessed in the display of privilege and prerogative. These are 'public transcripts' which are meanings assigned to certain events and actions which are derived from their perception of themselves which possess 'hegemonic aspirations' (Scott 1990:18). The reciprocal requirement is that the dominated know their place and the requirements of occupying specific subordinate roles as in ceremonies in institutions such as assemblies and worship services. These 'small ceremonies' (:46) can be more persuasive than overt acts of coercive power. The same may be said of public occasions (ie. open to the wider

community) such as parades and processions especially as they testify to the cohesiveness and unanimity of the institution as well as to the fact that they 'emphasise the necessity of the institutionalised order' (:185). In addition, such 'ritual practice is often an attempt to mute conflict and to resolve or defer historical contradictions' (Crais 1992a:103). They are public displays of common purpose:

Most ruling groups take great pains to foster a public image of cohesion and shared belief. Disagreements, informal discussions, off-guard commentary are kept to a minimum and, whenever possible, sequestered out of sight (:55).

This can be seen in instances where conflict between members of the college staff at Lovedale and the Heads of Institutions meetings were treated confidentially. Further, when subordinates are involved, power demands that, at least publicly, the outward expression of conformity is re-established:

The subordinate who has publicly violated the norms of domination, announces by way of public apology that he dissociates himself from the offence and reaffirms the rule in question (Scott 1990:57).

Whether or not the recalcitrant seriously means to subject himself before the superior is not the point. What is important is that the previous situation of domination/subjection is re-established and is seen to be back in order. The maintenance of order is of prime importance and when matters are deemed so serious as to merit extreme reprisals it often suffices 'to round up a few agitators or dismiss a few officials and order would be restored' (:100) as can be seen in the Lovedale riots of 1920 when stern measures were adopted to restore 'normality' (SAO,77, 910, 1 February 1947:25).

Conformity for the sake of protecting oneself and one's significant others leads to the '*frustration of reciprocal action*' (:37) by suppressing true emotions for the sake of others. However, the relative places assigned to each group is also maintained by each having space to be themselves, where they can relax away from the glare of publicity. This concealed

segregation enables the maintenance of critical distance between the two groups as well as the aura attached to each:

The seclusion available to elites not only affords them a place to relax from the formal requirements of their role but also minimises the chance that familiarity will breed contempt or, at least, diminish the impression their ritually managed appearances create (Scott 1990: 13).

In terms of power being defined as actions upon the actions of others which modify those actions, domination gives rise to the response of resistance which does not arise in a vacuum. For example, at the end of the nineteenth century, the rise of industrial capitalism resulted in profound changes in the social milieu of the Ciskei which challenged 'the power of ethnicity and the authority of the state' (Crais 1992:110). The result was the devastating growth of poverty which was to concern James Henderson so much (Cory MS14,427, Henderson to Donald Henderson 24 November 1925; Shepherd 1940:271-275). This led to 'landlessness, economic and social differentiation within prominent African families and the rise of the migrant labour system' (Crais 1992:112). The response of the African elite came from their 'access to "print capitalism" [from which] emanated ideas of "nation" and *manyano*, unity' (:112). The response of the poor 'emerged as publicly declared condemnations framed around notions of the nation, family, class and "blackness", which initially and somewhat paradoxically unfolded as a symbolic and frequently millenarian inversion of colonial reality' (:113). Also, the formation of the South African Native National Congress in 1912 may be considered a response to the failure to achieve even a limited franchise as a result of the formation of the Union of South Africa in 1910.

Resistance is often expressed in a covert manner in order to protect the perpetrators. This was common during the period of this study where resistance was encountered as a response to:

threats of taxes, land management controls and cattle control and caused black people to mobilise by means of petition and even riot. But, for the most part protest included delay, silent boycotts, use of consultation, refusal to co-operate, the refusal to give necessary information, crippling animals, destruction of boundary fences and mobility. But these forms of protest were neither universal nor well organised. In urban areas it took the form of desertion, absenteeism, theft and sabotage and this in spite of organisation among black workers (Duncan 1997:68).

These 'low-profile stratagems' (Scott 1990:188) can only be effective because they originate in a powerful spirit of resistance to domination and seek to transform its base as an alternative to such power. It is virtually impossible to single out individuals for censure in a total institution where corporate action is instigated for while such action may appear to deprive the actors of anonymity their sheer numbers protect them (:152). The expression of ideological domination is witnessed in the development of dissident sub-cultures which are the muted counterpart of overt protest.

Already, reference has been made to the subject of domination and resistance within an institutional setting and it is to the matter of institutionalisation that we now turn.

2.2.4 The Scope and Nature of Institutionalisation

An institution can ... be defined as *any* fixed mode of thought or behaviour held by a group of individuals (ie. a society) which can be communicated, which enjoys common acceptance, and infringement of, or deviation from which creates some disturbance in the individual or in the *group*. When we observe some uniformity of behaviour in a group, we can speak of *institutionalised behaviour*. Institutions are the means of societal continuity and are effective tools for social equilibrium (Kardiner 1939:7).

Johnson-Hill (1996:190), referring to Berger and Luckmann, offers a broader definition by adding the dynamic perspective:

If 'institutions' are understood in a dynamic sense as sets of social relationships which have become routinised over time, then they represent voluntary human processes as much as relatively fixed social structures. They are subject to change to the extent that human actors decide to change their social relationships. The problem, from the standpoint of social change, is that most of us rarely think about changing the ways we relate to one another. We tend to conceive of our institutions as cast in stone rather than as human processes which we are continually constructing.

While institutionalisation is a process, it is resistant to change once it has achieved its aim of incorporating persons into their world-view which is simply a way of bringing order into some form of coherent unity. Yet, depending on the relevance of the institution to society as a whole, there is the possibility of segmentation where certain groups have their needs met in ways that others do not. Within institutions, segmentation may result in 'socially segregated

sub-universes of meaning' (Berger & Luckmann 1966:102) such as occurred at Lovedale with the development of educational, theological, medical, agricultural and industrial sub-universes. Those involved in any project will view the total society from a particular perspective and thereby increase the problem of developing a comprehensive ethos or world-view [*'Weltanschauung'*] (:103) for the 'total institution' as rivalries and competition vie for resources and recognition. Remembering that knowledge is socially distributed according to the needs of the role adopted, there is a dialectic between knowledge as a social construct and its ability to effect transformation in that society (:104). As sub-universes develop and become more complex they become more exclusive and privileged and have to devise means of maintaining their exclusivity by keeping the initiated part of the group as a cohesive unit and excluding others, ie. the 'double problem of legitimation' (:105).

The persisting nature of institutions leads to the question of the degree to which they take on a life of their own? 'This is the question of the reification of social reality' (:106) where humans become the objects of the system: 'Human beings are no longer understood as world-producing but as being, in their turn, products of the "nature of things"' (:107). As a result:

Both the institutional order as a whole and segments of it may be apprehended in reified terms. For example, the entire order of society may be conceived of as of a microcosm reflecting the macrocosm of the total universe as made by the gods (:107).

This is certainly true of religious communities but it is also true of all 'total institutions' where life for many is experienced in its and as its totality, eg. prisons, closed monastic orders, boarding schools and mental hospitals. Reflecting on this in the mission situation Cook (1970:109) comments:

the pattern of settlement was essentially that of the colonist. Indeed, the missionaries tended to assume that the influence of an itinerant ministry was necessarily superficial, and that if any real work was to be achieved, it had to be through some institution. The establishment of such became an earnest of the evangelists' intentions. Later, these institutions took on lives of their own, and sometimes seemed to suggest that despite Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, the life of faith, if this meant dwelling only in tents, was slightly suspect: a sign of spiritual unsoundness, even of vagrancy.

As a consequence of this kind of thinking, it was necessary to justify the tradition of institutionalisation which emerged.

2.2.5 The Legitimation of Institutionalised Tradition

The concept of legitimation serves to validate or verify the traditions which emerged in the initial process of institutionalisation by producing 'new meanings that serve to integrate the meanings already attached to the disparate processes' (Berger & Luckmann 1966:110) as an institution develops into a coherent and conventional substantial existence. But in order to achieve this in each subsequent generation, 'there must be "explanations" and justifications of the salient elements of the institutional tradition. Legitimation is the process of such "explaining" and justifying' (:111). It is:

that machinery whereby explanations are provided for the nature of reality and occurs through the nature of language itself, through pre-theoretical morals, maxims and proverbs, through explicit theories of explanation (eg. theological theories) and ultimately through the symbolic universe itself which integrates all the preceding forms [cf. Berger & Luckmann ch2]. Schools are important, though not exclusive agencies through which these explanations are conveyed to children (Ashley 1982:50).

The education offered by the mission was vastly different from the traditional form in that it was modern in the sense of depending on recent developments in knowledge and cognitive approaches. It also broke from traditional educational processes in that it was an integral part of the Christian worldview which was itself infused with imperial and racial assumptions (Ashley 19892:51). A transformation had to occur in order to supplant traditional systems with formal education in order that the missionary objective could be achieved:

Formal education ... meant the transformation of indigenous peoples' consciousness from traditional to Christian and modern forms. Education is one of the principal means whereby intervention is achieved in the process of transferring legitimations from one generation to the next, so that the oncoming may learn to accept new theories of explanation (:56).

However, this is not a straightforward process. In the matter of white settler and military incursions into the Eastern Cape, there was black resistance to the many changes which were being imposed and in the course of time black people had decreasing power and were forced 'either not to compromise or to compromise within a traditional framework' (:50). This became more difficult for them as traditional society was destroyed and, therefore, presented less of an obstacle as black people were assimilated into the ways of thinking and acting of

European society though certainly not into that society itself. For instance, the cattle-killing of 1856-57 'opened the way for significant growth of mission education and the teaching of mainly Protestant educators who propagated a discourse of metaphors masquerading as literal truth' (De Kock 1996:65).

A purpose of institutions is to legitimate a particular form of the prevailing and/or encroaching social order in both the consciousness (internal) and actions (external) of the receiving group. This produces a degree of ambiguity in Gramsci's idea of legitimation:

which he called 'abstract consciousness' [which] was often in conflict with a person's lived experiences, which he called 'situational consciousness'. The resulting 'contradictory consciousness' of 'man-in-the-mass' was an expression of and commitment to and of ambivalence about the social order. For Gramsci, hegemony did not require the active support of the subordinate masses. Compliance was sufficient (Switzer 1993:6).

As can be seen the process of legitimation operates on the cognitive level and its conscientisation becomes normative, so it combines prior knowledge with an ethical perspective. It proceeds through the stages of incipient legitimation (pre-theoretical assumptions), elementary theoretical premises and explicit theories to symbolic universes.

2.2.5.1 Symbolic Universes as a Prime Focus of Legitimation

Symbolic universes are 'bodies of theoretical tradition that integrate different provinces of meaning and encompass the institutional order in a symbolic totality' (Berger & Luckmann 1966:113). They form an 'all-embracing frame of reference, which now constitutes a universe in the literal sense of the word, because *all* human experience can now be conceived of as taking place *within* it' and form the mould in which 'the entire historic society and the entire biography of the individual are seen as events taking place *within* this universe' (:114). They constitute:

the moral authority of society ... for they perform a social control function as well as being agents for the transmission of knowledge the categories provide a cosmology, a way for all men to relate to and know the social universe in which they live: they provide the means by which the social continuity is maintained (Hamilton 1974:117).

Therefore, they communicate the ethical standards of the community. Missionaries have been criticised for displacing the moral values of traditional societies without acknowledging their existence, taking account of them as internalised moral sanctions and failing to integrate Christian values in their place¹¹. The missionaries who came to the Eastern Cape were ‘proselytising agents of their universe’ (Ashley 1980:32) whose mission was characterised by the command to preach the Gospel throughout the world and the belief in the consequent *parousia* arising out of the eighteenth century Evangelical Revival with its additional stress on conversion.

Symbolic universes involve historical social processes which ‘operate to legitimate individual biography and the institutional order ... [they are] nomic, or ordering, in character’ (Berger & Luckmann 1976:115) and “‘put everything in its right place”” (:116). They are all embracing because they:

legitimate everyday roles, priorities, and operating procedures by placing them *sub specie universi*, that is, in the context of the most general frame of reference conceivable It can be readily seen how this procedure provides powerful legitimation for the institutional order as a whole as well as for particular sectors of it (:117)

This was true in very real terms in the nineteenth century for:

the civilising colonialism of the mission was confined to stations either beyond the frontier or within insulated pockets dotted across the remote countryside. Each charted, for its protagonists, a total world; each represented the effort of one class fraction to assert its own form of hegemony over South Africa ... (Comaroff 1989:680).

¹¹ Interview with Rev Prof N Katiya on 20 February 1999 at Tsolo.

Education was critical to this process as a ‘means to intervene in the process of transferring legitimations from one generation to another by offering new explanations and justifications’.

This was possible because:

In addition to the formal curriculum, there was present in the schools what today is called a ‘hidden curriculum’. Missionary education was doing more than purvey knowledge or teach skills. It was an important part of the missionary effort to effect a transfer of pupils from one universe to another. Thus clothing had to be worn at school. New work habits and discipline had to be learned, new methods of agriculture had to be mastered, and industrial skills learned to open the way to new economic activities. Girls had to be educated to know the Word of God so that they would resist polygamous marriages. Although initially mission education was primarily concerned with communicating Christianity, the emphasis changed to its role as an agency in civilising the natives, this being regarded as the necessary preliminary to conversion. Because of the difficulty encountered in converting people from the traditional to the Christian universe, the missionaries were prepared to co-operate with the Government in carrying out policies which aimed at effecting large-scale change in the Xhosa belief and value system.

The size of the task and the shortage of missionaries led to the creation of native agency, ie. native converts who could extend the work of conversion. These men had generally been through the very elementary education, and needed something more advanced. This led to the establishment of ... the famous Lovedale Institution. Rev James Laing preached at the opening ceremony. After stressing the need for native catechists, he said he was glad that the seminary would enable them to ‘drink at the fountains of literature, science and practical godliness’ [Shepherd 1940:96]. The education was to be a British one. By 1845 English and Xhosa, Geography and Arithmetic were being taught as well as Algebra, Mathematics, Greek and Latin Policy was to provide an education equivalent to that available in Great Britain at the pre-university level (Ashley 1980:35-36).

The result of adopting an alternative symbolic universe has been noted by Neill (1964:380-381):

The great breakthrough took place when it became possible to send out African Christians to live as evangelists in the villages he could now live in African society without being submerged by it. The system of village evangelists was developed everywhere in the Protestant missions.

Here we can note the universality of the imposition of the missionaries’ symbolic universe and, also how a centripetal approach was adopted in mission in order to prepare for a centrifugal thrust.

Central to this process of transferring students from one symbolic universe to another was the use of language as Ashley has noted (1982:50). It was vital for the communication of Christianity, the entire civilising process for ‘Literacy was at the core of colonisation in South Africa. It was implicit in the frontier struggle between sharply contrasting modes of

information and comprehension' (De Kock 1996:64) and 'English and the forms it encodes – would be their [the missionaries'] main instrument' (De Kock 1996:69).

2.2.5.2 The Role of English in Coercive Agency

The former (men) had the Word; the others (natives) had the use of it. Between the two there were hired kinglets, overlords and bourgeoisie, sham from beginning to end, which served as go-betweens. In the colonies the truth stood naked, but the citizens of the mother country preferred it with clothes on: the native had to love them, something in the way mothers are loved. The European *elite* undertook to manufacture a native *elite*. They picked out promising adolescents; they branded them, as with a red-hot iron, with the principles of western culture; they stuffed their mouths full with high-sounding phrases, grand glutinous words that stuck to the teeth (Sartre in Fanon 1961:7).

De Kock (1996) has provided a helpful analysis of the role of the English language in the coercive civilising process of education especially during the principalship of James Stewart.

He has examined:

some of the ways in which a relentlessly book and print-driven civilising colonialism sought to *inscribe* in 'barbarous' Africans the precepts of a largely Protestant Western modernity (contemporaneous, in South Africa, with the telegraph and the press) and to implant in their minds dreams of a 'rational', Christian community of peasant individualists drawn away from what was conceived as heathen abjection in degrading tribal conditions (De Kock 1996:2).

These precepts 'found their form in the lofty medium of English' and 'sought to retell the story of proper human subjectivity in a context of coercive military and cultural warfare' (:2).

The story of how lead print from the press at Lovedale was melted down to be made into bullets during the 'War of the Axe' [1846-7] (Shepherd 1940:400) shows how the blatant physical use of the medium for the expression and extension of English was employed, apart from more subtle means. They were, therefore, 'negotiations of identity' (De Kock 1996:3).

Lovedale, as other mission education stations, is considered as one of the prime loci for the inculcation of the values of western mission Christianity being 'the pre-eminent centre of conversion and education in the Eastern Cape' responsible for 'fashioning narratives of identity for African people' (:4). Here we can see the scope for the development of the relationship between knowledge and power which was possessed by the missionaries and which could be shared by blacks at the price of acceptance of and conformity to western

hegemony. The metaphorical battle was fought and the weapon of 'language was employed within larger configurations of power and influence, as discourse, to gain mastery over the worlds of Europe's Others' (:8) in order that 'the material signs of heathendom are dissolved by the power of the Word'. James Read used this imagery in a sermon: 'I told the Bechuanas that when God's word began to work in their hearts their tears would wash away all the red paint from their bodies' (Comaroff & Comaroff 1991:214). Thus, the 'written word has the capacity to transform the consciousness of those who come into contact with it, taking language out of its immediate context of use and reference' (Comaroff & Comaroff 1986:15); 'conversation with the mission engendered conversion ... as a subtle internalisation of its categories and values'. With regard to their work among the Tshidi, the Comaroffs (1986:16) reported:

Once they had been enticed, often unwittingly, into the conversation with Christianity, Tshidi were drawn into a dialogue whose terms they could not but internalise – a dialogue that cast them as citizens of a world of rational individualism. In this world, they were told, they could fashion their own lives by exercising free choice; personal achievement would be rewarded by the accumulation of goods and moral worth ... many Tshidi did not respond to the message exactly as the [missionaries] would have liked. Apart from all else, they read it through the filter of their own culture. And, in any case ... no hegemony is ever complete. Still, its impact on Tshidi consciousness ran very deep.

The superiority of the Victorian as the repository of colonial expressions of knowledge and their deceptive use of them was unquestioned as far as the legitimacy of the English language was concerned inasmuch as it was normative for the positive development of the South African nation and also, in a more resistant form, for African nationalism. English encapsulated a universe in its entirety and was employed in such a manner that the black 'subject epitomised the essence of evil'. In his definition of the colonial world as a compartmentalised 'Manichean world', Fanon (1961:32) has defined the relationship between colonialist and black as an ideological 'Manichean' struggle in which blacks are demonised as:

insensible to ethics; he represents not only the absence of values, but also the negation of values. He is ... the enemy of values, and in this sense he is the absolute evil. He is the corrosive element, destroying all that comes near him; he is the deforming element, disfiguring all that has to do with beauty or morality; he is the depository of maleficent powers, the unconscious and irretrievable instrument of blind forces.

In this process 'to impute ... an innocent or naïve "intention" to colonialist discourse is itself a naïve act at least' (JanMohamed 1985:60; cf. Cochrane 1987:137). Clearly, this was not a neutral process even if it took place at a subconscious level at times (JanMohamed 1985:61), hence the employment of the 'Manichean' allegory which is:

a field of diverse yet interchangeable oppositions between black and white, good and evil, superiority and inferiority, civilisation and savagery, intelligence and emotion, rationality and sensuality, self and Other, subject and object. The power relations underlying this model set in motion such strong currents that even a writer who is reluctant to acknowledge it and who may indeed be highly critical of imperialist exploitation is drawn into its vortex' (JanMohamed 1985:63).

Thus, the process of compartmentalising groups of people was seemingly involuntary. But, moreso, in order to maintain the negative image of the black person literature can portray him as irrevocably primitive and, therefore, always in need of 'guidance' in order that 'the European's attempt to civilise him can continue indefinitely, the exploitation of his resources can proceed without hindrance, and the European can persist in enjoying a position of moral superiority' (:62) while the black person:

functions as the currency, the medium of exchange, for the entire colonialist discursive system [in] a profound symbiotic relationship between the discursive and material practices of imperialism: the discursive practices do to the symbolic, linguistic presence of the native what the material practices do to his physical presence (:64).

In this process the coloniser never questions or doubts his own moral and other forms of superiority. He simply accepts that the cultural and societal norms, which include the significant expression of culture - language - he brings, are the highest that exist.

Consequently, there is little point in taking account of 'the worthless alterity of the colonised' (:65). Subjection of the colonised is achieved by the crudest form of superiority, military means, and is maintained in more subtle manner through the medium of language:

Colonial domination, because it is total and tends to oversimplify, very soon manages to disrupt in spectacular fashion the cultural life of a conquered people Every effort is made to bring the colonised person to admit the inferiority of his culture which has been transformed into instinctive patterns of behaviour, to recognise the unreality of his 'nation', and, in the last extreme, the confused and imperfect character of his own biological structure (Fanon 1961:190).

The same was ostensibly true of his language where there was a need to master the vernacular languages so that 'To the Jew, God must speak as a Jew, with a repetition of that particularity

in respect to the Gentiles' (Sanneh 1995:30). There was also a need to commit vernacular languages to writing in order that they can be 'controlled', and also that the spoken word of oral culture could make way for the supremacy of the written word which 'held the ultimate power of transformation' (Comaroff & Comaroff 1991:215) and gave 'mastery over the structures and terms of communication'. Thus, 'the missionaries had provided written, if critical, authority for the force of oral tradition' (Sanneh 1995:185). Language was, therefore, an instrument in the process of conversion which led to a "benevolent" ideological imperialism' (Comaroff & Comaroff 1991:215) based on a moral imperative to teach what has not been hitherto known but it was also 'a dynamic cultural resource, reflecting the spirit of the people and illuminating their sense of values' (Crowther in Sanneh 1995:165).

Knowledge and control of language enabled missionaries to convey meanings appropriate to the needs of their concept of civilisation although 'a necessary precondition for effective translation is the surrender to the terms of the receptor culture' (Sanneh 1995:198). The whole process of 'translation forces a distinction between the essence of the message, and its cultural presuppositions, with the assumption that such a separation enables us to affirm the primacy of the message over its cultural underpinnings' (:31) despite language and culture being 'essential aspects of Christian transmission' (:1). This was the case as, for instance, in the translation of the scriptures, the use of terms was loaded to convey the missionaries' ideological position. The word *badimo* (ancestors/living dead) was used to mean demons. This incorrect translation was wrongly used to convey a subversive and negative meaning of the word. Consequently, we note that 'the colonisation of language became an increasingly important feature of the symbolic process of domination at large' (Comaroff & Comaroff 1991:218). As Sanneh (1995:177) commented, 'The words "a thorough knowledge of native customs and habits" [Evans-Pritchard 1965:8] may stand for indigenous necessity, a step that brings the missionary to accepting the primacy of the vernacular'. Yet, the value of having the scriptures in the vernacular was that:

When taught to read [the Scriptures] they have in their hands the means not only of recovering them from their natural darkness, but of keeping the lamp of life burning even amidst comparatively desert gloom (Moffat 1842:618 in Comaroff & Comaroff 1991:215)

Since:

Language is the intimate, articulate expression of culture Missionary adoption of the vernacular was tantamount to adopting indigenous cultural criteria for the message, a piece of radical indigenisation far greater than the standard portrayal of mission as Western cultural imperialism (Sanneh 1995:3).

However, missionaries also attempted to transform cultural criteria by joining forces with colonialism to destroy local cultures despite existing, at the same time, in a dialectical tension with the same colonialism and indigenous cultures. There was:

tension in acts of local commitment to the new religion in spite of overt reaction, but, equally important, we may also find the tension working at the level of indigenous participation in Christianity where local converts engage in mutual criticism or in competition and debate what is appropriately indigenous and authentic (Sanneh 1995:4).

So, through language, the relationship developed is one of mutual interdependence for 'the European settler is able to compel the Other's recognition of him and, in the process, allow his own identity to become deeply dependent on his position as a master' (JanMohammed 1985:66). Yet, 'even though the native is negated by the projection of the inverted image, his presence as an absence can never be cancelled' (:67). Since the colonialist has an investment in preserving the status quo, history and a vision for the future are relegated to a static understanding of the past and an envisioning of the future as a perfected form of the present attempt at civilising the Other. With regard to the past, 'colonialism is not satisfied merely with holding a people in its grip and emptying the native's brain of all form and content. By a kind of perverted logic, it turns to the past of the oppressed people, and distorts, disfigures and destroys it' (Fanon 1961:169). Concerning the future, James Stewart's envisioning of the development of blacks demonstrates this process whereby he could not conceive of progress occurring within a foreseeable future. His view was that 'the African would need the Anglo-Saxon alongside of him for the next 50 or 100 years' (in Duncan 1997:129). Hence, we can agree with Muckerjee (1991:45 n.2) 'that English language and literature played a major role in destroying indigenous cultures'.

Consequently, it was necessary for mission Christianity to use all its powers to overcome the perceived negativity of this world which ‘collided’ (Ashley 1980) with western civilisation though Elphick (1992:16 in De Kock 1996:13) is probably correct in his assessment that:

Two systems of thought do not ‘collide’; rather, real people negotiate their way through life, grasping, combining, and opposing different elements which the scholar assign [sic] to different origins Differences over meaning involve struggles for power, but ... power relations are multiple, widely diffused throughout society.

The Comaroffs (1991:171) would certainly agree with this assessment of the meeting and interaction between an ‘expansive’ and a ‘defensive’ world, two vastly unequal forces:

The encounter presents itself most accessibly in the letters, reports and published works of the missionaries, whose stories invariably begin with the self-conscious accounts of their ‘outward’ journeys to the ‘field’ and their first dealings with ‘the natives’. But there is also a discernible Tswana commentary on these events, spoken less in narrative form than in the symbolism, gesture, action, and reaction, and in the expressive play of language itself.

They have ably demonstrated that the ‘colonisation of consciousness’ and the ‘consciousness of colonisation’ was a matter of process. In terms of response to the imposition of western colonial Christian values, blacks were capable of recognising the processes at work at varying levels of consciousness and through different reactions were able to empower and represent themselves corporately. Submission was not always automatic; it was at times subversive:

It is one thing to describe the attempts by missionaries to enforce a coercive narrative of identity on people, and quite another to argue that such a narrative adequately reflects the experience of colonial interaction. Indeed, I have found it invigorating to look at the ways in which people who have been institutionally colonised (such as pupils who have willingly gone through the rigours of a Lovedale education) nevertheless subvert from within the terms by which their identity is supposedly defined, in a manner which is strikingly similar to deconstructive practice. Likewise, it has been a revealing exercise to examine the possibility that missionaries deluded themselves in their insistence on particular terms of reference regardless of major discrepancies between their African experiences and their evangelical or imperial narratives (De Kock 1996:17).

These subversive practices resulted from the disastrous history of military defeat in the first half of the nineteenth century with the growing realisation in the remainder of the century that violence would not achieve a long term solution to settlement in the Eastern Cape and that self improvement was a more profitable course of action. Therefore, it was necessary to make some ‘concession to orthodox forms of the civilising mission, particularly the prospects held out by missionary education, ... in order to advance beyond peasantry and serfdom’ for the

missionaries at Lovedale ‘were crucial agents in the construction of a literary basis for self-apprehension by those regarded as the Other’ (:19):

In the hands of the Protestant missionaries, language was no neutral medium for the mere conveyance of ideology, but the basis of a discursive orthodoxy for the creation of subjectivity under the power of a new colonial order operating on material, intellectual and spiritual levels In other words, missionaries wielded cultural power from which hegemonic forms were to be cast in colonial society (De Kock 1992:112).

Brownlee’s¹² aim for blacks in terms of mission ‘is to elevate them and enlighten them, and raise them in the scale of civilisation The process of eradicating and changing habits and customs confirmed and rooted in the growth of centuries, is slow’ (in Schreuder 1976:287).

Yet, the process enjoyed a degree of success for:

Some thousands have renounced heathenism with all its superstitions and customs, even to the receiving and giving of wives. These people [are] coming into a sort of antagonism with their chiefs ... [and] the influence of the chiefs becomes lessened over them; and every war has found this party increased, and on our side With time and peace their influence will extend, till the whole mass of heathenism is leavened by the beneficial effects of Christianity (Brownlee 1896:180).

In order to accomplish this:

we endeavour to attach them to us by a just and righteous administration; we contribute largely to the advancement of education; [and] ... the missionaries are the agency by which the people are enlightened and educated (in Schreuder 1976:287).

In the Ciskei this was achieved mainly by an emphasis on education, and industrial education in particular, but the aim was clearly ‘to create a *field* force whose ideas and enthusiasms were far from neutral when it came to their administrative politics’ (Schreuder 1976:286) though Brownlee (in :287) contests that this was done from ‘interested motives’ despite a clear intention of ‘winning not only the loyalty of African groups, but the very “mind” of traditional society itself ... into a Protestant vision of modern society’.

We have seen how the missionaries adopted a specific role in this process compared with that of the settlers. For they were:

¹² Charles P Brownlee, member of a distinguished missionary family, appointed Secretary for Native Affairs in the Cape, 1873

destined to transform the coercive processes of colonisation into the cultivation of “civilisation” Theirs was the domain in which signs were most assiduously contested and the imperialism of a European version of Christian truth most forcefully practised (De Kock 1996:22).

And this colonialism was concentrated and strengthened using the most important tool available ‘the book’ (:24) as ‘the written language became a *sine qua non* of Christianity and civilisation’ (Comaroff & Comaroff 1991:223). Blacks had little opportunity to reject Protestant values which were enshrined in the medium of English and were advanced by missionary education if they had any hope of improving themselves:

The doctrine borne by the Word was explicit in its attack on the entire edifice of customary practice. Once the divine light of truth had fallen on it, savage innocence became original sin, its ways to be loudly condemned as the path to death and damnation (:238).

As has been mentioned already, the way for the expansion of blacks in the new colonial dispensation was facilitated by war. The wars of dispossession of the nineteenth century ensured the devastation of black resistance:

Such a scorched-earth policy had become, since Graham’s campaign in 1812, the strategy of desperation in every succeeding war, most notably in the last [1846-47] by choosing harvest time and destroying the crops, a swift onset of hunger could be induced (Mostert 1992:1129).

This policy forced blacks into a recently developed mercantile economy or the peasant class and due preparation for this transformation was provided by mission education.

Consequently, ‘aspirant Africans had little choice but to embrace Protestant values which were embedded in the medium of English and promoted in missionary education’ (De Kock 1996:30). Such a class, an educated elite, was eventually enabled to express itself in African nationalism when its aspirations were dashed in the preparation of the Act of Union (1910). It had capitulated as the result of war and had to accept ‘the cultural precepts of identity for people made subservient by war and imperial expansionism’ (:27) which were the ‘unstable signifiers of “civilisation”’ (:23). This was the result of coercing the Other to accept ‘an orthodoxy of identity’ (:32) with the colonising power. This constituted:

symmetry, on the one hand in the decline of African power in the Eastern Cape in the nineteenth century as the Hundred Years’ War on the frontier dragged on, and, on the other in the gradual increase in the success of an institution such as Lovedale (:32).

This had the effect of increasing the significance of mission education as can be attested by the fact that the government was prepared to make an investment in it, ie. the Grey plan of the 1850s. Consequently, towards the close of the century the majority of black people accepted western culture as the standard:

Missionary enterprise, ultimately was concerned to transform social institutions and practices that were alien or incompatible with capitalist society into ones that were compatible, and hence to encourage a total change in the world-view of the people in whose midst they lived ... the mission societies and their most influential spokesmen sought consciously to restructure African societies along lines that would attach them securely to the British capitalist economy (Bundy 1988:37 in De Kock 1996:33)..

Mission education functioned to convert the traditional amaXhosa into units fit to operate in a European based economy. Hence, the development of industrial education programmes as part of the process of transformation and the English language was the means employed to effect the conversion.

Violent resistance gave way to the philosophy of the 'Improvers' who contended that advancement was achievable by working within the system, ie. through education and the benefits it conferred, eg.:

They found in the franchise clause of the Cape Constitution the needed opportunity for political participation. The political leaders' earliest activities centred around Lovedale, the Colony's foremost African school (Hunt Davis 1969:99 in De Kock 1996:61).

The elite in the black population advocated education as the means by which blacks could participate in politics, as an alternative to war, by showing the European population in the Cape that they were worthy of the franchise by dint of hard work and earning respect. 'Experience was to teach them, however, that equality would still be denied them' (Isichei 1995:110), referring to the period c1850. Consequently, these 'Improvers' were 'destined to a lifetime of ambiguity or pain' (:124). They were captive to a combination of the Protestant work ethic and the liberalism of their masters. This was especially true in the post-1840 period when both the state and capitalist farmers sought to create a new being who would be a

diligent worker and an obedient citizen, whose memory would be suppressed in favour of his new allegiance.

This involved the 'reduction' of African languages to written form. It is interesting that the verb 'to reduce' is employed here with its negative connotation when the verb 'to commit' could have been used as easily and would have demonstrated a more positive attitude to vernacular languages. This implies a clear ideological 'commitment' to diminishing anything which was African in origin as part of the wider scenario. Lovedale Press was involved in this venture and like its mother institution became a leader in its field. Hence, the development of 'cultural codes for the establishment of new forms of identity to be transmitted by "church, school, printing press"' (Mphahlele 1980:31 in De Kock 1996:49) and similar institutions with the aim of transferring an oral language into a literate one. Lovedale, 'not only established a widespread literate order incorporating institutional surveillance, but ... sought to 'translate' African subjectivity into excessively narrow limits of expression determined by Western literary forms of understanding' (:65).

This 'literary aspect of colonialism was pursued' (De Kock 1996:69) intensively by means of Bible translation, the production of vocabularies and grammars, and would strive to 'isolate its pupils and seek to remake their discursive identity' (:69) using the English language as its main tool. This work was not, however, restricted to the institutions for, from these centres, teachers were sent out to promote this type of education throughout the colony. Central to this venture were the missionaries, and in particular the Scottish presbyterians at Lovedale with their strong commitment to 'transforming African culture' and 'effacing the alterity perceived through the Manichean model' (:50). While the missionaries sought to extend the hegemony of the colonial world-view epitomised by its 'racially coded, class-ridden system of

domination' it came into conflict with their own marked by ideas of the 'liberal democracy of self-determining individuals' (Comaroff & Comaroff 1991:254).

2.2.6 The Scope of Social Control

As well as defining the extent of social reality symbolic universes also delimit it in terms of what is acceptable in social intercourse and as history: 'with regard to the past, it establishes a "memory" that is shared by all the individuals socialised within the collectivity' (Berger & Luckmann 1966:120). This creates a sense of belonging and shared heritage but it also demands conformity because they are:

also faced with the necessity of keeping chaos at bay. *All* social reality is precarious. *All* societies are constructions in the face of chaos. The constant possibility of anomic terror is actualised whenever the legitimations that obscure the precariousness are threatened or collapse (:121).

This has been especially true of South Africa's recent apartheid history. Writing in the 1970s, Manganyi (1973:27) claimed that this resulted from 'psychic manipulation' and its attendant hazards:

The first of these relates to the fact that a totalistic environment tends to lower the integrative status of a community. This means that such environments become less and less supportive of the individuals that live in them. Integration is rapidly replaced by chaos, by a high morbidity rate and by increasing failures by individuals to constitute meaningful lived-space. In the second place, there can be no doubt that the overall effects of chronic and subtle psychic manipulation must have decisive results on the general vitality and psychic health of future generations of South Africans.

All institutions require a greater or lesser degree of conformity in order to maintain themselves. This is often given automatically and without reflection for 'everybody may "inhabit" that universe in a taken-for-granted attitude' (Berger & Luckmann 1966:122). This gives rise to the problem of who, then, takes responsibility for the consequences of decisions taken, for reflection, planning and action and for the ideological choices made in their defence for it 'presupposes theoretical reflection on the part of somebody' (:122) who has an investment in the preservation and/or development of the institutional order? The answer lies

in the fact that no social construction is ever completely arbitrary and is characterised by the existence of tensions especially with regard to the transfer of tradition inter-generationally and in the way it is perceived by different individuals or groups:

This intrinsic problem becomes accentuated if deviant versions of the symbolic universe come to be shared by groups of “inhabitants”. In that case, for reasons evident in the nature of objectivation, the deviant version congeals into a reality in its own right, which by its existence within the society, challenges the reality status of the symbolic universe as originally constituted. The group that has objectivated this deviant reality becomes the carrier of an alternative definition of reality (:124).

This poses a threat to the original view of reality and can lead to legitimated repression ‘to maintain the “official” universe against the heretical challenge’ (:125) and this may be subtle or not so subtle. Such a challenge comes from within a certain understanding of the mores of the universe and poses a lesser threat than that which comes from an alien universe. The former is easier to deal with while the latter requires a degree of wisdom and proficiency. An internal dispute may challenge an aspect of the universe while an external agency threatens the entire *Weltanschauung*. This involves the problem of power concerning which world-view will achieve supremacy since both have developed ‘conceptual machineries designed to maintain their respective universes’ (:126). Power is the key determining factor.

Resistance to power was the *modus operandi* of the majority of the amaXhosa. Significantly, it was not the power of the missionaries that destroyed much resistance but that of colonial military forces. Prior to the 1840s, the missionaries had limited success but the Wars of Dispossession of 1779-81, 1807, 1811-12, 1818-19, 1835-36, 1846-47, 1850-53, 1877-78 and 1889-91, along with the cattle-killing of 1856-57, broke Xhosa opposition. This concurs with Berger & Luckmann’s (:127) conclusion that ‘it is more likely that the issue was decided on the rarefied level of military might. This led to the adoption by the chiefs of the universe-maintenance tools of social control:

the means by which society secures adherence to social norms; specifically, how it minimises, eliminates or normalises deviant behaviour’ [Conrad & Schneider 1980:7]. For any society to function efficiently, its members need to share common values and behave in socially approved, useful ways. If people fail to conform, social life and enterprise are jeopardised. Societies therefore evolve implicit or explicit means of exacting a reasonable degree of conformity (Pattison 1997:88).

These 'mechanisms of encouraging, inducing, or maintaining conformity' (:89) include therapy and nihilation. 'The deviant's [actual or potential] conduct challenges the societal reality as such, putting in question its taken-for-granted cognitive and normative operating procedures' and requires therapy to contain, reform or rehabilitate him since it is 'psychologically subversive' of the 'institutionalised definitions of reality' (Berger & Luckmann 1966:131) and requires some form of social control. 'Therapy uses a conceptual machinery to keep everyone within the universe in question' (:132). This may come through personal insight as the result of acceptance of responsibility following confrontation by therapists concerning deviant behaviour.

While therapy is a process aimed at maintaining the universe by incorporation, nihilation denies alternative universes by disempowering any explanation or interpretation which denies the validity of the said universe. It operates a 'negative legitimation' either by denying them status and thus excluding them, or by incorporating their deviant ideas by having them '*translated* into concepts derived from one's own universe' (:133). As a result, the totality of existence is encompassed within the universe. The missionaries also employed both of these means in extending the influence of their universe of Evangelical Christianity, by negating the validity of the universe it encountered and by striving for the incorporation of those who would reject their own culture and adopt that of their Christian mentors (Ashley 1980:32).

Ultimately, therapy and nihilation are tools of social control which 'refer to the various means used to bring its recalcitrant members back into line. No society can exist without social control' (Berger 1963:68). Therefore, where any group of people live and/or work together and demonstrate bonds of loyalty to one another will be subject to 'very potent and simultaneously very subtle mechanisms of control [which are] brought to bear upon the actual or potential deviant. These are the mechanisms of persuasion, ridicule, gossip and

opprobrium' (Berger 1968:71). 'This [*milieu control*] may take various forms such as are represented in censorship (communication) and indoctrination-cum-education' (Manganyi 1973:26). Consequently, conformity arises out of a 'profound human desire to be accepted, presumably by whatever group is to do the accepting' (:72):

They reward us to the extent that we stay within our assigned performances. If we step out of these assignments, society has at its disposal an almost infinite variety of controlling and coercing agencies. The sanctions of society are able, at each moment of existence, to isolate us among our fellow men, and subject us to ridicule, to deprive us of life itself. The law and the morality of society can produce elaborate justifications for each one of these sanctions, and most of our fellow men will approve if they are used against us in punishment for our deviance (Berger 1963:92).

The issue of deviancy, be it of an individual or a group is related to the exercise of freedom which Berger (:124) defines as 'a subjective inner certainty' which enables one to stand apart from commonly received and accepted norms and standards and act independently and authentically despite certain limitations:

The freedom of a finite being such as man is a freedom within limits. Man is not free from conditions, be they biological or psychological or sociological in nature. But he is, and always remains, free to take a stand toward these conditions; he always retains the freedom to choose his attitude toward them. Man is free to rise above the plane of somatic and psychic determinants of his existence (Frankl 1967:3 in Manganyi 1973:22)

Yet, this implies the need for responsible awareness and use of the limits of freedom which may have rather negative results:

In a situation whose meaning is strongly established by tradition and common consent a single individual cannot accomplish very much by proffering a deviant definition. At the very least, however, he can bring about his alienation from the situation. The possibility of a marginal existence in society is already an indication that the commonly agreed-upon meanings are not omnipotent in their capacity to coerce. But more interesting are those cases where individuals succeed in capturing enough of a following to make their deviant interpretations of the world stick, at least within the circle of this following (Berger 1963 :126).

The latter point may be confirmed by the Mzimba Secession and the subsequent formation of the Presbyterian Church of Africa in 1898 which had long lasting effects on the Scottish missionary enterprise (Duncan 1997:72-103). But the question that has to be posed concerns the extent to which this may be described as freedom? However, Berger (:126) relates this to Weber's 'theory of charisma' as 'social authority that is not based on tradition or legality but rather on the extraordinary impact of an individual leader' which 'constitutes a tremendously

passionate challenge to the power of predefinition. It substitutes new meanings for old and radically redefines the assumptions of human existence' (:127). If this happens on a regular basis, eg. one charismatic leader following another, the notion of charisma may itself become institutionalised.

As institutionalisation grows it becomes less susceptible to change due to the conservative nature of tradition which develops an inherent inflexibility. This might account for the fact that, in large part, James Henderson followed the policy of James Stewart who 'guided' the fortunes of Lovedale for a period of over thirty years. The degree to which the legitimations are rationalised determines the extent of their openness to utilitarian necessities. This explains their enduring nature even when they have ceased to perform the function for which they were formed.

This raises again the issue of ideology which results:

when a particular definition of reality comes to be attached to a concrete power interest The distinctiveness of ideology is ... that the *same* overall universe is interpreted in different ways, depending on concrete vested interests within the society in question (Berger & Luckmann 1976:141).

This, however, is not an accidental process though it may, for a time, operate at a sub-conscious level. It results from a desire to 'systematically distort reality in order to come out where it is functional for them to do so ideologies can legitimate the activities of ... groups' (Berger 1963:111).

The beliefs and policies of the missionaries constitute ideology because of their close links with the colonial government. This was true throughout the nineteenth century, but to a degree, was also true of James Henderson's educational policy though for different reasons, ie. economic. While the motivation of the colonial authorities was different from the

missionaries, all wanted to extend European civilisation. Following the 1836 War of

Dispossession, a renewed thrust was made :

Sir Harry Smith was enthusiastic about the missionary role. 'Had I remained long enough ... I would have had schools and, by educating the children would have reared a generation of Christians ...' When the treaty system of Sir George Napier broke down in the 1840's, Lord Grey, the Colonial Secretary, advocated 'schemes of religious, moral and technical education' (Ashley 1980:36).

Ideology also serves as a consolidating factor in society, ie. they 'generate solidarity' (Berger & Luckmann 1966:141). We can see how this operates in society for:

theories are concocted in order to legitimate already existing social institutions. But it also happens that social institutions are changed in order to bring them into conformity with already existing theories, that is, to make them more 'legitimate' (:145).

Yet, human agency is intrinsic to the entire process:

all symbolic universes and all legitimations are human products; their existence has its base in the lives of concrete individuals, and has no empirical status apart from these lives (:146).

Ideology is, therefore, a necessary tool in social control. Hence, we can see the relevance of ideology to Berger & Luckmann's 'sociology of knowledge'.

Having considered the function of symbolic universes and the social control which is necessary to maintain them, we turn now to consider institutionalisation as a comprehensive system of social control.

2.2.7 Total Institutions¹²

A total institution may be defined as a place of residence and work where a large number of like-situated individuals, cut off from the wider society for an appreciable period of time, together lead an enclosed, formally administered round of life (Goffman 1961:11)

¹² 'Total institutions are also referred to as 'complete and austere institutions' (Baltard 1929 in Foucault 1979:235;) and 'circumscribed institutions' (Foucault 1982:791).

This definition refers to hospitals, boarding schools, and prisons but ‘what is prison-like about prisons is found in institutions whose members have broken no laws’ (:11). They are based on the deprivation of liberty’ (Foucault 1979:232). They are ‘an apparatus for transforming individuals ... like a rather strict school , ... but not qualitatively different’ (:233). There is no reference to their being in any sense voluntary bodies in terms of either choice in being part of their community or in what goes on within them. This would indicate that there is something in the nature of such institutions that is inherently coercive. Goffman (1961:15) further adds:

Every institution captures something of the time and interest of its members and provides something of a world for them; in brief every institution has encompassing tendencies Their encompassing ... total character is symbolised by the barrier to social intercourse with the outside and to departure that is often built right into the physical plant These institutions I am calling *total institutions*.

The institution does not necessarily present a totally different ‘symbolic universe’; it may retain some familiar features (eg. institutional ceremonies) which give the impression of continuity with past experience; however, it does impose its own view of reality whose essence is not challenged by the ‘time and interest of its members’. A total institution is a change agent being ‘a social hybrid, part residential community, part formal organisation In our society, they are the forcing houses for changing persons; each is a natural experiment on what can be done to the self’ (:22). Its manipulative conditioning intent is derived from the obstacle that is erected both physically and mentally between the students and home environments: ‘The barrier that total institutions place between the inmate and the wider world marks the first curtailment of self’ (:24). A symbolic but nonetheless potent barrier at Lovedale was the white gates through which students passed into and out of the Institution. This may indicate that the individual qua individual is changed in the process of institutionalisation or that individuality is submerged in the identity of the group, or both.

An examination of the process is helpful in understanding how a person becomes institutionalised:

The recruit comes into the establishment with a conception of himself made possible by certain stable social arrangements in his home world. Upon entrance, he is immediately stripped of the support provided by these arrangements. In the accurate language of some of our oldest total institutions, he begins a series of abasements, degradations, humiliations and profanations of self. His self is systematically, if often unintentionally, mortified. He begins some radical shifts in his *moral career*, a career composed of the progressive changes that occur in the beliefs that he has concerning himself and significant others (:24).

This is particularly true of mental institutions such as that at Fort Beaufort where:

Stripped of their personal identities and social supports, they were reduced to a psychiatric classification and subjected to further depersonalisation by the regime and rhythms of a 'total institution' (Edgar & Sapire 2000:47).

These indignities are not necessarily imposed by staff members of the institution but often by peers who also have an investment in seeing that new members conform to certain standards or expectations. For the staff: 'the occasion on which staff members first tell the inmate of his deference obligations may be structured to challenge the inmate to balk or to hold his peace' (Goffman 1961:26). One particular aspect of perceived indignity for inmates is the mandatory performance of manuals. This may have a positive aspect of reminding a person that no one is too good to perform inferior tasks, especially in an institution of higher learning: 'In religious institutions there are special arrangements to ensure that all inmates take a turn performing the more menial aspects of the servant role' (:31). However, such jobs have been a source of grievance in many institutional disturbances, including Lovedale. For both staff and inmates: 'Admission procedures and obedience tests may be elaborated into a form of initiation that has been called "the welcome" where staff or inmates, or both, go out of their way to give the recruit a clear notion of his plight' (:27). Hence, '... the new arrival allows himself to be shaped and coded into an object that can be fed into the administrative machinery of the establishment, to be worked on smoothly by routine operations' (:26), especially when the person is exposed to institutionalisation during a formative period in life.

Goffman (:15) stresses the physical nature of total institutions:

Social establishments – institutions in the everyday sense of that term – are places such as rooms, suites of rooms, buildings or plants in which activity of a particular kind regularly goes on Some institutions provide the place for activities from which the individual is felt to draw his social status.

By defining institutionalisation in such a physical sense, Goffman may be overestimating the power of the material aspects of such establishments to influence people other than as a barrier to free intercourse with the outside environment. This would suggest that a degree of threat is posed until contact with a previous *Weltanschauung* is severed and the internalisation of the aims and objectives of institutionalisation has been achieved. Then, the aim of the institution is not only to force change only for the duration of the actual process of institutionalisation but seeks to create a tension between itself and its effects and life as experienced before that will be long lasting. However, while it may be argued that Goffman's definition lays too much stress on the physical environment, there is a human tendency to identify with and find security in buildings and this is nowhere more true than in the church and its ancillary expressions, eg. church schools. Added to this, it was certainly true that in the nineteenth century, there was a definite tendency among the dispossessed to identify closely with the physical entity of the mission as a refuge, and it was in these institutions that they certainly found status. This was nowhere more true than at Lovedale as we have already seen in the case of the Mfengu. But, more than that, in order to accomplish their purpose 'Lovedale, like many other similar institutions, would isolate its pupils and seek to remake their discursive identity' (De Kock 1992:118, 1996:69). This would be akin to Bosch's use of the concept of 'manifest destiny' (1991:298ff, 304) in terms of fulfilling God's providential concern for those who are the objects of mission, especially in the period 1880-1920.

Institutions are not accidental creations. They are formed to achieve specific goals which vary from centre to centre, ie. they are purposeful (see Chapter 1:2, footnote 1): '...there are institutions purportedly established the better to pursue some worklike task and justifying themselves only on these instrumental grounds' (Goffman 1961:16); 'Lovedale, was set up with the specific purpose of furthering "Native Agency" through the training of African preachers, teachers and catechists' (De Kock 1992: 118, 1996:68; Shepherd 1940:88-81).

Boarding schools would be included in this definition but although they are involved in the “moulding”¹³ process; they are ‘in practice as likely to produce rebels as ... to produce lambs’ (Murray 1929:230). This “moulding” is not there just because it is more “character building”, but because it ‘indicates *ipso facto* a quite different society from that of the African village or tribe’ (:231). ‘The boarding school represents a new world – an association of people to whom the “subjects” of education are not “subjects” but life itself’. In any case, the boarding institution determines and contains the entire life of the person. First:

all aspects of life are conducted in the same place and under the same single authority. Second, each phase of the member’s daily activity is carried on in the immediate company of a large batch of others, all of whom are treated alike and required to do the same thing together. Third, all phases of the day’s activities are tightly scheduled, with one activity leading at a prearranged time into the next, the whole sequence of activities being imposed from above by a system of explicit formal rulings and a body of officials. Finally, the various enforced activities are brought together into a single rational plan purportedly designed to fulfil the official aims of the institution (Goffman 1961:17).

The situation at Lovedale during James Stewart’s Principalship clearly supports this conclusion as we find an example in regimentation during meal times:

The labour involved in the boarding, not to speak of the discipline, of so many pupils of all shades of colour, must of necessity be onerous and heavy: yet everything is managed with a regularity and clock-work disposition which would not suffer by comparison with the daily duties appertaining to the best regulated military barracks. There are three meals *per diem* – breakfast at eight, dinner at one, and supper at six. Permit me ... to invite you to take a look in at the evening meal. The 6 o’clock bell has just rung, and the boarders are taking their seats in the spacious dining hall.... At one end of the hall, on a dais, are placed, under spotless white covers, the tables at which the Europeans take their meals, the centre table of these being occupied by the boarding master, the members of his family and some of the staff. Mr Geddes sits enthroned at the head of the table and commands a full view of every individual in the dining hall. Noiselessly and without the least confusion or hustling, the pupils come trooping in and take their places, the higher class natives, or at all events those whose relatives can afford it, being seated nearest the Europeans and provided with somewhat more substantial fare than the other natives.... Every one being seated, Mr Geddes touches a little bell, and immediately perfect silence ensues. He then gives out a hymn ... in which all join most lustily, an organ accompaniment being provided by one of the staff. Following this a portion of Scripture is read, after which a prayer is offered up Thereafter the meal is commenced, small talk being permitted, but should any opportunity be taken by the boys of raising the voice to an undue extent, the boarding-master has simply to touch again his magic bell, and instant silence is the result.... In leaving the hall, as entering it, perfect order is maintained, the occupants of the several tables being dismissed in turn, an usher calling out the necessary word of command, which is simply ‘Rise’. Some military drill has been imparted to the boys by Mr Geddes ... with the result that on occasions such as church parade on Sundays, these fine manly young fellows may be seen marching to Divine service in ‘fours’ with all the aplomb of well-disciplined troops (Cory MS 10,369, James Aitkin’s Journal, undated but probably 1888:24-28).

¹³ cf. James Henderson’s nickname, ‘Mbumba’ – ‘the Moulder (SAO 1 September 1930:195).

This scene exemplifies Goffman's understanding of institutionalisation, for example, the close identification with a military barracks. It is hierarchical with each person having an assigned place in the economy of the Institution and that is determined by position, race and means. Even the type of food served is determined by one's status in the community. The very mention of the bell as 'magic' testifies to the mystical power a minor accoutrement possesses as a silencer. It almost seems to possess a life of its own. Its use is derived from the function of 'surveillance – a seeing to it that everyone does what he has been clearly told is required of him, under conditions where one person's infraction is likely to stand out in relief against the visible, constantly examined compliance of others' (Goffman 1961:18). It concerns social supervision arising out of the possession of certain information which makes compliance prudent. But there are other bells which automatically produce a reflexive response in announcing meal, and other, times. Those involved in the exercise of eating act as automatons, even the staff who are similarly governed by the militaristic ethos of the institution: 'one can ... assume that it provided the physical counterpart for the tone of the discursive order introduced and enforced in the institution's teaching and in its general instruction' (De Kock 1992:120, 1996:76).

The above illustration is symptomatic of much that is true of institutionalisation. However, Goffman (1961:18) goes further in his understanding for:

the handling of many human needs by the bureaucratic organisation of whole blocks of people – whether or not this is a necessary or effective means of social organisation in the circumstances – is the key fact of total institutions.

Foucault (1979:235), writing of the prison context, demonstrates remarkable similarities to the boarding school. He adds that the institution 'must be an exhaustive disciplinary apparatus: it must assume responsibility for all aspects of the individual, his physical training, his attitude to work, his everyday conduct, his moral attitude, his state of mind' because '... it gives

almost total power over the prisoners; it has internal mechanisms of repression and punishment: a despotic discipline'. He quotes Lucas (II:123-124 in 1979:236):

In prison the government may dispose of the liberty of the person and of the time of the prisoner; from then on, one can imagine the power of the education which, not only in a day, but in the succession of days and even years, may regulate for man the time of waking and sleeping, of activity and rest, the number and duration of meals, the quality and ration of food, the nature and product of labour, the time of prayer, the use of speech and even, so to speak, that of thought, that education which ... takes possession of man as a whole, of all of the physical and moral faculties that are in him and of the time in which he is himself (1979:236).

The control of the life of the inmate is certainly 'total'. While it seems to employ tactics which are aimed at the individual, it is only as part of a community of persons whose lives must be directed in the same direction:

The chief function of disciplinary power is to 'train' ... it seeks to bind them together in such a way as to multiply and use them Discipline 'makes' individuals; it is the specific technique of a power that regards individuals both as objects and as instruments of its exercise (Foucault 1979:170).

But it also makes individuals in the image of other individuals, all moulded to the same pattern. Discipline is, therefore, coercive and unifying for the individuals must all emerge as replicas of what the system desires and achieves its purpose through conditioning - 'intensified, multiplied forms of training, several times repeated' (:179).

The success of the exercise was determined by the used of specific tools. Hierarchical observation or surveillance is:

a mechanism that coerces by means of observation; an apparatus in which the techniques that make it possible to see induce effects of power and in which, conversely, the means of coercion make those on whom they are applied clearly visible (Rabinow 1984:189).

Normalising¹⁵ judgment imposes uniformity:

At the heart of all disciplinary systems functions a small penal mechanism. It enjoys a kind of judicial privilege with its own laws, its specific offences, its particular forms of judgment (:193) The perpetual penalty that traverses all points and supervises every instant in the disciplinary institutions compares, differentiates, hierarchises, homogenises, excludes. In short, it normalises (:196).

¹⁵ 'The normal is established as a principle of coercion in teaching with the introduction of a standardised education and in the establishment of *écoles normales*' [teacher training colleges] (Foucault D&P in Rabinow 1984:196).

Hierarchical observation and normalising judgment combine in the exercise of discipline in a routine which is peculiar to it – the examination, which ‘introduced a whole mechanism that linked to a certain type of the formation of knowledge a certain form of the exercise of power’ (:199). This is both a form of reward and punishment depending on the outcome of the examination process:

Foucault sets out to examine punishment ... as a political tactic, as a technique for the exercise of power. But punitive mechanisms must be regarded not only in negative terms, as repression, but also in terms of their possible positive effects, as part of a complex social function (Sheridan 1980:138). The expiation that was once inflicted on the body must be replaced by a punishment that acts in depth on the heart, the mind, the will (:137). But the system not only punishes, it also rewards. All behaviour can be assessed in terms of good and bad works. A penal accountancy, constantly brought up to date, can provide a balance sheet on each individual. By comparing one individual with another, discipline exercises a normalising judgment. A coercive, centralised normality is imposed on education (:154).

For Foucault (OD:46 in Sheridan 1980:127), “every educational system is a political means of maintaining or modifying the appropriation of discourses, with the knowledge and power they bring with them”. It is constituted by ‘a ritualisation of speech, a means of qualifying the speaking subjects, the constitution of a doctrinal group, however diffuse, a distribution and an appropriation of discourse’ (:127).

The fact of numbers in an institution is a vital factor in the formation of a total institution. But the entire population of those involved in institutions must be considered for they meet the needs of clients or inmates as well as supervisors indicating an important aspect of interdependence: ‘Which comes first, the large blocks of managed people, or the small supervisory staff, is not here at issue; the point is that each is made for the other’ (Goffman 1961:18). However, there is no point at which there is any degree of familiarity between the two: ‘Social mobility between the two strata [supervisor and supervised] is grossly restricted; social distance is typically great and often formally prescribed’ (:19). This is based on the belief that familiarity does indeed breed contempt. The mystification of the leadership role is important in terms of the achievement of critical distance between the two there being no doubt concerning the superiority of the staff and the ownership of the institution:

the institutional plant and name come to be identified by both staff and inmates as somehow belonging to staff, so that when either grouping refers to the views or interests of 'the institution', by implication they are referring ... to the views and concerns of the staff. [So] ... to say that inmates of total institutions have their day scheduled for them is to say that all their essential needs will have to be planned for (:20),

and this will most likely be in such a manner as to suit the needs of the staff rather than those of the students. This is related to the authority exercised by staff members and how it is maintained not only in major policies but extends downwards to the merest detail of organisational life:

authority in total institutions is directed to a multitude of items of conduct – dress, deportment, manners – that constantly occur and constantly come up for judgment. The inmate cannot easily escape from the press of judgmental officials and from the enveloping tissue of constraint. A total institution is like a finishing school, but one that has many refinements and is little refined (:41).

Since authority is hierarchical, those at the bottom of the hierarchy run a far greater risk of transgressing the system since any member of the institutional *echelon* may impose discipline on any member on a lower rung with relative impunity and the further down the ladder a person is the more chance of being exploited. The only break in the coercive system is found in the appointment of prefects whose specific role is to act as intermediaries between staff and students. However, their role has more to do with communicating information and orders from above and 'information' from below, hence they are perceived as collaborators in control. They function as the buffer zone especially when unpleasant information is to be communicated and possibly act as unwitting informers. They are co-opted into the privilege system of the institution as a reward of prior attainment and are maintained there with further inducements.

Each institution operates a 'privilege system' which requires compliance with rules and regulations as part of the disciplinary system. The case of mental hospitals is a case in point:

In Fort Beaufort, as in other 'total institutions' in South Africa, control and order were ensured through a range of strategies, and not by repression alone. It is clear, for example, that a complex hierarchy of privileges and special rights for certain patients, particularly in relation to food, were negotiated with the asylum authorities and staff and that this was as essential in maintaining order and discipline in the institution as were more overt forms of punishment, isolation and restraint (Edgar & Sapire 2000:61).

There are :

'house rules', a relatively explicit and formal set of prescriptions and proscriptions, that lay out the main requirements of inmate conduct Against this stark background a small number of clearly defined rewards or privileges are held out in exchange for obedience to staff in action and spirit (:51).

Contrary behaviour is met with a system of punishments and 'the punishments meted out in total institutions are more severe than anything encountered by the inmate in his home world' (Goffman 1961:53). Goffman (:53) cites three special features of the privilege system that are relevant. First, 'punishments and privileges are themselves modes of organisation peculiar to total institutions' which are built into the structures. Then, 'the question of release from the institution is elaborated into the privilege system' by examination success (reward) or failure (punishment). Finally, 'punishments and privileges come to be geared into a residential work system' as in the allocation of places to work and sleep.

Part of the life of total institutions centres on 'institutional ceremonies' which 'occur through such media as the house organ, group meetings, open house, and charitable performances [and] presumably fulfil latent social functions; some of these seem particularly clear in another kind of institutional ceremony, intermural sports' (:100). These serve to emphasise the seeming unity of all participants in the life of the institution both to themselves and to the outside world:

They tend to occur with well-spaced periodicity and to give rise to some social excitement. All the groupings in the establishment join in, regardless of rank or position – but are given a place that expresses their position. These ceremonial practices are well suited to a Durkheimian analysis: a society dangerously split into inmates and staff can through these ceremonies hold itself together. The content of these ceremonies supports this same kind of functionalist interpretation. For example, there is often a hint or a splash of rebellion in the role that inmates take in these ceremonies. Whether through a sly article, a satirical sketch, or over-familiarity during a dance, the subordinate in some way profanes the superordinate. Here we can follow Max Gluckman's analysis and argue that the very toleration of this skittishness is a sign of the strength of the establishment state:

Hence to act the conflicts, whether directly or by inversion or in other symbolical forms, emphasises the social cohesion within which the conflicts exist' (Gluckman 1955:125 in Goffman 1961:102).

The house organ serves a public relations function within the total institution although it may have a wider circulation. It is a regular in-house production and may operate as a staff or a student project, possibly even a combination of both. For example, the *Christian Express* (later the *South African Outlook*) published by Lovedale had both an internal readership as well as a far wider circulation. This was predominantly a staff effort to promote the work of Lovedale in particular and mission in general. For a time, there was even a student paper. As far as it mimics the outside world the house organ offers a sense of normalcy within the institution and beyond its confines. Its hierarchical organisation also reflects this tendency. It is:

typically a weekly newspaper or a monthly magazine. Usually all the contributors are recruited from within inmate ranks, resulting in a kind of mock hierarchy, while supervision and censorship are provided by a member of the staff who is relatively congenial to the inmates yet reliably loyal to his fellow officials. The printed content is such as to draw a circle around the institution and to give the accent of public reality to the world within. Two kinds of material that appear in the house organ may be mentioned. First, there is 'local news'. This includes reports about recent institutional ceremonies, as well as reference to 'personal events' such as birthdays, promotions, trips, and deaths, occurring to members of the institution, especially high-placed or well-known members of the staff. This content is of a congratulatory or condolence-offering character, presumably expressing for the whole institution its sympathetic concern for the lives of the individual members Second, there is material that can reflect an editorial view. This includes: news from the outside world bearing on the social and legal status of inmates and ex-inmates, accompanied by appropriate comment; original essays, short stories, and poetry; editorials. The writing is done by inmates but expresses the official view of the functions of the institution, the staff's theory of human nature, an idealised version of inmate-staff relationships and the stance an ideal convert ought to take – in short, it presents the institutional line (Goffman 1961:91).

This description was clearly true of *The Christian Express*. Despite the fact that inmates tend to follow the party line and express the ethos of the institution, they do not do this slavishly though they have committed themselves to doing so:

Contributors ... guarantee to follow the official ideology, presenting it for inmates by inmates. Interestingly enough, inmates who make this compact with the staff often do not cease to affirm the counter-mores. They introduce whatever open criticism of the institution the censors will permit; they add to this by means of oblique or veiled writing, or pointed cartoons; and, among their cronies, they may take a cynical view of their contribution, claiming that they write because it provides a 'soft' job setting or a good means of earning release recommendations (:92).

The concept of the visiting room offers a bridge between the institution and the outside world and is part of its public relations function. Therefore, it has to mirror life outside more than the interior of the institution and project an image of normalcy suggesting that what happens

within its walls reflects the world beyond them rather than contradicting its standards, thus preventing or minimising pressure for change which would threaten its *raison d'être*:

The visiting room in some total institutions is important here. Both décor and conduct in these places are typically much closer to outside standards than are those that prevail in the inmates' actual living quarters. The view of inmates that outsiders get thus helps to decrease the pressure these outsiders might otherwise bring to bear on the institution. It is a melancholy human fact that after a time all three parties – inmate, visitor and staff – realise that the visiting room presents a dressed-up view, realise that the other parties realise this, too, and yet all tacitly agree to continue the fiction (:96).

AC Jordan¹⁶, offers an example from Lovedale probably dating from the time when James Henderson was Principal at the Institution:

'Come this way, son,' said the matron, leading the way into the dining hall where the girls were accustomed to meet their visitors.

This kind of reception was a new experience to Zwelinzima. As a student at Lovedale, he had visited Thembeke many times, but then he had merely been instructed to go into the hall and wait there, and the matron had never taken the trouble to accompany him in person. Today, however, she not only accompanied him to the hall but went so far as to place two chairs ready in a convenient corner which could almost be called private, and here she sat and chatted with him a little. Zwelinzima was rather perturbed at this unusual behaviour. ... It did not occur to him that he was entitled to these little attentions and formalities simply by virtue of being a Fort Hare student, and because he had left Lovedale with a fine record. ...

They sat thus until they heard the matron approaching. She was bringing them tea and cake on a tray... .' (1980:42-44).

For Zwelinzima, a change of status meant a different kind of treatment when he visited his girl friend compared with that he had been accustomed to receiving when he was still a student at Lovedale. He was treated as a person whose selfhood had been restored to him on leaving the Institution. In addition, he had conformed to the norms of the institution and had left having benefited from the privilege system bringing honour to it. To this extent, the total institution can facilitate a liberatory form of change. Submission precedes incorporation and leads to:

acute vulnerability, anomaly and ambiguity. At the same time the authorities came to fear the "power" of the liminar¹⁷ because he or she is no longer subject to the conventional norms of the dominant society (Turner 1969:96,113 in Johnson-Hill 1996:192).

¹⁶ A former student of Lovedale and Fort Hare, and a lecturer at Fort Hare in his book *Ingqumbu Yeminyanya* (1940) published in English in 1980.

¹⁷ The one involved in the process of transition.

It would appear that even visitors have an investment in maintaining the ethos of the institution unchanged. Perhaps, in the case of a school like Lovedale with an excellent reputation, parents, for example, might be prepared to accept the *de facto* situation of institutionalisation in order that their children achieve what might be denied them in another kind of school. It is also worth noting again that it is the sum of small items or customs, such as those that prevail in the 'visiting room' that help bond the ethos of the institution:

Whatever such visits do for everyday standards, they do seem to serve as a reminder to everyone in the establishment that the institution is not completely a world of its own but bears some connection, bureaucratic and subordinated to structures in the wider world (Goffman 1961:98).

With regard to sports activities as institutional ceremonies, evidence emerges of an appeal to an elite, those who are prepared to give of their own time for their personal development and for the reputation of the institution. They are the bearers of the institution's air of normality who contradict the generally held assumptions about the type of persons who are to be found in such places, ie. the stereotype:

The inside team tends to be a group of all-stars chosen by intramural contest among all inmates. By competing well with outsiders, the all-stars take roles that palpably fall outside the stereotype of what an inmate is – since team sport requires such qualities as intelligence, skill, perseverance, co-operativeness and even honour – and these roles are taken right in the teeth of outsiders and observers. In addition, the outsider team, and any supporters it manages to bring into the grounds, are forced to see that there are natural places on the inside where natural things go on. In exchange for being allowed to demonstrate these things about themselves, inmates through their intramural team convey some things about the institution. In pursuing what is defined as an uncoercible endeavour, the inmate team demonstrates to outsiders and observing inmates that the staff, in this setting at least, are not tyrannical, and that a team of inmates is ready to take on the role of representing the whole institution and allowed to do so (:100).

The public relations endeavour serves to suggest that while there is a break with the symbolic universe of the past, there is also a degree of continuity with it and this allows for contact with the outside world in order that the ethos of the new universe can be promoted. This is necessary not only in contacts with other total institutions (as in Lovedale playing against Fort Hare) but also with other institutions where there are members of the same age and interests, eg. local schools which do not have boarding departments.

Within a total institution with a religious ethos the unity of staff and inmates is nowhere more obvious than in religious services, especially on Sundays, though not exclusively so necessarily¹⁸: 'Like sports events and charity performances, a religious service is a time when the unity of staff and inmates can be demonstrated by showing that in certain non-relevant roles both are members of the same audience vis-a-vis the same outside performer' (Goffman 1961:101) such as visitors to the institution, families, friends and visiting preachers. Goffman (:101) claims that Sunday services and other activities sometimes clash and suggests that this may result from 'an unnecessary duplication of function'. While this may be so, it may also be the result of structuring the timetable to ensure maximum social control where attendance at worship services is not compulsory. Whatever, the end result is still to project an air of normalcy.

In much of what has been said in this chapter, it becomes apparent that a mystical aura attaches itself to total institutions, giving them an air of difference as well as separateness compared with the wider society in which they were established:

This mystique, generally considered to represent a more all-inclusive and higher purpose, may be God and/or Western Civilisation. A criterion related to mystical manipulation in totalist environments is the *demand for purity* The demand for purity also leads to the demand for the *total exposure* of individuals in the community. This demand for exposure is related to the claim of totalistic environments to complete ownership of individuals (their minds) in that milieu (Manganyi 1973:26).

The requirement of purity serves to distinguish its inmates from others while exposure is a tool to publicise or promote the ethos of the institution and inculcate a desire in those outside the institution to emulate its practices and principles. While this may be represented by uniforms and specifically determined outward behaviour, it is also internalised as a

¹⁸ Lovedale had a daily devotional regime.

manifestation of 'ideological totalism' through the '*elevation of doctrine over the individual*' (Manganyi 1973:26-7) which is clear from the restrictions placed on individual freedom.

This survey of the concept of institutionalisation has prepared the way for the study of coercive agency at Lovedale, beginning with the principalship of Rev William Govan.

CHAPTER 3 LOVEDALE UNDER WILLIAM GOVAN

3.1 The beginnings of Lovedale

Missionary work in the Eastern Cape began with the arrival of Rev Joseph Williams and Rev John Brownlee of the London Missionary Society (LMS) in 1820. While Williams settled at Fort Beaufort, Brownlee moved on to establish the Tyumie Mission on the Gwali River. In 1821, Rev WR Thomson and Mr J Bennie, missionaries sent by the Glasgow Missionary Society (GMS), joined Brownlee. From its inception, education was offered with Bennie taking charge of this aspect of the work. 'In February 1822, three months after his arrival, he had forty pupils in attendance, and in the following month between fifty and sixty' (GMS Report, 1822:29 in Shepherd 1940:56). Bennie's competence in mastering the Xhosa language facilitated the educational process.

The process did not proceed unimpeded however, for those who submitted to missionary education were subjected to harassment by those who were opposed to change: 'So early as 1830, a Native declared that as the schools increased the country was taken from them' (Shepherd 1940:59). From an early stage in the development of the missionary enterprise, the issue of land was evident.

The arrival of Rev John Ross in 1823, marked another significant event in the growth of the fledgling institution for Ross arrived with a printing press which was to become influential in altering the Xhosa way of life in a way no one had contemplated hitherto. Bennie wrote a letter

to Dr John Love¹ commenting on the arrival of the press: ‘through your instrumentality a new era has commenced in the history of the Kaffer nation’ (GMS Report 1824:27 in Shepherd 1940:63). It was at this early stage that Thomson perceived a need for the training of black preachers and successfully approached the Directors of the GMS for assistance.

This, along with other reasons, such as requests from local chiefs, caused the missionaries to consider establishing another mission station and expand their sphere of influence, and so a second station was opened nearby on the River Incehra. This station was soon to be named Lovedale in memory of Dr Love who died in 1825. Within a few years the kernel of the work for which Lovedale would eventually become famous was established – the ‘Evangelistic, academic, industrial, agricultural and medical work they engaged in and sought to promote among the Bantu’ (Shepherd 1940:65). From its inception, educational work was to be both academic and practical.

The process of the transformation of the mind was not just confined to evangelical conversion. It even extended to how:

They imitate us in all things – even in their dress; and now beads and baubles have fallen in the market, and old [white people’s] clothes are in demand. The bullock’s skin dress is set aside. Others of the people begin to imitate our people in their building, gardening, dress and manners. If you accept the black faces, a stranger would almost think he had dropped into a little Scottish village’ It was agreeable to see the Bantu adopting the dress as well as the thoughts and feelings of civilised life (GMS Report 1827:16 in Shepherd 1940:67).

The impression given here is that this was an almost imperceptible process which was initiated by black people themselves. There is no hint of overt coercion being employed to achieve this idyllic scenario but what is clear is that acceptability was the standard which seemed to influence a change of behaviour. Yet, Shepherd (:67) agrees that ‘It is possible ... to blame those early pioneers for trying to reproduce among the Bantu of South Africa the social habits of Scotland’

¹ General Secretary of the GMS, after whom Lovedale was named.

which would indicate a degree of intentionality; however, he does not extend his critique to their motivation being convinced of their 'concern in practical affairs' and 'interest in the material advancement of their converts' (:67-68). The ideological purpose, though not explicitly declared, certainly was effective in transforming the lives of those who came into contact with the 'civilising' mission. The effectiveness of their work is evident from the request from Lord Charles Somerset, Governor of the Cape, to inculcate civilised standards and education among black people. This 'Old Lovedale' was destroyed in the war of dispossession, 1834-35. Thus far, the scene was set for the development of mission education at Lovedale as coercive agency.

A decision was reached in 1836 to remove Lovedale to a new site on the banks of the River Tyumie at a distance of four miles from Incehra because it was likely to be more 'attractive as a settlement to Native people' (:87). It is interesting that the image of the site was an important factor in its choice as if additional factors were necessary to draw people to it. By 1838, a school had been established with an enrolment in 1839 of 132 pupils and such was the significance that it was noted that 'of the total, 19 were dressed in European clothes' (GMS Summer Quarterly Intelligence, 1839:2 in Shepherd 1940:88):

From early in the 'thirties the missionaries had been feeling the need of a centre at which promising Bantu could be trained as teachers and catechists and at which also their own children could receive suitable education. In 1837 the matter was brought to a head because of their conviction that so long as a people could not read very little could be expected of them (Shepherd 1940:88).

The incumbent missionaries had discerned a definite need for a qualified person to organise an educational establishment or seminary who had skills beyond their own. This was the result of the perceived inadequacy of oral methods of teaching. As far as their own children were concerned, the missionaries saw their children's role as becoming their successors in the work of mission (:89). A proposal was sent to the GMS which was agreed to in 1839. The new seminary was to be sited at Lovedale and agricultural work was to be an integral part of the missionary outreach from the beginning. The work then began of finding an appropriate person to establish the seminary and that person was the Rev William Govan.

3.2 Rev William Govan

In 1837 the work of the GMS divided over the voluntary principle, 'The Glasgow Missionary Society, adhering to the principles of the Church of Scotland' and later the Free Church of Scotland, following the Disruption², taking over the work at Lovedale. This new GMS became responsible for the appointment of a seminary tutor. They chose William Govan who was still in training for the ministry at Glasgow University. Born in Paisley, Scotland, Govan already had some experience in administration gained in the office of the Town Clerk of Dumbarton as well as experience as a teacher of classics in Dumbarton Burgh School following his Arts course at Glasgow prior to returning to university to complete his course in Divinity. Govan was appointed in 1839, ordained in 1840 and arrived in South Africa to take up his post at Lovedale with his wife in 1841. On their arrival, the seminary buildings were still incomplete so Govan began language study and work preparation. Shepherd (1940:94) has described him as 'a man of remarkable character and achievement, worthy of his place as the first of a great succession'. It was this quality of character that was to become the cornerstone of education at Lovedale.

3.3 The opening of Lovedale Institution

The Institution was formally opened on 21st July 1841. Rev WR Thomson preached on the text of Mark 3:14: 'And he ordained twelve that they should be with him, and that he might send them forth to preach'. Rev James Laing gave the address:

² The 'Disruption' occurred in Scotland in 1843 after a period of ten years conflict between those who adhered to the Establishment principle, ie. the church by law established (Burleigh 1960:266) and those who supported the Voluntary principle. The dispute concerned the relationship between the church and state (Duncan 1997:29).

He then took up the question of Native agency, arguing not only for the employment of Natives, but for their being sent forth with the advantages of education. And he then proceeded to explain and vindicate the principles of the proposed Seminary, particularly that of allowing and enabling the educated Native to drink at the English fountains of literature, science and practical godliness; and afterwards to employ himself dispersing abroad these very fountains through the medium of his mother tongue. And the propriety of proceeding upon this principle, he enforced and illustrated from what the natives themselves had said on the subject. Let us, said several intelligent Kaffres, have access to knowledge in English, for it is as a river, unlike our own rivers, it is ever flowing and ever full (Shepherd 1940:96-97).

From its opening day, the use of English was imposed, even though, on this occasion interpretation was given. De Kock (1996:20) asserts that this demonstrates ‘the general discursive parameters within which African subjects were drawn into missionary-colonial orthodoxy of the Eastern Cape’ which defined a community’s correct understanding of reality which is ‘confirmed ... by our dependence on our mother tongue, the “great institution which precedes us all”’ (McGaughey 1999: 71).

From the very outset, Govan established the principles on which the Institution would operate. First of all, it was **non-racial** in terms of its teaching and involvement in societies thought not in terms of boarding, ie. eating and sleeping, though all ate in the same refectory. This was not ostensibly a racial matter for economics dictated what one ate, for instance. However, economics did reflect a racial bias nonetheless in terms of the poverty of those who funded black students. This was the first principle enunciated by William Smith, teacher at Lovedale (c1864-1887): *‘the brigading of Europeans and Natives together in their true relation to one another’*. There was a degree of freedom in the matter of social intercourse, though not normally in playing games. The principle of separate development applied as each group is made aware of their ‘true relationship with each other, and also that they are not mixed up’ (Shepherd 1940:98).

This relationship which is developed produced ‘respect’ and ‘common sympathies which usually last for life’ (Shepherd 1940:99). There is a degree of implied toleration rather than acceptance:

The African, like the rude country lad who goes to a city to mix with young gentlemen at college, learns civilised usages from the European, while the latter, separated as the British officer from the private by the strict regulation of Mess, loses nothing by contact (CE, XX, 254 1 September 1891:139)

Seemingly, no gains accrued to the young white person apart from possibly avoiding contamination by exposure to ‘other’ young men in the process of transformation, so strong was the pull and effect of European culture that nothing of the sort need be feared! This approach led to the conclusion that ‘Lovedale is unique’ (:139):

The Scots Presbyterians were trendsetters in boarding-school education. They established relatively high standards and maintained them as an example for the other missionary societies (Switzer 1993:129).

However, this was not just the result of altruism. There was a clear ideological purpose in having complete control over the lives of students for lengthy periods of time as: ‘The boarding school was to become then key institution in the development of an educated Christian elite’ (:128) with its emphasis on the three Rs, literature, science and religious education. ‘As late as 1891 Lovedale was still the only boarding establishment of its kind in Southern Africa’ (Burchell 1979:3). Smith claims that this ‘brigading’ policy was Govan’s own and that it was the result of a painful decision. Was there some kind of threat implied in the adoption of this policy? Did Govan inwardly doubt the wisdom of such a decision or was he under pressure from white settler interests to adopt a more segregated policy? Were there no alternatives or was this necessary to effect the civilising of young black people whose ‘conversion’ depended on their exposure to European influences? Perhaps Lekhela (1958:38 in Katiya 1977:57) gives the clue:

Conversion and education of the Bantu were synonymous. The two were interdependent. Whatever attempts were made by the Church at conversion were implied some measure of education, and whatever attempts were made at education presupposed conversion.

The second organising principle at Lovedale was that it was to be **non-denominational** in terms of both staff and students; it was an ecumenical establishment, despite its strong presbyterian ethos, attracting many students from other churches and missionary societies. ‘The second principle of Lovedale is *its unsectarian attitude* Christianity and the Christian Church alone are spoken of’. Free Church of Scotland missionaries ‘do not believe in propagandism We did not come to Africa to make Presbyterians, but to make Christians’ (CE, XX, 1 September 1891:139).

Here is the clear ideological purpose which is articulated:

A third principle is *to place first the Native student's becoming a Christian*. Education and other things, however important, rank second The immediate thing is their personal salvation. Where there is Christian character, other things – education, fitness for responsibility, and civilisation – will follow; otherwise the Christianity is not genuine (:139).

Here is the defining value – **Christian character**. It is Christianity which defines the nature of the character which is to be developed in students at Lovedale. Education, then is a vehicle for and a by-product of the making of Christians.

The salvation which is valued is of an individualistic nature and signals a break with the continuity of the corporate nature of African tradition and culture. The bible had pride of place in the entire scheme of things at Lovedale:

Of course the Bible occupies a prominent place among the subjects of study The native boarders read together a chapter of the Old Testament at morning worship, and four verses in the New Testament at evening worship. In the evening they are minutely examined on the passage read, while at the same time it is attempted, as opportunity offers, by short simple exhortations, to apply it to their heart's conscience (Cory MS 87826, Govan, *Home and Foreign Record*, 1854).

Thus, the formation of 'character' became a central feature in mission education from its inception. It was fundamental to the ethos of the coercive agency which governed Lovedale. Once internalised, it became part of the essence of the person.

These three principles are peculiar to the work at Lovedale and are undergirded by a strong foundation of **discipline**:

This is the great essential, the basis of everything There is an influence, felt not seen. It is created by the members of the mission being knit together, and each exercising an authority both general and in his own sphere. Kindness and firmness are the two principles (CE, XX, 1 September 1891:140).

Perhaps not surprisingly, discipline is closely related to 'Work. All work with their hands two hours each day' (:140): 'From the first, it formed part of the plan, that a part of the time of the native boarders should be employed in manual labour. The kind of labour in which they are employed is strictly agricultural' (Cory MS 8726, Govan, *Home and Foreign Record*, 1854).

This was almost certainly tied to a strong Scottish Protestant work ethic which gave rise to the institution of manuals, as well as at a later stage the introduction of industrial education, as an integral part of life at Lovedale for '[t]hey needed, too, to be taught to work' (Young 1902:82). At the beginning, all were admitted regardless of background. 'Little selection has as yet been made in the admission of boarders Any known vicious habit is held to be a disqualification, but we do not in any way require evidence of piety as a qualification for admission' (Cory MS 8726, Govan, *Home and Foreign Record*, FCoS, 1854). At this time, Free Church candidates would be exempt from paying fees while others would be required to pay. The seminary opened with a roll of twenty of whom eleven were black.

It is interesting to note that, in addition to the above guiding principles, the institution was **gender inclusive** as girls were admitted from an early stage. By the year 1846, there was a girls department under a Miss Smith (Shepherd:1940:109). This work was developed when Dr Jane Waterston opened a girls' boarding department in 1868.

Having considered the establishment and opening of Lovedale, it is now necessary to consider the nature of the education provided there.

3.4 The beginnings of a coercive system

From its inception in 1841, **high intellectual standards** were insisted upon. This was partly the result of Govan's own commitment to providing a democratic form of education in which black students would be required to achieve a level which was commensurate with their white co-learners. He believed that:

A primitive people could best be uplifted by educating a few to the highest level of European culture ... so that they could 'take their place alongside of Europeans, not only in the office of the ministry, but also in the various positions in society, secular as well as ecclesiastical' (Oosthuizen 1970:40).

This view arose from his firm commitment to **equality of opportunity** for those who were able to attain and benefit from it. Govan insisted that a high level education should be available for a limited number if it could not be provided universally (Shepherd 1940:156). But the decision to offer education to the children of missionaries, settlers and blacks had other implications related to the achievement and maintenance of high academic standards for 'European as well as African parents had a direct interest in preserving the quality of education at Lovedale' (Switzer 1993:129). Therefore, it was necessary to insist on high standards from the beginning to maintain the financial viability of the project since black students were admitted free of charge. Yet, it must be noted that Govan had no doubt about where the priority of his missionary endeavour lay:

Although catering for the needs of such European pupils, Govan never lost sight of the paramount claims of Native Education. And while he was thankful for such aid as the dominant white race could give 'he never ceased to impress on the native mind his firm conviction that the main and abiding support for the furtherance of this great cause must come from the Natives themselves' (Shepherd 1940:148 quoting Govan 1875:359).

From the beginning, black support was poor as the result of opposition arising out of concern about the effects of education on the traditional way of life, poor academic attainment in the medium of English as well as meagre financial support from Scotland.

The object of the Institution was clear from the outset:

The more specific design of it is, to train a well qualified native agency, to which the work of education, other maintenance and propagation of the gospel may soon, and to as great an extent as possible, be committed (Cory MS 8726, Govan, *Home and Foreign Record*, FCoS, 1854).

In order to achieve this, the form of education provided was offered at four levels. There was an elementary school which aimed to train teachers, a preparatory school which offered education in English literature, classics, science, Christian ethics and values, a college department for higher education in literature, science and philosophy and a theological school for training ministers. The Lovedale Missionary Institution Board meeting on 14th August 1845 considered this to be 'completing the original design of the Institution' (Shepherd 1940:104). So Govan

‘developed courses to promote functional literacy’ and “‘advanced” courses for post-primary students’ (Switzer 1993:129). The overall aim was to provide for the ‘general as well as the Christian needs of black people, whilst making the Christian ethic the central feature of education’ (White 1987:3). Govan’s hope was that achievement of appropriate levels of education would enable products of Lovedale to become integrated into white society, ie. having established the tenets of a liberal education ‘equal to any in Britain, enabling a select group of Africans to be integrated into colonial life’ (Hodgson 1997:80; cf. van der Spuy 1971; Burchell 1977:39). The evangelical purpose of meeting Christian needs was clear from this organisation.

3.4.1 The role of conversion

The mission schools were regarded by both missionaries and Africans as instruments of conversion and for a good many years the disadvantages of conversion outweighed the benefits of education in African eyes. As more than one missionary noted, schools were universally regarded as ‘the door to the church’ (Etherington 1978:54).

Govan stood as ‘a true exponent of the “principle of conversion”’ as ‘a missionary of the old school’ (Brock 1974:111). The:

strong influence of Christian missionaries in education in Africa did not come about by accident. The important role that education could play in christianising Africa was thoroughly appreciated by mission leaders, and is reflected in the quotation “where it is impossible for you to carry on both the immediate task of evangelisation and your educational work, neglect your churches in order to perfect your schools. Who owns the schools owns Africa” (Saayman 1991:29-30).

The link between school and church was, therefore, a potent one for:

Evangelism was inseparable from education. It was not merely that the school was the “door to the church” (Etherington 1978:54). Schooling actually provided the model for conversion; conversion, the model for schooling. Each aimed at the systematic, moral reconstruction of the person in a world in which individuals were increasingly viewed as capable of being formed and reformed by social institutions (Comaroff & Comaroff 1991:233).

In fact, ‘teachers were expected to take an active part in church work as pastors, evangelists, preachers and Sunday school teachers’ in order that the influence of Christianity became all pervading. There was no space for neutrality in the exercise. Everything was subsumed under the one ideological purpose – to evangelise black people. Its influence was total:

The early English-speaking missions in South Africa, in formulating their teacher training programmes, were inheritors of the nineteenth century perception [ie. 'this education bore all the marks of being designed to establish the "proper place" in society of those who received it'], added to which was the Protestant work ethic of hard work, obedience and duty' (Hartshorne 1992:220).

Missionaries obviously stood at the border between traditional African culture and religion and European Christianity and all its trappings and the place they occupied was a determinant in the outcome of the interaction between the two:

The mission schools were seen as very efficient and strategic aids in this civilising process, and as Western civilisation was the Christian norm, little attention needed to be paid to African culture, including its educational dimension. Mission schools were therefore generally viewed as beachheads of Christian civilisation in pagan territory which had to help in vanquishing pagan culture, not in propagating it (Saayman 1991:30).

This was not a one way perception as local chiefs:

also suspected [that] the inherent consequence of missionary enterprise, if not restricted and controlled, was the subversion of the entire edifice of African society and culture [while] [t]he missionaries saw their task as the capture of souls, but in the process they proved a powerful solvent of indigenous political, social and economic systems (Keegan 1996:133).

The missionaries were co-opted by colonial policy by the middle of the nineteenth century when Sir Harry Smith was Governor of the Cape so that they became 'a tool of economic and cultural subjugation' (:221). The destruction of the power and authority of tribal chiefs was an important aspect of the conversion process as chiefs vied with missionaries for the people's allegiance as 'the missionaries assumed a chiefly role allocating the land and exhorting their people to obey the codes and rituals of belief and behaviour that were characteristic of Victorian Christianity' (Switzer 1993:115). But more than that in the period prior to 1860:

The missionaries were passive and sometimes active participants in the struggle to undermine and destroy the authority of the chiefdoms. Only a few were actually paid government agents, but many others reported on the activities of chiefs in their areas. They also organised and led wartime commando units against the Xhosa, helped establish segregated African locations and create the administrative apparatus for taxing Africans who came under colonial jurisdiction. Nevertheless, everyday life for most missionaries of the pioneer generation was spent working with the small number of converts who had been recruited at some cost on the stations (:115).

The low number of converts attending mission schools can also be attributed to the realisation by black people, after their initial enthusiasm for mission education, that 'formal education would play a central role in the conversion process' (Switzer 1993:128). This was because by the 1850s, missionaries virtually exercised complete control over the education of black people which was based in the English language.

3.4.2 The 'classical language'

It was in April 1848 that a directive came from the secretary of the High Commissioner that entrenched the English language as the prescribed medium for teaching to the exclusion of vernacular languages in teacher training establishments. This was in line with mission policy:

The general education of the natives should be, in Kaffre, but in the Institution it is thought desirable, that generally the whole, or at least the higher departments, should be conducted in English. This would lay open the rich stores of English learning, and enable those educated at the Institution *to pour forth on the native mind what they themselves drunk in from a foreign channel* (Glasgow Missionary Society Summer Quarterly Intelligence 1839:11 in DeKock 1992:127).

Govan's own classical education led him to demand competence in the classical languages of Latin and Greek also. His entire emphasis, until the mid 1850s was exclusively academic with a concentration on what Sir George Grey was to describe as a 'too bookish' approach (Shepherd 1940:132). At this stage, the missionaries showed no aversion to the exclusive use of the English language as a means of:

establishing a new universe [which] depended in part on its monopoly over the written word. Mission station communities were centred on the church, school, and either possessing access to a printing press. Churches and schools were inseparable even on the more primitive stations, because the education of an African community imbued with certain moral, emotional and intellectual qualities was deemed essential for the preservation and expansion of the church. The preaching and teaching ministry, in turn, were dependent on the mission's control and manipulation of literate culture (Switzer 1993:118).

This new universe was that of the 'modern' industrialised world promoted by imperial ambition, imbued with the spirit of evangelical Christianity. It stood in direct contradiction to that of traditional African culture and its desire was to alter consciousness. The move:

from traditional to modern forms involves two aspects, the organisation of knowledge and cognitive style. For the native peoples who attended mission schools there were clearly new bodies of knowledge to master. In addition this knowledge was in the possession of men who were not the learned elders of the tribal group. They were the schoolteachers, some European, some African. Cognitively the major transformation is to a rational way of thinking, 'the redefinition of reality as an object of deliberate systematic and rational human activity' (Berger, Berger & Kellner 1973:131 in Ashley 1982:57).

But this process was not restricted to the actual school education. It was disseminated through the medium of the written word also. From its beginnings, Lovedale had a printing and publishing capability and this was used to full effect for many years as an extension of the educational process. Apart from printing tracts, catechisms and hymns, classical works of

literature were translated, eg. Bunyan's 'Pilgrim's Progress'. In addition, periodicals were produced such as *Ikwezi* (Morning Star) which appeared in 1844 and *Indaba* (The News) which appeared monthly from August 1862 until February 1865. The latter aimed to 'stimulate the study of English among the natives' (Young 1902:83). *Indaba* exemplified the attempt from the 1850s to use 'English as well as the vernacular ... as a medium of communication in the station communities' (Switzer 1993:120). It had a specific reader in its focus:

One third of the journal which had an estimated 500-600 readers, was in English for the 'intellectual advancement' in particular of school-going youth. It contained news of general interest as well as religious news, a pattern that would become characteristic of the more influential periodicals in future decades. *Indaba* tried to avoid 'local and party politics,' but it covered Cape parliamentary news – especially legislation affecting Africans.

Indaba's correspondents were the vanguard of the educated elite. (Switzer 1993:120).

From its inception until the 1880s, mission presses had a virtual monopoly of literature in Xhosa and English.

The relationship of the missionaries with the Ngqika Xhosa was also a determinant in the commitment of the vernacular language to writing as their dialect was assumed to be the '*lingua franca* of the southern Nguni' and became such 'once it was frozen in type' (:119). This was the result of ideological choice and had a universalising tendency for the Xhosa people. This was linked to the fact that much missionary energy was devoted to the translation of the scriptures as this was necessary to fulfil their evangelical purpose:

The goal of all the mission societies was to produce the whole of the Bible – the centrepiece of literate culture – in Xhosa. The first translation of the New Testament appeared in 1846, and this was followed by the Old Testament in 1857 The possession of books in the Christian home – ideally the bible, hymnbook or catechism, and perhaps one or two other religious publications – came to symbolise the Christian's commitment to the new cultural order in much the same way as did square houses, European clothing, or the use of the plow (Switzer 1993:119).

In 1861, as part of the development of industrial education at Lovedale, a printing and bookbinding shop was set up.

The entire educational process was not just an intellectual exercise. The process was carefully designed to produce a class of people who would be useful in a developing technological society as a pool of labour and it was for this purpose that they were to be educated and that education required only a certain level of attainment unlike that minority of the population who were being groomed for professional life in the ministry or teaching. Langham Dale, the Superintendent-General of Education, reported in 1863: 'We require native teachers without that over-refinement which elevates the individual too much above his fellows' (Hartshorne 1992:221). It was felt that those who taught their pupils to have aspirations 'above their station' posed a threat to the equilibrium of the social and economic fabric of the colony. The desire for the provision of industrial education was, therefore, a natural consequence and outgrowth of mission education organised in collusion with the needs of the settlers and colonists.

3.4.3 Industrial education

The development of industrial education programmes was an attempt to coerce local populations into making themselves both indispensable to the colonial authorities as well as dependent on them: 'the anticipated result of such training was a docile and efficient labour force which would accept both European religious and political authority as well as European social superiority' (De Kock 1996:71). Saayman (1991:34) argues that traditional African education dealt with the aspects of technical and moral education, where technical refers to the satisfying of basic needs such as food, clothing and shelter. This was linked to moral education where the good of the community was of paramount importance. For the European, technical education meant something quite different – the satisfying of another's need, ie. European colonists'. These were imported needs based on the needs of the individual. The introduction of a western style industrial education had the ideological purpose of reconstructing the African on yet

another level of existence, based on ‘the Enlightenment and its presuppositions about humanity and science’ (Saayman 1991:34):

Through the objectifying of knowledge, the emphasis on rationality, and the possibility of progress, this autonomous, modern individual became more important than the community of people he or she lived in. (Saayman 1991:35).

The impetus for this development came with the appointment of Sir George Grey as Governor of the Cape in 1854. In the period following 1849, ‘slowly and through many difficulties, the Institution was making a place for itself in the public estimation’ (CE, VI, 68, 1 May 1876:4). Phyllis Ntantala (1992:30) refers to a reader used in schools which describes Grey as “‘one of the wisest governors that ever came to South Africa’”. However, her early twentieth century mission education enabled her to assess critically Grey’s contribution: ‘three things he set himself to do: to break the power of the chiefs, to stamp out superstition (towards this end, Grey’s Hospital in King William’s town was established) and to eradicate ignorance and laziness among the Natives’. With reference to this, she continues ‘with such brain washing, it is a miracle that we did not all become sellouts and collaborators’ and probably here gets to the point of Grey’s ultimate purpose. Grey was determined to co-opt blacks as a deliberate attempt to achieve his aim of ‘civilising by mingling’ and attached his policy to the educational successes of Lovedale (Davenport 1987:134). Consequently, Grey visited Lovedale in 1855 and made suggestions about the development of industrial education which had their source in his government’s desire to ensure peace and the growth of ‘civilisation’ in the area by co-opting black people into a money, and Protestant work ethic, driven economy:

Manual labour disguised as industrial training (which included agriculture) would promote ‘habits of work’ appropriate to living in Cape colonial society. This was the real motive behind Grey’s desire to promote African education: the settlers needed a dependent labour force that was also disciplined and productive (Switzer 1993:130).

Grey wanted to secure the frontier by whatever means he could. Part of his plan depended on ‘his active promotion of white settlement among the African reserves [which] led to congestion’ (Keegan 1996:8). But it was also true that:

The fact that 'the advance of civilisation' inevitably entailed conquest, coercion and cultural suppression was never recognised by the Liberals [ie. missionaries]. They overlooked the means by which 'civilisation' was imposed (:8).

These habits of work which were appropriate to Cape colonial society were related to education which 'was supposed to prepare children to occupy a productive role in society' and therefore 'Western [technical, industrial] education obviously made perfectly good sense in a political, economic and social system thoroughly determined by Enlightenment values' (Saayman 1991:36). The missions were an ideal means of promoting the Grey scheme because they had already made contact with local people and had embarked on an educational programme which could accommodate his plans. The timing of the introduction of industrial education under Grey's scheme was also significant and was part of a larger plan for:

the 'Grey Plan' to educate and civilise Africans in the Eastern Cape, which harnessed institutions such as Lovedale to execute its pacification-by-education strategies, found its most fertile ground in the devastation of the Cattle killing in the mid-1850s (see Mostert 1992 in De Kock 1996:190).

Van Schoor (1951:11) comments a little incredulously:

The tragedy of the Nonquause mass-suicide coincided almost miraculously with the interests of Grey's policy: 'The self-destruction of the natives helped Grey to carry out his policy ... enabled him to fill up the empty and confiscated reserves with European settlers' (van der Horst 'Native Labour in South Africa').

As an inducement, he offered to fund such programmes and became the first government official to acknowledge the valuable role played by mission education and support it. The proposed plan was that the government would establish and initially fund industrial departments which would, in time, hopefully, become self-supporting. Additional land would be made available and also girls' industrial schools would be considered. Funding would pay for tools, materials and staff salary support for an unspecified period of time. This was very helpful in a situation where the Free Church of Scotland was giving only a little financial support and industrial education was not considered 'to be essential to missionary endeavour' (Burchell 1979:11). It was not only helpful for: '[t]he missionaries could scarcely believe their good fortune. A particular beneficiary was the Lovedale station The missionary institutions were thereby enabled to provide the foundation of black education' (Mostert 1992:1171):

A considerable amount of freedom was allowed in the use of the money granted. Consequently, by the end of 1855, carpentry and masonry departments were established at Lovedale. This was followed in 1861 with the opening of a printing and bookbinding department and also with a course in agriculture. Consequently, Lovedale was regarded as 'Grey's greatest memorial' (Mostert 1992:1237).

Grey's policy, therefore, aligned itself with the assessment that mission education to date had been 'too bookish'. This enabled Lovedale to expand the scope of its activities without affecting the education which was already established. Neither form of education was considered superior or inferior to the other. This 'combined method' (Burchell 1979:9) was innovative in South Africa and stands as a challenge to the idea that Govan was only interested in an academic approach to education. It is interesting, however, that the motivation for this innovation came entirely from a government source. While it was accepted enthusiastically, there may have been an element of not looking a gift horse in the mouth in the missionaries' enthusiasm for financial support for anything that would support their prime evangelical aim.

Grey's initiative had its origin in his time as Governor of New Zealand and was clearly aligned to political motivation:

And as it would appear that such a system of industrial schools would be likely to put an end to the troubles which have for so long a time prevailed upon the frontier at the Cape of Good Hope, I will venture to detail the way in which these schools have worked in New Zealand (Dispatch no.7, 22nd December 1854 in Shepherd 1940:131).

When Grey arrived in South Africa, he made his plan clear for settling the troubled area of British Kaffraria. Writing to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, he said:

The plan I propose to pursue is to attempt to gain an influence over all the tribes included between the present north-eastern boundary of the Colony and Natal by employing them upon public works which will tend to open up their country – by establishing institutions for the education of their children, and the relief of their sick by introducing amongst them institutions of a civil character suited to their present conditions (:131).

Govan (1875:155-6) outlines the terms of the agreement by which industrial education was introduced to Lovedale:

First, it was agreed that what had hitherto been, should be, the primary object of the Institution viz. by giving a higher education to a portion of the native youths, to raise up among them what might be called an educated class, from which might be selected teachers of the young, catechists, evangelists, and ultimately even fully qualified preachers of the Gospel. In connection with this, and in furtherance of this department of the Institution, Sir George proposed that teachers trained in the Institution, should, on receiving appointments as schoolteachers, receive yearly grants from government towards their salaries, these grants to be determined by the extent of their qualifications, ascertained by examination.

Second, with this the primary object of the Institution, was now to be combined an industrial department, in which Native young men should, under properly qualified masters, to be trained to the exercise of some of the more useful mechanical arts, their literary as well as their religious education to be carried on, during their apprenticeship in the evening.

Third, when the industrial institution for males should be begun, and brought into full operation, it was understood that the missionaries should then communicate with the Governor, and that steps should be taken for establishing a similar institution for females.

It is interesting to note that Grey did not aim at destroying the classical education offered at Lovedale for he recognised the need for a class of educated person whose primary allegiance would be to their white benefactors rather than to their own people and also to educate blacks who would be accommodated to the economic needs of the white population. In this task, he foresaw a central role for the missionaries:

Grey's generous support of the missionaries was a recognition of how far-reaching their influence could be. Taking their educational task in its widest aspect, they had to help build up a whole system of new ideas, new needs and desires, new allegiances, new authorities, and a new morality, all leading to an *acceptance* of the new civilisation by the Africans. From the beginning the mission station was a school where Christian dogma and moral instruction went hand in hand. The convert was taught the importance of faith and obedience to the word of God, the indisputability of faith as being above reason. Thus his individual relationship to God set up a new authority in his mind. At the same time he learned new ideas of good and evil, reward and punishment and sin, ideas appropriate to the white man's civilisation The tribal morality that had hitherto exercised authority over him became immorality The new morality had a great deal to do with the undermining of tribal culture. But the particular aspect we stress here is the link between the new morality and the new money-economy (Majeke 1952:69).

This was linked to the process of character formation with the aim of alienating students from their traditional world view and life style and making them 'modern' men and women fit to operate in a western based economy. The Manichean allegory was operative in the minds of the designers of industrial education programmes which were an integral part of the total educational package offered at Lovedale. By his support for the different programmes, Grey demonstrated that he had a multi-faceted approach to education (Majeke 1953:68). Clearly these were seen to

be only marginally for the benefit of the individuals who were separated and estranged from their traditional societal allegiances. Far greater benefits were to be derived for the white settler population.

Grey's primary intention had been to establish new and separate institutions but, on assessing the context, he discovered that the missions had done a great deal of preparatory work on his behalf, albeit unwittingly. But his intention was to go deeper than simply provide a form of training and produce a means of establishing public works. He had referred to a plan 'to open up their country' but for whom? Was it not already open to its original inhabitants? It was, but it was not hospitable to the encroachment of industry and commerce, or even to military expansion. Hence, there was an ideological purpose connected to imperial expansion at work behind the scenes. But more than that, there was a clear attempt to alter the worldview of local black people in the process:

In short, to counteract the influence of witchcraft he encouraged the building of hospitals; to overthrow the long engrained habits of idleness that the warrior life of the Bantu had engendered, he led the way in building public works and laying out roads; and to uproot the rank weeds of ignorance he supported the Christian school and church in their work of sowing the seeds of knowledge and of planting the Gospel (CE, XXIX, 352, 2 November 1899:161).

Shepherd (1940:132) agrees that:

With the creation among the Bantu of new wants and occupations, their standard and mode of life would be altered. Such development he [Grey] felt would in turn help to maintain peace on the frontier. It is noteworthy that in furthering his plans it was his intention to use to the fullest the existing mission agencies

who appeared to be willing partners for:

This proposal they received with joy and gratitude, and lost no time in considering it, and in communication with Sir George on the subject; and the result was a cordial understanding and agreement between them as to the institution, to be conducted under the patronage and with the assistance of government (Govan 1875:154-5).

The introduction of industrial education marked the beginning of government financial support for mission education (Shepherd 1940:132) from the Aborigines Fund of the Cape Education Department. Although additional support was discussed, it was never forthcoming although Dr Langham Dale, Superintendent-General for Education (1859-92) was approached by the

Glasgow Ladies' Association for support for the development of female education at Lovedale and this was given. Education for girls would operate on the same basis as for boys with equal access to academic and industrial education. But again, the government's ideological motive was at work for females were perceived to be an important part of the 'civilising' process. Dale commented to James Stewart concerning his:

great desire to see female education among the Natives developed on a commensurate scale with that of the boys, as I fear that but little permanent influence can be exerted on any community, where the females occupy a low and degraded position (17th February 1864 in Burchell 1979:11).

Dale was generally impressed with the work at Lovedale:

The only available agencies for transforming the native savage into a citizen, capable of understanding his duties, and fulfilling them, are the school, the workshop, and the Christian Church The teaching, intellectual and moral, of the Church and school needs an industrial *substratum* in its disciples. True Christianity is incompatible with the aimlessness of a savage life (Young 1902:91).

When other industrial departments closed due to a change in the system of funding, Lovedale alone continued³. Shepherd (1940:135) considers this ample proof 'of how mistaken is a common notion that the first Principal of Lovedale was concerned only with academic, and even with a narrowly classical education'.

The opportunity for substantial expansion of influence came in 1856-7 with the calamitous experience of the national 'cattle-killing' which coincided with a serious decline in the power of chiefs:

On the other hand, chieftainship never recovered from the blow it had received. And, since many of the people betook themselves to mission stations for succour, they were brought into kindly relations with the missionaries and under the power of the Gospel. The doors were opened for missionary work in hitherto untouched districts and a period of steady and afterwards rapid expansion was begun (Shepherd 1940:142).

The deeper significance of the 'cattle-killing' was that:

What the missionaries and successive governments for the previous thirty years had been struggling with ever greater intensity to achieve; the destruction of the power of the principal chiefs and of the social structure of the Xhosa people, was suddenly and, for the colonists providentially accomplished (Mostert

³ This was also true of general education for the passing of the 1865 Education Act: Order C schools which were predominantly for blacks, introducing colonial policies, caused numbers of enrolments to drop dramatically, with the exception of Lovedale.

1992:1224); the collapse of Xhosa society presented the missionaries with the opportunity of accomplishing in the last half of the [nineteenth] century much of what they had set out to do in the twenties and thirties (Davis 1969:172).

The introduction of industrial education was not done solely from altruistic motives. In fact, altruism appears to have been a side issue in the greater imperial plan to co-opt black people into a coercive regime designed to further colonial policy of subjugating possible recalcitrance on their part as well as providing a ‘civilising’ influence. The missionaries were willing partners in this operation as they sought to extend their own hegemonic evangelical domain and expand their institutional empires.

The introduction of industrial education at Lovedale exemplifies Saayman’s (1991:40) contention that:

because missionaries accepted (basically without question) that Western culture was superior to African culture, and because they introduced a Western style of education without reference to the traditional African understanding education, early mission education contributed towards alienation young Africans from their culture, mostly without providing them with the tools to integrate the culture change in ways compatible with their own culture. In Schreier’s [1985:144-8] terms ... mission education did not succeed in constructing a local theology of education.

This, of course, was far from the intention of the missionaries as can be seen from their attitude to the concepts of time and space.

3.4.4. Time and space in institutional perspective

‘Missionaries insisted that education had to take place at a specific time (during one’s youth) and in a specific place (the school)’ (Saayman 1991:37). This was a complete contradiction to the traditional approach to life education in Africa according to Crais (1992:103): ‘in the organisation of space, time and work the [mission] station gradually stood in opposition and in competition, to the world of the *umzi* [kraal] and the political structure of Xhosa society’. With regard to the imposition of western forms of education, rote learning and ‘interrogation’ were:

the key to the Christians' "higher" objective of reconstruction. The curricula of church and school together set out to reorganise the flow of seasons and events that configured space and time for the Tswana. They separated the sacred from the secular, work from leisure, the public from the private, the inner from the outer, the biography of the scholar from the master narratives of Christian history. Sunday service, weekday classes, quarterly communion, and annual feasts introduced a new schedule of activities that encompassed local routines within a global timetable, a universal geography The point is that the religious calendar of the church marked out a moral order that would subsume all others, embracing the everyday lives of its participants in a continuous regime of instruction, veneration, and surveillance. In an effort to make the church schedule yet more encompassing, and so to compete more effectively with the ubiquitous services of *setswana*, the missionaries constantly elaborated their own ritual cycle. Sometimes they invented new ceremonies with a view to seizing the high moments of the indigenous calendar (Comaroff & Comaroff 1991:234).

It was clear that concepts of time and space required to be reorganised as a fundamental part of altering and reconstructing the black person's worldview. It was as if the Manichean allegory was applied to these concepts replacing traditional concepts with a dichotomous world, eg. sacred and secular, which was incomprehensible to black people who had a comprehensive unitary view of life (cf. Saayman 1994:17).

Although the concepts of time and space will be considered separately, there is a manner in which they are intertwined and this has been noted by Ntantala (1992:10-11) in the original award of land at Lovedale: 'Tyhali gave the missionaries a thousand morgen of land west of the Tyhumie, to build a school that would be a heritage for African children till the end of time'. But beyond that, aspects of time and space were drawn together in the process of education itself in the view 'that African education should be accompanied by a system of temporary segregation so that black men and women could be isolated from white society until they had been prepared to take their place in it'.

3.4.4.1 The organisation of space

Central to the organisation of space was the issue of land and the possession of land was crucial for the development of mission stations as large areas were 'alienated' and awarded to missionaries and their societies, eg. Lovedale. Land ownership was basic to the missionaries'

value system since ‘ [o]nce the missionaries “owned” the land, it became a foreign enclave within the African environment – and on this land an African very often became a foreigner in his or her own country’ (Saayman 1994:14). This problem arose out of different understandings of land:

The southern Nguni [ie. the amaXhosa] had no concept of private property in land. Every adult male – he usually had to be married – had a right to the land, but it was a right to *use* [emphasis mine] the land that was held in trust for him by the chief. The Xhosa commoner occupied the land He grazed his cattle, cultivated his fields, and consumed the products of his labour under the protection of the chief (Switzer 1993:36) [Significantly,] before the mid-eighteenth century, there was apparently a plentiful supply of unoccupied land for cultivation and pasture as well as for hunting close to homesteads (:37).

And also:

Land meant survival itself to the Xhosa insofar as it meant cattle and cattle meant wealth, but it also formed an inherent part of their social structure. Land also meant agriculture, hunting and political power. The loss of land meant the loss of political identity and social cohesion (Villa-Vicencio 1988:49).

But, more than that, land possessed a deeply spiritual quality as the people ‘were connected to the land in a spiritual way’ (N’Dour 2000:6) and their land was ‘significant space for spirituality’ as it ‘provides space for different forms of life ... [for] humans as well as their dead’ (Rutkies, Klemens & Van Schalkwyk 1999:247):

We mark significant spaces of land to remind ourselves who we are (be it simple tombstones or national monuments), where we come from and where we will go to. It becomes part of our identity and gives us our identity. In return we inherit the responsibilities of our ancestors, who tilled it and hunted and grazed their cattle on it, to be custodians of the land. If one looks at land from this point of view it is easier to understand the depth of trauma (not just of this time, but of earlier times also) that runs through the psyche of the people of South Africa, after experiencing [subsequent] forced removals as a result of the Land Act of 1913 and the ‘bringing of civilisation’ under colonisation. It was the most successful attempt at breaking the economic and political will of the people. The emotional connection to land can also be seen as a reaction against colonial forces, which artificially created histories of the people of South Africa. It would be worthwhile to follow the question whether the emotional connection to the land can be interpreted as resistance against any artificially created identity. The land was always the space of the stories of the ancestors and continued to tell the people where they really came from and where they continued to return, be it secretly or in open defiance. In this connection it is significant that missionaries sometimes forbade their converts to visit the graves of their dead. This could be interpreted as an attempt to become owners of the land of their members so that the missionary could not be distinguished from colonists and colonial interests (:247).

Consequently, blacks saw land as the ‘possession’ of the community available to meet the needs of all. This included holy places where the ancestors were buried and could be consulted, thus ensuring the wellbeing of the community now and in the future. Also, land was not a static but a fluid concept. When herds had grazed an area, they would be moved on to another, ensuring the availability of fodder and allowing the grazed land time to recover. But, more than all else it constituted the arena where life was based and centred, the roots to which each person would

return in life, and eventually in life beyond, to ensure the continuity of the community. The communal approach to land was replaced with an individualistic capitalistic approach to property which was imposed as a consequence of the arrival of the Europeans. De Kock (1992:126-7) comments on the new approach to agriculture introduced at Lovedale as going beyond demonstrating innovative ways of farming the land. The new methods represented 'important capitalistic approaches to the apprehension of self and society, principally individual land tenure and cultivation and "habits of industry" within the Protestant ethic of individualistic toil and reward'.

Throughout the nineteenth century, the black population of the eastern Cape were subjected to dispossession through war. This was violence in the extreme. However, this violence was not just the result of military incursion. The missionaries were also rapists of the land because they acquired it and used it because they 'consciously aimed at "colonising the mind", at changing whole systems of belief and practice' which 'had psychological and cultural consequences, especially in Africa with its holistic worldview' (Saayman 1994:12). The exploitation made them dependent and facilitated the 'internal' re-ordering of their mindset. They became foreigners in their own land while the missionaries were able to construct "a home away from home," which enabled them to live according to their own cultural norms and standards and where they could induce their converts to do the same' (:14). The psychological effects of these missionary acts of blatant and subtle coercive dispossession with their ultimate aim of taking over the minds of the Other and remaking them in their own internal image should help us to 'grasp the sense of humiliation engendered in the minds and hearts of the African people as they listened impotently to the expression of these [hegemonic] sentiments on their own (alienated) soil' (Saayman 1994:17).

But the issue was not only the possession of land. It also was concerned with its use. In terms of buildings there were matters of organisation: ‘In the organisation of space – for example, precise rectilinear plots and buildings ... reshaped the land in the language of private property’ (Crais 1992:82). Referring to the early days of Lovedale, Stewart (1887:94) describes the development of physical structures:

The earliest temporary erections were wattle and daub ... wood wattles and grass are at first set up. These give place to houses of very rough stone or sun-dried or burnt stick. Later on, better buildings of dressed stone appear. These indicate the permanent occupation of the country for missionary purposes ... Had the later necessities of the place been better known in those earlier days, more regularity of plan could have been followed both in buildings and in their general arrangement’.

It is interesting to note the relationship between permanence of building materials employed and the permanence of the missionary enterprise. Temporary materials, ie. those commonly used in traditional structures, seemed to represent a temporary approach to mission. Also, those who know the physical layout of Lovedale would wonder at the possibility of improving on its ‘general arrangement’ especially as far as aesthetic beauty and spacious arrangement is concerned! But, more than that, ‘the “upright houses” which rose on all mission stations embodied materials and demanded the use of tools unknown in southeast Africa before the colonial period’ (Etherington 1978:116). The encroachment of the capitalist ethos on the working habits and practices of black people represents another form of colonisation of the mind whereby a dependence on these new tools was created further alienating the people from their traditional roots:

The mission ... reorganised space with the building of a chapel and austere square houses With the reorganisation of space came the reorganisation of time. Soon after the establishment of the station the missionaries requested church bells which quickly became a feature of missionary life. And, if the spatial organisation of the station inculcated notions of private property, the bell imparted capitalist conceptions of time (Crais 1992:103).

Therefore, black people ‘joined the routines of waking and prayer and work’.

3.4.4.2 The organisation of time

From its beginning a routine was imposed on the life of the Institution reminiscent of that employed in total institutions. Govan described the daily routine in the form of a daily timetable:

We meet at seven o'clock in the morning for an hour, which is wholly devoted to the Scriptures and the Shorter Catechism. After an interval of another hour, which is taken up with breakfast etc., we meet again, and with the exception of another interval of about three quarters of an hour between eleven and twelve, we continue at studies till about half-past one. The young people work a little for the sake of exercise and amusement in the afternoon on the grounds, and in the evening they prepare their lessons for the following day. At seven o'clock I meet the servants in the school-room regarding them as also forming part of my charge (GMS Quarterly, 1841:5 in Shepherd 1940:101).

In the light of later experience of problems and resistance to manual labour, it is difficult to accept that it was a source of 'amusement'. If it was so, it was certainly not for the amusement of the students. It is interesting to note from Shepherd (:101) that 'The routine thus established has continued in Lovedale without great change for almost a century'. This is certainly true of Stewart's time as Principal for he reports (1894:64) under a photograph of workers waiting to begin work with the caption '9AM – WAITING FOR THE BELL'. The routine is virtually the same as in Govan's time:

At 9am the regular work in the school classes begins, though some classes meet as early as 7am. A considerable crowd has collected They are waiting till the bell sounds.

The significance of the bell has already been noted (2.2.7:72). This conforms to what we learned above (cf. 1.4:8; 2.2:25; 2.2.4:48) that it is during the first generation that institutions develop a life of their own and thereafter become resistant to change because routine becomes an enduring tradition. The matter of routine is also fundamental to the maintenance of power through surveillance as well as to regulate the total time available to students so that their time is so occupied with specific missionary directed activities that the internalisation process will be both complete and long lasting.

Time and space were not categories which were independent of one another. They were linked in an intimate manner:

The clock and the bell calling the faithful to prayer announced a new organisation of time. And the Protestant emphasis on the individual, an emphasis which was imparted to the young who attended school, 'urged the person toward self-construction through rational and punctual duty'. In church and in the field peasants thus participated in the reproduction of British Protestant culture. Peasants learned that through their religiosity and in their daily duties they would receive the love of God; that, despite the inequality and pain of the present, there was an 'equality of all legitimate worldly "callings"' which promised deliverance in the future (Crais 1992:82).

The missionaries even wished to take control of time in the hereafter (!) but for the present, time was an intimidating feature of Lovedale Institution as Gevisser (1999:25) refers to 'old stone buildings quivering beneath a bell tower that marked time rigidly'.

Another area in which missionaries sought to dominate converts or those who came to mission institutions was through the mode of dress.

3.4.4.3 The organisation of dress

Although the prime aim of the missionaries was to reconstruct the inner mind and being of the black person, part of this reconstruction focussed on the reorientation of external factors and dress was one of the means of achieving this but it was also a method by which inner reconstruction was facilitated:

From the beginning the economic changes wrought by life on mission stations assumed a dramatically outward and visible form. The clothing which zealous missionaries thrust upon their converts for the sake of modesty, and which was for a time the most distinctive emblem of black Christianity, originated in a system of production and exchange vastly different from the traditional economy. Whether the convert earned his shirt by working for wages or fabricated it with European loom and needles, he was entering into new kinds of economic relationships (Etherington 1978:116).

Here, we become aware of the many-faceted motivation for transformation. It was moral, economic, political, social and evangelical, European dress being 'the most distinctive emblem of black Christianity'. For Ntantala (1992:4) 'to be accepted as Christians, the Africans had to wear European dress'. The moral implication of this is that:

the [perceived] absence of clothing, personal cleanliness, hygienic facilities, furniture and the ability to read, write and calculate, and also the apparent lax morality, these things were viewed ... [in terms of] moral inferiority (Bill 1965:84 in Maluleke 1995:201).

Morality is tied up with the adoption of all things European:

the wives of missionaries actually made clothes for the children who came to school, for it was not uncommon for children, particularly the boys, to be altogether naked. The clothes made by the wives were given for school and church use. In fact the children were not allowed to take them home for fear they would become very dirty and soon be spoiled (Bill 1965:88 in Maluleke 1995:201).

Again, the moral implication is clear along with the idea that it is only white children who do not 'spoil' their clothes. Despite an evangelical motive being implicit in the wearing of European clothes, there is a suggestion that, within the mission station, everything must conform to European standards and that is why clothes must be kept in pristine condition as symbols of the purity of the total mission strategy.

The social divisiveness of European clothing cannot be overestimated:

Society was divided between the 'red people', whose ochre symbolised their adherence to tradition, and the 'school people', whose life situation was symbolised by their western dress. One of the former said in 1848: 'I am a believer. I do not like others who profess to believe, come to the [mission] station, put on clothes, and deceive you by saying I am a Christian when I am not' (Isichei 1995:113).

The success of the exercise of transforming the outward appearance of black people can be noted from a comment made by Junod (1907:41 in Maluleke 1995:193) who 'laments the fact that unlike twenty years previously, when the natives lived "in their old and picturesque way, clad as children of nature ... [now] they all long for covering their bodies with gowns"'. They have been taught to hate that which was all too natural in their previous experience.

In sum, the missionary attitudes to the African concepts of space, time and dress reflects 'the classical missionary ambivalence towards Africans, their religion and culture. It is an ambivalence that resulted in ideological distortion of the image of Africans' (Maluleke 1995:197). This was a hallmark of Govan's time as Principal of Lovedale. We now consider how that period came to an end.

3.4.5 The winds of change

Two visitors to Lovedale in 1863 were the heralds of momentous change for the institution.

James Stewart, a licentiate of the Free Church of Scotland, later reported to the church that he could see no prospect of substantial growth if it continued to operate on the same basis hitherto adopted because:

It receives no grants, as do the other institutions. It draws only three very small salaries On this meagre financial diet it cannot show the symptoms of lusty strength; and if it had not some inherent vitality and soundness of constitution it would not have grown at all. (Free Church of Scotland Monthly Record, Sept. 1864:605-6 in Shepherd 1940:152-3).

It is interesting to note that 'some inherent vitality' signifies the growth of institutionalisation where the institution has taken some kind of life of its own.

This visit was followed by that of Dr Alexander Duff, the famous missionary to India who was *en route* to Scotland to take up the position of Convener of the Foreign Mission Committee of the Free Church of Scotland. Duff was already imbued with the spirit of mission educational developments in India. In an extensive report he criticised much of the developments at Lovedale including the lack of 'much of the true missionary spirit' in Rev R Templeton. Duff believed in the need for reform and one of the means by which this was achieved was to secure the transfer of Stewart from his work in Central Africa to Lovedale. Stewart arrived at Lovedale in 1867 to implement the process of change envisaged by Duff and the Foreign Mission Committee. Prior to this, in 1864, Templeton and Calderwood, Govan's colleagues, had resigned perhaps having seen the writing on the wall with regard to the forthcoming demise of the principles on which they had based their work. From the moment of his arrival at Lovedale, Stewart undermined Govan's authority. He came armed with a list of instructions and recommendations from Scotland. These included the intention to establish a Mission Council to regulate the affairs of the mission, an Education Board to 'control the course of instruction' (Burchell 1979:13) and a Finance Board to control money matters. All of this, with expressed

good intention, instigated the removal of authority from Govan. A new regime, in embryo, was in place as Stewart had arrived with the dynamic Ms (later Dr) Jane Waterston who was to open a Girls Boarding School in 1868 in succession to the work begun by Ms Smith in 1846.

Another significant change was the introduction of lay teachers who, it was hoped, would be funded by the Governor of the colony's Native Reserve Fund and who would obviate the need for ordained teachers. The emphasis was to be on producing people, trained to various levels, who would further the evangelical work of the mission:

But God has given a diversity of gifts; and corresponding to these there may be, and ought to be, a diversity of operations in the mission field. Under the general guidance of the highest class of labourers, who may be the first ordained evangelists and pastors in towns or great central stations, there is ample room for a variety of subordinate agents. There may be a class of readers, who can do little else than read portions of Scripture or religious tracts and books to the wholly illiterate. There may be a somewhat higher class of purely vernacular catechists capable of simple exposition and the word of exhortation. There may be a higher class still of Anglo-vernacular Catechists, whose attainments may be equivalent to those of an ordinary licensed preacher of the Gospel. In the training of these classes respectively the Seminary may be so organised as to render effective aid A class of men may thus, in time, be reared up, who, though destitute of classical and scientific education, may be endowed with such gifts and graces as to constitute an effective Native pastorate for the rural districts (Report on foreign missions to Free Church Assembly, 1867:162 in Shepherd 1940:155-6).

This was clearly to be education for the place occupied in society and certainly no opportunity was to be missed in fulfilling the evangelical mandate. The place of the English language, relative to the vernacular and 'classical' languages, was to become a hotly contested area in the implementation of reform.

The views of Duff and Stewart were clearly in opposition to those of Govan. The Foreign Mission Committee (FMC) had to adjudicate between the two. Both Govan and Stewart were asked to submit their views on educational matters at Lovedale. Govan was at a distinct disadvantage as Duff was Convener of the FMC. The FMC considered both reports at its meeting on 19th January 1869. The different approaches were summarised by the Convener, Dr Duff:

Mr Govan states that the ultimate object of the Seminary is the Evangelisation of the Kafir race and that the Kafirs are so mixed up with the Europeans as to render it necessary that they should be placed on an equal footing with them in the matter of Education.

The Convener explained that Mr Govan's policy is to conform the Seminary to the Colonial system of education, implying as this does, the teaching of Latin and Greek to Kafir youth, while at the same time they know comparatively little of English and that as the Colonists are mainly desirous that their children should receive a good European Education with the view of passing the Government examinations for civil and other official appointments, the result is that the Seminary has hitherto been little more than an ordinary secular Grammar School, and the Christian and missionary element in it has not had that prominence which ought to be looked for in a missionary institution.

Dr Stewart, on the other hand, is desirous of making the Seminary a thoroughly Christian and Missionary Institution. And while Mr Govan's policy accommodates the system produced in it to the Europeans, Dr Stewart would adapt it to the wants of the Kafirs, with a more special view to the evangelisation, leaving it, open to any children of the Colonists who chose to take advantage of it.

Dr Stewart's policy and aim are thus in his, the Convener's opinion, the right one, but the modus operandi proposed by him do not seem calculated sufficiently to attain the result aimed at, and indeed do not appear essentially appear to differ from the Educational plan of Mr Govan.

The Convener explained that while the Colonial government has framed its system of education on the English and Scotch model and adapts it to the tastes and requirements of the colonists, the Indian Government has wisely adopted another system – regarding Greek and Latin as the Classical languages upon which English youths are examined, while in the case of the Native Youth, English is reckoned the Classical language for them, - thorough acquaintance with which is held to be equivalent to a corresponding acquaintance in the case of European Youth with the Greek and Latin Classics.

The Convener is of the opinion that the mission institutions in India in which a systematic course of Christian instruction is uninterruptedly carried on from the first simultaneously with the literary branches of a superior education in English and the Vernacular furnish the best model for the future conduct of the Lovedale Seminary, and he suggested the exceeding desirableness of memorialising the Cape Government for the introduction of a similar system for the Kafir population to that which prevails in India (Cory, Ms 14750).

A few comments on these two positions will help to clarify some of the issues raised. It is Duff himself who stresses the role of the English language being of paramount importance. His use of 'systematic' with regard to religious Christian instruction seem to be equivalent to Stewart's concept of 'thoroughness'.

For Govan to place black and white students on a equal footing was a laudable aim (Shepherd 1940:152-64; Brock 1975:107-14; cf. Ashley 1992:129), hence the necessity to conform to the colonial system which involved adopting a coercive approach demanding conformity to imposed foreign standards: 'It is desirable that Natives should be enabled to take their place alongside Europeans not only in the office of the ministry, but also in the various positions in society, secular as well as ecclesiastical' (Brock 1975:111 in Ashley 1982:56). But there was also a financial motive at work here as Govan depended on Europeans' fees to maintain and continue the work as his main means of support (Burchell 1979:14). Govan's elitist approach was

calculated (to a lesser degree than Stewart's) to alienate students from their brothers and sisters who could not or refused to access Lovedale's education: 'But it was also desirable as a means of advancement and social acceptance and often as a means of playing the European at his own game' (Brock 1974:21). The question of black peoples' aspirations is an issue because why should they not aspire to the same levels of attainment and work prospects as whites when they undergo the same education? The problem of classical languages was a very real one, especially with regard to the need to master English as a priority if advancement is to be achieved. Govan had a romanticised view of the relationship between black and white when he suggests that they are 'so mixed up', ie. integrated. There is little evidence to confirm this apart from the externals of dress and manners:

Before the age of trusteeship [ie. during Govan's time], Africans who adopted European cultural criteria could approach a par with Europeans, but with its advent [ie. the time of Stewart] even those who met European standards found themselves rebuffed as inherently inferior' as the result of 'Darwinism [which] put a final seal on the evolution of racial thought, seemingly placing the concept of racial superiority beyond refutation (Davis 1969:173).

They could only, at best, 'approach a par' not achieve equality. This was the result of:

The first generation of South African missionaries [who] shared a common belief in the mental and physical equality of Africans they believed that Christianity and their version of civilisation could remove the weaknesses of the African character (:164).

Govan's 'concept of "colleague" was totally absent from his successor's plans' (:185).

'Africans were ... certainly not immediately assimilable into European society' (Ashley 1982:57). The degree of social interaction is not affirmed.

It is also hardly fair to describe Lovedale simply as an 'ordinary secular grammar school' as

Govan and his colleagues strove to inculcate the evangelical motive in all that they did.

However, Govan did espouse an accomodationist, assimilationist and democratic approach to education which is to be commended. He was a man who was ahead of his time in terms of expecting too much of his students and in terms of race relations, by far!

Stewart represented a shift in educational theory from the 'elitist Christian liberal' approach to a 'practical "industrial"' model. Stewart's methods were seemingly not at odds with Govan's although he stressed the need for 'thoroughness' throughout the exercise. His prime focus was on the education of black people, with Europeans being allowed to access this education if they so desired. Stewart's missionary and evangelical approach aimed to produce black preachers and teachers with the emphasis on 'African requirements with more emphasis on a practical education and English and very little accent on classical studies' (Burchell 1979:15 cf. Shepherd 1940:157-8; Young 1902:110-111). This was:

The chief and primary aim Though it was not intended to be so exclusive as to refuse education to any others who might wish something else, or have lower aims. All would be welcome, whether Europeans or Africans into any of the departments, and for any length of time; but what they would get would be only as much as they can take, or like to take, of the liberal course provided for these two special classes A practical education, giving what is thought will best fit those who receive it for their special work, and omitting much that may perhaps be generally useful, and even desirable, as belonging to a classical education, were it not that the condition of heathen Africa demands that, as professional missionaries, we should specialise our efforts (Young 1902:110-111).

This means that it was Stewart who would decide what kind of education would be available.

His 'practical' education aimed at 'character building' (De Kock 1992:129). For him, Lovedale was a missionary school not a British public church school. This was a real issue at the time for Stewart's approach was a reflection of changes taking place in the English education system (Brock 1974:120). Stewart had no problem in accepting Govan's fourfold scheme of education - its courses, stages and divisions. He believed that 'a primitive people was elevated best by the general education of the many, and especially by seeking to train Bantu preachers and teachers' (Oosthuizen 1970:40). He 'aimed through elementary instruction, at the general uplift of the Africans, the liberation of the group' (Burchell 1979a:39) with the emphasis on the 'general as well as the Christian needs of black people, whilst making the Christian ethic the central feature of education' (White 1987:3). Even after Stewart assumed the principalship of Lovedale, the debated matter remained a live issue as blacks themselves continued to demand an education which was equal to that offered to whites: 'educated Natives themselves ... say - The

education at present given is not high enough or wide enough They say – “Give us the same advantages here” (LMI Reports I 1884:4-5).

In essence, Stewart summarised the differences between his approach and Govan’s as one of essence. For him, ‘the production of preachers is the *essential* aim; by the other [method] – that for which Govan contended – it is the *accidental* one [which] “takes us too far out of our way for our special purpose” (Shepherd 1940:158 cf. Young 1902:110-111). Stewart’s assessment of Govan’s approach is probably too simplistic. Hewat (1960:182) suggests that ‘each laid emphasis on a different facet of the educational aim: quick results for the many [Stewart], or, slower but deeper results for the few [Govan]’. This is a somewhat superficial assessment, however as in a few cases, notably that of Tiyo Soga, Govan achieved a great deal in a relatively short time, while Stewart would probably not agree that he achieved ‘quick results’.

De Kock (1996:72) gets much nearer the point in suggesting that ‘the real dispute was philosophical, raising the question of attitude towards Africans and the real objective of colonisation’. It was exemplified in the persons of Govan and Stewart who represented:

One of the major shifts in missionary thinking [which] was from the humanitarianism in the early part of the [nineteenth] century to racism in the latter part after the advent of Social Darwinism and ‘scientific racism’ Early millenarian missionaries wished to elevate their subjects to a position of equality, but later ones adopted the ideas of paternalism and trusteeship (:200 n.4).

Brock (1974:115) detects a ‘shift in emphasis from identity to differentiation, from assimilation to trusteeship’ and argues that the process of change was in no small means accelerated by the discovery of mineral deposits and a, consequently, rapidly changing economy. While the Committee considered the efficacy of trying to combine the two approaches, their bias was clearly towards Stewart’s approach:

the Committee approve generally of the policy indicated by Dr Stewart, are of the opinion that it will be quite practicable to draw up a plan that will on the whole harmonise the views and meet the reasonable wishes of both parties (Cory, MS14750, minutes of FMC, 19 January 1869).

They confirmed this view on 16th February 1869 as they nurtured ‘ a sanguine hope that those differences may be practically overcome without at all disturbing the harmonious working of the Mission’ (Cory, MS 14750). The Committee was ‘thus inaugurating an early experiment in adapting education to the contemporary position of the African’ (Burchell 1979:16).

Stewart was not to have things all his own way however, for Duff had his own agenda to pursue. While agreeing substantially with Stewart, he wanted to promote the Indian education system, with its integration of ‘Christian learning with the other branches of learning’ (Burchell 1979:17) as appropriate for South Africa without a great deal of research. In proposing a two-tier form of education:

Duff’s major fault was to remove Lovedale, at one stroke, from the mainstream of education in the Cape Stewart, who paid lip-service to Duff’s ideas on missionary education, was strongly influenced by utilitarian arguments. Education should be shaped to meet the requirements of the individual or the community (Brock 1974:119).

Stewart was well aware of the need to garner financial and moral support for his plans. He was also aware of the precarious financial plight of Lovedale. Consequently:

Stewart believed it was essential to adapt Lovedale to the needs of the community, to produce skilled workmen, honest clerks and reliable female domestic servants as well as a proportion of African ministers and teachers (Brock 1974:128).

The outcome of the FMC decision was that:

Govan’s goals of creating a small highly educated African elite fit to take their place alongside the whites in a common society was abandoned in favour of a policy aimed at the general uplift of the mass to an elementary level. The irony of the situation was that while Govan may be regarded as having been sacrificed because he clung to a policy of identity, Stewart’s subsequent assertions regarding the needs for higher education did not fundamentally differ from his views and, in a large measure, the Institution developed along lines which Govan would also have approved (Burchell 1979:17-18).

Commenting with hindsight on the formation of the Lovedale Governing Council in 1922, it was claimed that ‘[t]his development is a new phase of advance in reconciling two policies, that at one time in the institution’s history were regarded as conflicting and incompatible, but experience has proved to be complementary’ (CE, LII, 625, 1 December 1933:256).

Govan’s work had, however, been seriously undermined. He had suffered the effects of Duff’s determination to implant the Indian educational situation in South Africa and Stewart’s

relationship both with Duff and members of the FMC. He took the decent course of action; he tendered his resignation and left Lovedale in 1870.

3.6 Assessment

The institutional nature of Lovedale was apparent from its inception. It originated as the result of the conscious intention of a group of missionaries who had a particular evangelical purpose in mind. With the opening of the Institution under Govan's guidance it was based on a clear ideal and function – to prepare people to take their place as equals to Europeans who would extend the work of the Kingdom. It is also true that Govan, as well as his successors, despite their motivation:

assumed the existence of a homogeneous society with sufficient mobility to allow an individual to 'make good' by his own efforts. In the heterogeneous and racially-divided society of the Cape, Lovedale, whatever its motives, could only equip a man to operate within prescribed limits. The possible exception to this was in the area of training for the ministry (Brock 1974:22).

This resulted from a desire to impose a certain worldview by taking no account of that which it sought to supplant. It demonstrated a complete absence of awareness of the situation and of any positive value within it and assumed the situation was a *tabula rasa* awaiting the benevolence of the mission.

It had an outreach to the wider community by drawing in people from many walks of life as converts and sending out teachers and pastors to extend the mission. Lovedale consisted of a 'distinct set of social complexes' (Berger 1963:87) which were all part of the totality of the institution of church and school which were, in time, to be developed into a far more complex institution. This institution was organised on the basis of a certain understanding of discipline through which human conduct was patterned or reconstructed and was encapsulated in rules and regulations. The discipline of the establishment was based on an acceptance of nineteenth century evangelical Victorian ideals which were taken for granted as necessary for the remaking

of black minds and lives. This was considered part of the humanising process resulting from relating to others in a particular environment which is separate from the wider community. The flexibility and pliability of human beings can be demonstrated by their adaptability to new ways of functioning and the concepts of time and space are useful in viewing the effects of this process.

The formation of mission stations was part of this process of moulding those who were susceptible to conversion as the result of a variety of critical causes. Their eagerness to conform facilitated the establishment of the hegemony of the missionary function and ideal. Hence, the intensive re-education resulted in the internalisation of the coercive agency of mission ideology. This process would be further intensified during the principalship of James Stewart.

Roles play an important part in the process of institutionalisation in terms of a hierarchical structure in which every person knows their assigned place even down to which table is meant for which person at meal times. This is part of the legitimating formulae which 'explain' the ethos of the institution normally through rules and regulations of which there was an abundance at Lovedale.

The idea of hegemony is important as it functioned to transform the worldview of mission converts, to reconstruct their whole beings through the internalising of Christian capitalist values. The result, in Govan's time, was the production of a small educated class equal in achievement to Europeans, a black educated middle-class elite who could function as mediators between those who resisted change in the black community and those who sought change in the white mission community.

Power over residents at Lovedale was demonstrated by missionaries in the organisation of time, space and dress as a means to ensure conformity and adaptation to and adoption of their values. It was effective coercion as Lovedalians internalised its value system. Control of knowledge was instrumental in this process and so education became vital in the transformation of symbolic universes as well as the legitimisation of the tradition. Laing's address at the opening of Lovedale served this purpose as '[h]e first defended the missionary movement as a whole from the charge of being too visionary And he then proceeded to explain and vindicate the principles of the proposed Seminary' (Shepherd 1940:96). But legitimisation operates at a level below the surface of consciousness (Ashley 1980:35-6). And the use of the English language functioned as a prime means of legitimisation from the beginnings of Lovedale (Shepherd 1940:96). Mission education's use of the medium of English was the means of promoting Protestant values and consequently developing a middle class of landed peasants. This promoted the government's plans which is the reason Grey was prepared to support the introduction and maintenance of industrial education programmes financially.

The scope of social control was effectively demonstrated in the challenge to Govan's authority by Stewart and the FMC. This threat came from a deviant and not at all subtle perception of the reality which was Lovedale and challenged the supremacy of Govan's system. Power lay in the hands of the FMC in Scotland and Govan's authority was seriously compromised and undermined in the process of the evaluation of differing approaches to education at the Institution. Although the FMC apparently attempted to resolve the issue by the process of therapy whereby the two views could be harmonised, the actual result was nihilation which resulted in the disempowering of Govan whose philosophy denied the validity of that offered by Duff and Stewart. The superiority of their view facilitated Govan's demise. The 'negative legitimisation' of Govan's position proceeded by limiting his previous role, ie. the establishment of an Education Board and Financial Board and by the introduction of the 'deviant' educational

principles proposed by Duff and Stewart. Govan was forced then either to toe the line or resign. He took the honourable course and resigned.

Although Lovedale was a total institution in Govan's time, it was so in embryo only. It conformed to the definition by being a place where residents were cut off, to greater or lesser extent from the outside world while they were being remade in the missionary's image; it constituted an alternative world which aimed at transforming individuals as the achievement of a specific goal. This was the coercive agency. The total nature is enhanced by their novel interpretation of time and space, by means of implementing timetables and ordering the layout of buildings and the use of land. This comprehensive control of people's lives was ordered to facilitate surveillance and regimentation as a means of control and coercion.

Lovedale, under Govan, began to demonstrate the traits of institutionalisation in its coercive guise. Not all of these characteristics were overt but they were effective nonetheless. While Govan and Stewart came to grief on the principles on which the institution was to be run, there was considerable continuity in the methods adopted and Govan certainly laid a firm foundation on which Stewart was to build Lovedale as a coercive agency.

We may agree with Brock (1974:21) in her assessment that:

The institution was at once a source of support and assault. It defended unequivocally the right of Africans to educational opportunities, to the benefits of civilisation and, because, over a period of time, to their participation as equals in Cape society. At the same time it was a revolutionary instrument, committed openly to the destruction of the traditional society. Moreover, it could be argued that, by the training it offered, particularly in industrial skills and by preaching the 'gospel of work', it swelled the labour market and contributed to the increasing subservience of the black man in a political construction guaranteed to preserve white superiority.

CHAPTER 4 LOVEDALE UNDER JAMES STEWART

4.1 Rev Dr James Stewart

James Stewart was born in Edinburgh, Scotland on 14th February 1831. The son of a lower middle-class tenant farmer, he spent his early years in Perthshire. When the farm failed, the family returned to Edinburgh where, in his teenage years, Stewart experienced the 'Disruption' of the Church. His father, a deeply religious person, supported the Free Church party which left the established Church of Scotland on the voluntary principle of the separation of church and state. He was raised in the beliefs that progress in life was the result of hard work and discipline and that education was a privilege. These beliefs would be fundamental to the educational policy he developed in later life at Lovedale.

On leaving school, Stewart worked for a time in business before studying botany, chemistry and agriculture at Edinburgh University. In 1855, he began his divinity course at New College, Edinburgh and it has been suggested (Brock 1974:11) that his impulse towards missionary work arose early in his life. By 1856, he had come into contact with the missionary/exploration work of David Livingstone and resolved to join it. He was licensed to preach the Gospel by the Free Church of Scotland in 1860, having already begun to attend medical classes in 1859. Stewart's desire to engage in world mission led him to plan a Free Church mission to Central Africa to assess the possibility of educational and industrial mission. This failed though it indicates his early intention to engage in educational mission.

Between 1861 and 1864, Stewart travelled and explored in central Africa, having joined David Livingstone on the Zambezi river. This mission was unsuccessful but he gained valuable experience of Africa and black people. Throughout his inordinately full life, he

never lost the desire to do missionary work in central Africa, even after taking up his life's work at Lovedale. Stewart returned to Scotland in 1864 following a visit to South Africa, including Lovedale. By 1866, having completed his medical studies, he married Mina Stephen and became a missionary candidate of the FCoS. He agreed to go to Lovedale temporarily before returning to what he considered to be his life's work in central Africa. However, following the controversy between William Govan and the FMC of the FCoS, with which he was aligned and in which he became involved, Stewart was appointed Principal of Lovedale in 1870.

Larger than life physically, Stewart was destined to become a missionary giant of his time. A strong personality, 'he had a power of indentation, possessed by few men. He left the impression of his clear strong mind on every pupil who was privileged to be taught by him' (Cory PR 2005, AWR[oberts] in CE, XXXVI, 424, 1 February 1906). He also combined a passion for mission with a strong facility for fund-raising and organisation, all of which would stand him in good stead in years to come.

4.2 Stewart's programme for Lovedale

For James Stewart, as also with William Govan, the educational programme at Lovedale was to be based on the needs of blacks as he perceived them (cf. 1887:xvii-xviii). Priority, however, was to be given to those coming to be trained as teachers and pastors. Stewart's other emphasis was on practical education for the majority of students based in the study of the English language rather than Classical languages: 'on all occasions, whether of lecture, debate or remarks of any description, the English language only must be employed' (Cory MS 10369 J Aitken, 1888:43). He sought to attend to the 'general as well as the Christian needs

of blacks, whilst making the Christian ethic¹ the central feature of education' (White 1987:3). Herein lies the genesis of the idea of character formation which became crucial to Stewart's educational philosophy (and later to Henderson's also). Having supported Stewart's approach over that of Govan, the FMC of the FCoS 'indicated an early experiment in adapting education to the needs of the African' (White 1987:3; cf. Burchell 1979:16). However, as will be seen later, it was the blacks who had to do a great deal of the adapting to a European designed educational system.

Stewart's programme of education was fourfold: 'to train young men who had a strong spiritual and intellectual capacity as preachers' (White 1987:4), to train black school teachers, to offer vocational training and a general education.

4.2.1 Mission Statement

The basis of all that was done at Lovedale was summarised in what Stewart (1906:206) described as 'Our Missionary Creed and Confession at Lovedale':

We declare plainly that this institute exists to teach the natives of Africa the religion of Jesus Christ. We care for books and tools, workshops and classrooms and field work only as a means to open the mind and develop character by discipline and industry, and as aids not merely to the more ready acceptance of the truths of the Bible, but to the practical exhibition of these truths in daily life. We try to fit young men and women to become useful and industrious citizens, and to become also missionaries of Christianity and civilisation to other natives of Africa whom they may reach. We believe in conversion, and regard that as the best and highest result of our work. We believe in loyalty to Jesus Christ as the highest ideal and the most inspiring missionary belief. We often fall below our ideal, but we begin again. Not all our work is fruitful or encouraging; it is occasionally, if not frequently, disappointing. But we hold on, thankful to God for the opportunity, and we leave the final results in his hands. We are responsible for the performance of duty, not results.

In this, Stewart did not alter his views with passing years:

We seek that those under our care may become the subjects of that great change – genuine conversion to God. Without this, we do not regard all the other results as of the highest value. They are worthy of

¹ This ethic was deeply influenced by Calvinist thinking based in self-sacrifice, self-control, good works as evidence of salvation and care for the poor. Such an ethic laid the basis for the development of the capitalist spirit: 'Those adventurers who were to extend the known world and develop an industrial revolution which would assist them in dominating it would obviously find here the most congenial religious teaching (Jones 1984:72).

effort, but pour greatest anxiety is to see those who are here, exhibiting the true and practical fruits of a Christian life (LMI Reports I, 1872:3).

It is interesting to note here Stewart's emphasis on conversion (Burchell 1979:19) and compare it with Govan's for Stewart came to represent the emphasis on 'trusteeism' while Govan (following, for example, John Philip) represented 'conversionism' (Kiel 1999:5,9). However, both Stewart and Govan represented different generations of missionary approach and Stewart most certainly espoused the later emphasis on 'trusteeism'. The missionary purpose of Lovedale under Stewart's guidance and control is confirmed by Rev. John Lennox (1903:15):

Lovedale is first and foremost a missionary institution. Educational and industrial training of the most practical kind is imparted; but all this is secondary to what is the main purpose governing all the activities of the place, namely the moral and spiritual welfare of the students. It is a great advance to replace ignorance by knowledge and indolent barbarism by industrial skill. But it is of infinitely greater importance that the students who leave Lovedale and return to work among their own people should be Christian men and women, who know the power of redeeming grace.

In referring to 'The Lovedale Method' of education, Stewart (1894:9) says '[b]ut when a certain stage is reached the difficulty is to get what may be called, in one word, the ethical side of religious teaching and training sufficiently developed'. Both Stewart and Lennox affirm the missionary nature of Lovedale by expressing the universal purposes of forming missionaries regardless of which course was followed. The ideological purpose is coercive in intent because education is a liberating process only if it frees the students to make their own choices in life. This approach seeks to pre-determine the outcome of the educational process at a subconscious or unconscious level inasmuch as the approach adopted at Lovedale would be inculcated in students and transferred, in time, to their pupils (cf. Lennox 1903:30):

The evangelisation of Africa will be hastened or impeded according as the nations themselves assume the responsibility for the evangelisation of their own people. Hence the importance of having a well-equipped native ministry and native teachers of Christian character and good ability. In this respect the results cannot be readily gauged, but are merged on the steady progress of the native towards civilisation.

Here we note the pervasive influence of mission education where black people become the evangelistic tools of their mission educators. This would have a degree of legitimacy if such 'tools' had been given credit for their achievements, which were significant, by being named.

But while still within the confines of the Institution:

The education there was largely atmospheric, and it entered into every part of the pupil's life. They lived every day in the climate of a genial Christian humanity The atmosphere taught more than mere words could and they received the highest truth as by genial infection and absorption. The soul of the teacher was in daily contact with the soul of the pupil (Wells 1908:196).

Was the 'genial' nature of the approach a mask for a more sinister motive of coercion?

Referring to second and third generation students at Lovedale, Landman (1998:367) suggests that 'for them a lifestyle prescribed by evangelical conservatism had already become part of being a Christian. Christ and good manners became the integrated part of a popular piety'. It was not, however, only the students in whom this ethos was implanted. Aitken (Cory MS 10369:44) refers to a member of staff, a Mr Fisher of the Bookstore being 'thoroughly imbued with the true Lovedale spirit', thus confirming Stewart's conviction that 'the life and activity of the missionary agents tell wonderfully without much formal speech' (in Wells 1908:196).

But the changes aimed at are not only in the direction of Christianity and civilisation. They are also away from an 'indolent barbarism', thus undermining any educational process which has begun prior to Christian education (Saayman 1991). 'At Lovedale blacks were taught to love Christ, to display good English manners, and to shed their "natural inclinations" towards laziness and uncleanness' (Landman 1998:367). Such education was both disruptive and alienating from traditional family life rather than integrating as far as continuity with past life was concerned. Integration was concerned solely with acceptance of European lifestyle. This is clear from Stewart's exposition of the objects of his approach to education.

4.2.2 The object of education

Godliness, Cleanliness, Industry and Discipline. The first of these is the foundation of any permanent change of habit, and without it we do not reckon that we have accomplished much that is likely to abide. The second is allied to the first, and its absence is a characteristic of savage life. Steady industry is also a new power requiring to be cultivated – and its growth is slow; and discipline in its widest sense, is a necessary part of all useful training of any kind (Stewart 1887:xii).

This is summarised by Stewart (UCT SP, BC 106 D4, undated:5-6 in De Kock 1992a:129-130) answering his own question ‘But what in a single word is that object? Character I suppose will embrace it’². Permanence was vital to the success of the mission education venture. A deep inner conversion experience manifested throughout subsequent life was the aim. Backsliding was not even to be contemplated or acknowledged. Interestingly enough there is a complete dearth of information concerning drop-outs at Lovedale. ‘How many people left because their culture was indicted is not recorded by the missionaries’ (Landman 1988:366) although Switzer (1993:116) avers that ‘[t]his missionary generation would expel Africans from the church and even from the land in an effort to gain compliance with the new moral order’. Cuthbertson (1987:20) refers to sanctions being:

used to exercise social control on mission stations. Defaulters were summarily banished and found themselves alienated from the westernised African elite on the one hand and regarded on the other with suspicion by the ‘traditional’ community from which they had originally come.

Otherwise, all would be in vain. Not one mention is made of this in Stewart’s *magnum opus* (1887), *Lovedale: Past and Present*, a massive defence and justification of his programme. The priority of the Protestant work ethic again becomes apparent. ‘Steady’, meaning regular, work was the aim but this only serves to emphasise the different understandings of time that blacks and missionaries operated from. ‘Regular’ might as easily mean according to the regularity of the passing of seasons as to adherence to a strict daily timetable. We now consider the methods employed to achieve Lovedale’s objects.

² This will be dealt with in greater detail later in this chapter (4.6).

4.2.3 Methods at Lovedale

As to methods at Lovedale, Lennox (1903:31) argues that these are not innovative. Rather, they 'are the results of much experience and effort They are fourfold, namely evangelistic, educational, industrial and medical. The soundness of these methods has been confirmed by their adoption in other similar institutions'. We note the priority of the evangelistic approach. In response to a query about methods employed, Stewart (1887:xii) responds: 'Books of course, that is school education. But more than books. We are told to teach the Natives to work. Our reply is, that this is constantly done here'.

Method is closely related to motivation in Stewart's thinking. Lennox (1903:32) relates the intended impact of the regular Sunday morning service in the institution:

The impression which is most deeply made is that of the great opportunity which, in the providence of God, is offered for influencing these young men and women from all over South Africa. If they go forth from Lovedale not only trained in knowledge or industrial skill, but with the love of Christ in their hearts, what an influence they may exert throughout that great country. All methods, however well tested and approved, are but channels for God's grace to fill. To him belongs all the praise for whatever success has accompanied the work at Lovedale, and in humble dependence on Him lies the hope of the future.

Lennox's enthusiasm makes no concession to the accepted prevailing educational methods of his day. Ultimately, the methods used are somewhat irrelevant for it is God alone who uses whatever methods to complete his missionary purpose. Little credit is ascribed to human agency other than that of being part of the means of sharing with God in accomplishing his mission. Here we can discern the point at which God's purpose and the colonial intention coincide for it is a combination of industrial competence (ie. economic producing, earning and consuming capacity) and Christian commitment which will achieve the goal of winning South Africa for God and the Empire. Stewart (1894:4) clearly defines the link between methodology and goals: 'a sound missionary method will in every way endeavour to promote

civilisation by educational industry, resting on the solid foundation of religious instruction.

Hence there is a variety of teaching’.

4.2.4 The goal of mission education

Stewart’s goal was ultimately:

a religious one: he believed that only by conversion and moral growth would the education of Africans succeed. Hence he stressed the moulding of the moral character in each individual [cf. Burchell 1979:47]. This was to become an integral part of the missionary philosophy of education (White 1987:5).

Yet, Stewart himself claimed that the purpose of education is: ‘Action A man is educated when he is fitted for the position he is intended by the providence of God to fill Any education which is not practical in its character is of no real value to you at your present stage of civilisation’ (Stewart to the Lovedale Literary Society in Wells 1908:188). For Stewart Christianisation and civilisation were virtually synonymous: ‘When a man is Christianised – that is, when the great change has really taken place in him – he is generally civilised as well; or he will become moreso day by day. He will appear clothed, and in his right mind, and the change will continue’ (Stewart 1894:10). However, the teaching of Christianity is prior for:

We do not believe in the power of Civilisation by itself, to effect the ends for which we are sent into this country – and that for reasons well expressed in the following words:
‘To teach civilisation while we generously refrain from all attempts to “bias” the mind of the heathen mind in favour of Christianity, is a principle as false to nature as it is perfectly incomprehensible to the heathen himself, for whom we make this disinterested abnegation of faith But there is still and always a certain conscious humanity in him, able to respond to the perfect reasonableness of listening to a message from God’ (LMI Reports I, 1882:4).

This appears to be a rather generous interpretation of what actually went on at Lovedale where the very atmosphere breathed the Christian ethos. Without the Christian input or effect on individuals, as is evidenced even at Lovedale, the result is ‘not a product of Christianity, but of civilisation *minus* Christianity Material changes without any moral regenerating force often end in degeneration, sometimes in destruction, sad as the fact may be’ (LMI Reports I, 1889:8).

Roberts (Cory, PR 2005 [cf. CE, XXXVI, 424, 1 February 1906]:19) reports that at the Mildmay Conference, Stewart said:

The essential aim of Lovedale is to Christianise, not merely to civilise. The conversion of the individual soul to God, as the result of highest value, is our greatest anxiety, and is esteemed to be the one most worthy of the effort, and to which all of her efforts are properly and justifiably subordinate. We cannot say that as regards all who come to the place this end is secured, but it is steadily kept in view as that without which all others are necessarily temporary, and comparatively limited and fruitless.

His desire for students was ‘to learn the dignity of, and the necessity for, hard work’ as being of ‘moral value’, that the development of ‘the self-dependence and moral courage of Natives should be strengthened’ for ‘justice and equity’ and that ‘each pupil in the Institution should come directly under the power of the Gospel’ (Cory, PR 2005:18). Notwithstanding all of this, as far as the Cape government was concerned, the aspect of civilising was important. Mr Ross, sent to South Africa at their request to report on the state of education in the colony, commented ‘the civilising influence of the whole institution is remarkably felt [it represents] the most perfect order in its organisation and administration’ (Cory MS 10369, J Aitken, 1888:56).

Stewart lays the blame for lack of progress made on what he considers to be a lack of religious faith, but perhaps it would be more correct to say Christian faith. This belief would account for the need to alter the entire life-style of the black person in order that he becomes a malleable entity ready to be moulded anew by missionary influence. ‘The real need of his Christianity is the immense difference between the man as he was and what he becomes later’ (Stewart 1906:367). Although Stewart (LMI Reports I, 1884:5), referring to a meeting of Native Evangelists in the Transkei who claimed that ‘education should not remove a man from the ways of his fathers when their ways are good, but only when they are bad’, claims there is little evidence to support the idea that missionaries found anything that was good in

traditional society despite his claim: 'We heartily concur in the sentiment expressed'.

Speaking at the closing meeting of the Institution in 1893, the Local magistrate, CGH Bell claimed that 'having come to this place, they could never be as they were before. They had become part of Lovedale' (LMI Reports II, 1894:3). From this it becomes clear why evangelism became such a priority and was inextricably linked to the process of education:

Amongst the causes of the slow progress of the African must undoubtedly be reckoned the absence of religious beliefs, which is equivalent to the absence of definite moral force of the higher kind. The want of these, either in the individual, or in a race, is a serious want, and has to do with the mental vacuity and aimless indefinite life which characterise barbarism. If this is admitted, his first and primary object being to implant these religious beliefs, and thus awaken the most powerful influence for the future guidance of the individual. The Bible is therefore his chief book, and spiritual results his best results (Stewart 1887:xxii).

In this process 'education is but the lure we use for bringing the young men and women of the land to Christ' (LMI Reports II, 1892:4). However, Stewart assumed that only a capitalist-based Protestant work ethic is capable of raising blacks to a position of functional usefulness. Consequently, he denies the possibility of any other religious or moral/ethical commitment being able to achieve the same or similar results. Even in *Lovedale: Past and Present* (1887), Stewart reveals to his white settler critics a value in education which will benefit them economically as well as his own limited view of the ability of the majority of blacks to achieve significantly; hence his replication of a highly structured European type of education (Stewart 1887:xx; cf. 1894:110). Regarding the existence of a small class of educated black people Stewart (1887:xvii-xviii) comments:

There is slowly growing up a small, but steadily increasing class among the native population of this country, who are possessed of acquirements educationally, of which their forefathers did not dream, and did not even know the name. There is a certain number possessed of a moderate amount of mechanical skill, which one or two in a tribe in former times pretended to possess, and even to imitate grotesquely. This class, in consequence of having received such instruction, take to higher kinds of work. It is true their work as yet, is not on the average, of a very high or satisfactory kind; for the work is always as the mind of the worker. If the mind is confused, or feeble, and defective in method, so also will be the product, at every stage of its process and in its completed form. But they are slowly improving, and this class is economically of more value to the country than the utterly untaught, both for what they produce and what they consume; and because their wants are greater, their purchasing power must be greater, which means that they must work more; and as a class they are a less danger to the country than if left in a state of utter ignorance and barbarism. Cattle stealing and joining in Native rebellions have not been traced to Christian and educated Natives *as a class*, whatever individual exceptions there may be.

Allied to this, Stewart's goal for his students was circumscribed by societal and divine limitations: 'A man is educated when he is fitted for the position he is intended by the Providence of God to fill' (Stewart to the Lovedale Literary Society in Wells 1908:188). It is interesting to note that the goal of education, no matter how high sounding its religious aspect, was tied to developing an economically viable class of people who would be involved in and support western based economic structures. In addition, this class had to be co-opted into the system in such a way as to neutralise them in terms of resistance and the adoption of Christianity was considered to be the solvent for traditional life and potential rejection of western civilisation. Stewart's educational goal required to be undergirded by clear principles.

4.2.5 Stewart's educational principles

In many ways, Stewart represented the same general principles at Lovedale as William Govan did. From its inception, Lovedale was '**non-sectarian and undenominational**' (Stewart 1906:181). It was thoroughly Christian in its approach regardless of denomination or Christian religious affiliation:

Its scholars belong to all denominations in the Colony and to heathen tribes beyond as far north as the Zambesi. Its doors stand wide open, and nothing shuts out any, white or coloured, boys or girls, full grown men or little children, unless their known bad character (LMI Reports I, 1885:5).

Stewart was able to declare publicly 'The claims of individual human souls are alone regarded' (LMI Report 1890, 1:12) and 'Christianity and the Christian Church are alone spoken of' (Andrew Smith, LMI Reports I, 1891, Appendix:iv; cf. CE, XXI, 254, 1 September 1891)); 'we have not confined ourselves ... to any one native tribe or to any one religious denomination' (Cory MS14756, Statement by Stewart, November 1905). Certainly while white students and a number of blacks enrolled at Lovedale, coming from a predominantly Christian background there would be in the eyes of Lovedale's staff a

pervasive Christian influence spreading through the Institution. The Christian influence was maintained and developed through daily Bible study and devotional offices. 'Instruction in the Bible and in practical religion is the first work of the day Morning and evening worship is held' (Stewart 1906 :182). Matters Christian were the priority of each day, especially Sunday with its emphasis on morning worship.

While '**self-support** is the financial aim' and led in time to the introduction of fees this was designed to make the Institution more viable in the long term. Lennox (1911:72) claims that Stewart introduced fees, the 'sheet-anchor', to extend the availability of education. Stewart's initiative in introducing fees was one way of minimising the effect of government control (and maximising missionary control) of education as the colonial government had been offering a modest amount of assistance and hence was able to impose a system of official inspection in schools having already assumed a limited direct responsibility for education by the establishment and maintenance of a few government schools. However, government assistance was only obtained 'by fulfilling certain conditions' (Andrew Smith, LMI Reports II, 1981, Appendix:vii; cf. CE, XXI, 254, 1 September 1891). As the result of financial restraints the missions welcomed the opportunity of continuing to play a leading role in this field even if they sacrificed to some extent their earlier independence.

The introduction of fees also had an indirect coercive influence which would control or at least modify the responses of students who might react against or resist certain aspects of the education offered were they not dependent on parental or other support. It also led blacks to place a higher value on that for which they have had to pay (Young 1902:115). It was coercive to the extent that it commanded submission, achievement and conformity.

Multi-racialism was another principle which was fundamental to Lovedale's approach (cf. Burchell 1979:23) until the Cape Education Department changed its policy in this regard, although there was a financial motive here also as white settlers' fees could subsidise the running costs of a growing institution. A discrepancy in this policy related to the separate dining and sleeping arrangements which were ostensibly related to ability to pay but which were, in fact, determined by race, blacks being at the lowest point in the socio-economic scale for the most part. The arrangements for sports activities was somewhat different:

In games they are usually separate, being allowed to please themselves, but they meet in the grounds. It will be seen that they are brought into a true relationship with each other, and also that they are not mixed up (Andrew Smith in LMI Reports I, 1891, Appendix:iii; cf. CE, XXI, 254, 1 September 1891).

Smith's view is based on a 'practical recognition' of the permanence of the black person in society and that they share with Europeans citizenship and are also British subjects. Beyond the assumption of separateness, the 'true relationship with each other', there are possibilities of meeting by free choice to associate or not. Contact with one another will hopefully lead to respect and common attitudes. However, the relation remains one of subjection for while the black person learns civilised behaviour from the European 'the latter, separated as the British officer from the private by the strict regulations of Mess, loses nothing by the contact' (LMI Reports, 1891, Appendix:iv).

With regard to **manual labour**, 'the object ... was not in the value of the work itself, but rather to demonstrate that Christianity and idleness are incompatible' (Burchell 1979:19; cf. Stewart 1887:xii; Lennox 1903:15; Landman 1998:367), though again the more work which was done by students, the lower would be the costs of ancillary labour and maintenance: 'Not only did they believe in the value of work, the missionaries also needed work to be done on the mission stations!' (Christie 1985:66). This is corroborated by Jabavu (1918 in Molteno 1984:67 in Christie 1985:74): 'In our schools "manual labour" consists of sweeping yards, repairing roads, cracking stones, and so on, and is done by boys only as so much task work

enforced by a time-keeper, and under threats of punishment'. Discipline would be easier to enforce if students were kept busy with little time available for mischief-making. This was also a way of developing a work ethic which was compatible with the demands of a growing capitalist society. Yet, in the field of industrial education, skilled training was often not a priority as workers were being prepared for a certain place in economic society, one which would not threaten white workers: 'And because there was so little proper training, people were only prepared for lower-level jobs in the economy' (Christie 1985:73). This notwithstanding, some mission institutions like Lovedale, did go beyond a basic training as can be seen in the degree of threat they posed to the white settler community, hence the reason for the publication of Stewart's *Lovedale: Past and Present*. But the acceptance of government grants, for whatever reason, did expose the institutions to the charge that they were 'doing the government's work for it' (Christie 1985:72).

However, all was not well in the field of manual labour as there was considerable **resentment** to its imposition, regardless of its considered value by the missionaries:

In 1872, *The Kaffir Express* admitted that students entirely rejected this forced labour, characterising it variously as 'a sore point', 'the bane of their lives' and 'an utter abhorrence' (KE, II, 26, 1 November 1872:1-2 in Molteno 1984:53).

This remained a problem:

Many a one (though not all) possessed of a perfectly praiseworthy ambition and a desire for knowledge – as he understands it – finds this rule which insists on manual work in some shape, the sore point – the very *bete noir* of his Lovedale life – an enemy which he has to encounter every day. In time, his enemy will be transformed into a friend (LMI Reports I, 1883:5).

Lovedale's progressive approach to education was demonstrated in its relatively positive attitude to **female education**. Stewart developed the work begun by Govan in this regard. Concerning the education of girls Stewart believed that 'such training in household and domestic work, seems just what is necessary to bring out many of those feminine traits of character which are more or less undeveloped in the uncivilised condition' (1894:95). One

may wonder how women, and even men and children, survived prior to the arrival of mission education! However, progressive as this may seem, Stewart was fundamentally convinced of the subservient place of women in society (his own as well as black society). Cock (1980 in Christie 1989:77) expresses the contradictory nature of female education in mission institutions as it not only freed women from subordination in their traditional societies and enabled them to become independent, having given girls 'a new self consciousness and prepared them to earn their own living as teachers and nurses, this made them independent in choosing their husbands and in running their family affairs' (Baur 1994:415). This may be a little too optimistic an estimation for education also prepared them for similar subordination in a different kind of society as 'it encouraged a new set of values, and led them to Western-based roles of women's subordination'. It also made them economic units in the rapidly developing capitalist society where black women could become earners also as domestic servants, hence one motive for an emphasis on home-making in the curriculum.

Consequently, 'because education for girls led to jobs, parents were less reluctant to send their daughters to school than they were elsewhere, and the girls themselves early grew to value education as a means to earning' (Wilson & Thompson 1971 I:262).

Yet, '*Respect for women* was one of the greatest lessons in the Institution' (Wells 1908:191-2). Stewart's appointment of Miss (later Dr) Jane Waterston further promoted his views:

The aim with which I started was not to turn out school girls but *women*, and with that aim in view I tried to give to the Institution not so much the air of a school as that of a pleasant home. I reasoned after this manner that *homes* are what are wanted in Africa, and that the young woman will never be able to make homes unless they understand and see what a home is. Another principle that I set out with was, that nothing was to be done for the girls that they could do for themselves, and that there was to be as little hired help as possible (Waterston in Wells 1908:192).

The pervasive influence of atmosphere, which was so necessary for character formation at Lovedale, prevailed in Waterston's thinking as did her drive for economy in the employment of ancillary staff. Although there was an educational soundness in her view, by making girls into their own domestic servants, she inculcated her own Victorian ideas of domesticity as

being the prime role for which girls were being prepared and, in this, her thinking was closely aligned to Stewart's concerning preparation for a particular place and role in society (cf. Wells 1908:188). In fact, Stewart (LMI Reports I, 1883:5) reported: 'In the Girls' Department no servants are kept, the entire household work being done by the girls themselves'. We may also consider the contribution women who had studied at Lovedale made to the 'popular piety amongst black South Africans' (Landman 1999:367). In addition, progressive though Lovedale was, its education was still restricted by its adherence to European Victorian values and sex discrimination was practised. This was another contradiction as girls were not taught agriculture (one of their prime roles in their own societies) because this did not accord with western values which assigned this role to men and boys. This was one means of alienating female students from their traditional lifestyle. Consequently, Lovedale's influence extended into African homes where educational influence originates, although Lennox (1911:69) claims that 'the women required much training to fit them to fill their proper place in the homes and in the church' as mission Christianity set out to reconstruct gender relations completely, and through its organisations for women in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, to propagate European Christian ideals of marriage through adopting the roles of wife and mother. This has been borne out in contemporary life in terms of 'the known links between girls' education and the future health and productivity of their families' (Brittain, Elliott & Carpel 2000:14). Though such educational opportunities were not available to the majority of the female population (Baur 1994:415), we may not underestimate the influence of such educated women in their own communities. It was also Lovedale, and other similar institutions (Taylor 1928:448 in Christie 1985:76) which provided useful wives for ministers and teachers as well as a number of excellent students such as Tause Soga, Martha Kwatsha and Naniwe Lukalo³. As well as demonstrating a sincere

³ These three were to marry significant evangelists in the life of the Scottish mission as Tause Soga hoped at one time to marry William Koyi, and the other two married Mpambani Mzimba and Isaac Wauchope respectively (Thompson 2000:14).

concern of the girls under her care, Waterston maintained her position through the exercise of firm discipline (Thompson 2000:51).

Discipline also, played an important part in the principles governing the running of Lovedale Institution. It was vital for the ‘success’ of any institution that an acceptable level of discipline be enforced and maintained in order to maintain its hegemonic influence over young minds. Thompson (2000:19) contends that contravention of the disciplinary system was ‘not hard to do in the strict disciplinary regime which prevailed there’. Major Geddes, Boarding Master, frequently complained of ‘the absence of anything like a real *esprit de corps*; there is an impatience of efforts to establish order and uniformity, and a degree of wilfulness that makes all such efforts anything but agreeable work’ (LMI Reports III, 1897:27 cf. VIII 1927:13-14). Hence it was ‘not that enforced discipline which rouses the instinct of youthful contrariness and rebellion, and secures an outward and forced discipline’ (Wells 1908:195). Consequently, corporal punishment was eschewed. A rather romantic view of Lovedale’s disciplinary system is offered by Andrew Smith, a teacher of lengthy service and substantial experience:

Discipline. This is the great essential, the basis of everything. No officer is seen going through the grounds to take by the collar the evil-doer. But there is an influence, - felt, not seen. It is created by the members of the mission being knit together, and each exercising an authority both general and in his own sphere. Kindness and firmness are the two principles. The pupils know well that the missionaries are their friends, and that goes far; but if there are the ungovernable or bad, there is something behind, which wrong-doers dread. The *ultima lex regum* is expulsion. This is feared (LMI Reports II, 1891, Appendix:vi; cf. CE, XXI, 254, 1 September 1891).

There is no evidence of the use of corporal punishment at Lovedale – though a cuff about the ears was presumably not uncommon’ (Brock 1974:69). This was probably because: ‘Matters of discipline were usually not publicised but they included the breaking of indenture agreements, theft, sexual transgressions resulting to heathen customs ... and general misconduct, all of which left the student liable for instant dismissal’ (:68).

Before 1879, discipline had been administered by the Education Board of the Institution. Stewart believed this to have been too harsh and favoured some form which could be administered by the peer group. As a result, he facilitated the formation of a Native Court for dealing with minor offences under the chairmanship of John Knox Bokwe, himself a product of Lovedale. 'This court throws a portion of the maintenance of discipline on the natives themselves' (LMI Reports I, 1881:16-17). Stewart's ultimate motive was to shift the responsibility for discipline from staff to students, by co-opting them into the disciplinary system, as a means of moving the expression of bad feelings away from staff in the exercise of power through discipline and to demonstrate a seeming willingness to give in to a student desire for power. There is no record of proceedings of this court but Stewart (to Moir, 17 December 1890, SP23B(i) in Brock 1974:69) mentions:

One thing which strikes me as necessary is the re-establishment of the Native Courts and the employment of secret agents to be paid as before. Some object to this amongst others Mr Geddes [Boys' Boarding Master]. I think the objectors are entirely wrong. We cannot do in a community such as ours without an Information Department and without something corresponding to a Police – however we may dislike it. I have never been in love with the Vigilance Committee – it may do well enough after things are found out – but what we need chiefly is to find out things in time.

Here, more than anywhere else, we see the great degree to which Stewart was a captive of the concept and practice of total institutions and coercive agency with their requirements of surveillance techniques. That he should even have contemplated such steps in a Christian community is amazing in view of his liberal attitude towards education in general. Only a degree of insecurity concerning the validity and viability of the Lovedale project can account for the need for such manipulative surveillance techniques. That discipline needed to originate in the stories of secret informers ('scouts') is a dreadful indictment of the lack of openness to the love of God in a Christian community. This would do little to establish peace and trust in which the harmony of such an institution could be based as an example to the wider community. Was Stewart, perhaps as the result of his experience of the low levels of conversion and subsequent poor commitment, not totally convinced of the power of the

Gospel to achieve its aim of bringing people to Christ in the face of the strong pull of traditional religion and culture or was he simply concerned about the lack of numerical success? It is all the more interesting that Major Geddes with his strong military and disciplined background should object to Stewart's proposal. And Geddes was not above taking strong action when he believed it was necessary as when, in 1900, the ring-leaders in a food dispute were expelled by the Education Board as the result of his influence⁴. At that time, Geddes (Cory MS 9138, to Stewart, 2 November 1900) admitted to using informers. 'I of course knew of those [student] meetings and had been informed to some extent of what has taken place'.

Stewart's oversight of discipline was based on the assumption that he would not himself be directly involved in its execution but would employ delegated agents such as Major Geddes, Boys' Boarding Master, the Education Board which gave over its powers to the Native Court whose composition included blacks, and 'secret agents' working through an 'Information Department' or 'Vigilance Committee'. This would absolve him of dirtying his hands personally and maintain his image of being both above and remote from the arena of base activities such as exercising control in a crude manner. Stewart's attitude may be seen in his response to a misconception that had had somehow been implicated in brutal treatment by instituting a policy of flogging which was endemic in the Blantyre Mission in Nyasaland:

In connection with the floggings at Blantyre, the name of the writer of this paper has been dragged in and made use of by implication, as in some way responsible for those deplorable doings. The reply to this may be made as clear, emphatic and incisive as the most direct of contradictions can make it. We regret the offensive necessity; but there is no other way of dealing with such a charge. The writer of this paper never witnessed a case of flogging at Blantyre or Livingstonia; never heard of one case till long after it occurred; would not have sanctioned it, had it been proposed; and therefore can have nothing whatsoever to do with the origination of such a system ... In sixteen years contact with the natives of South and Central Africa, he has never once had recourse to such a punishment; but he has invariably prevented it whenever it has been proposed to be inflicted (CE May 1881:2 in Thompson 2000:71-2).

⁴ As with all food disputes Geddes 'implied ... that this revolt had deeper causes' (Brock 1974:70)

Stewart is careful to remove himself from the possibility of any accusation being levelled at himself; yet, he approves in principle of such an ‘offensive necessity’, preferring not to know about it.

With regard to discipline, the missionary discourse was concerned to a large degree with the relationship between knowledge and power and ‘supporting Lovedale’s order of discourse was a regimented, hierarchical order of material disciplinary practices designed to effect transformation’ (De Kock 1996:74). This is exemplified in Major Geddes’ regimentation by the use of drill formations when marching to assembly and while on parade. This is related to the Calvinist work ethic which was a process in which the totality of African mind and body came under the scrutiny of control and surveillance (see LMI Reports I, 1873:7-8 in De Kock 1996:74).

Missionary surveillance did not only cover the words and actions of Lovedale students (and possibly staff). It extended as far as the organisation of time and space.

4.3 The organisation of space

By the time Stewart became Principal of Lovedale the Wars of Dispossession (‘The Hundred Years War [1779-1880] Peires 1979:51) were almost at an end (1877-78) and white settlers and colonialists controlled the majority of the land:

The African[s] ... did not have private property or a concept permission to use bits of their ‘tribal’ areas which they were not using at the time, they were rather surprised when whites turned round and explained that the land was now the exclusive possession of the whites, whether they were using it or not. And if they objected, then the whites, often honestly believing that they had bought the land, used force to impose their definition of the situation. (Turner 1972:30 in Ngcokovane 1989:28).

Military conquest had given way to the need for land for farming and for the missionaries’ purposes in addition to the political perspective of freeing the people from their traditional

allegiance to tribal chiefs as well as exposing them to the 'benefits' of western civilisation. In time the colonial economic system required labour to develop urban areas as well as on settler farms and on mission stations, so people had to be removed from their land. Dispossession of black people gave way to dependence on whites. This was done by means of taxation following the process of conquest. The Glen Grey Act of 1894 had the specific aim of making land available on individual tenure as a means of only subsidising family income which would be earned by men as migrant labourers.

As far as the missions were concerned, 'an African grant of land could strengthen the missionary position' (Hastings 1994:424). This was necessary both to make the missions self-supporting and to provide a degree of security for themselves and for blacks who came within the orbit of missionary influence:

Land was the foundation upon which missionaries reared their threatening system of values; when taken over by missions it became a totally foreign piece of soil, an enclave within which as one writer has put it:

'missionaries could live with the least possible change from the way of life in which they had grown up at home, and with the least possible adjustment to the land and people into which they had come. It was axiomatic that sound adjustment would be to their standards, and that those standards only needed to be displayed. The missionaries in fact became settlers ... whose example would show the Africans how life should be lived' (Price in Baeta 1968:105 in Murray 1986:185).

Their settler image was confusing to black people who were unable to distinguish missionaries from the real thing:

Both were recipients of alienated land in considerable quantity; both took up large-scale farming, either for domestic use or market; both exploited local labour in such a way as to occasionally worry British officials who were fearful of having to subdue workers' protests (Murray 1986:184).

The major shift in the use of land, then, was from pre-capitalist methods into capitalist one as 'agriculture and clothing in the eastern Cape represented a "symbolic" redressing of both the land and person' (De Kock 1992:45). De Kock (1992:47) further comments that:

Crehan's observations underline the comprehensiveness of attempts by missionaries to remake the form of culture they encountered. Their representations touched on notions of personhood, production, property, time and godliness (in Bundy 1988:37-8).

In essence, the missionaries developed the concept of privacy among indigenous peoples in their architecture by establishing a permanent physical environment, a home, especially a mission house, set apart from other homes and buildings and divided into separate quarters for specific purposes where individual and individualistic activities could be pursued. This was a mark of the 'civilised' household, a 'symbol of Westernisation' (Edgar 1982:405). Stewart (LMI Reports I, 1877:4) links the possession of 'square houses' and the cultivation of land as marks and determinants of social mobility amongst the progeny who attended Lovedale. Other signs of civilisation included 'gardens, a school, a church, smithies and workshops, watercourses, retail stores, and, later perhaps, a meeting hall and a sports field' (Comaroff & Comaroff 1997:293). This was certainly true of Lovedale whose:

central building in the complex was reputedly the biggest mission structure in the subcontinent By 1902 Lovedale mission station was a village consisting of more than thirty buildings, including missionary houses and student dormitories Lovedale had a printing works, bookstore and post and telegraph office, in addition to the trading store and central church, and it was surrounded by developed, mainly mission-owned farmland (Switzer 1993:135).

This constituted the 'implicit ecology' (Comaroff 1996:29) of the Institution. In more senses than one, Lovedale was a total institution for 'holding at its nineteenth century peak, anything between six hundred and eight hundred people, it was a village in its own right' (Brock 1974:62). It was described in a Scottish newspaper, *The Falkirk Herald* (Cory PR 1611, JA[itken], February 1887) in the following manner:

The policy is hedged in by high, thick hedges of quince, and there are several entrance gates. Entering by the front, you pass along a shady avenue, with gardens on either side, till you reach the residence of the Principal, a pretty one-storied building of stone nicely situated and commodious Ascending a terrace, find ourselves in front of what constitutes the principal building in that place – an extensive, substantial double-storied erection of solid stone, with a tall square tower in the centre *façade* over the main entrance, which is reached by a broad flight of stone steps.

The place of the Main Educational Building at Lovedale was important in its symbolism. It represented the expansion of the institution with the laying of its foundation stone in 1876 and its completion in 1883. And when this 'very handsome and substantial stone structure' (LMI

Reports VII, 1924:12) was burnt down in 1924 it was 'rebuilt in almost exactly the same form' (Shepherd 1940:197).

Lovedale was not alone in its use of space. Its spatial organisation had much in common with other similar institutions, eg. Tiger Kloof with its:

fine gates – lofty, desolate portals giving clear evidence of dashed ideals - ... a world of nineteenth century proportion and order, a settlement whose solid stone features Tiger Kloof had been a testimony to civilisation in the veld, a model of European enlightenment whose firm foundations and noble clock tower declared the lasting improvement it would make to the destiny of those it served The design of the mission school had done more than express a cogent vision of subject and society. It had actually created it. In the sturdiness of its structures and the refined ornamental finish of its public buildings, in its spartan student accommodation and its overall plan, it had made real and natural the forms of a would-be hegemony. Nowhere in the loquacious accounts of the Institution left by its planners and founders was the cogency of this fact, the logic of its internal relations and inequalities, as plain (Comaroff & Comaroff 1991:32-3).

In the use of space, here was a foreign concept which denied the value of communal living. It was a means used to 'replace one hegemony with another' (Comaroff & Comaroff 1991:311).

Yet, as this became the norm among the black population it made a truism of Chirgwin's (1932:28 in Comaroff & Comaroff 1997:274) claim that '[i]f their homes can be revolutionised in a generation, so can their hearts' pointing to aim of the internalising of European codes of domesticity amongst the black population as they strove 'to build houses, inclose [sic] gardens, cultivate corn land, accumulate property' (Philip 1828,2:72-73 in Comaroff & Comaroff 1997:296-7). The only concession to this modern approach was the persistence of the ubiquitous rondavel which was a convenient mode of accommodating the humble poor of the mission community, including lady teachers and evangelists along with those who were of less exalted status (Comaroff & Comaroff 1997:312).

The use and organisation of space was related to the development of character. Inspector-General Ross described the influence of Lovedale on black people as:

a liberal education. The well-kept walks, the rows of trees growing up on all sides, the well-filled water-furrows, the farm, the native chapel, and a series of minor civilising influences, are likely sooner or later to tell on the native character; to give them a higher ideal of life than their own; to make them know and understand the value of work; to use their senses, their hands, their general

faculties, their bone and muscle, in a profitable fashion; to develop in them a taste for knowledge, which is to them a very wonderful thing; and to make the pursuit of it a profit instead of a disagreeable, repelling toil (Stewart 1894:98).

And character was closely related to discipline at Lovedale:

The inexorable laws of Lovedale Institution forbid [- 'a quiet stroll with some favourite one' and, by implication, any more intimate activity] any indiscriminate intermingling of the sexes: their dormitories and class-rooms are situated at long distances from each other: no boy is permitted to go near the girls' school, unless sent there on a point of duty: and the only chance a sable youth has of interviewing a dusky damsel for whose society he may have a preference, is by doing so surreptitiously, in some sequestered spot wherever a favourable opportunity offers. Such opportunities however rarely occur The Queen's Birthday brings with it some slight relaxation of the rule (Cory MS 10369, J Aitken, 1888:46-7).

Time and space were not independent concepts in the reorganisation of the black worldview.

They were interlinked and interdependent. The fact that some buildings were erected for leisure, and rest purposes, others for domestic, worship, and some for work demonstrates their connection as both are required for the development of any society, especially that being reconstructed by Europeans for Africans to serve their western predilections. This necessitated that time be reorganised to allow for the redistribution of orderly activities in their 'proper' time and season, hence the division of time into a chronological calendar as well as one of significant events.

4.4 The organisation of time

We have already seen (3.4.4.2:108-9) how missionaries developed a new approach to time in the African community. 'They established a seven-day week. They laid enormous stress on Sunday observance' (Wilson & Thompson 1971:73). Within the educational context strict timetables were introduced and adhered to. The significance of the bell has already been referred to (3.4.4.2:108; cf. 2.2.7:72-3). With regard to the function of the bell, Aitken (Cory MS 10369, Aitken, 1888:26-7) referred to it as:

such is an instance of the admirable discipline enforced and observed in this institution So soon as the watchful eye of the President has discerned that all have finished [eating]. He again touches his

little bell, then gives out any orders issued by the Principal, or other intimations which it may be necessary to promulgate.

Along with hooters, these were ‘sonic markers of fungible, commodified time and labour’ (Comaroff & Comaroff 1997:300). The Bell Ringer at Lovedale occupies a singularly important place being the only individual appointee who has an entire section devoted to his responsibilities in the General Regulations at the front of the first volume of Lovedale Missionary Institution Reports (LMI Reports I, 1872-88:13-14). It is worth quoting the entire section:

BELL RINGER

- I. The Bell-ringer shall ring the bell punctually at the stated hours, and no one shall touch the bell at any other hour.
- II. He shall attend to the lights in the class rooms and dormitories, putting them into their places at the proper hour, removing them when the evening classes are finished, and extinguishing them at bed time.
- III. The bell shall be rung at the following hours:-

	{	As the warning-bell for students and
At 5.30am	..... In summer,	{ pupils for class duties; and the apprentices
6.30am	..... In winter	{ to prepare for work.
6.00am	..... In summer,	{ For masters and apprentices
7.00am	..... In winter,	{ to commence work.
8.00am	.....	Stop for breakfast.
8.05am	.....	Worship and breakfast.
9.00am	.....	Work and classes.
1.00pm	.....	Classes close, and workmen stop work for dinner.
1.15pm	.....	Dinner.
2.00pm	.....	Masters and apprentices resume work; native lads commence work in the fields and gardens.
4.00pm	.....	Native lads stop work.
5.00pm	.....	Apprentices stop work.
6.00pm	.....	Warning-bell for worship and supper.
6.05pm	.....	Worship and supper.
7.00pm	.....	Evening classes till 8.30.
10.00pm	.....	Closing bell, and lights out at 10.30pm.

From this we can see that the only free hour in the day, apart from odd minutes which might be snatched here and there, is between four and six pm. for ‘Native lads’ and five and six pm. for apprentices.

Even the Lord’s Day was strictly timetabled:

Sunday is a busy day at Lovedale. Early in the morning the missionary companies set out for neighbouring villages, where they hold classes for the children, and services for the older people.

After breakfast, the institution bell rings for the Candidates' and other Bible Classes A little before 11 a.m. the bell again rings, and the boys and girls fall into companies and march to church. The same happens again in the evening In addition to these services there is one in the afternoon for the Basutos and Bechuanas, and classes have also been held for young converts (LMI Reports III, 1901:5-6).

Regularity was the order of the day, 'these fine manly young fellows may be seen marching to Divine Service in "fours" with all the *aplomb* of well-disciplined troops' (Cory MS 10369, Aitken 1888:28). Sampson's (1999:18) interpretation goes even further in his claim that: 'The missionary and imperialist traditions often converged, particularly on Sundays, when the schoolboys and girls, in separate ranks, marched to church in their [uniforms]'. Geddes organised the Boys' Boarding Department in such a way that 'everything is managed with a regularity and clockwork precision which would not suffer comparison with the daily duties appertaining to the best regulated military barracks' (Cory MS 10369, Aitken, 1888:24). The same was true of the Girls' Boarding Department where 'as in the Boys' Boarding Establishment, the same regularity and good order being everywhere apparent, and everything being carried out with the utmost punctilio' (:31).

From beginning to end, almost every regulation framed for the smooth operation of Lovedale Institution served to employ both the concepts of time and space as coercive agency against the students (LMI Reports I, 1872-1888:4-14). Virtually every moment of the day was employed to advance the purpose of the Institution as was the delimitation of space to control where each moment was to be spent. This was the situation which Henderson inherited at for the most part accepted at Lovedale.

The function of the ubiquitous bell and timetabling was not only important for the regulation of the life of educational institutions. These accoutrements of coercive agency were employed to prepare students for life after Lovedale:

Modern industrial states could not survive without ... human bodies trained in logistical conformity ... Schooling can be seen as [just such] a training for 'life' in that it drills us in punctuality and queuing; in working within a timetable at set tasks for set periods; in neatness, cleanliness and obedience; in skills in learning new techniques; in working when we are tired and bored; in learning to work within the rules of an institution and to accept its hierarchical structure. Given this, perhaps it is not so much the factory whistle that is a symbol of an industrial society, but the school bell (Horne 1986:82 in Comaroff 1996:27).

This clearly demonstrates how total the educational socialising process was in its co-option of 'everyday signs and practices' (Comaroff 1996:27) in its design of character formation and in impressing on young black minds their relative place in society.

The restructuring of time within the institutional context had serious implications for people as their world-view was not so subtly altered to reflect the missionaries' ideological perspective:

This scheme implied a methodical reorganisation of the flow of seasons and events that shaped ... life. The mission calendar was a moral order deigned to subsume all others, embracing local routines within a global timetable, and local 'custom' within a universal order of knowledge (Comaroff 1996:38).

This examination of the concepts of time and space introduced and promoted by the missionaries demonstrate the ideological perspective from which they operated.

4.5 Ideological perspective

Referring to the development of missionary ideologies during the 'high imperial era', Etherington (1982:192) suggests that these can be derived from a study of the theory and practice of missionaries in the areas of the subjection of previously independent African societies, the restriction of African access to land, and of their entry into labour markets, their

denial of entry to the most lucrative professions as well as missionaries' views on race and indigenous culture which might be summarised as:

the ideology supporting their [missionary] evangelism (an ideology which the receiving subject had to accept as 'true' were s/he fully to become a new, Christian subject) depended on a rigid framework of missionary knowledge – a new 'law of truth' and sense of self as a 'locus of consciousness' missionary 'knowledge' inscribed a typology of the Other which ... was severely repressive and served to constrain subjects within cultural codes which were difficult to challenge (De Kock 1996:38; cf. Switzer 1993:115-6).

From this, the characteristics of ideology become clear in Stewart's thinking. An entirely new way of life, resulting from conversion, was mandatory if the principles of mission education were to succeed:

The strength of the mission enterprise stemmed, in part, from its ability to shape the convert's perception of reality in such a way that its authority was legitimated. The missionary's construction of reality was to be accepted as objective reality. The Christian community was to be subordinated to a new social order with its framework articulated by the mission (Switzer 1993:117).

Elphick (1981:282 in Cuthbertson 1987a:17) 'suggests that missionaries strove to replace what they perceived as the "false consciousness" of the *indigenes* with a "true" one so that converts could destroy an old order and create a new' and they did that by implementing a series of discourses which were based in social institutions which made individuals into subjects:

as a result of a number of historical (eg. colonialism) and socio-cultural contingencies such as the missionary effort, most of the valuable aspects of African ontology were undermined. The colonisers waged a total war on Negritude (African personality) mainly through the missionary thrust. When we look back at these developments we see Africa going through its own Dark Age (Manganyi 1973:40).

After all, nineteenth century evangelicalism had succeeded in impressing its ideology on all facets of British life, not least its foreign missions (Bosch 1991:282) which evolved as the result of 'seizing the opportunities offered by a particular phase of Western, political, economic and social development' (Walls 1996:242) occasioned by the Industrial Revolution. In fact, Costas (1993:62) suggests that mission expansion would have been impossible had it not been for the existence of the 'world of free enterprise'. Mosala (1985:103-4) refers to the British historian EP Thompson [1968:397ff.] in support of his argument:

In the nineteenth century Christian theology functioned as a cultural tool of the then developing industrial capitalist society. The new social discipline required by the industrialisation process demanded the legitimisation of a cultural value-system Thompson argues, rightly, that with the material alterations introduced by capitalist industrialisation in the nineteenth century, there had to come corresponding alterations in the beliefs and consciousness of the people.

This was a non-negotiable matter and involved a process of remaking the self as an individual through internalisation of the very principles on which this ideological edifice was built and in this process Lovedale was described as a ‘civilising manufactory’ (Nightingale in Schreuder 1976:300), also described by Stewart (LMI Reports III, 1897:3) as: ‘An institution like this is like a large machine always in the move’ where missionary power was exercised over its students and where ‘the upheaval of “conversion” effected far more than merely a change in ideology; it coerced blacks into an entirely new lifestyle in an alien environment’ (Cuthbertson 1987a:18). In addition to this, it may be said that while ‘the Victorians regarded themselves as the leaders of civilisation, as pioneers of industry and progress The actual powers of industry however were as nothing compared with the expansive spirit which their discovery inspired in the early and mid-Victorians’ (Robinson, Gallagher & Denny 1961:1). While it has become apparent that the concept of mission as expansion ‘became identified with world conquest and cultural and spiritual imperialism, it is important to notice that this understanding of mission has been present from the beginning of the missionary enterprise’ (Yates 1994:7). But more than that, Victorian imperial and colonial aspirations depended on two premises which were progressively undermined in the course of time:

that the production of wealth by the few meant, somehow, and in the long run, welfare for the many, and that conventional behaviour grounded on a traditional creed was enough to satisfy all right demands of humanity (Young 1964:100 in Cochrane 1987:183).

Brock (1974:122) has commented that :

In every society education is potentially a political and ideological tool. In a stratified society like South Africa, this potential is fully exploited and education is used to suppress, to separate or to confirm superiority. Edgar Brookes in his book *The History of Native Policy in South Africa [1927]*, developed the theme that the three possible emphases in political and social policy towards Africans are identity, subordination or differentiation and that these three approaches have constantly jostled with one another for dominance. There were few areas, as Brookes observed, where the three lines of policy were ‘brought out as in as sharp relief as in the sphere of education [:449]. The arguments

turned on the content of the curriculum but in fact they aimed at the distribution or redistribution of power in the society.

For Stewart (Cory PR 2005, AWR[oberts]; cf. CE, XXXVI, 424, 1 February 1906), speaking in 1898, education was most certainly a tool: ‘we are in danger of placing mental endowments in the place of moral character and intellectual success in the room of mission work’.

Foucault (1982:781) has characterised this kind of power referred to above as being relative to the individual which:

applies itself to immediate everyday life which categorises the individual, marks him by his own individuality, attaches him to his own identity, imposes a law of truth on him which he must recognise and which others have to recognise in him. It is a form of power which makes the individuals subjects. There are two meanings of the word ‘subject’: subject to someone else by control and dependence; and tied to his own identity by a conscience of self-knowledge. Both meanings suggest a form of power which subjugates and makes subject to.

Manganyi (1973:20) has succinctly summarised the situation: ‘Our spirit of communalism was gradually eroded until we were left with individualism and its stable-mate materialism’.

This concentration on individuals made it easier to deal with deviants, ie. ‘the lost’ or ‘the poor’ through therapy by ‘controlling benefactors’ (Kramer 1947:426 in Bosch 1991:290).

All traces of the barbaric communal self had to be eradicated in the name of Christian civilisation to legitimate European expansion ‘since this was the only – and God-ordained – perfection open to mankind’ (Hyam 1976:52 in De Kock 1996:41; cf. Maylam 1986:105)

described as ‘Progress’ (Schreuder 1976:286). We may not wish to agree here with

Anderson’s (1999:222) view that ‘people first had to become westerners before becoming Christians’ as there was no perceived difference in the minds of those who were converted or those who converted them. Christianity was clearly presented as a superior lifestyle identical with western civilisation ‘as the representative society and civilisation of the human race, as its perfect result and limit’ (Cardinal Newman in Symondson 1970:65 in Gascoigne 1977:243). Speaking from an atheistic point of view Sir Harry Johnston said of the missionaries that:

their immediate object is not profit, they can afford to reside at places till they become profitable. They strengthen our hold over the country, they spread the use of the English Language, they induct the natives into the best kind of civilisation, and in fact each mission station is an essay in colonisation (Oliver 1957:182 in Gascoigne 1977:243).

It was, therefore, natural for the British imperialist:

to turn to those modern ideas, systems and agencies which had emerged in metropolitan England [and elsewhere in the United Kingdom] and its colonial dependencies, to control and develop social change: 'law and order' through administrative justice; economic development through concepts of individualism and the forces of the market; education and skills through secular schooling; and a new set of ethics, both for public and private life, propagated by the energy of Protestant-mission Christianity. If this combined thrust failed to bring the required results there was, as a last resort, political subjugation at the hands of the military (Schreuder 1976:308).

How true this was as is confirmed by Bosch (1991:298) in a discussion of the concept of 'manifest destiny':

The Western missionary enterprise ... proceeded not only from the assumption of the superiority of western culture over all other cultures, but also from the conviction that God, in his providence, had chosen the Western nations, because of their unique qualities, to be the standard-bearers of his cause even to the uttermost ends of the world.

This belief:

provided divine sanction for the dominance of European people and the British in particular, by arguing that providence reigns in the affairs of nations. Rule is therefore a providential matter, as is privilege. Rule was further legitimated by the notion that privilege carried with it responsibility for ruling the unprivileged (Cochrane 1987:19).

It was couched in the guise of liberalism founded on the principles of progress, individualism and liberty, thus establishing and promoting the ideology of the Victorian era. 'They [missionaries] imprisoned Christianity within the confines of Victorian rectitude, equated salvation with civilisation and allegiance to Christ with allegiance to Queen Victoria' (Brock 1974:431). The result of this was that the missionaries suppressed the gospel message of God's love and preached about liberation, not being themselves liberated. Yet, even when they 'were "constrained by Jesus' love"', they could never communicate that love in its pristine form since it was always mixed with extraneous elements' (Bosch 1991:344). They 'were equipped with power from on high and had help to offer to those sitting in darkness and the shadow of death' (Bosch 1991:290). This might explain their being regarded as people of

a particular era as an excuse for their lack of deep concern for their converts welfare and future. Yet, Cochrane (1987:38 quoting Fisher 1977:209) is correct in asking why missionaries worked to:

inculcate a way of life which bears no necessary relationship to 'biblical Christianity', and what this had to do with the three important principles advocated by most missionaries: 'the dignity of labour' as an end in itself; the importance of obedience to constituted authority (meaning British and not the African authority); and economic individuation.

Ideologically, 'missionaries demonstrated a more radical and morally intense commitment to rule' (Biedelman 1982:5-6 in Saayman 1994:12). Neill (1964:244-250) argues that the imposition of the western system of colonisation was aggressive in intent – politically, economically, socially, intellectually and religiously. This aggressive approach, which was not always and necessarily violent in a physical sense (cf. Cuthbertson 1987:15-21), arose out of a discovery of power over the colonised peoples and this power was derived from the technological advance of the British Industrial Revolution which led to geographical conquest in addition to domination resulting from the advance of commerce, civilisation and Christianity. Mpako (1999:235) draws a distinction between the 'vulgar racism' associated with colonialism during the period of the imposition of colonial domination where blacks were viewed as sub-human, and the later phase of industrialisation where blacks were subjected to 'cultural racism (in the form of "civilisation") which is more sophisticated than vulgar racism'. This was the imperial era where 'the language of racism' constituted 'the dark side of imperialism understood as social mission' (Spivak 1991:11) and which 'was a crucial part of the representation of England to the English' (Spivak 1991:1).

Consequently, African culture had to be subverted through encouraging the collaboration of those blacks who were singled out as being compliant, in dire straits and/or ambitious. But the conversion had to be absolute so 'the mission took over and sanctified every stage of the life cycle – birth, initiation into manhood and womanhood, marriage, last rites and burial'

(Switzer 1993:116-7). Mission education came to Africa as an alien influence and destroyed the link between education and life in the African context as 'the missionaries were blindly determined to smother completely all traces of existing culture' (De Kock 1992:45) as 'ideological hegemony was the ultimate goal of the religion of the [western] status quo' (Cuthbertson 1987a:16). DD Stormont represented the views of blacks involved in the Ethiopian movement like JG Xaba and M Mokone who claimed that:

the missionaries represent the interest of countries which have committed great sins against us. They have forced upon us an education and customs which do not suit our needs (GH 35/84, File no. 31, Stormont to the Governor of the Cape of Good Hope, report on the rise of Ethiopianism, 1 October 1903 in Cuthbertson 1991:59).

The process of removing young black people from their traditional backgrounds demonstrates how important missionaries were as a cause of social disruption and alienation. They were also, according to Hattersley (1952:87), 'the principal media for the diffusion among the Bantu of western culture'. This segregation was at the heart of the founding of the 'missionary state' (Cuthbertson 1991:60) at Lovedale. Yet, this process led to the signification of the Other, in the thinking of Stewart, as an 'infant' or a 'buffoon' (De Kock 1992:128-9) who will always need the missionary-teacher to 'lead him by the hand'. De Kock (1992:131) relates this to the hegemonic position of the missionaries' Protestant culture which had the ability to determine metaphors by which blacks would be defined and controlled as 'somehow the wholeness of the African perception of themselves was destroyed, to be replaced in many of them by the perception of themselves as abject, colonised human beings' (Saayman 1994:17). Consequently the missionaries in education aligned themselves with liberal politicians to promote the concept of Christian trusteeship which aimed to offer a form of protection to black people which would maintain their power over them while appearing to care for their interests. De Kock (1992a:122) describes the process of discourse '*hardening into hypostasis*' which prevents new conceptualisation and this is evident in the 'infant' metaphor which was still manifest in the 1930s in SHV Mdhuli (1933 in Couzens

1985:30 in De Kock 1992a:128): ‘we are still beginning to crawl in this field of education’. Stewart’s, and others of his colleagues ‘latent racism’ came to the fore during this high imperialistic era (Bosch 1991:310). Of all the influences brought to bear on black people which subverted and destroyed their social solidarity the Christian mission was probably the most powerful:

missionaries became accomplices in the advance of capitalism which was ‘pursued by means of racial domination as traditional African societies were incorporated, manipulated, or annihilated for Christianity, commerce and civilisation’, and mission stations provided the springboard for this advance (Cuthbertson 1987a:19).

But more than this, missionaries and colonialists shared the same ‘broad ideological assumptions’ (Legassick 1969:157 in Cuthbertson 1987a:2) regarding how to relate to blacks. The mission also ‘contributed to hasten the disruption of the whole Bantu economy and perhaps without substituting for it any very deep realisation of Christian spiritual ideals’ (Hattersley 1952:87). Majeke (1952:Introduction) summarises the issues relating to ideological domination succinctly:

Now if a ruling minority can enslave the mind of the people, control their ideas and their whole way of thinking, they have found an even more efficient weapon for subjugating them than the use of force, the military and the police. For then the people themselves assist in their own enslavement ... If the rulers [eg Stewart] can make the people believe that they are inferior, wipe out their past history or present it in such a way that they feel, not pride but shame, then they create the conditions that make it easy to dominate the people.

True as this may be any collaboration in their own subjugation probably occurred below the level of conscious awareness as blacks were mesmerised by the prospects for advancement held out by missionaries and others and internalised colonial and missionary ideology. This is an example of hegemony *par excellence* (!) where:

People recognise a particular piece of philosophy or scientific theory as ‘true’ only if it fits the descriptions of truth laid down by the intellectual or political authorities of the day, by the members of the ruling elite, or by the prevailing ideologies of knowledge (Selden & Widdowson 1993:158-159).

So it was ‘social constraints, especially the formative power of the education system, which defines [sic] what is rational and scholarly’ (Selden & Widdowson 1993:159).

That the mission stations enforced rigid control is evident from the fact that by the 1870s ‘[t]he African clergy everywhere were zealous in enforcing mission codes of belief and behaviour, but the further removed one was from the stations, the greater the potential for interaction between the old and new lifestyles’ (Switzer 1993:123). Nonetheless, the rejection of local customs was mandatory and:

ordained African clergy were central to the reorientation of traditional Xhosa societies they became active agents in the propagation of western culture and Christianity. It is certain that the dissemination of these religious and cultural alterations could not have proceeded on anything like the scale that it did without the mobilisation of the energies and enthusiasm of so many Africans (Mills 1975:vii, 2).

However, according to Switzer (1993:123) during Stewart’s principalship (in the 1880s), the mission stations themselves had begun to lose their power and their ‘status as a haven for refugees and as a closed universe for Christians bound together under the priestly rule of the European missionary’. Yet, over and above this, we should not underestimate the power of missionary institutions such as Lovedale as agents of coercive agency for they had trained men and women who had ‘abandoned the old ways and internalised the new: they were not uncritical, but on the whole they accepted the mission’s vision of reality as their own’ (Switzer 1993:125). Christie (1985:36) is correct in viewing education as a way of ‘instilling social discipline’.

Referring to the introduction of a money-based economy, the destruction of the power of the chiefs, their replacement by magistrates and the engineered antagonism between chiefs and headmen, Majeke (1952:68) comments with insight:

These levers or instruments for transforming the lives of the people and their modes of thought were not left to operate by themselves. They were reinforced by other powerful agencies. In fact the problem presented itself as one of *educating* the people into the economic system of their conquerors [eg the missionaries’ strong support for programmes of industrial training]. This was a many-sided task involving much more than formal teaching; *at this stage*, it meant opening up channels that led imperceptibly but inescapably to the new economy.

Educationally, this meant that blacks had to be educated to occupy their ‘proper place’ in society. Their education was to consist of the knowledge and skills they would require to

make an adequate economic contribution to society. Brock (1974:122) notes the claim that blacks were lacking in time and inclination to achieve significantly but interestingly there is no mention of their lacking ability!

Missionary ideology did not, however, exist independently of the wider context. It was 'integrated with politico-economic ideas' (Walls 1982:162) which, in their origin, were linked to the totality of the context from which they came. It was not by accident that the high imperial era coincided with the high missionary era (ie. 1880-1920) as 'missionary opinion ... for the most part took the empire for granted' (Walls 1982:159). Missionary policy had to live alongside a secular context dominated by settler interests. Whereas an earlier generation of missionaries, eg. Govan, was concerned to raise the black person to the level of the 'civilised' European, Stewart's generation:

sought to legitimate an inferior role for Africans in a segregated society, rather than incorporation of individuals by class in a racially stratified society. In essence, subordination in a potentially integrated society, was more acceptable to the mission enterprise in the late colonial period (Switzer 1997:224; cf. Majeke 1952:132).

Individualism was not only limited to the missionary purpose but was extended to the realm of political economy: 'This economic individualism was particularly fostered by Christian missionaries, and many African peasant communities were to be found in and around mission stations' (Maylam 1986:70). The attitude towards work in Victorian cultural values was as much a matter of moral as well as political-economic concern. Stewart himself was adamant that the daily round of manuals was a confirmation that Christianity and idleness were not compatible. Politicians in the Cape were content to adopt 'this Victorian cultural and ideological milieu of Protestantism and Improvement' (Schreuder 1976:285) because missionaries 'scarcely differentiated between the spread of the Gospel and the spread of the British Empire or, at least, of white rule' (Wilson & Thompson 1969:267). This was based on an assumption that the 'civilising mission' would form blacks who would be more apt to

accept and adapt to white domination. This work ethic challenged at its roots ‘the so-called “static” or “unprogressive” nature of African traditional societies’. Here the role of tribal chiefs was an impediment to ‘progress’. They were described as ‘a retrograde elite standing as a barrier between the modernising influences of the imperial culture and the mass of African peoples’ (Schreuder 1976:293). And so, ‘the missionaries assumed a chiefly role, allocating the land and exhorting their people to obey the codes and rituals of belief and behaviour that were characteristic of Victorian Christianity’ (Switzer 1993:115).

All of this is related to the perennial ‘Native Problem’ which for white people meant that at one and the same time:

they had to draw the Africans into the new society and they had to shut them out to accelerate the breakdown of tribalism and force the Africans into a new economy, but on the other hand they wanted to arrest the inevitable consequences of bringing a whole people into contact with an industrial civilisation (Majeke 1952:132).

In this sense the Glen Grey Act (1894) marked the move from domination by military means to the beginning of economic domination as the need for labour became urgent. Towards this end, a system of local councils was instituted for the government of the reserves and a labour tax was introduced to force black workers into the labour market. Towards this end, the government issued directives to the missionaries through successive Superintendents-General of Education, their closest collaborators in this enterprise. In 1891, Sir Langham Dale, reporting on Native Education called for industrial education programmes in addition to academic subjects and, in 1892, Dr Muir reiterated this challenge as well as demanding religious and moral education. The fact that these institutions operated through the medium of the English language gave English a power to effect changes thought necessary by the missionary educators. Lovedale, along with other similar institutions, would isolate its pupils from traditional influences and work towards the reconstruction of their identity in terms of a European discourse. This was necessary in order to prevent any challenges to the dominant

discourse during the process of re-constituting the world of the black person. These were places where ‘the linguistic order was paralleled by a regimented, hierarchical order of material, disciplinary practices, intended to instil a work ethic and combat the supposed “indolence” of the African’ (De Kock 1992a:118). It was ‘a linguistic colonialism which placed English and the values imbedded in it at the top of the scale of “civilisation”’ (De Kock 1992a:117). English was the language of the merchant, the manufacturer and the missionary and so its mastery was a pre-requisite for any kind of acceptance and/or assimilation into colonial society and missionary and other ‘institutions of tertiary English teaching ... were an implicit extension of missionary colonialism’ (De Kock 1992:34). Following the Wars of Dispossession, commerce and agriculture were the main means of upward social mobility and the missionaries were substantially in control of education which sustained this new system which projected ‘the Protestant, individualist, capitalist, and ultimately racist values embedded in the exalted medium of English [which] reigned supreme’ (De Kock 1992:38). While missionaries were driven by the evangelistic motive, they were operating in a much wider context of which they were inevitably a part and probably willing partners. That context:

was what one might call a social textualisation, a narrative and representation of the world providing legitimacy and divine sanction to what might otherwise be seen as little more than military conquest and expansionism for the sake of influence power and wealth (De Kock 1992:39).

It was important to acquiesce in this new social situation as it became the sole means of non-violent advancement following military conquest. Education, rather than war, became the means to participation in the political sphere by means of the limited franchise of the Cape constitution. Sadly, it was to be by the mimicking of white standards and values, especially regarding work, that blacks assumed they would achieve respect and admiration and, subsequently, the vote. However, this took no account of white racism which would militate against further progress.

Referring to Tswana society, the Comaroffs (1997:163-4) summarise the situation which resulted from the coming of the mission, commerce and civilisation:

The civilising mission, as an ideological and cultural vanguard, *did* prepare the way for what 'came behind it'. It insinuated new forms of individualism, new regimes of value, new kinds of wealth, new means and relations of production, new religious practices. And it set in motion processes of class formation. All of which could but alter, on one side, the internal workings of Southern Tswana economy and society, and on the other, the way in which the Africans – plural, sociologically speaking – embraced the European presence.

While there is no doubt that missionaries did a great deal of good in their respective spheres of work, especially in the fields of education and medicine, and produced products of whom they could be proud, their work is in need of serious critical assessment. While they did provide education, for instance, its beneficiaries were a small elitist minority whose culture was destroyed and whose people were subsequently divided. But more than that, they were too closely linked with the colonial power, thought in racist ways and exploited the very people they came to benefit as was common in the society from which they originated and whose values they reflected (Christie 1985:61-2). They were, in sum, 'instigators and proponents of the dismantling of African societies through the introduction of capitalism and the extension of imperial control' (Cuthbertson 1987a:15). Lovedale focussed on the elite group of school-people which would constitute the core of black political leadership. Their character formation would be crucial to the success, or otherwise of Lovedale's project.

4.6 Character formation

Christian character is the end of missionary education We do not want to educate unless our work here produces both stability and resource in the individual, moral and mental, and a sense of responsibility to his fellow-countrymen Without this, we feel that our work is poor and barren (LMI Reports I, 1890:6-8; cf. Dr Roberts, Acting Principal in 1899 Report:2; the 1900 Report:2; and the 1902 Report:2).

But character was also the foundation of education at Lovedale. ‘Where there is Christian character, other things – education, fitness for responsibility, and civilisation – will follow; otherwise the Christianity is not genuine’ (Andrew Smith⁵, LMI Reports I, 1891, Appendix: vi; cf. CE, XX, 254, September 1891:139). The formation of character among the students was a prime focus of James Stewart’s time as Principal of Lovedale (De Kock 1992a:129): ‘we have entreated you throughout the year and we once more impress this upon you to-night that your great requisite is character, and not merely a little knowledge’ (LMI Reports III, 1894:3). Either wittingly, or unwittingly, this formation was concerned with the internalisation of coercive agency in order that the person being prepared would learn to react and respond automatically at an externalised level on receiving instruction from a Christian missionary if only to please him/her. This exercise of liberal democracy caused missionaries to establish:

schools and religious-education programmes based on personal honesty, dedication to work, temperance, and moderation, respect for civil authorities, self-control, and avoidance of vices and worldly pleasures. They established seminaries, institutes, or theological faculties where pastors, teachers, and administrators could be trained in accordance with liberal ideology. Finally, there was the task of interpreting the faith in symbols and categories that corresponded to the liberal project through translated literary works and original publications (Costas 1993:64).

Here was the essence of the programme of character formation employed at Lovedale.

Stewart (1906:362) patronisingly alludes to a difference between the perception and the reality with regard to blacks who had been exposed to mission education:

Taking the average native African as he is found over wide areas, a fair and unprejudiced judgment would admit that he possesses a larger amount of good sense, a firmer texture of mind, and more intellectual ability than he generally gets credit for.

This might account for the regulation relating to admission to Lovedale. One of the criteria for admission was based on ‘special enquiry ... on ... his [previous] character and moral training’ (LMI Reports I, 1872-88:9). No misfits are envisaged for admission: ‘It is expected ... that the character and the spirit of those who are admitted into it to prepare for their future

⁵ The 1898 report of LMI:5 has a reference to a Bequest established by Andrew Smith where ‘Character will be

work in life, and of others connected with it in whatever capacity will be in harmony with the object of the Institution' (:9). The consequences of error were grave as can be seen in the:

Much mischief [which] has been done to the Institution by lads coming here destitute of good character. Their example has a bad influence on the younger pupils They never should have been here at all, and they would not be, did we know, before their entrance, what a slight experience shows (LMI Reports I, 1974:4 cf.:5-6).

Major Geddes had occasion to voice the same complaint. 'Another thing, which I think lowers the standard of discipline, is, our readiness to receive any and every body that comes' (Cory MS 9138, Geddes to Stewart, 2 November 1900). Someone, somewhere, had slipped up in following the investigative procedures prior to admission of those who interrupted the flow of coercive agency in perfecting fallen souls. In the year 1874, Stewart reported on the problems encountered in allowing students to leave the coercive confines of the Institution even for a short period. 'It is our constant and invariable experience, that the pupils are deteriorated by a visit home, whether for longer holidays, or during a short recess' (LMI Reports I, 1874:6). Positive results are only to be found among those who have 'became [sic] living Christians' (LMI Reports I, 1874:7). Yet, despite this potential for change through conversion, the black person does not achieve significantly despite the ability to comprehend 'decision of character as well as any man on earth' (Crais 1992:126). This may have been due to the understanding white settlers had of blacks because they simply saw them as tools in the process of 'imperial expansion and the development of a racial capitalism in South Africa which rested on massive state coercion' (Crais 1992:126). Also, Stewart's comments must be seen in the light that they provided an apologia for his methods, designed to counter white criticisms of his work. But all of this took place against a background of military conquest which was giving way to other means of coercion:

Less interested in the infliction of punishments, the state became preoccupied with institutions aimed at transforming the very inner character of the individual. Part of a much larger change in the way power was exercised punishment became progressively 'interiorised' (Crais 1992:127).

the chief qualification, for that is the chief thing'.

Having succeeded in the externalised subjugation of blacks people in the eastern Cape by the late 1870s, this internalised coercion was further developed using the disciplinary institutions it had at its disposal, mainly mission education. Majeke (1952:137) exposes the worst effects of the internalisation of character formation:

The stress on religious and moral instruction, to which far more time is devoted in a school for the non-White than for the White child – is not by accident. For this religious and moral instruction is made synonymous with training in obedience, humility, patience, fear, and passivity. It bids the individual accept his lot, not struggle against it

The missionary institution intensifies the process on the growing youth. The mind of the young man or woman has to be moulded even more rigorously than that of the child. For the mind of youth wants to expand; it has hopes, ambitions, dreams, no matter what conditions of poverty it has lived in. and this is a quality that has to be controlled. Yet the very impressionability of the mind of youth can be turned by the educator to his purpose, making it easier for him to divert that energy along circumscribed channels. It is possible to indoctrinate the youth with the desired ideas, to insinuate into his mind all the habits of thought that will make him accept inferiority. To enlist obedience to a supernatural censor of all one's actions and all one's secret thoughts, is to reinforce obedience to authority in whatever form or shape it may subsequently appear. Thus locked in the narrow confines of the segregated missionary institution the youth has been steadily conditioned into accepting, unquestioningly, the place assigned to him in the social system. In most cases he has not even been aware of what was happening, but accepted his position as the natural order of things.

Despite the polemical approach employed by Majeke, her assessment of the process of internalisation of character formation is cogent (cf. Saayman 1990:31). It is confirmed in a more positive sense by Smit (1990:10 quoting to Niebuhr 1941:51-53): 'In internal history social memory is our own past, living in every self. When we become members of such a community of selves we adopt its past as our own and thereby are changed in our present existence'. In other words, 'we script our lives and characters by the stories which impact upon us' (Prest 2000:3 referring to Taylor 1999:11).

The English language was one means employed as a means whereby 'the coercion of colonisation was transformed into the cultivation of civilisation' (De Kock 1992:41). Three times in the course of Lovedale Regulations (LMI Reports I, Introductory Regulations: 4, 9, 10) the use of English is confirmed as mandatory regulations – in examinations and in 'Classrooms, Workshops, Dormitories, Dining Hall and elsewhere within the Boundaries'.

The matter of English was also raised from time to time in connection with the debate on the use of classical languages:

But if one thing is clearer than another, it is that a taste for the study of English literature, and an acquaintance with its treasures, are the things best fitted to produce real culture in the minds of Native young men; and that English ought to be the basis of Native Education (LMI Reports I, 1886:6-7).

Referring to Tiyo Soga's translation of '*The Pilgrim's Progress*', and to his influence among his own people, De Kock (1992:42) suggests that "Literature" therefore had a clearly defined, but circumscribed, role in the colonisation of consciousness and the recreation of "form". This was not quite a voluntary process for black people as they were forced:

to make some concessions to the regulation of individuality premised on the conceptions of self handed down to them by missionary teachers, since such conceptions were embedded in the very fabric of 'truth' and 'knowledge' implicit in missionary teaching (De Kock 1992:42).

The success of this project is confirmed by Hunt Davis (1969:99 in De Kock 1992:47) where he claims the mission education acting as a link between traditional Xhosa society and the western economy achieved 'deeper penetration'.

However, for Stewart, prior to exposure to western education:

The mind of the African is empty, and he had a great idea of what he calls 'getting knowledge'. Hence his anxiety about instruction merely, apart from mental discipline and habit ... there is the erroneous idea that manual work is servile toil, and mental work is supposed to elevate a man to a higher class (UCT SP BC106D 16:3-4, undated in De Kock 1992a:128).

This was in conflict with Stewart's basic presuppositions about education which were about more than book-learning. So we may agree with Beinart & Bundy (1987:82) as they assert that 'Lovedale must have conferred on its students more than the formal benefits of an education' as 'they strove to achieve a broader "civilising" influence' (Maylam 1986).

Stewart was a captive to the Manichean allegory (JanMahomed 1985:63):

The dominant model of power- and interest- relations in all colonial societies is the manichean opposition between the putative superiority of the European and the supposed inferiority of the native. This axis in turn provides the central feature of the colonialist cognitive framework and colonialist literary representation: the manichean allegory - a field of diverse yet interchangeable oppositions between white and black, good and evil, superiority and inferiority, civilisation and savagery, intelligence and emotion, rationality and sensuality, self and Other, subject and object The writer

is easily seduced by colonial privileges and profits and forced by various ideological factors ... to conform to the prevailing racial and cultural preconceptions.

Interestingly, the missionaries themselves were subject to external coercive influences though they were also part of their originating context. Nonetheless, prior to the influence of character training, blacks are perceived in terms of ‘idleness, vacuity, degradation (“witchcraft”, marriage rites, circumcision rites etc.) and then transformed into “low” and “fallen” states’ (De Kock 1992:43).

Stewart’s, more (than Govan’s) ‘practical’, approach aimed at the development of ‘character’:

The formation of character, the development of it till it is consolidated and the man or woman is fitted by his or her training for the work of this life beyond where all depends on character is the *true object* And as character decides a man’s [sic] fate in the life to come it also decides a man’s real usefulness in this. We cannot set before us a simpler [sic] truer or better idea of our work than this, In so far as we secure this in those who come under our care we succeed (UCT SP BC 106 D4, undated:5-6 in De Kock 1992a:129-130).

The basis of this view of character is Stewart’s own historical and culturally hegemonic Protestant background with its emphasis on human worth and ‘usefulness’. With reference to one group of converts, Stewart commented that ‘[b]oth were pure Kaffirs, once ignorant, and troublesome, and *unprofitable to themselves and to others*, but very different men when they became Christians’ (UCT SP BC 106 D3, undated:12 in De Kock 1992a:130. De Kock’s emphasis). The concept of practical ‘usefulness’ was considered by Rev John Buchanan (CE, VII, 82, 1 July 1877:5-6; cf. Keil 1999:9), a teacher at Lovedale:

They [missionaries] are telling us that our natives must now rise out of their idleness, and ignorance, and sloth, and fit themselves to cope with the white man, if not in learning, yet at least in skilled activity and practical usefulness, or, they must eventually and soon sink out of sight, their name as well as nation disappearing as a rotten thing.⁶

Allied to the perceived problem of idleness as sin and its solution through work:

so to Christianise a Kaffir is the shortest way, and the surest, to make him put his hand steadily and willingly to the work that is waiting to be done. This will make it both his interest and his duty to

⁶ De Kock (1992a:130) suggests that later missionaries adopted the same master trope as we shall see in the work of James Henderson in the next chapter.

work, will enlist, besides his bodily appetites, his home affections, his mental powers, and his conscience, on the side of industrious habits (CE, VIII, 95, 1 August 1878:1-2).

Education is the glue which cements '*Work and character*' as the end of education:

Without these, neither an individual nor a race could make much progress Along with this effort to produce work both in quantity and quality, such as would pass reasonable inspection, there must also be *good character*. That is to say, a workman must be conscientious, honest, truthful, and diligent in his duty, - no matter how humble his occupation may be. The value of the individual both to himself and to society is his character - and the most complete, compact and reliable form of that, is the religious or Christian character (LMI Reports IV, 1904:1-2).

The source of character development is the atmosphere which inheres in the physical institution itself and was constituted by the 'thought, ideas, feelings and emotions which form the prevalent mood of ourselves and others' (UCT SP BC106 D4, undated:1 in De Kock 1996:91). These qualities were, therefore, caught and not only taught. It was necessary that there be 'unity of aim' in order that this aim be achieved.

Character was exemplified by being 'fitted' (*The Experiment of Native Education* Stewart 1884:13 in De Kock 1996:93-94) for a viable occupation. In addition:

he has stored his mind with serviceable materials to such an extent that he is able to make vigorous use of the knowledge he possesses

his moral powers have become so developed and experienced, that he has both a high and delicate sense of duty, and when his conscience also gives its sanction to what his understanding approves (:14)

his will has been strengthened by discipline, the effect of which is such that he can act with decision; and bear the strain of difficulty and disappointment, and yet continue to hold on under this strain, in the belief that perseverance and fortitude will bring final success: and when Will and Conscience have been both so developed as that he recognises the importance of all action (:14-15)

We say a man is educated when in addition, his mind has been so awakened that he can look on all that is beautiful and orderly in nature ... and feel that his doing so adds to his pleasures (:15).

This testifies to the total transformation which character formation aims at. It negates all that has been held dear in traditional life with the assumption that blacks' minds were indeed 'empty' prior to missionary influence. Character formation was the locus of a clash of cultures. It seems strange that such high standards were set for those who were not destined to achieve equality with whites but who were to be taught their proper place in society. De

Kock's (1996:95) work seems to confirm that 'the educated African elite appears ... to have largely internalised the discursive regime of the missionaries' though he suggests that they were able to communicate in different ways to different groups without compromising their essential integrity in a situation of enforced ambiguous compromise yet showing signs of collusion, internalised or otherwise. A congratulatory letter written by a group of Lovedale students to Stewart signifies the degree to which mimicry is employed in formal communications. It includes references to the development of character and acceptance of this aspect of formation:

You have showed [sic] us the value of education – the value of a trained mind – in the struggle for life; that education did not merely consist in knowing certain facts, but in qualifying the mind to perform the duties of life; you have taught us the great value of *time* [original emphasis] It has been your constant effort ... to show our people that all labour is necessary and noble ... we feel it our duty to acknowledge the influence of your teaching in this direction, for we think its value cannot be over-estimated You have done much to make us better understood ... - who were *expecting too much from a people just emerging from a state of barbarism*. We feel that in your influence there has been a protecting element You did a great deal to show us that there was much which *even in our present state* we could do for ourselves; and encouraged us to hope that if we embraced the opportunities for advancement offered in places such as Lovedale, *we might rise in the scale of civilisation* (UCT SP BC 106 C252, 2 May 1890 in De Kock 1996:97-99).

The degree to which Christian character formation, as a foil to barbarism, has been successful is evidenced in Molema (1920:220-221 in De Kock 1992a:135):

The missionary, then arrives among a perfectly barbarous people The master-aim of the missionary is to 'save souls, by persuading them to admit Christ into their lives, and to give up their sins by living a Christ-like life.' In short, his main duty is to preach the Gospel, and see that it sinks deep and it soaks into everyday life. To facilitate this his first step is to train the intellect to render it the more susceptible to the sublime truths he has to impart, and which, to a raw and void mind, such as a barbarian's must be, are of needs difficult of comprehension. Thus the missionary begins by teaching the alphabet and building on it The missionary, having imparted some spiritual truths to occupy the moral void, and intellectual truths the mental vacuity, next finds occupation for the hands: that is, he gives industrial training so far as he can manage, and in this way, by encouraging the development of habits of industry, promotes the formation of a sound character. In proportion as these ends are realised, so far is the barbarian weaned from barbarism, so far is he taught self-control, so far is he Christianised, so far is he civilised.

We must constantly remind ourselves how few black people actually came under the direct influence of missionaries in proportion to the total population. Despite strong evidence for the total acceptance of the missionary world-view; adaptation to colonialism had its economic advantages (Cobley 1986:98 in De Kock 1996:101). It also appears that 'few Africans, even

among those educated by the missions, learnt to regard their “Africanness” in a wholly negative light’ (De Kock 1996:102) for there was a degree of resistance to total transformation in spite of the strenuous efforts of mission education. It is to the subject of resistance to coercive agency at Lovedale that we now turn.

4.7 Resistance to coercive agency

Where military conquest, institutional compulsion and ideological interpellation was, epistemic violence and devious discursive negotiations requiring of the native that he rewrite his position as object of imperialism, is; and in place of recalcitrance and refusal enacted in movements of resistance and articulated in oppositional discourses, a tale is told of the self-consolidating other and the disarticulated subaltern (Parry 1995:38).

Resistance to the coercive agency of mission education was many-faceted. The situation was disarmingly deceptive:

On the surface, Lovedale was a harmonious community that prized education above all. Students drawn from a variety of racial, ethnic, cultural and religious backgrounds spent years living, working, playing, studying, and praying together. In this atmosphere, they certainly articulated many of the ideas and issues that would be advanced by the African Christian community in the eastern Cape and beyond in generations to come.

Beneath the surface, however, all was not well either at Lovedale or in the African Christian community. There was a stirring of discontent on the Presbyterian mission’s central station in the 1880s and 1890s that for many observers seemed to symbolise the tensions developing between European missionaries and African Christians throughout southern Africa. The mission no longer had a captive audience (Switzer 1993:135).

It all seemed too good to be true or to last. Here was a ‘total institution’ which extracted young people from their environment, sought to transform them and return them to a community for which they had been prepared but only to occupy minor roles for according to Stewart (1906:367) ‘this was the real proof of his Christianity’. We shall consider the issue of resistance with regard to education, the use of the written word and the emergence of African initiated churches.

4.7.1 Resistance in education

Resistance occurred in a particular context in the last quarter of the nineteenth century where many blacks accepted western culture as normative as the result of the education they had received mainly at mission institutions. They had aspired to live 'civilised' lives and wanted to extend their new-found status to others of their own kind:

An African elite which had most fully assimilated European culture provided leadership just as the number of African voters was increasing in the mid-eighties. Having witnessed the African defeats in the wars of the late 1870s, the new leaders realised that future African welfare depended upon working within the framework of South African society, not opposing it (Davis 1969:99).

Although this group was relatively small, it formed the nucleus of the middle-class blacks who would provide the leadership for nationalist movements (cf. Odendaal 1983:3 in De Kock 1992a:132). By the 1860s several thousand black people had received and benefited from higher education:

who, encouraged by Christian teaching on the brotherhood of man and by liberal beliefs in the value of education and effort, saw Cape colonial structures as an outlet for their aspirations and abilities. In practice this class soon became aware of the realities of white domination, but although relegated to poorly paid positions and to the lower ranks of the civil service, they were so steeped in Christian and liberal ideals that they adhered to the idea of evolutionary change, and enthusiastically took their part in Cape electoral politics, working within the system in order to change it (Hofmeyer & Pillay 1994:30).

But it was this very group which 'weakened and divided African resistance at the Cape'. Yet, the way in which they accepted mission education was ambiguous, characterised by the 'ambiguities of dependence' (Marks 1975:162-180 in De Kock 1992a:132). Referring to this apparent contradiction Copley (1986:29 in De Kock 1992a:132) comments:

The ability of these leaders to speak with different voices to different groups without fatally compromising their positions was the essence of their political survival in a society where the patterns of domination and subordination were so sharply defined, so racially stratified, and so brutally enforced, and was a practical expression of their identity as part of a class which was 'structurally ambiguous'.

However, not all blacks accepted these 'benefits' unquestioningly or uncritically. The effect of education in the matter of resistance is clear from the report of the South African Native

Affairs Commission (SANAC, 1905 328:67 in Katiya 1977:73). It had 'in a number of cases the effect of creating in the Bantu an aggressive spirit which was caused by an exaggerated sense of individual self-importance' and it was 'dissident "school" people [who] were in the van of political organisation' (Beinart & Bundy 1987:262) and these rebels were those who had separated from the mission churches to form their own African Initiated Churches, especially the Presbyterian Church of Africa (PCA)⁷. An example from the PCA members at Qumbu, who had links with Lovedale, shows that they stressed not only self-help and control by blacks, but also educational attainment (Beinart & Bundy 1987:117). Resistance was basically the result of white racism and this led many blacks to alienate themselves from white-dominated institutions such as mission schools and colleges 'as a result of the discordant meanings and messages conveyed at the different levels' (Comaroff 1996:29) of the formal and informal as well as the explicit and implicit levels of education (Comaroff 1996:29ff.).

While many looked to the church for an opportunity to develop their capacities because there they could attain to positions of leadership, many others rejected ecclesiastical expressions of resistance such as Ethiopianism and continued to work for better educational opportunities within the existing dispensation.

At the jubilee celebrations at Lovedale in 1891, John Knox Bokwe challenged many of the missionary assumptions about education and suggested that perhaps mission education had served its purpose: 'there was a growing countrywide resistance to mission education and a desire for a properly organised State system of education' (Burchell 1979:51-52). Other distinguished former students of Lovedale, like A Bottoman and PJ Mzimba, supported Bokwe's sentiments. Stewart's refusal to allow the majority of students access to classical

⁷ See Duncan 1997, chapter 4.

language instruction was frequently cited in support of this argument. Yet, he did respond to pressure for the same kind of education which whites were given, as he terminated the Upper Department course which he had believed was appropriate for black ministers in the 1890s. However, Burchell (1979:53) is probably correct in his assessment that 'Stewart was, in fact, temperamentally unsuited to deal compassionately with the first stirrings of African consciousness' which he considered to be the unruly spirit of ingrates. Throughout the term of his principalship, Stewart had been 'extremely zealous in obtaining the conformity upon which, he felt, the sound development of the Institution depended' (Burchell 1979:57). But, towards the end of his time, he clearly demonstrated that:

He did not understand the predicament of the new African intelligentsia which the missions had produced, nor did he welcome the challenges, both internal and external. He employed few new and creative strategies to many of the urgent problems which confronted Lovedale in this era (Burchell 1979:57)

despite the fact that he was 'acutely aware of the need for reconstruction at Lovedale' (Brock 1974:331) by the beginning of the twentieth century.

The growth of criticism of mission education can be seen in the response to an address given by Stewart (CE, XIV, 167, 2 June 1884:85-91 in Brock 1974:137) in which he made reference to his views on classical languages and in which he had criticised the black desire for 'the equality of race'. *Imvo* challenged his insensitivity and 'indiscretion' and later (19 August 1885 in Brock 1974:139) stated that 'conscience had a colour and quality of work a hue'. On this occasion, the issue revolved around a widely held belief that discrimination existed at Lovedale and that such differentiation caused a number of students to go to the USA for higher education where they were considered in the dominant South African context to be susceptible to undesirable political and social ideas. There certainly was a perception in mission churches and their missions that the influence of American education on blacks who were able to avail themselves of it was subversive (Cochrane 1987:92). This arose out of the

suspicion that the new African Initiated Churches were implicated by providing contacts and finance for black students to study in the USA. This was one of the main reasons for Stewart's strong support for the establishment of a black university college in spite of his earlier misgivings:

unless a course is framed capable of development to a standard equivalent to a degree course in a British university and in time justifying the conferring on students of a degree, this college will not fulfil the expectations of the natives or check the exodus to American [sic] (Cory MS 14756, statement by Stewart, November 1905).

However, the perception was not restricted to the missions. They were also current in political circles as Lord Milner's educational adviser, EB Sargant commented:

A political danger has been introduced through the action of the negro propagandists who have brought with them the racial prejudice and hatred existing in the Southern States of America, a *virus* with which they are inoculating the better educated natives (Stewart Papers, UCT, D65/48, 27E (i) in Burchell 1976:66).

This along with Stewart's own strong views and the growing threat from the Ethiopian movement may be reasons for Stewart's strong support for the development of a black centre for higher education. This represents a change in attitude in Stewart who had recently referred to Lovedale students using the 'infant' metaphor. With regard to the establishment of a black university, Stewart had said in 1878 'the day is coming, whether we live to see it or not, when even the Dark Continent shall have its Native Universities' (Seboni 1954:6 in Burchell 1976:65). He wrote in 1905 that the concept 'is to my mind the natural result of the careful study of the educational progress among the natives, combined with the statesmanlike recognition of their desires [sic] potential capabilities' (Cory MS 14756, November 1905). It is worth reiterating Stewart's (1906:362) comment:

Taking the average native African as he is found over wide areas, a fair and unprejudiced judgment would admit that he possesses a larger amount of good sense, a firmer texture of mind, and more intellectual ability than he generally gets credit for.

This was a very different comment in tone from that which he had lectured on earlier:

that it is possible for them to reach in one or two generations the level which other races have taken long centuries to reach. From this fallacious conclusion they are apt to claim an equality, political and social, for which *as a race* they are not yet prepared (Stewart 1906:370).

Had Stewart come to realise the truth of what he was now saying as the result of his and others' experience? Was this the legacy of a dying man, or was it simply a strategic public relations move to deal with a growing threat to his educational vision? It was possibly a combination of these, although the threat from American and European educated blacks was very real in the mind of the missionaries as they:

unfit the young men on their return home from settling happily among their own people, and what is worse they bring back with them the attitude of mind towards the Europeans which the former slavery of the States, and the present hostility towards the black race and the lynching have inculcated' (Cory MS [unclassified]Henderson to Smith, 7 January 1908 in Burchell 1976:67).

This fear is the result of educated blacks being no longer subjugated by Lovedale's coercive agency but freed to think for themselves. The theme of coercive agency is stressed:

It would be better that a solid, honest higher education should be provided here when need arises, entitling the students to degrees which have a real value, than our native students go to the Southern States and return with high-sounding letters after their names which represent a very superficial mental training' (CE, XXXII, 385, 1 October 1902:146).

The urgent need for a college of higher education was stressed by EB Sargant (UCT SP D65/48, 27E(i) to Milner, 24 June 1904 in Burchell 1976:66) in order to give an opportunity for experimentation on curriculum and methods of teaching blacks with the aim of achieving their moral and material progress, and to avert any church or school schism which might present a political threat. Again, we note the coercive intent.

As the result of Stewart's labours, such a scheme was recommended by the South African Native Affairs Commission (SANAC) in 1905. It was also supported by such eminent politicians as John X Merriman who said (November 1906) 'Europeans must ... further civilisation in Africa ... [and] spread light ... to the rest of this dark continent' (Boucher 1973:99). Although 'the African responses to missionary attitudes was ambivalent' (Brock 1974:159), 'there was a clear demand for forward movement and an impatience with unwarranted constraint' (Brock 1974:156). Black resistance to mission education resulted

from the demise of the philosophy of assimilation, which change of attitude 'was due to the more subtle shortcomings of a liberalism which could appreciate the theoretical rights of Africans but was not prepared to uphold in actuality, where it most affected them personally, the equality of all' (Brock 1974:182). By the 1880s:

For the educated elite there was still hope of change and because of that they [educated blacks] were caught in the nexus of accommodation and compromise which characterised much liberal activity in the Cape.

'They believed that their problem was one of appealing to the Christian and liberal conscience inherent in white men and of raising the living standards of Africans to accord with white values. They expected equality to follow as a matter of course once Africans attained required standards of education and civilisation' (Adam 1971:145 in Brock 1974:301).

Resistance was beginning to become more vocal and organised. The South Native Congress in 1906 heard a report that attempts were being made to persuade the Cape government to implement an educational system which would be independent of mission control:

As it was felt that the churches were unable to cope with the education of the African as a whole and were prone to unhealthy denominational competition with its attendant wastefulness and futility. Africans now regarded missionary education as a system designed to make them useful to the churches (CE, XXXVI, 427, 1 May 1906:134 in Burchell 1976:69).

This entire matter had its origin in the debate on the place of the classical languages in education (cf. CE, XXXII, 386, 1 November 1902 in Burchell 1976:69). The interesting point to be noted here is Burchell's (1976:69) assertion that these black criticisms were aimed 'at the centre of power in African life at the time, the missionaries'. No longer were blacks prepared to submit themselves to the coercion of mission education unquestioningly though the foundation of the South African Native College in 1916, the result of Stewart's vision, 'had been conceived as a way of checking the exodus of African students to overseas universities and colleges, as well as combating the over-development of denominationalism and tribalism in African life' (Burchell 1976:83). All in all, in educational matters the missionaries could not accept the change 'they themselves had engendered, namely, the emergence of a self-conscious, well-educated, politically-aware independent group of Africans who challenged missionaries to a share of power and decision making' (Brock

1974:433). Put more positively mission education 'could not adapt to the consequences of its own success' (Hastings 1994:3).

Resistance to education at Lovedale also came from The Cape Education Department which, in a very different way, began to threaten the coercive agency at Lovedale with its encroaching secular approach to education as 'the more time-consuming educational demands interrupted the traditional daily routine and jeopardised such aspects of the training as the time set aside for compulsory manual work by all pupils'. But, worse than that, freedom to determine policy was coming to an end as 'Lovedale was being made to fit into the orderly mould laid down by the Department, and this conformity to the governmental system of education was the greatest threat to the whole character of the place' (Burchell 1979:41-2). This was a time when Stewart came under 'greater departmental surveillance' (:42).

4.7.2 Resistance through the written word

From the 1870s 'The members of the new educated class of Africans ... soon became aware of the overall discrepancy between Christian doctrine and western political ideals on the one hand and the realities of white conquest on the other' (Odendaal 1984:4). Their response to this situation was the formation of societies (eg. the Native Education Association), the writing of articles, electioneering, distribution of pamphlets and petitioning, lobbying and formation of pressure groups. These same methods had been successfully employed at an earlier stage 'as the basis for a strong literary role in the cultural conversion of people' (De Kock 1992:44) and were 'made the basis for a timeless and clearly-defined cultural oneness' (Freund 1984:154):

From the earliest possible times [ie. of the coming of the missionaries], evangelism was mounted on several fronts. Newspapers, education and literature were used as forums of evangelism. The young

Maluleke, writing specifically about the Tsonga people, is clear that:

missionary intervention left an indelible mark on the lives of the Vatsonga. This mark is most evident in the events of the emergence of new Christian community, the creation of a literate culture as well as the quest for education. Whilst evangelisation was the primary aim of the missionaries, the creation of a literate culture has had a profound effect on the Vatsonga (Maluleke 1995:198).

This is also true of the eastern Cape Xhosa and other peoples. The Comaroffs (1991,I:213-230 in Elphick 1992:185) 'highlight the role of language in structuring reality and the way in which missionaries struggled to define and describe African languages in ways that would imprint their own preoccupations on them' and which 'were derived more from their own epistemology than from any local social reality' (Harries 1988:40). Fundamental to all of these processes was the use of the written word as a means of communication and consequently 'Isigidimi and Lovedale, provided an important base for political action' (Odendaal 1984:6). It has to be noted, however, that any literature which emanated from Lovedale from the pen of blacks would be more restrained in its approach as can be seen in the *Christian Express* 'which to some extent filtered the political ideas of the Black elite' (Cuthbertson 1982:76). The degree of 'filtering' or editorial supervision can be classically demonstrated at Lovedale. Lovedale began to publish newspapers in 1844 with *Ikwezi*. This was superseded by *Indaba* in 1862 and by the *Kaffir Express* and its vernacular equivalent *Isigidimi samaXhosa* in 1876 that:

it might be the means of educating, informing, carrying ideas and stimulating the desire to be able to read. It was hoped by it to scatter ideas in 'the moral wastes and desert places of heathen ignorance', and aid the general missionary work of South Africa. Without printing, the mass of the people must remain barbarous, whatever might be the increase of their material wealth It was desired to cultivate habits of intelligent thinking among a people – a fair proportion of whom thought acutely; and, above all, to aid their moral, spiritual and social progress by the spread of Christian truth, for this alone could do them permanent good (Shepherd 1945:121).

It is interesting to ponder exactly whose ideas were to be 'carried' abroad? This becomes clear from the fact that:

Isigidimi rarely aired African grievances and, as far as can be ascertained, few of the muted criticisms sometimes found in editorials or letters to the editor were directed against the missionaries. Nevertheless, individuals like Jonas Ntsiko, who wrote under the pseudonym 'uHadi Wasehlangeni'

(Harp of the nation), were articulate voices of protest against the injustices of Church and State' (Switzer & Switzer 1979:3).

Although published in the vernacular, the missionaries controlled *Isigidimi*'s utterances although it did reflect to an extent the views of the emerging black elite. In 1874, Rev Elijah Makiwane was appointed editor of *Isigidimi* 'initially under the firm control of James Stewart' (Opland 1997:306) which was now a separate publication. JT Jabavu succeeded him as editor in 1881 but problems would soon emerge with regard to editorial freedom. 'The literate African elite soon became frustrated by the paternalism implicit in missionary control of *Isigidimi*' (De Kock 1996:78). Yet, 'A sustained, albeit muted, level of protest could be discerned in the news and letters-to-the-editor pages that was to have important implications for the literate Christian community' (Switzer 1993:122).

'*Isigidimi* was under the surveillance of the missionaries and would have hesitated to print anything which was unflattering to Lovedale' (Brock 1974:130). Perhaps this is because it and *Imvo Zabantsundu* 'gave formal expression to long-term criticisms of Lovedale's education and politics' (:131). This would suggest, of course that 'unflattering' things happened at Lovedale or that the missionaries were not quite confident of their ability to defend their views and practices, or again could not afford to have a bad press, ie. a poor public relations profile. But, more important, these journals had a relatively wide circulation amongst the educated elite who had been educated at institutions like Lovedale and whose loyalty and promotion of its ethos they depended on for continued recruitment. JT Jabavu 'the prime exponent of accommodationist politics' (Brock 1974:224) had studied at Lovedale. He used *Isigidimi* and the Native Educational Association (NEA) to form opposition to growing Afrikaner influence. He resigned in 1884 over charges of being too political and formed *Imvo*, 'the organ of those lawless spirits who will not be controlled by Missionary or

European influence' (*Imvo* 2 February 1884 in Brock 1974:262). *Imvo* had supported the formation of the NEA which was 'launched by the natives themselves' (*Imvo* 26 January 1885 in Brock 1974:263; cf. De Kock 1996:118-9) which was modelled along the lines of the Lovedale Literary Society. *Imvo* (27 May 1885 in Brock 1974:264) exposed the manipulative coercive agency of the missionaries. Relative to the 1884 election results in Victoria East: 'All of this' Jabavu stated 'was done without the influence of these dreaded influential missionary wire-pullers; and as the discussions were very free, it will appear that the native voters deserve to be called "independent electors"' (in Brock 1974:264). We can note here how from 1881 'the literate African elite became frustrated by the paternalism implicit in missionary control, while Jabavu was warned by Stewart to be more moderate in his editorship' (De Kock 1996:78). This led to a rift between Stewart and Jabavu who resigned and founded *Imvo Zabantsundu* where he had considerable editorial autonomy under Cape liberal sponsors⁸ 'something that would never have been possible at Lovedale' (De Kock 1996:117)⁹. It seems that Stewart could not tolerate any interpretation of black opinion other than that expressed belief which was also rationalised which was his own and that of his missionary colleagues (:78). But more than that, the 'the mind of the African is empty' (UCT SP BC106 D4 [undated]:1 in De Kock 1996:88-90) a veritable *tabula rasa* in need of development which, although in progress, is far from complete. Therefore, 'Only outright control of environment would serve the rigid structures of a discursive system committed to remaking a strange world in its own [missionary] image' (cf. Rev J Don, CE, VII, 76, 1 January 1877:13-14 in De Kock 1996:87). The environment referred to is not only the physical institution at Lovedale, but also the minds of its alumni.

⁸ Eg. JW Sauer, JX Merriman and J Rose Innes (De Kock 1996:137).

⁹ It is interesting to note that Davenport (1987:108) refers to Jabavu's resignation being caused in part by his desire to support black voters against disenfranchisement and does not refer to the cause of his resignation form *Isigidimi*.

The Rev E Makiwane, first President of the NEA, offers an example of an attempt at ‘subversive subservience’ through the medium of mimicry. In his Presidential Address, he considered the question of the equality of black and white. Makiwane (Imvo 26 January 1885 in De Kock 1996:118-119) said:

As a born subject of the Queen I do not only acknowledge this lofty position – a position the influence of which has been applied to noble objects, I say I do not only acknowledge it but rejoice and glory in it If the English took 2000 years to reach their present stage are we to understand that it is impossible for any other people to come up to it within a shorter time?

This is mimicry of Stewart’s views who had derided blacks for expecting to develop more quickly than he thought possible. Makiwane was chiding Stewart that surely the European could produce better results than they themselves had achieved without the aid of assistants such as themselves! His reflection of the intended ridicule back to Stewart served to demonstrate how far in fact blacks had advanced!:

Under the mask of mimicry ... in which he appeared to reproduce (sic) orthodox sentiments, Makiwane exposed the degeneration of civil ideals into a distracted colonial stasis in which the two-thousand-year-development argument was likely to be used, repetitively and perhaps obsessively, to keep natives at bay indefinitely (De Kock 1996:120).

Isigidimi, the mouthpiece of Lovedale, was not impressed. However, Makiwane represented an ambivalence which was not uncommon in this period. While he challenged ‘the grounds of truth and representation ... by calling upon the very founding principles of the missionary-colonial enterprise: equality, freedom, and justice for all humankind in the eyes of God’ (De Kock 1996:124), he refused to follow his friend and colleague, Pambani J Mzimba in the secession of 1898. In this, he showed that he was unable to break away completely from missionary influence, such was the power of ideological domination.

Lovedale also published a house organ, *The Lovedale News* from May 1876 until around June 1881. It was not strictly a student publication containing ‘information about matters immediately connected with the place and neighbourhood, and to afford some recreation as well as interest to those who are disposed to read it’ (May 1876). It contained news and

announcements of ceremonies and rituals. Consequently, it formed part of the coercive agency as its *credo* was ‘To lead those who are gathered together [at Lovedale] to read as generally and as widely as possible. However, it was not students who chose the contents of the publication.

In sum, ‘the early pioneers of black journalism were among the first to contribute to public debate in English as independent interlocutors outside of a missionary institution’ (De Kock 1996:108). However, this does not mean that they were totally independent of missionary influence for:

the African progeny of mission education in the age of high imperialism were able to internalise the language of civility and use it, in a kind of mimic counter-text, against the inconsistencies of its purveyors in the colonial context. But it is equally clear that their responses were constrained by the limits of this “civil” discourse (De Kock 1996:140).

4.7.3 Resistance through the formation of African Initiated Churches

In the long run, the pattern of African Christian life, and its relationship with western education and technology were not for white missionaries to determine. African individuals explored a variety of options. Some sought western education and technology without Christianity, while others reacted against white hegemony by founding independent churches. In doing so, they not only enriched the African expression of Christianity and its global development, but also contributed to an ongoing process of emancipating Christian thought and praxis from the domination of European concepts and values (Isichei 1995:95).

What might have been a near perfect situation had Lovedale’s graduates been accorded equal opportunities and an equal place in South African society was a situation marred by racism and paternalism characterised by white domination in which missionaries participated:

Their [Free Church of Scotland missionaries'] education and achievements appeared to them to be unequalled in promoting Westernisation and their missionary endeavours seemed eminently secure, thus ensuring an immunity to secessionist impulses. But it was precisely this imposed ideology and its doctrinaire free church manner of implementation that sparked the division between the African and European clergy (Cuthbertson 1991:58)

as 'the local people tried to make use of the religion brought by the missionaries to make sense of a world in rapid transformation' (Denis 1997:90). In this rejection of 'imperialist Christianity' and mission ideology, the missionaries were largely instrumental for, with reference to the roles played by James Stewart of Lovedale and his colleague David Stormont, Cuthbertson (1991:57) claims:

They were key imperial agents among the Cape mission-educated African elite, whose political consciousness was shaped by papers like *Izwi Labantu* edited by AK Soga, himself a product of Lovedale, and John Tengo Jabavu's *Imvo Zabantsundu*. Ethiopianism captured the hearts of the African intelligentsia during the 1890s, and was indicative of their rejection of imperialist Christianity.

Dwane (1989:50) mentions the historical attraction to the 'illustrious empire of Ethiopia which had never been subjugated by colonial forces', hence its rallying cry 'Ethiopia shall soon stretch out her hands unto God' (Ps 68:31). Consequently, Ethiopianism was 'primarily a response to the situation of dispossession and disinheritance brought about by the combined forces of colonialism' (:53).

However, Ethiopianism¹⁰ in South Africa did not have the particular success that Cuthbertson

¹⁰ Though somewhat dated and paternalistic in tone, Neill (1966:497ff.) offers the basic characteristics of Ethiopianism: 'These churches vary much in type and in the causes of their origin. Some are recognisable as schisms from western missions and Churches; here the causes may be a desire for greater self-expression on the part of the African, or may be ... the harsh exercise of Church discipline by the European missionary Some are tender to ... African traditions But it would be a grave mistake to class them all together as manifestations of laxity, and of a desire to escape from the more rigid traditions of western Churches. Almost all have a revivalist strain This phenomenon must be approached by the white man with humility, with sympathy, and in certain cases with admiration.

For at the heart of this whole movement, directly or indirectly, will be found the sin of the white man against the black. It is because of the failure of the white man to make the Church a home for the black man that the latter has been fain to have a Church of his own, and to seek Christ outside the official Churches So the black man turns in on himself, to find his own fellowship and his own Christ The name was almost certainly drawn from Psalm 68, verse 31: 'Ethiopia shall soon stretch out her hands unto God' Inevitably in such movements the personality of the individual leader plays a major part' (cf. Williams 1976:599).

claims for it, because its membership was and remains largely rural and working class; it only captivated a section of the Black elite. By the 1880s, mission institutions, especially Lovedale, had been producing educated blacks for forty years, and while the aim was to produce compliant people in terms of mission education, it was inevitable that such a thorough education as was offered should also produce those who questioned its very foundations and challenged its assumptions despite the fact that Lovedale also represented 'the confluence of the streams of missionary and emergent African middle-class thought' (Cuthbertson 1991:57). However, they did this both overtly and covertly.

While the missionaries, as part of their plan, aimed that blacks should interiorise their coercive agency and many did:

Africans as a whole were not convinced about the interiority of their religious and cultural values. Therefore the majority of African Christians remained only partially converted according to the expectations of the missionaries. They were attached to their traditional and cultural values, and therefore did not always pursue their new faith within the bounds of missionary orthodoxy. They thus lived, as it appears to be still the case today among the many so-called 'orthodox' African Christians on two unreconciled levels. They subscribed to a statement of faith, but 'below the system of conscious beliefs are deeply embedded traditions and customs implying quite a different interpretation of the universe and the world of Spirit from the Christian interpretation' ((Ngubane 1986:75-76 in Mosala & Tlhagale [ed.] 1986).

Switzer (1993:1125), to a limited degree, confirms this in terms of his assessment that resistance had its origin in the frustrated and disappointed hopes of black South Africans: 'they had abandoned the old ways and internalised the new: they were not uncritical, but on the whole they accepted the mission's vision of reality as their own'. However, he does not allow for the maintenance of a dual and composite religious world view. It was part of the back-handed success of the institution, that Lovedale products could operate on two different, but not necessarily conflicting planes. That secession occurred is also testimony to the fact that such was the totality of institutionalisation at Lovedale where 'the Scots ... who developed extensive educational activities, were convinced of the need to purvey the total package' (Davenport 1987:179) despite the fact that it could never become entirely closed or

“insulated” as the result of ‘a continuous flow of people from outside [who] passed through the institution’ (Hinchliffe 1968:89; cf. Comaroff 1996:44)). Lovedale’s leaders seemed to have been oblivious to external influences and issues which had been fermenting for some time. Dr Stewart could speak with conviction of ‘the recent unaccountable movement know [sic] as the Ethiopian Church began, which has affected every mission in South Africa. Its aim seems to be a kind of ecclesiastical Home Rule, and it has done nothing but mischief’ (1906:185).

The growth of Ethiopianism did not happen in isolation from its wider context. ‘Rejection of colonial Christianity also seemed to coincide with African political disenchantment with British rule’ (Hofmeyer & Pillay 1994:161). Considerable resentment had been accumulating over the dispossession of land, the destruction of the power of chiefs and the eroding of Africans’ traditional way of life. While many missionaries may have been oblivious to the relationship of these matters to religion and especially Christianity, Stormont, an acknowledged expert on Ethiopianism among his peers, ‘perceived the link between religion and politics in the minds of Christianised and modernised Africans’ (Cuthbertson 1991:58). Black leaders were quick to seize the opportunity to exploit this rift between mission-educated black people and those in the church who were prepared to follow them in their struggle to maintain a degree of autonomy in the prevailing colonial system which had undermined their authority or to ‘regain independence from colonial domination’ (Maylam 1984:70). This led to experimentation with new forms of resistance and in this Christianity was a catalyst and so AICs were ‘an ideological alternative to an historical outlook’ (Freund 1984:159) in terms of an ‘ideology of displacement’ rather than of crude political protest.

The relation between Ethiopianism and nationalism as ‘gaining power and winning release from foreign domination’ (Lyon 1998:276) is not absolutely clear though it has been

suggested that it ‘used the vehicle of Christianity to further the cause of African nationalism’ (Cuthbertson 1991:59) which was one result of ‘the consequences of the widening of horizons’ (Lyon 1998: 55) derived from mission education. And here we see how the churches through their thorough educational programmes actually empowered black people in such a way that they used their education to further their liberation from colonial/missionary influence:

Christianity thus provided the vehicle and the opportunities for the African to express his growing consciousness of belonging to the supra-tribal community. But it was also the religion of a White race that threatened the African way of life in many ways, and claimed land which the African regarded as his own. Faced with this paradox, towards the end of the nineteenth century the Africa-conscious elite tried to come to terms with Christianity with the formation of the separatist churches (Williams 1970:380; cf. Kallaway [ed.] 1984:56).

Mission education had certainly become a double-edged sword! AICs played a significant role in this process as:

The pulpit could be an extremely effective means of politicisation, and the political and religious activity ... may have played some part in African nationalist politics. And the element of African assertion in early religious independency, which first expresses itself ... was to form a major ideological component of African nationalism (Saunders 1970:570).

Ayandele’s (1966:199 in Cuthbertson 1991:59) comment that mission churches had become ‘the centre of social, spiritual, and political aspirations of educated Africans and literate converts’ has an ambiguous ring to it as it can imply both that educated blacks became compliant by advancing within the accepted parameters of society at the time or that they rejected such restrictive conditions and adopted a more radical approach to political advancement. Both attitudes were acceptable in terms of the:

relationship of agonism¹¹ [which] may have persisted between successful Lovedale subjects such as Mzimba and the Lovedale missionary order itself. Further, it appears that the structure of Lovedale discourse provided a framework for both assenting and dissenting responses (De Kock 1992a:134).

¹¹ ‘the relationship between power and freedom’s refusal to submit cannot, therefore, be separated At the very heart of the power relationship, and constantly provoking it, are the recalcitrance of will and the intransigence of freedom a relationship which is at the same time reciprocal incitation and struggle, less of a face-to-face confrontation which paralyses both sides than a permanent provocation (Foucault 1982:790).

Cooper (1994:1533) agrees with Foucault's view that 'resistance [w]as constitutive of power and power of resistance' for knowledge is a means by which some people exercise power over others' (Elphick 1992:184) and this was clearly true of mission educated blacks who:

undermined some of the psychological buttresses of white domination; in their intellectual and professional domination, they were a living refutation of white pretensions to intellectual superiority. In addition, educated Africans were acquiring the knowledge and skills necessary to manipulate and control power in a western industrialised society (Mills 1975:3).

These may be seen as 'subtle and ambiguous gestures of defiance' (Denis 1995:32) which are normally hidden in a concealed transcript. Stormont certainly took the view that Ethiopianism was more than a localised reaction to 'missionary hegemony – it was a political counter-culture aimed at redressing the loss of African independence to colonial regimes' (Cuthbertson 1991:59). It was 'a phenomenon experienced throughout South Africa [and beyond] at this time' (Brock 1974:421). The universality of Ethiopianism and its links to 'nationalism was an inescapable reality for the missionary movement to notice' (Yates 1994:30) partly due to its being not only:

against foreign and colonial dominance, and therefore – in a measure, and in certain cases – against that religion which came in with the West and is regarded as one of those destroying acids that have eaten away the substance of national life and character (Neill 1966:453).

Although Stormont took the view that such expressions of resistance took the form of separation/secession, he believed black peoples' aspirations could be met through progressive development such as comes through education. However, history was to prove him terribly wrong in the results for black people of the formation of the Union of South Africa and the Natives' Land Act of 1913. Perceptive blacks were already aware that their advancement would not be assisted by remaining within the system unless they were prepared to become 'converted' heart, body, mind and soul to the "missionary universe" (Cuthbertson 1991:62). Otherwise, independence would lead in the mind of missionaries to such 'aberrations' as Ethiopianism.

Ethiopianism was a rejection of the destructive elements of mission education and indeed mission Christianity, but not necessarily with Christianity itself (Edgar 1982:411,412) with regard to its negative attitude towards traditional culture. It did not necessarily seek a return to a way of life that had largely disappeared as the result of the imposition of western ideas in virtually all aspects of life, to the pre-colonial, pre-industrial society of the black people for, to a large extent, few changes were made to church life in terms of doctrine, polity and liturgy which may indicate an inability to give up on the totality of the effects of institutionalisation and coercive agency (cf. De Kock 1992a:134). It did want to restore a measure of self-control, self-expression and self-determination 'to promote a "rise in the scale of civilisation" among Africans while also shaking off the yoke of missionary paternalism' (DeKock 1992a:134).

The reasons for the growth of Ethiopian churches is well summarised from one missionary perspective in the *Christian Express* (XXXVI, 428, 1 June 1906, Editorial:137-8 in Wilson & Perrot 1972:377):

It may be that the Missionary churches have been slow to recognise that the Native Church is quickly leaving its childhood behind, and is able to take upon itself an increased measure of self-control. It is conscious of new powers and is impatient of dictation. Because the parent has been slow to observe the development which was bound to come, and has not been quick enough to recognise the need of directing these new energies to work on useful and absorbing enterprises, the Native Church has in these separatist movements wrested from the parent's hand what it regards as its rights, and has asserted its ability to manage its own affairs.

Despite the extremely paternalistic language of the quotation, there is a clear awareness that the new situation was the result of tardiness in recognising that the positive effects of mission education could have been directed towards the development of autonomy without confrontation.

The particular expression of Ethiopianism which affected Lovedale was the Mzimba Secession which occurred in 1898. Its causes were common within Ethiopianism. There was

considerable distrust and suspicion as the result of the controlling attitude (Kamphausen 1995:84) of the Free Church missionaries and disciplinary regulations for 'Scottish progressivism ... as at Lovedale ... was not incompatible with a deeply, almost racist, authoritarian treatment of those it was determined to uplift' (Hastings 1994:484); the recent (1897) union of the colonial presbyterian congregations to form the Presbyterian Church of South Africa; political unrest as the result of the erosion of African rights; traditional politics where the situation was exploited by traditional chiefs to cushion their weakening position in African society and to resurrect African values; tribal loyalties where the group follow the chief, in this case mainly Mfengu in the main followed Mzimba whereas the Xhosa followed the missionaries; money was an issue in terms of stipend, living conditions and funds raised overseas; education was a factor as Mzimba favoured the approach adopted by Govan over against that of Stewart, of educating an elite to the limits of their potential with the consequent need to go abroad to achieve these aims (Brock 1974:366-375; cf. Duncan 1997:84ff). In addition, there was the alien nature of European Christianity, racism and lack of prospects for promotion especially with regard to ordination (Duncan 1997:86ff). The issue of ordination is strange in that it would actually concede little other than equality of status with white ministers. But ordained black ministers would be accorded government recognition with the possibility of advancement in society which that implied (Switzer 1993:1223-4). Further, in the development of mission in South Africa, the 'institutions were increasingly dominant, with missionaries very much in charge. There was mounting frustration that freedom and proper dignity were being impaired by the continuance of this foreign management' (Lyon 1998:42).

The missionaries were, by and large, incapable of understanding the impulses which led to secession:

Our mission was, of all others, the one which was considered to deal most generously, justly and fairly with native ministers and office-bearers, giving them an equal place in all church courts with their European brethren (NLS 7798, Don to Lindsay, 26 July 1899).

This was simply not true. If it were, how would we account for the increase in the number of ordinations of black ministers following the secession and the urgency for higher education for blacks as witnessed in the South African Native Affairs Commission (1903-5) which culminated in the establishment of the South African Native College in 1916, though Rich (1987:275) attributes this to an attempt at reinforcing missionary power? In addition, it is inadequate to make comparative statements without first establishing the basis on which comparison is being made. The other churches referred to may have exceptionally poor attitudes towards black ministers and lay people. But at a deeper level, the secession was about the emotional aspect of religious faith and a search for identity among those whose dignity was being denied. Makiwane (CE, XLI, 490, 1 August 1911:189), a friend and former colleague of Mzimba who remained within the mission, claimed 'the movement he headed [was] not so much the formation of a new church as a protest against the treatment of Natives which regards the Native merely from his commercial value'. Clearly, the motivation was protest. With regard to the striving for identity, 'it is the African Church at the turn of the century that must be seen as the agent of modernisation in the institutionalised aspects of African national consciousness' (Brock 1974:428). Maluleke (1995:229 following Daneel 1987) has pointed us to the positive value of regarding African Initiated Churches as not merely 'reactions, but as genuine African initiatives'. This is confirmed by Claasen (1995:21) commenting on AICs: 'Recognition gave churches status in society. It provided church leaders with confidence to initiate activities like missionary work and the erection of church schools'. It also enabled them to contextualise mission Christianity: 'they expanded it and intertwined it with practices such as the veneration of ancestors and nature, obtained from the heritage of their own African traditional religions (Landman 1999:372). Dwane (1989:56-59) summarises the positive 'initiative and drive for change' as self-reliance, self-identity,

education and resistance to harsh tax and land legislation. In the wider context the AIC's significant achievement was:

to diffuse certain new and fruitful ideas, in however confused a form, among the African mass, the peasants in the countryside, and the semi-proletarianised peasants in the towns for the most part: the idea of the historical importance of Africans; of an alternative to total submission to the European power (Hodgkin 1956 in Cohen 1980:20).

In this, the AICs successfully conscientised their members and the wider community against the coercive agency of mission education as they:

differed fundamentally from the modern participatory approach of the political organisations and newspapers They withdrew from white-dominated structures and formed exclusively African organisations, through which they sought to gain fulfilment and self-advancement. Their policy was to throw off the shackles of white domination and reassert their former independence, while at the same time retaining what they considered to be the best elements of European civilisation (Odendaal 1984:223-4).

They were not bound to Cape liberal politics¹² in which missions like Lovedale played a significant role (Rich 1987:271) as many of the educated elite who were their friends and colleagues were. They were the 'rebels', the 'anti-liberal deviant' 'from the Christian liberal frame of reference' who 'have been essential catalysts of change in black politics' while the 'realists' representing 'the liberal norm' (Gerhart 1978:39) were constituted by the likes of Lovedale which tended 'to adapt to the dominant ideology of Cape colonial society, and this tendency increased after the secession of some African followers under Mpambani Mzimba in 1898' (Rich 1987:274; cf. Kamphausen 1995:83). In fact, they rejected it realising that it still bound them in a vicious circle of domination as they wanted to make their own way and stand or fall by their own efforts. Their call 'Africa for the Africans' was a celebrated slogan for disempowering white missionaries as well as for empowering black people:

A new ideal is taking possession of the black man's mind. Africa for the Africans ... The aim of the ... educated native is freedom ... in all matters political and social. The spirit is manifesting itself by a series of what are called new movements, generally connected with religion ... The result has been the creation of much discontent and restlessness throughout the country (Markham sa :117 in Kamphausen :84-5 in Denis [ed] 1995).

¹² 'Cape liberalism derived its inspiration largely from British evangelical sources ... [and] became increasingly secularised' Davenport 1987:30).

Herein lies the connection with nationalism, for the AICs, helped to bring out the latent stirrings of self identity which had been suppressed since the inception of mission education for 'it is amongst the amaXhosa of the Eastern Frontier, during the first half of the nineteenth century especially, that one finds the early stirrings of "nationalism" in the shape of certain basic attitudes and actions flowing from them' (Williams 1970:374). But there was a certain ambivalence among those who were its progenitors for:

Educated [black] Christians, who were attracted to Western culture, became the main carriers of African nationalism, initiating the movement and shaping its ideology. African nationalism, that is to say, was the political expression of a stratum intermediate between traditional African and Western European societies: somewhat detached from, and somewhat suspected by, the former; and used, as an auxiliary elite of clerks, interpreters, teachers, evangelists, and pastors, but also excluded, by the latter. Much of the ambivalence of African nationalism in South Africa derives from this social situation (Wilson & Thompson 1971:433).

It was:

The African, especially the elite from the various tribes, from various parts of the country, [who] evolved some consciousness of belonging to a common race, with a common heritage which included long years of defensive measures against white encroachment, both material and spiritual (Williams 1970:371).

The relationship between nationalism and Ethiopianism is further averred by Landman (1999:372): 'black nationalism has always been an integral part of the black Christian search for freedom'. The situation had been changing from the middle of the nineteenth century as there had been a series of revivals which had significantly increased church membership which, less influenced by mission control and less susceptible to missionaries' authority due to their being outside the orbit of mission stations, increased the 'potential for interaction between the old and new lifestyles' (Switzer 1993:123). In this way the mission lost absolute control as this was part of a strategy spearheaded by blacks themselves even in the field of education (Switzer 1993:132). This may account for the origin of independent mission and evangelism which would later cause problems as missionaries attempted to reassert their lost or diminishing control.

Another aspect of nationalism which should not be lost sight of is its relationship to and promotion through the printed word. The growth of the print media, newspapers, pamphlets and books was a valuable tool in the spread of ideas among people who were in the process of becoming literate:

Anderson [1983:49] has argued that nationalism has always been grounded in Babel. That is to say, nationalism is a product of what he calls 'print capitalism'. He writes 'the convergence of capitalism and print technology on the fatal diversity of human languages created the possibility of a new form of imagined community which in its basic morphology set the stage for the modern nation Nationalism emerges when some languages get into print and are transmitted through books [and other printed means] allowing subjects to identify themselves as members of the community of readers implied by these books (During :459 in Docherty [ed.] 1993).

Although this was true of the 'development' of vernacular languages as printed media, it was also true of the spread of the use of the English language in the preservation of British identity through its imposition on blacks for hegemonic purposes concerning 'the public use of its language if a cultural group was to preserve its identity [which] was well illustrated in the case of the British settlers' (Wilson & Thompson 1971:283).

In sum, 'Ethiopianism ... had awakened missionaries to the danger of large-scale alienation from Western Christianity and colonial hegemony' (Cuthbertson 1991:62). It was 'the greatest tremor ever to shake the missionary enterprise in South Africa' (Elphick 1987:71).

Reflecting on the painful experience of secession, John Lennox, one of the younger generation of missionaries of the Free Church serving at Lovedale, commented at the General Missionary Conference of South Africa in 1909:

The fact that we offer the native church the finest product of our thinking and experience while at the same time we remove from them the discipline of thinking out these great questions in relation to their own national life, retards rather than stimulates thought and mental activity in the region of the great truth of our religion They must take responsibilities ... must exercise their own inventiveness and devise plans ... they must cast themselves on the future in faith (Brock 1974:427).

As a younger missionary, Lennox, along with his colleague, James Henderson, could afford to take a more liberal view of the situation of Black Christians not themselves having been

intimately involved in the trauma of secession, though they did live and work with its ongoing results. Coercive agency had received a severe setback to its progress. However, it still possessed the stamina, energy and will to survive and succeed though not without difficulty. James Stewart died towards the end of 1905, leaving a worthy legacy of great achievements as well as coercive agency to his successor, James Henderson.

4.8 Assessment

James Stewart's period as Principal of Lovedale Institution was, by any standards, a remarkable achievement. However, there was another side to his achievement, that of the development of Lovedale as a centre of coercive agency:

The response of Africans to missionary attitudes throughout this period was ... generally positive and co-operative, though capable of being critical and independent where basic aims were felt to be in conflict. Distrust increased only as the ambivalent and inherent contradictions in missionary attitudes were revealed by events and as those Africans who had accepted missionary teaching found themselves to be, after all, isolated and powerless (Brock 1974:436).

Brock's analysis is perceptive up to a point. However, she underestimates the power that blacks possessed for they certainly did not accept that they had to remain permanently disempowered, as they strove to reject the effects of coercive agency through education, the media and the formation of AICs.

In his development of the campus in the organisation of both time and space, Stewart saw to the externals of coercive agency as the demarcation of boundaries, spatial and temporal, which regulated the life of students and, to a lesser extent, staff in order to achieve his goals. This marked the totality of the process of institutionalisation on the campus.

All this was, however, subordinated to the task of internalisation through the programme of character formation by the development of an exacting code of discipline and the promotion

of an ethic of industry with the ultimate aim of leading students to conversion of their lives in their totality. Consequently Lovedale, and similar institutions pursued their work with 'a deep sense of commitment and ... missionary zeal' (Elias 1999). Hence, the effects of the Gospel could be discerned in practical ways, the goal being religious and not primarily educational. All of this derived from the ideological perspective of mid-Victorian Britain with its firm commitment to colonial and imperial expansion and the Protestant work ethic.

Fundamental to this approach was the need to destroy the influence of traditional lifestyle and impose 'a strong desire to adopt western habits' as the result of 'expediency rather than [purely] religious need' (Hutchinson 1957:160-1). Here we noted the influence of secular motives related to power over against the power of the Gospel. An example from an earlier generation demonstrates this:

Missionary stations are the most efficient agents which can be employed to promote the internal strength of our colonies, and the cheapest and best military posts a government can employ (Philip 1828, II:227 in Hutchinson 1957:161),

their work being 'justified to secular interests by its practical results' (:161).

The most positive aspect of the work of Lovedale was interpreted as failure by Stewart. It is epitomised by resistance to coercive agency. Having taught students to think for themselves and take control of their own affairs, perhaps unwittingly, Stewart had to bear the consequences of his work which resulted in challenges to his entire educational philosophy, his dignity and his personal authority. In a very real sense his work itself laid the foundation for its own repudiation as products of Lovedale discovered their true identity as the result of the positive teachings of Christianity which led to the growth of a spirit of unity, solidarity and positive nationalism. It is ironic that the individualistic thrust of mission education should produce such a communitarian result! Not bound by the ideological baggage of western Europe, perhaps Lovedale students discerned the true spirit of the Gospel behind the

façade of entrapment for among the missionaries there ‘was certainly no understanding of the social consequences that would flow from Christian teaching as it became more effective’ (Hutchinson 1957:162).

The missionaries’ insistence on the use of English both furthered their cause and, at the same time, enabled their former students to reject it:

Resistance in the Eastern Cape was complemented by excellent missionary schooling which enabled the oppressed to put forward a refined political argument in English thus breaking new ground in black political thinking internationally (Krog 1998:33).

Stewart had been a charismatic leader and this impacted on the totality of the institutionalisation at Lovedale as he was ‘the creator and administrator of a very self-sufficient kingdom which was known and respected in many parts of the world as the result of the propaganda and missionary exploits of the famous missionary statesman’ (Burchell 1979:24). However, as with many such leaders, ‘there was little power-sharing’ (Brock 1974:65):

Even with a loyal and conscientious staff, however, it is obvious that the running of this complex enterprise depended considerably on the energy of one man – James Stewart. His personality dominated Lovedale for 38 years. By nature authoritarian, he controlled every aspect of Lovedale’s life. For the most part he had the indefatigable zest and enthusiasm which enabled him not only to govern and legislate for Lovedale but also to participate in innumerable public activities which in themselves brought Lovedale into prominence and gave it unique standing in the colony and in missionary circles. It was only towards the end of his life ... that Stewart’s control slipped and his authority degenerated to autocracy at times’ [ie. through ill-health] (Brock 1974:64).

So, all was not well prior to Stewart’s death. Henderson (NLS 7801, to Smith, 4 June 1906) commented on the lack of cohesion among the staff which was natural for ‘small inbred communities are particularly susceptible to conflict and missionary institutions are no exception’ (Brock 1974:66). Stewart ‘stifled individuality in teaching. His emphasis on unity of method meant that experimentation was discouraged’ (Burchell 1979:48). This was coercive agency with one focus and aim. Innovative teachers like Theal and Stormont were encouraged to maintain the institution’s uniformity of method for: ‘Our strength and security

as an institution as an educational missionary force lies in our unity and solidity of action' (UCT SP D65/48 13[a] in Burchell 1979:48). Here is another confirmation of the result of total institutionalisation. Sadly, James Stewart was a captive of his own background. It was even sadder that loss of control became the dominant issue in the later years of his career as he became unable to cope with challenges to his authority. Perhaps he was just too old and set in his ways to change. Yet, there was an enduring quality about his work at Lovedale which would pave the way for his successor, James Henderson, and which would provide the foundation for his own work as Principal.

CHAPTER 5 LOVEDALE UNDER JAMES HENDERSON

5.1 Rev Dr James Henderson ('Mbumba' – 'The Moulder' [SAO 1 September 1930:195])

James Henderson was born on 31st October 1867 at Dunn Farm, Watten in the county of Caithness in the far north of Scotland, the son of Donald and Christina Henderson. He attended Old Aberdeen Grammar School and proceeded to Edinburgh University where he studied Arts (c1886-89) and Divinity (1889-93). At Moray House Training College he studied education and trained as a teacher, and at Minto House Medical School he studied medicine.

The Scotland in which Henderson grew up was a place where 'the population still possessed a zeal for the active and religious life that by 1900 was elsewhere becoming rare' ((Smout 1986:198). Late nineteenth century social reformers were urging the church towards a renewed social consciousness especially with regard to the place of the poor in society. This was the result of a 'fear of agnostic socialism,' and the growth of a 'gospel of action' (:205). A new liberal theology had become the ecclesiastical orthodoxy by the end of the century as the result of the 'erosion of ancient certainties' (:192). It was in this intellectual climate that Henderson was exposed to and influenced by the teachings of Rev Professor Henry Drummond which stimulated many students to consider offering for mission service abroad:

At that time professor Henry Drummond was holding meetings for students every Sunday night in the Oddfellows' Hall and many students were led to surrendering themselves to Christ under his remarkable spell and teaching. Well that night three of us went together and I gave myself to Christ definitely then This was a more definite act [than that performed at his confirmation when he was younger] and one that changed the course of my after life (Cory MS 14427/1, Henderson to Donald, 19 April 1917)

Drummond is considered to be 'the great find of the Moody and Sankey revival' of 1874 (Ross 1968:30), 'a religious teacher utterly free from conventionalism, loyal to the intellectual

methods of the age, but with an unshaken faith in God and in the reality of the spiritual experience' (Smith 1899:69).

Drummond's influence came from his emphasis on the social aspects of faith, his presentation of Christianity as 'the most natural and the most sublime of facts' (:76), 'the crown of all human evolution' (:75). With regard to those to whom Drummond became a seminal influence, Smith (:79) has commented:

In nearly every town of our country, in every British colony ... converts or disciples of this movement, who gratefully trace to it the beginnings of their moral power, are labouring steadfastly, and often brilliantly in every profession of life.

Such a one was James Henderson who conformed to:

the Protestant missionary enterprise [which] was rooted in the experience of conversion – the transformation of individuals in a personal confrontation with Jesus. Many early twentieth century missionaries had experienced personal conversions – some like James Henderson, at the Keswick conventions in England. Such missionaries embraced the Social gospel with the assurance that Jesus could transform societies as fundamentally as they themselves had been transformed (Elphick 1977:368).

He referred to his attendance at the Keswick convention as a 'sweet hallowed memory' that gave 'my first full glimpse of the spirit that is in Christ' (23 May 1895 in Ballantyne & Shepherd 1968:6). This marks out his deeply spiritual life based in a solid evangelical faith.

Henderson believed that the call to mission was of greater import than the call of family responsibility. In this, his mother 'declared her willingness that I should follow my inclinations in the matter' (19 January 1897 in Ballantyne & Shepherd 1968:220). Following her death, he wrote to his fiancée, Margaret Davidson: 'I hardly think these considerations would have weighed so much with her, if you and I hand in hand had come to her expressing our sense of being called to go'. He was also convinced that he needed Margaret's support in this shared venture 'I am looking forward to greater aid in the days that are to come Then in spiritual things most of all two are better than one, when they are helping each other

upward and onward' (19 January 1897 in Ballantyne & Shepherd 1968:220). His humility certainly did not allow him to aspire to the status of the missionary giant:

a missionary's life is one of the most ordinary in the world. His experiences are simply commonplace, they have been gone through again and again I wasn't built to stand on a pedestal in any capacity whatever (19 January 1897 in Ballantyne & Shepherd 1968:220-221).

Towards the end of his medical training, which he never completed, in 1895 Henderson was called by the FCoS as a missionary to Livingstonia, Nyasaland (modern Malawi) in Central Africa, one of 'several new missionaries who were to prove great gifts to Livingstonia' (Livingstone 1921:265). His medical report described Henderson as 'An excellent life quite fit for work in Africa' (NLS, MS 7877, 2 April 1894:79).

During the next ten years, Henderson distinguished himself in pioneering work along the Chimbezi River on the eastern border of north-east Rhodesia (modern Zambia), translation work, as Chairperson of the commission charged with responsibility for the formation of Nyasaland's second education code, as educational advisor to the colonial administration and as head of the training institution at Overtoun Institute (from 1896) during its first difficult decade where the influence of the 'institution as a centre of higher education was on the increase' (McIntosh 1993:153). Here was a place where: 'Every day and all day Christ is presented to the people' (:129). Here is the essence of the programme of character formation/conversion which was to dominate much of the life and spirit of Lovedale Institution. Overtoun Institution was similar to Lovedale in many ways and it was there that Henderson began to develop his ideas on industrial education. He strongly opposed any idea that this should be a matter of putting:

trading before training' [when] what was before all our minds was a great training institution, with spiritual aims first and foremost, and all the rest educational, meaning by that school education and manual training we hope that growing self-support will tell (NLS, MS 7864, J Fairly Daly to Henderson, 26 March 1903:675-6).

It was during this period that Henderson married Margaret Davidson of Old Hall, Watten, also from Caithness.

Paying tribute to Henderson, following his death, a Malawian former student, Levi S Mumba said:

One is amazed at the great influence his ability had on the making of those who were so fortunate as to be his pupils in the ten years that he spent in Nyasaland. He was young and full of energy which he displayed in a wonderful way He taught and cared for them physically, intellectually, morally and spiritually (SAO, LX, 713, 1 October 1930:205).

This is corroborated by J Fairly Daly of the FMC:

You are not only an ordained Missionary, but a born teacher, and your qualifications combine in quite an exceptional way the very gifts needed for the important and responsible position you hold how kind and considerate you have been with them [colleagues]' (NLS, MS 7864 to Henderson, 6 November 1902:398-9).

In personality, Henderson was rather self-effacing and deeply self-aware:

I do not know myself or what I can do yet, and although I am finding my feet under me in my work here, I still have a dread of failure, which is probably partly constitutional, and which is kept alive by the observation of the peculiar difficulties which arise in work of this kind (20 March 1896 in Ballantyne & Shepherd 1968:127).

Considering the effect of his ordination, he felt it to be a 'very grave responsibility I tremble at the thought of it and the utter unworthiness of the service I render' (Ballantyne & Shepherd 1968:204) though there was a degree of pride, whether personal or emanating from his strong call to mission. He described himself as 'an individual of a higher race, strangely equipped and endowed with uncanny powers who came professedly as the messenger of God bearing a new message from Him, the outcome of his mercy and love for men' (Cory MS 14425, 19 August 1904, Henderson to mother, N Rhodesia). Shepherd (in Oosthuizen 1970:45) has assessed him as 'a man with his own reserves, particularly when on duty at Lovedale, but when business took him away from the institution no companion could be more genial and considerate. Sometimes he would freely open his mind'. This would indicate that

Henderson conformed to the accepted 'patron-client relations' (Scott 1990:62) scenario of his day both with most of his staff and all of his students and his isolation, whether intended or accidental, would give an air of mystique and superiority to his role as well as conform to the expectations of students:

the powerful have their own compelling reasons for adopting a mask in the presence of subordinates. Thus, for the powerful as well there is typically a disparity between the public transcript deployed in the open exercise of power and the hidden transcript expressed safely offstage The attempt by dominant elites to sequester an offstage social site where they are no longer on display and can let their hair down is ubiquitous, as is the attempt to ritualise contact with subordinates so that the masks remain firmly in place and the risk that something untoward might happen is minimised The seclusion available to elites not only affords them a place to relax from the formal requirements of their role but also minimises the chance that familiarity will breed contempt or, at least, diminish the impression their ritually managed appearances create (Scott 1990:10-13).

Henderson himself, in self-deprecating manner, suggested: 'The making of friends is a gift as rare as it is precious I haven't it at all If I am good for anything, it is tackling a big lot of work, but with human beings, save and except pupils, I am a dead failure' (31 January 1898 in Ballantyne & Shepherd 1968:276). This reflected Henderson's introspective personality which gave him a degree of self-sufficiency and contentedness: 'within ourselves we have a world with much to afford us pleasure in it'. He believed that life in a small community made for a greater degree of circumspection: 'There are the same temptations only perhaps in a more subtle form as one yet to be met on shore, and people are all idle and ennuye to some extent when Satan finds a special opportunity' (3 May 1895 in Ballantyne & Shepherd:3). This was a helpful quality since he was to spend most of his life in such situations although it served to confirm his place and role in the economy of the institutions in which he worked.

Following the death of James Stewart, Principal of Lovedale, 'Mr Henderson, whose organising gifts and exacting ideals had brought up the educational department to a high pitch of efficiency was called to fill the post at Lovedale' (Livingstone 1921:328) at the age of

thirty eight years while at ‘the zenith of his powers’ (Shepherd 1940:268). He went with the blessing of the FMC and the:

hope that you and Mrs Henderson may be spared to continue the splendid record of work done at Lovedale and to make that Institution a growing centre of influence and power for the cause of Christ in Africa (NLS, MS 7865, J Fairly Daly to Henderson, 14 February 1906:601).

Here, in essence was the overarching purpose of the Scottish mission which Henderson promoted in his educational aims at Lovedale.

5.2 The aim of education at Lovedale

The aim of education at Lovedale during Henderson’s principalship has to be seen in the wider context of his philosophy of education:

Let me repeat that in my opinion there can be only one goal of education, but there may be many roads, and some of the roads to be followed by native pupils may not be roads to be followed by Europeans. At each standard, at the same time, there ought to be absolute equivalents, but not necessarily identity (Select Committee on Native Education, 1908, Section 2338:374 in Burchell 1979:72).

However, this view has to be taken in the wider context of Henderson’s total commitment to the Christian faith as fundamental to any education offered. Here the explicit aim is:

... to forward the knowledge and service of God among the indigenous peoples of the country. through the instrumentality of education and specialised training for professions, trades and domestic life, amid influences designed to form Christian character, it endeavours to inspire and prepare Native and coloured young men and women, without distinction of religious denomination, to become the guides and teachers of their peoples, and wisely and devotedly to labour for their uplift (Henderson in Taylor [ed.] 1929:396).

Character is ‘supreme’ aim of Lovedale’s education system. Its inculcation was vital for the internalisation of the coercive agency which was basic to the success of its philosophy.

HBC[oventry?] (CE, LI, 613, 1 December 1921, The Supreme Aim in Education:187-8)

quotes Ovid who ‘emphasises the all important truth that study affects character, and ... thus leads us to the supreme aim in education’. In education ‘The one and only foundation is character If there is no success here, our teaching has failed miserably’. This is the source

of 'true discipline [which] comes from within and depends on the character of the student'.

But this discipline in contemporary educational theory first had to be imposed:

Freedom comes through seeming restriction. Those are most truly free today who have passed through great discipline Who have passed through the most severe training – are those who have exercised the most patience and at the same time, the most dogged persistence and determination (CE, XXXVIII, 454, BT Washington, The Educational and Industrial Emancipation of the Negro II: 137).

Character then is not only the end of the educational process but it is also its main means as it impinges on everything done at Lovedale. It is in this area that Lovedale's education comes closest to imitating that of the African context in its assumption that life is a total experience which cannot be subdivided:

In laying down the principle that character is at once the supreme end and the efficient means of education we have destroyed the unnatural distinction, so constantly drawn, between secular and religious. Life is one Religion is also life; so religion, character and life are ultimately but three terms for the same thing (SAO, LII, 614, 2 January 1922, The Supreme aim in Education:11-112),

ie. western Christian faith. However, its method is individualistic which militates against the African world-view for: 'Character is the most concrete thing in our experience, simply because it is the most individual' (SAO, LII, 614, 2 January 1922:11). Of course, it is far easier to coerce an individual than it is to persuade an entire community: 'It is safer to start with a clear conviction of the reality of individuality, for that will save us from our constant temptation to treat the class as a mass' (:12). Either Lovedale is far ahead of its time educationally, or its evangelical aim is predominant in its educational philosophy. There is more evidence for the latter conclusion than for the former: 'We are not arguing for some particular kind of education, we are speaking of the only true education Character and not examination results is our aim. Aiming demands some definite object. We assert, that object is in Christ' (:12). This is confirmed by Lennox (1911:73), Henderson's colleague:

The primary aim of the Institution is to turn out trained Christian men and women [centred on] the Institution Church, in the regular and systematic daily study of the Scriptures, in the personal influence of the staff, and in the well-organised activities of the Christian Association conducted largely by the students themselves.

It was reaffirmed in the new Constitution of Lovedale which became effective in 1922:

As heretofore, the Institution shall be devoted to the uplifting of the Native and Coloured peoples of South Africa by means of religious effort, by general and specialised education, and by the developing of industrial training. At the discretion of the Governing Council, its doors shall remain open also for the admission of Europeans in special circumstances.

The Institution is a Christian organisation, and all members of its staff shall be professing Christians and of missionary sympathy (LMI Reports VII, 1922:1).

Admissions were not restricted, however, to South Africans and many students came from much further afield. It remained non-racial in principle and staff were required to be in sympathy with and committed to the ethos of the Institution to further the cause of coercive agency. Henderson referred to 'an earnest and practical spirit pervading the staff' (LMI Reports VII, 1926:11). Therefore, Lovedale was Christ centred and life oriented concerning 'the opening of a door into fuller, richer life and into a widening and deepening understanding of the real meaning of life' (Oosthuizen 1970:127). Conversion remained a vital element in the aims of Lovedale: 'personal conversion remained the core of the enterprise' (Elphick 1987:67). Nowhere is the relationship between conversion and education at this time defined so clearly: 'Conversion means so complete a change from the former manner of life that it must be accompanied by the discipline and ability to stand the change; in other words, by education' (Loram 1917:30).

Hinchliffe (1974:35) is able to see beyond this aim to its consequences which were very restrictive:

By teaching them to read it enabled them to use the Bible. Higher education was often provided by the churches as a means of producing teachers for schools and ministers for ordination. Education was seldom considered as having much bearing upon the structure of society, except in rather vague terms as a panacea for the ills of some classes within society.

Education was still viewed as a means of social control to produce those needed to service its narrow aims and to mollify those who might be tempted to oppose the system which had produced them. However, as the result of having to collaborate with the Department of Education, by Henderson's time Scottish missions 'had already developed a commitment to

education far beyond the narrow confines demanded by evangelisation, literacy and the need to train African agents' (Gray 1990:186):

... in the churches, the missionary tended to become a bureaucrat, remote, linked with the colonial state, concerned with the pressures of administering a system. As a consequence, the missionary was often unaware of the spiritual problems facing African Christians and of the challenges confronting the churches in the urban areas, where most of those whom he had come to convert were receiving their sharpest initiation into the modern world. For many Africans, the mission churches became synonymous with education, identified with white leadership and with an African educated elite, who were preoccupied with an essentially alien mode of living, organisation, standards, discipline and thought. Yet the missionaries and the educated elite did not constitute the major component of Christianity in Africa; already their preoccupations presented a stark contrast to the desperately eager and anxious search on the part of their fellow men and women for new forms of community and for an integrated cosmology, confronting traditional concerns with fresh spiritual insights, which might together provide a measure of social and intellectual security in a rapidly changing environment (Gray 1990:189-90).

The aims of mission education had, and were still being challenged both from within and without. This was the result of its being divorced from the needs and aspirations of the majority of black people. Most mission institutions were located in rural areas and not a great deal of energy was employed to familiarise themselves with the urban situation. Henderson is a case in point for he was a recognised expert on poverty in the rural context. The missionaries themselves were regarded by many blacks, though by no means by all, as tools of the colonial Education Department 'trustees and agents of the state' (Krige 1993) at a time of the 'transition of education as an undertaking of the Churches and Missions, through the gradual interest and support of the State in the mission schools' (Gerdener 1958:241). This is a rather neutral account of the state's desire to effect control of (especially mission) education. But again, it has to be noted that, although the products of mission education were a small minority of the total population, it is not wise to underestimate their importance or influence. Nonetheless, the main point here is that mission education did not aim or work towards the upliftment of the whole population to the extent of its potential. Education was still a matter of educating an adequate supply of people to meet the needs of white society.

Mission education was also contextual. It recognised the vast difference between the white and black contexts, hence the special needs of Native education:

The environment of the Native is widely different from that of the European. To ignore this fact is to violate one of the root principles of all education the whole question of Native education should be reconsidered with a view to the adoption of a system having as its definite intention to save the Native people, on the one hand from the clinging errors of heathenism, and, on the other, from the degradation that in so many cases follows contact with a complex, powerful, and often selfish civilisation (CE, XXXVI, 427, 1 May 1906, Aims and Methods in Native Education - I:122).

Whichever choices black people made, they would require the intervention of Christian education to save them from this ‘damned if you do – damned if you don’t’ scenario. This ideologically loaded choice makes it clear that there is only one way to be saved from the evils of both black and white society – the way of the missionaries:

The surroundings of the children have to be considered from two points of view, first because they make the child what he is when he first comes under the teacher’s care and the teacher must start from that point precisely at which he finds the child to be, and, second, because it is to the same surroundings that the finished product, boy or girl, will return when school life is done, and the influence which that educated boy or girl is to exercise upon the home surroundings must always be a dominant thought in the teacher’s mind (CE, XXXVI, 427, 1 May 1906:123).

An assumption is made here that education is for acquiescence rather than transformation inasmuch as it is assumed that pupils will return whence they came. There is no prospect of advancement beyond present life circumstances. Yet, in the light of the above, it is difficult to understand the need for ‘Native children ... [to] have their attention specially drawn to the great historic past of the European races. In this way they would learn to respect them more than they do now’ (CE, XXXVI, 328, 1 June 1906, Aims in Native Education – II:140) as they view this ‘selfish civilisation’. However, this was part of Henderson’s liberalising tendency which aimed to raise up black people in order that they could be ‘accommodated’ in white liberal society.

5.3 Twentieth century liberal ideology

It had often been stated, not only by popular writers, but even in scientific circles that the present demand for Native education in South Africa is an artificial one, created and sustained by the missionaries for the sake of their more religious work. That missionaries created the demand in the first instance is undoubtedly true, but to say that the demand does not now exist apart from the *stimuli* applied by those meeting it, to deny the existence of that intense longing for education that has laid hold of the more advanced sections of the Bantu people, is to confess one’s ignorance of the real facts (Cory PR 4176, Hobart Houghton, The Problem of Bantu Education in South Africa c.1910:8).

This is a powerful apologia for mission education which admits to the original ideological purpose of the missionaries. It does not however, admit to the fact that the ultimate evangelical aim has not altered at all. Also, it does not take account of the fact that Christianity did not emerge as the sole influence on the life of black people. The mission interacted with the totality of the context in concert with colonialism, imperialism, trade and commerce which all required that education be offered to certain levels determined by themselves 'for the evangelicals themselves, Britain's religion and Britain's empire were obviously and inextricably linked' (Porter 1993:373).

As is clear from the previous chapter (4.5:148-160), 'the Christian missionary ethos ... had been the dominant ideology of the Scottish Presbyterian [as well as] Methodist and Anglican churches' (Burchell 1991:2) which had all been susceptible to the 'dominant ideology of liberal Cape colonial society' (Rich 1987:274):

South African liberalism originates in the liberal tradition of British evangelical sources that emerged in the Cape Colony in the 19th century. Race was a central concept in South African liberal thinking, and in the 19th century liberals earned the title 'friends of the natives' (and pejorative variations), for their attempts to ameliorate the circumstances of people of colour at the Cape Links between liberals, white missionaries, and the leadership of major Christian denominations of English origin were strong during the 19th and first half of the 20th century (Goedhals 1994:96-7).

While the later years of the nineteenth century and the advent of the twentieth century witnessed the growth of Cape liberalism, 'the African elite and some elements among the missions were still committed to Victorian ideas of civilisation and incorporation of the elite' (Krige 1993:23). This is evidenced in Loram's (Natal's Inspector of Schools) thinking where the 'residual Victorian vision of gradual incorporation had no place here and neither did the missions' (:19). However, Henderson's views were supported by Loram who subsequently influenced Henderson with the publication of his book, *The Education of the South African Native* (1917):

Loram's work on African education was significant for the manner in which it combined conventional missionary ideas stressing the value of industrial training with a more general white political concern

that the 'solution' to the 'native problem' lay in maintaining as far as economically possible an agrarian African peasant society devoted to agricultural pursuits (Rich 1987:279).

Here, we may consider the maintenance of the status quo as part of Loram's segregationist approach as was his support of industrial education schemes:

Loram's advocacy of segregation reflected the resilient capacity of the ideology, as the legitimization of white racial supremacy, to cut itself off from overtly racist supporting arguments by emphasising differences in cultural attainment rather than implicitly 'racial' differences in the justification for a continuing white 'civilising mission' in Africa (Rich 1987:279-280).

Henderson's particular view was influenced by his earlier exposure to Drummond's thinking. He followed Stewart in his assessment of black people as 'an adolescent race who still had to grow into the tenets of a money economy' (Rich 1987:276; cf. Cory MS 14427, Henderson to Donald H, 29 April 1928). But his ideological perspective accepted the assimilation policy of his predecessor and incorporated an evolutionary view which:

acted as a strong propellant for him to look to non-theological sources for understanding social and economic change. 'The native problem' Henderson thus saw substantially as one of working within scientifically confirmed laws of natural selection and survival of the fittest and seeking, as far as biological constraints and political circumstances would allow, the advancement of the surrounding African rural society. This Darwinism appeared to confirm the need for missionary guidance in the operation of such biological laws of social evolution. (Rich 1987:276).

Further:

Since the proposed [Inter-State] College must pay special regard to measures for the economic development of the resources secured to the Native peoples within their own territories and locations, through industrial training, and effectively adapt itself to that phase of progressive civilisation through which their communities are at present passing providing an education in keeping with their existing educational and social environment ... (Cory MS 4088, Memorandum Or [sic] the proposed Native College for South Africa, 17 October 1910:6).

Here Stewart's 'infancy' trope is superseded by Henderson's civilising barbarian trope.

Progressive educationists at Lovedale, led by Henderson, sought to work towards the creation of a black professional class:

As an assimilationist liberal he was convinced of a common identity of interests between the educated elite and their white liberal mentors. As one can see in his educational philosophy he supported certain reforms which adaptationists like [CT] Loram advocated' (Burchell 1991:5).

This common identity was forged as the realisation of the need to take greater responsibility in the areas of education, health and social welfare. This would be achieved educationally by

a process of devolution 'form above downwards' because 'a few really well educated Natives had more influence upon this people than hundreds of semi-educated ones' (CE, XLVII, 564, 1 November 1917:172). This is a development of the same process used to evangelise the mass of blacks where black evangelists and catechists and eventually ministers were trained to spread the gospel among their own people even in the wider pan-African context (cf. Thompson 2000:43). However, Henderson's evidence to the Select Committee on Native Affairs exposed his doubts concerning the very method he had himself advocated. 'We are throwing back the most capable natives among the least capable ... and the result will be combination amongst them, and strikes and labour troubles' (SC6a -1917:595 in Rich 1987:281). He was not able to appreciate the value of educating '*clothed freethinkers*' (LMI Report to the FMC on Evangelical Work:1916 in Rich 1987:280). It is clear from this that Henderson had not deviated from Stewart's basic fear of educating students to think for themselves and his concern for the success of Lovedale's coercive agency policy. The extension of missionary control was to remain the order of the day. Henderson clearly understood the times in which he was living. At Lovedale, he experienced the aftermath of the Mzimba Secession. But he realised that this occurred in a wider context of growing discontent influenced at least in part by the advance of the socialist movement. In this context, Henderson believed that the missionary institutions could play a valuable role, using methods employed in similar American colleges:

under the leadership of trustworthy men from among the negro people, who were a means of greatly soothing the friction among the two races (Address to Society of Friends, Johannesburg, 19 April 1919:15 in Rich 1987:284).

'Trustworthy' meant co-operative conformity with the standards of the institutions concerned. That the situation required 'soothing' is evidence of a rift between educated blacks and those blacks who were in the process of being educated. There is absolutely no doubt that Henderson was greatly impressed by his experience of the black colleges he visited: 'Having

seen what appeared to be a working model of liberal idealism working in harmony with rational intellectual thought' (Rich 1987:286). He was deeply concerned that '[w]e must somehow develop our influence outside the Institution' (Cory MS 14427 Henderson to Donald H, 8 May 1924). His concern was that Lovedale was not yet availing itself of the authority it was capable of promoting. Yet, he seems to underestimate the existing influence Lovedale was exerting throughout South Africa by its former students and the various involvements of its staff in the wider community. Rich (1987:291) takes the view that:

Henderson's work ... was important in refocusing South African liberal thought in the 1920s on the interrelationship between segregationist ideology and the changing economies of both the urban black proletariat in the towns and the declining peasantry in the reserves [Yet] at best, the industrial training ideology Henderson espoused at Lovedale aided individual innovation in a small number of cases ... but failed to confront the basic dilemmas of the migrant labour system and compounds.

'He believed thoroughly in the traditional liberal policy of the Cape towards the native people of South Africa' (SAO, Loram: Public Activities, 1 September 1930) aligned with his conception of social Christianity.¹ The Select Committee on Native Education Report in 1908 had, in general, supported the Lovedale philosophy that education should be suited to the circumstances and needs of the culture and context from which its students came. The power of this culture is expressed by AC Jordan (1980:36), in his novel *The Wrath of the Ancestors*, who studied at Fort Hare towards the end of Henderson's tenure at Lovedale who was also first Chairman of the Governing Council at Fort Hare:

Brought up at Lovedale, he [Zwelinzima] had always been eager to learn, and the cultural influences of Fort Hare, which he had felt while still at Lovedale, had strengthened his resolve to continue his studies and make every possible use of the benefits offered by Fort Hare.

It is based on the European model of education which was considered a necessity as well as a source of disruption to traditional life: 'Margery Pelham characteristically sees missionary

¹ Following the death of the Secretary for Native Affairs in 1919, RW Rose-Innes suggested Henderson's name as a successor. Although the offer was never made, and Henderson would never have accepted it, it is noteworthy as an indication of his allegiance to contemporary liberal politics (SAO, 1 September 1930:190).

education as an “acid” dissolving the mortar of ancient social structures’ (Williams 1976:593, n.3; cf. Odendaal 1984:1). It was related to ‘the Lovedale educational ethic, which assumed that no real progress could be made until Africans largely abandoned their traditional culture and world view in favour of a European orientation’ (Thompson 2000:132). This was ‘in effect a process of social engineering’ (Lyon 1998:29). It indicates a view of education which limits mobility and results in second class education being offered to potential second class citizens.

The early years of the twentieth century were marked by the promotion of radical reviews of black education and curricula. This was influenced by the growing reputation of black colleges in the USA whose courses were based on adaptation and ‘education for life’ (Burchell 1991:6). It came at a time when, following the defeat of Cape liberalism in 1910:

Cape liberals, missionaries and ‘friends of the native’ channelled their energies into the debate on the nature of the segregationist ideology that came increasingly to dominate the discourse of the newly formed white settler state. Some of the liberals in the Cape tried to modify and develop the more simplistic ideals favoured by the ideological proponents of segregation by appealing to alternative social models from other countries that exhibited a ‘multi-racial’ make-up (Rich 1987:271).

Such a place was the Tuskegee Institute founded by Booker T Washington in Alabama, USA which, along with other colleges, was visited both by James Stewart and Henderson and made a deep positive impression on both of them partly because it supported the process of ‘socially engineering cohesive African ethnic “communities”’ (Rich 1987:272) as well as promoting segregation, but also because of their stress on industrial education. The liberal political motive was operative either consciously or sub-consciously for:

Liberal policy in the 20th century was depicted as a paternalistic means of social control, ameliorating social conditions to prevent mass black organisation (Goedhals 1994:104).

The main motives here, therefore, were not purely educational. The introduction of a more comprehensive approach to industrial education was one direct result of the rise of AICs ‘into

more practical skills as well as affording an opportunity to reassert its authority over its African followers during a period of rapid economic change and social stress' (SANAC II, 794 in Rich 1987:274). For Henderson, industrial education provided an opportunity of regaining influence over those of the educated elite who had been drawn away from the mission by the Mzimba Secession and of 'reinforcing the supremacy of the Lovedale paternalist ethos over "backward" races after this had been partly undermined' (Rich 1987:277). This was especially true of his attempts to further the South African Native College scheme and counter the effects of South African blacks who had opted for a British or American higher education (Cory MS 4088, Henderson, Memorandum, 17 October 1910:3): 'The work in developing the Fort Hare project fortified evolutionist ideas on guiding African societies through missionary teaching and the creation of a westernised black elite' (Rich 1987:276). However, this did not achieve the desired result for the organisation and administration of the South African Native College was challenged:

But having no say in them we have resolved to hear and forbear. And now in respect of this college we have insisted on having a say in its conduct, and the bitterness of the discussions is due, I presume, to the impact of the old missionary methods in the management of their institutions and ourselves who have discussed these matters outside their Boards and formed our own conclusions. The situation you find us in is novel to both of us – the missionaries and the natives. They may be resenting our interference in what they considered to be their sole domain; and we seem to them to be in too great a hurry to have things go our way In it, it seems to me as a Native, the fatal colour prejudice which is the bane of much of the mission work in this country, and is the fountain and origin of the Ethiopian sects – the colour prejudice is being introduced by the thin end. Now we are determined at all costs to rule it out of this college. (Cory Kerr Papers, Jabavu to Kerr 20 November 1915 in Rich 1987:278).

There was also a desire to accommodate 'the emerging modernised African' (Burchell 1991:6) aspirations by allowing a limited degree of political autonomy in the rural areas which would also act as a buffer to resistance. Because the educated African elite had been 'fostered and imbued with knowledge of the wider world' (Gerhart 1978:33) at institutions like Lovedale they 'formed a natural leading sector of African society standing between the conquered, unassimilated mass and the white conquerors, on whose culture and achievements

they sought to model their own fast-changing lives' (:34). However, the balance of the situation was beginning to alter:

...by the early twentieth century school rather than church was the dominant institution consolidating the black 'AmaRespectables'. Education ... was the key to identifying culturally with the white dominant classes against the black underclasses. Precisely because it condensed so many meanings, 'education' was a central ideological symbol around which the middle-classes coalesced, and through which they differentiated themselves from the masses (Bradford 1984:298).

Wilson (1976:6) makes a valid point in her assertion 'that education in itself encouraged class differences within African society, those who first acquired education forming an elite which perpetuates itself'. However, the role of the emerging educated middle-class with regard to their traditional roots is easily underestimated for:

The so-called 'school people' or educated elite who participated in the new western form of politics ... were much more closely tied to their own communities, and much more concerned with traditional matters, than has been realised Their moderate political strategy – informed by a value system based on pre-industrial African society, the Christian faith and mid-Victorian political liberalism – was overtaken by the great changes that took place in their lifetimes (Odendaal 1984:xii).

Further it is rather too simplistic to differentiate between school and church as many schools were church schools and made a significant contribution to education, even in this time of great transformation and produced many leaders in the South African black community. But it was clear that the missions were struggling to maintain their stranglehold on education.

This was partly because in the natural development of society:

The function of the church or mission is to pioneer institutions to meet some need, to experiment, to initiate. It is part of a world-wide pattern that a shift from mission or church education ... to state supported schools ... should take place. The matter for argument is not that shift, but first, the quality of education offered: is it to be for a subordinate position in society, or an education open to talent? And secondly, the claim by the state to exclusive control. The liberal tradition of Europe and the United States [cf. Henderson] allowed for independent schools, universities and hospitals, operating alongside state controlled institutions, and these have proved to be of immense value in establishing and maintaining high standards, and experimenting with new methods (Wilson 1976:8).

It was also because the:

liberal view of education was to prove sadly misguided It bred expectations of a democratic world, a world far removed from the inequities of South African society, a world that Nonconformists were unable to deliver. And so their students were left to make sense of the breach they encountered between liberal ideals and racist realities (Comaroff 1996:46).

While Henderson's work was influential in 'refocusing South African liberal thought in the 1920s onto the relationship between segregationist ideology and the changing economies of both the urban black proletariat in the towns and the declining African peasantry in the reserves' (Rich 1987:291), it was generally successful only at the micro-economic level in terms of 'the industrial training ideology' pursued at Lovedale. The evils of the migrant labour and compound system were left untouched by ideological concern because 'the general direction of liberal ideology in South Africa was to move from the 1920s increasingly to an apolitical stance, with the accent on welfare work serving as the social and economic support for the co-operation of the African petty bourgeoisie' (Burchell 1991:29). Clearly, Henderson's concern was dominated by local rather than national or global concern. His personal limitations disabled him from examining the situation radically in terms of its social, political and economic implications and working out a relevant programme of action. This may have been partly because he was a man who stood between two eras.

The founding of the South African Native College at Fort Hare was a project he had been deeply involved in and whose ethos he played a significant part in developing. Kerr, the first Principal and Henderson's colleague, was regarded as 'the archetypal mission liberal of the inter-war years' (Burchell 1991:3) and the college was, like Lovedale, 'permeated with the atmosphere of a typical Victorian mission school' (:3) which offered 'some notion of collegiate life' (:17). Kerr also favoured the policy of total institutions as he operated from 'the underlying notion of isolating Africans to a degree from outside influences and currents of thought, particularly radical politics'. Consequently, he like Henderson favoured the rural context as the locus of his educational philosophy being 'in favour of the more tranquil surroundings of rural residential schools away from the supposedly corrupting influence of

urban life' (:18). Perhaps this would account for Henderson's rather unsympathetic attitude towards strikes in Johannesburg during the 1920s: 'the hooligan element on the Rand would gladly make this an opportunity of injuring the Native cause, and bringing about bloodshed between the two races; they have already destroyed Native life, unprovoked' (Cory MS 10710, Henderson to Dr Aggrey, 12 March 1922). Referring to developments during the 1920s, Hastings (1994:553) suggests a relatively positive view of the missionary contribution to education epitomised in the:

boarding school, teaching a Cambridge syllabus and modelling itself on an English public school. It may not have been a very imaginative contribution, but it remained, what Africa needed most and wanted most: some at least of its sons and daughters to be provided with the educational and social influence inherent in the ways of their masters.

This view was espoused by Stewart and further promoted by Henderson.

5.4 In Stewart's footsteps?

In many ways it was believed that Henderson was one who 'followed in his [Stewart's] footsteps' (Cory PR2005, CE, 424, 1 February 1906, AWR[oberts]). It was certainly true that 'Although Dr Stewart's remains have been laid to rest his spirit is still at work' (CE, XXXVI, 423, 1 January 1906, Interstate Native College, Native Convention, 28-29 December 1905).

Henderson stood in a long established tradition:

Lovedale has been exceedingly fortunate in its long history, now extending over sixty years and having during that period only two principals to direct its development and guide its growth. There has thus been preserved a remarkable continuity in its policy. Its traditions have become distinctive enough to give a character to all the work of the place (CE, XXXVI, 425, 1 March 1906).

His expressed aim for Lovedale clearly reveals this as the basic ethos of the institution remained as in Stewart's days marked by 'continuity of educational purpose' (White 1987:6). Stormont (Cory PR1120, The Blythswood Review, July 1930:76), Henderson's counterpart at Blythswood Institution, contended:

In his first speech to the country after his appointment as successor to Dr James Stewart, Dr Henderson declared that he would preserve and carry on the policy by which Lovedale had been formerly developed. The main principles that have regulated the missionary educational work of the Church of Scotland in South Africa sprang out of the Policy of Sir George Grey.

Those who contended that educational policy under Henderson's direction departed substantially from that of Stewart were challenged in the *Christian Express* by the elucidation of two basic principles shared by both principles:

[First] that the medium of instruction in the lower standards be the vernacular spoken by the pupils, English is being taught in all our standards as (what it is) a foreign language
[Second] while aiming at the same ultimate goal of civilisation for European and Native, the special needs and circumstances of the latter be taken into account at every stage of his education (CE, XXXVII, 444, 1 October 1907, Lovedale Educational Policy:147).

Henderson himself expressed this continuity of aim to visitors from the Empire Parliamentary Association in September 1924:

The objective of Lovedale can hardly be said in all these years to have at all materially changed. It might be summarised under four heads:

1. Religious, aiming at drawing its students into a personal experience of God
2. Moral, having its end in stable Christian character
3. Intellectual in the developing of the mental resources of the students, and
4. Vocational, in seeking to train them for services and duties needed by and helpful to the progress and well being of the people of their own race (SAO, LIV, 647, 1 October 1924:228).

These principles are held to be universal and represent 'Lovedale Views'. Stewart's views are quoted: 'It will be accepted as a sound principle that education in any country should be shaped so far as possible to meet the requirements of the individual, or community or people to whom such education is given'. It is recognised as a 'guiding principle' that this education 'should be practical, industrial, and for the great majority largely elementary'. There should be 'vernacular teaching in the lower classes, industrial training for all students, moral training, and a curriculum adapted to the present circumstances of the Native people' (CE, XXXVII, 444, 1 October 1907:147-8). Henderson was influential in the work of the Commission on Native Education whose report expressed many of his views and echoed those of Stewart:

In the case of both European and Native schools the primary objects of any course should be the training of character, the development of intellect and the fitting of the child for his future work and surroundings. The language of the pupils, their home condition, their hereditary, tribal or racial instincts, and their future position in the country must be considered (CE, L, 598, 1 September 1920: 134).

Education was to be for a specific context and was to be limited to a level of attainment which would be determined for those who would 'benefit' from it. It is interesting to note that the Commission seemed to have foreknowledge of what the surroundings the black beneficiaries of education would occupy!

The laudable aims with regard to the 'upliftment' of black students were somewhat sullied by the disciplinary measures which were applied to regulations related to language:

Up betimes and to pray with the scholars, whereat a long list of defaulters in vernacular speaking read out, Major-General Geddes being resolved to tighten up discipline on this score himself, others proving incapable (Cory MS 14431/2, SP's Diary Deciphered by JH, 21 August 1925).

This was a vexed issue because the regulations denied the students the opportunity to use their home language for specific lengthy periods. ZK Matthews (1981:36-7) expressed his deep feelings on the matter:

The feeling of anger and resentment ... grew out of the Institution rule that we could speak only English, except on Saturdays and Sundays. The intention was educational But it was thrust upon us. We were not only required to speak English; we were punished for speaking in our own tongues We nursed our resentments over the language rule and the assumption of all-powerful superiority by the European teachers.

Such was the power of coercive agency. Here the language issue was related to racism in the form of assumed superiority. Matthews does not question or challenge the rule as such. His concern is with it being 'thrust upon us' as if all students needed to have this kind of language development and were incapable of attending to their own need for such development. The problem in a total institution is that total obedience is required for its smooth functioning. Any deviation from the norm provides an exception to the rule and forms a precedent, both of which are inimical to coercive agency.

Perhaps the relationship between the two policies is most clearly revealed in his insistence on the value of **character** as an integral part of the educational process at Lovedale aiming at

‘racial health and stability’ (Oosthuizen 1970:42) although this concern was evident in Henderson’s days in Nyasaland. In assessing one of his students, Henderson comments:

He is a very good example of what the Gospel and missionary influence can make of an African. He speaks and writes English very fairly indeed and *what is more important* [emphasis mine] even seems somehow to have also imbibed much of the British spirit (6 February 1896 in Ballantyne and Shepherd 1968:107).

But this was also true to a considerable extent of the **method** employed in the educational process. Like Stewart, Henderson eschewed the more traditional approach to education as the ‘transmission of a syllabus of knowledge, irrespective of the needs or capacity of the child’ in favour of a modern approach which took account of:

the needs of the pupil, his capabilities, his interests, [for] the situations with which he is familiar are of primary importance in determining the course to be taken in the educational process This evolutionary change had only been dimly recognised in the comparatively limited circles during the first quarter of the present [ie. twentieth] century Far seeing educationists in the ‘mission fields’ such as Dr James Stewart of Lovedale, were fully aware of it, and put it into practice While the highly conservative institution, the Christian Church, remained largely uninfluenced by the new point of view, some of its missionaries practised it in the field (Oosthuizen 1970:127).

Henderson shared this innovative approach to the social nature of education which was influenced by the development of the psycho-analytic movement and which stressed the importance of personality and the need to respect and take account of it for the full development of the child. In this, he demonstrated a greater ‘commitment to missionary and educational reform’ (Burchell 1979:63).

Yet, in a number of ways he initiated a number of changes, ‘striking advances’ (Shepherd 1968:356), as Lovedale continued to develop. It has been noted how Stewart failed to respond creatively to the challenges which faced Lovedale at the close of the nineteenth century and: ‘The really creative responses to the new challenges were not ... achieved during Stewart’s principalship, but rather during the early years of the principalship of his successor, James Henderson’ (Burchell 1979:61). It was true that Henderson ‘set the tone for reform and innovation’ (Burchell 1979:92) because:

The present system had had its day It had become too theoretical, it had divorced itself from many of the actualities of the lives of the pupils, and, undue importance having been given to examinations, its work had tended to have as its objective not the future lives of the pupils but their appearance before the inspectors. It had become a matter of greater concern that knowledge should be acquired in an examinable form than in a way calculated to be practically useful (CE, XXXVIII, 454, 1 August 1908, Native Elementary Education: 129).

To some extent these problems remained and were the subject of a paper in the *Christian Express* in 1916 - 'Is Our Native Education on the Right Lines?' (XLIII, 551, 2 October 1916:151; XLIII, 552, 1 November 1916:167).

These innovations included a **new scheme** of domestic science training, the training of evangelists and Bible women, new methods of vernacular and other kinds of printing, and new high school courses in a reorganised College Department, which was recognised as a grant-aided high school in 1910, all with a view to accommodating the educational process to the needs of the black person. Advances were also made in the field of **female education** for:

As yet, only a beginning has been made on the part of Native girls desirous of exploring these European reserves [ie. Higher Teaching Certificate], and no Institution has so far provided facilities for their preparation except Lovedale, and on a small scale mainly private tuition (Cory MS 14851, U/14, Women's Foreign Mission, Appendix to minutes of 15 February 1917).

Henderson had a relatively high view of the position of women for his time, like Stewart, though he was probably more open than Stewart to the place of women at the beginning of the twentieth century:

As you begin to read more widely and come to know the stories of the other nations you will see that all the peoples which have played a great part in the forward movements of our race have shown such a respect for womanhood as made them a contrast to the peoples around them. You will learn that no nation has ever become truly great in which women were not held in respect and honour. And let me say to you directly that if you have any love for your own people and your own country you will not make your own advancement without at the same time equally to advance the condition of the women connected with you. If you leave your wife in ignorance while you yourself are being taught, if you think of her and the other women of your kin as simply creatures to do your work for you ... you had as well go back to your native village ... and live the animal life that your fathers lived for all the good your education has done you or will do you or will do your tribe through you. Women were not made to be men's slaves. They are certainly not inferior to you. In most things you will find her at least your equal, and in matters of religion most likely your superior (Cory MS14854/1, sermon, And of Barak:Heb 11:32, sa.)

Henderson continued with a challenge to girls to offer themselves in the service of their people by using to the full their present opportunities. It is unfortunate that Henderson had such a low opinion of traditional black life to assume that village life gave no respect to women, implying that could only be achieved by imbibing a Christian ethic.

Nowhere was Stewart's vision more apparent than in the development of plans for the opening of an **Inter-State Native College** which were enthusiastically taken up by Henderson and brought to fruition. This was a period of great expansion of the work at Lovedale in its wider context for it was difficult to consider the work of Fort Hare apart from that of Lovedale especially since Lovedale gave up its senior high school teaching to Fort Hare for some years until it became established in its own sphere of educational work.

In line with Stewart's views, he considered the education offered to blacks to be too book-centred and far removed from the real life situation of blacks, but in his own view it took too little account of value of early education in the **vernacular** in order to render 'the educational experience more relevant and meaningful' (Burchell 1991:4): 'Later [education] commissions endorsed his view' (Shepherd 1968:356). In this Henderson differed from Stewart. His view that blacks were in a 'transitional phase of development' (CE, XXXVIII, 454, 1 August 1908:124) led him to the opinion that academic education should be closely related to home environment and current world view as a result of his belief in an evolutionary approach to black development. More than Stewart, Henderson possessed a 'deeper and more sophisticated knowledge of African life and character in general' (Burchell 1979:63) and believed that there was a greater potential for growth in the African. The 1919 Native Education Commission prepared a scheme for black education, including industrial education which would accommodate the needs of the black community. The meeting of the

International Missionary conference at Le Zoute in Belgium (1926) affirmed that education for blacks would be defective if it took no account of the religious dimension as a significant aspect of the black context. This may have arisen out of the missionary desire to control the ideological base of education although its overt cause was the struggle between Church and State over the control of black education.

In this, as with the early use of the English medium, Henderson deviated from Stewart's position where English had been the classical language. Problems arose when pupils were subjected to English as a medium of instruction without a sound grounding in it. Though mechanical learning took place, the realm of ideas was excluded through the lack of English to understand and integrate the concepts employed: 'knowledge to them had no mysteries, no boundless, humbling depths. Further knowledge only meant the accumulation in the memory of more notes' (Shepherd 1971:77). Henderson was himself clearly convinced of the desirability of delaying the introduction of teaching in English until pupils had achieved a degree of competence in the language:

But until English was well understood by the pupils, it should not be used as a medium of instruction in subjects having an educational value of their own, or intended to develop the reasoning power of the pupils. By its use in such cases, the greater part of the mental force of the pupil was expended, not upon the subject matter of the lesson, but upon mastering the language in which it was being taught (CE, XXXVII, 443, 2 September 1907, Natives and Education:140).

This was extremely limiting in a context of coercive agency because it would be virtually impossible to internalise the basis and rationale of the educational programme though it was aimed at inculcating the Western liberal discourse :

But the Native himself is not satisfied. 'Why' he asks, 'should you handicap our children by compelling them to learn in a foreign language, and thus handicapped to compete with Europeans at the same examinations; and why are we deprived of all Government assistance towards secondary education? That in teaching a child one should proceed from the known to the unknown is almost a truism in modern pedagogy. But ... by prescribing for the Kaffir child the same code as that drawn up for the white pupil, ignores the fundamental difference in language, home surroundings, previous training, customs, traditional and hereditary instincts existing between each' (Cory PR 4176, Hobart Houghton, *The problem of Bantu education in South Africa*, c.1910:9).

Consequently, he held that far greater stress should be laid on education in the vernacular, at least in the early stages of education. This is supported by the *Christian Express*: 'someone has wisely said, in effect, that a man loses the characteristics of his race when he adopts the language of another' (XXXVII, 440, 1 June 1907:84). Here is as good a reason as any for the imposition of coercive agency by using the medium of a foreign language which would automatically impose the thought forms and value system of the prescribed language.

However, Henderson never undervalued the place of English which was to be retained as a foreign language until standards III-VI where it would become the medium except for religious education which would still be taught in the vernacular 'where desired' (Shepherd 1971:78). Concern had been expressed about past failures in the College Department which were attributed 'chiefly to the poor knowledge of English possessed by the native boy who has just passed Standard VI' (Cory PR 4189, Proposed Changes in the College Department for 1910 [Memorandum submitted to the Lovedale Education Board, November 1910], Hobart Houghton). This was corroborated by a claim of 'insufficient knowledge of English' possessed by pupils at the time they enter the upper departments (Cory MS 14851, The lack of success in the Upper Departments in relation to the proposed Naïve College, anon, sa).

This raises the question of whether or not blacks were capable of more than a rudimentary or industrial form of education related to the place whites determined for them in future South African society.

In order to maintain the superiority of English in the higher standards, disciplinary measures were established to monitor the use of English according to institution rules:

A very successful effort was made to secure the speaking of English throughout the institution, as a result mainly due to the prefects who were elected by the boys themselves (LMI Reports V, 1911:14).

So students were used in a surveillance capacity to relieve the pressure on staff in what was a very sensitive matter. This was a constant theme of Henderson's stressed also in his views on

character. 'Yet more than what the Institution could do was needed, a resolute, vigilant, unrelaxing effort from within' (LMI Reports IV, 1906:3). Discipline in this regard was both external and internalised.

In order to facilitate his plans for Lovedale, Henderson initiated a new **administrative system** to replace the Lovedale Educational Board which was a purely internal body. This constituted the 'The only material change in policy in all the 82 years the Institution has existed' (SAO, LIV, 647, 1 October 1924:228). The new Governing Council was composed of 'government representatives, philanthropic business people and significantly for its time, two Africans representing former students' (Saayman 1996:35) to 'reflect liberal opinion on a broad front' (White 1987:10). Henderson considered this to be a progressive move 'because it brought together the Native Affairs and Cape Education Departments to share a responsibility from which ... they ought not to be absolved' (Burchell 1979:80). Perhaps there was also an attempt to streamline coercive agency by co-opting like-minded people to further its ethos as in the case of including former student representation. The new Senate composed mainly of staff members continued to oversee the internal affairs of the Institution while the Governing Council was allocated administrative control and became the real centre of power:

This development is a new phase of advance in reconciling two policies [ie. those of Govan and Stewart], that at one time in the Institution's history were regarded as conflicting and incompatible, but experience has proved to be complimentary (SAO, LII, 625, 1 December 1922:256).

In addition, Henderson was deeply involved with the Association of the Heads of Native Institutions which 'facilitated greater cohesion and co-operation' and provided 'an effective pressure group' (Burchell 1979:79). Its work led to the establishment of the Native Education Commission of 1919.

Effective administration was fostered by the amalgamation of the Boys' School, the Girls' School and the Elementary School into one unit to streamline organisation with a separate principal.

In terms of the **organisation of space**, ongoing change was the order of the day to accommodate changes within the Institution. Following the fire which destroyed the Main Educational Building and its Assembly Hall in 1924, an innovative response led to the use of the outdoors to form 'a veritable cathedral of the open-air ... "Under the Oaks"' (Shepherd 1940:372), 'God's open temple' (LMI Reports VII, 1925:16) where the Institution community worshipped for many years. This was co-opted as part of the development of the 'tone and discipline', and therefore, character of the Institution:

our holding of our stated public acts of worship out-of-doors, amid beautiful environments, has given an open-air character, pervades the whole common life with ideals of duty and service for the Kingdom of God

This would become Henderson's favourite sanctuary: 'In the most simple and reverent fashion he would speak to God of his delight in seeking Him there, "with Thy wind stirring the leaves above and Thy sun shining down upon us"' (SAO, Shepherd: The Man Himself, 1 September 1930:182).

The rebuilt main educational building was resplendent:

with the long hoped for clock and chimes The chimes telling the four quarters, and the deep strokes of twelve, were heard across the valley as far as Fort Hare and the outskirts of the town of Alice for the first time on Christmas Eve (LMI Reports VII, 1926:19).

It was 'long hoped for' not just as an ornamental addition to the fabric of the Institution but because it:

became the measure of a historical process [which had been long] in the making. Clearly meant to proclaim the value of time in Christian, civilised communities The churchman knew, however, that the timepiece had made visible a fundamental truth In the face of the clock they had caught their first glimpse of a future time, a time when their colonised world would march to quite different rhythms' (Comaroff & Comaroff 1991:xi).

Written about a different context at a different period of time, this exemplifies the situation at Lovedale where the installation of the clock was a symbol of a long established approach to the **organisation of time** which was only now being physically demonstrated.

In addition, a dormitory and block of classrooms were erected at the Girls' School and the Boys' dining-hall was extended (1908), the Cuthbert Library was opened (1923) and plans were laid for a new high school, practising school, new industrial school buildings and a hall/church. Though fundraising began during Henderson's time, it was not completed and not all of the proposed buildings were erected while he was alive.

This preoccupation with buildings and the general organisation of space in the Institution was not simply a response to the increasing demand and desire for education. It was a definite part of the formal education of Lovedale and similar total institutions where its 'implicit ecology (its temporal and spatial structures, ritual and aesthetic forms)' (Comaroff 1996:29) as opposed to its stated curricula were co-opted into the economy of mission education and which 'often laid the basis for resistance' (:29).

Changes were also made in the organisation of **Lovedale Press**. In 1920, a new colportage scheme had been introduced and during the 1920s the four branches of the Press - printing, bookbinding, bookstore and the *South African Outlook* (as the *Christian Express* was renamed in 1922) were combined and consolidated under a 'director of publications'. At this time modern methods of printing were introduced. With regard to the *Outlook* there was continuity of the 'principles and policy for which the magazine had for so long stood' (Shepherd 1940:369). Developments took place partly 'as the result of the growing awareness that non-Christian and even anti-Christian forces had entered the publishing world.

The missions considered it important to provide suitable literature for the increasing African public' (White 1987:141). Henderson supported these developments.

In sum we might agree that:

Lovedale was the embodiment of certain missionary ideals: the spreading of the message, the moulding of character along Christian lines, education for life and high academic attainments Whilst there was change there was also continuity as the missionary ideal always received priority (White 1987:219).

The continued emphasis on the development of character in Christian context becomes the subject of the next section

5.5 Character formation

It is the daily discipline of the classroom that the children are to be trained in the habits of order, attention, alertness, truthfulness and honesty which are so essential to the development of a noble character (CE, XXXVII, 436, 1 February 1907, *The Qualities of a True Teacher*:20).

Character formation, crucially important though it was, did not occupy a separate identifiable place in the curriculum at Lovedale:

By combining solid education with a Christian religious foundation and sound character building, they were also carrying out 'civilising work among the child races of the Empire' in the only way that real civilisation could ever be successfully accomplished (Hargreaves in Walls 1982:164 in Christenson & Hutchison [ed.]; cf. Gerdener 1958:241).

This view is in line with Henderson's view of 'the importance of character as a necessary supplement to academic training, which, in itself, he contended could not confer racial health or stability' (Oosthuizen 1970:42). It reflects the bias that 'civilisation' is a western concept which is incompatible with the African way of life which is still understood in terms of the 'infant' metaphor. That character development was defective Henderson suggests:

but the regard for truth, which the moral teaching of the civilisation that you are embracing inculcates, and which is one of the primary obligations of that Christian religion which so many of you profess, I am obliged to say I have too frequently failed to find. Here there is a defect that is bringing shame upon your people (LMI Reports IV, 1907:2).

Perhaps this is related to the fact that traditional educational methods are described as ‘[i]gnorance [which] is the seed-bed of fear and superstition, while knowledge and enlightenment foster the qualities of mind and heart which lead to self-directing and self-supporting churches’ (Gerdener 1958:241). The influence of character development was more pervasive and subtle. The internalisation of western Christian character was an exercise in indoctrination. In response to a challenge from van Niekerk, a Dutchman of the Native Affairs Commission, who saw no point in educating blacks, Henderson (Cory MS 14431/3, SP’s Diary, 27 [November 1925?]) commented ‘we had to shape and form stable character as well as to instruct, and that work upon the inner being took time’ because: ‘A great secret in the development of character is the art of prolonging the quieting power of right ideas, of perpetuating just and inspiring impressions’ (Cory MS 14851/1, Henderson, sermon on Phil 5:8,9, sa.). Because the development is an internalised matter, the role of the teacher is eventually limited. Part of the internalisation process involves the student:

It is not our words, not even our actions in themselves that make us good soldiers of Jesus Christ, it is character; and character is formed not by the single brilliant achievements which we carry through under the approving eyes of friends but by the daily and hourly petty inward conflicts which nearly all are fought out when we are alone and so far as men are concerned unaided ... the best and most effective ornaments, however, are the structures of admiration and respect which we erect in our minds from a knowledge of their lives [ie. ‘great thinkers and workers’] and their deeds a knowledge of history builds up within our minds (Cory MS 14854/12, Henderson, sermon on Hebrews 12:1-2, sa.).

With regard to the influence of others, Henderson continued:

it is not possible for us to attach too much importance to the influence which we exert the one over the other Our lives lie alongside each other touching at more points than we realise, and while it is true that it is we ourselves that are forming our character the mould in which we are shaped is our environment the chief element in which is the characters which press against ours.

The ‘Moulder’ can rightly speak of moulding characters. The right ideas used to ‘modify’ character are determined by the teacher and are Christian. This was important work which had to be taken very seriously for ‘It is a truism that we see only as we are trained to see’ (Cory MS 14854/5, Henderson sermon on Rich Man and the Kingdom of God, sa.). It can be seen how important it was to have teachers who were committed to the Christian ethos of

Lovedale. Character formation was part of the ‘atmosphere’ of the institution. The acceptance of pupils who were considered not to be able was justified because:

We believed ... the discipline of Lovedale, the moral atmosphere of Lovedale, and the influence of the daily contact with educated Europeans would have upon their lives, were all likely to help them in after life, and to strengthen them in making a stand against the temptations of their heathen surroundings, (Cory MS 14851, The lack of success in the Upper Departments in relation to the proposed Native College, anon, sa).

This was related to the **residential** nature of institutions: The beneficial influence which residence here exerts upon the boys’ characters’ where they are ‘brought practically into the family life of the white man’ through alienation from his traditional lifestyle leads to the situation where ‘the order and discipline of such a place as this, in time as we see it doing, certainly leaves its mark’ (16 November 1895 in Ballantyne & Shepherd 1968:77). This was especially true of the temptations which students were exposed to. It was far easier to develop character in a residential context where outside influences could be minimised:

You are tried in every lesson that you are taught as to what you will aim at. We are tried in our reading, bright flashes of interest are sent across our mind by the Spirit suggesting to us in this science or that testing us as to what we are willing to grow into. We are tested in kindness, courtesy, politeness, tested in reverence, tested in faith, tested in steadfastness and obedience to God, and every test we pass means to us a step up in the life spiritual (Cory MS 14854/10, Henderson sermon on The Temptation of Christ, sa).

Residential education was part of Lovedale’s historical succession and vision.

Time and space were also co-opted into Lovedale’s economy of character building:

The essential element in Lovedale today is its history. It is this which gives a unity to all its manifold activities But what Lovedale really does, whether it teaches carpentry or Latin, is to put its students into a historical succession and to give them the sense of belonging to a distinguished company (Murray 1929:116-7).

There is a permanence that inheres in all that is done at Lovedale. Institutionalisation makes for a sense of being part of something larger than and beyond themselves along with a sense of superiority. It is almost as if the academic subjects are incidental to the achievement of a higher purpose. Not only that, the physical environment is co-opted into the greater scheme of things as ‘Lovedale ... enlarged its pupils’ sense of community in terms of time as well as

space' (Roberts 1990:228). This is evident from its organisation of space and solid architecture. For instance, with regard to the Library and refectory:

This [ie. library] in itself carries the business of education beyond the day only, and brings it into touch with the past. The dining hall is reminiscent of an officers' mess in England or a college common room It has a tradition about it which has its value in that elusive process known as 'character-building' in Lovedale the sense of that history seemed to me to be woven into the life of the institution (Murray 1929:117).

With regard to the Institution library: 'There is of course attention also given to books intended for the upbuilding of character' (Cory MS 14851, 1918/1, Henderson to Reid, 15 May 1919). This makes it clear how successfully Lovedale has become a total institution as it almost seems to possess a life of its own, independent of what goes on without its confines and what is done within. However, even the subjects in the curriculum are co-opted into the totality of the programme which affects the totality of the life of its residents: 'the boarding school represents a new world - an association of people to whom the subjects of "education" are not "subjects" but life itself' (Murray 1929:232):

It is only when men's effective likes and effective dislikes are touched that the basis for character is laid In the African boarding school, therefore, those things which normally appear as school subjects are part of the make-up of the place and cannot be found outside. In a literary and debating society for instance, problems of a text-book become 'causes' to be defended or attacked A library also helps All this gives men something to think about and talk over in the dormitories and elsewhere, and so these subjects can become part of them, and, ... help to 'form their character' (Murray 1929:232-3).

But more than just preserving a historical heritage, Lovedale's concept of time also had a proleptic emphasis in terms of influencing future behaviour:

These arrangements, it is recognised, are open to the criticism that they provide too many meetings, too many occasions of stimulus to produce a robust type of Christian who will stand firm in face of the dreary unhelped loneliness and the insidious temptations of heathenism, which will be the lot of not a few when they first go out of the Institution. There is force in the criticism, and our consciousness of it must always have effect upon our arrangements. The situation with which we are faced is that perhaps barely ten per cent of our entrants are able to help themselves spiritually by reading and study. A course of religious training and discipline is what they thus require, and it is to provide such that our arrangements aim at; and it will be noted that the variety of activities carried on serve not only to draw into service a large proportion of the Christians but also accustoms them to the working or maintaining and controlling of organisations which they are expected to develop in their own districts on leaving for their life work (Cory MS 14851, 1916/2, LMI Report to the FMC on Evangelistic Work, 22 May 1916:4-5).

The Sunday routine Henderson inherited from Stewart was largely unchanged:

Dawn	Prayer meeting held by the students themselves in connection with the work of the preachers going to the villages.
9am.	Bible classes –attendance compulsory – divided according to church standing.
11am.	Forenoon service – attendance compulsory – An overflow service is held for the younger boys
2pm	Vernacular service – Xosa, Sesuto, Zulu and Dutch, addressed usually by senior students according to a programme prepared at the beginning of each session, but including also addresses by senior members of staff.
4pm.	The Bible Circles meet.
7.30pm.	Evening Service – attendance compulsory. From this there is also an overflow service for the younger boys (Cory MS 14851, 1916/2, LMI Report to the FMC on Evangelistic Work, 22 May1916:4).

In addition, there are daily prayers, morning and evening as well as weekly meetings of the Students' Christian Association.

The coercive agency of time-tabling can be noted from the amount of compulsory activities but, more important, is the long term aim of enabling students to cope with the frustrations of life after leaving 'the sheltered car of the Institution' as well as promoting such work in the future in the places where they are located. And this is accepted despite the awareness of the pressure placed on students' time and energies with responsibilities for academic study, manuals and leisure activities. The same situation was in force at Fort Hare where:

you will be amazed at their endless activity, for every hour of the day, in fact every minute is allocated to some useful occupation. Similarly, all teachers of the progressive sort should have a time-table for their activity Remember that half hearted activity does not achieve much. It is willing and keenly enthusiastic action that counts in this world (Jabavu 1920:89-90).

Such is the concern to maintain the fruits of coercive agency in students' later life that it is lamented that 'the same cannot be said of the following up of those that leave annually ... never to return. Lovedale possesses no machinery for keeping in touch with these' despite the situation that 'in nearly all Native communities throughout South Africa there is now some leaven of Christianity at work' (Cory MS 14851, 1916/2, LMI Report to the FMC on Evangelistic Work, 22 May 1916:6-7). The emphasis on evangelism as a prime aim of mission education becomes clear from this. The future must be assured while students are open to influence of the missionaries.

And so not a moment of time is spared for idle thoughts or actions. Time is also co-opted into the development of Lovedale's value system. While within the confines of the institution, virtually every waking moment is timetabled and provides the opportunity to advance character formation and the spirit imbued is internalised as it becomes 'part of them':

Has the value of time ... been sufficiently recognised? It is in the economy of time that the successful student and the serviceable worker differ as a rule from others. The other chief respect in which they differ is that their work is purposeful. I hardly need say that the teacher who is not day by day prepared to start off teaching the moment his pupils take their seats, and has not in each lesson a definite purpose for his class as a whole, and particularly for individual members of it, can hope to achieve success neither in imparting knowledge nor in upbuilding character. The pupil, who lies idle through part of the session, depending upon a spurt at the end, may by chance succeed in passing his examinations, but he himself is no success. He is not attaining self-control. The effort that carried him through was not self-directed (LMI Reports IV, 1907:1-2).

What is at issue here is not simply in the domain of the secular but includes the **spiritual and moral** because character or 'moral earnestness' (Anderson 1988:58):

resides not in things as such but in the mind that interprets them The difficulties that exist in human life are all at bottom spiritual difficulties, because they owe their existence to people Character building is the effect of all the agencies of education working together, rather than the effect of any one of them A man's character is built up by his association with other people in action and in thought, by facing moral issues in the atmosphere in which they can rightly be solved, and by learning good manners from those who have them (Murray 1929:211).

In making a plea for religious and moral education which are 'one and the same' (cf. CE, XXXVI, 437, 1 April 1906:122) to have an officially identifiable place in the curriculum, it was argued that:

A school is the only place where they have a chance of getting morally educated. If it is said that in mission schools religion and morals are everywhere and even in the very atmosphere of them, my reply is that what is supposed to be everywhere is sometimes nowhere, and that what is said to be in the atmosphere I want to be on the timetable too (CE, XXXVI, 426, 1 March 1906:6).

The moral education is, of course, Christian moral education and: 'the fundamental difference between the most highly civilised, and the barbarous, races of today lies in the fact that the former are in large measure dominated by the impelling and restraining influence of Christian ethics' (CE, XXXVI, 429, 1 July 1906, Why Religious Teaching is Indispensable in Native Education:159). The purpose of education is, therefore, to form the mind in such a way that it interprets things aright and crucial to this formation is atmosphere which includes associating

with the right kind of people. This would include being open to the influence of teachers who 'educate (that is bring out) [w]hat will be the opinions of the next generation'. This approach to education is formative of subsequent generations' opinions and attitudes as the teacher 'takes upon himself some responsibility for the capacity and character of the rising generation'. In this regard, Henderson was deeply impressed by the work he saw at Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute in the USA during a visit in 1923 whose staff possessed:

the idealism, the vision, the breadth of outlook and the practical skill that ... [assisted] the making of the best teachers. It was not in any disloyalty to our own workers at Lovedale that I allowed a desire to possess me to get across to South Africa one or more of these most energetic and pushful personalities. One or two of them would bring in some new standards and new ideas that would help our workers to make more effective use of themselves and their opportunities (Cory MS 14428/2, Henderson to family, 17 April 1923).

The training of teachers is fertile ground for the implantation of morality as they will pass on the values they have learned to future generations. However, this morality is also contextual and had to take account of the racial situation in South Africa, encapsulated in the thorny 'Native Question'. Lovedale took the view that it had a duty to deal with this issue in some way:

In the whole course of our wide educational curriculum no place is found for such definite teaching as should fit our boys and girls to face and solve intelligently and wisely and righteously the problem as it is likely to confront them when they step into the front ranks. Each new phase must be met with reason and understanding and sympathy if we are to steer clear of a disastrous inter-racial struggle If there is to be in this great ... land the happy, contented, prosperous and united people God intends there should be, both races must learn the hard lesson of approaching the racial question from the point of *duty* rather than that of *rights*. That is a lesson every South African without exception should begin to learn while still at school (CE, L, 694, 1 May 1920, A Lack in South African Education:69-70).

Mission education, while admitting its defects in terms of provision of means by which the racial question could be addressed, certainly promoted the vision of a South Africa where there would be harmony between the races if not integration. This was supported by the Report of the Commission on Native Education where 'the aim of a Native school should be to improve the moral, social and economic conditions of the Native people among whom it is situated' (CE, L, 598, 1 September 1920:134).

The proposed new government courses gave the missionaries cause for concern as their implementation would inevitably reduce the influence of mission education as they were:

drawn up by a Government Department which in doing so has not, and can hardly be expected to have, the same object in view as the Church It makes no provision for, and takes no account of, the training of the heart and character to which one might, not unnaturally, expect a place assigned in a course for men and women whose sole *raison d'être* as teachers is that they may carry on the work of a Missionary in their villages, and raise the tone of Native social life (CE, XXXVI, 433, 1 November 1906, *The Native Teacher* –1: His Work and His Preparation for it:206).

Consequently, mechanical rote learning is criticised for taking priority over ‘the development of faculties, not to say of good true character’. Commitment is required in teachers for ‘where the discipline is feeble the teaching is generally on a par with it’ (6 December 1896 in Ballantyne & Shepherd 1968:209).

A former student who has clearly been diligent lauds Lovedale for its achievements in himself in his post-Lovedale education:

I am proud, Sir, that I owe these my educational achievements to the fact that I passed through Lovedale. I have never realised better than now what Lovedale has been to and done for me. This Institution has given me a broader outlook upon life and considerably widened my mental horizon. I have found it to be a characteristic of Lovedalians to work with confidence anywhere, so I feel had I not passed through Lovedale, I would not boast of half the efficiency which is at present mine. Experience has taught me it is only those who have never been to Lovedale who are prone to despise her and to cast all sorts of epithets at her, but we that are her ‘products’ regard her with love and reverence. Lovedale enables her students to move into the future with confidence and optimism EFFICIENCY MEANS ACCOMPLISHING MORE WITH LESS EXERTION AND LESS EXPENSE (Cory PR 4214[a], letter received from past pupil, 28 March 1930).

How well Lovedale had succeeded in instilling a Protestant work ethic in this student!

Perhaps he was one who was influenced by the presence of white students at Lovedale who:

could never forget that they were in the presence of another race backward in so much of matters of education and civilisation who took notice of their learning and conduct and valued themselves and the European people generally. I am clear that on most the contact had a beneficial effect upon character in giving its force and individuality (Cory MS 14851, 1918/2, Henderson to Pim, 6 August 1918).

Even white students were co-opted in an overtly racist manner to assist in the process of character formation as were some theological students who could also disappoint trust placed in them. Regarding one such, Gqalana, Henderson commented: ‘He was disappointing in his

inability to fall into line with the rules of the Institution and he was in that way of less help than he otherwise might have been' though later, once freed from the restrictions of coercive agency 'he seemed to have pulled himself together again, and created quite an impression on me' (Cory MS 14851, 1918/4, Henderson to Scott, 13 December 1918). Resistance to coercive agency does not necessarily indicate a personality pre-disposed to negativity in the arena of church life. Even those who apparently conform can fail in later life as Henderson must have been well aware.

Consequently, in the matter of good manners, the assumption is made, presumably, that blacks do not possess good manners while their teachers do. However, discretion is the better part of valour for:

Reverence for other people, a great love for them, a desire to be nothing if only they might rise to the best that is in them, a vicarious acceptance of their faults, and a refusal to pry with vulgar curiosity into their innermost hearts are the very fundamentals of 'character-building' Education is at bottom a matter of faith (Murray 1929:212).

Doubtless the faith referred to is the Christian faith and the presumption is that Christianity alone can produce reverence, care and concern for others and wish to see the best possible development in others. 'You are right, Christianity alone can moralise as well as evangelise the Natives of all creeds and castes' (NLS, MS 7780, Smith to Henderson, 3 March 1908:643). However, no account is taken of character formation prior to missionary influence which 'transformed the lives of blacks and inculcated the principles of humility, love, obedience, peacefulness, of work and honesty, of cleanliness and sanitation' (Jabavu 1928:118). In this regard, Jabavu (:111-112) further claims that:

It is now being discovered that some of these customs had something in them worth preserving For example, in the case of circumcision ceremonies for males and the female puberty rites of the 'intonjane' we had the grave exhortation to the young men and women when they were enjoined to acquit themselves henceforth like true men and women. This being followed with a valuable enumeration of all the highest and noblest duties and virtues of ideal manhood and womanhood Indeed the lack of appropriate substitutes for all the things that have been annihilated by missionaries in the social life of new converts is being felt now as having been a mistake in tactics.

It is strange that what had been known all along was only now being discovered, or perhaps was in reality now being rediscovered! Nonetheless, this view is corroborated by none other than CT Loram (1917:74):

Their [missionaries] greatest mistake ... was in breaking down *all* the organisations and customs of the Native people without waiting to discriminate between good and bad. Had they studied native life they would have found some good qualities which would have served as a basis for the superstructure of Christianity and European civilisation.

Henderson lauds developments in the formation of character but deplores failure in this respect. Commenting on the successes among senior students:

of high character and earnest purpose, who by example and direct influence took some responsibility to set the tone of the Institution for goodness and purity, truth and honour. Not that much in these directions did not remain to be done. The traditions and influence of the evil environment of heathenism touched them and tempted them at every point. But progress away from its degrading sanctions was being made. A Christian conception of what pure manhood and pure womanhood meant was being formed and Christian ideals of character were winning their way (LMI Reports V, 1913:2-3).

This is important to the spirit of the boarding school establishment which is involved in the process of 'moulding' character. The risk is that the process is as likely to produce opposition as it is to form nonconformists not because it is more character-building but because the institution represents and 'indicates *ipso facto* a quite different society from that of the African village or tribe' (Murray 1929:231):

education, while in a certain number of cases it has had the effect of creating in the Natives an aggressive spirit – arising, no doubt, from an exaggerated sense of individual self-importance, which renders them less docile and less disposed to be content with the position for which nature or circumstances has fitted them – has had generally a beneficial influence on the Natives themselves, and by raising the level of their intelligence, and by increasing their capacity as workers and their earning power, has been an advantage to the community (SANAC, 1903-5, sect. 328 in Loram 1917:41).

It is just a pity that rebels were considered to be failures when their independence of spirit was the result of the same process of character-building, though not the anticipated result!

Related to the failure of mission education to replace traditional processes of character formation with adequate substitutes, the missionaries 'failed to supply their converts with

organised leisure activities, individual and corporate, as substitutes for the Native pastimes which they condemned as demoralising' (Loram 1917:120; cf. Jabavu 1928:120). This criticism might at first appear strange in terms of Lovedale's highly organised and structured timetable of activities. However, what may have been lacking was meaningful recreational activities relative to the proportion of time spent in study and 'manual training in the common duties of the Institution on the roads and in the fields [which] appeared to be carried on heartily' (LMI Reports VII, 1925:17). But appearances can be deceptive!

Sadly, the production of clones in terms of the liberal spirit of the age was considered to be the mark of successful inculcation of the Lovedale spirit. Shepherd (1940:269-270) interpreting Henderson's views on character, valued the 'steady discipline of the Institution, its spiritual influence and ideals, its claims upon obedience and self-restraint' in addition to an internalised effort so that products of Lovedale would be fit leaders for the future. RV Selope Thema, a founder member of the ANC, claimed with a degree of pride that:

Lovedale not only gave me a book education, and taught me the dignity of labour, but it also taught me how to be [a] useful citizen of South Africa when I left Lovedale in 1910 I had ceased to think as a barbarous boy and was already grappling with the problems of civilised life (Switzer 1997:192-3).

It is interesting to note from Thema's attitude, despite its positive critique of mission education, that he uses 'barbarous' to describe his traditional background presumably, and not his inner nature, and that as the very antithesis of civilisation. Further, it is not clear whether the problems he refers to are in trying to become civilised or if civilised life has its own problems, though it would appear to be the latter as Lovedale occupied a hallowed place in his memory. 'When I saw Lovedale with its inspiring school buildings, its beautiful avenues lined with oak and pine trees, I felt I was standing on the threshold of a new life and so I was' (Wilson & Perrot 1973:188) and this was before he had been inducted into the ways of the institution! As it began to affect his development:

Thema's epiphany, Christian and Nationalist, was wrought in Lovedale's halls of learning The avenues of advancement in western ways stretched ahead, tinged with a positive glow Religion gave him the language to express both Christian love of mankind and Nationalist love of his race Lovedale not only gave him language; there he literally redefined himself by changing his name He imagined himself a crusader against heathenism and barbarism and for moral and political regeneration (Starfield 1988:28).

However, both Thema and H Selby Msimang, another founder of the ANC, 'accepted without seeming to question, that people without education are usually "barbarous" whereas the educated are "civilised"' (Starfield 1988:24). They were not aware as Sol Plaatje (1917:162) [quoting William Pitt in 1792 in a debate on the slave trade] and others were of what the effect on whites would have been had they been subjected to the same conditions as blacks: '... we who are enjoying the blessings of British civilisation, of British laws, and British liberty, might at this hour have been little superior either in morals, in knowledge, or refinement, to the rude inhabitants of the coast of Guinea'.

Discipline was an integral part of character formation at Lovedale. Its use was probably based on the assumption that enforced discipline will somehow lead to self-discipline although the maintenance of order, following the practice of Stewart's regime, was part of the process of total institutionalisation. It is a matter which is constantly stressed in the annual reports of the Institution and its lack is a source of stress: 'Mr Alexander Geddes has taken a firm hold of the students and discipline has been pulled up from the start [of the session]. In that I have been relieved from a constant source of anxiety' (Cory PR 4144, Henderson to Donald, 3 March 1918:13).

Discipline in this context seems to be a constant field of contention between students and staff as is demonstrated by the resentment of one group of the imposition of coercive agency by another. This comment was related to 'unrest connected with trouble in another Native Institution' (LMI Reports VI, 1918:3). This may indicate that all mission institutions were

experiencing the same kind of problems possibly all resulting from the effects of total institutionalisation. A particular situation arose in 1928 from the apparent refusal of senior students to take responsibility for discipline especially among the younger students by either encouragement or sanction:

The explanation he [Major Geddes] offers of this looseness is that the students, with the exception of those in the Practising School, have too little manual work, and are consequently at loose ends many afternoons, when the younger boys are apt to get into mischief (LMI Reports VIII, 1928:23-24).

This matter received the attention of the Lovedale Council. With regard to the matter of manuals, Council was informed that the Heads of Native Institutions felt that this was all the time that could be afforded:

But the conclusion to our discussion was that more could and should be done, chiefly for the sake of the younger boys who do not know how to use profitably their leisure times Another important matter that occupied us was the purpose of developing a house system inside the Institution for grouping our boarders in such a way as to be more helpful to one another and to take more responsibility for one another. This will go through, I hope this year (Cory MS14430/4, Henderson to family, 17 March 1929).

Taking more responsibility is one way of formalising and increasing surveillance as well as inculcating Lovedale traditions into junior students. The students were being used in a surveillance capacity, in an institution of 'maximal surveillance' (Comaroff & Comaroff 1997:114) as a 'duty' for which they were received no reward save that of earning the ingratitude of their charges no doubt. A year later the problem seemed to have been resolved for Major Geddes was 'now pleased to state that during the last year there was much improvement; and in the case of the High School a great deal of work was done' (LMI Reports VIII, 1929:27).

This indiscipline was not confined to the boys, however, as girls were also involved in lax discipline. One particular instance concerned the lack of authority exercised by a staff member:

Speaking on discipline, I may tell you that we have now set about tuning up the Girls' School, to get it out of the very bad state into which it has been going steadily down for so long, and the first job has been the rallying of a sense of responsibility and a willingness to help on the staff. Tightening up is

needed at every point. It is characteristic of the situation that the girls, who are certainly not a bad lot at all if they had been properly controlled, gaily set out to make things hard for their new head, whom they have named tentatively 'the little baby' – that is private as I am now saying – because she seems very gentle and speaks softly to them, appearing to be one on whom they can impose as much as they like. But they are on the point of learning that they are up against things with more steel in them than they have ever yet encountered at Lovedale, and as all of the seniors of us are determined to back up the head to the utmost, these young people are not likely to be long in learning the new lesson. My determination also is that the new head shall be head in reality over the staff, and that change is in the process of realisation. Already it has been grasped that we mean business. (Cory MS14430/2, Henderson to family, 30 October 1927).

This state of affairs is not new as it stretches beyond the present head teacher who is 'new' and it appears that the staff is part of the problem since 'tightening up' is a universal need. Perhaps in the absence of leadership, some staff members have arrogated that authority to themselves without the accompanying responsibility. Henderson's determination to put things back into good order is demonstrated in his use of 'steel' indicating its unbending quality and lack of warmth, not quite in keeping with his own personality as perceived by others and even himself. Is this the mask of efficiency and distance which Henderson needed to create amongst his colleagues and students (cf. Scott 1990:10)? For him, discipline was tied to authority. In a letter to his son, Donald, who was undertaking work in the Boys' Brigade movement, Henderson counselled: 'Discipline is the great need of the urchins that you will have under your care, and it will test you and strengthen you to have to win your authority over them' (Cory MS 14427/8, Henderson to Donald, 4 January 1918), ie. it tests both the giver and receiver.

Responsibility is a common theme in deliberations on discipline. It implies taking responsibility for the other or keeping an eye on him in the sense of exercising a surveillance function. This was the focus of a discussion in Mr Chalmer's music class:

Their difficulty was to know what to do. Was a younger boy who might be high up on the school to rebuke a person older than himself when he found him doing wrong, or breaking the rules of the Institution? What was a student to do if when he pointed out to another that he was doing wrong, the wrong doer refused to listen to him? They were all influenced, he believed, by what was discussed, and shared a disposition to help, wherever they could (Cory MS 14430/4, Henderson to family, 17 March 1929).

Certainly, this was no easy matter to resolve when it involved monitoring one another's behaviour. It would be extremely difficult to build and maintain mutual trust in such an atmosphere, but it would foster coercive agency. This would appear to be in contradiction with the desire to foster *esprit de corps*. But that quality relates only to the development of building up a good spirit which is in accord with the declared aims and objectives of the Institution. All other activities which did not conform to this desired end are to be the occasion of sanctions of one kind or another.

During a visit by Sir Robert and Lady Baden-Powell, the choirleader, a student named Tseu, let the Institution down by singing an alternative tune to the hymn *Lizalis' idinga lakho*. Henderson was incensed: 'If I had not been sure that Major Geddes would deal faithfully with Tseu, I would have given him myself the shaking he deserved' (Cory PR 4144, 20 February 1927). No deviation from expected norms was allowed or tolerated and although some issues might appear to be quite petty, as the example cited above shows, any deviation from the required standards of discipline were considered to be a challenge to the entire system. For Henderson, this was a matter of loyalty to the Institution. In discussing the matter of faith turned cold, he contended: 'They never learned to try to understand the points of view of other people, and the duty of loyalty even when you cannot fully agree' (Cory MS 14427/4, Henderson to Donald, 18 March 1924). This was no less than the expectation of subservience in a coercive institution which was demonstrated in a subversive manner. In the matter of a male student breaching the regulations concerning communication with a female student by sending her an illicit note, the Disciplinary Committee was required to meet and the punishment was 'rustication for one year' (Cory MS 14431/1, SP [Samuel Pepys ie.Henderson] His Diary Strictly Private [for his children], 28 March c. 1925?). Another matter referred to the Disciplinary Committee concerned all night singing in the District

Church where, presumably, students had been present. The outcome was the banning of all from attending future gatherings, thus visiting the 'sins' of a few on the many! (Cory MS SP Diary, 11 May c.1925).

Lovedale's Principal took delight in well organised events which were a sign of good discipline. At a Gala Day children:

eat nicely in little circles with large basins set in their midst, some sharing their spoons by taking turns with it, others eating from their hands, but all mannerly in a manner that pleased us all Girl guides doing their drill, and saluting their instructors And to show step dancing, keeping wonderful time which infinitely pleased our visitors (Cory MS 14431/3, SP's Diary, 7 November 1925),

and also Henderson himself!

Henderson was particularly impressed by the:

discipline and control arrangements at Tuskegee. These are in large part determined by the Institute's connection with the State for military training The disciplinary charge of the students is under a commandant with four or five paid assistants The commandant has the power of arrest and may depute it (Cory MS 14428/2, Henderson to family, 23 April 1923).

While Henderson never advocated such a system for Lovedale he saw its benefits. He preferred that teachers exercise discipline through force of personality. He referred to this in a sermon on the Cleansing of the Temple (John 2) with reference to Jesus' use of violence:

He applied force of personality not physical force. You do not need me to tell you, those of you who are studying to be teachers that you must aim at ruling without applying violence. The teacher who resorts to physical force admits himself lacking in the highest power (Cory MS 14854/10sa.).

Yet, Henderson so easily delegated this duty to Geddes and others. For his own purposes and especially his public image, the power of coercion was more subtle and manipulative.

Discipline was also a problem which manifested itself among staff members. Henderson was unimpressed by staff members who failed to provide a salutary example to both colleagues and students:

I regret to have had it reported that you who are the principal teacher of the Boys' school of this Institution have habitually absented yourself from prayers and grace at meals in the Dining Hall,

I regret to have had it reported that you who are the principal teacher of the Boys' school of this Institution have habitually absented yourself from prayers and grace at meals in the Dining Hall, thereby setting a bad example, not only to the pupils of the Institution but to the junior teachers who cannot but take their lead from you. I have therefore to ask you definitely before you begin another session of work whether I can depend on your loyalty to fall in with the Regulations of the Institution and to give the assistance in carrying them out which is rightly to be expected from one in your position (Cory MS 14851, 1916/2, Henderson to Makiwane, 8 July 1916).

Henderson on more than one occasion had cause to complain about the absence of female staff and younger members of staff from worship 'it seeming that they do not conceive of this worship as not for them' (Cory MS 14431, SP's Diary Deciphered by JH, 21 August, 1 September 1925). 'I observe with sorrow that very light causes suffice to draw away the worshippers, and that the new workers have not the steadfastness of some of the old that have gone' (Cory MS 14431/3, SP's Diary, 22 November 1926). Following the resignation of J Terris on the grounds that there were some among us who did not look upon it [ie. work at Lovedale] as God's work, and who served their own ends', Rev HB Coventry was moved to preach on:

'Ye cannot serve God and Mammon', saying that he believed there were but few real Christians nowadays in the world, that men were fitting Christianity to themselves instead of fitting themselves to Christianity, and holding that they were wiser than the men of twenty years ago and without respect for what then was taught' (Cory MS 14431/312 September 1928).

Here we may be dealing with an instance of resistance to mission education from a younger generation of teachers less informed by Christian teaching and ideology and less amenable to manipulation.

The Commission on Native Education took this matter under consideration and urged that 'suitability of character for the office of a teacher should be most carefully considered by the Training School authorities in dealing with candidates throughout their course'. Reference is made in this regard to low moral standards among teacher graduates: 'the Institutions are faced with this difficulty even before the men [only?] go out' (CE, L, 598, 1 September 1920:135).

Henderson (Cory MS 14431/3, 10 October 1925) reacted strongly to challenges to his authority as when CT Loram brought to his attention a complaint of interference in staff work:

I did, however, state clearly that while this information appeared inaccurate, and I was unaware of any cause for grumbling, my mind was perfectly clear and had always been that I was principal of the Institution, and that I would remain principal in reality as well as in name so long as I filled the office, and that my subordinates recognised that. I do again see how at times people set their hearts on grumbling and fault-finding and that thus members of Council are ready to be misled, thinking things are different from what they really are.

Henderson seemed unable to countenance criticism of his regime and unaware of the authentic situation between him and some of his staff whom he designated as 'subordinates' and not colleagues. Staff development, especially in the field of inter-personal relations was clearly not a high priority because this was not an isolated incident. With regard to attendance at and involvement in Institution activities, Henderson could say:

I did this day observe how work for others does bring the staff together, and that they are happier in such service, and that only such stay away as are never fully in sympathy with any of the out-of-ordinary efforts, people whose interests seem to centre mostly in their own selves and affairs, and although useful enough along their own lines are really no strength to us. They are, the Lord be thanked, but few (Cory MS 14431/3, SP His Diary, 24 October 1925).

Absence was a form of subversion amongst those who could not, or would not, share the ideological perspective of coercive agency. Henderson seems to be referring to his own expectations of staff beyond their conditions of employment and level of remuneration. To him, they were simply disloyal to the principles of the Institution. In the appointment of Miss Terris to the teaching staff, Henderson (Cory MS 14431/3, 3 November 1925) stressed 'the matter of loyalty and how it was needed as a first duty' for one who was to work as part of a team.

Henderson's role in discipline at Lovedale requires to be examined in the context of coercive agency. He consistently adopted a critical distance from direct involvement in disciplinary matters possibly to present himself in a better and more benevolent light by projecting blame

on to those who were delegated to impose it. This would serve to portray him as one who was not responsible nor even knowledgeable about the means employed to maintain authority and power. This would collude in maintaining the mystique associated with those who exercise 'charismatic' leadership. This distancing would be part of the structure of line management where the Principal would be the ultimate determinant of disciplinary policy but certainly not its manager or perpetrator:

The powerful have their own compelling reasons for adopting a mask in the presence of subordinates. Thus, for the powerful ... there is typically a disparity between the public transcript in the exercise of power and the hidden transcript expressed safely offstage (Scott 1990:10).

Henderson was adept at avoiding revealing his public transcript: 'Dominant groups often have much to conceal, and typically they also have the wherewithal to conceal what they wish' (:12).

There is also an element of ignorance in Henderson's approach to coercive agency for he was at times, at least, unaware of growing discontent in a climate marked by its very presence as is witnessed in his involvement and immersion in the after effects of the Mzimba Secession and the formation of the PCA (Burchell 1977:48).

In various ways Henderson's responses to individual situations demonstrate logical good sense but when these are considered together they constitute a persuasive argument. He used MacVicar, the resident medical expert to ward off student demands during a health scare. He employed Shepherd to deal with the challenges to the editorial policy of Lovedale Press. He agreed, though not present at the time, to the involvement of police during the 1920 outbreak and although there was no direct conclusive evidence at the time, he projected culpability on to a former member of staff for the 1924 arson attack.

For the most part, ongoing regular discipline was delegated to staff members which is strange in one so committed to the exercise of centralised power, yet who seemed unwilling to demonstrate that he needed to depend on the use of force and/or violence to bolster his authority. This would convey the impression that the mainstay of the educational process, i.e. character formation, had failed to produce the desired results. This might well be related to the view of Henderson and other missionaries as great examples of moral rectitude who could not be seen to be indulging in such basic means of coercion and social control in the light of the gospel message since they were supposed to be 'constrained by Jesus' love' (2Cor 5:14 cf. Bosch 1991:286-291), preferring only to involve himself directly by use of moral suasion as a means of manipulating students, and staff, and inducing guilt and thereby acquiescence in his wishes. He distanced himself from direct involvement by using students in a surveillance capacity, using the Disciplinary Committee and writing letters to offenders. Breaches of discipline which occurred outside the Institution would therefore be considered the more serious because of the image of failure which they conveyed bringing disgrace to Lovedale as happened during a visit to Healdtown (Cory MS 14851 W/1, Watkinson the Henderson, 7 September 1922).

In large part, Henderson's approach to discipline mimicked that of his predecessor who depended on 'informers' and vigilance committees to distance himself from explicit involvement in disciplinary procedures. Both placed a great deal of trust in successive Boarding Masters to ensure minimum resistance and maximum compliance to the requirements of the Institution.

Much as Stewart had laid stress on the individual in terms of conversion and character formation, Henderson (LMI Reports VII, 1925:11; cf. 1926:11) emphasised, especially at the

level of the High School, 'pre-eminence in unity and *esprit de corps* ... no less in shaping manly character than in imparting knowledge, and educating the mind'. This spirit had deeply impressed him at Tuskegee where 'A consistent objective is the school *esprit de corps*' manifested in order, cleanliness, diligence, ethos' (Cory MS 14428/2, Henderson to family, 17 April 1923). Unity and *esprit de corps* are identical inasmuch as they display the corporate nature of the Lovedale endeavour. It was further fostered through the 'Lovedale weekly bulletin ... a useful idea of Col. Houghton's for increasing *esprit de corps*' (Cory MS 14430/2, Henderson to family, 30 October 1927). This was an information sheet of the week's forthcoming events.

Esprit de corps was nowhere more evident than when a particularly virulent strain of the Spanish influenza engulfed South Africa during towards the end of 1918 killing thousands of people in the Eastern Cape alone. Lovedale did not escape the disease. Six hundred cases were reported of whom four passed away. Lovedale students excelled themselves in community service in the duration of the epidemic: 'It developed self-reliance and the spirit of helpfulness. Not a single grumble or complaint was made by any of them. In several cases it seemed to make men out of boys (Shepherd 1940:331).

The promotion of *esprit de corps* may have been based on the assumption that individuals can do little on their own and that a body or organisation, well educated and prepared, can provide a more effective leaven in society. Certainly this was true insofar as Lovedale graduates were effective in banding themselves together in local political movements where leadership came from 'educated men' (Beinart & Bundy 1987:157). Williams (1976:603) claims that the early leaders of the ANC learned their 'African nationalism from their parentage and circumstances as well as from their missionaries', and possibly their parents as well as themselves had been mission educated (Lodge 1979:17; Meyer 1999:45). *Esprit de corps* emerging from:

Lovedale for decades turned out many of the elite who were active in organising and directing the activities of the African National Congress, [which] has a certain symbolic value in the mind of the African Nationalist; it is a spiritual heartland for resisters (Williams 1970:374).

These were:

Generations of students from Fort Hare and Lovedale, many connected with the chiefly families of the Transkei, [who] would develop formidable family networks, often with strong Christian values, self-disciplined and frequently tee-total, reminiscent of early Victorian British networks like the Clapham Sect which was instrumental in founding the CMS (Sampson 1999:22; cf. Beinart & Bundy 1987:82-3).

Herein lay the core of resistance to coercive agency at Lovedale.

Within the process of formation, stress was laid on **manual work** as can be seen from the above quotation from Thema (Switzer 1997:192-3; cf. LMI Reports VII, 1925:17). Education ‘makes the Native more moral and more industrious’ (Loram 1917:41). ‘It is defended because it “makes for character building”’ (Jabavu 1920:94). This is especially true of industrial training:

When ... the apprentice is nearing the end of his third year, it is often noticed that he begins to realise what is to benefit his life and character. He begins to display a more stable, dependable and conscientious character, called forth, no doubt by the training he has undergone (CE, XXXVII, 440, 1 June 1907, *The Training of Native Apprentices*:84).

This was supported by the Principal of Lovedale:

Mr Henderson said that this [industrial] training was of so much value physically, mentally, and above all in the development of character, that he was strongly in favour of its forming part of the daily round at every stage of the native student’s education (CE, XXXVII, 443, 2 September 1907, *Natives and Education*:140).

Consequently, ‘the primary objects of Native education must be the development of intelligence, the training of character, and in particular the promotion of industry’ (Cape Select Committee on Native Education, 1908, sect. 4 in Loram 1917:41). Dr AW Roberts (Gerdener 1958:243) of Lovedale commented ‘I look more to industrial occupation for the consolidating and uplifting of the Native people than I do to all the higher arts and sciences that were ever invented. It is by hard work, and plenty of it, that the African will be moulded into a strong man’. We have already seen how this had different motives, including money

saving, doing the missionaries' work as well as keeping students busy and less susceptible to mischief making. Yet, manual labour, especially in the trades, was used to demonstrate that sub-standard work was unacceptable in life. According to Murray (1919:208ff), the value of manual training was threefold. First, it was 'associated with what is already done in the villages' and is immediately useful in a practical sense; second, a workman can 'make use of physical means as an approach to the world of mind and spirit. An education in words alone is necessarily an imperfect education'; finally workmen 'have in them an element of satisfaction in the finished product which is a distinct education of the emotions'. Murray (1929:211) challenges the fallacy of the efficacy of character-building with regard to manual work as it:

trains people in habits of hard work, it puts men up against the resistance of physical things, it helps people to become more resourceful, and it introduces into the school the conditions of the outside world. It makes the school more 'real'.

Henderson clearly espoused a Protestant work ethic, first of all in his own life: 'The waste of labour and energy irritated him' (SAO, AW Roberts, 1 September 1930:189) but was also true in his teaching. In response to a query concerning the status of manual work as 'mission work', he replied: 'But of course it is. We must teach conscientious work' for 'real mission service' is 'teaching the men what honest work is', and insisted 'there is a dogged determination that the work shall go on in face of difficulty and disappointment' (6 October 1895 in Ballantyne and Shepherd 1968:63, 69, 65). Henderson addressed this issue at the closing meeting of the institution in December 1908: A prime area of manual work is agriculture. For Henderson, this was vital because of the distressing economic circumstances of the vast majority of black people:

... he was thinking of ... a poverty which imperilled the decencies of life and morality, and which tended towards a fatal degradation They had not read history intelligently if they did not know how great a part barren soils, inhospitable climates and narrow circumstances had played in the formation of the leading races. The uncertain rainfall, the denuded soils and the various hard conditions of South African farming life had made the land a fitting cradle for the nurture of a race of high qualities of patience, endurance and resolution. He believed that their future as a race was tied

up with their use of the soil The teachers and the professional men were perhaps the most important agents of their people at the immediately present stage of their relations with the new civilisation, but the man that counted most for the future was the tiller of the ground He preached the doctrine of work and not the dignity of labour merely, but its saving power. He referred to the cultivation of character. What would determine ultimately the rise or fall of their people was not their wealth or poverty, their education or the want of it, but what they were as a race in force, in stability, in righteousness of character. Individual and national upbuilding of character was the great work to which God called them, and in this way they were offered Divine Help (LMI Reports IV, 1908:7-9).

Henderson (Cory MS 14854/13, sermon on Mark 6:3, sa.) continually reinforced this doctrine:

Labour is always dignified. Idleness, not work is undignified. It is when decay has set in at the heart of a people that a stigma falls upon manual labour By your teaching in your homes your parents are shaping human lives and souls, and we teachers in the schools are similarly employed What we have to ask ourselves is this are our pupils broadening and deepening in character, are they cultivating habits of diligence, carefulness, cleanliness, courtesy and obedience and respect, are they arriving at an understanding of what is truth, are they opening the eyes of their souls to take in what is truly great and good, becoming sobered and full of reverence as at stage after stage in their progress and knowledge they come in contact with the hand of God, are they getting a firmer hold of the eternal verities, are they in a word becoming Christ like? That is the ideal of your making.

Decay seems to be associated with a traditional lifestyle. Yet, the development of character is perceived as a joint venture between home and school aiming at Christian perfection and is based in an industrious personality.

5.6 Industrial education

Missions in the Eastern Cape had an important role in the development of the Cape liberal tradition in the latter part of the nineteenth century. Acting as vital centres for the imparting of agricultural and industrial skills they served as a crucial educational link in the economic and trading relationships forged by mercantile capitalism in the Cape between a white commercial and trading bourgeoisie and the Eastern Cape peasantry which flourished between the 1850s and then 1880s (Rich 1987:211).

This was the context into which Henderson came as principal of Lovedale. It is interesting to note how uncritically Henderson followed Stewart in his assumption of the values and purpose of industrial education as introduced and promoted by Sir George Grey in the 1850s (3.4.3:96ff). Perhaps this was due to the fact that although mission education was co-opted into Grey's plans to develop the frontier area and subdue the black population, industrial

and vocational training was employed by the missionaries as part of their own plans for blacks as part of their overall evangelical aim.

Henderson's views are well summarised in an article he wrote for the *International Review of Mission* in 1914. He appeared to accept that:

Of the Europeans generally, it may be said that they regard South Africa as a 'white man's country', and they are mainly if not exclusively concerned with their own destiny. The reins of government are in their hands. The European settlers mostly come into contact with the natives as employers, traders and officials A large section of the European population look askance at the affording to natives opportunities for education, at any rate beyond the elements of reading and writing, and practically all native education is being conducted by the missionaries, mostly through native agents working under grant-earning government regulations and inspection (1914:336-7).

He claimed that mission education was not having the desired effect and blamed the lack of government support. It did not even meet the 'natives desire' but does not interrogate this claim further. It may be that black people felt they were capable of a more academically based education and were resistant to a system which would limit their prospects in favour of meeting market needs. This meant that the black people's perception of their own needs had to be altered by means of character formation as 'one of the latest Government Commissions records in its Report: "The evidence of the effect of Christian teaching and education on the character of the natives is very strong. These unquestionably exercise an enormous influence for good"' (:338). Whose good is not clear from the Report but since it emanated from government sources, it was probably the good of those with power in the country. From this Henderson (1914:338) concluded:

The primary objective [of Christian education] no doubt is Christian character, the reconstruction of it, but bound up with this end is the ideal of peaceful and industrial toil in homes guarded from the despair of want, where health and the decencies of life can be deserved and some of its amenities enjoyed, and where the family unit can obtain the needed seclusion and protection. An essential requirement in the training of a pastoral and warlike people emerging from barbarism is the disciplined routine of regular work. The Bantu need to learn to work and learn the obligation to work and the dignity of manual labour The educated natives ... are apt to form wrong impressions.

Here is a vision of a people tamed into compliance through 'reconstruction' of their personalities apparently for the sake of their own 'development' and happiness, who will be rewarded for their toils and enjoy 'the decencies of life'. This is the result of an outcomes-

based education for subservience which offers an idealised view of life and the results of education. Henderson employs the Manichean concept to present a vision of family life cut off from its roots which will exist in 'seclusion and protection' from whom or what? This is a desirable alternative to 'barbarism'. A western Protestant work ethic is essential to this transformation. With regard to those who have benefited from an academic education, Henderson implies that they have reached false views of the value of manual labour. But what are these wrong conclusions? Is it wrong to achieve a level of education far above that ever attained by one's forebears and consequently move away from the kind of work that is traditionally perceived as that to which one should not aspire to leave? Henderson's attitude towards the work ethic is, at least in part derived from the economic situation. He accepts the reality of the situation without analysing its causes except to imply that blacks were responsible for the wars of dispossession, overstocking and overgrazing and lack of water:

If the Bantu are to survive it is clear that *they* [emphasis mine] must as a people develop new methods of agriculture and new habits of industry; and a considerable portion of them will have to acquiesce in losing touch with the land and adopting industrial pursuits (Henderson 1914:339).

Henderson does not interrogate sufficiently the reasons for this because these new methods were not necessary prior to the coming of the European. It is not clear who Henderson believes will benefit from this as he acquiesces in government policy and clearly aligns his educational policy at Lovedale with it. He cites mine work as beneficial to the rural economy but takes no account of its social effects. He does not challenge the effects of drought, government policy, the spread of the European population with its concomitant greed for land and growing industrialisation:

The demands of industrialisation, coupled with colonial settler rule over the territories of South Africa, had already created a situation increasingly constraining the colonised Africans to seek their livelihood in wage labour. Moreover the highly exploitative nature of the emerging wage structure is also clear. In this context the Lagden Commission recommendations were suitably rational. Only when these factors are seen together is one able to appreciate the ideological significance of the call from the churches to their black membership, to honour and respect the 'dignity of manual labour'. For many this became a self-understood, natural 'fact' of the Church's educational role. To be sure, a select number of Africans found their way into higher education, but for the great majority manual

labour was their destiny, and for this they were prepared. It was for the churches an extension of the 'civilising mission' of the previous century (Cochrane 1987:83).

The churches did not see or accept any further responsibility for having given an education to black people to whom they had:

taught skills and knowledge which society provided no opportunity for a man to use. The churches do not seem to have realised that to provide education without constant pressure to compel society to provide corresponding opportunities was to fail in their role as the conscience of society (Hinchliffe 1974:35).

Many South Africans considered that industrial education was a 'threat to the social order' (Harlan 1966:449). Hence we can understand Henderson's reluctance to promote it too openly.

As to the means of promoting industrial education, the mission institutions collaborated with the government in implementing their policy as 'trustees and agents of the state' (Krige 1993:9):

The means they must depend on must be the fructifying influence and example of the carefully selected and specially trained few. The missionary institutions rightly endeavour to give all their pupils the daily discipline of manual labour, and in Lovedale, for example, the male pupil teachers, before leaving to take up schools, pass through practical courses in gardening, agriculture and forestry, and the female pupil-teachers through domestic courses, including cooking and sewing as well as gardening. But much more is needed (Henderson 1914:339).

Here education proceeds by the education of the elite. The place of girls is significant here because, in large measure, Henderson follows Stewart's approach which allows for the education of girls but also assumes that that education is for a life of subservient domestic service either in their own or others' homes:

An interesting experiment in new adaptation was tried in the Girls' Industrial School. In the early days girls taking this course spent a great deal of their time in fine and elaborate needlework which was disposed of largely to prospective brides, and the training so given led nowhere. The girls had a very poor educational equipment to start with and their mental development was slow. Eight years ago [1922] a complete change over was made. The entrance qualification was raised and the course was framed to fit girls to make good comfortable homes. This was in keeping with the general policy that Dr Henderson had laid down, and the girls trained in this course have been much sought after, both by Europeans for service in their homes and by young Bantu men who appreciate the value of such home training ((SAO, Chalmers:Head of Lovedale, 1 September 1930:171).

Henderson believed that ‘The results of industrial training have on the whole given a large measure of satisfaction to those engaged in it’ (1914:340) despite poor employment prospects and opposition and intense competition from whites. This would eventually force blacks into accepting long term unemployment, unacceptably low wages or, more to the point, force them into becoming migrant labourers for the developing mining industry:

By the 1920s less than 60 per cent of mission-trained craftsmen were self-employed, and shoemakers were amongst those who were hardest hit. Moreover, they are amongst the 25-35 per cent of educated tradesmen who forced into unskilled work as ‘boys’ (Bradford 1984:300).

This was the fate of many who became ICU organisers when it became clear that ‘subsistence farming [was] impossible by the 1920s’ (:301): ‘as a teacher Violet Makanya had helped instil the inferiority of black manual labour to white labour’ (:302).

As a result of black people experiencing difficulties in finding work in their trades, DA Hunter (White 1987:51) raised a suggestion that ‘missionary education should concentrate on training for village industries’ and investigate the type of industries that could profitably be established in these villages’.

That Henderson was influenced by opposition is clear from his own opposition to the presence of industrial exhibits at the 1912 meeting of the GMCSA. J Du Plessis (Cory MS 14848, 21 October 1911) had written in response: ‘I appreciate the force of the objection you raise to the representation of Industrial work’. A little later (22 February 1912) he wrote again:

There is some hesitation in many minds as to the prominence which will be given to trade-instruction, especially since there is a good deal of feeling in the country at large with reference to the competition that is likely to arise between the native and European artisan. I think it will be impossible to exclude this exhibit, which will represent work that is of some considerable importance in our native schools. We must only use our discretion in not giving too much floor-space to the trades, and thus keeping the idea of industrial training strictly subordinate to the general purpose of the Exhibition.

Henderson was clear in his own mind that industrial education was not the cure-all for the defects of the educational or evangelical system at Lovedale: 'The popular fallacy which as you know we ourselves have not quite escaped from, is that the salvation of our peoples can be wrought by industrial training, which is bunkum' (Cory MS 14425, Henderson to mother, 19 August 1904).

As to the place in the general curriculum, Henderson supported the view of the 1891 Education Commission that 'manual training should form an essential part of the school course, that one-half of the school time should be devoted to such manual training' (Cory PR 4176, Hobart Houghton, *The problem of Bantu education in South Africa*, c.1910). In his submission to the Cape Select Committee on Native Education, Henderson said:

I should like to make it quite clear that I consider industrial training should be compulsory in all the Native schools, that a portion of the day should be set apart in the institutions for industrial training, and that that time should be uniform for all institutions. I consider also that a serious effort should be made to devise means whereby industrial training could be given in ordinary village schools (Loram 1917:147).

Henderson's view of the result of industrial education was somewhat romantic:

From the native institutions have gone forth a small but fructifying stream of skilled men and women of disciplined character who, settling among their own people, are doing splendid service by their work and by their example. Here and there they are settled as carpenter-farmers or wagon-maker farmers, farming better, living in better houses, self-respecting and more progressive in every way because of their training. Some as printers have set up businesses of their own, and through the vernacular newspapers, generally conducted with a due sense of responsibility, are guiding and shaping native public opinion Agriculture too, which is the occupation requiring persevering attention, is being prosecuted with intelligent interest (1914:431).

This romantic view of the benefits of industrial education is corrected by Campbell (1989:331,335, 337 in Krige 1993:18) who claims that it:

'offered preparation for a way of life that never existed'. It reassured whites that black education was 'compatible with white supremacy', particularly by 'coupling pedagogy to certain secondary political attributes ... such as docility and industriousness.

It seems as if the culture of individual development has been successfully inculcated under the guise of service to others. Here is the genesis of a developing middle class. Even printers are shaping people's views, but whose? Were they the views of those educated at Lovedale?

There is no indication of any critical questioning of those views expressed because they operate 'with a due sense of responsibility'. For Henderson, failures are those who move to urban areas in the hope of earning despite their lack of skills. This understandable result is: 'Being under the obligation to repay their own education by assisting in the education of other members of their family they cannot afford to wait for the slow returns from the soil' (1914:341). A real concern for the education of the masses would understand this.

Henderson later came to appreciate the system he saw in operation at Hampton where 'students work part time to cover expenses (Cory MS 14428/3, Henderson to family, 25 May 1923), except for women:

The practice in these institutions of *paying for the work done* and crediting the students' fees account with the same is well worth considering at Lovedale. It involves a careful check on the quality of the work and thereby reacts favourably on *character* (Cory MS 14428/3, Henderson to family, 19 May 1923).

There is no evidence, however, that Henderson ever promoted such a scheme on his return to Lovedale, worthy as it was.

Henderson (1914:342) made it clear that in his policy it is 'quality, rather than quantity of skilled men that we desiderate, and quality is to be secured only where the numbers are limited and personal attention and influence on the part of the instructors is secured'. It is far easier to influence small numbers and impress values on them compared with the problem of influencing large academic classes:

The efforts of the apprentices at making things result in the forming of strong and stable character beyond what is achieved in the case of the pupils mostly occupied with book work. The industrial apprentices at Lovedale lead in evangelistic and spiritual work, and they have shown themselves capable of becoming thoroughly good if somewhat slow workmen (:340).

This would accord with Molteno's (in Kallaway [ed.]:1988:68 in Krige 1993:18) assessment that 'educationists saw the inculcation of attitudes to work as more important than the skills learned in industrial education'.

In his formulation of industrial education policy, Henderson was influenced by the USA charity sponsored Phelps-Stokes Commissions to Africa in the 1920s. This had been influenced by the work of Booker T Washington at Tuskegee Institute which had been visited both by Stewart and Henderson and which had made a deep positive impression on them. They were both impressed by the principle of:

offering an education which was adapted to the particular economic and social conditions of the community, that is, one which did not fundamentally call into question those conditions, even if they colluded with racial inequality and injustice (Ward 199:218 in Hastings [ed.] 1999).⁰

On the positive side, 'education should deal with the realities of African village life rather than with an exotic curriculum which served only to alienate people further from their own culture' (:218). However this was 'an attempt to introduce a separate inferior type of education designed to keep Africans from taking advantage of modern conditions' (:218-9).

Despite appearances to the contrary, Lovedale Institution, successful as it was as a leader in industrial and general education, was a centre whose public image was not truly representative of its community life.

5.7 Appearances can be deceptive

Nothing conveys the public transcript more as the dominant would like it seem than the formal ceremonies they organise to celebrate and dramatise their rule. Parades, inaugurations, processions, coronations, funerals provide ruling groups with the occasion to make a spectacle of themselves in a manner largely of their own choosing (Scott 1990:58).

Public occasions at Lovedale were times when there was a general relaxation of the Institution's rules, especially with regard to the coming together of the sexes. This would convey an impression of normality in an otherwise gender segregated society:

Most contented themselves with the occasions such as school concerts and the one great day a year, 24 May, Victoria Day, when classes were cancelled and sports were held I remember my first Victoria Day. I went down with Rosebery, Sainty, Garrett and Festus, and at the Oval we met Rosebery's sisters, Pearl, then in the Teacher's Training school, and the younger sister, a little girl of 11 named Frieda (Matthews 1984:41).

But more than that, they were demonstrations of power and domination. The weekly ‘steps’ (with its ‘reviewing stand’ Scott 1990:61) lectures and Sunday church parades constituted ‘a living tableau of centralised discipline and control. Its logic assumes, by definition, a unified intelligence at the centre which directs all movements of the “body”’ (Scott 1990:60). In this context, Major Geddes would fulfil that role of organising the performance in his role of Boarding Master as the human face of authority thus allowing the Principal to maintain that mystical critical distance from the students. These ““small ceremonies”, being much more frequent, are perhaps more tellingly as embodiments of domination and subordination’ (:46) and are constituted by the performance of rituals where ‘the actors are the audience’ (:59).

The Gala Day, an example of a larger, less frequent but more public event, consisted of a march to the ‘Oval’, the band playing, sports competitions, dinner where teachers and parents are entertained separately from the students, exhibitions of industrial products especially ‘from the Girls’ Industrial courses’ and a programme of singing and drill (Cory PR4144, Henderson, 28 October 1928:67). What is also important here is the public demonstration of solidarity and unity of purpose not only on the part of students but also of staff:

What specially pleased me this day was that though no one was forced to attend, nearly all the educational staff was there helping wherever they could the whole time. We are attaining an enhanced conception not merely of the duty but of the pleasure of social service (Cory MS 14430, Henderson to family, 28 October 1928).

There is a clear indication here that staff commitment was rising as Henderson was moved to make an otherwise superfluous comment. That commitment must have been at a low ebb because Henderson is writing twenty two years after assuming leadership of Lovedale and we would expect that he had been able to instil an appropriate work ethic in his staff during that time. This would indicate a reduction of resistance on the part of staff and a growth of responsibility or capitulation to the implicit threat contained in the exercise of power.

Henderson (Cory PR 4144, 3 June 1928:61) refers to ritual in 'instating the new national flag' which was accompanied with the appropriate degree of ceremony, ie. singing the 'Xosa national anthem, God bless Africa', raising the Union flag, raising the new flag, addresses and the singing of the British national anthem. This was also a public display of loyalty to the government. Loyalty was important within the Institution too. Henderson (Cory MS 14427/5, to Donald, 8 December 1924) describing the Closing Supper held for final year students commented 'it was pleasant to hear the loyal and appreciative words that the students spoke as their parting words from Lovedale'. This demonstrates their ability:

to speak with different voices to different groups without fatally compromising their positions [which] was the essence of their political survival in a society where the patterns of domination were so sharply defined, so racially stratified, and so brutally enforced, and was a practical expression of their identity as part of a class which was 'structurally ambiguous' (De Kock 1996:95).

Such apparent capitulation or conformity may indicate a need to suppress authentic feelings in the interest of oneself or one's sponsors or dependants (ie. parents or family) and can lead to the 'frustration of reciprocal action' (Scott 1990:37).

These were also occasions to press home the benefits of character formation through the *esprit de corps* developed through involvement in sports. At a prize giving at the Girls' School where achievement was marked by the reward of an award, Henderson commented 'I did discourse on the records of the year, and commend the spirit of good play that had marked all the contests, and the increasing interest taken in games' (Cory MS 14431/3, SP His Diary, 17 November 1925).

These public occasions were opportunities to display the apparent cohesiveness and unity of all that was done at Lovedale. 'An effective façade of cohesion thus augments the apparent power of elites, thereby presumably affecting the calculations that subordinates might make

about the risks of noncompliance or defiance' (Scott 1990:56). Both the dominant and the subordinate have an investment in maintaining the public transcript because for the students it legitimates their ability to fulfil the roles they aspire to in a society where being a graduate of Lovedale was a positive bonus in a context where opportunities were few and severely restricted.

While Henderson might view such events as means whereby the *esprit de corps* of the Lovedale community might be developed and displayed, 'it is tempting to see displays and rituals of power as something of an inexpensive substitute for the use of coercive power or as an attempt to tap an original source of power or legitimacy that has since been attenuated' (Scott 1990:48).

Such public displays of uniformity, contentment and peace were a facade which concealed deep discontent with the regime at Lovedale.

5.8 Resistance to coercive agency

Resistance to coercive agency during the period 1906-1930 took various forms which, when considered together, demonstrate the oppressive nature of the educational system at Lovedale, despite James Henderson's apparently benevolent and reserved nature. Resistance did not only occur within the campus at Lovedale but far beyond it as Lovedale graduates exerted their own and their *alma mater's* influence. The educational and other aims of the Institution were continually subsumed under the coercive overarching evangelical aim of conversion.

5.8.1 Resistance in politics

There is little reference in Henderson's correspondence to resistance in the realm of politics. This does not mean, however that he was either unaware of or inactive in matters political. He was Principal of Lovedale at a time when momentous events were happening in South Africa, and the world at large (such as the First World War [1914-1918]), events which impacted on the black population in a largely negative manner, eg. the South African War (1899-1902), the publication of the South African Native Affairs Commission Report (1905), the formation of the Union of South Africa (1910) and the passing of the Natives' Land Act (1913). This was the context of the foundation of the South African Native National Congress (1912, later renamed the African National Congress[ANC]). These events 'stimulated and consolidated African political organisation, providing the thrust that caused the emergence of a broad African national consciousness and political unity' (Odendaal 1984:xii).

Although Henderson eschewed direct political engagement as the result of his own experience, the rapidly deteriorating conditions of black people in rural areas allowed him to enable his students to take a more pro-active role:

Although at first Dr Henderson did not seem to like the idea of Lovedalians taking part in political agitation, yet when he discovered the appalling conditions under which our people lived and worked, he realised that Lovedale would not have done its duty if it did not produce men and women who could dedicate their lives to the cause of Bantu freedom (SAO, LX, 713, 1 October 1930, RV SelopeThema:204).

The fact of resistance is directly attributable to the progress of mission education for resistance was the *modus operandi* of a large section of the educated middle-class elite which had received its education at missionary institutions who were 'self-conscious, politically

aware and independent' (Brock 1974:433). They were aware 'that they were economically useful but politically powerless' (Saayman 1996:31). Among the factors in the development of black political awareness 'the missionary stimulus was undoubtedly the strongest' (Odendaal 1984:3):

Practically all the most influential political leaders in Africa went through Christian mission or church schools. It is no wonder that even Africans regard the Church as the 'guardian angel' of African nationalism and that the Church has laid 'secure political foundations' for African nationalism (Oosthuizen 1973:779).

The black elite were not necessarily politically radical: 'The founders of the ANC were not by nature socially radical; they were ministers, teachers, doctors – people who had, despite all difficulties, achieved a measure of professional status and wealth. They represented 'the perduring principle that there is a connection between religious observance and the realisation of *temporal* goals' (Kiernan 1990:212 in Prozesky [ed.]1990). Most were mission school educated' who believed 'in the efficacy of evolutionary processes, the virtues of education and a stress on an ideal of a common society' (Lodge 1979:17, 18; cf. Switzer 1990:90, Elphick 1977:357). They had sought an education 'when all attempts at [physical] resistance had failed' (Kallaway 1984:57):

If you look as far back even as the time of the formation of the ANC in 1912, the leaders there were ... people that had been trained in the Mission Schools in the first instance. The second thing is that the Mission Schools inculcated in their students the Christian and biblical ethic. So that filtered all the way down Also in sensitising people (Mandla Langa in Meyer 1999:48).

They became convinced that 'Christianity could not only raise up Africans to "civilisation" but also ensure them justice in a multi-racial South Africa' (Elphick 1977:357). Plaatje ([1917] 1982:40) was one such who believed that there should even be distinctions drawn between different classes of black person. In the Natives' Land Bill 'there was not sufficient distinction between those natives who tried to educate themselves and the ordinary raw barbarian. They were all classed under the word "native"'. It was believed that the passage of this act contributed to the failure of Cape liberalism (Plaatje [1917], 1982:177).

In addition, this group was not isolated for institutions like:

Lovedale has a symbolic importance through what could be justifiably be called the Lovedale 'old boy' network in the Eastern Cape and elsewhere. Many of those most active in initiating organisations, addressing meetings, encouraging voter registration were African graduates of Lovedale' (Brock 1974:203).

Many of them had developed a networking relationship through overseas study. Pixley ka Seme organised a club for African students at Oxford University for which he sought support from Booker T Washington at Tuskegee:

Here are to be found the future leaders of African nations temporarily thrown together and yet coming from widely different sections of that great and unhappy continent and that these men will, in due season, return each to a community that eagerly awaits him and perhaps influence its public opinion. (15 April 1908 in Harlan 1966:463).

Here was the inception of a pan-African vision of resistance to imperialism and its adjuncts – colonialism and capitalism.

The political genesis of this group is traceable to the introduction of mission education towards the mid-nineteenth century with its 'mid-Victorian value' system:

The principle of a qualified but non-racial franchise was the most important political manifestation of the new cultural order. Individual rights would be restricted to the 'civilised' population, but these rights would be enshrined in 1853, when the settlers were granted representative government with their own parliament, and in 1872, when they were granted responsible government. This also meant that African and Coloured voters were able to participate in the political process. This was the political birth of the Cape liberal tradition, as it was called in South Africa (Switzer 1993:136).

Those blacks who were enfranchised were predominantly mission educated Christians who sought to ally themselves with like minded members of the Cape settler population. These:

Upper ranked members of the petty bourgeoisie in the eastern Cape included the professional elite, students in mission boarding schools and at Fort Hare Native College, certain categories of wage earners (mainly court interpreters, policemen, skilled clerks and artisans), some self-employed persons (owners of lodging houses and other small businesses as well as affluent traders), educated chiefs and headmen, commercial farmers, agricultural demonstrators and others with access to wealth and power in the reserves (Switzer 1990:90).

For them 'Christianity and education were the key facilitators of change' (:136). This view was reiterated by Loram (1917:302): 'there is a distinct connection between education and movements towards social and political improvement'. An important component in political

developments was the need of the British to form an alliance with like-minded blacks to counter the power and influence of the Afrikaner Bond.

The source of political resistance was the diminishing opportunities for black people from the 1890s even in the 'liberal' Cape as the result of disillusionment with British imperialism and the political dominance of white settlers especially after 1910. The economic situation was dominated by 'a rapidly expanding capitalist economy, powered initially by mining but later evolving an industrial sector, [which was] far more important in establishing modern patterns of racial dominance than were the legacies of Dutch settlement' (Etherington 1982:191). This resulted from a drastic reduction in the land available to blacks for farming, the regulation of the black labour supply and the limits placed on blacks seeking certain kinds of employment:

While none of us is wholly ignorant of wherein the Natives are being harassed and defrauded, no concentrated effort worth speaking about has yet been put forth by the Christian whites of the country to help them to combine for the collective selling of their labour, and to secure the ends obtained in other countries by trade unionism. The efforts of those Natives who have taken a lead in carrying out this idea have been looked at askance; and for fear of disapproval of the Churches men of good character and sound judgment, whose attachment to the movements might have unanimously helped them, have stood aloof (SAO, LX, 713, Henderson to GMCSA (1928) 1 October 1930:204).

No serious attempt had been made to deal with clamant issues which were keeping black people in a state of perpetual servitude:

At a time when missionary efforts in the field of education were showing superb results at the higher levels, enthusiasm grew for simple manual training as the education best fitted to the needs of recent converts from the heathen. At the moment when large numbers of early converts were beginning to form effective political organisations to facilitate their integration into the dominant culture, they were unconditionally excluded from participation in representative politics in most sections of South Africa (Etherington 1982:196).

The resultant growth of racism² and inequality which became 'apparent in Cape politics following the incorporation of the African areas' (Davenport 1987:32 in Butler, Elphick & Welsh [ed.]) led many to 'disillusionment, discouragement, and a growing scepticism about the high-sounding promises of Christianity and white trusteeship' (Gerhart 1978:34):

² In the South African context, we agree with Magubane's (1979:54 in Saayman 1991:27) definition of racism as the highest expression of the colonial capitalist system and one of the most significant features of the conqueror's ideology.

The new missionary generation sought to legitimate an inferior role for African Christians in a racially stratified society. In essence subordination by race in a segregated society, rather than incorporation of individuals by class in a potentially integrated society, was more acceptable to the mission enterprise in the late colonial period (Switzer [ed.] 1997:24).

This resistance was manifested in **church life** by secessions where ‘the momentum of African response effectively restricted missionary surveillance and control’ (Gray 1990:141) although these had originated in ‘vague feelings of nationalism amongst peoples whose traditional institutions are being undermined [which had] conspired to spur groups of Africans to seek at least independence in their own churches’ (Shepperson 1953:9). These developments were not dissociated from the wider political context. Rev PJ Mzimba ‘continued his political activities, such as rallying African voters during elections, begun in the 1870s’ (Mills 1997:344):

A new mixture of fundamentalism, Pentecostalism, and pre-millennialism offered alternative views of the world and of history. For many Africans, a more pessimistic, pre-millennial outlook seemed to embody their experience in church and society, where justice did not prevail, indeed where any injustices multiplied. Those who gave up improving ‘this world’ and its institutions, including the established missions and churches, tended to withdraw into independent churches A deepening pessimism underlay many decisions to secede (Mills 1997:345).

That the churches played a formative role in political resistance is not surprising for the churches provided one of the few means of free expression in an otherwise increasingly restrictive society. It was partly out of this context, beginning in the 1880s, that political innovation emerged.

The role of the **press** was also a formative influence in the growth of resistance to domination. Referring to the situation in Europe in the late eighteenth century, Davenport (1987:25 in Butler, Elphick and Welsh [ed.]) suggests: ‘the emergence of periodic journalism had cleared the way for the free expression of political opinion in Europe’. This was also true of South Africa in the late nineteenth century. The press served ‘to enliven public life, giving direction and stimulation to the regional conflicts that became a major feature of political life’ (:25). However, in the Eastern Cape, *Imvo Zabantsundu*, which exercised a powerful influence on

black voters and ‘became the most influential vehicle of African opinion in the Cape colony’ (Roberts 1990:233), featured ‘news and entertainment that reflected the interests and concerns of the mission-educated community’ (Switzer 1990:97). Matters pertaining to education and religion occupied 12,8% of the news. Political matters were largely eschewed by DDT Jabavu. His father and previous editor, JT Jabavu, had previously adopted views which showed him to be out of sympathy with African aspirations; he backed the Afrikaner Bond in the 1898 election, refused to join the SANNC, supported the Land Act of 1913 and opposed nationalists in the northern provinces. These may be the views of the more conservative black voter who saw a future in aligning himself with the status quo. But more than that, Jabavu was prepared to challenge missionaries ‘- the first open and consistent public criticism’ (Saayman 1996:32) - and encourage his people to become independent of their influence.

Within Lovedale, the *Christian Express* and its successor the *South African Outlook* ‘offered a social gospel perspective, refusing to reflect a narrow pietistic point of view’ under DA Hunter’s editorship (Krige 1993:9). This was in line with Henderson’s approach. These publications obviously promoted the views of their sponsors and claimed to be ‘allegedly political’ (Brock 1974:204).

Resistance to missionary influence was one of the factors that led black South Africans to look further afield for educational opportunities:

It appeared ... that native discontent was being accentuated in South and Central Africa by the fact that some Africans were beginning to show signs of dissatisfaction with the European native colleges which the missionaries had set up, and were starting to look to the negro colleges of America for an education more in line with the aspirations of their leading educated elements (Shepperson 1953:15).

Henderson’s visit to American educational establishments may have been motivated in part, at least, by a determination to determine what was common to each, to co-opt what was of value

to Lovedale and to arrest the stream of black people going abroad to be educated with all the influences they were exposed to. For instance, AK Soga tried to introduce the Tuskegee model to South Africa and send students to the USA. Much of what Henderson discovered there was in line with his own thinking:

Both the industrial 'socialist' and the rural Tuskegean strand of the Social Gospel stressed Christian charity and reconciliation between contending social groups. Both proposed to empower the oppressed through education and moral formation. But the means differed: the 'industrial' form of the Social Gospel ... often criticised the structure of society and challenged both capitalism and the dominant classes. The socially deprived black minority whose political position was worsening; it eschewed formal politics, at least in the short run, and it sought to elevate blacks with the aid of white patrons. It was the Tuskegee model, and not the industrial, that was to have a profound impact in South Africa (Elphick 1977:355).

Henderson obviously espoused the Tuskegee model. He was not politically attuned to the industrial model because, like his predecessors at Lovedale, he could not afford to alienate those who might support his general educational aims; nor was he attuned to the urban situation in which the industrial model operates. His financial position at Lovedale made him dependent on aid from the mines and central government sources which would eliminate vital black support (Cory MS 14851/1, McAlpine to Henderson, 28 September 1910). What would have appealed to Henderson in particular was these establishments' 'emphasis on moderation, racial co-operation and rural community development It might counteract the growth of an embittered African nationalism' (Gray 1990:186). His deep concern for the plight of the rural African dominated much of his thinking while at Lovedale:

Henderson concluded through study of the phenomenon of rural poverty that the root causes were to be found in the politico-economic-legal system created by colonial conquest and refined by the 1913 Land Act Henderson concluded that blacks suffered from being part of an economy based on racism and injustice (Elphick 1977:351).

The American sponsored Phelps-Stokes Commission of 1922 legitimated the basis of consensus on which missions could co-operate with the Colonial Office to secure financial support. Its evidence revealed that very few Lovedale graduates from its industrial training

programme had succeeded in contributing to a realignment of the economic system with regard to the migrant labour and compound system (Rich 1987:291).

Henderson played a pivotal role in influencing South African liberals. He ‘combined a missionary zeal in the religious proselytisation of African societies with a Darwinian commitment to their "upliftment" and social "evolution"' (Rich 1987:272): ‘Our object in every case is to make them a lever for the uplifting of their own people’ (South African Economic Commission Report, 1914, sect.57 in Loram 1917:157). However, he betrayed his inability to move beyond his stereotypical view of black people and be truly radical in his approach. ‘Upliftment’ suggests a continuation of the ‘infant’ metaphor, while ‘evolution’ implies the ‘civilising barbarian’ trope.

It was both the failure of mission education and government to offer any substantial hope to black people that led to the formation of the South African Native National Congress and other groups following their failure to accommodate black aspirations in the Act of Union (1910) (Roberts 1990:256). The English-speaking churches had ‘adopted a somewhat liberal, paternalistic stance on the “native question”, purporting to speak on behalf of blacks, especially “civilised” blacks educated in mission schools’ (De Gruchy 1999:156).

Consequently, it was not surprising that black political leaders were often active members of mission churches with strong British connections. When the SANNC was established in 1912, ‘[t]he principles adopted by the Congress affirmed the liberal Christian values, such as individual rights and freedom, which had been taught in the mission schools’ (De Gruchy 1999:156-7) representing a non-racial nationalism which was ‘generally regarded as the earliest major manifestation of African nationalism in South Africa’ (Gerhart 1978:12). For De Gruchy (1999:157) there was virtually a symbiotic relationship between the churches and

the SANNK as Christianity provided a unifying moral foundation for black nationalism. The ANC on its part, promoted unity amongst the churches. Not surprisingly, it was the mission educated elite which controlled most black political organisations in the Eastern Cape.

A particularly successful expression of nationalism was the Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union which overshadowed the ANC in the 1920s as it became a national organisation. Following the formation of the Pact government in 1924, racial tensions polarised and proletarianisation affected groups as diverse as labour tenants and middle class blacks. The ICU became a movement dedicated to the liberation of the black nation. It differed from the ANC both in its approach to nationalism and its major support from the poorer classes. Yet, its approach remained moderate insofar as many of its supporters had succeeded within the status quo, eg. teachers who 'had won sufficient stake within the existing system to identify themselves with certain tenets of liberal ideology' (Lodge 1979:16 in Bradford 1984:296).

Despite this, many experienced the same as H Tyamzashe who was dismissed from Lovedale as a printer in 1921 and wrote to the *Outlook* 'Why have you educated me?' (Wilson & Perrot 1973:210-11) in a situation where the Pact government was destroying the economic base of aspiring middle class blacks. Tyamzashe's question is resonant with subversive implications relating to the inter-relatedness of the economy and black people. What is the point of an education which leads to unemployment? It is certainly not outcomes-based. Tyamzashe and others like him could be excused for concluding that their education was for restlessness, resistance, dissatisfaction and subversiveness. This was not the aim of his educators but of government policy. Education is a challenge to an economically evolving system which has no permanent place for black people: 'Being thrown into the wage earning classes of the

lumpen proletariat was a common experience among mission-trained craftsmen who became ICU organisers' (Bradford 1984:299). By the middle of the second decade of the twentieth century, virtually the only non-manual work available to blacks was teaching and that had its limits of absorption. And these teachers were sought out in their communities to accept leadership positions:

Educated blacks were clearly appropriating the skills and ideas imparted at school as weapons in the struggle for national liberation. The work of teenage pupils like Oscar Mpetha in ICU branch structures must be seen in this light, as should the transformation of mission school ideology by union leaders (Bradford 1984:307).

While the English-speaking churches were 'Servants of Power' (Cochrane 1987) 'Trapped in Apartheid' (Villa-Vicencio 1988) and therefore unable to stand on the side of black people, the Ethiopian churches provided a base for resistance founded in their own painful experiences. Events were moving apace and in 1924:

The breach in liberal hegemony was clearly indicated by the backing given to the Nationalist Party by all major organisations with black voters, including the ICU. Not that this meant a final break with liberal ideology and its institutional expressions: some national ICU officials were members of joint councils, while lesser organisers were often also elected representatives on location advisory boards. Moreover, fully two thirds of the delegates to the ICUs 1927 conference were members of the tiny African National Congress, whose programme of equal rights for civilised men accorded fully with classic liberal tenets (Bradford 1984:309).

We have noted how mission education provided the basis for resistance in political life and was itself rejected or adapted or transformed in the process. However, resistance was not just restricted to life after Lovedale. It was an integral part of life at Lovedale. It was demonstrated in various ways and came from both inside and beyond the campus during James Henderson's tenure as Principal.

5.8.2 Rioting as public resistance

It is in the light of these riotous and even revolutionary happenings [post war labour unrest] over a period of years that we must place the incident which earns an almost solitary reference to the doings of Lovedale in such a book as EA Walker's *History of South Africa* - the Lovedale riot of 1920 (Shepherd 1940:336).

A serious challenge was posed to the coercive agency of the Lovedale regime in 1920 with the outbreak of rioting which as well as having localised causes, was part of a growing national movement of disaffection: ‘Since the accomplishment of Union in 1910, there has been a steady feeling of discontentment, which has been fanned into active unrest during the past four years’ (Jabavu IRM XI:249 in Gerdener 1958:192; cf. Duncan 1997:67ff.):

‘Bolshevism and its nihilistic doctrines’ says Mr Jabavu in his “Black Problem”, published in 1920 ‘are enlisting many natives up country. Socialism of the worst calibre is claiming our people. They say that Christianity must be opposed; that we must fabricate a religion of our own. Christianity is the white man’s religion, which must be uprooted; we must unite to compass our freedom, opposing the white man tooth and nail’ (Jabavu IRM X:42 in Gerdener 1958:192).

The First World War (1914-1918) had according to Jabavu ‘awakened an otherwise long-dormant race consciousness in the Bantu, as seen among other examples in the spread of religious separatist movements’ (Gerdener 1958:193) resulting in ‘a growing demand from the Natives for State as opposed to Mission education’ (Loram, IRM 1921:498-508 in Gerdener 1958:193). This was related to the economic situation of the country which was to deteriorate in the 1920s. Lovedale itself accepted that the strike emanated from external sources:

We are satisfied this trouble did not originate in Lovedale The virus came from outside – where has not yet been fully discovered; the use of the red flag and the attacking of the power station may be indicators – and not only Lovedale, but a number of other Training Institutions had been inoculated. Symptoms manifested themselves in other institutions, but happily, not so seriously as at Lovedale.

The Land Act of 1913 implanted a most deplorable crop of suspicion in the minds of the natives and served to bind together tribes and clans, up till then disunited, as nothing else had hitherto done. There is restlessness all over the world and notably among students. And strikes are in fashion. Educated natives read the newspapers; not a few have witnessed European strikes in Johannesburg and elsewhere and have seen that in several recent instances the strikers have not come off second best. Here was a new weapon they themselves could use (CE, L, 595, 1 June 1920, The Outbreak at Lovedale:85).

However, a report (Cory PR 3983, 1920, Appendix I) of Rev Frank Ashcroft and Mr Andrew Houston, Deputies [of the FMC of the FCoS] to South Africa assessed the situation as ‘largely a domestic matter’ which took little account of the larger context. However, they concluded that:

The staff, which during the war had been much below normal, through a variety of causes seems to have got for a time out of touch with the students, and was apparently quite unaware of the discontent

that existed. The loyalty of the boys to the institution which has been a marked feature of the past, had apparently sunk to a low ebb, and the deputies find that some of the domestic conditions prevailing made it difficult for the boys to preserve a proper pride in their school. The dormitories were not the large airy rooms we expected in such an institution, but were for the most part poor, unattractive quarters, sometimes overcrowded, in which discontent might well find a home, and in which the pupils were left far too much to themselves. The frequent changes in the boarding master caused by the war no doubt led to a relaxation of discipline and control. The theory of control did not seem to the deputies adequate, resting as it did on the supervision of monitors. In addition to the monitors chosen from among the boys they consider a responsible teacher ought to be in charge of the dormitory. The arrangements in the dining hall also left much to be desired. The food did not seem to be served in an attractive manner, and the separate tables, with their minute variations in the food served in accordance with the scale of fees, seemed to us objectionable.

Burchell (1979:84) alludes to ‘alienation between the staff and the pupils’ as a contributory cause of the outbreak. ZK Matthews (1981:32) complained ‘None of the food was good. It was poorly cooked and crudely served and was the direct causes of serious discontent’. He offers a penetrating analysis which is worthy of serious consideration:

It would not be a simple matter to try to expose and dissect the complicated and often subtle and unverballed mental and emotional state of the young Africans who comprised the student body of Lovedale. No man can live for long in a regime in which his inferiority is assumed without building up powerful resentments. Deprived in his normal daily life of any effective outlet – the passionate devotion to sport helped, but was not enough – these feelings sometimes centred on the obvious question of food.

The food served at Lovedale, as well as at all African educational institutions, has presented over the years a problem which European school authorities have never really faced

We had to go on, feeling cramped, dissatisfied, and physically unfit

Deep-seated causes rooted in discrimination and the general treatment of non-whites undoubtedly played an important role but, despite some real improvements, nobody has yet tried to give African students a better physical regime to see what would happen (Matthews 1981:42-3).

Matthews, a former student of Lovedale was still a student at Fort Hare at the time of the outbreak and can, therefore, be taken as a reliable commentator on the event having himself had experience of the conditions at Lovedale and being an observer resident in the area at the time. Matthews comments do not accord with Jabavu’s assessment that the outbreak was the result of the actions of ‘irresponsible youths’ (Switzer 1990:96). After all, these same youths had no channels such as a students’ representative council to act on their behalf: ‘At Lovedale, we had no such outlet for our feelings’ (Matthews 1981:43). It is also interesting to note two separate comments on the boys having too little to occupy their time constructively, an earlier source of disciplinary problems.

From this we might conclude that the outbreak had both internal and external causes but the fact that similar outbreaks occurred in other institutions would indicate that the causes originated in a wider context than that of institutions which provided the local context and occasion for disturbances.

Protests took the form of demonstrations, boycotts, arson, threats and violence mainly by boarders and were located primarily in rural institutions. The first educational establishment to be affected was Kilnerton Training Centre in February 1920. With specific reference to the Lovedale disturbance Gerdener (1958:192) commented:

In April 1920, the Lovedale outbreak, accompanied by the utmost violence, arson and destruction of property, resulted in fines and imprisonment with hard labour for some 198 students Economic stress seemed to fan the flames at that unhappy juncture. More than one expressed the view that the Native was losing his faith in the white man, his education and his religion.

This was followed by other outbreaks:

Similar trouble to that experienced at Lovedale manifested itself about the same time in other Native Institutions with varying seriousness, apparently not arising from any preconcerted purpose or plan, but from a spirit of recalcitrancy against general and local displeasing conditions. Later in the year Native grievances in regard to wages arising out of the high cost of living led at Port Elizabeth to turbulence, which resulted, more or less through misadventure, in a much to be regretted destruction of life (LMI Reports VI, 1920:4-5).

Again, we see the products of mission education rejecting the very process which enabled them to access 'high status jobs and a middle class position in society' (Christie 1985:224). But the process gave them access to literature in the form of books, newspapers and journals which developed an awareness of and enabled them to discuss issues of importance to them which they saw reflected in society in general:

Generally speaking, the strikes were directed against conditions in the mission schools, like poor food, compulsory manual labour and harsh punishment from teachers.

In the mission schools food was an important indicator of difference – and also a source of protest. In some schools the staff, and the students who paid higher fees, received much better food than the students who paid less (Christie 1985:223).

Such a place was Lovedale where ‘here as everywhere else, the food question becomes at times a “vexed question”’ (CE, VI, 70, 1 July 1876:2-3) so it was not a new issue by any means.

Henderson had already had to deal with a disturbance related to food in 1910. Then complaints about the quality of samp used were made, first of all by the girls. On investigation, Henderson agreed and took steps to resolve the issue, though this could not be done immediately due to the supplier’s inability to supply new stock at short notice. Henderson took steps to resolve the problem by having the existing stock aired and dried but this was not acceptable to the students, including the boys who had joined the fray:

And every one that had any matter of discontent in the Institution fanned it, that the pupils were being fed on ‘rotten’ samp. The result was unsettlement on Sunday evening and on Monday night a section of the boarders numbering about sixty, behaved in an exceedingly turbulent manner after dark, and struck work the following morning. This turbulent section was composed with one or two exceptions of pupils of one tribe (Cory MS 8388, Report regarding insubordination of certain pupils at Lovedale, August 1910:2).

Summary dismissal was the fate of the ringleaders and when the others were requested to return to duties having been approached ‘in a friendly way’ they refused in an act of solidarity with their dismissed colleagues; the ‘hidden transcript’ having become public by ‘a declared refusal to comply of necessity breach[es] the normative order of domination’ (Scott 1990:203). The stand-off between the Lovedale authorities and the striking students was a direct public challenge to its long established hegemony:

The moment when the dissent of the hidden transcript crosses the threshold to open resistance is always a politically charged occasion ... [where] the open declaration of the hidden transcript in the teeth of power is typically experienced, both by the speaker and by those who share his or her condition as a moment in which truth is finally spoken in the place of equivocation and lies (Scott 1990:207-8).

This constituted an unauthorised gathering which to be seen ‘as potentially threatening’ (Scott 1990:61). Since such gatherings are not:

imagined or legitimised by the official account, it follows that any such activity is frowned upon. More than that, it is commonly seen as an implicit threat to domination. What possible reason, other than their subordination, could possibly serve to bring them together? The assumption that any such

gatherings would lead, unless dispersed, to insubordination was not often mistaken, since the gathering itself was seen as a form of insubordination (Scott 1990:63).

Interestingly, the recalcitrant students did not give in to pressure to return to work but did all in their power to 'unsettle the work of the Institution, and to induce those that were doing their duty to join with them' (Cory MS 8388:2-3). Consequently, in order to maintain ideological domination, the authorities demonised the students who left as:

unsatisfactory in character and in work, or pupils who have been discontented and unwilling to proceed with apprenticeship or go on with their studies Those who have left will no doubt have stories of many grievances, but most of those grievances have been manufactured after this event to justify themselves for the misconduct to which they have given way (Cory MS 8388:3).

It is an interesting question to ponder if Henderson was not also involved in a degree of self-justification for his dismissal of students who, according to his own assessment, had a grievance and who had destroyed no property? No further attempts were made to defuse the situation because:

The open refusal to comply with a hegemonic performance is, then a particularly dangerous form of insubordination. In fact, the term *insubordination* is quite appropriate here because any particular refusal to comply is not merely a tiny breach in a symbolic wall; it necessarily calls into question all the other acts that this form of insubordination entails (Scott 1990:205).

Previously, minor acts of insubordination reveal the hidden transcript as can be seen in the LMI reports dealing with discipline where there is a constant reference to a need for 'tightening up' (LMI Reports VIII, 1928:23) as the result of 'the lack of discipline among some of the students' (LMI Reports VI, 1920:14) despite 'its high reputation for kindly discipline and strong effective control' (LMI Reports VIII, 1927:17). This lack of control was adduced by T Atkinson, head of the Printing Department who blamed the failure of the Boarding Master, Mr Young, 'to "cultivate" his monitors and to work through them' as one reason, among others for the riot (Cory MS 16453[A], Atkinson to Henderson, sa). It is interesting to note the coercive use of the terms 'friendly' and 'kindly' as if to indicate that the authorities were exercising a form of benevolence which was not required of them but was purely gratuitous, yet was aimed to manipulate students into a capitulative response.

Prior to the 1920 strike at Lovedale, there had been a food strike at nearby Healdtown.

Henderson's views on this outbreak reveal that he had no awareness of this as more than a purely localised matter despite its context of drought and poverty:

It is a most unfortunate occurrence and will give a tool into the hands of those that are opposed to Native education and bring the rising generation of educated Natives into disrepute. The incident is a fresh evidence of the liability of Bantu people at times to run amok, when there is no restraining them and all regard to the consequences of their actions is thrown to the winds a racial trait that we must reckon with continually, those of us who have to control and discipline numbers of them. Our discipline this year is good I think we have always had a closer spiritual relationship with our pupils than they have had at Healdtown, and a greater pull upon them in that way (Cory MS 14427/3, Henderson to Donald, 19 May 1919).

It is strange that it appears that only black people have the capacity to run amok when, a few years later, even white people were to go on strike and behave in a like manner in Johannesburg. Henderson's remarks are elitist and racist and he interprets 'spiritual relationship' in a way that suggests acquiescence and conformity with accepted Institution views. How badly he misinterpreted the situation.

The 1920 riot which occurred on 25th April while Henderson was absent from the Institution has been described as 'probably the biggest of its kind ever known at any South African Institution'³. Buildings were smashed, the Institution grain-store was burned down, the electric power-house attacked. This constituted the 'desecration of status symbols of the dominant' (Scott 1990:198). Unfortunately, some members of staff, including the Acting Principal, were pelted with stones' (SAO, 77, 910, 1 February 1947:25). Damage was estimated at around £3500.

³ It was preceded by a similar riot at Healdtown in 1918.

While more than two hundred students were arrested, one hundred and ninety eight stood trial in Grahamstown and received a variety of sentences from a fine of £15 to three months imprisonment with hard labour as well as a fine of £50. When Henderson returned to Lovedale he had to consider the matter of readmitting students involved in the riot. He adopted a relatively conciliatory attitude to a degree for 'a considerable proportion of the rioters have been readmitted' (LMI Reports VI, 1920:4) with the possibility of further readmissions though on extremely strict conditions including:

giving an undertaking that he [sic] will behave himself properly in the Institution in the future All those readmitted will be on probation. They will be allowed to continue in the institution only if they give full satisfaction as to attitude, behaviour and earnestness in the discharge of their duties' (Cory MS 16453[A] Conditions under which Pupils and Apprentices implicated in the recent riot may be readmitted).

Henderson had sought advice from a member of staff who advocated stronger measures than were adopted (Cory MS 16453[A], Pilson to Henderson, 2 July 1920). It is clear from this that readmission is tied to conforming to the Institution's norm of character formation. There is no option for variance in behavioural pattern;, only conditioned responses are acceptable.

However, the readmission policy was also somewhat condescending:

In such large numbers as the Institution enrolls, it inevitably happens that some are admitted whom the Institution would be better off without, oldish backward students, heathenish at heart, who have no interest in education, and are tired of trying to learn, but are kept at it by fond parents, lads corrupted with wrong town experiences, and racially embittered persons, who have lost a sense of proportion, and who do not breathe a Christian spirit (LMI Reports VI, 1920:4).

Here is an example of self-justification exonerating the Lovedale authorities for not following their own avowed aim of choosing the best calibre of student by failing to weed out potential problems and character failures, blaming the lack of commitment in the older boys who came late to the process of institutionalisation having been first exposed to the vagaries of town life. This is supported by the use of police, an external institutionalised force, to quell the outburst:

On this police question Dr. Henderson declared: 'The institution is not to blame in the matter. When the boys began burning and threatening to murder people there was no other way but for the police to take things over. And let me say this, the Native people should be thankful that the police did come in at the time when they did' (Cory MS 16453A; SAO 77, 910, 1 February 1947:25).

However, Henderson's attitude hardened later as the result of his view that the Blythwood students were 'emulating the riff raff of Johannesburg in dealing with what they regard as grievances' (Cory MS 14427/6, Henderson to Donald, 24 February 1929):

In my own opinion the leniency that has hitherto been shown, and the circumstance that the penalties have fallen rather upon the parents and guardians of the students than upon the culprits themselves, have caused these incidents to be lightly regarded by the student body I judge that we shall not put an end to these offences until it is known by every entrant that the Institutions will not in any way stand between students guilty of offences against order in such circumstances and the Police authorities (Cory MS 16453[A], Henderson to Viljoen, Superintendent-General of Education, 27 February 1929 on the outbreak at Blythwood Institution).

This idea of Henderson's whose avowed aim was to 'give the institutions security for the future' (Cory MS 14427/6, Henderson to Donald, 24 February 1929) became the official policy of the Association of Heads of Native Institutions (SAO 59, 695, 2 April 1929, Native Training Institutions:77). It appears there was some concern about their future security. Perhaps the days were passing when such institutions could impose their will arbitrarily on students. A divide and rule policy was adopted which would result in alienating students who rejected authority: 'it shall be the responsibility of every student or apprentice to dissociate himself from such disorder or violence by following the ordinary routine of the Institution' (SAO, 59, 695, 2 April 1929:77). Concerning the outbreak at Blythwood, Henderson also commented that the students 'believed that not merely its name and position but its very existence depended upon their attending it' (Cory MS 16453[A]). This demonstrates the degree to which Henderson was a captive to institutionalisation himself, that he could imply that the institution did not need or require students to exist. One might then wonder what the actual purpose of the institution was?

There are, however, references to operating on a 'skeleton existence' basis for several years in order to stabilise the situation (Cory MS 16453[A], Henderson to Viljoen, 27 February 1929; SAO, 77, 910, 1 February 1947). Stabilisation would infer the recruitment of suitable

students through more stringent selection and entry procedures. As far as Henderson was concerned, the attitude of parents presumably was less than might have been hoped for:

The Native people have not expressed themselves nearly as strongly as they ought to have done in reprobation of these affairs; and I am not aware of much being said by them in sympathy with Mr Stormont [Principal], in the shameful affront to which he has been subjected (Cory MS 14430/4, Henderson to family, 17 March 1929).

Commenting on the outcome of stern action taken against dissenting students during the outbreak at Blythswood in 1929, Henderson (Cory PR 4144, 3 March 1929:80) commented:

Our students seem to have grasped better than ever before the seriously damaging effect of such outbreaks on the reputation of Native students and on the institutions that train them and they are quieter and more careful in their behaviour than I have known them for long.

Apart from damage to the reputation of Lovedale in then wider community, concern was expressed about the damage to the ethos of the Institution: 'The years of war brought so many troubles and problems that many things we used to think essential have been forgotten and the tone and spirit of the Institution have deteriorated as a consequence' (Cory MS 16453[A] Atkinson to Henderson, sa.). This may be linked to the issue of character which is fundamental to the essence of the Institution. In mitigation of the severe sentences, Lennox (Acting Principal) pled for clemency: 'the great majority of these lads in the Institution have borne a good character. On account of their previous good behaviour ... we ask that these lads be treated with mercy' (CE, L, 595, 1 June 1920:86). That mercy was not forthcoming is not surprising in one sense for as far as the court was concerned, the law had been broken and restitution had to be made. But in another senses, having acknowledged that the motivation for the outbreak originated, at least in part, form beyond the Institution, it is surprising that such strong measures were advocated and taken with regard to the matter of the readmission of students especially following the failure of the appeal for clemency. After all, the 'infant metaphor' was still perpetuated; these were recalcitrant children: 'A child is warned not to touch the fire; the warning is unheeded and a burnt finger is the consequence. The burn

teaches a life-long lesson the mother's words failed to teach. And, to go deeper, God does not condone evil' (CE, L, 595 1 June 1920:85). Perhaps, the Lovedale authorities, still at this time governed by an internal body, the Board of Education, felt a strong need to re-establish the fractured aura of institutionalisation expressed by coercive agency which had served Lovedale so well for so long.

That the tenets of institutionalisation had been assaulted is clear from the attitude adopted towards the monitors in the Institution. The magistrate who heard the case was in no doubt concerning the responsibility of the prefects: 'Dealing with the ringleaders, the Magistrate made invidious distinctions, and pointed out that the principal evidence against them was that they were monitors. It did not follow that although they were monitors that they were necessarily leaders in the riot' however, according to the reporter (CE, L, 596, 1 July 1920 The Lovedale Outbreak:101). But the magistrate had contended:

These monitors had a certain amount of influence with the others and it was their duty to use their influence to restrain the boys instead of encouraging and inciting them. They are really the ones responsible for the whole trouble, and I certainly intend to punish them far more severely than the others (CE, L, 595, 1 June 1920:87).

While little direct evidence is available concerning the active role of the monitors in the outbreak, a number of points about the Lovedale view of their responsibility must be noted: 'The majority of the boys seem to have been carried away by a few extremists, amongst whom some of the monitors were prominent' (Cory PR 3983). In two issues of the *Christian Express*, Lovedale's voice, the magistrate's views are propounded without comment or challenge. In the appeal for clemency, no specific mention is made by Lennox of their role or need for mercy. In considering the course of a riot, it is difficult to assess the potential power of a small group, however powerful, to stop a riot once it begins to gain momentum. In any case, these boys would probably have been perceived by the others as lackeys of the authorities especially chosen because they, at least, appeared to conform to the norms and

aims of the Institution which would have undermined their power to influence events and other students.

Another difficulty in apportioning blame in the outbreak was the problem of the 'strategic use of anonymity with a "capacity for swift direct action. To be of a crowd or a mob was another way of being anonymous"' (Thompson 1974:401 in Scott 1990:150) and this process of being anonymous is derived from the development of 'informal networks of community'. While the monitors may well have been involved in the outbreak, the more salient point is that they should have known about it as far as the authorities were concerned. That was their surveillance role. Whether they did or did not know is beside the point. They failed possibly because of social pressure and the force of solidarity. Further they, at least, were identifiable and so an example could be made of them to demonstrate the hegemonic power of the authorities and the ability to maintain that power in the face of direct threats to its symbolic universe.

One other matter may be raised in connection with the apportioning of blame arising out of the outbreak. Atkinson's (Cory MS 16453[A]) letter, alluded to the 'failure of Mr Young [Boarding Master] to "cultivate" his monitors and to work through them' as well as his lack of experience: 'Mr Young was put into his office before he had time to realise what his many responsibilities were' though he 'would no doubt have learned from experience but he was a difficult man to give advice to'. Henderson, in seeking a missionary to fill the position had been clear about the qualifications of a boarding master:

The man required must be possessed by a strong missionary spirit, he must have personality force and energy, and capacity for maintaining discipline Discipline among our Native students is not difficult of maintaining if a man has capacity for it. They have a gift for sizing men up, and those who win their confidence can do a great deal with them No other member of staff is brought into such

constant and close association with the students, and has such opportunities of exercising and moulding influence upon them (Cory MS 14851, Henderson to Ashcroft, 20 May 1919).

Certainly, Young's appointment was a poor one in terms of not providing a support system for him in such a responsible position. His lack of experience and the eruption of the outbreak while he was still new to the staff did not help his situation. He felt the responsibility to such a great degree that he resigned. Though it was ostensibly because 'after the outbreak on the 25th April, the shock to Mrs Young's health render[ed] it inadvisable for here to return to Lovedale' (LMI Reports VI, 1920:7). Young exposed another interpretation of the situation in an angry letter to Henderson. His letter (Cory 14851, X-2, to Henderson, 31 January 1921) was a response to reading the report of the Scottish deputies (Cory PR 3983) in a newspaper, the *Record*, which assessed the situation as 'largely a domestic matter' which took little account of the wider context. However, they concluded that: 'It was unfortunate that the change [in food] was made by the new boarding master without direct instructions from the Acting-Principal, and in his absence'. Young, though only at Lovedale for a short time during 1920, assessed the causes of the riot somewhat differently and possibly not too accurately although he revealed in public transcript something which had been well concealed in others' hidden transcripts:

If the causes of the Lovedale riot are to be sought on the side of the staff, they would be found, not so much perhaps in any one individual, as in the utter lack of Christian spirit or feeling pervading there. The atmosphere which we arrived in surprised us beyond words. Jealousies bickerings, quarrels seemed to be the order of the day. Christian feeling – nay, the ordinary decent sympathy of civilised folks for one another was strangely absent

Inasmuch as I am accused in this article directly and indirectly of certain things, it is interesting to speculate why I was not given the opportunity to meet the Deputies. In civil inquiries, a person against whom accusations are made, is invariably given the right to appear in his own defence – missionary justice, however, rides roughshod over the rights of individuals.

Now, Sir, it may be the custom of South African mission stations to attempt to retrieve their position in the public eyes by imputing blame to an individual without giving him the opportunity to defend himself – I do not know; but proper minded people just don't do that sort of thing

I can only conclude that the Deputies were grossly misinformed, and knowing Lovedale as I do I am not surprised.

Henderson was not unaware of this situation for he had inherited a similar one when he became Principal of Lovedale. He had to deal with a situation where 'danger threatened' as the result of:

an organised opposition to my predecessor, which on the testimony of the best friends of the Institution was ruining its character and its work. By the grace of God I have been able to bring about a measure of unity and harmonious working. Why I have delayed action is that I might see whether the forces on the side of peace and harmonious co-operation could be as marshalled that the influence of the worker in question who has been the main source of strife would be nullified (NLS MS 7801, Henderson to Smith, 4 June 1906).

He had commented in 1914:

as a whole the Institution is working harmoniously. Of course there are difficult people, we ourselves are difficult people to some others, and on many points, a large community will not see eye to eye in everything, but the main question is whether on the larger issues there is effective understanding and co-operation It would be strange if there was nothing to gossip about in such an institution in ordinary time and if the institution was a missionary one, and doubtless the best hated in South Africa by a not inconsiderable portion of the people. Then there must always be difference of opinion as to lines of action and policy (Cory MS14851, Letters out 1914/3, Henderson to Ross, 23 June 1914).

Again he commented: 'On such a staff as ours defects in character have unfortunately been manifested as in all organisations employing a large and mixed staff' (Cory MS 14851, letters out 1914/3, Henderson to Ashcroft, Report, July 1914). It is interesting to note the need for character formation on the part of some staff members as well as the students. Was this the result of a failure in selection procedures? Seemingly so for Henderson contended:

It is character that we are concerned with much more than knowledge, and the men [and women?] that count with us are those that can indent upon the pupils their own purer and nobler personality and impel them to better living. I need not say that spiritual earnestness of the type that does not greatly fluctuate in temperature but is always warm is the first essential (Cory MS 14851, letters out 1914/4, Henderson to Ashcroft, 21 October 1914).

Though Henderson took a less critical stance than Young, this reveals the very institutional nature of Lovedale where inmates, even staff, are subject to the vagaries of living in the confined space of a total institution.

It is surprising that those in charge at Lovedale were not prepared for the events of April 1920. Not only were they unable to read the signs of the times in the nation at large; they had also suffered the effects of national and international events such as the Natives' Land Act and the First World War. Then, they took no account of the fact that Kilnerton suffered from

the same problems only a little earlier. Perhaps they felt secure in their comparatively sheltered institutionalised existence. A parochial self-contained outlook is not uncommon in such institutions whose vision might not extend, as in Lovedale's case, beyond the 'white gates' of the Institution. It may be judged that the disciplinary response was excessive in terms of the causes being at least, in part, external to the Institution. The food situation remained largely unattended to:

The Institution desires to make it clear to parents and boarders, that it reserves the right to modify the diet for any reason that may be necessary, either cost of food, or health, or any other sufficient cause (Cory MS 16453[A], Lennox to [parents?] 3 June 1920).

They certainly had no intention of using the incident as a means of reassessing and evaluating their approach such was their conviction of the righteousness of the coercive agency they exercised:

This untoward incident will not move those responsible for directing Lovedale from the assurance that they are there for God's work. They will carry on, seeking to learn the lessons this trouble may be permitted to teach, convinced more than ever that Lovedale's main effort must be spiritual – the upbuilding of robust Christian character – no matter how strong the pressure of educational and financial requirements to divert it from this its primary purpose. Lovedale will carry on in confidence that, in God's good Providence, its best work is still ahead of it. And while it had no place for any who still flatter themselves that their cowardly attack upon private houses in which were women, and the wanton destruction of over £3500 worth of missionary property, was a brave and noble deed, - where there is unmistakable evidence of real repentance, Lovedale can and will forgive (CE, L, 595, 1 June 1920:86).

There is implicit in this article a trace of arrogance and condescension especially as far as educational and financial purposes are concerned. The primary aim of conversion is again affirmed.

In retrospect, this outbreak was an ongoing serious challenge to the hegemony of mission educators which would come to fruition in the 1946 riot at Lovedale which was by then under Shepherd's leadership (Kros 1992:12). In this incident, Shepherd used the 1920 outbreak as a parallel and 'justified his draconian actions with reference to the precedent he himself had constructed in his interpretation of the Lovedale riot of 1920' (Kros 1992:3). He summoned the police 'requesting a patrol as a precautionary measure' (Kros 1992:8). Did he fear a

repetition of the destruction of property or was his motive more sinister, to be ready to deal an effective blow against any insurgency? By the 1940s, the struggle had materialised into one of openly contesting the cultural values being imposed at Lovedale. This struggle involved a new generation of teachers:

The struggle over what was acceptable conduct was representative of a more fundamental struggle between the white and some of the black teachers, who were trying to prepare pupils for their subordinate role in segregated society, and the students who bitterly resented it, of which we get but tantalising glimpses. It is reminiscent of the phenomenon the Comaroffs [1991:24-5] describe and characterise as: '... an ideological struggle; for it necessarily involves an effort to control the cultural terms in which the world is ordered, and within it, power legitimised.' When the Comaroffs [:31] write of '... gestures that sullenly and silently contest the forms of an existing hegemony', they use the very vocabulary of the Report of Enquiry into the school disturbances. The Report asserts: '... in (some institutions) the committee sensed a feeling of repression and lack of sympathy: in at least one, signs of unhealthy discipline were manifest in the slouching movement of some of the students, their unpunctuality, their discourtesy, bordering on sullenness (Kros 1992:13).

Clearly, Shepherd had learned little, if anything, from his study of the 1920 outbreak.

The destruction of property was a feature of the 1920 outbreak. A more serious assault on the coercive agency of Lovedale came with an attempt to destroy the predominant enduring physical feature of the Institution.

5.8.3 Resistance through arson

A serious misfortune befell the Institution on the night of 25 July 1924, when a considerable part of the Main Educational Building was razed to the ground as the result of an incident of arson. This was 'indeed as the [Daily] "Dispatch" puts it, a national disaster' (Cory MS 14855, Jacob to Henderson, 25 July 1924). This view was adopted by many for this was:

a building, which we are sure, was the pride not only of Lovedale but of all the enlightened element of our people The spirit in which both students and staff exerted their efforts to save the building only testifies to the great esteem in which this leading Native Institution is held by our people Your loss is our loss, and ... this unpleasant incident will not in any way chill our enthusiasm in the great task you have before you of enlightening the masses of your people (Cory MS 14855, Fort Beaufort and Victoria East Teachers' Association to Henderson, 24 September 1924)

More than one hundred and twenty messages of sympathy came from far and wide, including the monitors of St John's College, Umtata; Rev H Mama, Clerk to the Presbytery Of Kafraria; FB Mdani, Mbonda Mission; staff of Morija Training Institute; LC Moumakoa; PM Sebina, Bechuanaland; Rev W Tseu, Congregational minister, Port Elizabeth; Rev E Tsewu, New Brighton; BJP Tyamzashe, Tigerkloof Native Institution; Rev C Koti, Pirie Mission - many of whom were former students (Cory MS 14855). What was particularly shocking to all concerned was that this symbol of timeless stability had been desecrated along with a part of the mystical ethos of total institutionalisation (Cory MS 14485, Henderson to Grimmer: De Beers, 14 August 1924). Lovedale's Main Educational Building:

stood in our midst, as it were a mouthpiece daily announcing to the Native peoples of this land, the love of the Church, and the people of Scotland, for Christ. Lovedale, therefore, for many years bore a mother's burden of being a nursery of various mission denominations, and supplied our continent with polished living instruments manufactured within its walls (Cory MS 14855, Holfort Mama to Henderson, 10 October 1924).

With regard to the cause of the fire, little that was definite was uncovered. What is clear is that this was not an isolated or individual act of resistance to coercive agency: 'you have had some desperate attempts made to burn down recently' (Cory MS 14485, N Mc, Daily Dispatch to Henderson, 18 August 1924):

The persistent efforts made to destroy Lovedale buildings by fire point to some organised and determined movement, which I sincerely hope will be discovered, and its agitators severely punished. If the court consisted of old Lovedalites, I think they should have no opportunity of repeating the offence (Cory MS 14485, WG Bennie to Henderson, 22 August 1924).

As far as Henderson was concerned, the fire:

was the work of someone altogether reckless of consequences, and the circumstances point to a mind more or less insane. The police have not yet completed their work, but suspicion attaches to a Native man ... discharged from Lovedale employment as a teacher at the end of last year, And when the facts come out the Native people themselves will feel sorest (Cory MS 14485, Henderson to Grimmer, 14 August 1924).

As time progressed, Henderson (Cory MS 14485, to Rev J Reyneke, 3 September 1924) was able to give more information and offer some assessment of the outcome of the fire:

We have now no doubt that it was the work of an evil hand, and that that hand was Native, and one who had been with us and one of us for nearly two years. It is a sore blow, and one that will bring discredit on our Native people among many of the Europeans in the country, for they will not fail to apply the criminal tendency to all, and regard what has happened as a judgment upon our policy of trusting the Native people and endeavouring to rule them by kindness and consideration.

This was allegedly the work of an extreme resister and worse still, a former teacher and was a personal blow to Henderson who hoped for and expected better things from his staff. It was an example of a severe failure in staff character development. Henderson repeatedly refers to the damage done to black education in this and other incidents (cf. Cory MS 14485, to Loram, 4 August 1924; to Ntloko, 31 July 1924; to Koti 31 July 1924) as if this was a personal failure. Perhaps it was more a testimony to the failure of the coercive agency displayed and enacted at Lovedale for even in speaking of black people he makes it clear that the *modus operandi* is to empower blacks by Lovedale's 'rule' over them.

5.8.4 Resistance in sports

Deprived in normal daily life of any effective outlet – the passionate devotion to sport helped, but was not enough ... (Matthews 1981:42).

Sport was certainly no innocent pastime in the economy of mission institutions. While it was a healthy outlet for exuberance and accumulated energy in academic study, it was also used as a means of expressing resistance among students. It was co-opted by the authorities as part of the character building process fostering *esprit de corps*, co-operation, team work and discipline: 'Sport helps discipline much' (LMI Reports VII, 1926:19). It was an integral part of the educational system and at its best it showed 'a fine sportsmanlike spirit' (Cory MS 8980, Lovedale Missionary Institution:75th Anniversary: Paper, 21 July 1916). Yet it was also an area of contestation, of subtle resistance which occasionally flared into the arena of the public transcript. While the staff co-opted sport as a means of dissipating crude barbaric energy and thereby hopefully reducing the possibility of physical outbreaks of any kind, the students were able to use it as a means of making various points and demonstrating that they were not just passive recipients of mission education. Occasionally, this youthful exuberance

deteriorated into wild behaviour as at a football match where Lovedale had gone to play against Healdtown:

All the boys were from Lovedale Institution for I spoke to them myself and saw them off the place Last Saturday on the occasion of the football match we were overrun by Lovedale boys. They strewed the whole place with orange peel, invaded the dormitories and elsewhere and large numbers remained in the dormitories while all our boys were away at dinner. The visiting team arrived and departed and enjoyed our hospitality without a word of greeting or thanks.

A party of boys invaded the girls' department without permission and upon the Lady Superintendent endeavouring to shorten their intercourse with our girls went away jeering and shouting insult to the lady in charge (Cory MS 14851 W/1, Watkinson to Henderson, 7 September 1922).

This was totally unacceptable behaviour by any standards but it was worse for the Lovedale authorities because not only was it a public demonstration of defiance of normal rules of conduct, the incident took place at Healdtown, Lovedale's rival institution. This would call into question the nature of the regime they operated and challenge their authority.

Prior to the 1920 outbreak, the male students had partially boycotted a Sports Concert and matters did not improve substantially following the re-opening of Lovedale after the outbreak:

for the Hunter Shield was not competed for, the teams that had no chance of winning it voting it down. Afterwards the team that won the shield in 1919 wanted their name inscribed on it for 1920, though they had voted against playing for it. This competition also caused a lot of strife in 1919. All this proves we have a lot to learn as regards true sport and what it stands for, and that there is urgent need for a change in the government of these games (LMI Reports VI, 1920:59).

What was not understood here was that the problems had nothing to do with sport *per se*.

This was an example of subversion of the norms of the activity possibly resulting from the harsh attitude taken towards those who had been designated as ringleaders in the 1920 outbreak. When it is said 'we' have a lot to learn, this refers to students and not staff though it seems that both sides had a great deal to learn about relating to one another. This was a constant area of contestation not only between staff and students but also between students themselves marked by 'an element of disunion which militated against success' (LMI Reports VII, 1925:75). The 'all things in moderation' idea seemed to apply in the Institution's approach to sport as some rivalry was applauded, but an excess of it was to be deplored 'for it

affects the nature of the games' (LMI Reports VII, 1921:58). There appears to be a continual need to control and expect appropriate responses as if it is always possible to attain the optimum level of performance of behaviour through an internalised self-imposed discipline. In 1925, there were a number of incidents in Inter-college matches which may have arisen out of the appointment of partisan referees: 'which suggest that more consideration be given to the appointment of efficient neutral referees' (LMI Reports VII, 1925:75).

The importance of control in sports can be viewed from the perspective of the need to exercise a tightly organised direction of activities. Henderson (Cory MS 14427/8, Henderson to Donald, 23 March 1930) refers to a dispute arising between the Lovedale Sports Committee (elected by Senate) and the Inter-Institutional Sports Committee and claims that Lovedale:

did not agree to any formal arrangements for inter-institutional sports, but would arrange 'friendly matches' as appeared desirable. Since this is a direct going against a decision arrived at by the heads of Institutions concerned and entered into by parties conducting the sports last year it could not be allowed to pass With their present rather childish attitude I should prefer to be without this committee The root of the matter (is personal) dislike of a committee member.

This may well be an example of over reaction to what is considered subversion, though it may well be 'much ado about nothing'. However, it is clear that the authorities took such matters very seriously notwithstanding the frustration Henderson seems to have experienced and displayed which is evinced in the use of the infant metaphor. Perhaps, Henderson's deteriorating health made him susceptible to petty frustrations especially in dealing with the likes of 'the fierce little man Dent who appears to have been the disturber' (Cory MS 14431/1, SP His Diary Strictly Private, 27 March sa):

the bug bear in which is their excellent but very *difficile* leader in games and sport _____, with whom our men find it all but impossible to work harmoniously. It is not that he does not mean well, but he was, and is not as keen as anybody that things should go well, but he was, as Johnson once described an opponent of his, born to object Our men from Lovedale, heads of schools both of them, could not be moved from their general position that they wanted no organisation of sport, what they had was good enough, and that they would not play for 'points'. By the grace of God your father managed to keep most of the time out of the controversy, but in the end when they were as obdurate as mules and everybody else was sore and disappointed he spoke and said that he was sorry and ashamed that

Lovedale should be the one to oppose a scheme of co-operation and that the representatives of Lovedale had taken the line they did (Cory MS 14427/8, Henderson to Donald, 11 April 1930).

A problem here might be the difficulty of handling a natural leader who can sway the minds and opinions of others, though the difficult person was not alone, despite the facility with which he was singled out for blame. There was a degree of manipulation in Henderson's appeal to their better nature regarding inter-institutional co-operation. This altercation led to the resignation of the Sports Committee which claimed that Henderson did not have confidence in them. Henderson would claim that the external policy of the Institution was laid down in the Constitution, therefore, the Sports Committee was wrong in opposing a policy of co-operation. But did they actually oppose it? It had not been demonstrated to them that:

their responsibility did not extend to general policy. Then it appeared that in all handing in their resignations they had done more harm than they had intended for such an act might have meant the paralysing of all the sports activities in the Institution, and it seems advisable that I should call their attention to this, especially the attention of those in responsible positions (Cory MS 14427/8, Henderson to Donald, 11 April 1930).

Henderson demonstrated sorrow for the incident and the matter was settled amicably. The incident demonstrates that no aspect of Lovedale's life was exempt from control, not even in the area of leisure activities or in the related work of Lovedale Press.

5.8.5 Resistance to resistance through literary efforts

The printing press made it possible to realign an entire cultural order. In the words of Mike Kanty, 'one of the most important effects of these early mission presses was to reduce a rich and diverse oral tradition to a few centres of literary patronage' (Kanty 1990:vii in De Kock 1992:44; cf. Peires 1979).

Although Lovedale Press was established in 1861, its work had begun as early as 1823. Its early development has already been chronicled (cf. 3.4.2:94f; 4.7.2:176ff. above). From its inception, the evangelistic purpose of the work was pre-eminent:

The primary aim of the missionaries was to spread the Gospel. The literary development of the Xhosa cannot be separated from the missionary endeavour (Jafta 1971:6).

The aim of the missionary was to spread the Gospel and also influence the Xhosa to accept an international way of life that would be acceptable in the civilised world (:14).

Hence, the coercive nature of the work of Lovedale Press was established at an early date. It aimed to bring the Xhosa people under the tutelage of the mission in order to be civilised and Christianised concurrently. One of Lovedale's prime means of spreading its influence was through the *South African Outlook*⁴. 'The journal reflected a wide range of political, social, economic and religious themes in keeping with its status as a major vehicle of expression for South Africa's liberal, multi-racial Christian elite' (Switzer & Switzer 1979:270). During much of this period, many blacks contributed to its pages, eg. PJ Mzimba, G Tyamzashe, JT Jabavu, RV Selope-Thema, and DDT Jabavu who 'were well aware of their status, moreover, and as personalities they formed a kind of collective consciousness which was to orchestrate the strategy and tactics of the black ideological responses to white rule for more than two generations' (Switzer & Switzer 1979:4). The extent to which they achieved this purpose was perhaps greater than was originally intended by those who controlled the press as 'subversive subservience' won the day! This was the result of:

the contradiction ... that forged the new political consciousness of black elites in early 20th century. It was a consciousness framed in terms learned in mission schoolrooms. And it deployed various literary forms – especially journalism – in ways that evangelical teachers had not foreseen (Comaroff 1996:41).

However, there were those who were more compliant, typical of the more acceptable black writers of the time, eg. Revs Tiyo Soga and John Knox Bokwe. They were some of those of whom it could be said:

Mission-mediated western values and norms were internalised by African Christians and these were reflected and reinforced in their publications. Victorian Christianity and the idealised missionary version of western civilisation were synonymous (Switzer 1983:6).

Soga had been involved in translating part of Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*, writing Xhosa hymns and revising the Xhosa Bible. Thus the 'devotional, evangelical and primary educational themes acceptable to missionaries continued to dominate book and pamphlet

⁴ The *Outlook* was named the *Christian Express* prior to 1922.

production in the vernacular at Lovedale' (Switzer 1993:121). Yet, this process also had subversive implications as:

Armed with a written vernacular Scripture, converts to Christianity invariably called into question the legitimacy of all schemes of foreign domination -cultural, political and religious. Here was an acute paradox: the vernacular Scriptures and the wider cultural and linguistic enterprise on which translation rested provided the means and occasion for arousing a sense of national pride, yet it was the missionaries – foreign agents – who were the creators of that entire process Even the nationalist point of view that came to dominate much historical writing about the new Africa was to a large extent moulded by the missionary exploration of indigenous cultures (Sanneh 1987:332-3).

Although the establishment of the 'Lovedale Mission Press ... created a solid base for the promotion of African-language publications and for the training of journalists and printers' (Roberts 1990:233), it was in the twentieth century that writing in Xhosa began to make an impact. 'Imaginative writing in Xhosa, which was mostly published by Lovedale Press, flourished especially in the 1920s': 'The development of a specifically Xhosa literature, with a coterie of African authors and an established audience, was a product of the twentieth century' (Switzer 1993:122). However, there was tension between writers and the missionaries because:

The printing of original manuscripts ... was virtually dependent on the goodwill of those missionaries who controlled the mission press. There is evidence that Lovedale effectively manipulated its control over the production of Xhosa manuscripts until its monopoly was broken by the state in the 1950s (Switzer 1993:122; cf. Peires 1989:176, Jafra 1971:15, Shepherd 1945:19, 28, 38, 53, 56, 85, 90;).

The motivation was clear as '[m]issionaries would not be willing to publish materials which "did not conform to their own notion of what was good for the community for whose education they felt responsible"' (Gerard 1981:181 in Maluleke 1995:26).

Perhaps the grossest example of editorial interference, for which substantial evidence is available, was that applied to Sol Plaatje's *Mhudi* 'the first English novel by a black South African writer' (Gray 1979:171). In order to find a publisher, and at the time the mission presses were virtually alone in having any sympathy with the aspirations of black writers, eg. HIE Dhlomo, Plaatje and others found it was necessary to conform to their requirements

which emanated from ‘the fact that it [African writing] was controlled into seeing the light of day, in a way which was desirable to the missionary presses themselves, and which might have been quite undesirable in terms of any purely literary criteria’ (:173). The black author ‘could therefore not record his true feelings and experiences without inhibition for fear of infringing on the holy ground’ (Jafta 1971:14).

In spite of Plaatje’s acknowledgement in *Mhudi* of the positive role of mission Christianity, his commentary on its negative value in suppressing the positive elements in African traditional religion and culture became the locus of ‘the psychological war that took place between Plaatje and his editors’ (Gray 1979:177). He ‘meant at the same time as extolling Christian virtue ... to assert that so-called pagan virtue was also wholesome and perfectly able to maintain a morally viable community life’ (:174). There was no overt attempt to denigrate the Christian faith or indeed its western civilisation counterpart, only a clear purpose in redeeming African traditional life from the negative press it had received at the hands of the missionaries. Consequently, ‘[t]he *Mhudi* which we have from Lovedale is a fundamentally different work from the *Mhudi* reassembled from the original manuscript source’ (:175) which is ‘in many respects a more radical and subversive text than it had at first appeared and suggested that the Lovedale censorship or Plaatje’s self-censorship had shifted the novel’s “original” intention’ (Voss in Plaatje [1930] 1989:20)⁵. Completed in 1917, it was only published in 1930 after ‘Lovedale in fact emasculated it’ (:178). Plaatje ([1930]1978:22) himself carefully and perhaps not too subtly refers to Dr Shepherd’s role as ‘helping to correct the proofs’ for publication. We can only be grateful that the discovery of the original manuscript allows us to gain an insight into the processes at work in manipulating the works

⁵ The matter of Plaatje’s ‘self-censorship’ is a moot one for it is difficult to ascertain whether or not his emendations in the text are his own or whether he has penned them himself to appease his publishers.

of black South Africans to suit the particular ideological perspective enshrined in white western Christian civilisation (Opland 1997:308).

Despite this truth, many works were published which would have never have been accepted by other publishers and some were denied recognition. Examples of such are Walter Rubusana's *History of South Africa from the Native Standpoint* (Saunders 1988:107) and AK Soga's massive work of over 500 pages '*The Problem of the Relations of Black and White in South Africa* The prospectus spoke of it as "the only work that attempts to give the real story of the South African aborigines Why it was not published is not known"! (Saunders 1988:107).

It is unfortunate that we do not, for the most part, have access to some of the original manuscripts, eg. three manuscripts of SEK Mqhayi, possibly the greatest writer in Xhosa of the period, were 'lost' (Peires 1981:176; Opland 1997:308). The losing of these and other manuscripts (Peires 1981:176) deposited in the hands of canny Scots missionaries is an inexplicably strange but regular occurrence. Noteworthy among these is JH Soga's historical work which was rejected for publication in 1926 (Peires 1981:176).

In this regard, Henderson's personal dislikes clearly affected his ability to judge potential works for publication. He referred to a biography of John Knox Bokwe which was written substantially by SEK Mqhayi, although the first part was prepared by Senator Roberts and Inspector of Schools, Bennie. Henderson referred to Mqhayi as a 'dubious character ... who may any day be laid by his heels' (Cory MS 14431/1, [SP's Diary?] 2 April [1925?]). He later expressed surprise when Mrs Bokwe asked that Mqhayi proof-read the manuscript which, according to Henderson was:

all needing much editing, and I much disliking the work, having reason for misdoubting the sincerity of two of the authors and having no content with their crying up of the man with extravagant praise (Cory MS 1443 1/1, [SP's Diary?], 11 May [1925?]).

This is a sad reflection on Henderson's ability to be fair and just in the light of the fact that Mqhayi became recognised as the finest writer in the Xhosa language of his time: 'he was the first writer to make a serious attempt to syncretise the old and the new cultures that were embodied in oral and written literature' (Switzer 1993:122) so it is likely that the problem centred around the content and not the style of the work presented for publication. It therefore becomes evident 'that Lovedale effectively manipulated its control over the production of Xhosa manuscripts' (Switzer 1993:122).

It is interesting to note that it was not only the works of blacks which came under the intense scrutiny of Lovedale's censorious policy. Prof G Cory was also subjected to this treatment because his views did not coincide with those of his potential publishers. He received a letter from Henderson concerning the delay in reviewing the first volume of his history of South Africa:

which we regard as of very great value and representing immense service to the country I think you will realise we do not accept all your findings with regard to our missionary predecessors, nor can we entirely agree with your general view of their influence and their policy and its results (Cory MS 1698, 28 October 1910).

The Xhosa contribution to the development of South African literature was considerable during the first half of the twentieth century. Most of the 238 manuscripts published by 1939 had been produced in the 1920s. In the period following 1910, 'Xhosa writers showed their urge to write' (Jafta 1971:10). The first novels were concerned primarily with topics relating to the influence of western culture, education and social life, eg. Laetitia Kakaza's *uTandiwe wakwa Gcaleka* (1912). These were followed by historical novelettes and biographies on Tiyo Soga and Ntsikana by SEK Mqhayi and JK Bokwe respectively. On the basis that '[o]ne of the important tasks of the missionary was to fight against superstition and witchcraft in

particular' (Jafta 1971:11), JJR Jolobe's *uZagula* and GB Sinxo's *uNomsa* were published in 1922.

Considerable advances were made at Lovedale during the Principalship of James Henderson, ie. 'the provision of suitable literature for the thousands who had been taught to read was a paramount duty of the Christian church' (Shepherd 1940:402). A radical change was implemented in 1928 when all departments of the Press were amalgamated into one with a Director under the control of a committee of the Governing Council of Lovedale Institution. The reorganisation of Lovedale Press came about partly as the result of necessity for the work was simply too much for Henderson to cope with. Yet, he appears to have taken too much work on himself which could have been done by others who possessed a good knowledge of English or Xhosa language or both and there was no shortage of such at Lovedale:

9 March: Many proofs for correcting from the printing house.

12 March: To my office and read a play called 'The Light' written by Miss Waters for acting in Native schools, which is being printed here, and the proofs read by me.

13 March: To the office early in the morning correcting proofs.

23 March: ... proofs to be corrected (Cory MS 14431/1, SP His Diary, c.1925).

Perhaps the problem was that, as well as proof-reading, Henderson was engaged in censorship which could not be readily trusted to others.

In the face of such need Henderson head-hunted Shepherd 'about undertaking the publishing and bookselling branches of our work' in order that his appointment 'should strengthen my hands and ease me of some of the burdens that I have been unnecessarily weighed with' (Cory MS 14427/5, Henderson to Donald, 31 May 1926). It seems certain that Henderson was well aware of Shepherd's rigid and uncompromising attitude towards editorial policy since it is inconceivable that this was not discussed at length and in some depth prior to the actual appointment. Henderson was aware that Shepherd possessed 'a really very forceful personality' (Cory MS 14427/5, Henderson to Donald, 11 July 1926). Shepherd became the

Director (1927-1958). His attitude towards the publication of literature offered to Lovedale was clearly one of conformity to mission expectations and standards:

The fact is that the mass of the vernacular literature published in the past emanated, and still today emanates, from mission presses, and naturally such literature has sought to fulfil the aims of missionary societies (Shepherd 1945:15).

Shepherd makes it clear that the main function of vernacular literature is to promote Christian aims and he considers this a 'natural' assumption which all will accept. He directly contradicts himself in asserting that 'big-mindedness must rule. Sectional interests must be jettisoned' (:28) unless of course he begins from the assumption that he himself is 'big-minded' and free from 'sectional interest'. Presumably he is not talking about himself when he suggests that: 'Not only the author but the publisher is in need of guidance, particularly as to what deserves to have prior claim on publishing resources' (:38). It is difficult to believe that he says that 'progress is slow through lack of vision and conservatism'! (:38). It is difficult to accept Shepherd's credentials with regard to his refusal to publish works of quality when he can say 'it is of the utmost importance that the complete intellectual freedom of the African be preserved' (:79).

Despite Shepherd's strict editorial policy exercised during his 'twenty six year reign of terror' (Peires 1981:176) at Lovedale Press, he contributed a great deal to the promotion of vernacular literature on his own terms, however:

In all its efforts for the spread of literature Lovedale recognised that there was a danger lest the missionary agencies, having in their schools taught vast numbers to read, should leave non-Christians and even anti-religious elements to supply the reading matter While in school and when they left it was imperative that they find within their reach literature suited to their every need, in order that they might have an understanding grasp of Christian life and morals (Shepherd 1971:104 in Opland 1997:304 in Elphick & Davenport 1997).

Coercive agency at Lovedale Press was exercised through censorship which, to a large extent, determined the nature of what was available to students to read and it selected only works which supported its own interpretation of its ideological purpose. Further, as the mission presses were the foremost publishers of school text-books they had a virtual monopoly of

educational material. It is a sad reflection on mission education, seen in its widest sense, that it manifested itself as an oppressive force rather than a liberating one in terms of restricting the development of Xhosa language and literature. What a salutary accolade would have been Lovedale's if it had had the confidence to promote the true worth of the people it came to serve and to save:

woe betides that nation whose literature is interrupted by the interference of force. This not simply a violation of the 'freedom of the press': it is the locking up of the national heart, the carving-up of the national memory. Such a nation does not remember itself, it is deprived of its spiritual unity, and although its population supposedly have [sic] a common language, fellow countrymen suddenly stop understanding each other. Mute generations live out their lives and die without telling their story either to their own or a future generation (Solzhenitsyn 1970:15-16 in Du Toit 1999:1).

5.8.6 Resistance in sickness (and in health)

An event occurred at Lovedale in 1917 which was to demonstrate considerable intransigence and insensitivity on Henderson's part. There was a typhus scare and as a result, a number of students wanted to return home. Henderson (Cory PR 4144, extracts of letters to Donald, by A Kerr, 19 August 1917) referred to this as a 'sudden outbreak of funk' and brought Dr McVicar from Victoria Hospital to explain the situation to them and reassure them. This did not have the desired effect and parents began to request the return of their children.

Henderson noted that '[a] curious feature of the situation is that many of the communications pretend that the ground on which the pupil was being recalled was illness at home'. There are a number of points of interest here suggesting a degree of subversion of the authority of the Institution. Was it coincidence that similar reasons were given for the reclaiming of the children or were the parents somehow acting in concert? Parents clearly did not want to own the supposed truth about the 'scare' so they colluded with their children to falsify reasons for their actions as the result of the pleading of the students. There is an obvious lack of honesty in relating which might be the result of fear of challenging or contradicting the Principal.

Black people were certainly not accustomed to contradicting a white person occupying a senior position. There may be an element of parents reasserting their power over their own children. The role of women is interesting here for '[i]n particular there was an epidemic of a most serious nature among mothers'. Were the women exerting the little power they possessed over against the power of coercive agency or were women posing as the weaker sex who needed the assistance of their children, particularly their daughters?

It is interesting to note here, Henderson's response to a situation where students were clearly afraid and anxious despite assurance given that they were not at risk: 'Two boys at least forged letters, and I have had to dismiss nine pupils altogether over the matter'. That is a harsh reaction which seems that Henderson was quite unable to brook any challenge to his authority even in a case where there may well have been some risk in spite of McVicar's assurances. The scare had to originate somewhere and there is no trace of an attempt to trace the origin of the rumour. It is easy for a scare to spread like wildfire and produce a hysterical response. Henderson was an educational expert well-versed in 'modern' psychology and should have been able to realise that. He took no account of fear in the situation even in the case of old chief Kama who 'has got frightened and will not listen to reason' (Cory PR 4144:4). He was unable to deal with people's feelings and that using reason can be counter-productive. Anxiety may have been aligned to traditional religious beliefs and so could not be openly expressed for fear of offending the missionaries and indicating that the process of coercive agency had its weak spots. Students would not want to suffer the opprobrium of being thought to stand midway between traditional belief and Christianity.

This incident reveals the inability of coercive agency to deal with threats to its hegemony. It exists in the face of threats to its inbuilt power over others. The predominant problem seems

to be the fear that students will gain the upper hand in the Institution and dominate its traditions and possibly transform them. There is also the possibility that once students begin to have a voice in the running of an institution, they will want more and more power. From its inception, students at Lovedale were debarred from any part in the running of the institution even in matters which affected them directly, such is the power of coercive agency. The preparation in character formation inculcated the norms of obedience and discipline, among other things, so students internalised these values and were unwilling or unable to breach them for the most part.

5.9 Henderson's death and assessment of his work

James Henderson's time as Principal of Lovedale Institution came to an untimely end on 19 July 1930. He had worn himself out with his tireless efforts on behalf of black people, and indeed all races in South Africa, and in the cause of the Gospel. For most of his years in missionary service, Henderson had suffered from intense exhaustion as the result of the punishing demands he made on himself. This was evident from an early stage in Henderson's ministry. In 1904, while he was still in Nyasaland, he had been encouraged to delegate responsibility in:

the varied and vast work being done at Livingstonia. It is impossible for one man, were he even an 'admirable Crichton' to be a teacher in the Overtoun Institution, medical superintendent of the dispensary, supervisor of the industrial staff, with its workshop, farm, roads etc., manager of the store, pastor of the church, and head of all the varied evangelistic work (NLS MS 7864, J Fairley Daly to Henderson, 25 March 1904).

Even at that time, Henderson's health was suffering from the demands he made upon himself: 'Your time [furlough] is overdue, your strength is run down and every month you delay is a

risk' (NLS MS 7856, J Fairley Daly to Henderson, 23 September 1904). As early as 1917 references appear in correspondence to his deteriorating health:

I was sorry to hear from your daughter that you had had a somewhat serious breakdown. I hope you try to save your own time and strength as much as possible by leaving to your subordinates all routine and mechanical tasks (NLS MS 7683, Ashcroft to Henderson, 1 November 1917).

I do not think you should contemplate returning until you have had a year's holiday (NLS MS 7684, Ashcroft to Henderson, 16 April 1919).

Although Henderson had recognised that he needed assistance in the form of a vice-principal as the result of encroaching years:

Your present correspondent is getting up in years, but is still able to go on for a bit. He feels, however, that a larger share of the immense burden of routine work should be taken off him if he is to do the best kind of work he is capable of The question of succession is not under consideration at all (NLS MS 7815, Henderson to Ashcroft, 11 September 1925:135).

During the 1920s, Henderson had had to take several breaks from his duties at Lovedale. In 1923-4, he travelled extensively in the USA visiting institutions such as Hampton and Tuskegee. In 1927, he took an enforced period of rest in Natal. His health had for some time been giving continual cause for concern (Cory MS 14427/2, Henderson to Donald, 26 August 1917, 14 November 1922; MS 14429, Henderson to his sister, 18 March 1930). In this last letter, he claimed his health was sufficiently improved to allow him to do all his work and looked forward to working alongside his successor when appointed. That was not to be. His inability to relax for long enough to allow his body to recuperate from the punishing work schedule he constantly imposed on himself in fulfilment of his own interpretation of the Protestant work ethic almost certainly caused his death.

Henderson was quite unable to delegate effectively. This is one of the hazards of leadership – the belief that no one else is competent enough to be trusted. There is also a need to retain control and centralise power despite protestations Henderson made to the contrary (NLS MS 7815):

team work is the primary essential (:135)

the lone furrow man won't do at all (:163)

how indispensable to success is the capacity for team work (:321)

This is a complex organisation, and the man who cannot pull in a team is apt to prove worse than useless (Cory MS 14851, Henderson to Ashcroft 21 October 1914).

Although Henderson was probably referring to the qualities needed in his staff members, he was also part of the team, albeit its leader. Coercive agency has its price in terms of the penalty it exacts from its promoters.

Henderson had been Principal of Lovedale for twenty-four years and initiated much of its phenomenal growth during this period. Though he was at pains to emphasise the continuity of his work with that of both of his predecessors in order to maintain the reality of a total institution, he engaged in a number of innovative ventures. However, in terms of developing the coercive agency of Lovedale Institution, he was at one with his predecessors, Govan and Stewart. Henderson's own personal experience of conversion enabled him to place conversion as the goal of education using evangelism as the means. Education and evangelism worked together in his scheme in the formation of character which was vital to the success of the philosophy of Lovedale in its mission for the upliftment of black people. Its aim was to transform the inner mind; hence the ubiquity of moral education in all that transpired at Lovedale. Character formation manifested itself throughout the curriculum and indeed insinuated itself into every aspect of the Institution's life. The imposition of discipline was the current which galvanised the forces of coercive agency and industrial education, along with manual labour, contributed to this aim with its requisite demand for conformity and maintenance of the status quo. Working together was helpful in developing an *esprit de corps* which made labouring more tolerable. Even the physical space of the Institution and the use of time reflected their co-option as tools of the internalisation of Lovedale's ethos as a

total institution. The successful inculcation of 'moral earnestness' was vital to the missionary work of those who graduated from Lovedale. In order for teachers, evangelists, catechists and ministers as well as artisans and labourers to promote Lovedale's missionary values they had to have them fully developed in themselves. The missionaries used the principle that converts are often the most efficient promoters of their teachers' value systems. These very values were internalised through constant exposure to the total institutionalisation of Lovedale demonstrated in every aspect of its life.

Concurrent with what was going on at Lovedale, Henderson was actively involved in a number of educational initiatives in the Cape Colony, both defending and promoting Lovedale's particular contribution to South African education. His liberal ideals in politics were often identical with those of Cape liberalism, but Henderson was not a slave to any political creed. The Christian religious motive always predominated in his thinking, speaking and actions. Politically he sought to effect rapprochement between the growing population of middle class blacks and white liberals on the basis that they shared similar interests and ideals. This political commitment aligned to his Christian faith caused him to work towards defusing racial tension in his educational approach.

His commitment to industrial education was related not only to providing labour for the expanding industrial sector but also to trying to halt the drift of young South Africans away from their native land to be educated, to restrict the influence of the African Initiated Churches, and to provide a relevant education for those who would be needed to service a segregated South African society.

Henderson brought Stewart's vision for a centre of higher learning to fruition through his participation in the preparations for the opening of the South African Native College in 1916. But to an extent Stewart's policy had failed to achieve its educational ends for it remained too centred on academic education despite his wishes and avowed aims and it was impervious to external influences at the close of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth.

The system developed by Henderson involved new schemes in domestic science, lay education (evangelists and Bible women), printing and publishing, high school education, female education, early education in the vernacular and his reorganisation of the administration all contributed to a streamlining of the coercive agency at Lovedale.

Despite the success of Lovedale as an educational centre and its appearance as a well-organised institution with clear line management and public image which made it the envy of many other institutions, all was not well within its confines. In a number of areas of its common life there was strife of one kind or another. Much of it was suppressed in 'hidden transcripts' as in staff relations which only surfaced on occasion such as the revelation by Mr Young after he had resigned as Boys' Boarding Master and then only from a safe distance. The attitude of some staff members to their assumed responsibilities also reveals a lack of cohesion of purpose in the Institution.

It was the students, however, who took the lead in bringing problems at Lovedale into the public domain. They were at the receiving end of the coercive agency imposed by the Institution and it was they who bore the brunt of all that was lacking in a truly corporate or communal life. They demonstrated their concerns and frustrations through their approach to

sports, their attitude to food as a symptom of wider concerns both within and beyond the Institution and through fear of disease.

It was former students for the large part who took initiatives in resistance to the status quo in church life through secessions from the control exercised by missionaries in missions, mission education and in church. They were also active in resistance to the political status quo of encroaching segregation through the formation of political and para-political organisations such as the ANC and ICU. Others, also including former students sought to communicate their resistance to mission education through their literary abilities and here they had to engage with the resistance of mission press editors as determined to maintain their status quo as were their educational colleagues.

Lovedale Missionary Institution conforms to the definition of a coercive agency both in its internalised and externalised forms as students both while at Lovedale and after they left came to resist the mores of their *alma mater* while others became shining examples of what could be achieved with quiescent candidates.

CHAPTER 6 A FUTURE FOR COERCIVE AGENCY?

6.1 Summary

While acknowledging the invaluable contribution of mission education to the development of black South Africans in particular, it is clear from this study that Lovedale Missionary Institution was indeed a 'total institution' as susceptible to the problems of power relations as any institution, secular or religious. Those who studied there internalised its spirit in a manner that could not be simply discarded on leaving the institution for it had become part of their identity. At Lovedale, the character of the Other or the subaltern (cf. Spivak 1985:120-130 referring to Gramsci in Thompson 2000:198), eg. one who is marginalised in any society, in this case the black student, was negatively deconstructed and then reconstructed according to the ideological ideals of western Christian civilisation and European colonialism, and although Lovedale students, in many cases, came to reject the mores of the education and religion they imbibed during their term of education, they still displayed symptoms of its effects in their later lives and work. This, however, was not an irreversible process for:

the individual is constructed and shaped by a particular social order. By paying close attention to the contents of an individual's consciousness and seeing it in a social context, it is possible to work with people to uncover and make conscious the discourses of power and roots of socio-political oppression as they manifest themselves in people's consciousness. This can enhance their understanding and empower a capacity for social, as well as, personal change (Banton et al 1985 in Pattison 1997:231).

One of the main features of institutionalisation is its enduring ethos which is resistant to change as we have seen in the degree of continuity between the Principals of the Institution who so impressed their personalities on the institution and their charges that Lovedale became intimately identified with its Principals. Even between Govan and Stewart who disagreed strongly on the underlying principles of policy, there was a great degree of similarity in the manner that policy was implemented. This was certainly true of the policies of Stewart and Henderson, although Henderson was open to innovation and not afraid to implement it.

Any society is by nature coercive and institutions in society are no exception. From its inception, the mission at Lovedale was closely associated with colonial society and its coercive policy was related to freeing its students and adherents from the imagined strictures of traditional society through the imposition of the norms of western society as Good News thus hindering their authentic human development. Colonial oppression led to the internalisation of the ideology of the oppressor with whom the missionaries were often identified. Resistance became a consequence of as well as a reaction to coercive agency. In the case of the formation of African Initiated Churches, it is doubtful if this novel expression of Christian faith would have arisen in the manner in which it did had it not been for the coercive agency of the mission institutions and their inability to acculturate their message to the African context.

Idris Shah's concept of coercive agencies is an apposite concept for the study of institutionalisation which originated in mission stations and was 'perfected' in mission institutions such as Lovedale where, through the entire educational programme, and especially in the area of character formation, students were being 'moulded' in such a way that the effect was difficult to reverse:

The individual, and groupings of people, have to learn that they cannot reform society in reality, nor deal with others as reasonable people, unless the individual has learned to locate and allow for the various patterns of coercive institutions, formal and also informal, which rule him. No matter what his reason says, he will always relapse into obedience to the coercive agency while its pattern is within him (Shah 1968:198-9).

Character formation aimed to transform the inner mind of the students and it manifested itself as a ubiquitous although not always identifiable presence. It was an aspect of the continuity which was essential to maintain the reality of total institutionalisation through the process of 'routinisation'. This was the result of 'the colonisation of their conscience' through, among other means, an emphasis on character formation, although it was, to an extent balanced by 'their consciousness of colonisation' (Comaroff & Comaroff 1991:4) which was the source of

resistance, both subversive and overt. It may be a tribute to mission education although it is more likely that it was despite it that, as well as producing black European clones, it also formed conscientised, critical and self-critical individuals such as those who were prepared to resist the different forms of social control which were imposed on them, through whatever channels were open to them both within and beyond the Institution in terms of both time and space. It is also a tribute to those who challenged the system that they often managed to do so in a subversive manner without betraying their true intentions in order to safeguard themselves from a system which had made and defined their identity and which tolerated no deviants.

This was not clearly apparent during William Govan's tenure as Principal of Lovedale, primarily because the institution was at an early stage of its development and the process of institutionalisation was in an embryonic stage. Govan espoused a single-minded ideological policy, which was also followed by Stewart and Henderson, of evangelism focussed on the conversion of individuals. In Govan's case it was by means of the education of an elite, limited in number but potentially a potent force in church and society. Character building was fundamental to this process. This was developed during Stewart's time as Principal by fostering the habits of 'discipline and industry' through attending to 'the moral and spiritual welfare of the students' (Lennox 1903:15) by means of conversion. This process was disruptive of continuity with their former lifestyle. Stewart favoured reaching a greater number of young black souls by providing a more general education than Govan.

Henderson followed his predecessors in promoting the coercive agency at Lovedale. Evangelism, with education as its helpmate, was instrumental in fostering character formation which was perfected in Henderson's regime. The status quo was maintained by strict discipline and a developed programme of industrial education. Henderson espoused the

current liberalism of the day though in his own case as an expression of practical faith. During Henderson's time resistance grew to new heights at Lovedale as blacks became aware of their powerlessness to effect meaningful change in society and engaged in acts of rebellion of various kinds. It was also, in part at least, a direct result of the educational process which enabled young black people to question and think through the implications of the education they had received and the Christian faith or lack of it they had developed. That former Lovedale students were involved in resistance initiatives after leaving the Institution bears witness to the ability to challenge the long-term effects of the coercive agency of internalisation.

In sum, coercive agency was successful in missionary perspective to the degree that it effectively encouraged and produced adaptation to missionary ideology. It was, however, a failure in terms of educational philosophy by restricting opportunities for free thought and subsequent free development as 'every institution can be an alibi, an instrument of alienation from our freedom' (Berger 1963:145). Coercive agency was self-defeating in missionary perspective except for its unplanned and unexpected development of resistance which demonstrated its ability to produce critical thinking products despite its avowed aims and methods. Its universalising tendency is evident in that: 'The soundness of these [Lovedale] methods has been confirmed by their adoption in other similar institutions' (Lennox 1903:31). In addition, other institutions suffered from many of the same problems of resistance such as is evidenced in food disputes and sports activities. Also, many of the products of other institutions were involved in political and literary activities after having attended mission institutions. From a pan-African perspective, the universality of the coercive agency is attested by Some (1999:4):

The purpose of these schools was clear: to continue the work of European colonisation on the African continent by converting natives to Christianity and the ways of the west while they were still young, susceptible, and easy to persuade. This was not a localised programme in West Africa but a widespread practice spanning the entire African continent.

School, to us, was a place where we learned to reject whatever native culture we had acquired as children and to fill its place with Western ideas and practices. This foreign culture was presented as high culture par excellence, the acquisition of which constituted a blessing. Going to school was thus a radical act involving the sacrifice of one's indigenous self.

It involved the process of exclusion from the past, present and future; from previous traditional life leading in many instances to rejection by family and former friends, from the community of origin through separation in time and space as well as by enclosure in an institutional setting, and from future acceptance in western society.

It is now necessary to consider the missiological implications of coercive agency in terms of alienation and reconciliation.

6.2 Coercive agency as 'exclusion' and 'embrace'

As we have seen the coercive agency of mission education led to and fostered the alienation of blacks from their traditional lifestyles. It also excluded them from the Western European lifestyle they aspired to and created dislocated individuals and groups many of whom had been rejected by their communities of origin. Coercive agency was tantamount to exclusion through violence where:

Violence includes all actions and everything that restrict, damage or destroy [sic] the integrity of things, living beings or people, or of cultural or social entities through superior power (Haring 1997:266) the 'violation of personhood' (Brown, quoted in Desjardins 1997:99 in Punt 1999:263 n.2).

It originated in European colonialism and was constituted by oppression, destruction of traditional cultures and the imposition of Christian religion arising out of a need to impose its own self-identity (Volf 1996:17). This identity was forged in the European Enlightenment which:

(i) gave increasing recognition to human agency, *sui generis*, in shaping the world, (ii) regarded social beings and associations as man-made rather than divine, and (iii) ascribed to 'improving' institutions, most notably schools, the task of elevating persons from a state of nature to one of moral self-regulation and civility' (Comaroff 1996:22).

This approach utilised the techniques of rational thought and social control to achieve its purpose among black people. Volf (1996:17 quoting Derrida 1982:82ff.) comments on Europe's self-identity as totalitarian which would explain its need to dominate every situation in which it interested itself and remake it in its own image through a variety of forms of exclusion.

The most blatant approach was **elimination** which in the eastern Cape took the form of the nineteenth century wars of dispossession, the national cattle-killing disaster of 1856-7 and the systematic destruction of culture:

We accept that when colonisation sets in it devours the indigenous culture and leaves behind a bastardised culture that may thrive at the pace and rate allowed it by the dominant culture. But nevertheless we also have to realise that the basic tenets of our culture have succeeded to a great extent to withstand (*sic*) the process of bastardisation (Le Cordeur 1985:5 cf. Comaroff & Comaroff 1991).

So although the process was not totally successful, as the basic principles of culture have an enduring quality, it was extremely significant in its effects.

Another response was the policy of **assimilation** which militated against the authenticity of the person or group assimilated where the culture and context and person/community of the Other is denigrated by being relegated to 'a false distorted and reduced mode of being' (Taylor 1994b:25 in Volf 1996:19):

This is in part due to the colonial equation of Westernisation with civilisation, and the expectation that Africans who converted should reject African traditional religious practices – particularly those associated with ancestor cult (Venter 1998:433).

This is confirmed by Venter's (1998:433) conviction that:

Assimilation is ... implicit in the lack of attention to cultural diversity This is in part due to the colonial equation of Westernisation with civilisation, and the expectation that Africans who converted should reject African traditional religious practices – particularly those associated with ancestor cult.

The consequent loss of identity was often achieved by allowing those who were different to experience a degree of material security such as comes from being inducted into a profession such as teaching or ministry. Contrary to this attitude, Kritzing (1995:375 quoting Taylor

1991:159) suggests that the 'valuation of difference, which leads to a sustained encounter and knowledge of the other, entails, then, a praxis of resistance against anything that disempowers the other'.

Domination arises from the designation of people as inferior antagonistic beings who can be exploited:

The ingroup is dominant, the outgroup dependent. The problem is that human beings are sinners and positions of power tend to be abused. In fact, the hermeneutics of suspicion suggests that the entire model of benign dominance is a legitimization of elite group interests, even though it may have been internalised as salutary by the dependent (Nürmberger 1999:53).

Domination in our study expresses itself in segregation policies which benefitted those who exercise power.

Abandonment was reserved for those who chose to remain outside the orbit of missionary influence, ie. the unconverted ('red-blanket Africans' Ntantala 1992:34; cf. '*abantu ababomvu* or *amaqaba*' [Edgar 2000:2]) who refused to compromise themselves and their traditional lifestyle: 'this was another world, a world of people stubbornly refusing to be touched by the new influences of school and church. This was a world of traditional ceremonies, of rites of passage for both boys and girls' (Ntantala 1992:34). But this only for as long as they could before being forced into the labour market for the benefit of the colonisers: 'they [Europeans] would prepare the illiterate majority for unskilled labour in the industrial economy of late 19th century South Africa' (Comaroff 1996:39):

A new culture, a new amalgam of the old and the new was emerging; a culture that is the dynamic reality through which people express their desire to make their life worth living. For had they not all, school and non-school people, been drawn into the economy of the West? (Ntantala 1992:38).

Further, those who simply were not required were excluded through abandonment by being removed from sight and concern physically as well as mentally or emotionally. This was

even true in traditional societies facing the encroachment of western civilisation where there 'were initiation schools for boys, hidden away' (Ntantala 1992:34).

In addition to assimilation, Kaplan (1986) lists the responses of 'toleration, translation, ... christianisation, acculturation and incorporation' (167). Of these, only acculturation and incorporation adopt relatively positive attitudes to African culture as they attempt to preserve and promote the integrity of 'the traditional social structure' (:178, 179). **Toleration** was a temporary response to cultural practices which, it was hoped would in time disappear. **Translation** maintained the necessity of Christian expressions though in an African mode. **Christianisation** involved the reconstruction of African custom in a Christian guise. These processes all served, in one way or another, to subvert African social organisation and mission education was implicated as coercive agency in all of these responses to the black population of South Africa.

All of these expressions of exclusion portray those who are different as the Other. In the case of Lovedale this referred to blacks where: 'The undeniable progress of inclusion fed on the persistent practice of exclusion' (Volf 1996:60) which was preparation for a life based on segregation. There was a clear contradiction between wanting to train teachers and ministers and disallowing them access to middle-class professional society as equals for 'while students were learning to devalue African "tradition" they remained outsiders looking in on white, Eurocentric culture' (Comaroff 1996:50). This paradox inherent in the mission education system had:

always been held out as a means – the sole means – of personal and collective empowerment and advancement; yet, on the other, it has regularly yielded a harvest of frustration and unfulfilled hopes, for the society to which it was supposed to give entry was never open in the first place (Comaroff 1996:53).

This paradoxical situation is expressed as 'barbarity *within* civilisation, evil *among* the good, crime against the other *right within the walls of the self*' (Volf 1996:60; cf. De Kock 1996)

which is internalised where there is little perception or concern about the wrong being perpetrated because the Other has been designated as an inferior being. This led the oppressors, in our case the missionaries, to refuse to accept what they chose not to know as they simultaneously chose to know what suited them as in the case of the perception that black Africans had no belief system prior to the arrival of Christianity. To the discerning eye, it may have been clear that the life of black people was lived in its entirety within the realm of the sacred. But the denial of such a religious worldview which challenged the enlightenment separation of secular and sacred enabled the missionaries to justify their aggressive evangelistic outreach. Yet, there was an alternative for:

Christianity in Africa could have been different if the missionary message had been embedded in the holistic world-view of African peoples. It could have had a real relevance to the many other aspects of their lives. African Christians are even today longing for a holistic Christianity such as this (Dierks 1983:50 in Donaldson 1992:69).

The same critique could be offered of the colonisers' attitude to land 'ownership' where to:

achieve such 'hegemonic centrality' we add conquest to conquest and possession to possession; we colonise the life-space of others and drive them out; we penetrate in order to exclude, and we exclude in order to control – if possible everything, alone (Volf 1996:78-9).

The effectiveness of colonisation and its allies in mission and commerce, was the result of the choices which were made concerning justice and injustice, truth and falsity and the will to include or exclude. These choices were all susceptible to evil results and evil was pervasive as it touched even those who were at the receiving end of its effects as they reacted negatively to any form of domination or exclusion be it institutional, communal or personal though this in itself may not necessarily be evil or involve the perpetration of evil deeds. This evil often masqueraded as good as its effects became the norms of societal organisation for:

Evil is capable not only of creating an illusion of well-being, but of *shaping reality* in such a way that the lie about 'well-being' appears as plain verity. Much of the power of evil lies in *the perverse truth it tells about the warped well-being it creates* (Volf 1996:89).

In a very real sense the problem of evil must be dealt with amongst the oppressed as well as the oppressor. While there is no doubt concerning the far greater guilt of the oppressor, their

culpability is often unacknowledged under cover of 'self-deceiving moral smugness' (Volf 1996:58) which claims that were it not for their efforts entire populations would still be immersed in barbaric savagery as it concurrently benefits from the labours of its own greed and acquisitiveness. And when it is acknowledged it was often rationalised as being 'for their own good' and denied for being as materially beneficial to themselves as it clearly was. As far as the oppressed are concerned, they too are not sinless for they have also committed sin by succumbing to making a negative, yet perhaps very human, response to evil (hatred, bitterness, resentment) even if it has been committed in the name of necessity in order to secure liberation, for liberation comes from confession:

from 'the suppression of guilt and from an obtuse belief in destiny,' from 'the armour of insensibility and defiance in which we had encased ourselves' (Moltmann 1987:43 in Volf 1996:120).

Therefore, the oppressed too are in a state of alienation from one another and God. Their repentance is vital for 'as a rule, the kingdom of God enters the world through the back door of servants' shacks, not through the main gate of the masters' mansions' (Volf 1996:114). This is why it is important to break the cycle where 'social arrangements condition social agents and social agents fashion social arrangements' (Volf 1996:22) because social agents are moulded (cf. Henderson's nickname 'the Moulder') in order to perpetuate an existing, or a particular, kind of social arrangement. Hence those being prepared for ministry or teaching at Lovedale were being prepared to be clones of the missionaries' value system. They would subsequently pass on these values to following generations.

The parallel with our study is apposite as in coercive agency a new 'tribal' identity emerged as the result of some kind of choice, free or otherwise. In our case this new identity was forged in the 'Lovedale product' but it was fluid and not static. One could be at one and the same time a Lovedale student and a dissenting Lovedale student which indicates that total allegiance was not guaranteed within a 'total institution'. Lovedale sought to emasculate tribal identity by refusing to 'accommodate individuals and groups with diverse identities

living together' (Volf 1996:20) except in some vernacular worship services (cf. above 4.4:147; 5.5:228), as a minor concession to prior identity and perhaps as a means of reducing the possibility of resistance. Its concentration on 'social arrangements' was to the detriment of:

fostering the kind of social arrangements capable of envisioning and creating just, truthful and peaceful societies, and on shaping a cultural climate in which such agents will thrive (Volf 1996:21).

In one sense this could be interpreted as coercive agency under another name but with a more benevolent nature. However, had Lovedale consciously planned to adopt this approach to preparing ministers, evangelists and teachers it may have produced less resistance which was the only route open for those who were determined to create such a society somewhat more free of an externally imposed social control. One problem remains in that it is difficult for products of social constraint to break away from what has become their total internalised experience of coercion. Consequently, these agents tend to perpetuate existing, or particular kinds of, social constructs.

As a result of this we should rather concentrate on '*fostering the kind of social arrangements capable of envisioning and creating just, truthful and peaceful societies, and on shaping a cultural climate in which such agents will thrive*' (Volf 1996:21). While it is natural to want to express solidarity with the victims of oppression, there has to be a way for them to embrace their enemies in order that they can be open to the possibility of becoming integrated, whole persons and communities. This may be achieved through '*the theme of divine self-donation for the enemies and their reception into the eternal communion of God*' (Volf 1996:23) and this should enable us to do the same as a response to the self-offering love of Christ whose '*hope is the promise of the cross, grounded in the resurrection of the Crucified*' (Volf 1996:23).

Their repentance paves the way for forgiveness which constitutes ‘the boundary between exclusion and embrace’ (:125). It provides a serious challenge to all to embrace those who are different regardless of whether they are the oppressor or the oppressed though, as it has been argued, perhaps the greater responsibility lies with the oppressed as they are more aware of oppression and its pernicious effects and have more to forgive. This is part of our divine calling in the movement towards reconciliation which is the aim and arrival point of mission as God gathers all who have participated in his divine work of reconciling the entire creation to Godself which arises out of the conviction that:

supported by a Christian faith which believes in God’s option for the oppressed and violated and God’s compassion and love for life, I cannot but express a vision for the present transformed into the future. The transformation from what is today considered power (often identical with coercive, oppressive, destructive power) to a power that is life affirming, and life enhancing, often points to the masking of unequal power relationships. Poor and rich always represent an irreconcilable contradiction, as does diversity based on oppression and lack of care. But black and white, men and women, old and young, represent a potentially reconcilable diversity The great rift is between care and carelessness, justice and injustice, mercy and mercilessness, compassion and indifference What divides is not difference, but sin, oppression and injustice (Zaru 2000:10).

The current task is therefore, to work towards the eradication of all that is evil and devalues human existence of which forgiveness is but a part. Forgiveness involves a sacrifice of the right to justice in terms of revenge and restitution and therefore also involves the suffering of being in limbo without a joyful conclusion of reconciliation. An avenue needs to be opened up for the oppressor to experience forgiveness and to himself repent and experience the mutuality of reconciliation. This is made possible by God’s prior action:

when we were God’s enemies, we were reconciled to him through the death of his Son, how much more, now that we have been reconciled, shall we be saved by his life! But that is not all: we also exult in God through our Lord Jesus, through whom we have now been granted reconciliation (Rom 5:10-11, Revised English Bible).

We need to appropriate that reconciliation through the opportunity provided by Jesus on the cross. This is to expect a great deal, even from Christians who are also fallible human beings. Yet, the cross creates the space in which we have room to manoeuvre with regard to the

Other:

We who have been embraced by the outstretched arms of the crucified God open our arms even for the enemies – to make space in ourselves for them and invite them in – so that together we may rejoice in the eternal embrace of the triune God (Volf 1996:131).

Our growth towards complete and authentic humanity would then be dependent on our acceptance of one another. This might seem to be rather too simplistic and to underestimate the degree of suffering which has been experienced and damage done by proceeding to a solution which tidies up the loose ends of unexpressed negative emotions, unhealed wounds and ineradicable memories without considering the ongoing inability to forget beyond forgiveness.

This requires a consideration of the concept of memory which involves a dialectic between forgetfulness and remembrance. It is clearly impossible to reconstitute the past, yet we have the facility to select what is to be remembered and retain it *in memoriam*. And then there is a need to decide how to employ what is remembered, be it for good or bad. This is also true for what can be 'forgotten'. The loss of memory concerning the destruction and denigration of traditional culture has been to the detriment of black African cultural development:

Without memory we have no past, our identity itself is lost, for the 'past is also our present' [Mbiti]. The theological problem which has arisen from the missionary tie-up between Christianity and 'civilisation' (that is European culture), consists therefore in this, that it threatened to deny African Christians their own past and sought instead to give them a past which could not in any real sense become fully theirs (Bediako 1992:237).

Hence the struggle to 're-member' in whatever ways possible the roots of identity and being.

The imposition of a western form of education was implicated in this process of destruction as:

The mission schools were seen as very efficient and strategic aids in this civilising process, and as Western civilisation was the Christian norm, little attention needed to be paid to African culture, including its educational dimension. Mission schools were therefore generally viewed as beachheads of western civilisation in pagan territory which had to help in vanquishing pagan culture, not in propagating it (Saayman 1991:30).

As far as missionaries were concerned, black people were in need of rescue from their barbaric state of nature by means of the insinuation of ideas of moral self-regulation (ie. civilisation) into their lifestyle. Traditional education was a communal activity as opposed to the individualistic approach of western educational methods. It was also a life-long process.

There was little compatibility between western and African forms of education for the western system 'subordinated and relegated to a peripheral role the African educational systems and the existing political, economic, and social orders' (Mugomba & Nyaggah 1980:1 in Saayman 1991:37):

Because the intimate link between education and life which characterised traditional education was severed, mission education was introduced into African life as something alien. It could therefore of necessity not grow into an inherent dimension of African culture, but had to establish itself as a conqueror, by triumphing over traditional education (Saayman 1991:37).

This all had the aim of developing in blacks a 'forgetfulness' of their pre-colonial past. It is interesting to note that African methods have subsequently been recognised as those which produce the greatest degree of retention of what is learned, ie. by seeing and doing:

African education generally took place by means of observation, imitation and explanation. Of the three, the first two took priority to the extent that explanation was only sparingly provided (Saayman 1991:32).

And it was these very methods which were replaced with an emphasis on explanation which was not conducive to memory retention compared with, for example, oral story-telling.

Writing of a more tragic context Todorov (1996:9) comments: 'Life was defeated in the fight against death, but memory is victorious in its fight against the void' for the restoration of repressed memory means that such memories can be recovered, dealt with and reintegrated into the personal and communal identity. However, there are two possible responses to 'dealing with' repressed memory. A 'literal' remembrance involves treating a memory as something or someone to be condemned which perpetuates itself into the ongoing present. It remains as effective as when it was first perpetrated and condemns the one who remembers to a living hell maintained in the present and future characterised by resentment and bitterness. But, if the same person makes an example of the memory and its effects and generalises these as a model of response for the present and future it becomes a positive, liberating experience and enables her having experienced the forces of injustice to struggle against their effects in the present as she is freed to make authentic contact with the Other (Todorov 1996:14) as:

[j]ustice is born in effect from the generalisation of the particular offence, and that is why it is incarnated in impersonal law, applied by an impartial judge, and implemented by juries who have no knowledge of either the offender or the offended (:15).

This is the point concerning the sacrifice of the personal right to revenge and restitution as ‘justice exacts a price, and it is no happenstance that justice is not applied by those who have undergone the offence: it is “dis-individuation,” if you like, that allows the accession of the law’ (:15). It does not eradicate the effects of the past as the work of mourning is essential in order to achieve acceptance of the self and the Other. This would result in placing the past in ‘the service of the present, just as memory – and forgetfulness – should be put to the service of justice’ (:26). That part of the response to coercive agency at Lovedale was resistance in a variety of forms as a means of reasserting the merit of African culture as having a timeless, though not changeless, validity:

African resistance to colonial conquest and colonisation both ratified the integrity of pre-colonial politics and structures and provided a link between them and the nationalist challenge to colonial rule (Cooper 1994:1520).

But it also provided an opportunity to subvert the imposed teachings of missionaries as representatives of the dominant colonial order which:

opened the possibilities for blacks to begin to forge new identities which transcended, but did not necessarily displace, older and more ethnically based definitions of self. Sprinkled in the records of the revolt are indications of the power of memory in the construction of a colonial order. These memories concerned the remembrances of times when the land belonged to different peoples with different practices, memories of a time where a mother’s branding at the hands of a colonist had no place. For the independent Xhosa and the servile population on white farms the demand was to ‘Restore ... the country of which our fathers were despoiled’ by avaricious colonists, and it was the collective consciousness of the prospects of further expropriations and the descent into debt peonage, fears that proved to be well-founded, that accounted for the great extent of resistance among otherwise disparate groups (Crais 1992:52).

These were people who ‘knew that memory was the greatest weapon in the struggle against power’ (:219). This was not an unnatural process for black people for Christianity, and other faiths such as their own, are based in a common cult of memory:

In a predominantly religious setting, privileging memory should be natural. Christianity and traditional religion thrive on keeping memory alive In this way, the culture of resistance, hard work and communal solidarity will be preserved with the aid of memory (Chitando 1998:44).

Ultimately, memory serves not only the present but acts as both a caution and an encouragement for our descendants. Ntantala (1992:ix) expresses this thought in terms of an ongoing commitment to a comprehensive view of time: ‘to understand the present, we have to know the past, as it was in the past that the seeds of the future were sown One needs to know the roots from which ... people have sprung’:

The collective memory of triumph against racial and colonial oppression, in which the church played her part, must be kept alive. Against induced amnesia Christianity ‘will have to become, especially for the young, an agency of consciousness-raising and political liberation’ [Ela 1986:103] ‘Memories, both dangerous and liberating’ [Balcombe {sic} 1998b:20] have to be passed on to future generations’ (Chitando 1998:42)

This requires a move towards acceptance of our enemies and is probably the most difficult stage in reconciliation. Volf (1996:131) refers to it as:

a certain kind of forgetting It is a forgetting that assumes that the matters of ‘truth’ and justice’ have been named, judged and (hopefully) transformed, that victims are safe and their wounds healed, a forgetting that can therefore ultimately take place *only together with* the creation of ‘all things new’.

The idea that forgetting brings reconciliation needs to be further interrogated for if victims can forget, how do we deal with the monuments which oppressors erect to ensure that these remain memorials of oppression and domination?:

The genre of memory must be allowed to flow where it will, giving expression to bitterness and anger as well as life and hope. It is at the same time important to recognise that the ‘politics of memory’ can be abused by politicians to fuel the fires of hatred This makes it important to look forward, rather than backwards, towards restoration in the nation’s repertoire of story telling. Memory as justice and not least as healing is at the same time about victims working through their anger and hatred, as a means of rising above their suffering – of getting on with life with dignity’ (Villa-Vicencio 1999:49).

Such memorials may be re-appropriated within the context of a new dispensation, eg. Mandela’s cell on Robben Island, once a symbol of despair, may now be interpreted as a symbol of triumph over injustice. However, it may be interpreted that this is simply replacing one set of ideological symbols with another. Destroying the monuments of the former oppressor can assist in the destruction of memories which are too painful to bear or which are too offensive to remain with. However, this discounts the value these monuments possess for those who erected and maintain them. Notwithstanding the foregoing, it is rather too simplistic to assume that keeping memories alive will protect us from their perpetration again

in the future for history denies the truth of this false assumption. What to remember and what to forget ultimately needs to be decided by the oppressed. This may be done on the basis of what is important to remember and to forget if that is at all possible or necessary in every case or situation.

However, re-remembering also involves the process of re-experiencing and this is harmful to present experience if it has not dealt satisfactorily with past events and their potentially long term effects and prevents our redemption:

The memory of the wrong suffered is also a source of my own nonredemption. As long as it is remembered, the past is not just the past; it remains an aspect of the present. A remembered wound is an experienced wound Since memories shape present identities, neither I nor the other can be redeemed without the redemption of our remembered past (Volf 1996:133).

Ultimately this is God's work as in the creation of 'all things new' (Rev 21:5) where 'The past will be no more remembered nor will it ever come to mind' (Isa 65:17). In any event in human experience it is impossible to remember all things, even negative experiences some of which we repress because we are unable to face them or their consequences, or even simply forget. We do not need to remember all the negative experiences of life in order to grow. There are times when God enables growth towards reconciliation through forgetting (Gen 41:51) and remembering (cf. Gen 42:21-3; 44:27ff.). This is 'a paradoxical memorial to forgetting still interspersed with indispensable remembering' (Volf 1996:139). This involves God forgetting human sin, removing it from us and taking it and its consequences upon Godself in the role of the Lamb of God (Rev 22:1-4; Jn1:29).

This enables 'embrace' to occur as an act of love, ie. self-giving love based in concern for and openness to the Other (who is now the oppressor). This is Nürnberger's (1999:54)

'unconditional suffering acceptance of the unacceptable' which enables a movement from my own stance to the place where the Other stands and is therefore vulnerable. This assumes that

the Other reciprocates and is equally willing to become as vulnerable but not absorbed, both maintaining their identities which have been transformed through the encounter. This involves obedience to the dominical command 'Love your enemies; do good to those who hate you ...' (Luke 6:27ff.). This also involves the risk of rejection and of further oppression, especially if the going towards the enemy is interpreted as weakness as was certainly the case with the treatment black people received at the hands of colonialists and imperialists, including missionaries, before, during and following the period of our study. Weakness is also an appropriate Christian position from which to approach the Other as enemy or oppressor (2 Cor. 12:7-10; 4:7-12). This movement towards those who have caused great pain requires a degree of maturity which may have developed as the result, in mission education, of the process of character formation. Recognition of the Other was rather one-sided as black people struggled for reciprocal recognition in all areas of life on equal terms with white people, thus preventing meaningful reconciliation. This is reminiscent of Bosch's (1979:40-57) description of 'Christ's Ambassadors' based on 2 Corinthians 5:18-6:10 and his 'Servants for Christ's sake' (:58-74) based on 2 Corinthians 7:8-13. We might consider this in terms of Nouwen's (1994:92) concept of 'hospitality and community' where hospitality 'asks for the creation of an empty space where the guest can find his own soul'. Authentic hospitality enables people to 'see that their own wounds must be understood not as sources of despair and bitterness, but as signs that they have to travel on in obedience to the calling wounds of their own wounds' (:92) which are 'integral to our human condition' (:93). As a result we are confronted with the realisation that 'they are mortal and broken, but also that with the recognition of this condition, liberation starts' (:93). Through such a common search:

Hospitality becomes community as it creates a unity based on the shared confession of our basic brokenness and on a shared hope. This hope in turn leads us far beyond the boundaries of human togetherness to Him who calls his people away from the land of slavery to the land of freedom Community arises where the sharing of pain takes place, not as a stifling form of self-complaint, but as a recognition of God's saving promises (:93-4).

This hospitality is constituted by an openness which can only come from a high level of maturity.

It is now necessary to consider the missiological implications of coercive agency.

6.3 Coercive agency in missiological perspective

While Lovedale Institution was unique, it was also a typical mission institution in many respects and suffered from the same results of coercive agency as were evident in other similar institutions. We have seen how, in terms of the organisation of time and space, for example, Lovedale shared many common features with Tigerkloof Institution in particular. The same may be said of its neighbours, St Matthews (Anglican) and Healdtown (Methodist) and its sister institution at Blythwood. Problems arising out of sports activities were also common to other institutions.

The effect of coercive agency in terms of resistance in the 'spiritual' realm are clear from the formation of African Initiated Churches in the denominational traditions which sponsored missionary institutions. The formation of Tile's Tembu National Church, Napo's African Church and Mokone and Dwane's Ethiopian Church by those reared in the Anglican and Methodist traditions predated the formation of the Presbyterian Church of Africa by Mzimba, a Presbyterian and a product of Lovedale, in 1898. These, despite many internal problems, laid the groundwork for the creative development for the African Initiated Church movement which has far surpassed the main-line churches in terms of numbers and creativity in areas such as worship, dress and organisation as well as their remarkable ability to relate to and meet the needs of the marginalised. Certainly, they demonstrated the trait of maturity of

character in their struggle, life and work in the manner exemplified in Romans 5:3b-5:

‘suffering is a source of endurance, endurance of approval, and approval of hope’ which is the lifeblood of mission.

This is related to the role of evangelisation in black society where, initially, the Gospel was accepted fairly uncritically, largely as the result of the benefits it offered. Evangelism is certainly an integral part of mission as we have noted at Lovedale. Apart from explicit evangelical work, it infused the entire curriculum of the Institution. However, it was linked to the work of social welfare in the community through various forms of community involvement and outreach. Lovedale manifested such an ‘attractive’ lifestyle that many were drawn to it possibly not always for the best of reasons, but nevertheless they did accept its ethos and both adopted and adapted it.

In terms of resistance, explicit examples come from the food disputes which plagued mission institutions. Both before and after 1920, when Henderson had to deal with a serious incident ostensibly arising out of problems of food, other institutions experienced similar problems. These were recurrent as can be seen from the incidents which occurred after the Second World War, especially at Lovedale in 1946. It was in these instances that Lovedale students learned to adapt what they had learned, with a view to making them conformists, and employ it in order that they could attempt to re-order the society in which they lived. It was this very spirit which led the products of Lovedale and other institutions to form the South African Native National Congress in 1912, and it was their successors, including the present State President (Gevisser 1999:25), who came to the forefront of the struggle for freedom from apartheid later in the twentieth century.

Coercive agency enabled 'subversive subservience' to become explicit where exclusion motivated students, both during their student days and in later life, to work towards their own inclusion in a new society. It had the implicit capacity to facilitate changing things for the better when its assumptions were interrogated; but it also aided a questioning of accepted tradition. Having been subjected to years of Christian education, preaching and teaching, perhaps it was not surprising that Lovedale students would perceive the political potential of scripture:

I have come that they might have life, and may have it in all its fullness (John10:10)

There is no such thing as Jew or Greek, slave and freeman, male and female; for you are all one person in Jesus Christ (Gal 3:28)

... there are many different, but one body those parts of the body which seem to be more frail than others are indispensable (1Cor 12:20, 22).

So it is evident that coercive agency is a valid concept for missiological concern in the respect that all colonial mission institutions functioned as coercive agencies in terms of the dynamics operating within them and that this agency had both positive and negative effects. It is laudable that it produced generations of Christians who extended the mission of the Kingdom of God and who have benefited from the positive aspects of mission education as it extended through the country and provided the basis for a national educational system. In missiological terms, it is necessary to arrive at an ambivalent conclusion with regard to coercive agency as a valid dimension of mission education. Although mission schools and colleges functioned as total institutions on the praxis (cf. Groome 1982:xvii n.1) of coercive agency, the response and reaction of the students who were the objects of mission could not be predicted by any means was due to the fact of the ecumenical nature of mission schools in South Africa in general and at Lovedale in particular. The fact that Lovedale and other institutions provided a non-denominational form of education demonstrated that the divisions imported from abroad did not completely control the South African context. That it fostered 'mission in unity' from its inception indicated that it was well ahead of its time in relation to its European

counterparts. It is noteworthy that Henderson and many of his contemporaries, as the result of their ecumenical commitment, were deeply involved in the work of the General Missionary Conference of South Africa.

Inherent in the movement towards the liberation of peoples is the danger of the replacement of one form of enslavement with another under the guise of Christian mission. This is the challenge when mission from one context and culture infiltrates another, that it brings with it its own cultural assumptions and implants them as normative, having no recognition of or regard for the fact that culture is an all pervasive influence and that there is no such thing as a culture free zone, especially in mission. Christian mission in the form of coercive agency denied the integrity of the context in which it sought to further its aims and vision.

Conversion, where it occurred was not in reality primarily to Christ but to the ethos of the dominant culture which imposed itself on traditional cultures and societies. It is cause for sadness that missionaries were either unaware of or resistant to the idea that their distinctive form of Christianity was not tainted by exposure to and complicit in and with the development of western culture. Christian mission frequently denied the context in which it sought to embed itself and further its aims as it uncritically rejected the contexts where it attempted to further its aims. The fact that western Christian culture was dominant in the process obscured the priority of Christ and the Gospel in spite of the unquestionably strong commitment of missionaries to both Christ and his Gospel.

Inculturation was an accomplished fact to the degree that throughout the nineteenth century, its human agents were local lay people who communicated using their own languages, albeit in their written form as another aspect of coercive agency. To this extent, missionaries had handed over control of the process of mission – a courageous, risky yet necessary part of the process of mission if it was to advance the gospel be it of Christ or of western civilisation.

Yet, these local agents of mission had been well schooled in institutions of coercive agency. Nor did the missionaries themselves isolate themselves in their secure domains. They did not avoid social issues and were vociferous in their critique of political, economic and social policies which would undermine their black brothers and sisters, not being aware of their own complicity. Though they, including James Henderson, eschewed direct involvement in politics, they engaged their contemporaries in many contemporary issues, especially through the pages of the *Christian Express* and *South African Outlook*. However, in pursuit of justice, they did not always bring their liberal views to practical expression which raises the question of commitment, hence raising the matter of exclusion from a life of fulfilment. While missionaries often took the side of the oppressed, they normally did it from the comfort of their place in white society with all its ideological implications. Coercive agency prevented both black and white from 'being with' one another and limited missionaries to the role of speaking on 'behalf' of their black sisters and brothers, even to the extent of suppressing local views as we have seen in the degree of approbation which was extended to those who differed from missionaries' ideas and the degree of censorship which existed at Lovedale Press and at other church presses. Any view 'from below' in the persons of educated blacks not in accord with missionary perspective was rejected. Hence, the repudiation of oppression and marginalisation by black people who saw little to trust in their missionary mentors.

The challenge for mission in the face of the powerful influence of coercive agency is to minimise its negative effects related to unquestioning conformity and develop the capability in persons to question the *status quo* and promote creative alternatives through the exercise of freedom of expression. It is to place the Christian mission within each particular society and culture in such a way that it is 'true' and sensitive both to the essence of Christianity and the receiving culture. This would negate the condescending attitudes whose results led in the past

to the emergence of a class of black person which was dislocated from both its traditional roots and from the society it had been led to have aspirations of joining.

In terms of pursuing the ultimate aim of salvation for all, it is clear that this is not the preserve of one section of society but God's will for all. The missionaries accepted this as their mission – to promote the fullness of life which God offers through the various means at their disposal. Hence their promotion of mission through education, medicine, agriculture, communication, theological education for ordained and lay ministry, communication through the written word, industrial training and spiritual formation. In its temporal promotion mission was holistic, comprehensive and contributed to the development of people to the fullest possible extent of their potential intellectually, physically, socially and spiritually, both in a personal and communal sense (cf. Luke 2:52). In the process it challenged all that contributes to the dehumanisation and degradation of peoples. That it could do this was the result of its belief in the future glory which impels us to work towards the goal of salvation in Christ.

Lovedale exemplifies the problem and potential of coercive agency in mission education based in missionary institutions because they were largely based on the same principles and promoted the same aims and objectives as we have seen in the work of the Heads of Institutions Committee. Hence, our study of coercive agency has clear implications for rewriting mission history. In terms of sources from this period, local sources are largely suppressed although it might be truer to say that they have not yet reached the level of acceptance which will accord them the credit they deserve, perhaps with the exception of Maluleke (1995). Reference has been made to the suppression of local voices writing both in English and in vernacular languages and while this is clearly a fertile area of research, this thesis has sought to examine the concept from the perspective of the missionaries who

promoted mission education as still a valid source for a critique of its effects. It is possible to elicit the voice of the oppressed by a reading 'between the lines' of missionaries' documents and investigating the voice of the marginalised where possible by means of employing a 'hermeneutic of suspicion'. By operating with such a tool we can no longer remain satisfied with an uncritical reading of missionary records and sources. We cannot deny their value either for often they provide the only available sources. However, they can be interpreted by means of the concept of coercive agency based on historical-theological- social science insights and methods. What is being proposed is a radical interpretation of these sources which challenges their hagiographical hegemony, established by those in power in mission institutions, and which interrogates their assumptions. This may reveal a soft underside which can be penetrated to reveal its true nature. Though blacks are largely absent from Henderson's writings, they are actually everywhere present though invisible to the naked eye. An understanding of the missionaries' ideological perspective can enable us to peel away facile assumptions and conclusions and enable us to reach quite different conclusions. This has led in our study to a situation in which James Henderson, a great man and churchman by any standards stands 'condemned' or revealed in truth out of his own mouth.

Hence the theme of coercive agency in missiological perspective is related to the religio-cultural setting of its time, yet it also has a contemporary relevance as institutions of whatever nature are an integral part of any society. Those approaches to research in mission history which have hitherto been considered objective must be subjected to closer scrutiny in order to reveal their strong subjective bias.

It is interesting to note that it was during Henderson's time at Lovedale that local churches began to be established as part of the response to coercive agency both within mission institutions and missions themselves, thus challenging the hegemony of western domination

in the church, a matter which is still of concern in the English-speaking churches today. A critical investigation such as this reveals that the black agents, often nameless, were not ungrateful demons who sought to undermine the mission but were products of a system that, paradoxically, itself enabled them to challenge the very system which offered them the educational opportunity. They were not the failures while the conformists provided the success stories. It may well be the other way round, though we would argue that all have, in their various ways, contributed to the development of the mission (cf. 1Cor 12:12ff.), and as they pursued their respective careers and vocations they all contributed to the growth of the Kingdom of God. Coercive agency provides us with a new concept with which to reinterpret mission history. The manner in which culture was challenged, assimilated, rejected reveals its value as a theological source, such was the impact it made on missionaries, whatever their particular response to it.

6.4 Conclusion

In Africa, the encounters of the past are very much of the present. Africa still faces the problems of building networks and institutions capable of permitting wide dialogue and common action among people with diverse pasts, of struggling against and engaging with the structures of power in the world today (Cooper 1994:1545).

What Cooper says about the African continent in general can be said to be true of South Africa and even of the life of educational institutions as dynamic centres where open and free discussions can be initiated among those who will, in time, become leaders in society and nation, rather than the approach based on imposed information and explanation:

The 'subversive [communal] memory' of the past, alive in African oral tradition kept the African students from accepting this [mission] school version of their history as 'true'. I think that this situation was probably at least partly responsible for the fact that ZK [Matthews] did not want a wholesale adoption of Western curricula. African education should rather be 'the reconstruction of our experience in the light of the past experience of our fathers, our neighbours, other races and of mankind everywhere' (White 1993:199). In contemporary terms, one could argue that he was calling for a non-schismatic or non-sectarian Africanisation of African education (Saayman 1997:529; see also n.7).

This would fit in well with the needs of the current situation characterised by a commitment to outcomes-based education¹, which is presently marked by continual uncertainty and disorganisation, in a context which is no longer dominated by the Christian faith, but which needs to take account of the holistic religious lifestyle of the black African, and indeed every African, in its broadest perspective.

However, taking account of this, it is necessary to remember that the missionaries adopted an inclusive approach and imposed no doctrinaire religious entry qualification and were free from sectarianism, particularly at Lovedale, preferring to concentrate on the conversion of people to Christian, rather than denominational, faith. What is particularly laudable about their approach is their commitment which was not bound by any denominational or sectarian bias but by 'their desire to excel in whatever they undertook' (Sanneh 1987:337). What was innovative about mission institutions was that a:

continuous flow of people passed through the institution, lived for some years in a Christian environment, and then went out to towns and villages outside, often to occupy positions of relative influence. It was a new way ... of spreading the gospel (Hinchliffe 1968:89).

However, for the future, it is necessary to alter the focus away from the institution with all the tendencies of coercive agency towards an approach where 'the people, the leaders and the flock predominate' (Oosthuizen 1993:68). Writing in the context of approaches to oral history, he issues a challenge that 'greater emphasis should be put on the *people in action*' (:69) in an attempt to recover the authentic voice of the people, period and context. For the present and future there may be a long-term place for community educational centres, based physically in the community, identifying with and taking account of its problems and successes and using each as springboards for its education programmes integrating these with the wider context, both societal and educational. This would prepare young people for their place in society by developing their potential to its full extent through interactive

¹ A term which might be synonymous with conversion in missionary parlance.

programmes, exposing them through participation in all the varied aspects of the educational process so that it takes account of 'the longing of black South Africans for control of their own destiny' (Saayman 1991:41). It is noteworthy that, during the period of our study there was no avenue open to students at Lovedale to express their views on matters that intimately affected their daily lives and future. Despite being considered a progressive institution, the greatest involvement open to students was as informers on their colleagues. This actively militated against both liberation and reconciliation within a Christian community.

It is necessary to capitalise on the strengths of mission institutions like Lovedale and preserve what was of value in the educational process for:

In certain directions it has done for the native what no other institution has done, or even attempted. It has awakened hopes and kindled ambitions in the soul of the native, many of which must necessarily die out, but some of which will certainly come to fruition (Du Plessis 1911:365).

Negatively, coercive agency at Lovedale Missionary Institution was both oppressive and repressive, it inhibited creative development, produced clones and promoted Christianity as the only civilisation thus discounting centuries of authentic social and cultural expression which had served indigenous people well for so long. Christian mission took little account of the faith systems it encountered and, in many cases did not even progress to the stage of an awareness of their existence. The institution grew in such a coercive fashion that it seemed to develop a quasi-human life of its own, almost independent of human agency. In order to make an assessment of such an institution it is necessary to comprehend the nature of institutionalisation, ideology, hegemony and power so that their negative effects can be minimised and their positive value maximised.

With particular regard to ideology, Verkuyl (1987:391) asserts that ideologies should be judged on the basis of God's promises and expectations for the 'evaluation of ideologies is one of the missiologist's most basic tasks, one which he [sic] has scarcely begun to

undertake'. This requires some comprehension of the context in which faiths other than our own exist and operate. It also necessitates a consideration of the effect of ideologies in terms of their 'Manichean' allegorical and dualistic (JanMohamed 1985) effect: 'proper-improper, true-false, healthy-sick, and authentic-inauthentic being' (:392), as well as the absent-present dimension. Ultimately, Christians are required to evaluate such ideologies by the standards of the Kingdom perspective for: 'Mission is ... the communication of the good news about the universal and coming reign of the true and living God' (Bosch 1995:58). This is so notwithstanding the fact that the *missio Dei* has a political dimension of which the *missio politica oecumenica* is an integral part (cf. Saayman 1991). With regard to the relationship of mission and colonialism, we can agree with Verkuyl (1987:396) that 'the lesson to be learned is a shaming one in many respects'. The same is true of the negative effects of coercive agency in relation to education in South Africa during the colonial and imperial eras. A liberation theology perspective may be a helpful corrective to a study of coercive agency for while any institutionalised context may appear to be perpetually durable, it is inevitably secular, in the sense of being temporary:

While contemporary history is primary in liberation theology, future and past are not ignored. Present history is seen as being dynamised by God's eschatological promises whose fulfilment lies in the future, but whose effect is felt even now. 'The commitment to the creation of a just society and, ultimately, to a new man [sic], presupposes confidence in the future' [Gutierrez 1964:213]. This future hope does not devalue the contemporary struggle for human liberation. The liberation theologians have been very critical of the way in which the biblical promises for the future have been privatised, individualised, and deprived of any critical historical potential for the present. However, they are also aware of the dangers of identifying any present action or ideology with the totality of God's coming Kingdom. While they maintain the absolute importance of committed Christian action in the present and see the liberation struggle as the concrete project of God's salvation now, they also maintain that there is a radical discontinuity between the present and God's ultimate future purposes. Thus it can be said that the importance of history and historical commitment in particular situations is absolute, while no one ideology, social programme or social order is absolutised (Pattison 1997:37).

Liberation theology can thus be a means of liberating the black mind from the oppression of coercive agency which imposed internalisation of its values through the process of character formation and in other less covert ways. The development of an open approach to character formation based on a religious, as opposed to specifically Christian philosophy, may be one of the requirements of a national education system which will mean that the Church will become

solely responsible for the inculcation of a specific Christian ethic, although Christianity has much to contribute to the development of such a religious ethic.

Following a critique of the missionary impact during the period of study under consideration, it becomes necessary to investigate God's will arising out of our considered reflection on the experience black people who were the subjects of the missionary enterprise and the implications for future missionary excursions in the belief that Godself is still working out an eternal purpose of liberative reconciliation.

Coercive agency produced conformists who adequately and even successfully serviced teaching, ministry, trades, hospitals, industry, colonial and local administration and peasant farming. It promoted black people as responsible, responsive beings capable of handling their own affairs and those of the nation too. But it also unwittingly and, often unexpectedly, produced resisters (agents of 'subversive subservience' De Kock 1996:105-140) who were perhaps more creative and innovative in their responses to coercive agency through their radical interpretation of the liberating Christian education they received, though they were, at the time, portrayed as evil, ungrateful and obstructive on the one hand, and as helpless and powerless on the other. In the long term it was they – academics, ministers, teachers, nurses, writers and politicians as well as the many conscientised unnamed black people - who demonstrated both the failure and success of coercive agency.

Institutionalised mission education, emphasised conformity and was divisive in its attitude towards traditional society. It was based in what Freire (1970:57ff) described as the 'banking method' of education which simply deposits information into empty receptacles who are expected to assimilate it uncritically. This leads to a layering of levels of education where mission education overlaid and suppressed the traditional approach to education.

Community-based education, on the other hand, has the potential to be far less coercive due to its participatory, communal and inclusive nature which allows for diversity of approach and content. But, in terms of the past it has to take serious account of the issue of forming and maintaining a 'collective religious memory' (Dandala 1999:61) by means of providing some kind of educational and ritual framework in which the truths 'of oppression and liberation' can be adequately expressed; by according culture, as a prime expression of a value system of suffering in a process of life skills or life-orientation, a prime place in national education; and by promoting unity in diversity as a focus of a common humanity (Dandala 1999:61-2). This is of fundamental importance for building the character not only of the nation but of the individuals who compose it as:

Where common memory is lacking, where men do not share in the same past there can be no real community, and where community is to be formed common memory must be created (Niebuhr 1974:84 in Groome 1980:19).

In the new South Africa this is vitally important for the process of nation building, and in this process education can play a pivotal role:

In its most authentic sense, the idea of a *people's education* becomes a nation-building exercise in a sociology of values, in which socio-cultural and socio-economic domination is overcome, and the ideal of a non-racial democratic society regulates the educational processes (McGurk 1990:41 in Saayman 1991:41-2).

This necessitates a reassessment of current educational strategies as the present outcomes-based education does not accommodate all the aspirations and needs of the current situation since it aims at short to medium term goals, eg. a medical degree and appropriate practical experience. This may produce a good clinical doctor, but if that doctor is devoid of a sound medical ethic as a basis for practise his/her work and the welfare of his patients might be seriously compromised. Perhaps an *ad fontes* approach might yield more productive results if, for example, we consider some of the implications of Plato and Aristotle's educational philosophy:

Is knowledge promoted by guiding the self-discovery of the learner from present experience, or is it attained by awakening the dormant potential of the person for what is already known [?]. Plato took the latter view, arguing that knowledge is already in the soul as sight is in the eye [Plato, *Republic* VII:316-317 in Groome 1980:17, n.3]. The inner spark only needs to be fanned and guided to be brought to conscious possession. On the other hand, Aristotle argued that 'nothing is ever in the mind that was not first in the senses'. Since the senses gather their data from the outside and take it inward, for Aristotle the knowing process has its origin in sense experience and not, as Plato claimed, by the awakening of what was already within us. Paradoxically, both positions are true, and educational activity must reflect the truth in each of them (Groome 1980:6 cf. Groome 1991:38-46).

This means that it is possible to reverse the process of mission education by stripping ideologies away and attempting to draw out what contributes to the development of human potential. It is worthy of note that Aristotle draws a parallel between memory and imagination in relation to spiritual development. This is critical for the development of creativity in the individual (Groome 1991:46) and in the wider community. The African Renaissance has such a spiritual dimension. Dandala (1999:60) suggests that there is a need for 'an inner African Renaissance' which might well be akin to the development of a new form of internalisation which is based in the specific African context relevant to the African community. If we accept the truth of this assertion, then we must accept the truth that mission education suppressed the traditions of African education common to the pre-colonial period. This heritage is still latent and awaiting the drawing out or leading out process. This potential process can make a specific contribution to a renewed approach to education as it seeks to uncover the layers of teaching based in a western Christian ideological worldview imposed by mission education and to bring to the fore or to the surface what is inherent in the African personality and African Christian personality, which is also now part of the traditional world view of many black people as can be discerned in the African Initiated Church movement, as well as in the mainstream Christian, tradition.

Central to Aristotle's educational schema was the purpose of education which was to make good citizens who would engage in constructive nation building:

The citizen should be moulded to suit the form of government under which he lives And since the whole city has one end, it is manifest that education should be one and the same for all, and that it should be public, and not private ... when every one looks after his own children separately, and gives them separate instruction of the sort which he thinks best; the training in things which are of common

interest should be the same for all. Neither must we suppose that any one of the citizens belongs to himself, for they all belong to the state, and are each of them a part of the state, and the care of each part is inseparable from the care of the whole (Aristotle, *Politics* in *The Basic works of Aristotle* [Book VIII, Ch I, 1-30], p. 1305 in Groome 1980:19).

It is interesting that Aristotle is speaking of the democratic ideal which is, to a degree, comparable with that of South Africa. Further, education is a matter of public concern, not personal preference or wealth, which is fundamental to democratic society. Education, in this view would be equivalent to consciousness raising, in the sense of re-membering the roots of identity and being, and political liberation.

Freedom from coercive agency can be achieved by drawing out from young people what has been suppressed through generations by mission education because of the nature of what 'was within them', ie. the barbaric, primitive, evil and unconverted nature which was how the nature of black people prior to their arrival was perceived by missionaries. This character had been internalised in their opinion by nature and nurture. While the positive value of subsequent mission education resulting from the 'intercultural dynamic' (Saayman 1991:39) cannot be denied, for its positive as well as its negative values had also been internalised, its aims and objectives can be evaluated critically in order to determine what is of current value in the educational process. Whereas mission education in the past led to the alienation of people from their communities of origin 'mostly without providing them with the tools to integrate the culture change in ways compatible with their own culture' (Saayman 1991:40), there should now be a serious attempt to integrate all cultures and faiths in the full development of human potential. In this task Christianity has an important role to play in terms of her valuable contribution in the past and especially contemporaneously with regard to the promotion of reconciliation in the nation through the active development of:

a peace between people from different cultural spaces gathered in one place who understand each other's languages and share in each other's goods (Volf 1996:306).

This is a process whereby a new form of coercive agency is internalised. It is marked by the elements of justice, peace, faithfulness and love which produce harmony in society, the divine *shalom* which operates contrary to the effects of a negative hegemony, power and ideology such as that challenged by the prophet Micah where the 'urban-scientific-military-industrial establishment had usurped the well-being of the little people' (Brueggemann, Parks & Groome 1986:7). It forms a new inclusive form of institutionalisation or society which prefigures the Kingdom of God in whose coming we are all called to participate:

The Lord has told you mortals what is good,
and what it is that the Lord requires of you:
only to act justly, to love loyalty,
to walk humbly with your God (Micah 6:8),

employing these all embracing values of the Kingdom of God, which is the ultimate aim of our journeying towards God.

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