PAST AND PRESENT PERCEPTIONS SURROUNDING MISSION EDUCATION:

A HISTORICAL-METABLETICAL OVERVIEW

by

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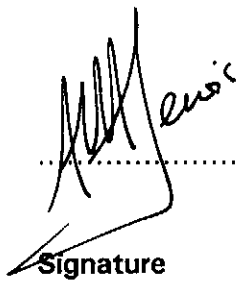
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DECLARATION

I, the undersigned, hereby declare that the work contained in this dissertation is my own original work and has not previously in its entirety or in part been submitted at any university for a degree.

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Signature   **Date**

ABSTRACT

In South Africa, education has both reflected, and has been subjected to numerous perceptions, which inevitably led to various ideas and behaviour on the part of those participating in the educative act.

Perceptions of others, objects or situations remain complex. The thoughts and behaviour which emanate from such complexity depend on factors such as personality, motivation, and social context. Culture also plays a cardinal role in the perceptual process. In the Republic of South Africa, as a culturally diverse country, divergent perceptions about education, where multi-culturalism is most evident, will be inevitable.

Mission education has been variedly adjudged, because of varied perceptions. This is understandable, as Black South Africans had been educated predominantly by White missionaries up until the 1950's. Generally, politicians, academics and the media tend to give one-sided viewpoints, negating other interpretations and balanced perspectives. This takes place because of ignorance, bias or self-interest.

Two commonly held perceptions about missionaries, are that they were racist and that their education system promoted colonialism. The understanding of racism, colonialism and missionaries' role therein, is in turn determined by numerous factors amongst historians, academics, politicians and journalists. The perceptions of each of these groups are often determined by partisan interests, which inevitably lead to unfair generalisations and stereotypes, since the metabletical nature of education is denied.

In order to dissertate on past educational events, they need to be read contextually, taking into account both temporal and spatial dimensions of historical reality. When analysing historical perceptions, one needs to critically evaluate diverse interpretations of the past, and attempt to present a balanced perspective, instead of presenting a biased outlook,which tends to favour a specific hypothesis.

This research critically analyses the various perceptions (past and present) surrounding mission education in South Africa, according to historical-metabletical guidelines, that they may be presented within a more balanced historical perspective.

OPSOMMING

Opvoeding in Suid-Afrika was onderworpe aan 'n groot verkeidenheid persepsies, wat onvermydelik gelei het tot uiteenlopende idees en gedragsuitinge onder praktisyns van opvoeding.

'n Mens se waarneming van andere, van voorwerpe en situasies, bly 'n komplekse saak. Gedagtes en handelinge wat uit hierdie kompleksiteit voorvloei, hang van faktore af soos, persoonlikheid, motivering en sosiale kontekste. Kultuur speel ook 'n sleutelrol in die waarnemingsproses. In die Republiek van Suid-Afrika, 'n land met 'n veelvoudigheid van kulture, waar multi-kulturalisme aan die orde van die dag is, sal uiteenlopende waarnemings rondom die opvoeding onvermydelik wees.

Sendingonderwys, was verskillend beoordeel, as gevolg van die uiteenlopende waarnemings. Dit is te verstane, aangesien swart Suid-Afrikaners hoofsaaklik deur blanke sendelinge onderrig is, tot en met die vyftigerjare. Oor die algemeen, is politici, akademici en die media geneig om eensydige sieninge te huldig en weer te gee. Hierdeur word ander sienswyses of meer gebalanseerde sienswyses soms negeer. Dit gebeur as gevolg van onkunde, vooroordeel of eie-belang.

Twee algemene sienswyses aangaande sendelinge, is dat hulle rassiste was, en dat hulle opvoeding kolonialisme gepropageer het. Die verstaan van rassisme, kolonialisme en die rol van sendelinge hierin, word medebepaal deur verskeie faktore onder historici, akademici, politici en joemaliste. Die waarneminge van hierdie groepe word dikwels bepaal deur groepbelange, wat onvermydelik lei tot onregverdige veralgemenings en stereotipering, omdat die metabletiese aard van opvoeding ontken word.

Om oor opvoedingsgebeure van die verlede te kan redeneer, behoort dit kontekstueel gelees te word; terwyl beide die tyd-, sowel as die ruimtelike dimensies van die historiese werklikheid in ag geneem word. Die ontleding van historiese waarneming vereis kritiese interpretasie van 'n verskeidenheid interpretasies uit die verlede. Daar moet ook gepoog word om 'n gebalanseerde eerder as 'n bevooroordeelde waarneming, wat slegs een bepaalde hipotese onderskryf, daar te stel.

Hierdie navorsing analiseer krities – volgens histories-metabletiese riglyne – verskeie waarneminge (verlede en teenswoordige), aangaande sendingonderwys in Suid-Afrika, om hierdeur tot 'n meer gebalanseerde historiese perspektief te geraak.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This dissertation is dedicated to my son, Justin and nephew, Alex. We do not inherit this world from our parents, but borrow it from both of you.

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Chapter 1

GENERAL ORIENTATION TO THIS RESEARCH

> The facts [in history] are like fish swimming about in a vast and sometimes inaccessible ocean; and what the historians catches will depend, partly on chance, but mainly on what part of the ocean he chooses to fish in and what tackle he chooses to use – these factors being, of course, determined by the kinds of fish he wants to catch.
>
> (Carr 1964:23)

1.1   INTRODUCTION

On 2 February 1990, the then South African State President, **FW de Klerk**, took far-reaching policy decisions with regard to a constitutional negotiation process (Coetzee 1997:1). These decisions included the unbanning of the African National Congress (ANC) and the setting free of many political prisoners including Nelson Mandela. These **changes** have profoundly influenced South African society and include the subsequent **dismantling** of *apartheid* during the parliamentary session in May 1991 (Steyn & Van der Westhuizen 1993:35). Attempts were then made to **transform** society from being exclusive to being inclusive, in order to reflect democracy and the total demographic reality in South Africa. In this regard Schoeman (1995:97) notes that this

> transition [was] from an undemocratic, authoritarian and repressive (`closed')
> society which was regulated on all fronts by the powerful relations of
> domination that existed under the former government, to one that is
> essentially `open', ie tolerant, humane and convivial.

Education did not escape these profound changes (Lewis 1992:1; Meier 1998:14), and there were endeavours to ensure positive change away from a formerly exclusivistic system. Attempts to address the problems of the previous education system came in the form of various **discussion documents**, for example, the *Onderwysvernuwingstrategie* (OVS)[1] (DNO 1992) as well as the *Report of the National Education Policy Investigation* (NEPI) (NEPI 1993; cf Coetzee 1997:8). Although these were well-intended attempts to propose a more democratic state of affairs, they were not seen as legitimate, since they were conceived in **separate** "camps". It was necessary that all educational partners come together and plan a joint strategy.

In 1994 South Africa held its first democratic **elections**, with Nelson Mandela becoming the first democratically elected president. All aspects of South African society needed to reflect these **changes**, especially education. Meier (1998:14)

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[1] The English equivalent is the *Education Renewal Strategy* (ERS).

remarks on these changes as follows: "The coming into power of a black majority government after the democratic elections in 1994 resulted in profound transformation processes in the educational sphere in South Africa." A concrete change that took place in education was the introduction of the **South African Schools Bill** during 1996. The preamble of this Bill captures the essence of this change

> [w]hereas it is necessary to set norms and standards for the organisation, governance and funding of schools, which must apply uniformly throughout the *Republic* and provide the basis for an education system of high quality which will advance the democratic transformation of society, uphold the constitutional rights of *learners, parents* and *educators,* and promote their acceptance of responsibility for the good governance of *schools* in co-operation with the State (RSA 1996:2).

The dismantling of *apartheid* during the early 1990's, after years of separation along racial lines, have brought together people with different **perceptions** of reality, beliefs, cultures and attitudes, which influenced their thoughts and behaviour. Bergen (1992:6) in this regard notes that:

> In South Africa we have lived in a society in which the separation of communities and racial groups was the norm. It reached its highest level of `sophistication' during the Apartheid era. More recently the cleavages that were created by the above-mentioned social engineering are being narrowed and bridged. More and more are individuals coming into contact with people who have a different world view of life.

This **integration** of previously segregated groups is not without its own problems. To Bestbier (1996:1) "many South Africans are struggling because they are incapable of assimilating the new conceptual framework" of freedom, equality, justice and human rights. To Bestbier (1996:1) the initial political and legal struggle has now manifested itself in a **"second struggle"** in which all people need to change their perceptions, attitudes and behaviour to reflect these changing realities.

Differences in perception in any society are a given, and manifest themselves in various societal facets (*Weekend Argus Personal Finance*, 6/7 February 1999:16) such as in **economy** and in **business** (Badenhorst 1993:10-11; Van Niekerk 1996; Efrat 1996[a]:15; Robertson 1996:10; Lunsche 1996:22), **labour** (Baskin 1998:25; Solomon 1999:1), **politics** (Lurssen 1996:10; Madlala 1997:19), **sport** (Bryden 1997:1), **national defence** (Kasrils 1996:23) **crime** (Van Breda 1996:11; Leon 1996:18; Pityana 1996:26), **culture** (Bristowe 1996:21), and many more societal structures. When a society has been functioning on segregated lines for so long, as was the case with South Africa, these differences in perception are more glaring. However, this does not imply that differences in skin colour will of necessity result in difference in perception as there are countless instances where people from different racial backgrounds perceive people and situations similarly (cf Pretorius 1995:7).

Education, as a facet of culture, has also been subject to, and engenders diverse and differing perceptions (which inevitably lead to diverse thinking and behaviour) (*Finansies & Tegniek*, 19 November 1993:10). Taylor (quoted in McFarlane 1995:1) remarks that

> [t]he content of education is not a body of knowledge. It is a cluster of attitudes, feelings, *perceptions*, insights, abilities and skills, of which the ability to think independently and clearly is of the first importance, and the ability to experience life fully and honestly is certainly no less valuable (italics mine).

Contemporary educational perceptions that had (and are having) an effect on the thoughts and behaviour of various people concern **language** issues (Metcalfe 1996:22), **rationalisation** of certain educational institutions (De Kock 1996[a]:8), educational **standards** (*Finansies & Tegniek*, 19 November 1993:10; Efrat 1996[b]:5; Efrat 1996[c]:44; Claassen 1996:2-3; Pretorius 1999:19), **matric results** (Dlamini & Paton 1996:4; Bengu 1997:18) and the **curriculum** (CFC 1995).

As perceptions are central to both **practice** of and **research** in education (De Vries 1992:32; Johnson 1994:475; cf *Weekend Argus Personal Finance*, 6/7 February

1999:16), researchers and practitioners of education very often have problems understanding why a person thought or behaved in a specific way. This is particularly evident in an example given by McGregor (1993:17), who remarks that when fourteen-year-olds writing an experimental school exit test in South Africa were asked to trace the shortest distance between two towns, White children got the answer "right", while Black children got it "wrong". What engendered the different answers is that the Black township of Crossroads (situated close to Cape Town) is situated between the two towns. Black children perceived the township as dangerous and thus travelled around the settlement while "unpoliticised" White children, to whom the name "Crossroads" meant little, took the "correct" straight line. McGregor (1993:17) ascribes this confusion to the "many things in South Africa [which] are twisted by politics and totally *different perceptions*" (italics mine). Hartshorne (1992[a]:2) remarks that "because of our past, the differing perceptions of that past, the hurts, frustrations and anger that have arisen from it, and the neglect of and discrimination in the educational welfare of the majority of our people, the resolution of our problems is not going to be easy and straightforward." He continues: "[T]he central core of the debate has therefore become *how to reconcile* the justified ideals and expectations of the new education system with what is practically possible" (italics mine).

As was mentioned previously, in a country like South Africa, these differing perceptions are very often simply attributed to **racial** differences between Black and White people. However, the reasons are far more **complex** than that (cf Ellis *et al* 1991:188), as very often there are similarities and differing of perceptions within different groups. Not only is it necessary to take cognisance of these different perceptions in a **changing** South African society, but even without these changes there would have been differences in thinking and behaviour.

1.2   STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

The manner in which humans perceive another human and/or situation(s) influences their subsequent **thinking** and **behaviour** and are intrinsically a part of the **human** act

(*Weekend Argus Personal Finance*, 6/7 February 1999:16). Since education is an act which involves **people**, it is inevitable that **varying** perceptions will occur.

How one perceives another person or situation can either have positive or negative results, depending on a host of factors. A negative outcome of such perceptions can lead to **conflict**, which can be caused by misperceptions, inaccurate perceptions or stereotypes (Weiner-Campanella 1997:8-11). Stone (1996) is of the opinion that in many cases, **past** and **present** perceptions lend themselves to unfavourable and unfair **evaluation** of people and situations.

Past and present education practices were perceived differently **then, now** and **will** be perceived differently in the future by different people/cultural and ethnic groups resulting in varied thinking and behaviour. Similarly, **mission education,** as an important catalyst in past education practices, has and is, the topic of differing perceptions (cf Cross 1987:550-551; Small 1994:21; Bikitsha 1996:4; Spencer 1998). Holmes (1967:10) comments that the fact that there is "[a]n understandable *ambivalence* towards missionary education (all over the world) lies at the heart of the politics of education in many developing countries" (italics mine). This is endorsed by MacKenzie (1993:45) who avers that: "[f]or those nations whose past has been marked by colonial influence, the historical *perception* of the relationship between the early educational provisions of Christian religious organisations and the indigenous population remains *ambivalent*" (italics mine). To MacKenzie (1993:45) attributing **factors** which cause these differing perceptions are, amongst others, "*political* and *journalistic* responses to early missionary education [which] regularly provide simplified and aphoristic assessments of missionaries and their achievements or failings" (italics mine). While Kritzinger (1988:33) (although speaking of the "controversial" nature of term "mission"), notes that "[a]lmost every other [South African]...has their *own perception* of what mission [education] is all about" (italics mine).

For just over one-and-a-half centuries **missionaries** and **mission societies** played a profound and active role in educating Black South Africans (Van der Walt 1992[a]:221). In fact Comaroff and Comaroff (1991:xiv) go as far as resonating that

one cannot understand South Africa's history "without taking into account the salience of religion – especially evangelical Christianity." This had to **change** in 1953, with the promulgation of the **Bantu Education Act,** when the National Party government largely took over the education of Black people, leaving many missionaries with very little choice but to close down their mission schools. Some tried to survive on their own initiative, but later closed down towards the 1960's due to, amongst other things, a lack of funds.

However, even though the missionaries contributed largely to the education of many Black South Africans, they have been the subject of varied and diverse **perceptions** over the centuries, sometimes shrouded in controversy and debate. Even in popular **media** sources there are constant references to the endeavours of the missionaries, either for their **Eurocentric** stance, **cultural colonialism** and **racism** (Lambert 1995[a]:19; Vilakazi 1995:20) or because they were accused of contributing to the present **education crisis** in South Africa (Lewis 1992:45-49). Theorists and the media tend to give an analysis of mission education from **their perspective** alone and are not giving a balanced perspective (cf Vilakazi 1995:20; Robertson 1995:14; ka-Nkosi Shandu 1999:24).

Education researchers and other critics, tend to view mission education from **truncated** viewpoints without giving the reader the **whole picture.** Michael Cross (1987:550-551), in an article entitled "The Political Economy of Colonial Education: Mozambique, 1930-1975" notes that two basic theoretical models have emerged concerning the analysis of colonial education, of which mission education is an aspect, namely the **reproduction model** and the **balance-sheet model.** In the first instance, education is perceived as "an agency of social control or a mechanism of reproduction of labor", while the latter is perceived as "surveying their [missionaries'] 'good' and 'bad' activities". These researchers and critics are very often guilty of "**presentism**" and **biased** observations, and very seldom recognise that missionaries' actions, and interactions were profoundly influenced by their historical backgrounds, their cultures and ideologies. However, Comaroff and Comaroff (1991:54) also remind us that "the missionary encounter must be regarded as a *two*-sided historical

process; as a dialectic that takes into account the social and cultural endowments of, and consequences for, *all* the actors – missionaries no less than Africans."

Given these observations, Van der Walt (1992[a]:221) notes several points of criticism, levelled, mainly by **radical** educational historians, against mission education. These points of criticism (or then perceptions) include:

■   Mission education, prior to 1953, determined the **pattern** of the education provided by the Government after 1953 – in other words, by the 1953 Bantu Education Act's underlying philosophy of separate development.

■   Mission education set the pattern for **technical**[2] education, which resulted in a constant flow and supply of Black labourers for the White dominated capitalist system in South Africa.

■   Mission endeavours coincided with **imperial** interests.

■   Missionaries estranged Blacks from their **cultural** heritage and promoted European cultures.

■   Missionaries **enriched** themselves by promoting their own private interests by using Black labour.

Christie (1991:78-84) also includes various points of criticism levelled against mission education, and these or overlap with Van der Walt's observations and include:

■   the inclusion of **industrial** and **manual** education reflected in the curriculum;

■   **racism** and **subordination**, and

■   **sexism** and the **subordination** of women.

It would be a narrow viewpoint to assume that these **criticisms** only occur in the writings of **radical literature**. They tend to emerge in the thoughts of diverse literature

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2   Technical education refers to education that aims at developing certain skills and abilities so that on completion of training, a candidate may use these skills in his/her profession (Kruger 1992:185). This type of education aims at preparing technicians for a profession, usually past secondary level but not leading to a degree (Good 1959, sv "technical education"). In this instance, technical education, in its historical and social context, was mainly used as a means of channelling Black South Africans into specific, vocational directions to supply an economic need.

and they do not imply that a radical critique is implicitly incorrect. **Liberal** educationists have also given a **one-sided** view of mission education, which in many instances can be viewed as **selective** (cf Malherbe 1979:158-159).

Given the **diverse** nature of South Africa's multi-cultural society, it is only true that its citizens would perceive differently, inevitably leading to varying **thinking** and **behaviour**. According to Wiehahn (1987:12), literature suggests that many commonly held perceptions are faulty and limited which do not take the whole picture into consideration. If this is so, then, one wonders if those commonly held perceptions surrounding mission education are in fact **correct** and portray the real picture. Given the **cognitive** reality that any thought constantly repeated in one's mind, leads to that thought being believed, whether what it embodies is real or not. If some commonly held perceptions are **incorrect**, then so could the stereotypes and prejudices concerning missionaries. The question arises whether the stereotypes and prejudices can ever be altered.

It is in the light of the above statements and questions that this researcher thought it necessary to seek **answers** to the following questions:

- What **causes** human beings to perceive situations and people differently, and **how** does this take place?
- How can one **explain** diverse perceptions of reality?
- What **factors** influence perception and can perceptions be **changed**?
- What perceptions surround certain aspects of **mission education**? And, are they **justified**?

1.3   AIMS AND OBJECTIVES OF THE RESEARCH

Research aims give a **broad** indication as to what research intends to achieve. Mouton and Marais (1990:42-52) identify and elaborate on three basic **types** of research aims which, manifest in research studies:

- **exploratory** research (*verkennende studies*) which aims to explore a relatively unknown field;

- **descriptive** research (*beskrywende studies*) where the emphasis could be on a description of a specific individual, situation, group, organisation, tribe, sub-culture, interaction, social object or on a description of the frequency with which a characteristic or variable occurs in a sample, and

- **explanatory** research (*verklarende studies*) which aims to denote causality between variables or events. This implies the interpretation (hermeneutics) and debating of historiographical information relevant to education.

Although this study will encompass a combination of all the above-mentioned types of research, it will focus mainly on **descriptive** and **explanatory** research. In the light of the above, the following **aims** and **objectives** relevant to this project are identified.

1.3.1 Aims of the investigation

In the light of the above-mentioned problem (cf 1.2), the **aim** of this project is to critically analyse perceptions harboured and maintained by many individuals and groupings about mission education in order to arrive at a better understanding of this topic. These analyses imply *inter alia* that contributing **factors** will be elucidated.

It is not the aim of this research to rewrite history and to give a specific perspective of History of Education, but it will put that which has been researched into a more **balanced** perspective, by supplying various interpretations and contributing factors to these perceptions, an approach held by post-modernists. **Post-modern** literature acknowledges the **multiplicity of perspectives** which can be held at once. Usher and Edwards (1994:26) note that "the possibility of a multiplicity of perspectives is perhaps what most characterises a post-modern perspective" and that "there is a need to see rationality as having many forms, validated in many different human practices. What this implies is that it is possible to acknowledge many and different points of view, whilst denying them equal value."

This study is also not an exhaustive chronological study of History of Educational literature, but it is highly **selective,** focussing more on **categories** of perceptions in the light of **changing** educational realities. It therefore follows that this study aims to provide a perspective on **prominent** and **prevalent** perceptions concerning mission education in South Africa. This is to be done from a **historical** and especially **educational** point of which is strongly directed by a **metabletical** (cf 1.6.4) dimension.

1.3.2 Objectives of the investigation

As a direct result of the above-mentioned aims, it is envisaged that this research will achieve the following **objectives.** The objectives (realising in the subsequent chapters) are:

- to understand the concept "perception" and influencing factors, by undertaking a **conceptual analysis** of the term;

- to place the mission endeavour in its **historical perspective** (time and space), by giving a short history of mission in general and mission education specifically;

- to critically discuss certain **perceptions** surrounding mission education within the **metabletical** reality, and

- by analysing the diverse perceptions surrounding the aforementioned point, an **evaluation** will be provided, and recommendations will be made for future understanding of others' perceptions.

1.4   MOTIVATION FOR THE STUDY

The initial impetus to research the topic arose from the researcher's **MEd thesis:** "Individual and community needs as aspects of the education crisis: A historical educational overview" (cf Lewis 1992). Here the researcher touched on mission education as a possible contributing factor to an education system **not** fulfilling the educational needs of all South Africans leading to the so-called "Education Crisis". What emanated from this research is that several **perceptions** surrounding mission

education were in many instances biased, contradictory and divergent, invariably not allowing for other viewpoints and interpretations (cf Cross 1987:550-551).

During the period when the previous research was conducted, **democratisation** processes were sweeping over South Africa which reiterated that an attitude of **tolerance** should be practised by all South Africans. There was a move away from a previously rigid society to a more tolerant one. Tolerance, in essence, implies that others' beliefs, customs (Harber & Payton 1979, sv "tolerance") perceptions and points of view are taken into account and that one's perspective of a person(s) or of situation(s) is not the only valid perspective, and for that matter, not the only correct one. This reality is reiterated repeatedly by both individuals and groupings of people, alike. At a conference hosted by the **South African Educational Law and Policy Association (SAELPA)**, the chairman, Prof Johan Beckmann (University of Pretoria), in his final address stressed the need to be tolerant in the acceptance of other peoples' points of view in all spheres of society (SAELPA 1996). This implies an understanding of how other people **perceive** reality. This aspect of tolerance is also re-iterated in the envisaged formation of a **Commission for the Promotion and Protection of the Rights of Cultural, Religious and Linguistic Communities**, which aims to promote a common national identity within a culturally diverse society. Provision for this Commission was made in the constitution. In this regard Randall (1998:21) notes that

> [t]he Constitution defines the commission as a means to promote respect for the rights of cultural, religious and linguistic communities, and to promote *tolerance* and *national unity* among cultural, religious and linguistic communities on the basis of free association, equality and non-discrimination (italics mine).

To be tolerant is extremely characteristic of a **post-modern** society where others' opinions should be valued (cf Usher & Edwards 1994:26). Tolerance should be a *sine qua non* in the conducting of **research**, since it counters scientific **chauvinism**.

1.5   RELEVANCE AND ACTUALITY OF THIS RESEARCH

For research to be relevant and actual it should be of educational **value**. This implies that "[t]he description of the problem and proposed solutions should contribute to the *theory* and *practice* of education in the present and even the future" (italics mine) (Venter 1992[a]:9). The actuality and relevance of this research should be stated in both general and specific terms. Five reasons can be noted, to indicate this actuality and relevance.

Firstly, the re-writing, re-assessment and re-interpretation of South African History (of Education included) has come under the spotlight recently (cf Hopkins 1998:17) and an attempt is being made to provide a more **balanced** perspective on South African History (of Education), especially appertaining to Black South African History (of Education). Ntantala (1992:116) captures these thoughts in a metaphor:

> South African history was like the story animal hunt that glorified only the actions of the hunters and said nothing or very little about the heroism and strategies of the hunted. The early history...told me that the African people had been cheated and robbed.

Various points of view concerning certain historical issues will have to be explored and re-evaluated. Budlender (1995:26) agrees with these sentiments and notes that

> [t]his is a time when we are at great risk of attempts to rewrite our history [of Education]. Many people feel a need to provide new versions of what they did or why they did it. One of the ways in which we can assess these versions is by reading accounts of the events written at the time.

These sentiments are not new, in 1952 the **early radical** writer Majeke (1952:introduction) wrote that "[o]ur future historians, too, will strip the tinsel and velvet from those puppets who strut the stage of history from van Riebeeck onwards, the *reverends* and the governors, soldiers and politicians – the heroes of herrenvolkism" (italics mine). This re-assessment and re-interpretation implies that

a **balanced** perspective should be given and not only from one specific point of view, as is the case of Majeke, from a radical perspective.

Mission education is a facet of History of Education that has come under the spotlight of academic re-assessment. In a more **global** sense, MacKenzie (1993:45-66) in his article entitled "Demythologising the missionaries: a re-assessment of the functions and relationships of Christian missionary education under colonialism", attempts to **re-assess** and **demythologise** certain perceptions surrounding mission education and place them into a more balanced perspective, while Cross (1987:550-569) does the same with mission education in **Mozambique** and Spencer (1998) regarding **Malawi**. With regard to **local** mission education, Van der Walt (1992[a]) of PUCHE (*Potchefstroomse Universiteit vir Christelike Hoër Onderwys*) attempts to re-assess mission education within the confines of South Africa, and calls for a hermeneutical approach in assessing mission education in a more balanced way.

This **historiographical** re-assessment is to manifest itself in a range of specific instances in educational **curriculum** planning. An example being one of the learning outcomes for **Human and Social Sciences** – one of *Curriculum 2005's* eight new Learning Areas (LA's) – which replaced several subjects of the previous curriculum. This learning outcome states that learners will demonstrate a critical ability to understand how South African society has changed and developed (DE 1997, sv "Human and Social Sciences, SO1"). Learners can now develop **skills** in interacting with different historical and educational sources in an attempt to find out what really happened in the past (Potenza 1998:52,54). **Mission education,** due to its long prominence in South African education, will still be studied by pupils and students in schools and other institutions reflecting an **outcomes-based** approach. This is reflected in a document entitled "Introducing the study of Education" – a distance education course for trainee teachers", the **South African Institute for Distance Education (SAIDE)** in "[a] proposal for a college-based curriculum development project to write and pilot an alternative `foundations of education' course" (SAIDE 1994). A module in this course entitled "Teachers and education in Africa" focuses on the roles that schools have played and are still playing in their communities (local, district, province or nationally). Section 1 of this module devotes itself to "Schools and the

political struggle in South Africa", while a subsection thereof deals with "[r]epression and resistance in SA education: from *mission schools* through Bantu education to people's education" (italics mine) (SAIDE 1994:29).

In the **second** instance, even though mission education in South Africa largely ceased to exist more than three decades ago, it still is a **relevant** source for researchers and writers alike.   The topic is still widely **debated** by academics (both general and educational).   Two publications by University of South Africa (Unisa), which contributed to this debate, came to the realisation.   Professor Leon de Kok's book focusses primarily on **Lovedale** Missionary Institution entitled *Civilising Barbarians* (1996[b]); and Professor Willem Saayman's work on **ZK Matthews** entitled: *A man with a shadow: The life and times of ZK Matthews, a missiological interpretation* (1996[a]), are both significant and relevant sources that enlighten this topic.   While the former takes his standpoint from a **literary** point of view, the latter takes his perspective from a **missiological** one.   Both these sources acknowledge the **value** of studying the mission endeavour.

Thirdly, from an educational point of view, mission education's importance is acknowledged by the **Black academic,** SPP Mninele, in the book *History of Education: Its nature, value and research* (1995).   Mninele (1995:66) notes that a study of mission institutions can provide some answers to some vexing **contemporary** education problems.   One such question being: "what lessons can we learn from these institutions to improve our present education?"   In this question alone, Mninele acknowledges the **important** role played by mission institutions and the possibility of seeking answers to contemporary educational problems.   Popular **journals** and **newspapers** also, in many instances, when discussing the present education "crisis" in South Africa, question the relevance of the past *apartheid* system (and the legacy that still persists) and wonder if the maintaining of mission education would not have been the better option.   This question is asked in the form of a letter to the editor of the *Sunday Times* of 1 December 1996 (Finnemore 1996:22).

Fourthly, in a more general vein, this research can also help other education researchers, writers and practitioners to acknowledge others' perceptions of

education. Opinions, as well as perceptions towards education, are extremely diverse due to a host of factors. Education **practitioners** constantly deal with a range of perceptions, which influence instructional practices, administrative decisions and policy initiatives. Knowledge of employees' and stakeholders' perceptions of reality and perceptual formation, can help administrators understand and improve and revise educational policy and practice. This facilitation will manifest itself in numerous ways. In order to ensure and practice effective **conflict management**, people need to ensure that effective communication prevails (Weiner-Campanella 1997). Similarly, in order to ensure **effective communication,** one has to be aware of the perceptual process and factors which influence peoples' perceptions. Educational **researchers** will also benefit from this knowledge, since by applying a variety of scientific methods and approaches, it "will allow them to address personally and methodologically the trustworthiness of their scholarly endeavors" (Johnson 1994:476).

In the **fifth** place, the very nature of South Africa's present system of **multicultural** education, acknowledges and accepts the rightful existence of different cultural groups. Since the aim of multicultural education includes, amongst others, the development of positive attitudes with regard to other cultures, it obviates prejudice and negative stereotyping (cf Lemmer & Squelch 1993). Therefore, it is important for cultures to understand the perceptual process, in order to address this educational reality.

These observations necessitates evaluation of various **perceptions** of education (and more specifically mission education), as well as understanding why and how others arrive at their own **interpretation** of the world. This could lead to the **changing** of present perceptions, if they are not correct. In this regard, Covey (1992:18) in *The seven habits of highly effective people*, with the subtitle *powerful lessons in personal change* notes, that "if we [want] to change the situation, we first [have] to change ourselves. And to change ourselves effectively, we first have to change our *perceptions*" (italics mine).

1.6 DEFINING OF TERMINOLOGY

Since that **unclear** concepts leads to misunderstanding, which in turn leads to the obscurity of thinking, it is necessary to clarify certain key concepts featured in the research. This exercise is amplified by Banton (1987[b]:51), who declares that "[s]cientific reasoning requires precise definitions."

1.6.1 Perception

As the term **perception** forms an important part of this dissertation, it is imperative and justified that it be discussed at length in a separate chapter. **Chapter 2** will constitute a conceptual analysis of the term.

1.6.2 Mission

The word "mission" is derived from the **Latin** *missio* meaning "to send" (Sykes 1979, sv "mission"). Initially the word *missio* referred to the **doctrine of the Trinity** – the sending of Jesus by God, and the sending of the Holy Spirit by God and Jesus. The term "mission" and subsequently "missionary", according to Bosch (1991:228) only made its appearance during the **Western Colonial Era** and pre-supposes "the idea of a magisterial commissioning. The term pre-supposes an established church in Europe which despatched delegates to convert overseas peoples and was as such an attendant phenomenon of European expansion" (Bosch 1991:228).

Of the several explanations given by *The Concise Oxford Dictionary* of the term, the one applicable to this research is that a "mission" is a "body sent by [a] religious community to propagate its faith" and that a "missionary" is a "[p]erson who goes on missionary work" (Sykes 1979:698, sv "mission", "missionary").

Kritzinger (1988:33-34) defines "mission" in a **narrow** and in a **broad** sense. The former implies that mission is primarily (and almost *only*) concerned with the spiritual salvation of the sinner. The latter view not only encompasses the narrow definition, but "addresses the whole of life, soul *and* body" – which includes aspects of service

in day-to-day life. This broader definition implies that the activities of missionaries usually included much more than just preaching - eg education. The latter is evident in the prominent South African missionary, RHW Shepherd's (1971:4) book entitled *Lovedale South Africa:1824-1955*, whereby he identifies two duties of missionaries: "[T]he first [duty was] classed study for personal improvement, preaching, teaching and translating. Under the second, building, field work, gardening and a variety of other manual tasks". As it was the ultimate aim of the missionaries to convert people to Christianity (this aim was shared by all missionary societies), the **school** was seen as one agency that could achieve this aim. Conversion could only be achieved if the Scriptures could be understood and preferably **read** (Holmes 1967:9,25). This dissertation will adopt the latter, **broader** definition.

Cognisance should also be taken in the **change** in definition of the concept "mission" evident after the Second World War. This new view of the term sees mission as an action initiated by God and not by the church as such. God sends, and the world and its inhabitants are invited to participate therein, not as lone individuals, but as a community (De Gruchy 1997).

1.6.3 Education

To date, there is no **conclusive** definition of the concept "education" due to its **complex** nature (Ellis *et al* 1991:12) since different authors emphasise **different** aspects of education in their definitions (Unisa 1997:xi). Nevertheless, it is imperative to define the term for use in this research. For the purpose of this study, Van Wageningen's definition of the concept will form the basis. To him, education is

> [t]he induction of the young into the beliefs, values, traditions, customs (the
> culture) of the community in which the school is situated and forms a part.
> A form of socially determined type-building yet providing for growth beyond
> the type at a subsequent stage (eg secondary school, tertiary institution) (Van
> Rensburg & Landman 1988, sv "Van Wageningen, G").

This definition of Van Wageningen recognises the aim of education to prepare learners to play a meaningful role in **society**, as well as viewing education as a **lifelong** learning process, a view commonly held and shared by contemporary educationists and related literature (CFC 1995; CDWG 1996), which does not end at the attainment of adulthood, a view often held by fundamental pedagogists (cf Gunter 1978:11-14; De Vries 1986:23-26). This definition of Van Wageningen also recognises that education is closely linked with the acquisition of **life-skills**, as well as **labour market** preparation (cf Unisa 1997:xi).

1.6.4 Metabletical

The concept "metabletical" is derived from the Greek word *metaballein* meaning **change** (Meier 1996:32). This concept has to do with the fact that humans are **historical** beings who have, in the course of time, undergone gradual changes (Van Rensburg & Landman 1988, sv "Metabletics"). Invariably this aspect of change manifests itself in the **educative** process.

By making use of this methodological approach an attempt will be made to indicate in what way and in what manner educational theory and practise changed in **time** and **space** (Meier 1996:32).

In the ensuing research the metabletical approach is of importance, as it will indicate how perceptions surrounding mission education **changed** and were different due to differences in time and space.

1.6.5 Black

In this research the term "Black" will be used in **general** terms and will refer to citizens other than White, including "Coloureds", Indians, "Khoi-khoi" (Hottentots) and "San" (Bushmen), unless specifically referring to a **specific** "grouping" within a specific time-frame.

1.6.6 History of Education

History of Education deals with the human phenomenon of teaching and education in its historical perspective, determined by **time** and **space** (Kruger 1990:85). In this regard, Van Rensburg and Landman (1988, sv "History of Education [Historical education/pedagogics, Historico-pedagogics]") state that "history of education has its starting-point in the problems that come to light in contemporary education with the purpose of selecting and organizing the essence of a particular problem in its total historical relief."

Venter (1992[a]:4) more or less agrees with the above, but pertinently refers to the **future** dimension and defines the term as

> a historical-systematic field which examines, interprets and describes the structural relatedness of the education phenomenon or educational reality as a historical premise (in its situatedness in the *past* and in time) with the aim of illuminating the *present* and providing guidelines for the *future* (italics mine).

This definition is shared by Kruger (1990:85) who stresses the **spatio-temporal** phenomenon of past, present and future. Ntantala (1992:ix) also acknowledges the spatio-temporal by stating that "to understand the *present*, we must know the *past*; even to predict the *future* accurately, we have to know that past, as it was in the past that the seeds of the future were sown" (italics mine). However, one cannot agree with Ntantala, were she notes that in order to "predict" the future we have to know the past. One would rather agree with Venter who, more conservatively, uses the past to provide **guidelines** and **recommendations** for the future.

1.7 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The term **research**, is derived from the French word *rechercher* meaning "to travel through or survey", and is **defined** by Charles (1995:5) as a *"careful, systematic, patient investigation* undertaken to discover or establish facts and relationships" (italics mine). To Venter & Van Heerden (1989:109) research "is a human activity whereby a particular phenomenon in reality (eg the education phenomenon) is studied

objectively in order to establish a valid understanding of the phenomenon. In order to carry out this task, it is necessary that the researcher takes note of various research methods.

In the quest for scientific enquiry, the researcher needs to select a specific **method or methods**. To Venter & Van Heerden (1989:109) "the implementation of a specific method [or methods] will lead to a collection of knowledge being typified as a science and not merely as a number of everyday, individual and disconnected lay observations." The term 'method' is derived from the Latin word *methodus* or Greek word *methodos* (*meta* + *hodos* meaning "way by which") permitting the researcher access to a particular phenomenon (Van Rensburg & Landman 1988, sv "method") to ensure that the results obtained are valid and reliable.

The method chosen is determined by the nature of the phenomenon or by the sphere of investigation. The focus of this research is based on the **educational phenomenon** in its **historical context** and will reflect certain methods appertaining to this. Various methods will be used in this research, which all reflect this characteristic.

1.7.1 The historical-educational research method

The primary method of research adopted in this dissertation will be the **historical-educational** research method. This research method encapsulates the basic scientific research method (Meier 1996:33) and investigates the phenomenon of education by taking the **present** as a point of departure, traversing into the **past** with the aim of enlightening the present, and finally making recommendations for the **future**, based on the findings and conclusions.

While Venter (1992[a]:9-13) identifies six formal **steps** or phases in this method, Wiersma (1991:206) identifies four formal steps. However, one can agree with Wiersma (1991:206) when he points out that although the steps are clearly defined, they overlap considerably. Venter's steps are included in Wiersma's and *vice versa.*

For the duration of this dissertation, Wiersma's (1991:206-212) **four steps** were adopted and employed. These steps are the:

- **identification** of the research problem (hypotheses or questions are formulated along with the problem);

- **collection** and **evaluation** of source materials (implying external and internal criticism as well as a possible continued formulation of hypotheses and questions);

- **synthesis** of information from source materials (possible hypotheses revision), and

- an **analysis, classification, integration interpretation and formulation** of conclusions.

Chapter One will constitute the first step, while Chapters Two to Four will focus mainly on steps two and three, while Chapter Five will encompass the final step.

1.7.2 The metabletic method

A method closely related to the aforementioned, is the **metabletic** method. As was mentioned previously (cf 1.6.4) metabletical, in this context, refers to the **changing** nature of education. This implies *inter alia* **factors** responsible for such change, as well as their **significance** and **meaning**. Venter and Van Heerden (1989:156-159) identify six **principles**, (three principles are theoretical, forming the philosophical basis and the other three are practical). These are discussed below.

1.7.2.1 *Theoretical principles*

(a)   The principle of non-disturbance

This implies that the setting in which the phenomena appear should not be disturbed. Educational phenomena should be studied and described exactly as they were **originally** observed.

(b)   The principle of reality

A deliberate attempt is made to **realistically** describe the fixed, concrete educational reality as it was exposed in the educational past without doubts of philosophical idealism being annulled. This implies that "all appearances are abolished, even the appearance of the phenomena" (Venter & Van Heerden 1989:157).

(c)   The principle of mutability

This principle is of cardinal importance to this specific method since it enables the researcher to engross him/herself in the educational reality as it **changed over time**. In order to arrive at a true reflection of educational reality, researchers will have to reflect changing and changeable points of view.

1.7.2.2   Practical principles

(a)   The principal of temporal simultaneity

This method enables the researcher to investigate whether a specific idea, discovery, educational or teaching method, or innovation of the past attributed to a specific person had not been found **simultaneously** by others.

(b)   The principle of the original occurrence

Of importance is the **origin** of change – in other words, the person or persons responsible for reporting the change for the first time – and not so much the consequences and results of change.

(c)   The principle of emphasis

Once the previously mentioned (cf 1.7.2.2 [b]) original occurrence has been traced, it has to be investigated to its full, thus reflecting its claim to **uniqueness**. What should be noted by researchers is the temporalness of their situation; what appears

to be normal phenomena currently, could have been unique at the time of their origination.

1.7.3 Research approach

In doing research, a researcher follows a particular approach, which presupposes a particular **attitude** to the field of investigation. Venter and Van Heerden (1989:107) consider a scientific approach as the total picture the educationalist has when viewing educational phenomena. The particular approach adopted by a researcher is interwoven with the specific methods and techniques adopted. This study will also be approached from a particular hermeneutical disposition.

1.7.3.1 Hermeneutical attitude

The term "hermeneutical" is derived from the Greek word *hermeneutikos*, meaning "to be schooled in interpretation" (Van Rensburg & Landman 1988, sv "Hermeneutic[s]"). This attitude implies a study which leads to an **analysis** and **interpretation** of educational phenomena within their individual and social **contexts** – implying acknowledgement of **time** and **space**.

In this research an attempt will be made to interpret, analyse and explain certain perceptions surrounding mission education within the **context** of time and space. This also implies **interpreting** these perceptions within **psycho-historical** contexts.

1.7.4 Means of research

1.7.4.1 Literature study

Since a **literature** study forms the basis of all research, an in-depth **inter-disciplinary** literature study will be undertaken.

Two source **types** were used throughout the research:

- Due to their high **reliability** (Charles 1995:27), predominantly **primary sources** will used in order to analyse the various perceptions surrounding mission education in the light of its **metabletical** dimension. The following primary sources will be consulted: laws, reports, newspapers, correspondence, journal articles, congress activities, monographs and speeches.

- As **secondary sources** are **second-hand** reports or **interpretations** of primary sources, made by persons not originally involved, with the primary sources (Charles 1995:27), they constitute an important part of this research since they in analyse and validate **various** perceptions. Secondary sources include newspapers, general and specific and journal articles.

Since the data which will be collected will still be `raw', it will be subjected to two critical processes, **firstly** a process of **elimination** will be adopted whereby relevant information will be retained and irrelevant information discarded. The **second** process will be that of subjecting the data to **external** and **internal** criticism (Venter 1992[a]:11-12).

- **External criticism** in historical research is when the validity/ authenticity of a document is determined (Wiersma 1991:209, 211; Venter 1992[a]:12). In this instance the **status** of the author as well as the **context** of the event are of extreme importance.

- **Internal criticism** analyses the meaning, interpretation, accuracy and trustworthiness of the **content** of the document. Aspects such as bias, personal factors, authors' style and accuracy, are all aspects which have to be taken into account during the evaluation (Wiersma 1991:209-211; Venter 1992[a]:12).

As we are dealing with the complex field of perceptions, it is extremely important to apply both **internal** and **external** criticism when evaluating sources to determine their usefulness and credibility. This applies to both primary and secondary sources.

1.8 PROGRAMME OF STUDY

As was already mentioned, an attempt will be made to critically analyse past and present perceptions surrounding mission education. An attempt will be made to present the information as **objective** and **unbiased** as possible so that it can be of importance to the educational situation.

The ensuing part of the dissertation is structured as follows:

Chapter 2 will be a short chapter presenting a **definition** of perceptions and an **analysis** of this concept, in order for the reader to be acquainted with the term and come to realise the complex nature of a simple percept, as well as that which is fundamental and conditional to perception.

In order to determine the **historical** (time and space) background of perceptions that have been harboured towards mission education, *Chapter 3* will present an overview of the development of the missions endeavour both globally and locally.

Chapters 4 and 5 will critically analyse specific **prevalent** perceptions surrounding mission education, namely "racism" and "colonialism", within the realm of **metabletical** discourse.

Chapter 6 will provide an **evaluation** of the aforementioned and will encompass the necessary findings, conclusions and recommendations gleaned from the research.

1.9 IN SUMMARISING

In this chapter, attention has been given to research procedures such as the formulation of the research problem, actuality of and motivation for the research, as well as the stipulation of the aims and objectives of the research project. This chapter also includes the conceptual analysis and formulation of definitions applicable to the research which will be used throughout. Finally, a programme of study was presented to orientate the reader as to the following chapters.

Chapter 2 hereafter will constitute a **conceptual analysis** of the term "perception".

Chapter 2

PERCEPTION

Perception is like beauty, in that it lies in the eye of the beholder

(Robbins 1991:125)

2.1   INTRODUCTION

Man[1] is a **worldly being** who is induced by his world, to give **meaning** and **significance** to the people and objects that surround him. He is, according to De Vries (1986:54), a "being-in-a-world-of-meaning" whose resultant **thinking** and **behaviour** are a result of his worldly experiences. These thoughts and behaviour are shaped by the way persons and things **appear** to him. Humans acts upon their ideas and these actions are guided by what they **think**, what they **believe** and what they **anticipate**. Krech *et al* (1962:17) observe that "the responses of the individual to persons and things are shaped by the way they look to him." In other words, how one absorbs **information** of the outside world and how the world appears to one is how one **perceives** it (Shaver & Tarpy 1993:89). Johnson (1994:475) argues that "[p]erceptions shape human attitudes and behavior; their impact is pervasive and unavoidable. They provide bases for understanding reality-objects, events, and the people with whom we interact – and their responses."

Individuals or groups experience stimuli to which they give **meaning**. Although, in many instances, these stimuli may be experienced **similarly**, they may often be perceived **differently** by different individuals or groups. Kearney (1984:41) is of the opinion that "assumptions about reality vary from one group to another, and at the bottom they depend upon and affect the actual perception of it." Individuals with different **world-views** perceive the world differently, which in turn leads to different thinking and behaviour (Krech *et al* 1962:17).

The study of perception/s is a **complex** field (cf 2.2.2) which affects all aspects of human thought and behaviour. How we perceive others and various situations, have a profound effect on our **views, attitudes and actions** which emanate from us. An in-depth study of perception/s would be a research project in itself, and it is for this reason that an attempt will be made to highlight what the researcher believes to be

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[1] In this instance the term 'man' is used in a generic sense to denote **both male and female**.

the **essence** of perception and to bring to light how perceptions influence human thought and behaviour.

In the light of the aforementioned, the **aim** of this chapter will be to understand the **complex nature of perception** so that it may be understood why some humans perceive other humans and situations differently. This will clarify why different people perceive **mission education** (cf chapters 3-5) in diverse ways. Hochberg (1978:242) regards the study of perceptions, in social situations, as "an important tool for understanding and predicting behavior."

The following **objectives** will be pursued, to:

■   **define** and **explain** the term perception in broad, general terms;

■   explain the **perceptual process** and influencing **factors**;

■   highlight various **means** of perceiving;

■   investigate the **accuracy** of perceptions and their **intersubjective nature,** and

■   investigate the possibility of perceptual **change** in the light of this dissertation's metabletical approach.

2.2   CONCEPTUAL AND HISTORICAL ANALYSES

2.2.1 Etymology of *perception*

The **etymological** foundations of the concept "perception" can be found in **French** history and it referred to the **gathering** of rents by **feudal** landlords. The noun "perception" is derived from the **Old French** language term *percepcion*, and directly from the **Latin** words *perceptĭo, percĭpĭo* and *perceptiōnem,* literally meaning "to take possession of or to seize" (*per-* thoroughness or completion + *capere-* to grasp or take hold of, apprehend mentally or with the senses) Lewis & Short 1975, sv "perceptĭo", "percĭpĭo"; Fowler & Fowler 1976, sv "perception"; Barnhart 1988, sv "perception").

The contemporary meaning of the concept has maintained a certain degree of this prior usage if we view the concept as the **gathering** of **information** about the world (Cutting 1987:62; Simpson and Weiner 1989, sv "perception") by means of the senses and the subsequent "colouring in" of this information which influences human thinking and behaviour. This latter observation implies the direct **link** between information and perception. Etymologically, the term "inform" means to "instill a form within." It is in this vane that Cutting (1987:62) makes the observation that "it is a modest step to consider perception as instilling the forms of external objects in the mind of a perceiver." Audi (1995, sv "perception") **expands** on this observation and avers that perception is "the extraction and use of information about one's environment (exteroception) and one's own body (interoception)."

2.2.2 Defining *perception*

The study of human perception is a **complex** field (Cantril 1968:5; Matlin & Foley 1992:2) with definitions and theories of the term being highly **interdisciplinary** (McBurney & Collings 1984:1) and **inconclusive** (Johnson 1994:476,492). Literature, however, suggests that it is in the fields of **philosophy** and **psychology** where these theories and definitions have their stronghold.

Coren *et al* (1999:2) and Matlin and Foley (1992:2) note that theories of perception (in our Western tradition) were most probably those proposed by **Greek philosophers** more than 2000 years ago concerning the theory of knowing (**epistemology**) being of cardinal importance (Firth 1974:4). To philosophers, the importance of understanding perception lies in how humans acquire knowledge by means of the senses, which lead to, amongst others, thoughts, ideas and ideologies.

Philosophers over the ages such as Aristotle, Plato, Locke, Berkeley and Reid philosophied (and differed!) concerning this topic in their seeking of knowledge. To **Plato**, the highest degree of reality was that which the human thinks with his/her reason. All things seen in the natural world were merely reflections of things that

existed in the higher reality of the world of ideas – and thereby in the human soul. **Aristotle** opposed this theory. To him, the highest degree of reality is that which humans perceive with their senses. Things that are in the human soul were purely reflections of natural objects, said differently, nothing exists in the consciousness that has not been experienced by the senses (cf Baldwin 1957, sv "perception"; Fowler 1961:3-357; Firth 1974:4; Smith 1984:641-692; Beare 1984:693-713; Cutting 1987:62; Coren *et al* 1999:2). Whereas **John Locke** and **George Berkeley** broadly associated perception with thinking, **T Reid** – who took a more psychological stance – distinguished it from **sensation** (Baldwin 1957, sv "perception"; Cutting 1987:62). **Hamilton** later questioned this distinction, by asking how one can separate that which was experienced by the senses, from the minds representation thereof (Cutting 1987:62). However, in the light of all these **debates** *The Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Edwards 1967, sv "perception") **defines** the philosophical definition of the term to be "the discovery, by means of the senses, of the existence and properties of the external world."

In contradiction to the philosophical point of view, **psychologists** study the perceptual **process** in order to understand the definite impact that stimuli have on the thoughts and emotions of the human being. Even the field of psychology did not escape theoretical debates on, amongst other things, the **nature-nurture** problem, and its implication with regard to "perception" (Shaver & Tarpy 1993:16-17). The issue being how much of that which you experience is **learned**, and how much is **innately** determined by your genetic make-up? In the field of perception, the **nature** position is represented by two theoretical schools, the Gestalt psychologists and the Gibsonians, as opposed to the **nurture** position, which is best represented by the empirical approach and the information processing viewpoint.

The **Gestalt** psychologists state that it is the **interaction** between the properties of the physical external stimuli and the internal (psychological) principles that determine what is perceived and believe that the "mind *imposes* a kind of psychological order on the inputs [that one gets] from the outside world." The **Gibsonians**, under Cornell

University psychologist, James J Gibson (1904-1979) and his disciples, take an opposite view to the Gestalt theorists and believe that almost all perceptual experiences can be explained in terms of the information to be found in the **stimuli** themselves, and not the "internal processes". Gibson believed that perception is "direct" and "immediate" with sensory inputs "impos[ing] order on [the] mind" (McConnell & Philipchalk 1992:107). The **empirical** viewpoint suggests that perception is determined by two independent factors, namely **present sensations** and mental images of **past experiences**. Said differently, perception equals sensory inputs and memories. The **information processing** approach suggests that information is dealt with by a **series** of states of mind, with emphasis on the construction of a perception being of importance. These theorists hold that sensory inputs are highly processed (or filtered) before they reach the cortex. This processing involves "the screening out" of trivial information. To these theorists, "you typically perceive only certain *critical features* of the stimulus input" (McConnell & Philipchalk 1992:108).

However, to try and solve this debate would be a fruitless endeavour and most modern psychologists adopt a "middle of the road" approach, which views knowledge as resulting from a combination of **experience** and **innate** structures. There is, however, a general consensus that all these debates have contributed to a better understanding of the perceptual process (Shaver & Tarpy 1993:16-17). In psychology, Johnson (1994:476) notes the term is generally seen and **defined** as an understanding of the world that one constructs from information gleaned by the senses.

Although an analysis of the two definitions reveals no real difference in distinguishing between a philosophical and psychological point of view, there is a difference in both operational, as well as practical terms. Whereas modern-day philosophers are concerned with the **analysis** of perception (the study of its nature and its processes) and its **epistemological value**, psychologists primarily focus on the analysis. Edwards (1967, sv "perception") opines that "[p]hilosophers must investigate the latter and leave the causal processes to the scientist." However, this distinction between the

philosophical point of view and that of psychologists, appears to be **forced** upon the situation as it assumes that there is of necessity always a difference in the way psychologists and philosophers view the concept "perception" (cf Tibbetts 1969). It is a valid distinction, but it is not necessarily one that needs to obscure one's view of perception. Closer inspection of the two given definitions refutes this claim. One can agree with both points of view and it is for that reason that the **causal** processes of perception need to be explained, the term's **epistemological value** also needs to be analysed. This research will reflect on both philosophical and psychological aspects, in order to explain how humans' thoughts, ideas and ideologies are shaped by that which they perceive, as well as perceptions' impact on behaviour and emotions.

For use in this research, the term "perception" will be defined as one's **understanding** of the world that one **constructs** from **information** gained by means of the **senses** (cf Edwards 1967, sv "perception"; Johnson 1994:476). This definition, according to Johnson (1994:476)

> implies that perceptions are obtained through sensory experiences rather than merely by reflection or intuition, that an objective world exists outside the perceiver, and that the perceiver actively forms an impression from each stimulus.

Although the impression may be created by Johnson (1994:476) that the perceptual process emphasises immediate sensory stimuli, the use of the adverb "merely"[2] negates this assumption. Johnson's explanation caters for both immediate sensory experiences, as well as for **reflection** on that which was previously experienced.

Given this definition, it is important to note that certain conditions and fundamental aspects be met and made aware of, before one thinks and behaves.

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[2] The *Reader's Digest Universal Dictionary* (1987, sv "merely") defines the adverb "merely" as "nothing more than what is specified; only".

2.3 CONDITIONS FOR, AND FUNDAMENTAL ELEMENTS OF PERCEPTION

To Jordaan and Jordaan (1989:329-332) perception consists of certain conditions and fundamental elements. Regarding **conditions,**

- a first **condition** is a normally functioning **sensory system** (cf also Tibbetts 1969:1);

- secondly, the sensory system needs to be exposed to basic **sensory stimulation,** and

- thirdly, that the stimulation should be in a constant **flux.**

Fundamental to perception is that there should be:

- firstly, a **perceiver** (an experiencing person);

- secondly, something real to be **perceived** (either an object, person, situation or relationship);

- and thirdly, there should be the perceiver's actual **experience** of the object, situation or relationship. Jordaan and Jordaan (1989:332) refer to this experience as the perceptual content or **percept,** and

- a fourth aspect identified by Jordaan and Jordaan is (1989:332) the **process nature** of perception. This process starts with the experiencing of multiple stimuli and concludes with the formation of percepts.

2.4 THE PROCESS OF PERCEPTION AND FACTORS THAT CAN INFLUENCE IT

The simplest perception is a tremendously **complex** operation, which integrates a whole host of elements that are integrated to give a final "experience". In this regard Cantril (1968:5) sees any perception as "an awareness that emerges as a result of a most *complicated weighing process* as his mind takes into account a whole host of *factors or cues*" (italics mine). Johnson (1994:479), similarly, agrees with this notion and remarks that "[p]erceivers arrive at their limited, differing, sometimes

distorted impressions of persons, objects, and events only after influence from a range of *complex and subtle factors"* (italics mine). Perception also follows a series of **cognitive** steps whereby the perceiver **selects** and **categorises** sense information within frames of reference, whereafter meaning can be attributed to that which is perceived (cf Randolph and Blackburn[3] 1989:83). *Figure 1* on the next page portrays the perceptual process by means of a **model.**[4]

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[3] Griffin and Moorhead (1986), Robbins (1991) and Johnson (1994) also make use of a similar model to denote the perceptual process.

[4] Although authors such as McBurney and Collings (1984:5) disagree with the use of a model to denote the perceptual process, it is presented here for clarity and cognisance is taken of the datum that such a complex phenomena cannot be rigidly portrayed in the form of a model.

Figure 1

Model of the perception process
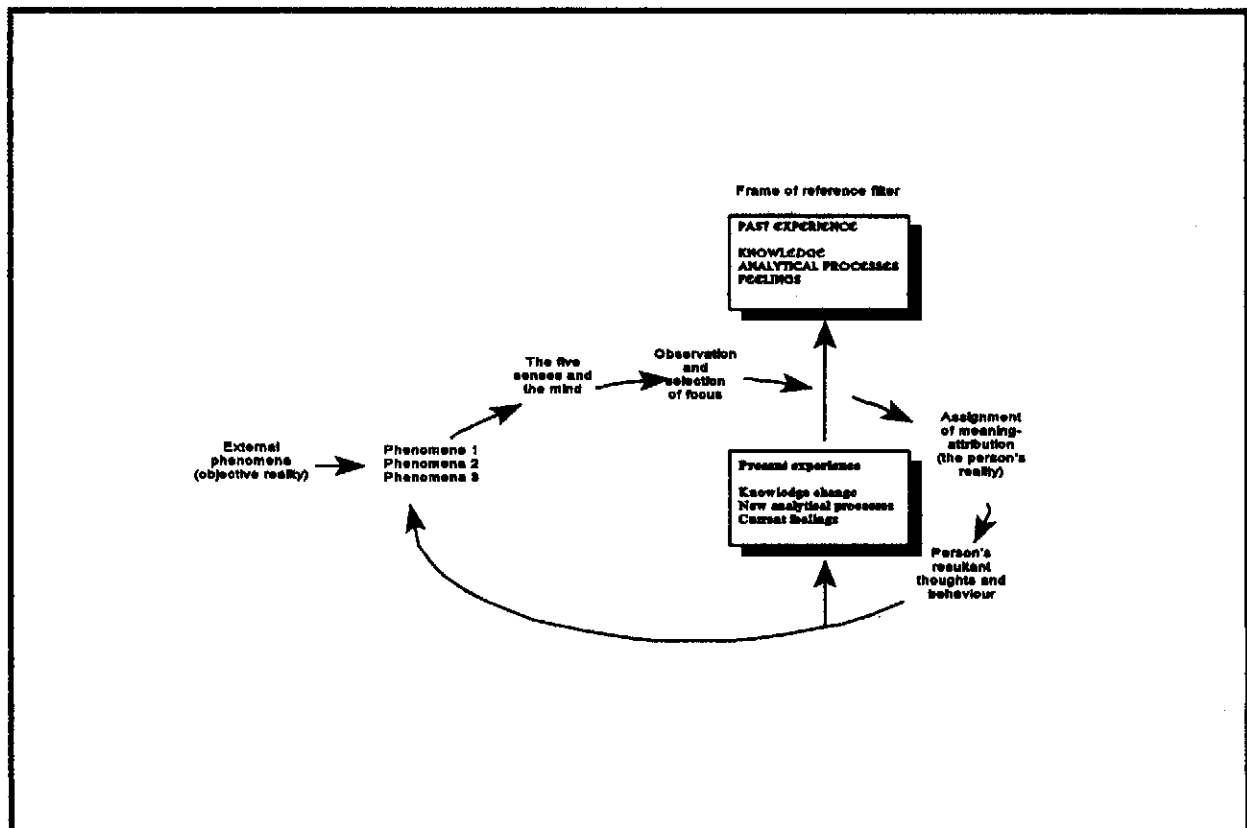
(Source: Adapted from Randolph and Blackburn 1989:84)

By studying the above process, one notes its **complexity**, as well as its potential for **error** and **differences** among people. One also observes the **developmental** nature of the perception process steeping it within the **metabletical** dimension of change. It is for these reasons that the process will be further discussed in order to illustrate the complex nature of perception, as well as to explain this model.

2.4.1. The experience of external phenomena (and the senses)

As the initial definition (cf 2.2.2) implies, the first step in the perception process is the constant experiencing of **multiple** external phenomena by means of the five senses: taste, smell, sight, hearing and touch (Ornstein & Carstensen 1991:207; Matlin & Foley 1992:2; Johnson 1994:477). Already, one observes the potential for **variation** from objective reality in the sense that two people can experience the phenomena differently, due to, for instance, **physiological** (cf Coren *et al* 1999:4) reasons. The main question is, on which of these external phenomena will there be predominant **concentration** (Randolph & Blackburn 1989:84-85). Certain characteristics in the perceiver, the perceived and the percept (cf 2.3) will determine this

2.4.2 Observation and selection of focus

No two individuals are physically or psychologically identical, and it goes to follow that no two individuals will perceive the external world **identically**. Randolph and Blackburn (1989:85-89) advocate that people must **select** their **focus** in the process of perception. This continual bombardment of the senses by phenomena means that one will **select** those which one wants to notice. Characteristics of the **perceiver**, the **target** (perceived object, person or problem), as well as the context of the **situation** in which the perception is being made (Griffin & Moorhead 1986:72; Randolph & Blackburn 1989:85; Robbins 1991:125-129), all affect the **selection** mechanism.

After stimuli are **observed**, humans select their point of focus due to a range of **factors** in the perceiver, the perceived and the situational context in which the perception is made (Robbins 1991:125-126). In this regard, McWilliams and McWilliams (1990:23) note that "the mind is a marvellous filtering mechanism. It shelters us from large amounts of information. If it didn't, we would probably go mad. We simply pay conscious attention to every single detail being collected by our five senses."

In the light of this study, this is an important observation that a **host of factors** will invariably influence how **mission education** is and has been perceived by different

peoples, cultures and groups. In this vein, it is imperative to investigate these characteristics in order to understand differences in perception.

2.4.2.1   The perceiver

Characteristics of the person (the perceiver) affect how that person perceives and interprets an object, person, situation or relationship. In this respect Robbins (1991:126-127) explains that "[w]hen an individual looks at a target and attempts to interpret what he or she sees, that interpretation is heavily influenced by *personal characteristics* of the individual perceiver" (italics mine). Randolph and Blackburn (1989: 87-89) identify three aspects which influence the perceivers' subsequent selection:

■   **learning**;

■   **motivation**, and

■   **personality**.

Perceptions are influenced by learning and experience (Edwards 1967, sv "perception"). Broadly speaking, **learning** can be seen as the process of acquiring **knowledge or skills** by means **study, experience or being taught** (Sykes 1986, sv "learn"). Forgus and Melamed (1976:3) define learning as "the process by which...information...is acquired through experience and becomes part of the organism's storage of facts in memory", while Hannon (1987:186) describes the term similarly as "a relatively permanent change in immediate or potential behaviour that results from experience."

Humans thus categorise and process that which they experience according to existing perceptual patterns called *schemata* (Coren *et al* 1999:486). These patterns are grounded on past experiences and may be **changed** by new experiences (Johnson 1994:481). General **mechanisms** underpinning this act, are association, re-inforcement and imitation (Tyson 1987:325). The learning process also includes the acquisition and experiencing of **culture**. Since culture is learnt through life, is

modified and passed on from generation to generation (Robertson 1977:51), its impact on perception can well be understood (cf 2.6).

Motivation also plays a role in the phenomena that one selects to observe (Hannon 1987:186) as one differs in terms of, one's **needs, incentives, interests and desires.** Motivation, in the case of humans, refers to an internal state which **impels** or **drives** it to act. However, Reber (1985, sv "motivation") does note that

> motivation is not a concept that can used as a singular explanation of behavior. Motivational states result from the multiple interactions of a large number of variables, among them the *need* or *drive* level, the *incentive* value of the goal, the organism's *expectations*, the availability of the appropriate responses (ie the learned behaviors), the possible presence of conflicting or contradictory motives and, of course, unconscious factors.

According to Lachenicht (1987:227) one may group motivational theories into two categories, namely those which are explained **teleologically** (behaviour being motivated by goals, intentions and purposes) and those explained **causally** (mechanical explanations of behaviour in terms of natural laws and processes).

The type of **personality** of the perceiver will influence those sensations that are selected. Randolph and Blackburn (1989:89) asserts that "[a]n individual's personality is the total person, involving emotional and cognitive elements." This implies that **emotional** (feeling) and **cognitive** (thinking) elements play an important role in the selection mechanism (Morris 1979:339; cf also Randolph & Blackburn 1989:89). Johnson (1994:482-483) points to various personality variables that may influence the formation of perceptions which include: beliefs, needs, emotions, attitudes, values, perceiver's expectations, high intelligence, inferential ability and the knowledge of persons and their situations, emotional adjustments, interests, fields of specialisation, social interaction and maturity. As humans mature, they develop their own general methods, or cognitive styles, of dealing with the environment. The outcome of personality characteristics may be **rational** or **irrational** perceptions.

Robbins (1991:129) would to some extent concur with Randolph and Blackburn, and is of the opinion that attitudes, interests, motives, experience and expectations of the perceiver will have an influence on that which is perceived. To Johnson (1994:479) it appears that the categorisation of Forgus and Melamed's (1976) is the most comprehensive. This categorisation by Forgus and Melamed, include the influence of **social experience** and **cultural background**; the impact of the perceiver's **values, attitudes,** and **personality;** the **dynamics** of person perception, and lastly, the perceptions of **causality** in social events as all having an influence on the perceiver.

Age and gender differences are examples of certain **physical** and **physiological** characteristics of the perceiver which may also influence subsequent thinking and behaviour (Beardmore 1975:4-5; Coren *et al* 1999:491,541-543). In the former instance, Coren *et al* (1999:491,541-543) note that: "earlier [childhood] changes are toward increasing efficiency in perceptual processing, whereas the latter [maturity] changes, beginning at age 40, are toward decreased functioning, as sensory receptors age and neural efficiency drops" whereas gender "an individual...may partially determine what is perceived in any given stimulus situation."

2.4.2.2 The perceived target

What is being perceived is not looked at in isolation. Its ineluctable **relationship** with its background, physical setting, time proximity and other events will subsequently influence perception. Robbins (1991:127) underscores this "[b]ecause targets are not looked at in isolation, the relationship of a target to its background influences perception, as does a our tendency to group close things and similar things together."

Characteristics of the perceived object, situation or target that are being observed also influence that which is being perceived and may be categorised according to Randolph and Blackburn (1989:85-86) as having **physical** and **dynamic** characteristics.

Physical elements may be the **size**[5] of that which is perceived, **intensity** (brilliance of an object or the resonance of a person), **contrast** (objects that stand out against their background) and the **unfamiliarity** (novelty) of objects or people. With regard to humans, size may incorporate physical appearance, which may include age, sex, race and dress, while intensity may include aspects of verbal communication such as tone, accent and word choice.

Dynamic elements may include **motion** (moving objects or people are most likely to be focussed on), **repetition** (stimuli that are often repeated receive more attention) and **ordering**. In the latter instance, objects or events that are similar to each other are very often grouped together and perceived as alike, even unrelated characteristics (Randolph & Blackburn 1989:85-86).

2.4.2.3 The situational context

The phenomena that humans select to notice is largely dependent on the **situational context** that humans find themselves in. Randolph and Blackburn (1989:87) explains that three elements in the surrounding environment influence the phenomena that a perceiver **selects** to notice, namely the:

- **social context**;
- **organizational role**, and
- **location** of an incident.

Robbins (1991:128-129) would also add the **time** of perception, as well as **work setting** and **social setting** as influencing perception.

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[5] For example, research has shown that taller men are perceived in a more positive light than shorter men. Attributes such as respect and stature are given to taller men, while shorter men are perceived as being less mature, less positive and more timid. This perception is not culturally bound and appears to be universal (*The Sunday Independent*, 7 January 1996:15).

Characteristics of the situation often act like a **filter**, since objective information from the environment can be **changed** or distorted when it is perceived. Subtle **interactions** may also occur between the person and object which are unique to particular situations. This implies that the same object or event may be perceived differently by the same person, in different situations, because of **changes** in the situational context (time, place, culture, etc) (Griffin & Moorhead 1986:77).

2.4.3 Frame of reference filter

After the senses have selected and observed particular phenomena within a particular situational context, they are processed through a **frame of reference** whereby **meaning** is attributed to the phenomena. During this stage, the characteristics of the perceiver (cf 2.4.2.1) become dominant with two elements of human intellect coming into function, namely in the **rational, analytical** aspect and then secondly the **emotive** aspect with **past** and **present** experiences playing a profound role.

2.4.3.1 Past experiences

Past experiences are associated with particular **feelings** and when similar present experiences are encountered, humans tend to rely on past feelings to **interpret** the phenomena perceived (cf 2.4.2.1). Randolph and Blackburn (1989:89-91) explains:

> The *past* makes a difference in how people interpret the *present* and think about the *future*.... The process is also *developmental* in that the present experiencing part of the filter allows new things to influence people's perception. The present experiencing also modifies the past experiences part of the filter by providing new information (italics mine).

This observation implies **reflection**, in that present thoughts are interpreted in the light of past experiences, which will impact on future thinking and behaviour. Present experience may also modify and subsequently **change** past experiences by providing new information, thus indicating the **developmental** nature of the perceptual process.

2.4.3.2 Present experiences

During the perceptual process, new **knowledge,** new analytical **processes** and current **feelings** enter as present phenomena which may **modify** previously held perceptions. It goes without saying that this present experiencing of phenomena may also play a part in the assigning **meaning** to these stimuli entering people's systems. Encountering situations at different points in the humans' lives may encourage them to use **different** approaches in their analysis (Randolph & Blackburn 1989:91-92) "except where [they] consciously resist their *prejudicial* influence" (italics mine) (Johnson 1994:481).

2.4.4 Attribution of meaning

The final step is the attributing of **meaning** to the perceived external phenomena. During this stage an **interaction** of the characteristics of the perceiver, the perceived target and the percept takes place. Past experiences and present experiencing also interact with these characteristics, which in turn leads to a process of the **attribution of meaning** (Randolph & Blackburn 1989:92).

2.4.4.1 The attribution theory and perception

In a social context, while observing other humans in specific situations, people make judgements and seek explanations about others and attribute meaning based on **observed behaviour** (Baron & Byrne 1991:55; Cushner *et al* 1992:32; Finchilescu 1992:210). Perceivers often seek greater understanding by attempting to seek and determine the **cause** of specific behaviours (Randolph & Blackburn 1989:92). These judgements are called **attributions.**

The **attribution theory** postulates that, when humans observe the behaviour of others in a specific situation, they attribute causes to this observed behaviour. This process is based on these humans' perceptions of reality and it goes without saying that these

perceptions **differ** from person to person (Griffin & Moorhead 1986:80; Tyson 1987:328-329; Randolph & Blackburn 1989:92; Baron & Byrne 1991:55; Johnson 1994:484).

Several theories have been proposed to explain the attribution process (Baron & Byrne 1991: 55), and although they invariably **differ**, they all depart from the premise that a person's behaviour can be caused **internally** (eg motives and intentions) or **externally** (some aspect of the social or physical world) (Tyson 1987:328-329; Robbins 1991:129-130; Baron & Byrne 1991:57-58; Finchilescu 1992:210).

Although attribution theories are generally correct, Tyson (1987:331) cautions that "there are systematic biases which exist and which can lead to serious errors in the judgements we make." These include the following **errors**:

- The **fundamental attribution error** is the tendency to underestimate the impact of external or situational causes of behaviour and to overestimate the impact of internal or personal causes. This is when people are held responsible for their actions without taking into account the circumstances surrounding the behaviour.

- The **actor-observer effect** is based on the premise that when attributing to others, one generally sees their behaviour as a result of internal factors, while self-attribution is on account of external factors.

- Self-serving bias shows that the latter is not always consistent, since some humans may have a strong desire to maintain self-esteem by accepting responsibility for successes, but denying responsibility for failures; thus attributing their own successes to **internal** factors, while blaming **external** factors for consequent failures.

- The severity of the consequence, also influences the attribution – thus resulting in **severity bias**. The more severe the consequence, the more personally responsible the individual is judged to be (Tyson 1987:331-332; Robbins 1991:131; Baron & Byrne 1991:66-69).

In many instances attributions may be **incorrect**, as humans do not have and consider all the information they need about others to make valid conclusions (Cushner *et al* 1992:61). One reason is that theories of attribution very often do not take the **social context** and **culture** into account in which the behaviour occurs. Tyson (1987:332) expands on this notion and notes that almost all research in this field, has been done in a **Western** cultural set-up with little being done regarding **non-Western** cultures. Tyson (1987:331-332) attributes these phenomena to different **causal** categories. Whereas Westerners approach behaviour in a more **individualistic** manner, other cultures may be more **holistic or collective** in their approach to observed behaviour, thereby leading to **different** approaches in their observation of reality.

2.5   TECHNIQUES IN PERCEPTION

Human beings tend to develop **techniques** and **shortcuts** when perceiving others. Although in many instances valuable, in some instances this may lead to perceptual errors. Various techniques in perception are discussed below.

2.5.1 Selective perceptions

Selective perception takes place when people **selectively interpret** what they perceive based on their own interests, background, experience and attitudes (Griffin & Moorhead 1986:77; Robbins 1991:131).

An essential characteristic of the perceptual process is due to the selection of all **stimuli** (cf 2.4.2), this can also lead to perceptual errors. The **danger** of selective perception is an overhasty summarising of situations, which is not without the risk of drawing an inaccurate picture. Because people see what they **want to see** (due to the individuals'/groups' bases of interpretation such as attitudes, interests and background), they can draw unwarranted conclusions from an **ambiguous** situation (Robbins 1991:132).

2.5.2 Projection

Projection occurs when the perceivers' **own characteristics, traits, emotions and dispositions** are attributed to those of other people (Reber 1985; sv "projection"; Randolph & Blackburn 1989:99; Robbins 1991:133).

The **danger** of projection is that people are seen to be more homogenous than they really are, since as it is easier for the perceiver to evaluate others if he/she assumes that the perceived is similar to him/herself. This implies that people's perception of others is influenced more by what the observer is like, than by what the person being observed is like (Robbins 1991:133).

2.5.3 Stereotyping

Stereotyping is a **generalised** assumption attributing identical characteristics (real or imagined) to all members of a group (Reber 1985, sv "stereotype"; Tyson 1987:341; Johnson 1994:482).

Stereotypes are mainly the product of **past experiences** and **learning** but can be applied to new and different people or groups who may fit the mould (Randolph & Blackburn 1989:96). Stereotypes can either be **positive** or **negative**, depending on the groundings of sufficient research or knowledge (Botha *et al* 1993:60). **Advantages** of stereotyping is that assimilation is made easier, since it lets one maintain consistency and it facilitates the processing of large amounts of stimuli. However, in a **negative** sense, generalisations can become so common, despite their having no bases and credibility. When so common it means that people will perceive in the same inaccurate way, based on false premises about another group (Robbins 1991:133). Very often characteristics attributed to groups are so essential to an individual's thinking, that even if they are proven inaccurate, they will resist **change**. This leads to **prejudicial** behaviour which is negative and even hostile. Cushner *et al* (1992:53), aver that "[o]nce a stereotyped label is attached to a group of people, any

individual person associated with that group is likely to be defined by the stereotype."

Prejudices and negative stereotypes hamper positive intergroup relationships (Tyson

1987:341-343), especially in a country like South Africa with its racially divided past.

2.5.4 The "halo" and "horn effect"

A general impression based on a **single good characteristic** such as intelligence, sociability, appearance, or goodness may lead to a **"halo effect"** in one's perception. Reber (1984, sv "halo effect") sees it as the "tendency to allow an overall impression or one particular trait...[which] influence[s] the total rating of that person." If the observed traits are positive, the "halo effect" is in operation, while if negative, the **"horn effect"** functions (Randolph & Blackburn 1989:97-98). The danger of the "halo effect" (and for that case the "horn effect") is that a single trait influences the overall impression (Robbins 1991:133-134) thus creating **bias** (Reber 1985, sv "halo effect").

2.6   CULTURAL DETERMINATION OF PERCEPTION

What can be inferred from the previous discussion on the perceptual process and influencing factors, is that various authors recognise the important role that **culture** (cf 2.4-2.5) plays in the perceptual process.

The extent to which culture influences the direction of perception has been a **controversial**[6] issue among social scientists for quite some time, however, Forgus and Melamed (1976:338) go as far as stating that "there have been a number of

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[6] McBurney and Collings (1984:332) give as possible reason for this controversy, that there has been difficulty in conducting adequately controlled studies and declare on a positive note that "the work that has been done raises some very interesting questions about the differences in perception between cultures." Looking at Western and non-Western cultures these authors note that very often these cultures perceived illusions (eg geometric), colour and pictorial material, differently.   Forgus and Melamed (1978:339) note that anthropologists see humans as becoming "selectively sensitized" to certain arrays of stimuli due to his/her cultural background.

proponents of the view that culture influences the direction of perception." This view is shared by **educationalists** (Johnson 1994), **psychologists** (Jordaan & Jordaan 1989), **linguists** (Kaplan 1988), **organizational behaviourists** (Griffin & Moorhead 1986; Randolph & Blackburn 1989; Robbins 1991) and scientists from various other disciplines. Bergen (1992:8) goes as far as seeing man's perception as the product of cultural influences and shaping and that perceptual commonalities between people are determined by cultural commonalities. Cushner and Trifonovitch (1989:320-321) agree and explain culture is "teach[ing] one how to make sense of a busy world; in other words, how to organize the stimuli received" (thus implying perception). Although all people may experience the same stimuli, it appears that one's culture largely determines what sense one makes of the world.

Man is a **social being** who lives in co-existence with fellow human beings to such an extent, that human life is unthinkable outside of society (Campbell 1981:3). Society in this sense is a group of interacting individuals, who share the same territory and who participate in the same culture. Robertson (1977:49) maintains that "[t]he personality and social behavior of individuals are deeply influenced by the culture and society in which they happen to live, while culture and society are themselves produced and maintained by the interaction of countless individuals."

Each of the persons that the individual relates to bring their own perceptual **view** on the universe along and even more importantly, each of the groups that within which people have been raised, will have **conditioned** individuals to view the universe from the groups' cultural perspectives. Individuals within a society or community share a culture, and will be conditioned to view the world from their (group) perspective, depending on how well that person has **internalised** the attitudes and values which he or she has been taught by the group (Bergen 1992:6).

As culture is a **universal** phenomenon there are other elements of culture that inevitably have an influence on perceptions. These include: language; government; status; family; laws; custom; magic; myth; religion; science; conception of time;

history and art (Cushner *et al* 1992:20). Given the essential nature of these elements, one has to infer that the greater the number of cultural facets a group shares, the greater the chances for **similarity** of perception.

Different cultures may regard and assimilate information differently from others, and may **categorise** information differently into meaningful categories. Ethnicity, gender and religion are determinants in categorisation of peoples' complex worlds. Once people or groups have learned to join certain elements to form categories, they tend to use that category in their thinking, with similarities being emphasised and little awareness of the differences between members of the category (Cushner *et al* 1992:42,52-53).

Given the cultural differences between groups, there is the possibility for **misunderstanding**, due to differences in sociological, historical and psychological backgrounds. Cultural barriers can be the result of people perceiving others as different, seeing that people are the product of a given culture. One such barrier is **ethnocentrism**[7]. However, this barrier can be overcome by adopting a **culturally relative**[8] approach.

A noteworthy characteristic of culture, is the distinction between **objective** and **subjective** components within a culture. The first refers to the **visible, tangible aspects** of a particular group of people, while the latter are the **less visible, less tangible** aspects that people carry around in their mind such as values, beliefs, norms of behaviour, attitudes and the roles people assume. These aspects are more

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[7] Ethnocentrism is the tendency to judge other cultures by the standards of one's own and which persistence is due to the fact that it is almost impossible to exercise objectivity (Robertson 1977:64-66).

[8] The ability to fully understand another culture depends upon the human's willingness to adopt a position of cultural relativism – the recognition that one culture cannot be arbitrarily judged by the standards of another, unless they are viewed with reference to the culture in which they originated (Robertson 1977:64-66; Reber 1985, sv "cultural relativism").

powerful aspects of culture and it is at this level that most intercultural **misunderstandings** and **communication problems** apparently exist (Cushner & Trifonovitch 1989:318). One can postulate that it is very often with the subjective components of a culture that differences in perception may occur. Black people may be perceived as "begging" when they cup their hands in acceptance. However, quite the opposite is true, since cupping of hands is a sign of respect for the "given". Cultural knowledge is often taken for granted, and when one engages someone with a different culture, one is very often reminded that "our" way of doing things is not the "only way" (Cushner *et al* 1992:28). Ignorance in these matters may end a potentially positive interaction.

Perception and misperceptions can be linked to **cultural variation** – each culture is distinctive and contains elements, or combinations of elements, found nowhere else. Robertson (1977:61-64) is of the opinion that cultural variation can be analysed **functionally** or **ecologically**. The former regards society and culture as a system of interdependent parts which can help us to understand why a particular culture trait is present in one society but not in others. The latter approach (ecologically) attempts to explain a great deal of the variation in human cultures, by analysing cultural elements in the context of the total environment in which the society exists. People's cultural practices are linked to the pressures and opportunities of the environment in which they live. By combining the two approaches one can gain a better overall understanding of cultural variation (Robertson 1977:61-64).

That culture influences human perception is endorsed by the above observations and one can agree with Robertson (1977:73): "The culture into which we are born profoundly affects our behavior, values, attitudes, and personalities. It influences our sense of who we are, what we believe, what our goals in life should be". One such element of culture that invariably influences perception, is that of **communication**.

2.6.1 Perception and communication

Communication is the imparting or exchanging of **information** (Sykes 1976, sv "communication"). To Bergen (1992:7) communication is when "one individual or group of individuals more or less understand another's message."

Communication can either be **verbal** (language) or **non-verbal** (body language and physical proximity). Very often in society verbal communication constitutes a small portion, and non-verbal communication (or silent communication) forms a larger, more important part. These "non-verbal cues" may communicate far more than words (Bergen 1992:7), and it profoundly influences perception.

Since no two people perceive one hundred percent similarly, it can be deduced that no individual will perceive another's message as it was intended to be understood. This is the result of **distortions** in the communication process. However, if part of a message is lost due to differing perceptions or distortions in the system, enough of the message is usually transmitted through to convey the **general** meaning. Very often this repetition occurs by means of visual **media** (Bergen 1992:7). It is in this instance that different **interpretations** can be added to a message.

There is a considerably higher degree of **similarity** of perception between people of the same group, since a person's language **structures** contain and reflect symbolic meanings that are important to **understand** (Cushner *et al* 1992:5). These give **meaning** to a group's world. It can thus be inferred that homogenous cultural groups will perceive reality more **consistently** due to their **common** language and communication structures. Because humans communicate and perceive so well within their own (cultural) groups, it goes without saying that they feel **comfortable** within these groups.

However, it should also be recognised that although different cultural groups may share the **same** language, they do not necessarily always perceive reality in the same

way.   However, there are **anomalies** which may be understood within the intersubjective nature of perception.

2.7 THE INTERSUBJECTIVE NATURE OF PERCEPTION

Since perception is a reconstruction of reality and the world humans perceive is the end result of events that occur within the nervous system (Rock 1975:1-5), **perceptual objectivity**[9] is obviously ruled out.   Rock (1975:5) and Matlin and Foley (1992:2) maintain that perceptions are a "fairly accurate" mirror of reality and in many instances show a degree of correspondence, however, differences and discrepancies are evident due to the **subjective** nature of human perception. Johnson (1994:479) observes that individuals' perceptions of **social events** frequently differ on account of **selective perception** (cf 2.5.1). He goes on to identify several common causes of **perception-reality discrepancy**, namely:

- difference of **focus** (selection) on the part of the perceiver;
- **limited** information;
- events that cannot be **grasped**;
- **exclusions, additions, and misinterpretations** arising out of human perceptual processes;
- incidents which importance is **misapprehended**, and
- contrasting **histories** of perceptual attention.   In this regard learning and intentions also lead individuals to form totally different conceptions of individuals and circumstances.

On account of the above, the possibility of **difference** in perception becomes a very real datum, yet there are instances where different groups and individuals perceive **similarly**.

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[9] Objectivity of perception is viewed as "point for point correspondence between reality and the percepts formed of reality" (Jordaan & Jordaan 1989:402).

Viewing the perceptual process critically poses the problem that one can argue that there are as many realities as there are people. However, common sense refutes this assumption, since there is a known degree of perceptual **agreement** amongst cultural groups (cf 2.6). Not all people within a certain cultural group agree with each other, and there is also a degree of consensus between people with totally **different** cultural backgrounds.

When different people or groups have more or less reached consensus about a certain perception, they have reached **intersubjective agreement**. This concept, according to Jordaan and Jordaan (1989:400)

> refers to those shared meanings (criteria) which make it possible for people's perceptions of reality to be the same or similar and for their perceptions to manifest in the same or similar behaviour. Intersubjectivity refers, therefore, to the transaction (mostly implicit) or consensus amongst people to the effect that *reality will be seen in a particular way*, that *reality will be reconstructed in a particular way, that reality will be interpreted in a particular way*, and that *a particular way of acting or behaving will be followed within this reality*.

This process thus ensures that perceptions of reality and the appropriate behaviour can be validated through consensual verification (Jordaan and Jordaan 1989:400). Contributing **factors** to intersubjectivity are legion, and they may also be due to the influence of the **media** (Wiehahn 1987:12) and **learning** (cf 2.4.2.1).

Although intersubjectivity is especially applicable between different cultural groups due to distinguishable differences, this need not necessarily be so (cf 2.6). Even within cultures there may be differences in perception and different ways of viewing reality. On the other hand, individuals from different cultural groups may correspond even beyond cultural boundaries in their perceptions. Jordaan and Jordaan (1989:401) refer to these groups as a **"community of knowledge"**. An instance of such community of knowledge are scholars holding **Marxist** beliefs yet who stem from different cultures, where they had various learning experiences.

Intersubjective reality is an important datum to be studied, since it gives one an idea what perceptions/misperceptions prevail within a society. Jordaan and Jordaan (1989:401-402) remark:

> If we knew what sort of intersubjective categories govern the behaviour of a particular person or group of people, we would better understand the reality they perceive. We would, for instance, argue less about what a particular matter means because we would know that we probably see it differently.

The intersubjective nature of perception can be considered to be **positive** and **negative**. As an **advantage**: It provides a certain **order, consistency and stability** to people's perceptions of reality; thus promoting better communication. However, viewed **negatively**, it can cause people to perceive in a basically **conservative and rigid** way thus leading them to become insensitive to new information, which indicates that a prevailing intersubjective category is invalid, or should be **changed** (Jordaan & Jordaan 1989:397-402).

2.8 THE CHANGING OF PERCEPTIONS

As the focus of this dissertation deals with the **metabletical** reality, it is necessary to investigate the possibility of **perceptual change**, and, if it is possible, factors which may influence perceptual change.

The question arises whether previously held stereotypes, attitudes, beliefs and perceptions can be changed due to new information impinging on these old ones. Considering the **complex and developmental nature** of the perceptual process, the diverse **factors** influencing perception and the **intersubjective** nature of a human it appears that in most cases it is possible.

Change is an integral part of the **human nature**. William James (1842-1910), an American psychologist, endorses this: "Man alone is the architect of his destiny. The greatest revolution in our generation is that human beings, by changing their inner

attitudes of their minds, can change the outer aspects of their lives" (in Ferguson 1980:49-50).

During the perceptual process, the perceiver may acquire new knowledge by means of **experiences**, that is learning, which may in turn influence and **change** past held perceptions (cf 2.4.2.1, 2.4.2.3, 2.4.3.2). Ferguson (1980:75-86) mentions four ways in which the human can changes his/her mind when acquiring new and conflicting information:

■   **change by exception** is when one's old belief system remains intact but allows for a handful of anomalies;

■   **incremental change** occurs bit by bit, and in many instances the individual is not even aware of having changed;

■   **pendulum change** is the abandonment of one closed and certain system for another, and lastly

■   **paradigm change** is a transformative process where ideas are harmonised into a powerful synthesis. Information is brought together in a new form or structure.

Ornstein and Carstensen (1991:214) reflect similarities with Ferguson and see perceptual experiences changing by means of **assimilation** and **accommodation**. Assimilation implies that one interprets incoming information to match existing schemata, while accommodation is the process by which schemata change to fit new information.

Wiehahn (1995:12) recommends that, before perceptions can be changed, the following should be taken in to account:

■   creating the right **atmosphere** helps with the reception and acceptance of the new perception;

■   the **choice of words** and **terminology** also influences perception (cf Tyson 1987:337);

■   attempts to change perceptions must be **subtle** and not blatant, and

■   the changing of perceptions requires a well-thought out plan of action or **strategy**.

Given the profound role that **culture** plays in the creating of perceptual schemata, Robertson (1977:71-72) observes that even cultures are not static and inevitably **change**, otherwise they would "inevitably become poorly integrated over time" and notes three distinct processes that are involved in cultural change:

■   **discovery**, that is when new cultural phenomena are added to existing ones;

■   **invention**; the combination or new use of existing knowledge to create something new, and

■   the **diffusion** of cultural elements from one culture to another.

This implies that cultural change may bring about **perceptual** change. For change to occur, these aspects must be accepted and shared by the society in question, as well as being compatible with the basic values of that culture.

2.9   IN SUMMARISING

In this chapter, an attempt was made to **describe** and **define** the concept **perception** within the realms of philosophy and psychology so that it may later shed light on the diverse perceptions surrounding mission education in South Africa within the **metabletical** context.

That perception is **complex, dynamic and developmental,** is duly noted in this subsequent analysis of related literature with humans making use of various **techniques** to make sense of their complex worlds. How one perceives, that which

is termed reality, depends on a host of **factors** which in turn influence subsequent thoughts and behaviour.

Literature suggests that **culture** has a profound influence on the perceptual process and it subsequently influences perceptions of reality. People of a particular group formulate, intersubjectively, perceptual rules which enable them to make sense of reality. These rules manifest in the **language** of the culture concerned.

No two people perceive another person or situation similarly, yet **intersubjectivity** within certain groups allows for a reasonable degree of consensus, thereby negating the belief that: *As many people, as many realities*. Intersubjectivity should not only be viewed in terms of differences between cultures, but also within sub-cultures and other communities of knowledge.

The developmental nature of perception places it within the **metabletical** context and suggests that it may **change** due to a host or reasons. New stimuli and phenomena constantly enter the perceptual system which may alter previously held thoughts, thus bringing about a change in behaviour. However, it may also be that although people receive new information that counters previously held perceptions, that they are unwilling to change.

This chapter indicated why humans perceive other humans and situations differently. In the light of these indications, an analysis of perception will shed light on why various individuals/groups perceive/d mission education differently. However, before doing so, the mission endeavour as such will be viewed within its **historical** context in relationship to time and space.

Chapter 3

THE MISSION ENDEAVOUR
IN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

To ignore the history of missions leaves a defect in the best education

(Louise M. Hodkins 1902:xi, in Jongeneel 1995).

3.1 INTRODUCTION

For just over two-and-a-half centuries **missionaries** were actively involved in, and largely responsible for educating Black South Africans. This primary responsibility ended in 1953 when the then National Party state took control of Black education. Although mission schools were not forced to close down as a direct result of this Act, prevailing government measures made it extremely difficult for mission schools to remain both open and independent (cf Christie 1991:67,85).

Notwithstanding these developments, certain elements and characteristics of missionaries and mission education are reflected in **literature** and the **media**, and are perceived by many scholars, academics and politicians in many **diverse** ways. In arguing that missionaries and mission education took over the education process where the respective governments failed to do so, one could easily dismiss some perceptions as unfounded. Yet, this dismissal would be a case of not taking others' perceptions and perspectives into account. Furthermore, in the light of good **historical-education research**, one needs to analyse these perceptions contextually in the light of time and space in order to obtain a **balanced** perspective. As **time** and **space** are two essential aspects of History of Education (Venter 1992[a]:5), it is necessary to **contextually** place the mission endeavour in its spatial setting and time-frame.

However, before proceeding to certain specific perceptions surrounding mission education in South Africa, it is the **aim** of this chapter to touch on the **historical development** of the mission endeavour (and more specifically mission education) so as to place the research into historical **perspective**. That this undertaking is a complex task, is due, according to Jones (1970:49), to the number of administrative bodies involved in mission education, which invariably imply a vast amount of documentation that all these mission societies accumulated over two-and-a-half centuries. However, as a synoptic exposition, this chapter will serve as background information for a more detailed discussion of various perceptions surrounding mission education in South Africa (cf Chapters 4 & 5).

Objectives therefore, developing from the aforementioned aim, will be to:

- look at the **nature, motives** and **development** of the mission endeavour;
- take note of the necessary philosophical and theological **trends** in specific time periods;
- investigate the influence of these trends on **events** and vice versa, and to
- sketch the **historical development** of missions and, more specifically, mission education in South Africa

3.2   THE MISSION ACT, TIME AND PREVALENT SPIRIT

In order to understand what motivated missionaries to do what they did, it is necessary to look into the **origin** of the mission act, **what it involved** and its **development** over the centuries by taking the necessary **time-spirit** into consideration, which culminated in its development and establishment in South Africa.

3.2.1 The spread of Christianity

In order to place mission education into perspective, one has to look at Christianity's **inception, development** and subsequent **spreading** so as to bring it in line with that which happened in South Africa.

"The Christian mission as *event* and *idea* has its roots in the Scriptures" (DuBose 1979[a]:21). This implies going to the **Bible** to seek its origin and development (cf Bosch 1991:4-5). According to the Acts of the Apostles 1:8, Jesus, on promising the Holy Spirit to his followers, stated that they would be "witnesses...in Jerusalem, in all Judea and Samaria, and to the ends of the earth" of Christianity. Also according Matthew 28:18-20 He issued them with the same mandate:

> Jesus drew near and said to them [the disciples], I have been given all
> authority in heaven and on earth. Go, then, to all peoples everywhere and
> make them my disciples: baptize them in the name of the Father, the Son, and
> the Holy Spirit, and teach them to obey everything I have commanded you.

> And I will be with you always, to the end of the age (Bible. Matthew 28:18-
> 20).

This witnessing and spreading of God's word by His followers was to lead to the **missionary endeavour**. Through, amongst others, the apostle Paul's many missionary journeys, Christianity **spread** across the whole of the then Graeco-Roman world. These endeavours are recorded in the Acts of the Apostles. Paul's preaching and guidance to Christians is known from the many epistles written by him to early Christian congregations (Bible. Luke 24 & Acts 1; Langley 1983:49; Gaarder 1996:124). By the end of the first century, Christianity was strong in Asia Minor, Macedonia, Greece and Rome (Langley 1983:49).

The period **100-500 AD** was characterised by the **spread** of the word of God, the **persecution** of Christians and an **acceptance** and further **development** of Christianity (Neill 1964:25-44). By the end of the third century, there was virtually no area in the Roman Empire, that had not been penetrated by the Gospel of Jesus Christ with Antioch, Rome and Alexandria being the main centres of Christianity during the second century (Neill 1964:25). Neill (1964:39-40) gives three factors contributing to this **spread** of Christianity:

- Firstly, in their endeavour to save humans from sin, early Christians possessed a strong **need** to spread the word of God;

- Secondly, up until that time a multiplicity of religions and philosophies had not answered humanity's questions as to the **transcendental**. Christianity, on the other hand, by means of its confident and convincing proponents, answered these questions, and

- Thirdly, the commendable **example** set by Christian communities, was an inspiration to others.

By roughly the middle of the third century of Christians, **persecution** prevailed and in many cases Christians became **martyrs** of their faith (Neill 1964:43; cf also *The Kingfisher Illustrated History of the World* 1992:129). The first twenty years of the fourth century saw a progressive **acceptance** of Christianity under Emperor

Constantine (± 274-337 AD) (Neill 1964:4). Bosch (1991:401) points out that Christianity had **changed** from *religio illicita* to *religio licita*.

In less than 300 years, Christianity had become a recognised and only **official** religion within the Roman Empire (Venter 1992[b]:39; *The Kingfisher Illustrated History of the World* 1992:124). Christianity not only became acceptable, but also developed and became **popular**, which in turn lead to it being spread to many parts of the world (Neill 1964:45-60).

The period **500-1000 AD**, referred to by Neill (1964:61-98) as the "Dark Age"[1], was characterised by a mixture of successes and failures in the spread of Christianity. Christianity's battle with **Islam** and the **barbarians** were the main problems of contention at the time. Christian advancements, despite these mentioned problems and others, succeeded in advancing farther into central and Western Europe and Great Britain, Scandinavia, the Slavic countries and even China (Neill 1964: 61-98). This period was also characterised by the development and expansion of **monasteries** (Van Vuuren 1976:191). Although many monks stayed in the monasteries, others were to work beyond the confines of the monastery (*The Kingfisher Illustrated History of the World* 1992:166-169) leading to the spread and promotion of Christianity.

The period **1000-1500 AD**[2] was characterised by phenomenal **advances** of Christianity, as well as the beginnings of **Protestantism**[3] (Latourette 1979:94). The advances of Christianity were spurred on by the **crusade** (from the Spanish word *cruzada* meaning 'marked with a cross') expeditions, as well as other journeys of **discovery** (Neill 1964:99-139). The aim of the **crusades**, was to free the Christian holy places (Palestine) from the Muslims. These crusades were called upon by Pope

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[1] This period is also referred to by many historians as the Early Middle Ages since it marks the start of the period separating ancient and modern history (Van Vuuren 1976:191; *The Kingfisher Illustrated History of the World* 1992:157).

[2] The period 1101-1460 AD is referred to, by many historians, as the Middle Ages (*The Kingfisher Illustrated History of the World* 1992:237).

[3] Seeing that Protestantism only really developed in the 1500's, it will be dealt with in the next section.

Urban II, and although successes were evident, by the 14th century interest had waned (Neill 1964:113; *The Kingfisher Illustrated History of the World* 1992:242-243, 284).

Voyages of **discovery** and the development of the **printing press** (±1440) (*The Kingfisher Illustrated History of the World* 1992:282-283, 306-307, 312-313) also led to an expansion of the Christian faith. Due to a withdrawal of monks into their cloisters, **friars** (derived from the Latin *frater, fratris* meaning "brother" [Sykes 1976, sv "friars"]) helped spread the word of God in numerous areas and communities (*The Kingfisher Illustrated History of the World* 1992:266-267).

Regarding the spread of Christianity, Neill (1964:140-176) refers to the period **1500-1600 AD** as the "Age of Discovery". However, one cannot view discovery and subsequent **expansion** of Christianity in isolation. In this regard Neill (1966:43) notes that "[t]ogether with sovereignty goes the responsibility of conversion." One has to view the period 1461-1600 in its totality to get a more vivid perspective of events. The latter period, ±**1400-**±**1600 AD** is generally referred to as the *Renaissance* period. During this period, literally meaning "rebirth", humans started to oppose the mediaeval church's attempt to establish its authority over all aspects of life leading to an urge for **freedom**.

Voyages of **discovery** were and carried out throughout the 1500's. These voyages included those by Bartholomew Diaz, Vasco da Gama, Christopher Columbus, Amerigo Vespucci, John Cabot and Ferdinand Magellan, and they all aimed to secure a trade route to the East (*The Kingfisher Illustrated History of the World* 1992:338-341). According to Neill (1964:220) "Spain and Portugal controlled the sea-routes, and combined a certain religious imperialism within the political imperialism of their rulers." Many of these explorations were not only driven by **trade** (this was the principal object), but also to spread **Christianity** (Neill 1966:40). Many of these explorations were accompanied by Christian priests who had two purposes in mind, namely:

■   to bring the Gospel to unknown **non-Christian nations**, and

■   to make **contact** with Christian churches believed to be in far off places in order to ensure an alliance against the Muslims (Neill 1964:140).

As was mentioned, this period was also characterised by various religious developments in the form of the **Protestant Reformation** and subsequent **Counter-reformation** by the Catholics (Van Vuuren 1976:231-255). During the early 1500's many **criticised** the Roman Catholic Church (due to, for example, rampant corruption) and there was a yearning for reconciliation with God, spiritual peace and an untroubled conscience (Van Vuuren 1976:231-232; Venter 1992[b]:43). This resulted in the **Reformation** under reformists such as Martin Luther, John Calvin and Ulrich Zwingli. The Reformation led to the Christian world being split up into **Roman Catholics**, under the Pope, and **Protestants** who themselves were divided up into many different groups (Van Vuuren 1976:231-232; Behr 1988:11; *The Kingfisher Illustrated History of the World* 1992:354-355, 364).

With the success of the Reformation, the Roman Catholic Church had realised that it had many problems within and decided to reform itself in the hope of averting disaster, and in order to win back its "lost" members. They reacted by the **Counter-reformation** (Van Vuuren 1976:250). One such move to regain lost members was to encourage **mission work**. The spread of the Word of God was done by amongst others, an Italian order of friars called the **Capuchins** as well as the **Jesuits** (Neill 1964:148; *The Kingfisher Illustrated History of the World* 1992:368). During the 16th century, these Jesuits and friars had no difficulty securing passages on Portuguese and Spanish ships as they had royal protection,as well as financial backing (Neill 1964:177).

The period **1600-1800 AD** was characterised by mission successes and failures in both the Roman Catholic and Protestant Churches. With the establishment of the sacred congregation for the Propagation of the Faith in 1622 by Pope Gregory XV, attempts were made to bring all Roman Catholic missions under the guidance and direction of a central authority (Neill 1964:178). Both the **Jesuits** and **Capuchins** propagated the Word of God in countries like India, China, Paraguay and Canada (Neill 1964:177-209). In **Africa**, the Capuchins were the missionaries chosen by Portugal

to minister on the **West Coast**, while the Jesuits performed mission work on the **East Coast**. The Roman Catholic mission in Africa, however, was marred by setbacks and failure due to various factors. These included:

■   an unfavourable **climate** and high **mortality** rate among the missionaries;

■   the highly **unstable** political situation amongst the Africans, and

■   the **erratic** support from the European countries (Neill 1964:197-199).

The latter half of the 1700's was a period of **collapse** for Roman Catholic missions (Ross 1986:33). Several factors contributed to the collapse and included the fact that:

■   **Spain** and **Portugal** were no longer the world's leading powers;

■   the French Church was paralysed due to the **French Revolution**;

■   Napoleon's antagonistic and arrogant **attitude** towards the Pope;

■   **Protestant powers** (eg England, Holland and Denmark) now entered areas which were previously Roman Catholic, and

■   on 21 July 1773, Pope Clement XIV liquidated the **Jesuit Order** due to a host of complaints lodged against them (Neill 1964:204-206,397).

Prior to the seventeenth century, Protestant missions were **minimal**. Reasons given by Bosch (1991:243-246) and Neill (1964:210-221) are that:

■   Protestants saw their main task as that of **reforming** the church. This left them little time and energy for mission work;

■   as Protestant countries did not have **colonial empires** at that stage, they had very little contact with non-Christian people;

■   it was only after the **Peace of Westphalia** (1648) that the Reformers were able to organise themselves properly. Prior to that they were literally in a struggle for absolute survival;

■   in abandoning Catholic **monasticism**, the Reformers had denied themselves an important agency for mission work;

■   unending **dissensions** and **disputes** caused internal strife, which in turn tapped the Reformers' energy, and

■   many Protestants believed in the concept of the **regional church** – *Landeskirche* – where priority was given to the spiritual needs of the immediate population and not to those beyond those "borders".

This situation was to **change** when, amongst other things, in the 17th century, England and Holland became leading **maritime powers**. Neill (1964:223) remarks: "[i]n reality, it is only when the Dutch and the English begin to push their commercial ventures to the ends of the earth that Protestantism begins to breathe a freer missionary air." However, it was really only during the late 1600's and early 1700's that Protestant missions of Europe really began to emerge due to the **pietist movement**[4].

The period **1800-1900 AD** was the era in which Christian missions were to expand rapidly. Kenneth Scott Latourette (1979:94) refers to this period as "The Great Century" and was characterised by phenomenal **successes** in mission work by Protestant and Roman Catholic missions (Neill 1964:261-321). Protestant missions flourished during the first half of the nineteenth century in countries such as India and South Africa and proved unsuccessful in the South-East Asia region and Thailand (Neill 1964:261-321). Five events, identified by Neill (1964:323-324), summarised the mission character of the second part of the nineteenth century. These events led to an increased fervour of mission work and include the fact that:

■   Britain decided to rule and administer **India**. Queen Victoria, announced that no religious intolerance would be accepted;

■   with the ending of the second war of the European powers with China, a series of **treaties** led to China opening doors for the Christian faith;

■   a **Second Evangelical Awakening** started in America;

■   **Japan** had slowly started opening its doors to Christian mission work, and

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[4]   This is dealt with in detail elsewhere (cf 3.2.3.1[b]).

■ the publishing of David Livingstone's book *Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa* led to an increased enthusiasm of mission work, especially on the continent of Africa.

Linked to these were other factors. The seeking of **natural resources** for manufacturing – due to the **industrial revolution** – as well as the success of the **French Revolution**, resulted in European countries setting "out conquering and to conquer with a new self-confidence" (Neill 1964:246) to fulfill certain needs. Linked to these, was the **religious awakening** in Europe which in turn lead to a missionary zeal. In this regard Neill (1964:243) notes that "it is a matter of historical fact that Christianity and the Christian ideal have been inseparably connected with the growth of European civilisation."

As was mentioned previously, mission work of the Roman Catholic Church had **decreased** during the 18th century due to a host of factors. This was to **change** during the following nineteenth century, due to namely

■ the fact that the papacy had been humiliated during Napoleon's rule had drawn **sympathy** from many parts of the world, which in turn elevated the papacy, and

■ Pope Pius VII had re-established the **Jesuit Order** (Neill 1964:397-399).

Although, in many instances, the Protestant missions had expanded considerably in the period of the Catholic Church's "slump", the latter progressed well (and in instances failed) during the nineteenth century (Brain 1991:13). In **South Africa** for example, Roman Catholic missions were initially far outnumbered by the Protestant Churches (cf Du Plessis 1911:371) and it was only in the 1830's that the RCC was ready for an evangelisation drive.

The period **1900-1955 AD** signalled some very profound and far reaching **changes** on the mission field. This period was characterised by amongst others, two world wars,

a rise in nationalism, conflict and chaos. Theologically, many adopted a **liberal**[5] stance towards Christianity. This approach manifested itself at both the world missionary conferences held in **Edinburgh (1910)** and in **Jerusalem (1928)**; but more so at the latter conference (Neill 1964:454-455). (This aspect as it will be dealt with at a later stage).

Until 1958, Protestant missions had, since the turn of the century, **increased** fourfold to an estimated 43 000 missions. According to Neill (1964:458 - 460) the following is clear about these endeavours:

- A large majority of Protestant churches are from the **United States of America**. This country's increasing political dominance is reflected in the vigorous mission endeavour.
- **Non-denominational** mission societies showed the most rapid developments regarding mission.
- The emergence and development of **Pentecostalist Churches** and their missions.
- Due to **political developments** on the European continent, especially the German church during and after the Hitler régime, missions' work was hampered considerably.

Notwithstanding all these profound events, missions and churches during this period made large progress, even under threats from amongst other Communism, Marxism, Nationalism and Islam (Neill 1964:461). In the light of these developments it is necessary to highlight certain motives that spurred on the missionary act.

3.2.2 Motives for mission

In order to understand what impelled missionaries to carry the Word of God, one has to understand what **motivated** them to think and behave the way that they did (cf

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[5] This aspect will be dealt with at a later stage (cf 3.2.3.2[b]).

2.4.2.1). These complex phenomena should, however, not be used as a singular explanation of missionary thinking and behaviour.

Verkuyl (1978:164-175) highlights various pure and impure motives of missionaries that were to influence their thoughts and behaviour. To Bosch (1991:5), even the pure motives were subject to a certain degree of **ambiguity**. Verkuyl (1978:164-168) lists a number of these motives:

- The motive of **obedience** in fulfilling the Lord's will and command inspired many missionaries to the missionary task.

- The motive of *Gloria Deo* (glory to God's name – Doxology) was an inspiration to do missionary work.

- The **personal** motive of sharing the Word and the arousal of others to believe in God was an inspiration to missionaries.

- The **conversion** motive which aimed at changing sinfulness to holiness. This motive emphasised the value of personal commitment and resolution to achieve. To Bosch (1991:5) this motive "tends to narrow the reign of God spiritualistically and individualistically to the sum total of saved souls", thus implying a selfish motive on the part of missionaries.

- The **eschatological** motive of focussing peoples' attention on the reality of death, judgement, heaven and hell, yet "in its eagerness to hasten the irruption of that final reign, has no interest in the exigencies of this life" (Bosch 1991:5).

- The motive of **haste** is closely linked with the previous motive in that time should be used well in the service of the Lord.

- The motive of *plantatio eccesiae* (church planting). The erecting of a place of worship ensured that there was a place where committed communities of Christians could gather. On the negative side Bosch (1991:5) notes that this church planting "is inclined to identify the church with the kingdom of God", thus creating the perception that the church is an exact replica of God's kingdom. This implication would obviously create doubt within the minds of the converts.

- The **philanthropic** motive by which the church searches for fairness, love and benevolence in the world (cf Campbell 1815:31,50,76). On the other hand there was the motive "which easily equates God's reign with an improved society" (Bosch 1991:5).

Verkuyl's (1978:168-175) and Dürr's (in Bosch 1991:5) "impure" motives of missionaries include:

- The **imperialist** motive to make converts into obedient vassals of the colonial governments.
- The **cultural** motive which advocated the transferring of their (Western) perceived progressive and better culture onto their converts lives.
- Linked to the previous one is the motive of **ecclesiastical colonialism,** whereby missionaries imposed their specific ecclesiastical model onto the indigenous peoples, instead of letting them shape their own ecclesiastical model based on their own needs.
- The **romantic** motive which impelled missionaries to see and experience other fascinating peoples and countries. These ideas were spurred on by the accounts of explorers (cf Van den Berg 1956:153).
- The motive of **commercialism** where missionaries promoted and called for commercial ventures.

3.2.3 Time and prevalent spirit

In order to understand the mission endeavour and its influence on South Africa, one has to view it against the backdrop of the **time** and prevalent **spirit** in Europe and its subsequent influence on the mission act in South Africa. This characteristic spirit of a historical era is generally referred to as the *Zeitgeist* (Van der Walt 1992[a]:223). The German word *Zeitgeist* (*zeit* -time + *geist* - spirit) (Sykes 1976, sv *"Zeitgeist"*) is defined by the *Pocket Oxford Dictionary of Current English* (Fowler & Fowler 1969, sv "Zeitgeist") as "[t]he trend of thought & feeling in a period". Wiener (1973, sv *"Zeitgeist"*) **expands** on this definition and notes that this "characteristic spirit of a historical era [is] taken in its totality and bear[s] the mark of a preponderant feature

which dominated its intellectual, political and social trends". In the light of this statement, political, social and intellectual trends of certain periods will be highlighted in their **historical contexts**.

Since missionary work was started in the middle of the eighteenth century in South Africa, reaching its zenith during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, it is in this light that these **periods** will be investigated. When studying these periods both the **international** and **local** (South African) *Zeitgeist* will be taken into consideration. As the largest majority of missionaries originated from **Europe** and to a lesser extent from the **United States of America**, it is necessary to touch on salient theological trends, philosophical schools of thought and socio-political events from these two continents.

3.2.3.1 The period 1700-ca1820

The intellectual, social and political trends, philosophical schools of thought and events during the above-mentioned period bore its distinctive characteristics. These trends, schools of thought and subsequent events partly or greatly influenced each other, and although they will be categorised individually it needs to be borne in mind that they form an intrinsic **whole**.

As this section is not an all-encompassing historical and doctrinal treatise on theological and philosophical trends, only **relevant** and **salient** aspects and characteristics will be sketched. This broad analysis will largely reflect Bosch's (1991) conceptualisation of mission within the **paradigm theory**, as it is propagated in his book *Transforming Mission: Paradigm Shifts in Theology of Mission*.

(a)   Philosophical and intellectual schools of thought

The exercise of **categorising** philosophical schools of thought is, to say the least, a dangerous exercise. For one, to pinpoint an exact date in which a philosophical school prevailed is an absurd notion and two, these processes did not always unfold in "clearly identifiable stages" (Bosch 1991:263). However, it is necessary to pinpoint a few schools of thought that (could have) influenced the thoughts and behaviour of

people at that time. The predominant intellectual and spiritual movement during this period was that of the **Enlightenment.**

The Enlightenment or **"modern"** era had a profound influence on the thoughts of humans during the period under discussion. This era began (more or less) in the seventeenth century (Bosch 1991:262) and was the result of several events in **reaction** to the Church's' authoritative hold over society especially during the Middle Ages (Venter 1992[b]:40).

The **medieval "universe"** was structured (more or less) in the following immutable order:

```
                    God
                     ↓
                   Church
                     ↓
              King and Nobles
                     ↓
                   People
                     ↓
         Animals, plants and objects
```
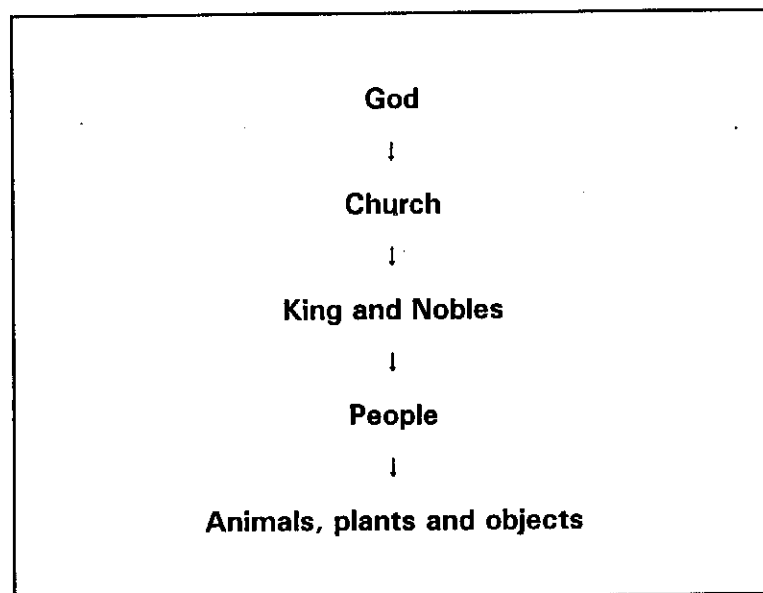
This structure was to **change** dramatically as a result of the period of the Enlightenment due to events during the **Renaissance, Reformation** and certain **revolutions.** People gradually started to see that they did not need the Church to ensure their relationship to God, neither did they need kings and nobles. In the words of Bosch (1991:263):

> With all the "supernatural" sanctions (God, church and royalty) gone, people now began to look to the subhuman level of existence, to animals, plants, and

objects, to find authentication and validation for life. Humanity derived its existence and validity from "below" and no longer from "above".

Elliot *et al* (1992, sv "Enlightenment") observes this about the Enlightenment:

> Enlightenment thinkers were believers in social progress and in the liberating possibilities of rational and scientific knowledge. They were often critical of existing society and were hostile to religion [whereas this latter aspect of hostility towards the church is, in a sense true, it should rather not be viewed in such extreme terms but rather as a hostility towards the authoritarian manner in which the church influenced everyday life], which they saw as keeping the human mind chained down by superstition.

As it is impossible to discuss the Enlightenment in great depth, this research will settle with the several **salient** elements of the Enlightenment identified by Bosch (1991:264-267). These elements include:

■   The Enlightenment was the so-called "**Age of Reason**" (cf Usher & Edwards 1994:9; Lemmer 1998:19). Descartes' famous precept *cogito, ergo sum* (I think, therefore I am) positioned the **human mind,** according to Venter (1992[b]:46) as "the only independent authority in all areas of life".

■   The Enlightenment was the age of **progress** (cf Usher & Edwards 1994:9). This implied the discovery and development of new territories and countries (Bosch 1991:265-266). This era was characterised by Western countries discovering new territories to provide in their need for their increasing **populations** and **markets.**

■   There was to be a **separation** between subject and object – that is Cartesian duality (cf Tibbetts 1969:9). Whereas in the past humans were considered one with their environment, they were now considered separate from their environment giving them the opportunity to study the animal and mineral world from the realms of "scientific objectivity". Watson (in De Kock 1996[b]:9-10) when speaking of the setting in motion of the Western colonising scheme, notes that "[Western man] embarked upon his Cartesian project of separating subject from object, self from world in a dualism which

privileged the first of the two terms and thereby assured his domination of nature and any other obstacle he might confront." These "obstacles" were rationalised in various ways and included the indigenous populations of potentially conquerable and conquered territories.

■ The belief in the teleological was to be substituted by the **cause-effect** scheme in understanding reality. Linked to the first element – the undisputed primacy of the human reason – it was now believed that modern science was determinant. All that was needed was complete **knowledge** of scientific laws.

■ There was an unsolved **tension** between scientific facts and values. It was believed that scientific knowledge was factual, neutral and value-free as opposed to religion which was based upon opinion and belief which implied values.

■ All problems could be **solved**.

■ Thoughts of the Enlightenment regarded people as **autonomous, free individuals**. Whereas, in the Middle Ages the community took preference over the individual, the roles were to be reversed during the Enlightenment. All humans were free and good and should be allowed to develop along the lines of his/her choice.

These tenets of the Enlightenment were reflected by the proponents of certain philosophical schools of thought. Two of these being **naturalism**[6] and **rationalism**[7]. Rationalism and naturalism are seen by Venter (1992[b]:47) as "two sister currents which carried the principles of revolution and of resistance to authority onto the stage of world history." The main proponent of this latter philosophical school of thought was the philosopher, **Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778)**.

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[6] The philosophy of naturalism is a world-view that excludes the supernatural or spiritual and emphasises the laws of nature (Sykes 1976, sv "naturalism"). Developing out of seventeenth century realism (Good 1959, sv "naturalism") and emanating from the eighteenth century, its motto was *"back to nature"*, while its main regulation was the *"law of nature"* which went out from the premise that all humans were equal, liberated and inherently good (Venter 1992[b]:47).

[7] The philosophy of rationalism attempted to ensure that all humans were free from authority (state, society and church) (Venter 1992[b]:46). The only independent authority was the human reason (Sykes 1976, sv "rationalism"). Sensory knowledge was thus rejected as it was unreliable (Venter 1992[b]:46).

A result of naturalism was **philanthropism**[8]. Whereas the former made the human aware of his/her inherent goodness, philanthropism strove to treat all human beings with love. Individuals such as **Johann Bernhard Basedow** (1723-1790) propagated this cause (Verster *et al* 1982:20-21).

It is important to note that Enlightenment ideas were not universally accepted. Another philosophical movement that had as much impact and was a **reaction** to the Enlightenment, was **Romanticism**. Romanticism was especially characteristic in literature, art, music, architecture, criticism, and historiography (Pioch 1995). This **attitude or intellectual orientation** emerged during the late eighteenth century and was evident up until the mid-nineteenth century and beyond and **emphasised** the individual, the subjective, the irrational, the imaginative, the personal, the spontaneous, the emotional, the visionary, and the transcendental (Kinghorn 1986[a]:63; Bosch 1991:288,289; Pioch 1995). Pioch (1995) points out that a characteristic **attitude** emanating from these previous emphases was "an obsessive interest in folk culture, national and ethnic cultural origins." Romanticists such as **Johann Gottfried Herder** contended that it was particularly through a common language that a **nation** identified itself and so developed its moral and political character (Bosch 1991:299), the latter idea was emphasised by **Hegel** (Gensichen 1982:182). Herder and other Romanticists used the concept of *Volk* to reflect this idea. Bosch (1991:299) argues that "[t]he nation-state had replaced the holy church and the holy empire." These romantic ideas were to be **synthesised** from the Old Testament concept of the chosen people with White nations (Germans, French, Russians, Great Britains, Americans, Afrikaners and Dutch) seeing themselves as being chosen for a particular **destiny** and invariably impinged on the **emotions** of many Westerners thereby influencing their thinking and behaviour (cf 2.4.2.1).

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[8] Taken from the Greek words *philos* meaning "loving" and *anthrôpos* meaning "man" and literally meaning the loving of one's fellow man (Sykes 1976, sv "philanthrope"', "philanthropy", "philia"').

(b)   Theological trends

Enlightenment mentalities profoundly influenced Christianity and Christian beliefs with the Christian faith being severely **questioned**.   Medieval exclusivist claims of Christianity were rejected since Christianity was now seen as being just one of several religions and were thus **relativised**.   The Church and theology responded in many ways, amongst them to **separate** religion from reason and to situate it within the realm of human feeling and experience.   These ideas were propagated and practised by **Friedrich Schleiermacher** (1768-1834), as well as proponents of **Pietism** and the **evangelical awakenings** (Bosch 1991:267-270, 352).

The ideas of the Enlightenment inevitably influenced missionary thinking and practice, impinging on missionaries' **perceptions** of reality (Ashley 1980:28-29; Ashley 1982:49-58).   In the words of Bosch (1991:274): "It was inevitable that the Enlightenment would profoundly influence mission thinking and practice, the more so since the entire modern missionary enterprise is, to a very real extent, a child of the Enlightenment."

This influence is reflected in the world-view of **expansionism** which "paved the way for a world-wide Christian missionary outreach" (Bosch 1991:274).   Comaroff & Comaroff (1991:43) agree with the above sentiments and, in expanding, note that "[t]he great eighteenth-century evangelical movements out of which they came were both *causes and consequences* of the rise of European modernity" (italics mine). However, this **interdependence** between State and Church which was to characterise this expansionism, was to later **separate**.   Bosch (1991:275) concludes: "[C]olonial and ecclesiastical expansion were to be two separate things".   In the light of the latter, it is necessary to discuss salient characteristics of theological schools of thought that prevailed during this period and the influence of the Enlightenment on them.   "[T]he separation between the secular and the religious was particularly striking in the case of Pietism" (Bosch 1991:276).

Roughly towards the end of the 17th and beginning of the 18th centuries there developed on the **European** continent, a theological trend generally referred to as

Pietism. This trend developed under **Philipp Jakob Spener** (1635-1705) (Neill *et al* 1971:485, Warneck 1979:76-78, in **reaction** to the feelings and attitudes of formalism and dogmatism which characterised the Protestant church.   Bosch (1991:252) explains that "[i]n Pietism the formally correct, cold and cerebral faith of orthodoxy gave way to a warm and devout union with Christ. Concepts such as repentance, conversion, the new birth, and sanctification received new meaning."

To actually pinpoint the **origin** of the movement is a difficult task.   However, Littel (1964:227) sees the "spiritualism" of the 16th century, Roman Catholic mysticism and English Puritanism, all playing a role as to its origin. Pietism was most prominent in **Germany** and professed a **practical realisation** of Christian faith and not just mere confession (Warneck 1979:76-78; Saayman 1996[b]:203).

General **principles** of Pietism mentioned by Neill (1964:227) include the:

- ■   need and demand for personal **conversion** and holiness;

- ■   need for close **fellowship** with other like-minded believers within the community of faith;

- ■   strong need and responsibility to **witness** God's name to those in need of saving, and

- ■   the **expectation** that Christ will return in their lifetime which in turn led to a subsequent evangelistic motivational feeling to preach to other nations.

Saayman (1996[b]:203) adds a fifth principle: Pietists viewed God's Scriptures often too **literally** thus taking a conservative and dogmatic approach to the Scriptures.

In the 1830's, Pietism started to **decline** due to the Lutheran church "rais[ing] almost insuperable obstacles to the development of a positive missionary tradition" (Scherer in Saayman 1996[b]:203) as well as the thoughts of Enlightenment "empt[ying] faith of its mysteries" (Bosch 1991:255). Pietism was viewed as being too **narrow** and **excluded** rational thoughts from its dogma. British and American theological trends, on the other hand, tended to be more **inclusive** of rational ideas and responded well to the new challenges (Bosch 1991:276-277).

Notwithstanding these factors, Pietism led to a new **interest** in humanity on a practical level and **mission work** – especially the Protestant missions – as well as to the establishment of various **philanthropic** institutions (Littel 1971:485; Warneck 1979:76-78; Bosch 1991:255; Saayman 1996[b]:202-203). Warneck (1979:75) is of the opinion that Pietism was "the age...that missions struck their first deep roots", while Neill (1964:227) states that "[t]he history of missions supported by Churches on the European continent begins only with the emergence of the movement called pietism."

It was only later that **England** experienced an **Evangelical Revival** led by John Wesley (1703-1791) – the founder of Methodism, Charles Wesley (1707-1788) and George Whitefield (1714-1770) (Du Plessis 1911:91; Behr 1963:414; Littel 1971; Warneck 1979:92; Van der Walt 1992[a]:223; Bosch 1991:277). Bosch (1991:277) identifies three factors that gave rise to this revival:

■   the **Great Awakening** in the American colonies;
■   the birth of **Methodism**, and
■   **Anglicanism's** evangelical revival.

Littel (1971:485) considers **Pietist** thoughts having been "filtered through the English Puritan strain" as a factor in this revival which led to a subsequent revival in mission (Warneck 1979:92; Gray 1990:86). Reasons cited by Warneck (1979:90) for this spiritual **delay** (and decay - AL) was: court amusements, theatrical plays and witticisms combined to ridicule Christianity which occurred in English society. Gray (1990:86) notes that John Wesley's challenge to the established Anglican Church led to this evangelicalism which in turn "greatly strengthened the deepest *motives* for missionary work, creating an impelling sense of gratitude for the gift of the Gospel and a desire to extend its influence" (italics mine). Although there are notable theological, sociological and cultural **differences** between Pietism and evangelicalism, Ross (1986:34) notes that Pietism was "essentially quietist" in the areas of political and social areas, whereas evangelicalism was not. This observation accounts for the fervour by various (predominantly) English Evangelicals, as **opposed** to a more

subdued and conservative approach to mission by (predominantly) German Pietist missionaries (cf 5.4.3.1 "Dr John Philip").

Between 1726 and 1760, the **American Colonies** experienced a series of revivals commonly known as the **Great Awakening**. This movement was "a mixture of Puritanism and Pietism ground together in the crucible of the American experience" (Bosch 1991:278-279). This trend was to wane due to "rationalism...invad[ing] schools and colleges, and slip[ping] quietly into many of the churches" (Chaney in Bosch 1991:279). Although this movement did not directly give rise to missionary activities, it lay the **foundations** thereof.

It was only during the early nineteenth century that the **United States of America** experienced a **Second Evangelical Awakening** (Booth 1968:v). Bosch (1991:279) specifies that this "awakening" reached a peak in 1797. Many **factors** led to this so-called "mood". These included the general perception that the USA had been **chosen** by God to "become the cradle of liberty and democracy", destined to spread the word of God to all four corners of the earth. Americans at that time, believed that true freedom came only to those persons who had given themselves to God. Linked to the above, was the belief that the **millennium** (were Jesus Christ would return to earth after a thousand years) was at hand. It was believed that the millennium would commence in 1866, resulting in an urgency amongst many Christians to convert the non-Christian to Christianity. This "urgency" lead to a missionary zeal during the early 1800's (Booth 1968:v-vii; cf Bosch 1991:279-282,313-314).

It was only a matter of time before the European continent's spirit of Pietism and evangelical awakenings of the English-speaking world would be felt in the **Cape Colony**. The former was felt with the arrival of the **Moravian Brethren** in 1737 (cf 3.3.1). Although their stay was not long, it inspired mission efforts in the Cape by people such as the **Rev Helperus Ritzema Van Lier** (Du Plessis 1911:61-69, Saayman 1996[b]:202,211).

In spite of the mission endeavour not being prominent during the 18th century, it did flourish towards the last decade and beginning of the 19th century. Factors

contributing to this revival, especially in Great Britain and North America, were the subsequent founding of **missionary societies** (due to the evangelical awakenings in the said countries) and subsequent **voluntarism** by individuals to go out and preach God's word (Bosch 1991:279-280).

It was only natural that the effects of **Romanticism** (cf 3.2.3.1[a] "Romanticism") would be reflected within missionary circles (Gensichen 1982:182; Kinghorn 1986[a]:68; Bosch 1991:301) in the form of missionaries taking a **national pride** in that they perceived themselves as playing an important role in the advancement of God's kingdom. This particular destiny as a chosen nation is commonly referred to as a **"Manifest Destiny"**. This particular attitude was especially reflected amongst missionaries during the late nineteenth century (Bosch 1991:299-300). To Gensichen (1982:182) the outcome of Romanticism had both a positive and negative outcome. On the positive side it promoted **indigenisation**, while on the negative side it reflected Western **ethnocentrism**.

Many social events emanated as a direct/indirect result of these theological and philosophical schools of thought and will be discussed briefly to show their influence on the mission endeavour in that period. Du Toit (1984:621) observes that "international events and philosophies were influencing the church [and mission] in South Africa" and *vice versa*.

(c)   Events during this period

Several events influenced/were influenced by the modern era, and these subsequently impinged on cognitive styles and bodies of knowledge of missionaries and the **education** that they provided.

The post-Renaissance period (1700-1820) was characterised by various European **explorations** (cf 3.2.1) into previously unknown parts of the world. These colonialist and scientific expeditions (Ashley 1980:29) were spurred on by expansionistic and progressive **reasoning**, resulting in class, racial and sexual rankings of human beings, the latter invariably having Europeans at the top and Africans at the bottom (cf

3.2.3[a] "Great chain of Being"). Missionaries soon followed in the wake of these explorations (Van der Walt 1992[a]:223) in order to spread the Christian faith focussing attention on the "poor heathen" as Van der Walt (1992[a]:223) puts it – referring to the frequent use of the word (heathen) in contemporary documents – with European countries later starting to **colonise** these newly discovered areas (Wright & Tumelty 1969:8; The Education Bureau, Department of Internal Affairs [Coloured Affairs] 1981:1). Obviously missionaries settled in these colonies with their perception of reality, as **opposed** to the reality perceived by the indigenous people taking precedence. This according to Ashley (1980:28-38) resulted in the **collision** of two universes, namely that of the Western and Black peoples' cultures.

The **American** and **French Revolutions** also took place during this period and subsequently had a profound influence (during and after) on intellectual, social and political thoughts and events of the time. Philosophical thoughts, of especially the French and English philosophers and writers such as John Locke, Montesquieu (1689-1775), Voltaire (1694-1778) and Jean Jacques Rousseau, were to have a profound influence on the events in Europe and the North American continent. These thinkers and writers attacked the Old Order and propagated aspects such as equality, freedom and democracy (Van Schoor *et al* sa:6-9).

A factor that was to have a profound influence on the thoughts and behaviour of many people, both in Europe and beyond its borders, was the **French Revolution.** During the late 1700's, France was cast into the midst of a revolt against the **Old Order** (cf 3.2.2.1[a]) (Tumelty 1969:42-43). The French Revolution emphasised the **equality** and **brotherhood** of all men (cf 3.2.2.1[a]) (Van der Walt 1992:223), with the adoption of the slogan: "Liberty, Equality and Fraternity". The realisation of these ideals resulted in numerous events, amongst others, the abolishing of slavery in the French colonies; class distinctions were also done away with and a new sense of **democracy** developed as a result of the revolution (Tumelty 1969:42-43; Van Schoor *et al* sa:13-20).

The **American Revolution** was the result of the thirteen English colonies' **revolt** against England's right to pass legislation through her parliament, to levy taxes and

restrict their trade. The Republic of the United States of America, was established in 1776 and afterwards issued the "Declaration of Independence" based on the ideas of the French philosophers and writers. Here they accepted the principles of **liberty, equality** and the natural **right** of men and women to choose their own government and adapt this to their own needs. France assisted in this revolution and individuals such as Marquis de Lafayette was to return to France and put into practice in the revolution that which he experienced first-hand in the American Revolution (Wright 1969:29).

The **tenets** of the French philosophers and writers – that all of humanity is equal – and their application during the two revolutions, led **philanthropists** (cf Chapter 5) to advance the lot of the underprivileged. Missionary societies were established and mission stations founded to convert the "heathen" to Christianity. Even at the Cape this development and growth of philanthropism and mission stations were evident during the late 1700's and early 1800's.

Another result of the French Revolution on the Cape was the **invasion** of the Netherlands by the French. The Netherlands now became the **Batavian Republic** and an ally of France. Prior to 1795, the Cape was under Dutch rule and in that year England sent a fleet to **occupy** the Cape for the first time as a precaution to ensure that France did not take over the Cape on behalf of the Netherlands (Muller 1975[a]:100). As the Cape was later temporarily governed by the Batavian Republic (1803-1806) **revolutionary,** ideas were subsequently transplanted and established in the Cape (Van Zyl 1975[a]:101-110). These revolutionary ideas led to, amongst others, unparalleled **missionary activity,** the **prohibition** of the slave trade and the eventual **abolition** of slavery. Van der Walt (1992[a]:223) also explains that the opposition in Europe to Napoleonic domination and the freedom wars led to **good relationships** between philanthropic societies and their respective governments. At the Cape, these developments and ideals resulted in the freedom of slaves in December 1834 (Kotzé 1975:141).

By the turn of the nineteenth-century, the **industrial revolution** was well under way in Great Britain (Comaroff & Comaroff 1991:55) and other European countries.

Results of this revolution included **machines** replacing humans in the production of goods; the erection of **factories** to provide in consumers needs; the need to seek **resources**, and new **markets** to manufacture and sell consumer goods. A sociological result of this revolution was the **changing** of relations among **classes**, a perception observed by Comaroff & Comaroff (1991:56) as being prevalent amongst "a host of ...scholars from both right and left that the essence of the revolution lay in the *transformation* of relations of production and, concomitantly, relations amongst *classes*" (italics mine).

Cognisance should also be taken of Latourette's (in Brain 1991:11-12) observation of several events or characteristics of the nineteenth century which also had an influence on the spread of Christianity, either in its promotion or retardation thereof. These included: improved **communication**, increased **knowledge** of the physical environment and its mastery, increased **optimism** and general **prosperity** as well as new **inventions** providing solutions to longstanding problems.

3.2.3.2 The period 1900-1955

This period is of particular importance to this research project, as it was a period in the history of South African education in which profound **changes** were to occur, especially with regard to **mission education**. It is essential to highlight certain salient aspects of the *Zeitgeist*. This will entail focussing on theological and philosophical trends and schools of thought and their subsequent influence on the political, economical and social structures. The focus will be both internationally and locally (South Africa).

(a)   Philosophical schools of thought

In the light of the previously discussed modern or Enlightenment era a **change** in thought occurred, in that the world was then viewed in **post-modern** terms. From the outset it must be made clear that this implication of **division** does not imply that post-modernism can be reduced to an orderly theory or extensive philosophy. Usher and Edwards (1994:7) remark that "it is complex and multiform, resisting reductive

and simplistic explanation"; rather it should be viewed as "a loose umbrella term under whose broad cover can be encompassed at one and the same time a condition, a set of practices, a cultural discourse, an attitude and a mode of analysis."

To indicate a date of **origin** is impossible and for all practical reasons one needs to consider the emergence and development as taking place mainly in the twentieth century. Steyn (1997:154) draws a **distinction** between post-modernism and post-modernity. The first is "a style of *thinking*[9] and a scientific approach originating in a reaction to modern scientific theory" (italics mine) on an increasing basis especially during the twentieth century. This does imply that post-modern took place **sporadically** at the beginning of the twentieth century and it did not yet permeate all thinking. In this regard, one has to take note of Bosch's (1991:349) observation when he notes that:

> New paradigms do not establish themselves overnight. They take decades, sometimes even centuries, to develop distinctive contours. The new paradigm is still emerging and it is , as yet, not clear which shape it will eventually adopt. For the most part we are, at the moment, thinking and working in terms of *two* paradigms [modern and post-modern].

Therefore, we may deduce that while this era was still under the **sway** of modernism, already post-modern modes of thinking began to **emerge**. Given this observation, one cannot ignore the elements of the Enlightenment era, neither can one ignore those elements of the post-modern era when discussing the characteristic *Zeitgeist* of the period under discussion. Yet, further clarification of post-modern thought will be necessary, as it is not an easy term to **define** (Usher & Edwards 1994:1; Van Niekerk 1996:210; Lemmer 1998:20) due to a host of diverse reasons (Van Niekerk 1996:210-216). For now a working definition will suffice. Post-modernism **followed** and originated as a **critique** of modernism (Usher & Edwards 1994:2,8).

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[9] Usher & Edwards (1994:1) note that "the post-modern is not simply a body of thought, a way of theorising, but also a way of practising."

The twentieth century saw the **challenging** of the primacy of the human's rationality. Scientific truth was to be challenged, and the reality of two world wars slowly started to erode the **rational edifice** that everything is **solvable**. These former sentiments are amplified by Lyall Watson (1989:11) in *Supernature: a natural history of the supernatural*. He notes in the opening sentence that "science no longer holds any absolute truths."

As was mentioned above, post-modernism **challenges** and **criticises** the views of modernism. Bosch (1991:351-362) notes this challenge in the light of the seven characteristics of the Enlightenment era discussed previously (cf 3.2.3.1). Bosch's list of challenges include the following:

- Religion did not crumble as was so very often predicted by many rational thinkers. On the contrary, it was to **flourish**, especially during the twentieth century. A plausible explanation for this phenomenon is not available. However, some negatively perceive this phenomena as a result of some looking to religion as a means of stress management or as a buttress for a crumbling society. Bosch (1991:352-353) rather **attributes** this growth in religion to the Enlightenment's narrow perception of rationality having been "an inadequate cornerstone on which to build one's life" leading "to disastrous reductionism and hence...stunt[ed] human growth". Rationalism consequently needs to be **expanded** on (cf Steyn 1997:154). This expansion can take place by recognising that language is not, and cannot be, absolutely accurate when defining scientific laws and theological truths. In the light of this observation, the role of **metaphor, myth** and **analogy** has to be re-evaluated (Bosch 1991:352-355).

- The Enlightenment emphasised a "dominance over and objectification of nature and the subjecting of the physical world to the human mind and will" (Bosch 1991:355). Humans were viewed merely as objects who could be manipulated and exploited by other humans. To prevent this, a more **symbiotic** – (living together for mutual benefit, cf Harber & Payton [1979, sv "symbiosis"]) – approach is proposed.

■   The Enlightenment's reasoning along linear **causal lines** and the elimination of purpose, meaning and hope "rendered the universe meaningless" (Bosch 1991:355). Similarly the Enlightenment claims of universality, validity and certainty need to be bode farewell (Usher & Edwards 1994:10), reintroducing "**contingency** and **unpredictability**" (Bosch 1991:355). According to De Kock (1996[b]:10) post-modernism overturned these previous theories in "that **subjectivity** could exist outside of historical, ideological, cultural psychological and linguistic determination". "There is an increasing recognition that all knowledge claims are *partial, local and specific* rather than universal and ahistorical and that they are always imbued with power and normative interests" (Usher and Edwards 1994:10) (italics mine). Language and socio-cultural locatedness are perceived as contributing to the body of knowledge.

■   The notion of "**progress thinking**" (which gave rise to colonial expansion), which developed during the modern period, was challenged during the post-modern period (Bosch 1991:356).

■   Whereas the modern era propagated a distinction between facts and values, in the post-modern era it is realised that every act of knowing, according to Polanyi (in Bosch 1991:358) includes an appraisal. Facts, are not to be considered **objectively**, as they are influenced by social and cultural factors (Bosch 1991:358-361) thus accentuating their **contextual** situatedness.

■   It is realised that the belief upheld during the modern era that all problems are solvable, is in fact a **fallacy**. Post-modernism recognised that not all problems are solvable (Bosch 1991:361-362).

■   The notion of individual freedom propagated during the Enlightenment had serious consequences which led to the embracing of **nihilism**. A need for **conviction and commitment** as well as **interdependence and togetherness** – is needed (Bosch 1991:362) and was propagated by post-modernism.

(b)   Theological trends

Mission did not escape these **changes** (Neill 1964:450-454;   cf also 3.2.2.2[a]). These changes have been largely evident in the twentieth century. Bosch (1991:363) agrees with the observation of Neill and states that:

It was unthinkable that the Christian church, theology, and mission would remain unscathed. On the one hand, the *results* of a variety of other disciplines – the natural and social sciences, philosophy, history, etc. have had a profound and lasting influence on theological thinking. On the other hand, *developments* within church, mission and theology (often precipitated, no doubt, by the momentous events and revolutions in other disciplines) have had equally far-reaching consequences (italics mine).

The latter part of the 1920's and early 1930's saw a more **liberal** approach being held towards mission (Neill 1964:455). This liberal view was strongly represented at the second world Missionary Conference, held in **Jerusalem** in 1928, and other subsequent missionary reports where it was propounded that conversion was to be replaced by **co-operation** and **tolerance**. The ultimate aim of this liberal view being "the emergence of the various religions out of their isolation into a world fellowship in which each will find its appropriate place" (Neill 1964:456). The **evils** of colonialism where the "uniqueness and finality of the Christian Gospel" had been propagated was now regarded as outdated, with a move towards seeing the best in other religions. Neill (1964:456) notes in this regard:

> The task of the missionary today, it was maintained, is to see the best in other religions, to help the adherents of those religions to discover, or to rediscover, all that is best in their own traditions, to cooperate with the most active and vigorous elements in the other traditions in social reform and in the purification of religious expression.

Attempts were made to **inculturalise** and **contextualise** mission (Bosch 1991:353) and not, as was previously done, adopt a nihilistic approach to mission and the subsequent **education** that it propagated.

The liberal stance was a **challenge** to modernity's "progress thinking" (cf 3.2.2.2). It was also at the 1928 Jerusalem Conference that a **change** in thought was proposed away from modernity's approach of "benevolent colonialism" to that of a more "comprehensive approach" of "rural reconstruction" to the solving of "industrial problems" emanating from the modern era (Bosch 1991:356). It is not within the

realm of this dissertation to evaluate the merits of this new approach in under-developed communities, it is sufficient to note a gradual shift in thought from a modern colonial expansion mentality, which will be reflected, **metabletically**, in the education provided by missionaries (cf Chapters 4 & 5). Although there was strong **opposition** to this liberal stance, especially from the European continent, a return to modern thought had proven impossible. Both the Protestant Churches, and to a lesser extent the Anglican community were largely affected by this liberal understanding of Christianity (Neill 1964:456-457) which invariably affected their thinking and behaviour.

The twentieth century witnessed a stronger move towards an organised Protestant **ecumenical**[10] movement. The World Missionary Conference of **Edinburgh (1910)** was a direct result of this ecumenical movement, setting the stage for significant conferences which followed in the following decades. A direct result of this conference, was the formation of the **International Missionary Council** (IMC) in 1921 (DuBose 1979[b]:329-330), which provided the Protestant world with its first organ of international and interconfessional **co-operation**. Whereas previously inter-denominational rivalry and competition had prevailed, it had now **changed** to that of co-operation a development reflected in, amongst others, missionary **education** during the twentieth century. This was the recognition that church and mission belong together; a **shift** away in emphasis from a **church-centred mission** (conference in Tambaram in 1938) to a **mission-centred church** (conference in Willengen in 1952). Another result of the Protestant ecumenical movement, was that it influenced many missionaries to become involved in the propagation of **social justice** (Bosch 1991:369-370,402,458-459).

10   The *Heinemann English Dictionary* (Harber & Payton 1979, sv "ecumenical") defines the adjective "ecumenical" as "the movement to reunite all Christian Churches." Taken from the Greek word *hē oikoumenē* meaning "the inhabited (earth)" (Fowler & Fowler 1969, sv "oecumenical"). Although attempts were made in the 19th century (cf Neill 1964) to unite church and mission, it was only in the 20th century that this movement really took off.

(c)   Developments and events during this period

(i)   The international scene

During the period under discussion, the international scene was to be dominated by the **First and Second World Wars** (1914-1918 and 1939-1945) which subsequently had a profound influence on the social, political and economic situation of the time.

During the Second World War, Great Britain and her allies fought against Nazi Germany, Fascist Italy and Japan and subsequently conquered them. Great Britain's Allies included countries from her Commonwealth.   Troops from these Commonwealth countries fought in North Africa, the European continent and in Asia. These troops also experienced the signing of the **Atlantic Charter** (1941) by Franklin D Roosevelt and Winston Churchill, which "reaffirmed faith in the dignity of each human being and propagated a host of democratic principles" (Mandela 1994:110). Although Mandela (1994:110) notes that some in the West saw this charter as "empty promises", he remarks that people on the African continent did not view the Atlantic Charter as mere empty promises. This was to give impetus to the **liberation** movement in South Africa. With the fall of the Nazi, Fascist and Japanese empires, many Allied troops were to **experience** the liberation of Europe first hand. Many of these troops were from colonial countries who contributed to the war cause. On their return to their land of birth they brought with them their experiences, feelings and expectations of freedom (Van Aswegen 1980:406-410) which manifested in **Black nationalism**. Groups in Africa were keen to shake off their **colonial** shackles due to their liberation experiences during the war (cf Mandela 1994:114).   Constant references by African leaders to the American "Bill of Rights" and the United Nations Organization's "Declaration of Human Rights" increased this **nationalistic** urge.

(ii)   The South African scene

Although several events reflected the *Zeitgeist* of this period, two critical events were to have a profound influence on the *Zeitgeist* during this period, namely the **Second World War** and the rise of the **National Party** to power, in South Africa, after the war.

Salient developments of those political and social events will be briefly discussed in two phases, namely those **during** and those **after** the war (up until 1955).

On the **political** front, prior to and in many instances during the war, the Union of South Africa was very volatile. Prior to the war, JBM Hertzog, of the National Party, and Jan C Smuts, of the South African Party, merged to form a coalition party, namely the United South African National Party, or **"United Party"** as it was commonly called. DF Malan opposed this merger and went on to form the **"Purified'** **National Party"**. Due to fundamental differences concerning South Africa's participation in the war, Prime Minister Hertzog, was resigned due to his belief in non-participation and neutrality, while Smuts campaigned for South Africa's participation in the war. Smuts became Prime Minister and on 6 September 1939 and South Africa joined the war as an allied force (Liebenberg 1975[b]:408-416; Joyce 1989, sv "National Party [First], "United Party"). After the United Party's split, Hertzog and Malan unified and formed the *Herenigde Nasionale Party of Volksparty* (hereafter referred to as the *Herenigde Party*) on 29 January 1940. Politics during the war was characterised by strong feelings of **Afrikaner nationalism** and **anti-war sentiment** by many Afrikaners, on the one hand, and **pro-war** and **pro-imperial sentiments** on the other, by many English-speaking South Africans. The United Party under Smuts retained power during war-time elections due to, divided opposition and, favourable turn on the part of the Allies during the war giving Smuts' party the necessary public support. Although Black people participated in the war effort South African politics was still **segregated** (Liebenberg 1975[b]:408-422). This segregation extended to all spheres of life in South African society.

After the Second World War, South Africa was to undergo a radical **change** on the political front. After the success of the Allies, few doubted that Smuts would not win the 1948 elections. This was not to be, since Malan of the *Herenigde Party* and NC Havenga of the *Afrikaner Party* succeeded in forming an **alliance**. Amongst others, the **race question** was used as a means of ensuring unity. The idea of *Apartheid* or "separate development" proposed by these two parties attracted many of the White electorate. On 26 May 1948, the *Herenigde Party* acquired the majority with DF Malan as the Prime Minister. In 1951 the *Herenigde Party* and other

Afrikaner Parties fused and formed the **National Party**. Attempts to try and "solve" the colour question resulted in the passing of various laws. By 1956, the Government had succeeded in removing the Coloured people from the voters' role and classified them into a separate group. Black people were to be granted political rights in their own homelands, with the first step in this direction being the passing of the **Bantu Authorities Act** in 1951. The passing of Verwoerd's **Bantu Education Act** in 1953 (Act 47/1953) (SA[U] 1953:258-276) was another step by the government towards Bantu "self-government".

On the **social** front the **Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act** was passed in 1949 and was followed in 1950 by the **Immorality Amendment Act, Population Registration Act** and **Group Areas Act**. The year 1953 also saw the passing of the **Reservation of Separate Amenities Act**, while 1954 and 1955 respectively saw the passing of the **Resettlement of Natives Act** and the **Natives (Urban Areas) Amendment Act**. The passing of these acts and the Government's policy of separate development brought about much **opposition** within and beyond South Africa's borders (Liebenberg 1975[b]:424-430).

Liebenberg (1975[b]:432-433) notes that this political and economic ignoring of Black people's rights "was [now] fertile ground [for the development of] Marxism" with many within the ANC adopting the **Marxist** ideology. Reasons given by Mandela (1994:138) was that "Marxism's call to revolutionary action was music to the ears of the freedom fighter." Factors contributing to this **dissatisfaction** were, amongst others, the strong feelings of nationalism brought back by many Black soldiers on their return from the war and promises of equality and freedom made to them by politicians abroad (Atlantic Charter). It was hoped that the South African Government would see that the principles it fought for in Europe were the same principles advocated by Black people in South Africa (Mandela 1994:110-139). The Atlantic Charter was an inspiration to the creation of the African National Congress's (ANC) own charter known as "African Claims" which called for full **citizenship** for all Africans, the right for Africans to **purchase** land and, the repealing of all **discriminatory** legislation (Mandela 1994:110).

Groups such as the African National Congress (ANC) now embarked on a more fierce **opposition** of the Nationalist Government's policies (Liebenberg 1975[b]:433). Opposition took the form of, amongst others, mineworkers' **strikes**; Indian **passive resistance** campaign of 1946; **rallies** (eg rally in Cape Town [March 1951] by the Coloured people in opposition to the Separate Representation of Voters Act; the ANC **Defiance Campaign** of 26 June 1952, as well as the week-long school **boycott** (1 April 1955) in opposition to the Bantu Education Act (Mandela 1994:117,124-125,141,146,197).

3.3   A SHORT HISTORY OF THE CHRISTIAN MISSION ENDEAVOUR IN SOUTH AFRICA

As the scope of this study refers mainly to the role played by missionaries (especially in education), it is necessary to touch on certain salient **historical** developments of the Christian mission endeavour and more specifically, mission education, in South Africa in order to put the events into perspective within the ambit of **time** and **space**. This historical perspective will attempt to contribute to an understanding of the divergent perceptions surrounding the topic.[11]

3.3.1   The mission endeavour

The landing of **Jan van Riebeeck** in 1652 not only established a foothold for Westerners in Southern Africa, but also was the beginning of the **Christianisation** process of the indigenous people (Du Plessis 1911:19; Behr 1988:90; Kritzinger 1988:14). Initial attempts to **educate** and evangelise the Black people were **sporadic** (Behr 1984:173). Possible reasons for this sporadic education could have been: that the Cape was initially seen as a **temporary** halfway station to the East (Christie 1991:31), the **capitalistic or material** politics of the administrators, and the apparent

[11] Many authoritative works have been published surrounding this broad topic. J Du Plessis' work (1911) *A History of Christian Missions in South Africa* is one such authoritative source. Du Plessis' predominant use of primary sources verifies this assumption. His work will form the basis for this section and will be supplemented by other secondary sources.

indifference on the part of many of the inhabitants with regard to cultural matters (Du Toit 1976:1).

It was only during the 18th and 19th centuries that concerted efforts were made to educate and evangelise the Black tribes in Southern Africa due to an influx of mission societies from abroad (Behr 1988:91), due to a host of **factors** (cf 3.2.3.1[b]). The extent of this missionary influence and expansion is described by Edgar Brookes (in Du Toit 1984:618) as "the most over-denominationalized missionary area in Africa".

The primary aim of missionaries was to **Christianise** (Kutoane & Krüger 1990:8; Venter 1991:5; Lewis 1992:47; Sebakwane 1994:10). **Education** was seen as a means of achieving this aim which resulted in schools being linked to the mission stations (Venter 1991:5). Christie (1991:72) identifies three general educational **activities** performed at mission schools:

- In the first place, missionaries – mostly – taught **basic** reading and writing. This was taught along with the Christian doctrine.
- **Manual** work and practical training also formed a cardinal part of the education provided by missionaries.
- Missionaries also provided a **higher level** of education (especially teacher training) for an elite group in order to spread the Word of God.

The following paragraphs will show how mission stations **developed** in South Africa, manifesting in the realisation of the above-mentioned objectives.

The first Protestant mission society at the Cape was that of the **Moravian Church,**[12] whose main purpose was to evangelise and subsequently **educate** (cf 5.5.2) the indigenous inhabitants. The first representative of this group to land on 9 July 1737 at the Cape, was **Georg Schmidt.** After landing at the Cape, Schmidt set up a

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[12]   The Moravian Bretheren heralded from Herrnhut in Saxony (former East Germany) (Du Plessis 1911:50, Warneck 1979:80, Behr 1988:91, Joyce 1989, sv "Moravian Church") and were a small band of churchmen who established this group for the purpose of sending out missionaries to foreign countries to propagate the Protestant religion (Behr 1988:91).

mission post at Zoetmelksvlei, a military post on the banks of the Sonderend River, amongst the **Khoikhoi** (literally meaning "men of men"). After a short while he moved the station to Baviaans Kloof (Du Plessis 1911:54; Behr 1963:410; Du Toit 1984:619; Balie 1996). This mission station was later to be known as **Genadendal** (literally meaning "Valley of Grace") (Kritzinger 1988:14; Balie 1996). In 1744 Schmidt was forced to abandon his endeavours and returned to Europe (Du Plessis 1911:58; Behr 1963:410; Böeseken 1975:69-70; Kritzinger 1988:14; Behr 1988:91; Lewis 1992:22; Balie 1996). Various **interpretations** surround this action. Reasons cited by Kritzinger (1988:14) for this abandonment are that he did not have the necessary **equipment** for such a "daunting...task" and that his **church background** was not acceptable to most of the colonists. Schmidt received opposition from the established **Dutch Reformed Church** (DRC) who saw him as not being suitable and pure in his beliefs (Behr 1988:91). Galbraith (1963:79) **perceives** jealousy and the intervention of a rival religious sect as the **motivating** factors behind the DRC's actions (cf Du Toit 1984:619). In 1792 three other Moravian missionaries later resumed Schmidt's endeavours at Genadendal. These missionaries built a church, workshops and a school for both religious instruction and **training** in agriculture and the trades (Du Plessis 1911:69; Galbraith 1963:79; Joyce 1989, sv "Moravian Church"). These attempts by the Moravian Church were the first attempts by a European missionary society members to **educate** the indigenous tribes.

In 1798, the **London Mission Society** (LMS) sent a team of missionaries to the Cape, among them were two Dutchmen, JT van der Kemp and JJ Kicherer, as well as two Englishmen, W Edwards and J Edmond, who landed at the Cape on 31 March 1799 (Du Plessis 1911:99-102; Behr 1988:91). Initially the LMS established mission stations in the **Eastern Cape** (ie Van der Kemp and Edmond), amongst the indigenous peoples under Chief Ngqika (in the Tyumie Valley) and at Bethelsdorp (near Algoa Bay) (Shepherd 1971:1), as well as the along the Orange River in the **Northern Cape** (Kicherer and Edwards) among the Korannas, Namaquas and *Basters* (Bastards) (Du Plessis 1911:103-110,120-128; Behr 1988:91-92; Venter 1991:2-35). Some missionaries, who belonged to the LMS, of note were **Robert Moffat** and **David Livingstone** and **John Philip** (Du Plessis 1911:99,141; Van der Merwe 1970:4; Kritzinger 1988:15; Joyce 1989, sv "Livingstone, David", "London Missionary

Society", "Moffat, Robert", "Philip, Dr John"). A later analysis will show that Philip the subject of many diverse perceptions (cf 4.2.2.2[b]).

The **Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society** (established in 1813) sent its first missionary, Barnabas Shaw, to the Cape Colony in 1816 where he became its pioneer in the **Namaqualand** area amongst the Namaquas. Their influence also progressed to the **Xhosa** territory (previously known as the Transkei) (Van der Merwe 1970:4) and **Bloemfontein** areas (Du Plessis 1965:165-181; Kritzinger 1988:15; Behr 1988:93). It was only in the 1870's that the Wesleyan Church really organised itself in the former Transvaal (SA[U] 1936:23). Some well-known missions established by this society were Healdtown (near Fort Beaufort), Salem (near Grahamstown) and Lesseyton (near Queenstown). **Schools** functioned at these stations (SA[U] 1936:9; Behr 1988:93). **Nelson Mandela** attended two Wesleyan mission schools, namely Clarkebury Institute (established in 1825) and Healdtown (Mandela 1994:15,37,43 & 51).

During the first half of the 19th century, the **Glasgow Missionary Society**[13] (established 1796) was very active in the **Eastern Cape** region (Behr 1963:427; Shepherd 1971:1; Behr 1988:95). The Presbyterian church was to become an established church to the Xhosa of the eastern Border areas (mainly in the area formerly known as Ciskei) developing well-known **educational** institutions such as Lovedale in 1824 (Du Plessis 1911:182-184; Van der Merwe 1970:5; Shepherd 1971; Kritzinger 1988:15; Behr 1988:95; White 1990:78). Prior to 1820, this society's mission record in, amongst other places, Sierra Leone was one of failure (Du Plessis 1911:183). Several other overseas missionary societies operated successfully in South Africa and will be mentioned briefly.

In 1929, the **Paris Evangelical Missionary Society** came to South Africa and worked amongst the **Basotho** of Moshesh's mountain kingdom (Du Plessis 1911:189; Behr 1963:427; Van Schoor 1975:241; Kritzinger 1988:16), the inhabitants of the

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[13] In his work, Kritzinger (1988:15) refers to Scottish "or" Glasgow Missionary Society, while Du Plessis (1965:183) uses "and", implying two societies.

Wagenmakersvallei (now Wellington) and those on the banks of the **Caledon River** (Du Plessis 1911:259), as well as among the Batlapin tribes at the present-day **Bethulie** (in the Free State) (Behr 1988:93) and Batuang tribe at the present-day **Ficksburg** (Du Plessis 1911:196,336-338).

In 1830[14], the **Rhenish Missionary Society** (established in 1799) came to South Africa (Du Plessis 1911:201-210; Behr 1963:427) and worked amongst the **Khoikhoi** (along the Cape West Coast) and up into the **Northwest** (Namibia) amongst the Herero, Damara and other tribes (Van der Merwe 1970:5; Kritzinger 1988:16).

In 1834, the **Berlin Missionary Society** (established in 1824) entered South Africa (Du Plessis 1911:211-212). According to Kritzinger (1988:16) their work amongst the **Korranas** (a tribe of Khoikhoi) was not successful, and later proceeded East to the **Zulus** and **Xhosas**. In the 1860's, they began operating in the former **Transvaal** amongst the Bapedi, Sotho and Venda speaking tribes (SA[U] 1936:23; Van der Merwe 1970:5; Kritzinger 1988:16; Behr 1988:93). Mission **schools** were established at places such as Ermelo, Heidelberg, Johannesburg, Middelburg, Pietersburg, Potchefstroom and Pretoria. One of its missionaries, G Eiselen, was the father of Dr WWM Eiselen, chairman of the Commission on Native Education (Report UG 53/1951) (Behr 1988:93) of which more will be said at a later stage (cf 3.3.2.2).

In 1834 six missionaries of the **American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions** (ABCFM) (Keto 1976:602) (established in 1812)[15], left for South Africa from Boston (Du Plessis 1911:219; Kritzinger 1988:16), Massachusetts (USA) and landed in Table Bay on 6 February 1835 (Booth 1968:viii) from where they moved on to **Natal** in 1836 (Du Plessis 1911:219; Kritzinger 1988:16). They worked amongst the Zulus and unsuccessfully amongst the Matabele (Du Plessis 1911:220,225). One of

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[14] Kritzinger (1988:92) cites 1842 as the date which the Rhenish Missionary Society began its work in South Africa. However, both Du Plessis and Behr denote 1830 as the date in which this society came to South Africa.

[15] Booth (1968:vii) denotes 1810 as the date on which the ABCFM was established, and 1812 as the date on which 5 young men were ordained as missionaries to Asia.

the missionaries was Dr Newton Adams, who founded the well-known **educational** institution Adams College near Amanzimtoti (Kritzinger 1988:16; Behr 1988:95).

In 1836, the evangelical wing of the Anglican church channeled their mission work through the **Church Missionary Society** (CMS), initially in **Zululand** (Kritzinger 1988:16) and then later on the **Witwatersrand** (now known as Gauteng) amongst the Black people employed on the mines (Behr 1988:95).

The **Hermannsburg Missionary Society** from Germany arrived in South Africa in the 1850's and concentrated their mission work in the central parts of **Natal, Zululand** and later on in the **Western Transvaal** amongst the Tswanas (Kritzinger 1988:16).

Scandinavian missions such as the **Norwegian Missionary Society** (established 1842) worked in the Northern parts of **Zululand** in 1844. The **Swedish Missionary Society** came to work in South Africa in 1876 amongst the **Zulu** and contributed to the extensive Lutheran work (Du Plessis 1911:380-381,385; Kritzinger 1988:17). Several other Scandinavian societies operated in South Africa, mainly in **Natal** (Du Plessis 1911:380-381,385).

The **Swiss Missionary Society** initially joined the Paris missionaries in **Lesotho** and after an orientation period of three years, they started their mission work amongst the Tsonga of the Transvaal Lowveld, near the **Mozambique** border (SA[U] 1936:23; Kritzinger 1988:17) while the **Free Methodist Missionary Society** sent out missionaries in 1885 to South Africa from the USA. This society initially operated in Durban, **Natal** (Du Plessis 1911:392-393).

Other missions from the USA included the **Hephizibah Faith Missionary Association,** which also operated in Natal as well as **Johannesburg** (Du Plessis 1911:399).

Other mission endeavours included the **Church of the Province of South Africa** (the South African name for the Anglican Church) and the **Dutch Reformed Church** (DRC), officially known as the *Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk (NGK)* (Kritzinger 1988:17-18). In the 1850's the *Gereformeerde Kerk (GK)* was to splinter from the DRC (Du

Toit 1984:617). After 1860 the DRC started mission work in all earnest among the Black people, especially in the Transvaal region. In 1881, a **separate** "daughter church" was established among the Coloured people, namely the *NG Sendingkerk (NGSK)*, the *NG Kerk in Afrika (NGKA)* for Black people and the **Reformed Church in Africa** (RCA) for Indians, all as a result of DRC missionary activity (Du Toit 1984:617-620).

It was only after the 1830's that the **Roman Catholic Church** (RCC) undertook missionary work amongst the indigenous people at the Cape (Brain 1991:11). Up until the 1830s the Catholic presence at the Cape was **sporadic** (cf 3.2.1) and it was only in 1838, due to the consecration of **Bishop Patrick Raymond Griffith** as the Bishop of the Cape of Good, that mission work on the part of the RCC really progressed. Du Plessis (1911:367) notes that initially nothing was done for "native missions", as the RCC's focus was more so on "the children of the household of the faith", implying the **European colonists** and **militia** of the Cape (cf also Flanagan 1982:84). Initially the evangelisation amongst Black people was minor and it was only in the 1850's that this process really took off due to the presence of the Missionary Congregation of the Oblates of Mary Immaculate, and the later arrival of the Cisterians, who developed into the Missionaries of Marianhill **(Natal)** (Flanagan 1982:84). The RCC mission amongst Black people also progressed into the **Eastern Cape, Lesotho, Bloemfontein, Griqualand West, Transvaal** and **Namibia** (Kritzinger 1988:18).

The above cursory glimpse of the mission endeavour in South Africa, does give an indication as to the vast number of mission stations, and subsequently the large number of missionaries as well, in operation especially in the 19th century and well into the mid 20th century. In the light of the focus of the research, it is necessary to dwell on the influence of the mission endeavour on **education** in South Africa.

3.3.2 Mission education in South Africa: a short history

Most mission stations in South Africa operated mission school's, which in turn provided much **education** to many of its citizens (especially Black people). The **reason**

for missions providing education through formal schooling is provided by Saayman (1996[b]:204) who notes that "[t]he strong pietist emphasis on the word of God led naturally to a strong desire that all people should be able to read God's word. This gave birth to one of the strong pietist mission principles: that church and school should go together."

It is thus in this light that it is deemed necessary to highlight certain **salient** historical aspects so as to put the research into perspective. This section will also focus largely on two **areas**, the **Cape Colony** and former **Transvaal**.[16] It will be divided into two **periods**, namely:

- 1652-1910
- 1910-1955

3.3.2.1   Mission education: 1652-1910

For the first century and a half, education provision (for all its inhabitants) at the **Cape** was on a **small scale** and in many cases **sporadic** (especially for Black people) with attempts by ruling governors to try and establish a sound system, usually coming to naught (Behr 1984:5-6,173; Christie 1991:31-33).

Schools were established and run by the **church, private enterprise** and ultimately by the **state**. Black people in most cases, attended the former – more specifically mission schools (Behr 1984:173), during the nineteenth century.

In 1737, the first mission school was established at the Cape by the **Moravians** (cf 3.3.1) and provided elementary education and training to Khoikhoi adults and children (Filander 1992:55). Prior to 1841, the education of especially the indigenous people of the Cape was left predominantly up to the initiative and resources of the Church,

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[16]   Prior to 1910, the former Transvaal was referred to as the South African Republic (SAR). The SAR came into being after the Sand River Convention in 1852, but was later incorporated into the colonial fold in the 1900's later being amalgamated with the other three provinces to form the Union of South Africa (Joyce 1989, sv "Transvaal Republic", "Union of South Africa").

especially the mission stations (The Education Bureau, Department of Internal Affairs [Coloured Affairs] 1981:1).

The **first** mission school specifically for the Black tribes was opened in 1799 (SA[U] 1951:33; SA[U] 1955:23) by Dr JT van der Kemp of the LMS near present day King Williams Town. However, it was only after 1820 "that the missionary movement began to be *systematically* directed to work amongst the Bantu tribes in the 'Eastern Province" (italics mine) (SA[U] 1936:9).

It was only in 1841 that **state aid** was granted to Cape mission schools (SA[U] 1955:23). Prior to this date, mission schools operated without any financial aid from the Government. This aid lead to, amongst others, a considerable **increase** in the number of mission schools. Mission schools were now subjected to **stricter** control and regulations (eg general supervision and inspection) which in turn resulted in a stronger State control (SA[U] 1936:9; Filander 1992:57).

In 1854, **Sir George Grey** was appointed as Governor of the Cape, which brought about a new era for Black education. Grey regarded education as an important factor in the **peaceful subjugation** of Blacks and persuaded the British Government to increase the subsidies (July 1855) of missionary institutions, so as to educate and train Blacks in **industrial occupations** to be practiced amongst their own people (SA[U] 1936:10; Behr 1984:174; Nell 1993:41-42) in an attempt to fulfil this objective.

Up until the 1850's, education for all its learners in the SAR (former Transvaal) developed relatively **slow** compared to the Cape. The reason for this phenomenon was that the **Great Trek** only took place during the 1830's, which in turn lead to the inhabiting of this area only happening well after.

Missionaries such as David Livingstone and W Edwards of the **LMS** (in 1842 at Mabotsa) and the **Hermannsburg Mission Society** (in 1857 amongst the Bechuanas in Western Transvaal) began educational work in this region. Up until 1902 all education for Black people was solely undertaken by missionaries (SA[U]1936:22-23) in this region.

With the British administering the Transvaal Colony after the **South African War** (11 October 1899 – 31 May 1902), the Government, as a matter of **Colonial policy**, immediately began to focus its attention on Black education.[17] Black education still remained the responsibility of the **church** (missionaries), although compared to the past it was slightly better (Behr 1984:14-16,175; Christie 1991:48-49). The first **Education Ordinance** in 1903 made provision for the education of Black and Coloured children in the form of, amongst others, financial aid (SA[U] 1936:24; SA[U] 1955:23; Van der Merwe 1970:57). During the same year an Inspector and Assistant Inspector of Native education was appointed. The following year (1904) saw the former become the Superintendent of Native Education. **Separate** schools for Black people and White people in the Transvaal became entrenched after 1903 (Behr 1984:175).

Prior to 1910, the four regions in South Africa: the Cape of Good Hope, the Transvaal, the Orange Free State and Natal all functioned and existed **independently**, each with its own legislature and government. This came to an end when the **Union of South Africa** was formed in 1910, after the passing of the **South Africa Act**, 1909. This resulted in the formation of a legislative union under a **central government** – the Parliament of the Union of South Africa (SA[U] 1911:4).

3.3.2.2   Mission education: 1910-1955

After the Union of South Africa came into being in 1910, the four different provinces were allowed control over primary and secondary education by means of their **separate** provincial councils (SA[U] 1911:26). All matters affecting Black people, except education, fell under the control of the **Minister of Native Affairs** (Behr 1984:176; Christie 1991:50). The **Provincial Councils** now controlled and financed Black education (The Education Bureau, Department of Internal Affairs [Coloured Affairs] 1981:2; Behr 1984:176). At this stage, Black education largely remained a

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[17] Black people and Coloured people were classified as "Coloured" for educational purposes until 1907. Thereafter Coloured people were grouped together with White people until 1910 whereafter they received separate education from White people and Black people. In all instances, Indians were grouped with Coloured people (Behr 1984:175, 236 & 266).

missionary undertaking (Behr 1984:177) in the former Transvaal and Cape. Each of the four provinces had its own system of income tax for Black people from where education was **financed** (SA[U] 1955:23). This separate form of taxation resulted in serious **anomalies** in that the rate of development in Black education differed from one province to another (Nel 1993:45).

In the **Cape**, the rate of development for Black education during this period remained **slow**. In 1919 a provincial commission was appointed which suggested, amongst other things, that the authorities should have more control and mission institutions less control over Black education, that the authorities increase their **financial aid** and that marked **changes** be brought about with regard to the **curriculum** (Behr 1984:176).

In the **Transvaal**, 1915 saw the introduction of a new **curriculum** for Black pupils. In 1920, three inspectors for Black schools were appointed to investigate Black parents' demands for community schools which would be free from church influence and equal to public schools. In 1924 the Transvaal Advisory Board on Native Education was established to **consult** between the administration and mission institutions (Behr 1984:176). It was only in 1935 that a **Chief Inspector for Native Education** was appointed in the Transvaal, who acted as technical adviser to the Director of Education "in unifying and directing educational effort amongst the Natives" (SA[U] 1936:27).

Although after union the provinces provided funding for Black education, **Central Government** gradually started providing **financial assistance** after 1925 according to Act No 21 of 1925 (SA[U] 1955:23). It was only in 1953 that matters would **change** in that complete government assistance (financial and administration) occurred following the take-over of Black education from the provinces by the central Government following the Bantu Education Act of that year (Behr 1984:226).

According to Government Notice 978 of 12 July 1935, the Minister of Education appointed an **inter-departmental committee** under the chairmanship of **WT Welsh** and who was assisted by six committee members (SA[U] 1936:5) to look into Black education. The findings, conclusions and recommendations were published in the

Report of the Interdepartmental Committee on Native Education of 1935-1935 (UG 29/1936) (SA[U] 1936). The Report came to some overall **conclusions** and made some **recommendations** concerning Black education, necessitating certain reforms:

- The **financing** of Black education was found to be unsatisfactory compared to White education.

- Nearly 70 per cent of Black children of school-going age were not at school. Part of the reason being a lack of **facilities**.

- Education **standards** were not the same between Whites and Blacks.

- The average **school life** of Black pupils was less than three years which resulted in alarming rates of juvenile delinquency. The commission did not recommend the adoption of compulsory education due to its problematic application in practice. However, the feasibility of a measure of compulsion in certain areas had to be investigated.

- Although **criticism** could be levelled against mission institutions (eg denominational rivalry in their bid to establish schools without regard for the community's needs and facilities at their disposal) the missionaries were applauded for their efforts. Mission education, it was felt, was to play an important and continual role in educating Blacks, however the report urged that a programme be planned which would lead to the State taking full responsibility (administration and financing) for the education of Blacks (Behr 1988:30-32).

During the period 1926-1945 joint **control** of Black education was exercised by the Provincial Governments and the Department of Native Affairs and this was characterised by an increase in the responsibilities assumed by the central Government: larger grants, more Government schools for Black people, and an increase in inspection and administrative staffs (SA[U] 1951:33,36). Act No. 29 of 1945 saw the passing of **financial** control of Black education to the Minister of Education, Arts and Science. The **Provincial Councils** however, remained the legislative authorities in the respective provinces (SA[U] 1951:36).

Black education, during the period 1946-1949, was also characterised by **joint control** exercised by the Provincial Governments and the Union Department of Education, Arts and Science (SA[U] 1951:33).

After the coming into power of the *Herenigde Party* (later to become the National Party in 1951 [cf 3.2.2.2[c]) in 1948 under Dr DF Malan, a **Commission on Native Education** was set up in 1949 under the chairmanship of Dr WWM Eiselen (Lewis 1992:51). According to Behr (1988:33) "[t]he Commission...began with the premise that a distinction should be drawn between White and Black education." The Report of the Eiselen Commission appeared in 1951 (UG 53/1951) and was discussed at length in Parliament. The report's main recommendations were taken up in the **Bantu[18] Education Act**, 1953 (UG 47/1953). **Findings** by the Commission included: that the education programme for Black people was not part of the socio-economic development programme; there was no active participation of Blacks in the control of education; inadequate inspection and supervision of schools; short school life of pupils; schooling was too academic; teachers were not involved in the broader planning of general development schemes (Behr 1988:33), and denominational rivalry. It also found that "[s]chool control by religious bodies has created a multiplicity of administrative units of very unequal size an efficiency, and with. widely different conceptions as to the aims and practices of education" (SA[U] 1951:112).

Behr (1988:34-35) lists certain **recommendations** made by the Commission:

■   The control of Black education should be vested in a **separate** Government department and not be run by provincial administration; and

■   That a measure of **decentralisation** had to be brought about with the establishment of six regional divisions (each with its own director and staff of administrative and professional assistants). This division would ensure that "homogenous population elements were grouped together" (Behr 1988:35).

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[18] It must be noted that the word "Bantu" was commonly used in that period of time and was only eliminated from all official documents in 1978 (Act 102 of 1978, sections 17[1]-[3]). Thereafter the word "Black" was used (Behr 1988:33).

In September 1953 the **Bantu Education Act** (UG 47/1953) was passed and promulgated on 1 January 1954 (Hartshorne 1992[b]:36). This Act was broadly based on the report of the Eiselen Commission (Behr 1988:181). Administration and control of Black education passed from provincial administration in Natal, Transvaal, Orange Free State and the Cape Province, and from mission churches, to a separate **Bantu Education Section** in the **Department of Native Affairs** of the Central Government (SA[U] 1955:24; Hartshorne 1992[b]:36; Mncwabe 1993:4).

3.4   IN SUMMARISING

In an attempt to provide a perspective regarding the mission endeavour and perceptions surrounding it, it was necessary to focus on the reason why missionaries did what they did within **historical** context. This implies situating the phenomenon of mission education within the realms of **time** and **space**. The relevant *Zeitgeist* and historical development was delineated. This entailed the highlighting and explaining of certain prevalent philosophical and theological trends of the periods under discussion as well as certain prevalent socio-political events taking into consideration the **metabletical** dimension thereof.

The need to expound on the Christian mission endeavour in its world-wide **context** and specifically South Africa was necessary in order to put the research into perspective so that a better **understanding** can be obtained. Missionaries operated within and between two distinctively identifiable **paradigms**, namely the modern and post-modern eras which had a profound influence on their interpretation of their world, and the subsequent **education** that they provided their converts.

The number of missionary societies in South Africa was to **increase** dramatically during the nineteenth century with missionaries taking a large role in the education of Black South Africans.

A historical focus on the **role of missionaries** highlighted the **metabletical** dimension thereof, especially regarding Black education in that it had shifted from a pure mission endeavour, to a partial provincial and state control followed finally to

complete State control. The latter State control fell into the confines of racial segregation propagated by the ruling National Party.

The following chapter/s will focus on specific **perceptions** surrounding **mission education,** in the light of the theoretical perspectives on perception delineated in Chapter 2.

Chapter 4

PERCEPTIONS REGARDING RACISM

We must not pretend to an objectivity that is really illusionary.
We don't come as a tabula rasa to comment on or describe an
event. We come as we are, with out cultural, ethnic and gender
predispositions, world views and prejudices which determine
what we see

(Archibishop Desmond Tutu, *Sunday Times*, 4 June 1995:24).

4.1   INTRODUCTION AND AIM OF CHAPTER

What was established in Chapters 2 and 3 was the **complex nature** of human perception and contributing factors to this phenomenon the **profound influence** that missionaries and the **significant role** they played in the education of especially Black South Africans. Inevitably the very nature of the perceptual process will lead to **diverse** perceptions surrounding mission education in South Africa.

Since mission education is a **human** act, it is only natural and inevitable (cf Chapter 2) that different people and groups will **perceive** the thoughts and behaviour of those involved in mission education differently. What happened or was said a century ago, can easily be **interpreted** inaccurately today giving rise to an incorrect perception (cf Christie 1991:67; Kritzinger 1988:33). In the light of this problem and reality this chapter **aims** to critically analyse certain popular and prevalent perceptions (past and present) appertaining to mission education. This analysis will continue in the ensuing chapters in order to situate them in a more **balanced** perspective. This will involve the following **general objectives**:

■   **Critical analyses** of various general and specific perceptions held of missionaries and mission education, and the

■   highlighting of **factors** which could have/did influence perceptions.

One such perception involves **racial** attitudes, dispositions and behaviours of missionaries towards the Black population in South Africa (cf Chanaiwa 1980:11; Saayman 1990:28-30; Mandela 1994:52; Bam 1997). **Specific objectives** thus ensuing from the general objectives will be to:

■   touch on the **diverse perceptions** surrounding racism and racialism;

■   discuss the historical development of the scientific racism (cf 4.3), racial attitudes and behaviour in **universal** terms;

■   discuss the historical development of scientific racism, racial attitudes and behaviour appertaining to **South Africa**;

■   critically analyse the **role** of missionaries, and

■ assess the implications of racism on **mission education**, and the implications thereof in the light of the **metabletical** perspective.

4.2 PERCEPTIONS REGARDING RACISM AND RACIAL ATTITUDES

Racial attitudes, behaviour and dispositions of missionaries have been/are often referred to by politicians and academics in various **media**.

Chanaiwa (1980:11) in his chapter entitled "African Humanism in Southern Africa: The Utopian, Traditionalist, and Colonialist Worlds of Mission Educated Elites" refers to mission educated elites as "internaliz[ing] the nineteenth-century European missionaries' pseudoscientific *racism* (italics mine)", thus implying that missionaries clung to and propogated quasi-scientific **racial** theories which were subsequently internalised by mission-educated students (mostly Black students), while Brigalia Bam, the then General Secretary of the South African Council of Churches (Bam 1997) in the enlightening television programme entitled "God bless Africa", dealing with the role played by missionaries in South Africa, avers emphatically that her perception of missionaries, due to her grandfather's (he was a Moravian pastor) own experiences, were that they were **racists**. Phyllis Ntantala (1992:ix,60,122), wife and mother of eminent Black South African men – the pioneering scholar, AC Jordan, and the ANC activist and intellectual, Pallo Jordan, refers in the preface of her autobiography, *A Life's Mosaic*, to the blatant **racism** present at Healdtown Mission Station, where she went to school during her adolescent years, as well as at the University of Fort Hare where her husband, AC Jordan, was to take up an academic position.

On the other hand, Nelson Mandela (1994:52), referring to his own experiences in missionary institutions in his autobiography entitled *Long walk to freedom*, in a way juxtaposes above-mentioned perceptions, by stating that "[t]he learning environment of the missionary schools, while often morally rigid, was far more open than the *racist* principles underlying government schools (italics mine)." Although this statement may give the reader the impression that mission education in Mandela's time was not **racist**, the phrase "far more open" does not deny the possibility of racism.

The missiologist, Willem Saayman (1990:28-30) also gives a more balanced perspective by remarking that, instead of transforming societies perceptions' of **racism**, missionaries tended to rather conform to prevalent thinking and behaviour. Later on, however, Saayman (1990:28-30) does note that "this is not the full picture" and refers to examples of Black positively perceiving the role of missionaries as that of providing enlightenment and freedom.

Before attempting to analyse the above objectives (general and specific), it is necessary to **define** the term **racism** and identify the ways in which it **manifests** itself.

4.2.1 Definition and manifestations

4.2.1.1 Defining the term "racism"

To define an acceptable and usable definition of the term "racism" and cognate concepts, is difficult, since this phenomena is subject to various **interpretations**. Not only is there general disagreement (cf Banton 1987[a]; Banton 1987[b]; Miles 1989; Dubow 1995) in the defining of the term, but usage in popular parlance aggravates this endeavour.

The concept "racism", according to Miles (1989:42) firstly made its appearance in the English language only in the 1930's as a result of suspicions concerning the **scientific** grounding of the notion of race. Secondly, it was coined in reaction to, and in rejection of, the rise of **Fascism** in Germany. Prior to the 1930's the term "race hatred" was generally used. After this period the term acquired the label as that of **political** abuse.

Already one realises the controversial settings within which the concept originated and one has to agree with Hall (in Miles 1989:82), when he maintains that one has to look at the concept in its historical occurrences: "Empirically, there have been many significantly different racisms – each historically specific and articulated in a different way with the societies in which they appear." This observation of Hall acknowledges the **changing** nature of the concept due to different historical epochs.

The **general** definition found in a popular dictionaries of the noun "racism" is the belief that human beings can be divided into **separate** races and that some races are inherently **inferior** to other races (usually this attitude also involves the belief that one's own race is inherently superior to other races) thus resulting in discriminatory practices or behaviour (Dube 1985:88; *Reader's Digest Universal Dictionary* 1987, sv "racism"). "Racialism" refers more to the **practice** of racism, as opposed to the doctrine thereof (Dutch Reformed Church in Africa sa:6).

4.2.1.2 Manifestations of racism

An analysis of literature (Dube 1985:88-89; Van Dijk 1993; Dubow 1995:1-19) suggests that racism displays itself in three ways, namely **overtly, covertly** and **reactively** (Dube 1985:88-89). The first two types are referred to directly or indirectly in the literature, while the third is very seldom acknowledged or discussed in the literature.

■   Racist and racial attitudes and behaviour that are openly practised and unconcealed are referred to as **overt** racism.

■   **Covert** racism refers to an elusive form of bigotry which is not easily perceived, thus in many instances escaping the racism label.

■   **Reactive** racism is that type of bigotry displayed by people or groups who have been, or still are the victims of racism, thus now themselves demonstrating racist and racial thinking and behaviour, in reaction to that which is/has been practised on them. In essence, these people are themselves guilty of racist attitudes and behaviour since they make use of the same restrictive strategies as those who practised racism against them.

In the light of the aforementioned sections, it is necessary to critically analyse various perceptions surrounding mission education, not only on account of who made them, but also, and more importantly, because of their historical **context**. Miles (1989:4) accentuates the reason for this: "[E]xpressions of racism have not occurred in a vacuum." This implies a **contextual** analysis of various factors which could have influenced perceivers' perception of the situation.   One cannot understand

perceptions surrounding racial attitudes without understanding the **development** and **manifestation** of theories of race, racial **difference** and racial **attitudes** within a particular historical **context** (cf Crijns 1959:2-3). These contexts will be portrayed **nationally** and **internationally** below. Thereafter the effect that the manifestation and influence of these racial theories had on **education**, especially mission education in South Africa, will be critically analysed.

4.3   INTERNATIONAL DISCOURSE ON RACE AND RACISM

The **study** of race and racial attitudes and dispositions is a relatively recent phenomenon, (Milner 1975:10) due to the emergence of the **Social Sciences** field of study. International discourse will be outlined prior to the Enlightenment **(pre-modern)** period, as well as during the Enlightenment **(modern)** and then during the **post-modern** period.

4.3.1 Pre-modern racial theories

During the early **Graeco-Roman** culture, the predominant idea was the notion of the **unity** of the human species, with phenotypical (human physical appearance) and cultural differences in humans, being **attributed** to climatic, topographical and hydrographical conditions (Miles 1989:14-15).

During the **Medieval** times, the dominant view was that everything in the world was the work of the **Creator** with the doctrine of **monogenesis** prevailing: All humans descended from a single original pair – Adam and Eve (Banton 1987[b]:1; Miles 1989:16). Differences were **attributed** to, amongst other things, God's **wrath** (Miles 1989:16), **environmental** and **migratory** factors (Banton 1987[b]:1).

It was only during the sixteenth century that the term "race" emerged (Huxley & Haddon 1935:18; Miles 1989:31), and it was predominantly used to explain European **history** and **nation** development (Miles 1989:31; Banton 1987[a]:45; Banton 1987[b]:2). The concept thus denoted **lineage** – descendants of a single person or couple (Huxley & Haddon 1935:18-19; Dutch Reformed Church in Africa sa:3).

It was only during the seventeenth century that racial **theorising** became evident in Europe and it was certainly not widespread. This theorising was aimed at seeking to explain the **political ascendency** of European races by their superiority according to certain mental and physical criteria. **Count Henri de Boulainvilliers** (1658-1722) was a proponent of this view in which he eulogised the Germanic race (Barzun 1965:18).

Environmentalist arguments, under the influence of academics such as **Samuel Stanhope Smith**, according to Miles (1989:29), predominated seventeenth and eighteenth century thought regarding differences between human. Phenotypical and cultural characteristics were the result of **climate**, state of **society** and **living** customs. Environmentalist arguments implied that characteristics **attributed** to Black people were subject to "modification". Strategies to "civilise" the "savage" and "heathen" African included, amongst others, **missionary** work (Miles 1989:29) and the subsequent **education** provided by missionaries.

Although these explanations were to prevail into the period of Enlightenment (and even beyond), a **change** in its meaning was to occur later, due to the development of modern science.

4.3.2 Pre-modern racial attitudes

Study of racial attitudes and dispositions during the pre-modern era is difficult because of **distance** as well as **lack** of scientific research performed on this topic. There does, however, seem to be reasonable **consensus** amongst present-day theorists regarding racial attitudes during that period, as well as the outcome of these attitudes. These reflect diverse contributory **factors** which include historical, social, psychological, religious and economic reasons (cf Crijns 1959:5).

Milner (1975:9) theorises that "[p]rejudiced attitudes about human groups have almost existed since numbers of people first distinguished themselves from one another." More importantly Milner (1975:10) offers a reason for these prejudicial thoughts and actions so that people can "rationalize an exploitative social arrangement" (cf Dutch Reformed Church in Africa sa:54) thus implying, amongst

others, **economic** reasons of competition and exploitation – an explanation commonly found amongst **Revisionist** scholars (cf Van Arkel 1982:15) and not **attributed** to skin colour. This argument is not isolated to Revisionists and is even reflected in the works of **Aristotle** (Milner 1975:9-10; Davies 1988:3-4; Lubbe 1989:417).

Although **Graeco-Roman** culture made use of **colour** symbolism and **imagery**, neither negative **stereotypes** (cf 2.5.3), nor the endeavour to constitute a legitimation of slavery were imposed on Africans (whom the Graeco-Romans came into contact with during, warfare) due to them having a black skin (Davies 1988:4-5; Miles 1989:14-15; Bosch 1991:227). Colour symbolism was, however was later expanded and modified by other writers and passed into subsequent medieval European literary tradition (Miles 1989:15). The most significant modification being the attribution of **religious** meanings to these representations. Physical differences (eg skin colour) were, during the **Middle Ages**, interpreted by Western cultures, as a sign of punishment by God – the descendants of **Ham** (cf 4.2.2.2[a]) were punished with a dark skin. This interpretation contributed to **mythological** and **stereotypical** (cf 2.5.3) images, and were reflected in **literature** (cf Milner 1975:10-11; Davies 1988:5-6). **Psychologically** these myths became useful tools of perception in later generations, thus helping to create forms of knowledge and cognitive styles thus influencing perceptual schemata. Many of these perceptions persisted well into the Middle Ages and even into the twentieth century (cf 4.2.2.2[a] "Hamitic myth") reflecting a tendency to "*change* its content if not its nomenclature through time" (italics mine)(Sanders 1969:521). These perceptions were a handy tool for people to rationalise **economic** and **political** situations and subjugation, and were not even in conflict with prevailing Christian cosmology (Sanders 1969:521-523).

With the age of **discovery** and subsequent expansion of European fields of interest, newly discovered dark people were to be seen in this context (Milner 1975:12; Davies 1988:9; Miles 1989:16; Bosch 1991:227). These views were extended to and confirmed by, the Black peoples' "pagan" religion, their geographical proximity to the most human-like animals (apes), their libido as well as their "savage" behaviour (Milner 1975:12; Lubbe 1989:419-420).

The emergence and subsequent abundance of the **printed** word as a commodity, increased the prevalence of these perceptions. Although some of these representations were not negative (cf Carruthers & Heydenrych 1989:171; Lubbe 1989:419), the majority were of a **derogatory** nature (cf Hakluyt 1904:387-391). The general view held by Europeans was that they were **superior** by virtue of their achievements and culture (Miles 1989:20-21,24; Lubbe 1989:419).

Colonisation also contributed to and led to negative perceptions of colonised populations. "The European classes involved in this process (re)constructed representations of these populations, both to legitimize their actions and in response to their experience of those populations" (Miles 1989:25) – for example, legitimation of slavery as well as economic and political exploitation (cf Chapter 5). These colonisers also carried with them certain **preconceived** ideas (real and imaginary) of what and whom they might meet (Miles 1989:20), based on their perceptual schemata which invariably influenced their thinking and behaviour towards the colonised population. The colonial situation had a profound effect on race relations due to its accompanying notions of racial **superiority** (cf also Chapter 5 & *The New Encyclopaedia Britannica: Macropaedia* 1986, sv "Social Differentiation").

That the racial **theories** of pre-Enlightenment thinkers had an influence on the European population goes without saying. Barzun (1965:18-19) notes the influence that Boulainvilliers' writings on Germanic or Frankish superiority had on the French and even English population (due to his historical ideas, as well as his connections with the Freemasonry Movement). Cognisance should be taken of the fact that these theories were subjected to diverse interpretations, in order to justify and bolster a certain attitude or disposition.

Coterminous with the slave and colonialisation period, was the infancy of scientific thought about varieties or types of humans (Milner 1975:14). This intellectual curiosity was to manifest itself during the **Enlightenment** (cf 3.2.3.1). For the sake of clarity, the Enlightenment will be divided into an **early** (roughly up until the 1800's) and a **later** period.

4.3.3 Early Enlightenment racial theories

During the Enlightenment it was necessary to explain phenomena in **rational** terms (cf 3.2.3.1[a]). With regard to an explanation of racial differences, rationalism "demanded new universal definitions of man's place in nature as well as his position in God's universe" (Dubow 1995:25). Very often these theories were in direct **conflict** with prevalent theological thought of **monogenesis**. However, to many this monogenistic approach was a **rigid** view of the universe (Davies 1988:11), and with the emergence of natural history – as a distinctive field and body of knowledge – this assumption was to be **challenged** (Miles 1989:32; Dubow 1995:25).

Intellectual **curiosity** aroused by the European's first prolonged contact with the apparently different variety of humans, whom they had found on the African continent (Milner 1975:14; Miles 1989:31), also led to racial theorising.

It was as a result of a **critical approach** – the questioning of the monogenetic doctrine – that naturalists started classifying phenomena. Initially, according to Banton (1987[a]:45) naturalists were primarily concerned with the classification of plants, but believed that these principles could be applied to all living things (human beings included). The philosophies of the Enlightenment provided the "kickstart" to these developments (cf Chapter 3). The idea of race was beginning to **change**, now referring to a biological **type** or **variety** of human being (Miles 1989:32; cf Banton 1987[a]:45; Banton 1987[b]:168) as opposed to **lineage**. Science now not only sought to demonstrate the number and characteristics of each so-called race, but also the **hierarchical** relationship and difference between them (Miles 1989:32).

It was due to the efforts of the Swedish classifier, Carol Linné (better known as **Linnaeus** [1707-1778]) (Huxley & Haddon 1935:41) that a classification system – for all plant and animal life, including man – was published in his 1735 edition of *Systema Naturae* (Milner 1975:14). In his descriptions of these varieties, Linnaeus included both **cultural**, **character** and **physical** characteristics in his description of the human, for example Africans were seen as crafty, lazy and careless and they were governed by "the arbitrary will of his masters" as opposed to Europeans who were

seen as ingenious, inventive and "governed by law" (Barzun 1965:45; Poliakov 1974:45,161). This view, according to De Kock (1996[b]:39), was common in this historical period. Of importance is the fact that Linnaeus' human classification was a **small** part of his work, and that this classification was not arranged **hierarchically** (Milner 1975:14; Banton 1987[a]:46).

Also during this period, the Frenchman **Count de Buffon** (1707-88) and the philosopher, **Immanuel Kant** (1724-1804) and **Johann-Friedrich Blumenbach** (1752-1840) theorised on human variation. However, it must be realised that Linnaeus, de Buffon, Kant and Blumenbach, never doubted the **unity** of the species. Human variety, according to Buffon, arose from differences in **climate, food,** mode of **living,** as well as from **intermixture** (Banton 1987[a]:46-47; Banton 1987[b]:5). Blumenbach maintained that differences of degree arising from **degeneration** (which in this case means generation modification when one generation succeeds another) accelerated due to **changing climate** and the **domestication** of a species (Banton 1987[a]:47). By this time the proliferation of racial types was already well in progress (Dubow 1995:26).

As Banton (1987[a]:47) argues that, to view the classifications of the aforementioned eighteenth century writers as **racial classifications,** would be to view them from a later generation's perspective **(telescoping/presentism).** The reason for this is that "[t]hese authors inhabited a mental world suffused with religious concerns. They sought to know God through nature and they were constrained in their speculations by the power of organised religion." Greene (in Banton 1987[a]:47), observes that the predominant number of eighteenth-century writers were more concerned to explain the **origins** of races than the classification thereof. These writers relied heavily upon travellers' tales for their information about peoples outside Europe (for example Kant never left the city of Königsberg). A full understanding of the nature of difference within *homo sapiens* was lacking firstly, as a result of qualms about the **definition** of species and secondly, the absence of any **explanation** as to how *homo* could have separated over such a short time (Banton 1987[a]:47). Three kinds of responses were evident to explain the reasons for the other races. This was due to:

■   a result of the **divine intervention**, blackness was a curse or punishment upon
     the descendants of Ham;

■   secondly, **environmental influences** gave rise to variations which were then
     inherited, and thirdly

■   variations had been part of the Creator's **original intention** to be there all along.

Banton (1987[a]:48-49) points out that the latter view was to gain increasing support
- both in science and popular opinion - during the nineteenth-century.

4.3.4 Racial attitudes during the early Enlightenment

Conclusions regarding racial attitudes and dispositions during this period, tend to
reveal an **ambivalence** largely dependent on writers' point of departure. Banton
(1987[a]:49) explains that in the production of theoretical explanations of physical
and cultural difference, "authors may have been influenced by the assumptions about
human variation which they shared with other members of their societies, who were
not engaged in scientific enquiries." An example hereof is that of **WF Edwards**,
founder of the *Société Ethnographique* in Paris, who in 1829 wrote about racial
temperaments that could affect the lives of nations. Edwards came to his views by
reading Sir Walter Scott, as well as two French historians, namely Augustin and his
younger brother, Amédée Thierry (Barzun 1965:28; Banton 1987[a]:49). These
theories in turn may have reinforced the **postulations** of the era (Banton 1987[a]:49).

Although there was a theory of African **inferiority** prevailing at the time in England
(reconstructed piecemeal from the writings of relatively obscure authors), it was not
to be (cf Banton (1987[a]:50) found in the works of the intellectuals. Although
theories of racial inequality were spurred on by the obvious **tensions** and conflicts of
interest inherent in **slavery**, the historian, GM Frederickson (in Banton 1987[a]:50)
observes that although, prior to, the 1830's, Black subordination was common in the
United States of America, and White people commonly assumed the inferiority of
Black people, open declarations of **permanent inferiority** were extremely infrequent.
This view, however, is not shared by De Kock (1996[b]:39), who rather opts to

theorise that European intellectuals did suggest African **inferiority** (eg Voltaire and Rousseau), as well as the prevalent "Great Chain of Being" - belief of racial and cultural **superiority**, placing Europeans at the top of the ladder and Blacks lower down.

Sanders (1969:524) does note that although the **Hamitic myth** (cf 4.2.2.2[a]) was on the decline during this period (only to be revived later), some contemporary writers according to her note that "the image of the Negro deteriorated in direct proportion to his value as a commodity, and the proudly rational and scientific white man was impatient to find some definitive proof for the exclusion of the Negro from the family of man and for ultimate denial of common ancestry", thus implying **inferiority**. Milner (1975:16) agrees with this latter observation and does state that "the common thread that runs through nearly all racial theory of this time (eighteenth and nineteenth centuries) is the fundamental assumption of the current inferiority of black people", and goes on to give isolated examples of **overt** racism by the eighteenth century British racial theorist, **Edward Long** (cf De Kock 1996[b]:39). However, Banton (1987[a]:50) asserts that although "Long's views are said to demonstrate the existence and appeal of racism in the England of the 1770's, but by the same token his failure to win support for them demonstrates the reverse." Furthermore, it was Long's condemnations of the slavery system in the West Indies that were instrumental, rather than his views on race, and that his views were used more so by **abolitionists**, than by pro-slavery writers.

Given these theoretical debates, racial theories were to gain increased **momentum** and attitudes and behaviour would **change** during the nineteenth century, which is herewith categorised as the later Enlightenment.

4.3.5 Later Enlightenment racial theories

The nineteenth century saw an **upsurge** in racial theorising on the continents of Europe and North America (cf Milner 1975; Banton 1987[a]; Banton 1987[b]; Miles 1989; Dubow 1995), especially in the third decade (cf Barzun 1965:43). This

theorising was to have a marked effect on peoples' **perceptions** of other races, since they seemed to bolster and support attitudes of European **superiority** (cf 4.2.2.5).

Race in terms of **type** was to gain increasing momentum in racial discourse, especially as a result of the work of, amongst others, the French comparative anatomist, **Baron George Cuvier** (Banton 1987[a]:51-53; Dubow 1995:26). Cuvier and others developed **typological** theories which, according to Dubow (1995:26) "w[ere] based on arbitrary ideal categories which privileged difference and diversity over similarity and convergence". Dubow (1995:26-27) makes use of Banton's (1987[b]:28,38) **definition** of typological theory:

> The idea that variations in the constitution and behaviour of individuals reflect differences between underlying types which remain relatively permanent; the view that social categories can be broadly correlated with natural categories; and the belief that an innate antagonism exists between individuals of one type and those of another.

During the second half of the nineteenth century, the concept of race as **type** was strengthened by the institutionalisation of **physical anthropology.** To Ashley (1982:52) the 1850's and 1860's "produced a number of writings on racial differences, and there was renewed interest in brain sizes, facial angles and brain convolutions" (cf Gibbes 1851:597; Barzun 1965:51,68; Poliakov 1974:206; Banton 1987[b]:54,74; Dubow 1995:28-30) so as to show the **superiority** of Europeans. Later research by the anthropologist Franz Boas in the early twentieth century helped to wear away the scientific appeal of craniometric arguments and of racial determinism (Dubow 1995:30; cf *The New Encyclopaedia Britannica: Micropaedia* 1986, sv "racism") with many craniometrists now beginning to move away from relying exclusively on physical anthropology, to an emphasis on intelligence **testing,** since this offered "a more `direct' path to the same invalid goal of ranking groups by mental worth" (Gould in Dubow 1995:31).

The reshaping of theories to suit a specific need ("**theoretical plasticity**") was evident when theorising on the attainment of **civilisation.** During the eighteenth century it was theorised that the capacity or achievement of civilisation was attainable and

achievable by all human beings. This theory was to be challenged in the latter nineteenth century by the scientific idea that the human species was divided into permanent and discrete biological **groupings**. The result was that "savagery" (De Kock [1996[b]:39] rather notes that Blacks were perceived as "barbarians") became a **permanent condition** of the small-brained "Negroid" race, while civilisation became an attribute of the large-brained "Caucasian" peoples (Miles 1989:33). It was in this light that the prevalent paternalistic attitude of "**civilising mission**" was to find "**scientific**" justification (cf Sanders 1969:528-529). In the words of Barzun (1965:33) "[p]olitics and race-theories seemed natural, not to say necessary, allies."

With theories of **evolution** coming stronger to the fore in the latter half of the nineteenth century, whereby the past theories of racial difference were to be questioned, racial theorists were to show their "theoretical plasticity" in adapting their theories to suit new scientific evidence, thus influencing **perceptual schemata**. Up until the 1850's, two views of human diversity were in contention, namely race as lineage and race as type. Whereas the ethnological approach (race as lineage) offered theories of **change** (eg monogenism, environmentalism), the anthropological approach (race as type) offered a theory of continuity (eg polygenisism and natural catastrophe) (Barzun 1965:47,115-116; Banton 1987[b]:65). The theories and achievements of **Charles Darwin**[1] (1809-1892) (cf Banton (1987[b]:65) "w[ere] to subsume these two theories within a new synthesis which explained both change and continuity." To Ashley (1982:51) "Darwin offered an explanation for the nature of things in terms of different species locked in dynamic struggle for survival."

The theory of evolution questioned, in principle, the validity of fixed and permanent biological species, however, **Social Darwinism** saw to it that race could be ranked on an evolutionary scale, thus seeing to it that the idea of "race" was retained especially within the political context (Van Niekerk 1992:98). Social Darwinism maintained that

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[1] Darwin was not the first person to theorise around the process of evolution. Its origins can be traced back to the writings of the French political philosopher, Montesquieu of 1721. Other theorists included Jean-Baptiste Lamarck and Erasmus Darwin (Charles' grandfather). The first person, however, to accept the concept of evolution and use the word in a modern sense (earlier the word was used to denote embryonic development), was Etienne Geoffroy-Saint-Hilaire in 1831 (*The New Encyclopaedia Britannica: Macropaedia*: 1986, sv "evolution, the theory of"; Poliakov 1971:215).

there was a "fight for the fittest" amongst the different human "races" whereby those with the least intelligence and capacity for civilisation would eventually disappear. The theories of Darwin and other evolutionists, thus **did not** deter further racial theorising with racial typologists still continuing with their racial practices (Miles 1989:36-37). To most people, the "least intelligent" and those with the "least capacity for civilisation" referred to the American Negroes and Africans.

The effects of Social Darwinism was to be felt in several theories, one being that of **Francis Galton** (1822-1911), Darwin's cousin, in his **eugenics**[2] theories (Poliakov 1974:291-292) and subsequent eugenic movement.

The principle of evolution, namely **natural selection** was also used also by **Karl Marx** as a "scientific" justification for the **class** war (*The New Encyclopaedia Britannica: Macropaedia* 1986, sv "evolution, the theory of"). Attempts were now made to interpret racial relations in terms of the **relations** between classes (Banton 1987[b]:146-169; cf Legassick 1980:49-51).

The term "race, during this period, was also commonly used as a synonym for **nation** (due to Romantic influences). In essence, racially defined nationalism implied that humanity is divided **genetically** into inferior and superior groups and was evident in political **rhetoric** during that period (Van Niekerk 1992:98).

With the emergence of the science of **genetics** during the middle of the twentieth century, attention was now focussed on biological features of the human, which, in a complex interaction with the environment, determined biological **changes** in the human species (*The New Encyclopaedia Britannica: Micropaedia* 1986, sv "race"; Miles 1989:37). In the words of Miles (1989:37): "genetics demonstrated that 'race', as defined by scientists from the late eighteenth century, had no scientifically

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[2] This theory and movement, in essence was "a social programme dedicated to the improvement of racial 'stocks'"(Dubow 1995:120-121; cf Poliakov 1974:291-292; *The New Encyclopaedia Britannica: Macropaedia* 1986, sv "evolution, the theory of") and was primarily concerned to demonstrate the transmission of human abilities, through heredity, and the resulting hierarchy of abilities to be extended to individuals and races (Milner 1975:18).

verifiable referent."   One can theorise that this marked the rise of a **post-modern** (3.2.3.2[a]) era regarding racial theorising whereby "scientific" theories of the modern era were **challenged.** however, racial attitudes and dispositions still prevailed.

4.3.6 Racial attitudes during the later Enlightenment

The nineteenth century was not only the **pinnacle** of scientific racism, but also of colonialism, imperialism, nationalism and slavery. Milner (1975:15-16) affirms that:

> It is ... 'no coincidence' that the period during which white people – through the slave trade, slavery itself, colonialism and imperialism – was the zenith of racist scientific thinking. There *is* a sense in which it was `necessary' for certain ideologies concerning black people to develop among the public at large, in order to reconcile humanitarian religious beliefs with the actual treatment black people were receiving; and the scientific community was not immune from this.

These racial theories were to manifest and sustain themselves in ideologies and thinking and behaviour in a range of ways both during and after their inception.

Theorists such as the Frenchman, **Count Arthur de Gobineau's** views, were to have an influence on politicians and other academics. Although these theories did not receive much attention from his peers, they were to have a profound influence on later racial thinking. Gobineau's belief in the supremacy and superiority of the White people and more specifically of the Nordic-Aryan race, were later used to advocate and strengthen, amongst others, the doctrines of Nazi **National-Socialism** in the years preceding the Second World War (Milner 1975:16-17; *The New Encyclopaedia Britannica: Micropaedia* 1986, sv "racism").

In the United States, theories of **polygenists** bolstered and strengthened "Negro" subordination through their theories of inherent inferiority. This is reflected in an obituary dedicated to the polygenecist SG Morton which appeared in the *Charleston Medical Journal* of 1851. In this obituary Gibbes (1851:597) remarks that "[w]e can only say that we of the South should consider him as one benefactor, for aiding most

materially in giving to the Negro his true position as an inferior race." One of the reasons for Morton's theories being made and accepted, is that "someone fitted facts to a mistaken hypothesis" which, in the end " is often difficult to disentangle fact from fiction" (Banton 1987[b]:67).

However, to **generalise** (cf 2.5.3) that these racial theories found fertile ground in *all* peoples' thinking and behaviour would be incorrect. **Liberals** fighting for the abolition of slavery made use of polygenic and monogenic arguments for its justification or abolition. Although slavery's abolition was ensured (British colonies in 1834, and in the USA in 1861-65), Barzun comments that "the question of inequality survived on a larger scale, as can be seen in Gobineau, owing to the scramble of the New Imperialism for colonies among the *so-called backward peoples* (italics mine)".

Even Darwin's theories, which provided evidence regarding to the principle of common descent (Milner 1975:17; Banton 1987[b]:72), did nothing to counter the domination and suppression of one race (or nation) by another. These ideas found a firm footing in the exponents of **Social Darwinism** (Barzun 1965:47-48; *The New Encyclopaedia Britannica: Macropaedia* 1986. Sv "social differentiation"). As Gosset observes:

> Darwin provided a new rationale within which nearly all the old convictions about race superiority and inferiority could find a place ... [t]he idea of natural selection was translated into a struggle between individual members of a society, between members of classes of a society, between different nations and between different races. This conflict, far from being an evil thing, was nature's indispensable method for producing superior men, superior nations and superior races (in Milner 1975:17-18).

These thoughts found fertile grounding in the **eugenic** movement and was to gain increasing support towards the latter part of the nineteenth century and underlined the evolusionistic principle of natural selection in ensuring good racial "stocks" (cf *The New Encyclopaedia Britannica: Macropaedia*: 1986, sv "evolution, the theory of"; Banton 1987[b]:71; Dubow 1995:121).

However, to assume that these theories profoundly influenced racial relations where White people were in close contact with Blacks would be a dangerous assumption. One can assume that they influenced peoples' perceptions, but as Perraton (in Banton 1987[b]:77) cautiously observes, the **stereotype** (cf 2.5.3) of African inferiority that emerged in Kenya during the period 1880-1914 was "a European creation deriving from *social and political desires* of the white settlers and not from either genuine observations or from European doctrines". One could very easy replace Kenya with South Africa, and come to the conclusion that although racial doctrines and theories permeated South African thought, an important **motive** for racial inferiority was political and social gain by the White settlers.

A factor that had a profound influence on racial attitudes and behaviour, especially due to its impact on the **emotions** (cf 2.4.2.1) of those involved, was that of late nineteenth century **nationalism**. As was previously mentioned (cf 4.3.5), the term "race", during this period of time, had come to refer largely (in political terms) to **social units** and was used to rationalise certain attitudes and behaviour. Nationalistic movements and groupings found the concept of race a handy tool in bolstering their aims of national unity by appealing to nationalistic movements' and groupings' sense of **patriotism** and **racial superiority** (Barzun 1965:133-138). A common perception emanating from this phenomenon was the superiority of the **Anglo-Saxon nations** (cf Van Niekerk 1992:98) bolstered by, amongst others, England's renewed **colonial supremacy** (cf Barzun 1965:133-138). The use of the **media**, as well as **political rhetoric and slogans** contributed to these perceptions becoming accepted as common thought and practise, directed mainly against people of colour (Barzun 1965:134) in an attempt to **change** (cf 2.8) people's perceptions, so as to rationalise and justify superior attitudes and behaviour.

It was only during the early twentieth century that previous racial attitudes and dispositions of innate inferiority, were **questioned** (cf 3.2.3.2[a]). A shift in thinking came about when there was a move away from predeterminism to the possibility that "inferior" races could **change** – that is that Black people were educatable. This tendency was to reflect a **challenge** of modern thinking which was in line with the

post-modern paradigm (cf 3.2.3.2[a]). Several reasons are supplied by Milner (1975:18-24) regarding this **change** in attitude which included:

■ **Anthropological** developments were slowly breaking down perceived ethnocentric ideas of other peoples.

■ **Writings** by both Black persons (eg Booker T Washington) and White persons highlighted the Black persons' predicament.

■ A slowly emerging **Negro movement** was starting to form and demand equal citizenship.

■ The **First World War** saw Black people being recognised as equals (and even superior) on the battlefield.

■ An **exodus** of Black people to the North, due to a wartime demand on labour, resulted in higher wages and less segregation.

■ The development of **Social Psychology,** aimed to understand prejudicial thoughts and discriminatory behaviours.

Although Milner (1975:24) points out that these factors gave impetus to the "Negro question" which became a **nationwide** issue in the USA, one can comfortably theorise and assume that these questions filtered to other countries, including South Africa, leading to a greater racial awareness.

The **Second World War** saw an upsurge in the awareness of the evil of racial prejudice due to the atrocities committed by Nazi Germany. Racial prejudice now moved from being perceived as normal, to that of **abnormal** behaviour. Research in Social Psychology highlighted several **factors** contributing to prejudicial thoughts and discriminatory behaviour within the ambit of the "nature-nurture debate" (cf 2.2.2) (Bogardus 1928:43-45; Pettigrew 1958:29-42; Milner 1975:26,29).

Contemporary literature suggests several theories which explain prejudice and discrimination, containing Pettigrew's **psychological** and **socio-cultural** variables. Deaux and Wrightsman (1984:260-265) suggest several theories which reflect these variables, both in the society and individual, which were observed in the above

discourse, and will be reflected in the ensuing discussion surrounding the racial discourse in South Africa:

- Both **historical** and **economic** reasons have been offered as which contribute to prejudice and discrimination. The historical foundations of **slavery** led to prejudicial attitudes and behaviour, while scholars affiliate to Marxist theories perceive prejudice and discrimination as a means of the strong **exploiting** the economically weak.

- **Socio-cultural** factors such as increased urbanisation, industrialisation, the upward mobility of certain groups, job scarcity and ensuing competition, increased population leading to land scarcity, changes in family roles and functions, are amongst those variables leading to prejudicial and discriminatory behaviour.

- The effects of the **situation** have a profound effect on the prejudicial attitudes and behaviour of individuals and explain why some individuals are more p]rejudiced than others, an example of this is **conformity**.

- The **psychodynamic** strife and maladjustment of individuals is also an important factor when considering prejudicial attitudes and behaviour. The **frustration and deprivation** of some individuals leads to antagonistic stimuli which manifest in scapegoating. Individuals with **defective personalities** and **weak character compositions**, which reflect strong anxieties and instabilities, are prone to prejudicial attitudes and behaviour.

- Some theorists emphasise the **phenomenological** influence of prejudice and discrimination. This emphasis is on the immediate perceptions of an individual and not so much on larger historical causes. As was seen in Chapter 2, the perceptions of a person may be influenced by a myriad of factors causing that person to perceive one person or situation as different from another. Factors that influence such a person's perceptions may be due to past and present experiences, cultural influences, selective focus, and many more.

- Whereas the previous factors emphasised the perceiver as being the root of prejudice, a group's behaviour or characteristics (the perceived) may cause negative feelings to arise. This **earned reputation** theory postulates that

certain groups possess certain characteristics and behave in certain ways that may arouse resentment.

The phenomenon of racism, however, cannot be explained in a **single** causal factor. Causation on the other hand is not only **multiple,** but also **reciprocal** (*The Encyclopaedia Britannica: Macropaedia* 1986, sv "social differentiation").

Given this cursory overview of international racial discourse, it is now necessary to focus on racial discourse in **South Africa** and its influence on education, specifically **mission education.**

4.4   RACIAL DISCOURSE IN SOUTH AFRICA

South Africa, after having being a **colony** (cf 5.4.1) of both Holland and the British Empire for a number of years, reflected both **universal** and **specific** instances of contemporary racial discourse in the course of its three and a half century (Western) history, which manifests itself in a myriad of **different** perceptions and perspectives.

In order to highlight its racial discourse, it is necessary to focus on South Africa's position regarding **scientific racism,** as well the manifestation of these theories and other **factors,** as this contributed to racial prejudice and attitudes. The necessity to discuss all relevant factors, is amplified by the University of Sussex academic, Saul Dubow (1995:ix) who, when initially researching segregation in South Africa was seeking evidence to bolster his initial hypothesis of economic and class exploitation. He realised that he was too **selective** in his research and that the entire phenomenon entailed more than just exploitation (cf Saunders 1988:81-82). This explains the necessity to study the phenomenon from as many perspectives as possible; that is from a **contextual, analytical** point of view.

Emanating from this are the implications that these theories and prejudices had on **missionaries** and **mission education** and the **interpretation** thereof. This latter aspect will not be an in-depth treatise of the subject, as a study of the manifestation of racist attitudes by missionaries implies that they were reflected in education.

4.4.1 Racial theories

Although South Africa did not contribute directly to racial discourse regarding the formulation and development of race **theories** up until the twentieth century,[3] prevalent Western theories did manifest themselves in the racial theorising about the indigenous peoples of South Africa.

Missionaries often contributed to this theorising in **anthropological, ethnological** and **linguistic** studies. According to Dubow (1995:33), this theorising was generally carried out in a **haphazard** manner, and lacked the enduring and established back-up of a local professional academy or university. However, that these theories impacted on missionaries' knowing and cognitive styles is beyond doubt, which invariably meant that the theories were reflected in their **educational** approach.

As early as 1838, missionaries at the Cape theorised and speculated regarding the **origin** of the human being. An example is the first RCC bishop at the Cape, the Irishman **Patrick Raymond Griffith**, who in his diary comments that the **Khoikhoi** "has scarce Intellect [sic] to ascend beyond mere animal life" and that they "are *images* of baboons", while the **San** is "the connecting link between man and beast" (Brain 1988:130,169). Although Welsh (1998:195) perceives these comments as racist, these pronouncements, however, are rightly explained by Brain (1988:130) as pre-**Darwinian** ideas of evolution and were not out of line with prevalent thought at the **time,** as well as the fact that this perception of Griffith was bolstered by observed differences in **culture** (cf 2.6) that is of Western versus traditional. What obviously influenced Griffith's perceptual **schemata** was the fact that he had just arrived in the Cape Colony from Ireland where he was subjected to Enlightened racial theories, as well as prevalent attitudes and dispositions emanating from these theories. These

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[3] International race theorists did however glean information from their experiences in South Africa to bolster their theories. One such person was the typological theorist, Robert Knox. Knox learnt much and developed his theories from his experiences as an army surgeon, with one of the early nineteenth century regiments in South Africa's Eastern Cape (Dubow 1995:27).

preconceived ideas (cf 2.4.3.1 "past experiences") were subsequently used as a **frame of reference** (cf 2.4.3) for his present perceiving (2.4.3.2) of the indigenous people giving rise to his subsequent thinking and behaviour. On his arrival at the Cape, and for the next decade thereafter, very little mission work and subsequent **education**, was given to the indigenous people with the focus being primarily on the White colonists. This education was aimed at breaking down barriers of religious intolerance which were prevalent amongst the White colonists at the Cape at that time (Flanagan 1982:84).

Another theoretical presentation is the stance adopted by the Wesleyan missionary, **William C Holden**, in the book he had published in 1866 entitled, *The Past and Future of the Kaffir Races*. This book was based on twenty-six years **experience** (cf 2.4.3) of having "been placed in the most favourable circumstances for acquiring correct and extensive information on the topics brought under review" (Holden 1866:iv). One such topic being the theorising of Black peoples' origins. As far as Holden was concerned, the *Kaffirs* were the descendants of **Ham** who had migrated, at the time of the Tower of Babel, from "the great centre of human life in the neighbourhood of the Tigris or Euphrates". Holden maintains

> that, whilst the unity of the human race is maintained in all the great essentials of body and soul, the various minor tribal or national distinctions may have been made by that God who found it needful to "spread them abroad upon the face of the whole earth" (Holden 1866:5).

Holden's writings not only reflect a **monogenistic** approach of common human descent, which was prevalent Christian thought at the time, but also his recognition of the existence of **different** races (Vansina 1986:36). One can postulate that these perceptions and theoretical framework of Holden were formed by his **evangelical** background and were in line with prevalent forms of knowledge and cognitive styles in Christian cosmology. Holden (1866:1-5), interestingly enough, is very **speculative** in his thoughts "[c]oncerning the origin of the *Kaffir* races" and uses words and phrases like "whether", "subject of conjecture" "probably" and "supposed" to amplify this speculation. These perceptions of Holden were in vivid **contrast** to scientific theories of later writers, who were influenced by evolutionist and diffusionistic ideas

(Dubow 1995:75). What is evident however, is Holden's firm belief in God's Word as basis for his perceptual schemata, which evidently imbued the **education** that he provided his converts (cf Ashley 1980:29-32). Holden (1866:174-180) did not subscribe to any theories on Black mental inferiority, but did believe in that the civilising of Black people be based upon religious instruction and moral culture, invariably the White persons'. This was to be achieved by the **education** provided at mission schools[4] (Holden 1866:486-505). These thoughts of Holden were prevalent amongst many British missionaries during the nineteenth century whose aim it was to spread Christianity amongst the "heathens"[5] due to the influence of the **Evangelical revival** of that period (cf 3.2.3.1[b]).

Missionaries such as the Anglican **Henry Callaway**[6] (cf 5.5.3.3) were aware of the theories of **Charles Darwin**, but did not subscribe to them initially (1868). The reason for this is that Callaway who "ha[d] not yet read all Darwin's book" got to know more about Darwin "from his friendly expositors and unfriendly opponents than [he did from] him [Darwin] and his exact opinions." This **second-hand knowledge** is reflected in Callaway's initial understanding of the theory of the "survival of the fittest", a phrase coined and adapted from Darwin's theories by the Social Darwinist, Herbert Spencer. Callaway considers this to refer to the strongest of beings, and argues that "[i]t is not the physically strong that can maintain itself best in the struggle for existence. Intellect much more" (Benham 1896:200-201). These citations not only show the **failure** (most probably due to the inaccessibility of resources) of some missionaries to consult original works, when commenting on a theory, but also the failure to understand others correctly. However, later in 1868, after Callaway had read a copy of Darwin's book, he does agree with some theories proposed by Darwin,

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[4]   Ashley (1980:35) remarks that Wesleyan missionaries made use of the Sunday School system – a system used extensively amongst the poor class in England – as a means of Christianising Black people.

[5]   Ashley (1980:29-32) attributes the heathen and degenerative state of Black people to two factors, namely environmental caused by the "initial Fall" as referred to in Genesis, as well as to the corrupt colonial society.

[6]   Callaway went out to Natal in the early 1850's and later was to become the first Bishop of St John's in Kaffraria (Etherington 1982:196). Callaway was not only a missionary but also a trained physician (Benham 1896).

but then observes that "[w]hat is true in Darwin will stand, what is false will pass away", and goes on to re-affirm his belief in **Christian** doctrines:

> [i]t is a most comfortable thing to have faith in God, and to believe that, though there are daily taking place transmutations in human thoughts, yet He is ruling such transmutations, and leading the [human] race onward and ever onward to a greater knowledge of Him and His works (Benham 1896:205-206).

At a later stage (1871) Callaway maintained about Darwin's theories:

> I am reading Darwin's *Descent of man*.... It is but a hypothesis. But the number of physical facts which are brought together in this book will cause thousands to look upon Darwin's hypothesis as a philosophical system, resting on observed facts as a foundation, and proved by them.... To get fully into the subject requires reference to books which I have not by me, and which are not in the Colony (Benham 1896:221).

These references give insight into Callaway's **changing** perception of the theory of evolution over a couple of years, due to his **learning** (2.4.2 & 2.8) experiences. Whereas other missionaries did refute the theory outrightly, the fact that Callaway was a trained doctor, caused him to approach the subject from both a **natural scientific** and **theological** perspective, thus placing this specific theory into a more balanced perspective, instead of outright rejection.

In the light of these observations, one has to agree with Ashley (1980:29-34) who is of the opinion that these early missionaries were **not racist** and that missionaries during this period "were committed to the theory that all men were potentially equal and that the effects of the environment were very important for the existence of uncivilised peoples." Comments that could be perceived by present-day observers as being racially inclined, were in fact reflections of contemporary thought, namely that of **modern** thinking (cf 3.2.3.1).

A former teacher at **Lovedale** (Immelman 1964:2-3; Rose & Tunmer 1975:213; Burchell 1976:60; Saunders 1988:11) who also **theorised** about racial origins, and who was to have a profound influence on South African historiography, even up to the mid-twentieth century, was the **Colonial Historian**[7] George McCall Theal (1837-1919) (cf Theal 1901:9-30; Theal 1909:1-9). As more regarding Theal will be said later on (cf 4.4.2.2) suffice is now to remark (in the words of Saunders [1988:30]) that Theal's **racial perceptions** were as follows:

> Like his contemporaries, Theal believed that mankind was divided into *discrete racial groups*, with rigid, clearly defined boundaries. Races could, then, be discussed in *stereotypical* terms. Biologically determined, races could be ordered *hierarchically* in a 'great chain of being' and classified according to their *position* on a 'ladder of progress', which stretched upwards from savagery through barbarism to civilisation (italics mine).

Saunders' observation of Theal, reveal that Theal's perceptions were shaped by **Victorian** (cf 4.3.4) theories of race, in which good use was made of **Social Darwinistic** language to denote the superiority of the White man, and consequent inferiority of Black people (cf Theal 1901:9-30; Theal 1909:1-9). These perceptions were used by Theal to **stereotype** (cf 2.5.3) Black people inferior to White people in every respect although at times he did admit to **exceptions** to the rule, when his stereotypical imagery was defied. However, this was more the exception than the rule.

Initially, Theal's approach to Black people was not one of **overt** inferiority, but was to later **change** (cf Saunders 1988:20-22) for many reasons (cf 4.4.2.2[c]). This perception is supported by Immelman's (1964:3) research, who notes that for a while after his 25th birthday, Theal wandered around the country, taking an interest in,

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[7]   According to Malan *et al* (1996:vii) the colonial (or settler) school interpreted history predominantly from a settler's (both Dutch and British) point of view. These writers were very critical of the British government, of Africans and consequently of missionaries since they stood in the way of colonial interests. Malan *et al* (1996:vii) remarks that these writers had a good following, well up until the 1950's, influencing especially English-speaking White people's perceptions of past politics and history. Other writers in this category included GE Cory and FR Cana (cf Saunders 1988:9-31).

"becoming thoroughly acquainted with the Xhosas and Fingos, and by questioning their older men, to learn their language as well as something of their traditional lore and earlier history...Theal was known among the Xhosa as a man who took an interest in them and they respected him." Theal even lived amongst the Xhosa for a period of time in 1877 which presented him with a good opportunity to gather information on "the earlier history of the Bantu" (Immelman 1964:3). When this change in attitude on the part of Theal occurred from that of racial "acceptance" to that of an attitude of racial superiority is not clear, however, this biased attitude is reflected in an excerpt written in 1901 in, *Progress of South Africa in the Century*, where on commenting on Lovedale and Healdtown mission schools he notes that "[t]hese institutions have produced not a few Bantu who have proved that *here and there* an individual of this race is capable of attaining a high intellectual position", and goes on to mention certain examples, such as Tengo Jabavu, William Seti and John Knox Bokwe (Theal 1901:468). Theal's perceptual framework also included intellectual **theorising** on the phenomenon of "arrested development" where he believed that Black peoples' intellectual ability was inferior to that of Whites. "Arrested development" and Theal's acceptance of it is discussed at a later stage in this section (cf 4.4.2.2[g] "Dudley Kidd").

It was predominantly in the field of **anthropology**, and especially physical anthropology, that racial theories along **evolutionistic** lines were bolstered and developed, in an attempt to determine and understand South Africa's prehistory. Here the findings and theories of the world-acclaimed University of Witwatersrand scientist **Raymond Dart** (1893-1988) and others, were to have a profound influence on racial thinking, arguing that the finding of the "Taung" skull represented the "missing link" in the evolution of primates to humankind (Dart 1929:309-318). "The search for human origins was closely tied in with assumptions of racial superiority, encouraging direct comparisons between modern man and his evolutionary forebears" (Dubow 1995:114).

The typological (cf 4.3) assumptions of these aforementioned physical anthropologists, were later **challenged** by the emergence of social anthropology by the 1930's thereby reflecting strains of **post-modernistic** questioning of modern

thinking. People were now to be understood in **cultural** terms instead of biological or physiological states. However, the supposition that typological thinking disappeared, is untrue and continued into the 1960's. However, it was due to the emergence of modern **genetics** and the effects of the Second World War, that a rethink and re-interpretation of racial thought amongst many South African theorists emerged (Dubow 1995:53-65,115) thus reflecting a **critique** of modern racial thinking, characteristic of **post-modernism** (cf 3.2.3.2).

Several theories were postulated during the early twentieth century in an attempt to understand and **conceptualise** the native mind. These theories involved investigating the physiological structure and intellectual capacity of the brain, in order to ascertain if there was a **difference** between Black people and White people, and missionaries participated in these theoretical discourses.

Although the examination of physiological differences in the **brain structures** (cf 4.3) of Black people and White people was a popular way in showing racial superiority up until the 1950's, it was seen by many as an "elusive" means of comparison. An alternative means was "sought to evaluate *qualitative* differences in the cognitive and perceptual processes of blacks and whites" (Dubow 1995:202-203). Here the influence of the Sorbonne anthropologist and philosopher, **Lucien Lévy-Bruhl**, is evident in the writings of several missionaries. Lévy-Bruhl's theories stressed qualitative information in order to arrive at conclusions on the intelligence of Blacks, emphasising **collectivity** as opposed to individual observation. Lévy-Bruhl maintained that the difference in culture between Europeans *vis-à-vis* as opposed to Black people, was that of being rational, and causal *vis-à-vis* unscientific, mystical, emotional and prelogical. These theories were to influence the writings of the Swiss missionary anthropologist of the "Tshongas", the **Reverend Henry A Junod**, who in an article entitled "The magic conception of nature amongst the Bantu" notes that "[w]e Europeans of the twentieth century possess what I may call the *scientific spirit*, whilst Bantus are still plunged in the *magic conception of Nature*" (Junod 1920:79). What is interesting is that during his presidential address he admitted from the outset that these perceptions of his were "simply consulted [by] my *experiences* [cf 2.4.3] of thirty years with South African natives" (italics mine). That his **past experiences**

(cf 2.4.3.1) helped mould his **present conceptions** (cf 2.4.3.2) of perceptual and cognitive differences between races, is evident from this phrase quoted, as well as the acknowledgement of **culture** (cf 2.6) playing a role in perceiving reality (cf Junod 1920:77). Junod (1920:84) does, however display what may be perceived by contemporary readers as cultural **chauvinism** when he stated that the practice of divination "is highly detrimental. It paralyses any attempt to use reason or experience in practical life", and that "as long as it is still predominant it is impossible for the European ruler to govern the black race in a satisfactory manner." Also, as Dubow noted, the **theories** of Lucien Lévy-Bruhl, could have influenced these perceptual schemata of Junod's, although he does not explicitly refer to him in the text. Junod (1920:77), in this address, does reflect references to racial **superiority**. This is clear from the following referral to **education**: "The white man has to rule and to *educate* the native population; he must consequently exert a considerable amount of authority over it"; and further his statement to the **Select Committee on Native Education** (Cape of Good Hope 1908, Appendix [N]:xxix) referring to: "Practical hints about the Reform of Native Education":

> The shape of the mind of the natives, their mental, social, linguistic conditions are and likely will remain for a long time very different from those of white people.
>
> It is therefore imperative that they should be trained according to a special code of instruction suiting them better than the ordinary programme of the European schools.

Although these utterances by Junod may be **perceived** by contemporary readers as highly racist showing superior notions, they should be viewed **contextually**, in that these comments were not out of line with many of the perceptual frameworks of missionaries holding **enlightened** (or modern) views. One may again refer to the notion of **causality** referred to by Junod, which was prevalent amongst enlightened Westerners, as opposed to not being present in Black perceptual schemata. However, seen against the more **liberal** stance adopted by many missionaries during this time-frame (cf 3.2.3.2), these utterances can be perceived as racially inclined. What is **ambivalent** is his reference (cf address) to "the treatment of natives, politically speaking, must be fair and as liberal as possible if we want to preserve the peace of the land" (Junod 1920:77). This ambivalence is noted in equating **fair treatment** with

White authority and it presents a problem to the present-day reader who endeavours to reconcile these two opposite notions. However, when one sees this against the background that many White people (missionaries included) saw it as their God-given task to protect the Black people (cf Cotton 1926; Smith 1926) it was in agreement with prevailing thought amongst many missionaries who maintained **modern** thinking and behaviour, reflecting notions of "benevolent colonialism" (cf Chapter 5).

Theorists like the ethnologist **Dudley Kidd**, took a more **psychological** and **cultural** stance in perceiving how the mind of Black South Africans worked. In his book, *The Essential Kaffir* (1904), where, according to him, much of his information that influenced his perceptual schemata was gleaned from **missionaries** (Kidd 1904:vii) his specific perceptions of the "mental characteristics" of Black people included the notion that Black children's ability to absorb knowledge far outstripped their European counterparts,[8] but on reaching puberty, this capacity declined, being surpassed by that of White children due to Black children's' absorption with "nutritive and sensual needs" (Kidd 1904:277-278,280-282). This phenomenon was referred to by Kidd (1908:176) as "**arrested development**" while Jabavu (1929:934) refers to it as mental "stupidity" or "saturation". Kidd's referral was the most commonly used at the time and thereafter. This phenomenon was **attributed** to the early closure of sutures (seams) of the Black child's cranium (skull), thus hindering the development and expansion of the brain. Other theorists attributed the cause to a **school curriculum** which was divorced from the interests and way of life of the Black child (Molema 1920:328). Molema (1920:328) refers to these phenomena and these explanations as a "pseudo-scientific muddle". This idea of arrested development corresponded with the Social Darwinistic idea of "**recapitulation**" which in essence meant that a slowing occurred of the rate of individual development the further one ascended the evolutionary ladder (Klineberg 1935:93).

Although this theory was not universally accepted, it was endorsed and entertained by those whom Dubow (1995:200) considers "authorities" (missionaries also fell in

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8   This notion was also theorised on by the colonial historian, George McCall Theal (Saunders 1988:33), which inevitably led to, and bolstered his stereotypical perception of Black people as being inferior to White people.

this category) such as the Trappist missionary and sometime amateur Africanist scholar (Saunders 1988:105) **Rev AT Bryant**. In an article published in *Eugenics Review*, entitled "Mental Development of the South African Native", Bryant (1917:42-49) bases his perceptions on 33 years of **experience** (cf 2.4.3.1 & 2.4.3.2), or as he puts it, "intimate intercourse" with the Zulus in the mission stations. His argumentation is very **speculative** and although stating at the beginning of the article that he could not "offer any complete and decisive answer to the interesting enquiries", and that environmental factors do play a role in this perceived inferiority, he does conclude by noting the **superiority** of the White child after puberty. Interestingly, Bryant does note that the few Blacks who did receive a university education outside South Africa were on an equal footing with White graduates. However, seeing that these were but a few cases (cf Theal's previous observation) they did not warrant any **change** in Bryant's perception, and were considered by him as "extra-ordinary specimens of their race, exceptions to the rule" (Bryant 1917:49). Although Bryant's perceptions agree with prevalent **modern** forms of knowledge and cognitive styles (cf Chapter 2) surrounding Black intellect, his article does contain strains of **contradiction** that renders his theoretical conclusions doubtful.

Another version of this theory, is that of the observation that at puberty, the slowing down of the intellect coincided with a redirection of their energies into **sexual** avenues. According to the missionary, the **Rev Noel Roberts**, on referring to this phenomena, notes that "[d]uring this time the wave of intellectual progress and development ebbs, and it is followed by an overwhelming wave of sexualism which, in many cases, takes entire possession of their natures to the exclusion of every other desire" (Roberts 1917:99).

What is characteristic of both Bryant's and Roberts' perceptions is their apparent **speculation** on racial superiority, based on their own **personal experiences** (cf 2.4.3) and observations, which obviously influenced their theorising and way of thinking (cf Chapter 2) as practising missionaries and **educators**, as well as their subscription to prevalent scientific racial theories. It can be theorised that these theories and cognitive styles were reflected in the **education** that they provided to the Black people that they taught at their mission schools, since in many instances these thoughts

were prevalent within broader society. However, this does not imply that these theories were prevalent amongst **all** missionaries and their approach to **education**. This aspect is reflected by Dr Neil Macvicar's (a Lovedale medical officer) statement to the 1908 Select Committee on Native Education (Cape of Good Hope 1908, appendix [O]:xxxiii-xxxvi), where he states that his "*experience* does not in any way support the theory...that the Native's mental development is arrested at puberty" (italics mine), neither does it imply that missionaries did not **change** their perceptual schemata when they encountered new knowledge that modified their **perceptions** concerning the type of **education** that Blacks should receive (cf Stewart's [1973:69] perceptions in 1884).

Intelligence **testing** was to become popular in the twentieth century as a means of "provid[ing] *immediate* and *reliable* assessments of intellectual abilities and aptitudes on a comparative basis (italics mine)" between Black people and White people since they were "scientific and objective" (Dubow 1995:209). The use of these tests as a **political tool** proved to be invaluable to many seeking a scientific justification of **segregation** and proof of racial **superiority,** used especially by theorists seeking to justify White dominance over Black races. These theories were refuted by, and argued against, amongst others, the **liberal** psychologist ID MacCrone (1936:92-107), who noted that "by far the greater part of these opinions have little or no scientific value in spite of the fact that not a few of them are sponsored by scientists themselves", and that in order to justify practice with theory "the main function...appears to be to justify that practice [segregation] quite irrespective of whether the theory has any scientific respectability or not." According to MacCrone (1936:92) the belief in racial superiority may be attributed to the **dualism** of body and mind; racial bodily differences imply that there are differences in mental abilities.

4.4.2 Racial attitudes and dispositions

What was said previously (cf 4.2-4.3) regarding racial attitudes and prejudices prior to, during, and after the modern era can easily apply to the South African situation. **Parallels** can be drawn between attitudes and prejudices reflected in Great Britain, the

United States and South Africa on various levels, reflecting similarities and differences. Some general similarities:

■ South Africa, like the United States of America was the result of **colonial** expansion and rule (cf Chapter 5). For a time, both countries were under colonial rule and policies and that theories of race, racial prejudices and attitudes were very likely communicated between these countries. Thus, there was a cultural diffusion (cf 2.6) which in turn strengthened prejudices (cf Lubbe 1989:416-418).

■ Both South Africa and the United States were involved in the promotion (and abolition) of **slavery**. That prejudicial attitudes were the outcome of such an event, took place on account of many reasons. However, one difference between the USA and South Africa, is that in the former case labour supplies were drawn largely from imported slaves and immigrants, while in the latter case labour was drawn from the indigenous people (cf Beinart & Dubow 1995:2).

■ Both the United States and South Africa experienced the **expansion** of their borders (South Africa to the East and the USA to the West). This expansion led to contact with other races, competing for land and economies, as well as self-preservation which invariably led to prejudicial attitudes and behaviour (cf MacCrone 1961:19).

Notwithstanding these general observations, South African society did however, reflect its own **specific** brand of prejudicial attitudes and behaviour as a direct result of the above or due to other reasons.

The University of Zululand educationist, **MP Mncwabe** (1993:8) notes "three fundamental and interlocking factors as contributing to the development of the **ideology** of race in South Africa":

■ the rise of late nineteenth century Afrikaner **Nationalism** in opposition to British imperialism;

■ the reinforcement of the **master-servant** attitude caused by the transfer of the British imperialist ideology (based on the relationship of the mine owners-workers), and

■ twentieth century **industrialisation** which resulted in increased competition for urban jobs between Black people and White people (Mncwabe 1993:8).

While the early twentieth century Black ethnographist and Historian **SM Molema** (1920:260), in his chapter "Black and White in South Africa", sees three general reasons for racial attitudes and behaviour in South Africa:

■ attitudes and behaviours emanating from **slavery**;

■ physical **repugnance**, and

■ **incompatibility** of character and temper, which appear to be greater between Black people and White people than between various members of the White "race".

The **Revisionist Historian** Martin Legassick[9] (1980:52) points out that writers tend to focus on three issues when explaining racial attitudes in South Africa, namely the influences of **slavery, Calvinism** and **frontier conditions**, and they tend to ignore other factors. Although these previously mentioned observations by Mncwabe and Molema are sound and will feature in the forthcoming sections, they cannot be **singled** out as the main factors. While the factors highlighted by Mncwabe focus largely on the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and tend to ignore factors of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, which could have permeated perceptual frameworks, and subsequently influenced prejudicial attitudes and racial behaviour; Molema's are more general incorporating a wider time-frame. Legassick is correct in noting the emphasis which is common by other writers, and rightly states that other contributing factors are very often ignored. Something as **complex** as race relations, has to be dealt with as far as possible as a whole, and all possible **contributing** factors (cf Crijns 1959:5) and perceptions surrounding them should be identified. It is for that reason that all

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[9] The revisionist (Marxist or radical) school of historians interpreted history within the Marxist paradigm in terms of economic forces, specifically within the class struggle between bourgeois capitalists and the proletariat. The historical interpretation contested the mainly political interpretations of liberal and national historians (Malan *et al* 1996:viii).

possible reasons and theories for racial attitudes and behaviour found in the literature, needs to be dealt with; those prior to, during, and after European settlement in South Africa (cf Crijns 1959:2-3).

4.4.2.1   Racial attitudes and behaviour prior to the nineteenth century

Several theories have been developed as to the cause of racial attitudes and behaviour prior to it becoming a scientific field of study. Lubbe (1989:415-438) gives eight specific **attributing** (cf 2.4.4) factors which played a part in creating racial stratification and prejudices at the Cape during the rule of the Dutch up until the nineteenth century:

(a)   Cultural background

An important factor which caused racial stratification and prejudices was the role of European **cultural** background. This cultural background in turn influenced people's knowledge and mind sets (cf 2.6).

A general **perception** (created by, amongst others, voyager tales) held in Europe during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, was that the indigenous population of Southern Africa – the Khoikhoi (Hottentots) – were the lowest of the savage races. Later this perception was extended to the Australian aboriginals (cf 4.3.4 "The Great Chain of Being"). This perception was shaped by .modern Western thinking where Europeans perceived themselves and their culture as superior (3.2.3.1[a]). This perception of the **hierarchical** positioning of the indigenous population, however, was not universally held and perceived as is seen in the views held by the German astronomer, mathematician and ethnologist, Peter Kolb (who lived in the Cape from 1705-1712) (Dubow 1995:21; cf Lubbe 1989:418) and who reasoned **contrary** to this dominant cultural stance.

Eighteenth century European **scientists** also contributed to perceptions of South Africa's indigenous inhabitants, thus influencing the views of those Europeans who came into contact with their expositions. Poliakov (1974:161,167) remarks that

Linnaeus (cf 4.3.3) wrote of the difficulty in persuading oneself of the fact that the European and the Khoikhoi were derived from the same origin, while **Buffon** even (cf 4.3.3) compares the latter to "monkeys" in his writings.

Further perceptions of savagery were portrayed by exhibitions and "scientific analysis" of "live Khoikhoi specimens" in England and France to bolster **racial stereotypes** (cf 2.5.3). In the latter instance, the case in point being that Saartjie Baartman, who was not only "scientifically" analysed by theorists such as Baron Cuviers, Geoffroy St Hilaire and Henri de Blainville, but was also used as an unusual living example of Black female **sexuality**. She was to exhibit the **stereotype** (cf 2.5.3) of Black female sexuality (cf 4.3.2), a perception which, according to Donaldson (1998:29) had been prevalent since the twelfth century. To Donaldson (1998:29): "Baartman not only illustrates the ethnocide and the racism of the colonial era, but how she also unwittingly shaped and defined, in the Western mind at least, the notion of black female sexuality, one that persists to this day." Dubow (1995:24) agrees with this perception of Donaldson and notes that "[s]uch entertainment played an important role in the construction of racial *stereotypes*" (italics mine). However, this kind of behaviour cannot be seen as the **norm** at this time, since these practices were perceived in a negative light, by various "enlightened" Europeans (Lubbe 1989:418).

The influence of **religion**, as a facet of culture, also influenced racial prejudices. Colonists perceived Christianity as the **essence** of European culture and civilisation (Kinghorn 1986:51; Lubbe 1989:420), with both Calvinists and Catholics adopting a **patronising** attitude towards colonial "pagan" and "heathen" inhabitants. Kinghorn (1986[a]:49-50) refers to the influence of the notion *Corpus Christianum* – that one's life is in essence religious by nature, and everything that one does, including politics, is done in the name of Christianity – it also shapes a perception of the "other". As carriers of the Christian faith, Colonialists perceived the "other" as "heathen", which gave rise to **spiritual segregation** (*geestelike segregasie*), which in turn manifested itself in other societal spheres, such as the right to govern and administer non-believers. Slavery during this period was justified on the grounds that Black people were "heathen" who, upon accepting the Christian faith, were emancipated (Crijns 1959:16; Borchardt 1986:71-72); this emancipation was **limited** and not total. This

Christian-heathen dichotomy was questioned by various academics (cf MacCrone 1937; Mason 1954:83) as it was perceived by these authors as a mere **rationalisation** of an already **existing** racial prejudice at the Cape. To Crijns (1959:17) this latter perception has only **limited** (cf 2.5.1 "selective perceptions") truth in that he argues that during the initial stages of the Cape settlement, there was very limited colour consciousness on the part of the White people. Crijns cites two factors which support this claim: Miscegnation was an accepted practice during that period as well as the fact that emancipated slaves were accepted as equals. With regard to the latter, Crijns (1959:19) does however caution that "[t]his social equality was not a dead letter." **Education** during this period was segregated largely along religious lines and not solely along racial and class lines as is portrayed in the writings of various academics, especially **Marxists** (cf Collins 1980:7).

Calvinism was the predominant religion at the Cape during this period (Brown 1959:8-26), due to Dutch colonial influences. Although the role of Calvinism is **perceived** by some (cf Louw-Potgieter & Foster 1991:69) to have contributed largely to the shaping of racial prejudices and attitudes, Lubbe (1989:420-421) and Kinghorn (1990:58) do not agree with this argument, and see Calvinism's influence on racial attitudes as prevalent only later, especially during the twentieth century. Evidence for this is that decisions taken at the Cape synods in 1829 and 1837, show the willingness of the DRC to accommodate people of "colour" (NGK 1961:9-10). A case where Calvinism did take a chauvinistic stance which resulted in indigenous **educands** being negatively influenced, was that where the Moravian missionary, **Georg Schmidt**, was confronted by Church officials, in the mid-eighteenth century, for baptising the Khoikhoi at his mission station at Genadendal. This led to him leaving the Cape, and it also led to the cessation of his **educative** endeavours (cf 3.3.1 & 5.5.2). These confrontations reflect inter-denominational jealousies and cultural chauvinism, and not blatant racial attitudes and behaviour.

(b)   The economic policy of the *VOC*[10]

The *VOC*'s **economic** policy of monopolies and mercantilism, powered by profit making, did little for the plight of the White colonists, let alone that of the indigenous peoples and slaves. This caused negative feelings and attitudes (Lubbe 1989:425), which were reflected in both the colonists and indigenous peoples (Crijns 1959:10-11). The colonial farmers or Freeburghers (*vrye burghers*) saw the *VOC* as imposing feudal measures, as well as, not protecting them from Khoikhoi thefts, while the Khoikhoi saw the farmers as encroaching on their pastoral land.

(c)   Distinctions between status groups

A distinction was drawn between four **status** groups at the Cape. This distinction was drawn by the Dutch legal system and applied by the VOC in its colonial territories:

■   officials;

■   freeburghers (including free Black people);

■   "foreign" or indigenous people (eg the Khoikhoi), and

■   slaves.

Legal status was established not on account of the colour of the person's skin, but on the basis of **individual prosperity**. However, these would soon fade as property and political rights slowly, but surely went to the officials and Freeburghers, while the latter two categories were excluded. **Class** began to concur with race, and "[t]his contributed to a racial disposition in which the land-owning class was to be exclusively white" (Lubbe 1989:426). The legal system also, was **biased** in the interests of the slave owners, and Khoikhoi workers were discriminated against.

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[10] The *Generale Vereenighde Nederlandse G'octtrooijeerde Oostindische Compagnie* (*VOC*) was the name given to a group of Dutch trading companies who united to form one trading monopoly. In 1602 the States General (the Netherlands' highest governing body) granted the VOC the trade monopoly in the East, while on 19 March 1651 the governing body of the *VOC* (the *Heren XVII*) decided to establish a refreshment station at the Cape under the leadership of Jan van Riebeeck (Carruthers & Heydenrych 1989:164-173).

(d)   The employment and immigration policy of the *VOC*

The *VOC*'s **employment and immigration** policy was such that it only appointed White persons as **officials**. The *VOC* also did not favour a policy of a White labour influx. Those who came to South Africa were largely producers and employers. This gave rise to a **White-Black/master-servant** relationship. These policies ensured that the Europeans became the dominant economic and political group (Crijns 1959:13,43; Lubbe 1989:427).

(e)   The *VOC*'s policy towards the Khoikhoi

Whereas, initially, the *VOC*'s policy towards the **Khoikhoi** was such that they were regarded as a "free nation" and not subjugated, this was to **change** due to the company's profiteering attitude which in turn caused economic and property dispossession (cf Crijns 1959:9-10). Furthermore, the introduction of the **indenture** system, downgraded their position so that it differed little from slavery. Their movement was also later restricted, since they had to carry passes (Lubbe 1989:427-428).

(f)   Slavery's institution and maintenance

The institution and maintenance of **slavery** had a profound influence on race relations at the Cape. Slavery helped to convert a class division into a racial one, where colour began to play a role in a person's class or status in society. Slavery also created a slave-owning **mentality** amongst White people, thus increasing their sense of **superiority** (Lubbe 1989:428-429). The notion of superiority later also prevailed regarding indigenous peoples, who were perceived to be **inferior**. Slavery not only led to feelings of **contempt** towards slaves by contemporary and later generations (Molema 1920:260), but also resulted in racial **stereotyping** (cf 2.5.3) giving rise to exaggerated **generalisations** (Lubbe 1989:428-436).

(g)   The lack/absence of pressure groups

A lack and absence of **pressure groups** during the *VOC*'s rule, ensured that racial attitudes and practices were maintained and even advanced (Lubbe 1989:436).

(h)   The expansion of the frontier

The **expansion** of the frontier also had a profound influence on racial attitudes (cf Lubbe 1989:436-437; Crijns 1959:19-23), giving rise to tensions between races (Dutch Reformed Church in Africa sa:54).

Crijns (1959:36) points out that this expansion was a result of social, economic and psychological factors. **Economic competition**, White fears of **Black domination**, as well as White people's own **ethnic exclusivity, exaggerated individualism,** and **religious fervour,** not only sharpened conflict, but also exacerbated racial prejudice (Crijns 1959:21-40; Lubbe 1989:436-437; cf Roberts 1917:89-90).

According to theorists such as MacCrone (1961:22) and De Kiewiet (cf Saunders 1988:92) conditions on the Eastern Cape's frontier played an important and crucial role in shaping present-day racial attitudes. MacCrone (1961:21) refers to this as the **"Frontier Hypothesis",** and rates racial attitudes as central in that which underpinned the frontier society. Notions of group unity and identity, cultural cohesion and the persistence to overcome severe difficulties on the frontier, all contributed to the development of racial attitudes. **Religion** justified this right to dominate the "heathen" Black people with the colour of one's skin becoming the main criterion of group exclusivity. MacCrone's "widely accepted" (cf Legassick 1980:53) and prevalent "Frontier Hypothesis" was to come under attack from academics such as the **Revisionist,** Martin Legassick (1980:55), who argues that one cannot perceive twentieth century racial attitudes as being underlaid by this proposed frontier explanation, and notes that:

> The pattern of racial relationships established in the eighteenth-century Cape
> must be seen in the light of the Cape Colonist as a whole, the form of his

inheritance from Europe, and the exigencies of the situation he had to face. If there was a trend in class relationships, indeed, it was a trend away from master/slave towards chief-subject or patron-client on the frontier (Legassick 1980:55).

Although one should agree with Legassick's argument when he notes the **complexities** of racial theorising, one must also do MacCrone (1961:19-20) justice, since he merely posed this as a "**hypothesis**", and not as a fact. MacCrone also **debunks** this assumption by Legassick that he (MacCrone) **selectively perceived** (cf 2.5.1) the frontier as underpinning later racial attitudes:

> Human beings are too complex and their behaviour too overdetermined...to reduced to a single formula. Hence the frontier hypothesis, employed uncritically, may readily lead to over-simplified explanations, and in that sense may readily lead to over-simplified explanations.

Crijns (1959:37-40) remarks that the eighteenth century saw a gradual **hardening** of the frontiersman's attitudes towards the non-White. This perception is **attributed to**, by **Marxist** scholars such as Maurice (1957:18) and Burns (1948:148), the early development of **capitalism** which in turn resulted in frontiersmen rationalising the inherent inferiority of the non-White. This **perception**, according to Crijns (1959:39), is **selective** (cf 2.5.1) in that it is more applicable to the American situation than to the South African **context**. One reason why this perception is incorrect, is that the South African society at that time, was largely a **pastoral** one, focussing largely on subsistence rather than profit-making. Crijns (1959:39) **attributes** this colour distinction and superiority attitude rather to four other factors instead of one singular (selective) factor:

■   The constant historical **struggle** and resultant extermination, forcing back and vanquishing of the San and Bantu, as well as the total subservience of the Khoi-khoi, led to feelings superiority on the part of the Whites;

■   The servile status and complete subordination of **slaves**, obviously led to feelings of superiority;

■ the Christian/heathen and White/Black dichotomies which were previously prevalent, were to lose momentum during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, due the influence of **mission** work and the subsequent education provided by missionaries. Rationalisation for the superior attitude was thus found in racial terms, and

■ Whereas initially there was an ambivalence with regard to the tolerance of the Khoi-khoi by the frontiersmen, this was to change with contact between the frontiersmen, on the one hand, and the San and the Bantu on the other. Whereas the former contact was slight, the latter was more intense. Ambivalent tolerance progressed to provide **psychological** justification for attitudes of subjection, annihilation and superiority.

Whereas one may **perceive** Crijns' perceptions as just replacing the other **Marxist** arguments for racial attitudes and behaviour during this period, he does not negate their argument, but also notes other factors which could be **attributable** (cf 2.4.4) to these thoughts and behaviour.

4.4.2.2 Racial attitudes during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries

By the beginning of the nineteenth century, a more **stratified** race order was in place at the Cape, according to Lubbe (1989:437). Several theories indicating contributing factors, about the phenomenon of racial prejudice and discrimination, are prevalent in literature during this era. However, to maintain that the previous theorising and factors came to a halt at the beginning of this era, would be **absurd**. Rather these caused racial attitudes and behaviour in the ensuing era. It is also important to note that the **education** of Black people only took off, from this period onwards. The following were also contributing factors:

(a) Philanthropic and humanistic endeavours

One reason postulated for the deterioration in race relations, was the campaign by the **missionaries** of the LMS (Crijns 1959:26) for social equality for the Khoikhoi. This campaign evoked fears of White power loss, as well as a potential labour shortage

(Lubbe 1989:438). Here the efforts of the missionaries **Drs John Philip** and **David Livingstone** were profound, and subject to diverse perceptions. The former missionary will be discussed as an example.

Although ironically called (by early **Liberal**[11] historian WM Macmillan [1885-1974]) "the first and greatest segregationist" (Legassick 1995:44), due to his concerns over the Khoisan (Hottentots and Bushmen[12]), Philip was (Macmillan in Saunders 1988) to champion these peoples' rights. Macmillan's writings were to challenge the prevalent Theal-Cory **colonial** interpretation (cf Theal and Cory later on in this section) and even **perceived** Philip as "a great South African" (Saunders 1988:71) with regard to his attitude towards non-Whites in South Africa. Although some of Macmillan's earlier writings could be seen (Saunders 1988:62-75) (and subsequently misused) as advocating racial superiority (cf Macmillan 1927:289; Macmillan 1929:317), Macmillan was an avid champion for racial equality in a time when such a stance was not the norm. This latter aspect should be viewed **contextually**, in that utterances of this kind, were not common.

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[11]   Liberal historians argued from the premise that everyone had basic fundamental rights, irrespective of colour or creed, which consequently characterised their works as being usually sympathetic towards the indigenous peoples of South Africa. A later group of Liberal Africanists were to appear who emphasised the history of African societies and peoples in their own right (Malan *et al* 1996:viii). Early liberal writers included WM Macmillan and CW de Kiewiet attempted to study South African history from a social point of view and not just politically. Although early Liberals were criticised by especially Revisionists to be paternalistic and short-sighted in their arguments surrounding economic growth and segregation (cf Atmore and Marks 1974:106-107), they should be seen in the era that they lived, since they were very critical of common perceptions of Black inferiority, so they were seen to be "radicals". Such criticism in those days was very rare (Saunders 1988:47-65,98,101,131). The latter Revisionist perception is not shared by Saunders (1988:100; cf De Kiewiet 1937:208,220).

[12]   In a re-assessment of perceptions surrounding John Philip, Andrew Ross, in his book entitled *John Philip (1775-1851): Missions, Race and Politics in South Africa*, sees MacMillan as selectively perceiving certain aspects of documents to support this perception. One reason, according to Ross (1986:94-97) is "[t]he pervasiveness of 'scientific racism' en 'Social Darwinism' in so much of Western thought from the 1870's until well into the twentieth century put great barriers in the way of writers of that era coming to terms with Philip." This line of thinking of Philip was rather seen as an attempt to protect Black people from White subordination. Other twentieth century missionaries such as the Rev WA Cotton also proposed segregation as a means of "protecting" Blacks from White domination so that they could develop politically, economically and culturally (Cotton 1926:1134-133; Smith 1926:6). This protective form of segregation was a common solution of liberals to the "Native problem", such as Saunders (1988:70) succinctly notes, "in practice, segregation would mean repression of blacks."

Several Afrikaner **nationalist**[13] writers tended to view and portray Philip and other missionaries (cf *Die Genootskap van Regte Afrikaners* 1877:75-77) in a negative light in their works, since they ran contrary to Afrikaner nationalistic ideals, and in the words of the **liberal** historian LM Thompson (1963:138):

> Dr Philip and other missionaries are castigated with adjectives and quotations in the traditional manner, without any attempt being made to present the facts fairly and draw valid deductions from them. Their influence is sweepingly labelled as `iniquitous and demoralizing'; they are said to have been provokers of native wars and Anglo-Boer hostility; their reputation is a byword in South Africa.

However, it was not only nationalists that perceived Philip in this negative light, but also **colonial** historians such as George McCall Theal and George Cory (referred to as the **Theal-Cory interpretation**), placed humanitarians in the realm of being a common enemy to the Dutch and British colonists in that they were "misguided humanitarians", who advised the colonial government incorrectly with regard to their policies. Theal also blamed Philip for indirectly contributing to the demise of the San by the Griquas, since due to Philip's influence, the Griquas had settled North of the Orange River (Theal 1904; cf Saunders 1988:25,64-65). This perception was to be challenged by the early **liberal** historians Macmillan and De Kiewiet (Saunders 1988:81). In the preface of his book *The Imperial Factor in South Africa*, De Kiewiet (1939:Preface) goes as far as stating that Colonial historians "[were] already unhappily skilled in the game of make-believe, and versed in the pretense that a dangerous native problem was unrelated to the fortunes of the white population."

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[13] These writers presented an Afrikaner perspective on historiography especially from the beginning of the twentieth century. These writers were sympathetic towards the Afrikaner cause and were antagonistic towards the British and the Black people. More recent works have shifted the focus from political factors to other societal factors as shaping history, however, still from a Eurocentric perspective. Works from this latter group include those of CFJ Muller and FA van Jaarsveld (Malan *et al* 1996:vii-viii).

(b)   Government policies

Government policies and its consequent actions would influence racial attitudes and behaviour in South Africa. Since this had a profound influence on racial **stereotypes** and **prejudice**, reference needs to be made to various events, situations and personalities and the role of missionaries.

With Britain taking over the Cape in 1806, an era of **liberal** conscience and emancipation came about. Although the colonial administration passed legislation leading to civil rights and equality under the law to all persons of colour (cf 5.4.3.1[b] "1828 Proclamation") this in fact did not lead to social integration and economic equality (Joyce 1989, sv "apartheid"). This liberal and emancipatory attitude did not imply that the colonial government did not pursue a policy of separation. The policies of **Collins** and **Somerset** of 1809 and 1819, respectively, envisaged to **separate** Black from White along the Eastern frontier. However, due to the expansive practices of the various groups, these policies failed (Crijns 1959:54).

Although the Constitution of the Cape in 1853 was technically "colour-blind", this was not always the case in later years (Joyce 1989, sv "apartheid"). As from the 1870's, the Cape authorities followed an **extension-of-boundaries** policy which saw the territories of Griqualand West, British Bechuanaland and the Transkei being annexed. Special reserves were created for Black people in the first two areas, while the latter was maintained almost exclusively for Black people (Dutch Reformed Church in Africa sa:54). The Cape in turn gradually raised its franchise qualifications in order to avoid being overwhelmed at the voting polls, seeing that many Black people were now included in the colonial government's administration, so much so, that by 1910 only 15 per cent of the Black and Coloured electorate were on the Cape's common role (Joyce 1989, sv "apartheid").

With the formation of the **Union Of South Africa**, parliament became an all-White institution. Only the Black people in the Cape had the franchise (Shepherd 1971:81-82; Liebenberg 1975[a]:383). Crijns (1959:54) notes that it was the predominantly English-speaking **Labour Party** that in 1912 gave formal expression to the idea of

segregation, as a political doctrine, emphasising the political and economic supremacy of White people in South Africa. These ideas corresponded with the large-scale influx of Black people into the industrial and farming sectors.

This ensuing period was characterised by segregation policies which removed and restricted the rights of Black South Africans. One such act was the **Natives Land Act of 1913**, which personified the recommendations of the 1903-1905 **Native Affairs Commission**, chaired by Sir Godfrey Lagden. This Act not only set aside designated areas as reserves for Black people, but also prohibited Black people from purchasing land outside the defined territories (Shepherd 1971:81-82; Liebenberg 1975[a]:383).

Response to this Act by missionaries and churches varied. As an example of opposition to the Act (cf Shepherd 1971:81-82), the editorial of the Lovedale Mission, the publication *South African Outlook* noted in October 1914 that

> [t]here is no possibility of disguising the fact that a serious wrong has been done. It is of such a nature that its evil effect will not be temporary. The sense of injustice that has been created is not transient. It will deepen and intensify with the passage of time (Wilson & Perrot 1973:279-280).

The **historian**, Liebenberg (1975[a]:382-383) notes that although many people were opposed to the Act, it was not because of the principle of segregation, but due to the **homelessness** that resulted therefrom.

With the coming into power of the **National Party** Government in 1948, a new era in institutionalised segregation dawned. These ensuing government policies led the fifth principal of Lovedale, **RHW Shepherd** (1971:133), to perceptively note that "the early 'fifties saw a deepening of racial tensions in South Africa, which were soon to erupt in storms." [14]

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[14] The influence of the policy and responses by *Apartheid* was dealt with in prior (cf 3.2.3.2[c]) and will be done in latter (4.5.2) sections.

That these policies and their subsequent actions would influence the **education** that missionaries provided for Black people in both the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, is given, due to the fact that education does not function within a vacuum, and would obviously effect the way that missionaries imparted their knowledge, either bolstering or defying prevalent forms of knowledge and cognitive styles.

(c)   The influence of literature

Literature radically influenced white Colonialist perceptions of the non-Whites in the South. Eagleton (in Zotwana 1993:3) explains that

> [l]iterary works are not mysteriously inspired, or explicable simply in terms of
> the authors' psychology. They are forms of *perception*, particular ways of
> seeing the world; and as such they have a relation to that dominant way of
> seeing the world which is the `social mentality' or ideology of the age (italics
> mine).

Since this topic is extensive, and has been researched at length in the past (cf Zotwana 1993), only two types of literary works' influence on race will be focussed on, namely that of colonial writers, and that of comparative linguists.

(i)   Colonial writers

Two writers who influenced historical discourse on race, both during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries was the ethnologist George W Stow (1822-1882) and the **colonial school** historian, George McCall Theal. These writers reflected **Social Darwinist** language and logic in their literature (Saunders 1988:27) – for example, references to "succession", "war of races", "struggle for existence" and "migration" – (cf Stow 1905:viii,36,215; Theal 1909:1-9) in attempts to legitimise English and Dutch expansion during the nineteenth century.

Missionaries also featured in their literature, and were primarily perceived in a negative light, since they were portrayed as running **counter** to colonialist interests. In fact, in his preface, Stow (1905:viii) notes the necessity and difficulty of collecting

information of the indigenous tribes in South Africa, and regarding the information which could have been gleaned from **missionaries**, he avers that

> [t]he greater number of the missionaries who were then residing among them [the indigenous tribes], and who might have collected many of the traditions which are now lost forever, considered the past history of a race of savages as a matter of little moment in comparison with making converts to their own special ideas of salvation, and even when any facts regarding their new *protégés* were recorded by them, they in general gave such a *biased* and *distorted* description as to render their evidence so untrustworthy as to be perfectly valueless in carrying out any impartial philosophical or ethnological inquiry (italics mine).

Striking in this passage, is not only Stow's **antagonism** (cf 2.4.2.1) towards missionaries, but also his use of simplistic **generalisations** (cf 2.5.3), in order to achieve his aim. One can argue that he does not fall into the trap of outright generalisation, yet he does not give examples of where missionaries did contribute greatly to Black ethnology, philosophy and lingual discourse. One cannot doubt that many missionaries were guilty of **biased** and distorted views, but then reference must be made to those who did make a reasonable contribution towards philosophical, lingual and ethnological inquiry (cf Campbell 1815; Holden 1866; Callaway [cf Benham 1896]; Boyce 1838).

Not only should notice be taken of these colonial writers' **antagonism** towards missionaries, but also that these writers were characterised by anti-Black **prejudices** as they perceived them to be in the way of colonial interests. Very often missionaries supported Black interests, and subsequently fell foul of these writers' criticisms. In view of these comments, it is interesting to note that Theal, who built on and formalised Stow's theories, is perceived by Saunders (1988:29) to have "[done] more than anyone else to establish a tradition of strongly pro-capitalist, anti-black historical writing, and to create the racist paradigm which lay at the core of that tradition and which served to justify white rule."

Saunders (1988:20,22) does, however, note that Theal did not always maintain an approach of White supremacy, his initial perception being formed as a result of his interacting with Black people during his earlier days (cf Immelman 1964:3), as well as his work with missionaries and Black people in Lovedale as a teacher – but that this perception was to later **change** (cf 2.8 "change by discovery") in his later writings due to him consulting missionary and archival material, "show[ing] his earlier views to be wrong." This shows Theals' **past** perceptions (cf 2.4.3.1) being shaped by **present** knowledge (cf 2.4.3.2). Saunders (1988:11,22) does not agree with Theal's explanation for his change of perception and attitude towards Black people (and missionaries), but rather sees it as changing in order to satisfy **political propaganda,** in order to see to the unification and reconciliation of the British and the Dutch. This would imply a **change** of perceptions to suit his own **motives** (cf 2.4.2.1).

In essence, Theal proposed a **linear model** of historical development, which advocated that South Africa's first inhabitants were the San, and that they were in turn followed by the migration of the Khoi and Bantu from the North, and all these were overpowered by the Whites moving from the South (Dubow 1995:68,117; cf Theal 1909:1-9). Theal made use of "sketch characteristic summaries" and craniometrical data (Europeans had the largest cephalic index, while the San had the smallest), in order to **portray,** and hierarchically **rank,** South Africa's indigenous inhabitants (cf 4.3.5) (Theal 1910:31-33). Dubow (1995:70) succinctly points out that

> [t]he salience of these descriptions reinforces Theal's determination to *legitimise* white colonialism by showing that settlers moving up from the Cape found wide expanses of empty land until they encountered the southward-migrating Bantu in the eighteenth century. In Social-Darwinist terms the historical sequence of human habitation and conquest serves to reinforce the idea that white *supremacy* is the natural outcome of a logical process where the survival of the fittest is manifestly seen to prevail (italics mine).

This **evolutionistic** style of racial theorising, known as the "**Stow-Theal Theory**", was to be adopted by many at the beginning of the twentieth century. This is evident in the writings of Afrikaner **nationalist** writers such as Gustav Preller (cf Saunders

1988:23-24), **school textbooks** (Dubow 1995:71-74; cf Theal 1909:1-9) and **Government Commissions** (eg the Tomlinson Commission [UG 61/1955]) (SA[U] 1955:10-12). The latter report also constantly refers to the cultural superiority of the White person, both in national and international terms (SA[U] 1955:8-10).

However, to state that this theory was **unanimously** accepted during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, would be **false** and misleading. For example, Stow's lack of establishing a credible hypothesis concerning the origin of the Bantu tribes, was observed by the missionary **WC Holden** in 1866 (Holden 1866:5). Holden's biblical frame of reference **contrasted** sharply with later theorists with evolutionistic and diffusionistic[15] ideas (Dubow 1995:75).

(ii)   Other writers

The writings of comparative **linguists** also had a profound influence on the development of racial attitudes and dispositions.

The works of the German linguist, **Carl Meinhof** (1857-1944), in his search for Bantu racial origins via the study of language, took on a Fascist tone in the 1920's and 1930's, when he saw the Bantu, according to Vansina (1986:38), as "a *Herrenvolk*, united under a genial *Führer* who established a Reich by subjugating the aborigines." That **romanticism** (cf 3.2.3.1[a] & [b]) had an effect on Meinhof's writings is evident, not only in his linguistic approach in order to find the racial origins of the Bantu, but also in **national-socialistic** utterances (cf Kinghorn 1986[a]:63-68). **Afrikaner** students of anthropology such as the son of a Berlin Missionary Society missionary, and later formulator of the *apartheid* governments' Bantu education policy, Dr Werner Eiselen (cf 3.3.2.1 "Eiselen Report"), came into contact with Meinhof, while studying in linguistics and ethnology in Germany during the 1920's (Du Toit 1984:625; Dubow 1995:81); obviously influencing their perceptions.

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[15]   Cultural diffusion sought to explain cultural practices and innovations by tracing population dispersion from a single identifiable source (Dubow 1995:77).

This does not imply that missionaries (and their ancestors) of German origin, and the subsequent **education** that they provided were invariably racist (cf Gensichen 1982:181). Bosch (1991:309-310) notes that prior to the mid-nineteenth century members of the Hermannsburg Mission in Natal and Transvaal were staunch protectors of the indigenous tribes, and that it was only later that certain German missionaries' attitudes **changed** due to, amongst others, the influence of "Manifest Destiny" and colonial domination. However, even during the Second World War, when German racial attitudes were at their worst, German missionaries, in many cases, objected strongly. However, this was not always the case (SABC 3, 2 January 1997) due to the influence of **romanticism** prevalent amongst many German missionaries, which invariably promoted **ethnocentrism**. However, this latter characteristic of romanticism reflects a negative aspect thereof and should not be perceived **selectively** (cf 2.5.1) in implying that romanticism *per se* was negative. German missionaries also reflected a positive side to romanticism in that they promoted **indigenisation**, which celebrated the inner spirit of Black peoples' culture (cf Gensichen 1982:181-189).

(d)   The Hamitic hypothesis

Nuances of diffusion were experienced on account of the **Hamitic Hypothesis**, or myth, which in essence advocates that everything of importance, found in Africa, was brought there by the Hamites – an alleged branch of the Caucasian race (Sanders 1969:521). This hypothesis sought to account for the relative superiority of certain African groups in terms of their having had direct physical or cultural contact with light-skinned, fine-boned pastoralists originating from north-east Africa (Dubow 1995:118).

The mere plasticity and continual **changing** over time of this theory was to offer substantial explanation for the reason why certain groups were more responsive to **Christianity**, and other positive aspects of the civilisation process. It was also used extensively to argue for, and against, racial **segregation** and equal **political** rights during the first decade of the twentieth century when the Union debate was raging

in South Africa (Dubow 1995:87-88) in this way it was imbued with theories and mind sets and **change** over time, in order to suit specific needs.

The Hamitic theory was also reflected in the writings of **missionaries** during the nineteenth century. Legassick (1980:54) sees this theory to have become a central part of South African racial ideology during the latter part of the nineteenth century with prior references being made by anti-slavery advocates – amongst whom missionaries most probably also featured. That the Hamitic theory was used in the latter nineteenth century, is clear from the writings of the Wesleyan missionary, **William Holden** (1866:4-5). Although he maintained a **monogenestic** approach – he espoused the theory that the Bantu being descendants of Ham, dispersed from the regions of the Tigris and Euphrates. However, Holden (1866:3) does acknowledge that this is only his **opinion**, since he experienced difficulty to accept the many other prevalent theories. What can, however, be deduced is that, his perceptions were most probably formed and influenced by his Christian cosmology.

The prevalence of this theory is also evident from the writings of one of the so-called "mission-educated elite", namely **Tiyo Soga** (1829-1871) (Coetzee 1997:109). In February 1865, the Eastern Cape missionary, **John A Chalmers**, published an article entitled "What is the destiny of the Kaffir race?". In this article, Chalmers draws the inference that due to the lazy disposition of Black people – on account of their Christian lifestyle – their progress was inhibited. This idea of idleness was aggravated, since it appeared that Blacks were not interested in education (White 1993:13). Soga reacted to, and attacked Chalmer's point of view with a diary entry, dated 25 April 1865, entitled "The Kaffir race", where he argues from the pretext of the descendants of the Hamitic theory (Soga 1865[a]:38-39). In his diary, Soga articulated his point of view by stating that "[t]he Bible is the only Book whose predictions to me is law – Africa God has given to Ham – & all his descendants - My firm believe (*sic*) is – that God will keep the Kaffir in his Southern portion of it - and that God will overrule elements, as always to secure this."

Soga further developed theorising and tried to refute Chalmer's ideas, in a letter dated 11 May 1865, in "defence of the Blacks and his hopes and aspirations for them"

(Williams 1983[a]:178), with the similar title as Chalmers', entitled "What is the destiny of the Kaffir Race?" He published this in the *King William's Town Gazette and Kaffrarian Banner*, under the pseudonym "Defensor" (cf Williams 1978). Here Soga maintained that God gave Africa to Black people and that there is no possibility of their extinction (Soga 1965[b]:178-182). Coetzee (1997:110) rightly notes two important perspectives emanating from Soga's "descendants-of-Ham" theory:

- Firstly, it justifies Black people's claim to African territory within the realm of **Biblical** pretext, and
- Secondly, Soga focusses the attention on the **vastness** of African territory and the Black population.

The development of Soga's theory and perceptions reflect several interesting perspectives. The influence of missionaries and mission education (cf 2.4.3.1 "past experiences") surely formed his **monogenestic** approach to the topic, while both **past and present experiences** (2.4.3.1 & 2.4.3.2) of racial attitudes and behaviour of the colonists, missionaries and government, caused Soga's stance about Black **nationalism**.

In the light of this latter observation, an interesting point referred to by Soga (1865[b]:178), is the implication that Chalmers was guilty of **covert** racism (cf 4.2.1.2); his public pronunciations did not correspond with his own personal thoughts. Soga (1865[b]:178) reacts: "I openly at the outset avow myself to the writer [Chalmers] of that article to be one of those who hold the very opposite of the views he has given forth to the public, on the important question of the extinction of the Kaffir race", which was obviously contained in the **education** that Chalmers provided at the mission school where he taught. Although these opinions (as expressed by Chalmers) were prevalent during the nineteenth century amongst many Westerners, and should not be considered isolated as they reflected prevalent **modern** thinking. What is of concern is Chalmers' perceived **hypocrisy** in propagating racial equality on the one hand, and then, on the other adopting a different viewpoint. Also seen in the light of Soga's own **reactive racism** (cf 4.2.1.2) the critical reader cannot help but notice the **ambivalence** of the situation.

(e)   The influence of eugenics

In South Africa the "**eugenics movement**" (cf 4.3.5) was responsible for the unreserved articulation of racism, which in turn led to prejudicial attitudes and behaviour. "By translating the insights of evolutionary biology into a popular idiom with a recognisable social programme, eugenics gave Social Darwinism a decisive impetus and a distinct political resonance" (Dubow 1995:120). Although **Social Darwinism** resounded in South Africa towards the end of the nineteenth and at the beginning of the twentieth century (for example the belief by many in political segregation), it was mainly after the **First World War** that "mainline" eugenic thought became evident in South Africa.

In essence, eugenic ideas supported pragmatic pronouncements of White racial superiority and the segregation of people along racial lines (Dubow 1995:128-131,166). Eugenic ideas found their way into fields such as medicine, mental hygiene, criminology and **education** (Dubow 1995:141-160) as is reflected in the writings of the **liberal** educationist, Charles T Loram in *The Education of the South African Native* (1917) (cf Loram 1917:162-193).

Attempts at the beginning of the twentieth century to, according to Dubow (1995:130), "provide a scientifically credible justification of segregation, interested amateurs – principally *missionaries* (italics mine), administrators and an assortment of self-appointed experts – played an important role." One group was the Johannesburg debating forum, the "Fortnightly Club". Dubow's **generalisation** (cf 2.5.3), however, fails to elaborate on the role played by missionaries in this eugenic discourse, although he does make mention of Neil Macvicar, a doctor at the Victoria Hospital, **Lovedale**, who took primarily an environmental and cultural stance towards the spreading of tuberculosis as **opposed** to a physiological one (Dubow 1995:143). This implied a **counter-eugenic** stance in that it **challenged** prevalent modern thinking, thereby reflecting what was to be later considered as **post-modern** ideas (cf 3.2.3.2[a]). Further **opponents** of eugenic theories, according to Dubow (1995:124), included a host of groupings – including the church – more so the Roman Catholic Church, whose **educational** policy called for non-discrimination between people on the

grounds of their colour (Walsh 1966:33), a perception about the RCC not shared by Oppelt (1999:5) in the *Sunday Times* of 28 March 1999. An analysis of these two viewpoints surrounding the RCC creates the impression that two writers interpret the attitudes and the behaviour of the RCC as being either racist or non-racist. Neither human nature nor time and space permit such a **selective** (cf 2.5.1) viewpoint of the RCC and what is needed is an analysis that reflects diverse perceptions of an event or situation. Flanagan (1982:83-96) attempts to place the role of the RCC into better perspective in her analysis of the role it played in **education** during the 1950's. Flanagan (1982:87) takes the events after the 1953 Bantu Education Act and shows divergent reactions to this Act as ranging from to total **opposition** thereof, to that of **acceptance** thereof, in order to protect the educational rights of the learners being taught in the Catholic schools. Whereas the RCC took a stance representing the latter viewpoint, it was done at "a price in moral credibility" (Flanagan 1982:88). Whereas the RCC may be viewed, in the latter instance, as supporting the Government's racial policies, Flanagan (1982:87) does not hesitate to elaborate on and defend the RCC's standpoint as being driven by pure religious and **educational motives** (cf 2.4.2.1), and not political.

Eugenic nuances which found a receptive audience in the 1930's due to a rise in Afrikaner **nationalism**, were reflected in publications of the *Afrikanerbond vir Rasse-studie* (with whom the **Federal Mission Council** [*Federale Sendingraad*] co-operated for a period of time) with its emphasis on racial purity (Kinghorn 1986[a]:54) which manifested in **nationalistic** utterances and practices by several missionaries, (cf 4.4.2.2[h]) which invariably manifested in the **education** that they provided.

(f)   The effects of industrialisation

As was mentioned previously by Mncwabe (cf 4.4.2), a factor that had an influence on racial attitudes and behaviour, was late nineteenth, and early twentieth century, **industrialisation**. The **change** in the fabric South African society, from that of a predominantly pastoral one, to that of an industrial one, was to impact on politics, economics, culture and social life.

The development of gold and diamond mines during the last quarter of the nineteenth century, and subsequent and accompanying industrialisation, led to a profound change in the character of social relations between Black people and White people in South Africa (Crijns 1959:45-46). Whereas some scholars, especially those schooled in Marxist theories, view racist theories to be derived exclusively from labour exploitation, Van Arkel (1982:15) argues differently, and sees this as a "one-sided Marxist interpretation of racism as an excuse for exploitation." Although this Marxist interpretation does have merit and does highlight other elements ignored by other historians, agreement should be rather sought in a broader and more complex set of contributing factors reflecting of prevalent racial theories. One such attitude was the continuation of the historical master/slave relationship which found its way into this new societal change which was exacerbated by changing social conditions, as well as government legislation (Crijns 1959:45-46).

Many White people who failed to adapt to these changing social conditions were faced with unemployment and poverty due to, amongst others, their attitude of perceiving unskilled labour as being reserved exclusively for Blacks (Crijns 1959:45-46). These so-called "Poor Whites" refused and feared to give Blacks political, social and industrial equality out of fear that Blacks would dominate the country (Smith 1926:5) on account of their larger numbers. Legislation in 1926, when the Mines and Works Act of 1921 was amended, was the fulfilling of this fear when statutory barriers were set up to exclude Blacks from occupying skilled jobs. According to Crijns (1959:45-46) this led to a worsening of racial relations, as it led to anti-White sentiments. Racial attitudes could have been aggravated by factors, such as frustration due to lack of jobs, and land competition (cf 4.3.6).

(g)   Conceptualisation and understanding the minds of Black people

Attitudes and prejudices were to be further aggravated by attempts to understand and conceptualise the "native mind" as theorised by, for instance, Dudley Kidd (cf 4.4.1). He reflected this in his theory of "arrested development".

One person who entertained this theory, was the one-time Lovedale teacher and the colonial historian, GM Theal (1910:264-265), who ascribed to this theory of arrested development (Theal's general portrayal of the White person was that he/she was superior to the Black person), he does note that there are and were **exceptions** to the rule, an observation also noted by Kidd (1904:280-282) and the **liberal** educationist Loram (1917:163).

Cognisance should be taken of Dubow's (1995:200) observation that although the theory was not universally accepted, it was debated by some, and entertained and endorsed by others whom Theal views as "authorities". These authorities included **missionaries** who added perceptions to the theory. Theal (1910:265-273) provides excerpts from the *Report of the South African Native Affairs Commission 1903-1905*, as well as the 1908 *Report of the Select Committee on Native Education* (Cape of Good Hope 1908) of, according to him, "the most competent men in the country" commenting on the topic. These competent men included missionaries such as the **Rev WC Willoughby** (Principal of the Tigerkloof Native Institution in Bechuanaland); **Rev J Henderson** (Principal of Lovedale Missionary Institution); **Rev Canon CEE Bulwer** (Principal of an institution for training native teachers); **Rev DD Stormont** (Principal of Blythswood Missionary Institution); **Rev RF Hornabrook** (Governor of the Wesleyan Training Institution at Healdtown); **Dr N Macvicar** (medical officer to the Lovedale Mission), and **Rev WA Goodwin** (former principal of the training College in Umtata) (cf Cape of Good Hope 1908, Appendix [O]:xxxiii-xxxvi).

Although the same questions were not posed *verbatim* to these "competent men.", the gist of these questions were more or less the same in that if they subscribed to the theory of mental development, on account of their **experiences** (cf 2.4.3) when **educating** Black people at their mission institutions. All above, except Stormont, **rejected** the theory of arrested development, although in some cases, nuances of racial **inferiority** did filter through. Bulwer, for example, when asked to give a reason to this difficulty of older children/people starting their education so late on in life attributes it to "a natural dullness which comes to this kind of native character." Rev WC Willoughby, although not subscribing to the theory was waiting for scientific evidence from Sudan regarding premature cranial suture closures to finalise his

opinion. This "scientific explanation" of suture closure was commonly endorsed, since this explained arrested development (Klineberg 1935:93-100; Dubow 1995:200). Goodwin, although finding an equal capacity of natives when doing arithmetic, reading and writing observed the inability of natives to abstract thinking and, although they could be good pupils, are no good at being masters (Theal 1910:273). One cannot help but question Goodwin's perception of "abstract thought", since arithmetic involves a great deal of what is understood to be abstract thought. Worth noting is Willoughby's **attribution** of differences in mental capacity to **environmental**, and not to **physiological** factors (Theal 1910:268-269). This implies that if environmental factors are improved, Black people's mental abilities could also be improved. However, cognisance should be taken that not all missionaries shared this predominant liberal view of the Black intellect. Some missionaries, such as the Rev Noel Roberts (1917:98) **stereotyped** (cf 2.5.3) that "[m]en of [the] Bantu race are, as a rule, deficient in those qualities which are required for inductive reasoning" and which could be remedied, according to Roberts, by educating Blacks in mathematical skills. This observation of Roberts implies that **environmental** factors are responsible for this "deficiency" and not to inherent factors.

As was mentioned previously (cf 4.4.1) **mental testing** as a means of quantifying White superiority, began to make its appearance after 1910, and inadvertently led to prejudicial attitudes and discriminatory behaviour being filtered through to the **education** system, especially provided to Black people. The **liberal** educationist **CT Loram** (1917:162-193) in his book, *The Education of the South African Native*, published the results of mental testing conducted on Black, Indian and White school children, and argued that Black people were mentally not as efficient as Whites and Indians, and also noted the "continued dominance of the European" (Loram 1917:192). This necessitated, according to Loram, a **different** kind of **education** which suited their mentality (Loram 1917:192-193). Loram, however, was cautious to **attribute** the cause to permanent or inherent inferiority (cf Kutoane & Krüger 1990:9; Louw-Potgieter & Foster 1991:62).

In 1939 the **nationalist** scholar **ML Fick** published the book, *The educatability of the South African Native*, where he made use of "available objective data", and came to

the conclusion – a view in direct contrast to that of Loram (Kutoane & Krüger 1990:9) – that Black people had an inherent inferior intelligence, compared to White people (Fick 1939:1-2). Of note is the foreword, written by another staunch nationalist, **Werner Eiselen**, the then Chief Inspector of Native Education, and future chairman of the National Party's investigation into Bantu Education (cf 3.3.2.2 "Eiselen Report"). Eiselen (1939:iii-iv) endorses both the intellectual superiority of White people, as well as the need for a different **education** system to that of the White people since "we may be leading them into a *cul-de-sac* and thus retard their development." More or less the same conclusion as Fick was reached by another **nationalist** scholar **JA Jansen van Rensburg** in the study, *The learning ability of the South African Native* (Jansen van Rensburg 1938:17-43) which confirmed the prevailing "scientifically proven" **perception**, that Blacks were only suitable to carry out manual, repetitive jobs (Louw-Potgieter & Foster 1991:63) thus necessitating an **education** system that would suit such an intellect.

These tests were **contested** and questioned by the Welsh Commission (SA[U] 1936:105), and outrightly **refuted** by the liberal scholars, **ID MacCrone** (1936:92-107), **S Biesheuwel** (1943:196-224) and even from **missionary** circles. These latter criticisms are expressed by the editorial (*South African Outlook* 1 May, 1939:100) of the Lovedale missionary journal, *South African Outlook*, as well as by letters directed to the editorial (*South African Outlook* 1 July, 1939:167-168). Critique of mental testing expressed by the editorial of *South African Outlook* (1 May 1939:100-105) were that the investigators who made these "objective" observations were in fact White, while specific criticism directed at Van Rensburg's investigations, included questioning the **validity** in the selection process, that the White testers were not **linguistically** competent in the language of those tested – and that those testers who were linguistically competent, were not **trained** in psychology. Other specific criticisms included the questioning of the **nature** of the tests, the **type** of test material that was more suited to White people than to Black people and that **environmental** factors were not taken into consideration during the tests. Although these points of criticism were dealt with by Jansen van Rensburg (1938:1-43) in his study, he still concluded White superiority. The criticism voiced by the *South African Outlook* is more or less shared by MacCrone (1939:97-100), and was not out of line

with critical thinking against racial superiority, reflecting **post-modern** thinking (cf 3.2.3.2[a]). Criticism is also levelled by the Black academic, **DDT Jabavu** (1929:934-935), who referred to the achievements of many Black professionals as being on a par with European equivalents, whereas the Black historian and ethnologist **SM Molema** (1920:328-329) whom Chanaiwa (1977:16) considers to be a "great and...historically oriented intellectual", remarks that:

> [H]as science proved any intellectual or moral inefficiency of the black races?
> No - no more than it has proved their intellectual and moral efficiency. Neither
> capacity nor incapacity have been shown conclusively to be characteristic of
> the backward races, or, more plainly of the African race (Molema 1920:328-
> 329).

During the war years, there was a certain measure of **attitude** between English and Afrikaans speaking citizens, as well as regarding Black people according to some observers. Research conducted by **EG Malherbe** (1946:1-29) showed agreement that Black people should receive more educational opportunities and political rights (Louw-Potgieter & Foster 1991:72). However, these views were not shared by the editorial (of 17 October 1946 edition) of the *Cape Times* (1946:6), who declared that "the race problem to-day in this country is worse than it has ever been throughout our history." These latter sentiments are shared by the **historian** Liebenberg (1975[b]:424-426), and given the prevalent *Zeitgeist* these latter sentiments by the *Cape Times* and Liebenberg reflect more accuracy. Events during this period included: Political **division** concerning non-White legislation; White peoples' fears of political, and subsequently economic **domination**, were prevalent in a world that was moving towards a policy of **non-discrimination**. This caused many White people to press for segregation. Afrikaner **nationalism** would also reach its zenith in the period just after the war. After the coming to power of the National Party in 1948 the promotion and manifestation of this party's doctrine of *apartheid* emerged.

(h)   The ideology of Christian-nationalism

Nationalism had a profound influence on racial attitudes and dispositions from the late nineteenth century onwards, and more specifically, **Afrikaner nationalism** (cf

Mncwabe 1990:8), since from the start of the twentieth century this strain of nationalism intensified so much, that it lead to the National Party's coming into power. In South Africa, Afrikaner nationalism manifested itself in numerous ways, the most glaring being that of the **Christian-national ideology**, propagated by many Afrikaans-speaking citizens (Lewis 1992:49). The importance of this will be argued in the ensuing sections, particularly the role of missionaries in this ideology, and its manifestation in **education**.

(i)   Origins of Christian-national thought

Although the origins[16] of **Christian-nationalism** are debated amongst scholars, there tends to be general agreement that it was predominantly during the early twentieth century that Afrikaner nationalist ideas **flourished** in South Africa, especially regarding its impact on **racial** matters, reaching its zenith in the 1940's and beyond (cf Kinghorn 1986[a]:53; Dubow 1991:3; Dubow 1995:248-249; O'Meara 1996:23,41).

As was mentioned, literature suggests that there are various **interpretations**, not only regarding the nature and origin of this phenomenon, but also regarding the description of the Afrikaner nationalists and their subsequent ideological inclinations. At times they have been perceived as stalwarts of Calvinistic traditions, who adhere/d to outdated racial views. They are/have been **stereotyped** (cf 2.5.3) by certain **media** as "the African White tribe" who was to cling to immovable and unchanging beliefs. In this way the Afrikaner movement has been subjected to diverse and sometimes

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[16] There are several interpretations contributing to this perception. According to Dubow (1991:2; 1995:248) the origins of Afrikaner nationalism – as a mass movement – are generally accepted as being evident after the South African War (1899-1902). Scholars such as Davies (1988:90) sees its initial origins developing as a reaction to anti-British sentiment during the 1830's – giving rise to the Great Trek – while Du Toit (1983:920) attributes it to "an obdurate strain of [seventeenth century] 'Calvinism'" which was to prevail and become fixated during the frontier period only to reappear and culminate in the early nineteenth century giving rise to the Great Trek. Whereas the latter two do have points of correspondence, Thompson (1962:126) identifies its origin as developing after the latter nineteenth century annexations of Basutoland (1868), Griqualand West (1871) and the Transvaal (1877) by Britain. This latter view is more or less shared by the Afrikaner nationalist historian GD Scholtz (1974:600), who sees it as a result of anti-imperial sentiment arising from the war in the Transvaal in the 1880's. However, Du Toit (1983:922) does note that to date there is "no single authoritative version of the myth", implying that its origins are debatable.

many "miscast" perceptions (cf O'Meara 1983:1-2; Dubow 1995:246-247) in an attempt to theorise on historical events and provide psychological rationalisation. From the onset it is important to note De Gruchy's (1982:68) observation in noting: "While the majority of South Africans are by no means Calvinists, it is nevertheless true that Afrikaner Calvinism permeates the fabric of South African society, and that understanding the former is helpful in understanding the latter."

This movement has even been subjected to, amongst others, **liberal** and **Marxist** interpretations, each highlighting and focussing on a specific set of premises. However, what is evident, is that these scholars are criticising Afrikaner ideology from their **own perceptual frameworks**, and are basically replacing that criticised with their own interpretational bias factors. There are also differences within their own ranks (cf Simons & Simons 1969; Adam and Giliomee 1979:52,61; O'Meara 1983:2).

Literature, especially that which was written in Afrikaans, was written from a **nationalist** perspective and perceived the Afrikaner as "a discrete, embattled nation, determined through a long history of struggle against external enemies to assert its separate ethnic identity and the social values inherent in the organic unity of the Afrikaner volk", more so than a group of people sharing a common language and culture (O'Meara 1983:4). These ideas were portrayed by Afrikaans writers such as **GD Scholtz** in (his book dedicated to the Afrikaner nation) *Die ontwikkeling van die politieke denke van die Afrikaner* (1967,1970 & 1974). These strong nationalistic views came under attack from, amongst others **liberal** historians such as **LM Thompson** (1962:125-141), who accused these writers of giving a **biased** account of historical facts. An important aspect is highlighted by O`Meara (1983:5) with regard to this criticism that "such critique[s] presume of course that the work of the critic is untainted by such illusions", with liberal interpretations presenting "a pale, negative mirror-image of the assumptions of Afrikaner nationalist analysis", remaining at the level of counter-ideological histiography. However, what is **ironic** is that O'Meara (1983:3,14) sets out to "right" the "wrongs" within his own perceptual framework, namely that of **class** formation which stresses the elements "of the particular *organisational* and *ideological* forms of collective harnessing of the forces

of this or that class or alliance of classes" (italics mine). Even Dubow (1995:247) questions this approach, since this dimension of the ideology of Afrikaner nationalism "has been interpreted in overly instrumentalist and purposive terms." Dubow (1995:248) argues that the ideology of Christian-nationalism should be understood within "its own *cognitive reality* and by reference to its *internal logic*" (italics mine).

The 1920's and 1930's was an important breeding ground for nationalistic feelings, spurred on by political, economic and social factors. Poverty and unemployment were rife, both nationally and internationally, due to a world-wide **economic crisis** and subsequent **depression**. These events impacted both socially and economically, especially on the Afrikaner, resulting in, amongst others, the **"Poor White"**[17] problem, due to large scale urbanisation and ensuing poverty and unemployment (Kinghorn 1986[a]:52). White people were not the only ones taking part in this large-scale urbanisation. Black people also migrated to the cities for similar reasons. **Psychologically** this also impacted profoundly on White people since they were now in **competition** with Black people for jobs, as well as that they were on equal footing with those that were previously perceived as inferior to them (Kinghorn 1986[a]:52-53). This **influx** of Black people into the urban areas was perceived by Afrikaners as a Black threat (*Swart gevaar*). British (cultural and economic) **imperialism**, was also a threat to the Afrikaners very being, and a stimulus to radical nationalist sentiment (Kinghorn 1986[a]:53; Dubow 1991:3; Dubow 1995:248-249; O'Meara 1996:23,41). **Politically,** South Africa was also in a turmoil with **division** becoming evident in the coalition Government even before the end of the war. Supporters of Madeley and Stallard rather joined the opposition since their post-war views were more in line with the Nationalists than with Smuts's United Party (Liebenberg 1975[b]:424). These and other factors later manifested themselves in the ideology of Christian-nationalism which reached its peak during this period.

This period from the 1920's was the period which was ripe for new and sometimes radical ideas (Kinghorn 1986[a]:53). One such idea was **racism.** However, before

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[17] It should be borne in mind that "Poor Whiteism" was also prevalent under English-speaking South Africans as the research of the liberal historian, WM Macmillan, showed in the second decade of the twentieth century (Saunders 1988:50-51).

proceeding with the impact that these ideas had on missionaries, it would be felicitous to note Dubow's (1995:246) views on, and description of, Christian-nationalism with regard to race and racism:

> Christian-nationalism – the doctrine that provided the theoretical underpinning of apartheid – proved flexible and eclectic in its use of widely current racist ideas. Biological conceptions of race informed Christian-national theory both implicitly and explicitly, but these had to be reconciled with theological and cultural explanations of human difference. In constructing an intellectually coherent justification for apartheid, Christian-national ideologues frequently chose to *infer* or to *suggest* biological theories of racial superiority, rather than assert these openly. For pragmatic as well as doctrinal reasons, the diffuse language of *cultural essentialism* was preferred to the crude scientific racism drawn from the vocabulary of Social Darwinism (italics mine).

These views imply the use of **covert** as opposed to **overt** (4.2.1.2) forms of racism, in carrying over a message of racial superiority. Although true, the latter form was also evident in Christian-national writings.

Economic (rapid urbanisation, the manifestation of slums, high unemployment and resultant psychological feelings of inferiority), and **ideological** (European nationalism [eg Romanticism], Dutch neo-Calvinism, British colonial legacy and the presence of "scientific" racist "evidence"), provided the backdrop for a racially defined ideology of Afrikaner nationalism which was to be reflected in both **political** and **theological** discourse (Kinghorn 1990:61-62; Dubow 1995:281). Whereas initially, Christian-nationalism thought was almost mainly an **intellectual** endeavour by academics and other intellectuals (even theologians), it was slowly translated into more **pragmatic** implementation (O'Meara 1996:41-42) becoming a handy tool to imply White, especially Afrikaner, **supremacy** manifesting in the system of *apartheid*.

(ii)   Christian-national manifestations and the implications on mission

Although some (cf Naudé 1997) perceive the **origins** of *apartheid* as been linked to DRC developments during the nineteenth century, to Borchardt (1986:73-75,85) and

Kinghorn (1990:57), this in fact was not the case. This misperception is the result of the Cape Synod's approval of separate **congregations** in 1857, and the subsequent creation, in 1881 of separate mission **churches** within the DRC (cf DRC sa:8-14; Du Toit 1984:617). Borchardt (1986:76-78) and Kinghorn (1990:68-69) argue that this represented more an **immediate** practical solution than a consistent or permanent belief in segregation "regarded [merely] as a deviation from the church's tradition" (Kinghorn 1990:68-69). **Motives** for this occurrence of segregation, as given in the 1956 *Report of the Ad Hoc Council of the Churches* (Federated DR Churches) were far more complex and included **social, hygienic,** fear of **miscegnation** as well as nineteenth century **racial** considerations (NGK 1961:13). Kinghorn (1990:59-60) notes that this separation also occurred in a time were the so-called civilised world believed in **natural segregation** (Kinghorn 1990:59-60) which could have led to this initial perception. Oosthuizen (1990:102-103) in fact argues that the first instance of Black exclusion from White congregations, was during the 1870's in the case of **Nehemiah Tile** (the founder of the Thembu Church in 1884, and the father of the independent church movement in South Africa) by **Wesleyan** missionaries on account of political utterances made against White domination. However, the reasons for this expulsion appear to be due to political **motivation** than a racial attitude and behaviour.

It was only in the 1920's that the first pronounced attempt of the DRC was made to study the South African "native problem" at inter-synodal level, regarding social, economic and political facets of life. The pamphlet, under the chair of Prof J du Plessis, entitled "The DRC and the native problem" was the result of a **co-operative** committee of the mission commissions of the Federated DR Churches. Borchardt's (1986:80) opinion of this document is that it did not play an important role in the affairs of the church and displayed a rather **ambivalent** attitude towards segregation, in that it propagated segregation on the one hand, due to the Black's cultural inferiority, while on the other hand viewing it as "an unattainable ideal". However, although this document could be **perceived** as reflecting Christian-national ideology, Dubow (1995:252) argues that this document rather reflected prevailing **segregationist** consensus of the 1920's, than the fervent specifics of Christian-nationalism and were the exception rather than the rule. Further ambivalence during

this decade was evident from policy documents developing from conferences, neither opting for integration, nor segregation, but rather **co-operation** (Borchardt 1986:81).

Although traces of **overt** racialism were evident in various DRC documents and media statements by various DRC missionaries prior to 1930, these did not display **hardline** Christian-national ideologies and thought (cf *Cape Times*, 3 February 1927:12). To the contrary, Kinghorn (1990:59-60) points out the DRC's **ambivalent** stance on segregation and racist attitudes. This stance endorsed Black people as creatures of God, and also the willingness of the DRC to embrace Christians of different races as members of their church. This ambivalence was to come to an end, especially after 1930. A possible reason for these phenomena given by Kinghorn (1986[b]:86;1990:60) was that younger members were appointed to mission committees, thus bringing in more **radical** ideas.

The adoption in 1935 of the Federal Council's (of the DRC) "Missionary Policy" was to see a **change** in the DRC's approach to the colour issue in which it strove to promote **social** differentiation as well as **cultural** segregation. According to Kinghorn (1990:60-61) elements such as **nationalism** and **segregation** were articulated in the minutes of the 1935 Federal Council's meeting. Regarding the DRC's approach to **education** during this period, Du Toit (1984:627) remarks that "during the 1930's and 1940's the DRC, in fact, had made recommendations to the Government to maintain separate schools and institutions, and to produce complete segregation." These educational developments were in line with **Christian National Education** (CNE) principles, emphasising "no mixing of languages, no mixing of cultures, no mixing of religions, and no mixing of races" (Christie 1991:174; cf Flanagan 1982).

Questions of race and nationality were to be explored by missionaries in the theoretical mouthpiece of the Federation of Calvinist Student Associations, namely *Koers*, during the 1930's (Dubow 1995:249-250). In his article entitled *"Assimilasie of Algehele Segregasie – Die enigste Alternatiewe vir Oplossing van die Naturelleprobleem"* (loosely translated as "Assimilation or Total Segregation – The only Alternative for Solving the Native Problem") the missionary **H du Plessis** (1935:32-41) conceptualises the idea of race within a **neo-Calvinist** framework. Du

Plessis (1935:40) argued that the only solution to this perceived problem was **total segregation**:

> *Dis nie nodig om hierdie voordele van algehele segregasie op te noem nie. Dié is baie duidelik. Die enigste vraag is of dit moontlik is ... [o]ns moet ons weer stel op die beproefde Calvinistiese beginsels en daarvoor opoffer. Die oplossing van die naturelle-probleem lê in ons eie hande; grond is daar genoeg; al wat nodig is, is dat ons volk opoffer om voldoende grond aan die naturelle te gee, sodat hulle baie geleidelik en op die mees praktiese en natuurlike wyse gesegregeer word.*

This excerpt reflects Du Plessis's argument of placing the "native problem" within the realm of the **ideology** of *apartheid*. It also reflects his apparent **cultural chauvinism.** This ideology implied the necessity for **education** to be part of the process of ensuring this separation, an ideal certainly not attainable within the then present form of mission education, according to Werner Eiselen (1950:9-18).

The 1930's and 1940's witnessed the manifestation of this world-view being introduced into, amongst others, the workings of the DRC (which included mission). However, within the DRC a subtle **change** in emphasis was to occur from that of a justification on Biblical grounds as White people being, amongst others, the "custodian" of "inferior races", to the "theology of humanity as equal because of separation". This shift in thinking and re-interpretation of *apartheid* was reflected in several instances since 1948 in various documents and conferences pertinently analysed by Kinghorn (1990:63-69). The former view was reflected in the 1948 **Transvaal Synod's** report, entitled *Racial and national apartheid in the Bible*, while the latter view was reflected in the 1950 **People's Conference**. Excerpts from this latter conference argued that:

- the only permanent solution of the racial question regarding Black and White, also in the area of economics, is **total** segregation of Black and White, and a differentiated economic development of Blacks in their own communities;
- the policy of eventual **assimilation** be rejected, as it leads to unnecessary friction between the races and the undermining of the White race, therewith

to the detriment of the development of the Christian civilisation in Africa. It thereby has a very detrimental effect on the healthy development of the Black nation, and

■   the policy of separate development should be accepted as the only **solution** to co-existence between Black and White.

Further points amplified the need for the Bantu - "**fertilised**" (*bevrug*) by the Christian civilisation - to develop their own **nation** against their own national backdrop, and that Black people would also have no **political** rights within White areas (NGK 1961:7). A **re-interpretation** of the *apartheid* concept was effected in which the status of inferiority was removed and replaced by supporting the less-advanced "along separate lines" (Kinghorn 1990:63-66).

(iii)   The view of other missions

These cursory excerpts and references are not to suggest that all those in leadership positions within the DRC were *in toto* in **favour** segregation and racial superiority, neither does it suggest that the more liberal English-speaking missionaries **abstained** from any form of racism - overt or covert.

Although British missionary societies were acutely involved in the humanitarian movement (cf Keto 1976; Walls 1982; Gray 1990:92) since the latter part of the nineteenth century, the **liberal** approach mirrored by Lovedale and the subsequent **education** that they provided was, according to Saayman (1996[a]:28)

> a liberalism firmly rooted in the conviction of British superiority and custodianship, a liberalism which often suffered because of its basic point of departure that Africans in general were adolescent (if not infantile) and would be up to no good in modern industrial society without the custodianship of their white benefactors (cf also Cotton 1926).

Although Saayman does not refer to a specific **time-frame** here, one can assume that it is in the early twentieth century when theories and references to the "arrested development" of Black people were prevalent (cf 4.4.1 & 4.4.2.2[g]).

Although Burchell (1979:199) reasons that Lovedale "epitomised the 'non-apartheid dimension' in South Africa", Saayman (1996[a]:29) does not agree with this **selective perception** (cf 2.5.1) and adopts a more **ambivalent** stance. Quoting an ex-student – **Phyllis Ntantala** – on her experiences at Healdtown, Lovedale and Fort Hare in her autobiography *A Life's Mosaic* (1992), Saayman (1996[a]:29) goes on to note that ex-students' experiences of **racial superiority** on the part of **missionaries**. Ntantala (1992:60) conceptualises Lovedale's arrangement where Black people and White people slept and ate in different venues on the basis of **class** differences, rather than on racial differences, thus reflecting **Marxist** tendencies. She records in her chapter entitled "Healdtown" the reason why she chose Healdtown after passing Standard 5:

> Healdtown was a good school, he [Rhodes Cakata – Ntantala's former principal teacher] said, better than Lovedale where class divisions were encouraged. At Lovedale students slept and ate according to their pockets. It was only in the classrooms that the students were thrown together irrespective of how much each paid. At Healdtown all students paid the same amount, slept in the same dorms and ate at the same tables.

With regard to Healdtown she notes ironically:

> What a racist place Healdtown was and continued to be until its demise in the aftermath of the 1976 students' protest! Outside their various departments there was no mixing between black and white teachers. At the girls' school, the two matrons – both white – ate alone in their dining-room, while the African women teachers ate with the students in the dining-hall. At the boys' school, the white unmarried teachers ate with other staff in the Governor's living quarters, while the African staff ate with the boys in the boys' dining-hall. Most of the staff played tennis, but they never played together. One white staff member, George Cook, son of the warden of Wesley House at Fort Hare, had to resign his teaching post at Healdtown because the other whites complained that he was fraternising too much with black staff, fellows he had known at Fort Hare when they were all students there.
>
> At least at Lovedale there was some semblance of inter-racial living among the staff members. There were inter-racial mixed choirs of teachers

and students, mixed social gatherings, staff teas and dinners at the principal's residence, and black and white here knew each other. Not at Healdtown! I could not wait to get out of that place!

Ironically, on being sent to Fort Hare at the age of fifteen, Ntantala (1992:69-70) was to experience **Black superiority** as opposed to White superiority. The first case being from her warden **Florence Jabavu**, wife of Professor Jabavu, as well as an Afro-American family on campus, the **Yergans**.

On returning to Fort Hare in August 1944 with her husband **AC Jordan** who took up an academic post, Ntantala (1992:122) remembers that:

The few Africans on the staff at Fort Hare were the most frightened people I ever had the misfortune to meet. They were not happy about the discrimination there, but they spoke it in whispers, for fear of losing their jobs. Racism was [also] rampant in the staff room.

The **value** of these excerpts is that one obtains an idea of an ex-student's mission education **experiences** first-hand. Although one cannot help but note the **presentism** and **Marxist** nuances of Ntantlana's observations – made forty seven years after her experiences at these institutions – one has to respect the perceptions of a missions educated student, even if they are **delayed** perceptions. Although race relations at mission schools may be perceived as racist, they should not be equated with *apartheid* (Saayman 1996[a]:30) since they were (cf Dubow [1989:8]) ultimately **segregationist** in the hope of protecting "African society from the harshness of `industrialisation'" (cf Cotton 1926).

An interesting **perception** expounded by Dr Gunther Pakendorf (the son and grandson of Berlin missionaries), is the philosophy of **separate** nations expounded by many **German** missionaries, which provided the backdrop for Afrikaners propagation of *apartheid*. German missionaries' children, such as Werner Eiselen, were exposed to such philosophies while at the mission stations, as well as when sent overseas (to Germany) to study, where they developed these theories within the *apartheid* paradigm (Pakendorf 1997). Although this viewpoint of Pakendorf holds its own, it

generalises (cf 2.5.3) German missionaries' views as invariably leading to the ideology of separate development in South Africa. That many German missionaries were influenced by **romanticism** (cf 3.2.3.1[a] & [b]), which invariably influenced their perceptual schemata in propagation of a *Volk* ideal, is reflected in the literature. However, what should be noted is that romanticism not only permeated the thoughts of German missionaries, but also other European missionaries' (Bosch 1991:299-300) thoughts and behaviour, thus negating Pakendorf's perception as selective (cf 2.5.1). Gensichen (1982:181) also notes that many early nineteenth century German missionaries did not have any higher **learning** which would have brought them into contact with romantic influences. Most missionaries during the this era did not have any nationalistic leanings towards the Motherland, but rather towards the **Pietist** (cf 3.2.3.1[b]) tradition. These observations reflect the need to place the mission endeavour into its proper **context** when commenting thereon.

With the coming into power of the **National Party** in 1948, the ideologies of Christian-nationalism were enforced *en masse*, and manifested themselves in the *apartheid* ideology. *Apartheid* was nothing more than "'theologized nationalism' arising out of a quasi-religious historical myth in which God, blood, race, nation, and soil are tightly intertwined" (Davies 1988:98). Instead of looking to racial theories for their separation (and implied superiority), they looked to the **Bible** for justification of racial and later separate development (cf NGK 1961:8; Davies 1988:96-103; Kinghorn 1990:63-69; Naudé 1997). O'Meara (1996:43) argues that "[t]he NP's Christian-nationalism was an overtly exclusivist and ethnic ideology, openly preaching Afrikaner favouritism."

(iv)   The Afrikaner myth

An aspect closely linked to the previous section (cf Thompson 1962:125) that could/have influence/d prejudicial attitudes and behaviour, is the influence of **myths** carried over from one generation to another, in the words of Crijns (1959:47), "[t]he importance of an historical event or series of events lies often not so much in its effect on contemporary thought and action, but rather in its psychological function and 'usefulness' to later generations."

The **interpretation** (usually fanciful) of historical phenomena (Sykes 1976, sv "myth") can very often serve the function of **collective projection** (cf 2.5.2). Crijns (1959:47) highlights the **downside** of myth formation and argues that it often serves as a means of justification of **social discrimination**, as well as that it can be a **defence mechanism** against feelings of **social insecurity**. The **Liberal** historian LM Thompson (1962:125) highlights both positive and negative aspects of myth formation and declares:

> One of the characteristic traits of a national culture is a distinctive historical folklore, which lauds the qualities and magnifies the deeds of national heroes and derides those of their opponents, domestic and foreign. Such a mythology is harmless enough if it is light and humorous in tone, if it is taken with a pinch of salt, and if it is offset by dispassionate teaching in the schools and universities and objective writing by the historians. But if the mythology is bitter and humourless, if it dwells upon grievances, if it is taken too seriously, and if it is propagated by teachers and writers, then the national outlook is liable to become diseased. In the extreme case, the capacity for formulating and pursuing a national goal becomes vitiated by illusion. Duped by a romantic historical image, party, press and even pulpit advocate unwise and unjust policies, in the name of tradition.

In Afrikaner culture, especially during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, the approach to myth was very often taken, regarding the "enemies" of the Afrikaner nation, in most cases by Afrikaner **nationalist** writers (Thompson 1962:127; Legassick 1980:50). This happened predominantly for **political** purposes (Thompson 1962:128). Certain prevalent myths were the perceptions that Black people such as Dingaan and Chaka were bloodthirsty and murderous (Legassick 1980:50) as is reflected in certain history books used by school children. These **stereotypes** (cf 2.5.3) were also evident in the works of the **colonial** historian Theal and were to be used frequently by later Afrikaner nationalists (eg G Preller). These stereotypes were advocated even by Black writers such as Molema and Soga (Saunders 1988:26,36-44,108-111). This often led to projected **stereotypical** (cf 2.5.3) images of Black people (Crijns 1959:48-49). Attempts were made by various Black scholars, such as the mission-educated Sol Plaatje, in his work *Mhudi*, to **debunk** this myth of Chaka's bloodthirstiness (Saunders 1988:110).

Missionaries and the subsequent **education** which they provided also did not escape being vituperated against, since their task of civilising and Christianising threatened the foundations of eighteenth and nineteenth century racial ideology and were perceived as being a threat to the Colonists. These perceptions were especially evident in **nationalist** writings and political rhetoric throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. These depictions are portrayed in *Die Geskiedenis van Ons land in die Taal van Ons Volk* (*Die Genootskap van Regte Afrikaners*:(1877). Although this work gives what appears to be a naive account of events in South African historiography, it depicts the *Boer* as a hero, and not as a villain as was so often portrayed in prevalent literature. Missionaries were portrayed in a negative light as contributing to the demise of *Boers* in the 1812 Circuit Court proceedings, by giving "unfounded" evidence and were perceived as "misguided meddlers in South African affairs" (Thompson 1962:127,132). These perceptions were to re-emerge during the 1958 celebrations of the Day of the Covenant, when the then Minister of Posts and Telegraphs, **Dr Albert Hertzog**, noted in derogatory language the negative influence that missionaries had on the Afrikaner culture:

> The history of a nation was its mightiest weapon...It teaches you who the enemies of your forefathers were as well as their problems...The history of the Afrikaner always repeats itself because the same enemies of our forefathers – before the Great Trek – are again our enemies today...In the days before the trek, missionaries from England, mostly from the lowest classes, made it impossible for the farmers to live where they were settled...Today we are fighting the same people – the Huddlestons, the Collinses and the Michael Scotts who are besmirching our name in the world (*The Star*, 17 December 1958:3).

Herzog's use of fanciful imagery not only put missionaries in a negative light by making use of **class** comparisons, but that these utterances were made at an Afrikaner heritage day, where **emotions** could be easily incited, impacted profoundly on the **psyche** of those people attending the celebrations. These and other mythological statements – used for political reasons – invariably led to and strengthened racial **attitudes** and **stereotypical** (cf 2.5.3) images which were carried over from one generation to another.

That these factors had a profound influence on racial attitudes and behaviour is evident from the above. However, to aver that these were the only and primary contributing factors to this complex issue is not the intention of this analysis. The complexity and subtlety of racism defies the identification of any one historical cause. It is an infinitely **complex** phenomenon. However, notwithstanding these comments these aspects of racial superiority and segregation would manifest themselves in South African **education**, and, of importance to this research, specifically **mission education.**

4.5   IMPLICATIONS ON MISSION EDUCATION AND ITS INTERPRETATION

Education **did not, does not** and **will not** exist in a **vacuum** (Christie 1991:18-19). The education of any country or community is linked to the society within which it functions. Idenburg identified several societal **forces** (*Maatschappelijke Krachten*), amongst others, politics, culture and religion that have a profound influence on, and are reflected in, education (Lewis 1992:43) and in this case Black education as provided by the missionaries. Jones (1970:40) has this to say about the strong interrelationship: "As in the case with all forms of social institutions, a reasonably clear perspective of Bantu education is contingent upon an understanding of the cultural developments, political, economic, and religious, which have shaped the country and the attitudes of its people." For some hundred and fifty years (1800-1953) the education of Black people in South Africa fell under the auspices of missionaries and was to be influenced by several societal forces.

As South Africa reflected British **colonial** and imperial policies (cf 5.5) since the start of the nineteenth century, it is obvious that these policies would be reflected in educational policies and practices. Mission education, as a division of education *per se* in South Africa, will be revealed as reflecting certain aspects of the above-mentioned era.

4.5.1 British colonial influence on South African society

Since this aspect will be dealt with in depth in the ensuing chapter (cf 5.5.3), suffice is to say that British imperial policy was to reflect both an **anglicising** and a *laissez-faire* component with regard to its colonies which consequently impacted on the education system in the Cape Colony (Walsh 1966:32; Holmes 1967:16-22). With regard to the non-Whites in the Cape Colony, suffice is to say that "[t]he British attitude towards the formal education of people of colour was inconsistent" (Van Zyl 1997:53) with the ensuing sections reflecting this inconsistency and **changing** nature.

4.5.2 The early stages of mission education

Prior to the nineteenth century, the education provided by the **Dutch** reflected haphazardly an approach in educational provision along racial lines. Although regulations promoted segregatory policies in schools, these policies were in many instances not always reflected in **practise** (Van Zyl 1997:51-52).

Since Britain's annexation of the Cape in 1806, and eventual acquisition in 1814, education reflected **racial** segregatory policies and practices in the following century. Education at the Cape until the 1820's remained **sparse** and **unco-ordinated**, and was not (cf Dube [1985:90]) solely in the hands of missionaries: "[M]issionary schools were the *only* schools available in South Africa (these schools were initially intended for African children and were built in mission stations located in African areas), white children who wanted education went to the mission schools, where they were taught the same lessons, by the same teachers, in the same classrooms with the African children" (italics mine). This perception of Dube **generalises** (cf 2.5.3) the educational situation in the Cape at the time and this situation is rather more applicable to **rural** areas of the Cape Colony. However, his observation on the **non-segregatory** approach of these mission schools is correct; missionaries did cater for the educational needs of both Black and White children.

Thus initially, mission education in South Africa was **not** segregated (cf Shepherd 1971:14-15; Dube 1985:90; Williams[18] 1983:2) except in some cases, regarding

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[18] Williams (1983[b]:2) refers to the instance of Tiyo Soga entering the "multi-racial institution of Lovedale" in the 1840's.

sleeping and eating facilities (Dube 1985:90). At **Lovedale** the only form of segregation was in the dormitories, and in the dining room pupils sat at different tables (Shepherd 1971:14; Chanaiwa 1980:11). One may assume that the reason for this segregation was due to differences with regard to **school fees** paid and not due to any institutional policy, since no reason in the literature indicates otherwise.

This liberal stance – the aim of this **integration** – according to a Lovedale teacher, **Andrew Smith,** was that, as fellow citizens, Black people were "a fixture here, and cannot be removed; that Europeans must accept them as fellow citizens, that they have all the rights of British subjects, and must be treated according to the law of the Empire" . He continues: "Here the foundation is laid for the true relationship between Europeans and Africans, who must find out how to live together as citizens in the same country" (Shepherd 1971:14-15). One should take serious notice of the latter salient remarks .

Pupils of all "races" and "classes" generally attended the same mission schools. This approach would gradually **change** in latter years on account of ideological, political and economic influences. As Dube (1985:90) correctly points out: "[I]nstitutionalized racism did not happen overnight." It was only towards the end of the nineteenth century that racist nuances really became evident in **education,** specifically mission education due to a host of factors.

During a large part of the nineteenth century, **cultural** differences and different **standards** of living caused communities to gravitate towards one type of school. Higher fees were charged by predominantly "White" schools and stricter dress codes were enforced. Black pupils and less privileged White pupils predominantly attended free missionary schools[19] (The Education Bureau, Department of Internal Affairs [Coloured Affairs] 1981:1; Filander 1992:57). Since there was no official form of segregation at the Cape, this practice of **integration** at schools proceeded into the 1890's.

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[19] Due to their small numbers, Indians at the Cape attended "Coloured" schools in most instances implying then that they attended mission schools. This practice of Indians attending Coloured schools continued up until 1965 (Behr 184:236-238,263).

Together with the host of prejudicial attitudes previously discussed (cf 4.4.2.1-4.4.2.2) **increasing** levels of racial prejudices were to surface and develop within South African society (Dube 1985:90; cf Jones 1970:41-43) towards the late nineteenth century, which inevitably permeated into the **education** system.

4.5.3 The beginnings of separate education

To Behr (1988:20), school segregation, as pronounced policy, was already evident during the 1860's. In 1861 **Langham Dale** assumed duty as Superintendent-General of Education at the Cape Colony. Two years later (1863), he appointed a commission under the chairmanship of **Mr Justice EB Watermeyer** who had

> to inquire into the present state of the established schools in the Colony of the
> Cape of Good Hope...; and to consider and report what measures, if any, it
> might be desirable to adopt for the extension of sound elementary instruction
> to all classes of people (Cape of Good Hope 1863:iii-v).

Several **factors** led to this commission of inquiry (cf du Toit 1963:66), however no direct mention is made regarding the necessity for racial segregation. The only reference to "difference" is the reference in the orders to seek a policy suitable for "all classes of people" (cf Cape of Good Hope 1863:iii-v). However, given the social make-up of the Cape Colony at that time, there were no distinctions between colour and class.

The **Watermeyer Commission's** report (G24/1863) was published after a lengthy investigation (September 1861-February 1863) and found that Government schools (called "established" schools) were too **liberal**, with no link between them and the inhabitants and, although ostensibly **open** to all classes and races, this was not actually the case. A system of **segregation**, it was found, was in place, especially in schools in wealthy areas and near the large towns (Malherbe 1925:95-96; Behr 1988:20). These schools, according to Behr (1988:20) were for "all intents and purposes...reserved for European children only." This form of "segregation" did not apply to poorer districts and in smaller schools in the Colony's outlying districts. The Commission recommended the abolition of the former type of segregated school. The

Commission found that **mission** schools, concerned themselves minimally with secular education, and placed too much **emphasis** on aspects of the Bible (Behr 1988:20).

The recommendations of the Watermeyer Commission were included in **Education Act No 13 of 1865** (Cape of Good Hope 1865:1015-1017). The "established" school system was abolished and Government aid was extended to all schools on a £(pound)-for-£(pound) principle. Schools were now divided into three categories, namely **"A" schools** (mainly for the White community), **"B" schools** (church controlled mission schools attended by poor White and Coloured pupils) and thirdly **"C" schools** for the "aborigines" - Black pupils. This system prevailed until the Cape became a province of the Union of South Africa in 1910. Whereas some educational scholars focus on the **financial** importance of this Act (cf Cook 1949), scholars such as Behr (1988) and Molteno (1984) highlight the implications that this Act had on the **segregation** of pupils. One objective of the 1865 Education Act was to deter mission schools from being open to all. According to Molteno (1984:63):

> Separate and unequal schooling helped to rigidify racist lines of division which
> up until the development of capitalist industrialisation had still been somewhat
> loose. Differential schooling for blacks and whites was aimed at moulding the
> children for their respective dominant and dominated places (cf SA[U]
> 1936:87).

Although the **perception** may be created that from 1865 White students could not attend mission schools for Blacks, this was not the case. An example that this was not the case is Lovedale, where only since 1896 there was a restriction on White students. Although Christie (1991:38) rightly acknowledges class divisions cutting across colour lines regarding access to education, this cannot be accepted as the **norm** since there were many instances of White pupils attending mission institutions due to financial constraints, as well as due to the exceptional education provided at many of these institutions (eg Lovedale).

Closer inspection of the social scenario prevalent at the **time** (cf 4.4.2.2) supports Hartshorne (1992[b]:24) who correctly notes that missionaries during this era functioned under very negative and difficult circumstances on account of little

financial support, as well as on account of the influence of White **perceptions** of Black people which invariably affected state policies towards mission education. Prevalent notions such as that of the "Noble Savage", whose mind would be corrupted by Western education and the perception of the "Spoilt Native" advocating that education would promote idleness were prevalent during the 1850's and onwards (cf also Randall 1995:57) These perceptions are, according to the former Lovedale principal, **James Stewart** (1973[a]:61) the result of the **media** and political **rhetoric** and are

> a stock opinion of many newspapers and newspaper writers, who, when they have nothing else to furnish to their readers furnish these views, and in so doing believe that they are expressing a very just and right opinion, unquestionable in its accuracy, and founded on justice, and scarcely less to be doubted than the law of gravitation.
>
> The same opinion has been uttered during this year in one of the highest deliberative assemblies of the country, by some who are believed to be able firmly to express the wisdom of the country, as its representatives.

Stewart rightly points out the influences of the media and political rhetoric in the formation of people's perceptions. Although these and other **perceptions** were commonly accepted during the nineteenth century, these sentiments expressed by Stewart not only underscores that they were not accepted by everyone and that they needed **debunking**, but Stewart's observations also underscores the **value** appended by numerous missionaries to the education of Black people.

4.5.4 Segregatory principles in education

These above-mentioned (cf 4.5.3) prevalent **perceptions**, were evident from an 1889 report of the then Superintendent-General of Education, Sir Langham Dale, who reported that education was to "recognise the position of the European colonists as holding the paramount influence, social and political, and to see that the sons and daughters of the colonists...should have at least an education...as will fit them to maintain their unquestionable superiority and supremacy in this land" (Van Zyl

1997:54). Dube (1985:91) gives four reasons for the phenomenon of **racism** being entrenched in the education system during the latter part of the 1890's:

- White colonists feared that prior missionary insistence on equal rights would undermine White **supremacy**. These fears were due to missionary involvement in education, as well as an integrated system of education.
- Better educated Black people had better **employment** opportunities which would ensure an increase of resources.
- Better educated Black people would **compete** with White people on an equal footing.
- Equal education for Black people would result in political **domination**.

Whereas an **assimilationist** strategy (the civilising of "backward races") had initially been adopted towards educating Black people, it **changed** later on, slowly but surely, into a more **segregationist** strategy. To many, segregation represented a compromise between assimilation and repression (Louw-Potgieter & Foster 1992:60). The **Glen Grey Act**[20] of 1894, to Parry (1983:384-388) was the **threshold** between these two approaches. Parry (1983:388) writes:

> The Rhodes administration and the forces behind the Glen Grey Act not only restructured reality but they also redefined it in a way which reflected the presuppositions and interests of imperialists, international and colonial capitalists, *racists*, colonials, administrators, philanthropists, and traditional Africans. The theory of segregation meant different things to all these groups, but it unified them in support of a conventional wisdom which justified the transformation of Africans into dehumanized cogs in a violent and exploitative industrial machine (italics mine).

Whereas Parry largely **conceptualises** the resultant segregation in **Marxist** terms of reproduction theoretical frameworks, this initially casts doubt with the critical reader.

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[20] The Glen Grey Act, referred to by Rhodes as his "Bill of Africa" (Parry 1983:384) established a system of individual land tenure in several districts as opposed to the traditional form of communal landholding practised by Black people. Both Black and White farmers were intermingled by them being placed alternately next to one another (Dube 1985:93).

However, Parry exempts himself from **generalising** (cf 2.5.3) by stating that: "The development of segregationist mechanisms of control were more than merely a means of ensuring the 'super-exploitability' of Africans. They dealt with the core of the colonial experience: the structuring of the relationship between black and white as well as between master and servant." In order to reflect a true picture one has to acknowledge social, political psychological and historical factors of the outcome of this Act. The segregation of races became a reality in South African society, reflecting itself in **educational** policies towards Black people. Advocates of segregation would make use of Social Darwinism, and environmental and eugenic theories, in an attempt to underpin their claim to segregation (Dubow 1989:25). According to Dube (1985:93) the nature of this Act, and the approach to Black education were essentially **contradictory**. On the one hand the Act advocated **integration**, while on the other, educational **segregation** was called for.

The policy of segregation soon manifested itself more glaringly in the South African educational system, starting with Natal and then soon afterwards the Cape Colony. An example of the latter case, was the instance of Lovedale in 1896 when the Superintendent-General of the Cape Education Department, **Dr Thomas Muir**, ejected fourteen White Teacher Training students from writing examinations. Shepherd (1971:58) opines: "Thus a blow was struck at Lovedale's system of training Europeans and Africans in the same classes – a system which encouraged understanding and respect between races, as had been testified by many pupils, both White and Black, who knew it from experience". Furthermore, Shepherd (1971:58-59) noted **protest** from Lovedale itself, as well as from several newspapers and that "Lovedale's non-racial policy, which had pursued for fifty years and more, received a mortal blow." The reason for Muir's actions, according to Shepherd (1971:59) was that Cape Peninsula White pupils were attending mission schools to avoid not paying school fees and that official policy had been extended to include Lovedale (Horrel 1963:13). In 1905, Muir's endeavours to separate White people and Black people in schools succeeded with the passing of the **School Board Law** of that year (The Education Bureau, Department of Internal Affairs [Coloured Affairs] 1981:1).

Dube (1985:92) avers that the only reason for educational segregation was that of blatant **racism** as there was no indication of intellectual inferiority on the part of the Black student. However, what Dube forgets, is that the perception of Black inferiority **prevalent** in the minds of many Whites during this period (cf 4.4.1; 4.4.2.2[g]). This invariably resulted in most White people adopting certain discriminatory behaviour and policies during that **era**, namely the **modern** era (cf 3.2.3.1). Dube does not to take the necessary *Zeitgeist* into consideration, thus resulting in his perception being too **selective** (cf 2.5.1). Dube can, in hindsight, rightly **attribute** this perception to racist attitudes and behaviour however, this action was an accepted and "logical" step to take and was by no means perceived as abnormal during that period. However, in many instances missionaries **criticised** and **countered** these prevalent perceptions which, in a way, reflected what was later referred to as **post-modernism** (cf 3.2.3.2).

The **refutation** of perceived **intellectual inferiority** of Black people was referred to by the Lovedale missionary principals Drs James Stewart and RHW Shepherd, who noted not only the excellent achievement of both Black and White students in examinations, but also in some cases academic superiority (cf Horrel 1963:13). Dube (1985:92) argues that the reason for this observation is that:

> [t]he effect of equal ability in school performance was seen by the colonialists as undermining the social perception of Africans as "inferior." Children who see firsthand the contradiction between social stereotypes and reality are not likely to embrace those stereotypes. The aim of segregation, then, was to prevent white children from learning the true African ability directly through social intercourse at school.

Dube (1985:92-93) lists the following **factors** for the introduction of segregation into South African schools:

- slow emerging **racism** in the Cape and Natal;
- the emergence of "**poor Whites**" after the drought of 1880, and
- the discovery of **diamonds** (1870s) and **gold** (1886) which led to a growth of the mining industry and development of towns and cities.

As opposed to the sometimes **ambivalent** stance adopted by Cape Colony and Natal, Molema (1920:244) observes that the two Trekker Republics – Transvaal and Orange Free State – adopted a **clear-cut** stance of no equality in church and state between White and non-White as is reflected in Article 9 of the Constitution of the former South African Republic (SAR) (Molema 1920:244,368). This policy of non-equality also manifested itself in **education**. With the defeat of the Trekker Republics after the **South African War,** the British administration was to take over matters of education in these two republics. To Christie (1991:48) this period reflected "the *foundations* of the present racially differentiated system of education" (italics mine). Education for White pupils was to become **compulsory.** In the **Transvaal** a new education ordinance was passed in 1902 introducing free, compulsory education for children of parents of European descent. In 1904 the **Cape Colony** and **Natal** decreed laws which introduced compulsory education for all White children between the ages of seven and sixteen but not their Black counterparts. Compulsory education was perceived as an answer in bringing people who were experiencing socio-economic problems associated with the previous war and development of mining into the new industrialised **capitalist** system. On the other hand, instead of becoming a State responsibility, Black education still remained the responsibility of missionaries (Christie 1991:49) and it was intended to produce "products" trained in industrial education, this reinforcing prevalent **stereotypes** (cf 2.5.3). An extract taken from the Eiselen Report (SA[U] 1951:40, par 214) of the **Cape Select Committee on Native and Coloured Education** (cf Cape of Good Hope 1908), illustrates the **perception** of the early 1900's:

> The witnesses are generally agreed that education has the effect of making the Native more intelligent, more civilized, and more loyal and of increasing his wants. It is also widely, though less generally admitted that education makes the Native more moral and industrious. Your Committee submit that the primary objects of Native education must be the development of intelligence, the training of character, and in particular the promotion of industry, and if these objects are duly kept in view throughout, and nothing is done to force development unnaturally, Native education cannot fail to be to the advantage of the whole country.

Hartshorne (1992[b]:25) comments on these perceptions:

> These kinds of sentiments were to be the controlling influences on
> African...education until the late forties, when, following on the upheavals of
> the Second World War, both white and black political thinking were to develop
> in directions which were to bring them into direct conflict.

Cook (1990:172) also adds another obstacle in the **education** of Black people faced by missionaries; in that they were also subjected to **Black prejudice** as opposed to prevalent White bias. Education was **perceived** as the transferring of authority, traditionally held by elders and chiefs, to the literate, thus creating negative attitudes on the part of "uneducated" Blacks. These **cultural** (cf 2.6) perceptions inherent in many Black traditionalists hampered the education of many young Black people destined for roles of leadership.

4.5.5 Education after Union

At the time of the **Union** in 1910, Black, Coloured, Indian and White children attended **separate** primary and secondary schools. However, all these different schools came under the same rules and regulations of their respective provincial authorities. These schools were also supervised by the same inspectors of education in the respective geographical areas (Behr 1988:60). While some government primary schools for Black pupils were set up (mainly in Natal), the main view held was that primary schooling for Black pupils should be left in the hands of missionaries, aided by provincial subsidies (Hartshorne 1992[b]:25). To many missionaries this form of schooling was an acceptable practice (cf Cotton 1926:113-133; Smith 1926:6). White (1993:13-14) **attributes** this form of segregation to the prevalent "extinction theory" **perception** (cf 4.4.2.2[d] "Tiyo Soga's rebuttal of Chalmers") held by many **liberals**; it was feared that Black people would become extinct, due to White economic competition thus necessitating a **paternalistic** form of segregation in order to preserve and protect the Black people. Seen against the backdrop of the Union debate where it was feared that the extension of the Cape franchise to the rest of the country would result in White voters being outnumbered by Black people, this

segregation was to find an increasing audience as a way of preventing Black people entering the "Whites-only" workforce.

Discriminatory **practices** between White people and Black people were to be reflected in the **financing** of education. In 1922, new laws were passed pertaining to the financing of Black education. In 1925 state expenditure was fixed at the same level as in 1922, with any further educational expansion having to be paid by means of taxing the Black people (Christie 1991:50). The implications of this was that there were continual fiscal shortages within Black education as well as, and more importantly, **separate** educational policies which discriminated against the various race groups, except the White race. The reason for these differences in education of Black people and White people is **attributed** by Kutoane and Krüger (1990:9) to the prevalent perception amongst White people that "the Divine Will had created the Native as a `drawer of water' and a `hewer of wood' and that it would be contrary to God's will to change his [the Black person's] lot." This perception is **selective** (cf 2.5.1) since it does not cater for other factors such as prevalent theories about Black intelligence (cf 4.4.1 & 4.4.2.2[g]), the influence of the media, government policies and industrialisation (cf 4.4.2.2).

The introduction of segregated **"Native Education"** for Black pupils witnessed a racist system being practised and applied in Black education. This was reflected in several documents, aimed specifically at Black teachers. One such document was published by the Cape of Good Hope's Department of Public Education in 1924 (Cape of Good Hope 1924:Foreword) and later revised in 1929 (Cape of Good Hope 1929:Foreword), *The Native Primary School: Suggestions for the Consideration of Teachers*. In the "Foreword" of both documents the then Superintendent-General of Education, WJ Viljoen, notes that these documents would "give the education of the Native child the basis of reality, and of adaptation to his environment and needs, that will render his education of real benefit to the individual and a potent influence in the advancement of the *race*" (italics mine) (Cape of Good Hope 1929:Foreword). According to Dube (1985:93) this type of education's main aim was:

To handicap African children with the introduction of an inferior syllabus, coupled with inadequate learning conditions and poorly educated teachers. These combined factors were intended to reinforce the existing belief of white superiority while simultaneously making African children believe that they, by nature, have different destinies. Whereas segregated education was intended to impose mutual ignorance of each others' customs, values, and lifestyles upon white and African children, the curriculum for native education was designed to retard the intellectual development of Africans.

Whereas an analysis of the above two documents does reveal sound educational principles, agreement is given to the latter part of Dube's perception, which notes the downside of segregated education. Jabavu's (1929:935) observation indicates agreement when speaking about higher education and the professional training of the Black person:

The world of sound learning makes no discrimination between men on the ground of colour, but the situation in South Africa is such that the disparity of population...and the patent difference in the standards of civilisation, have led many to believe that European traditions can be kept intact only by conventions of social exclusiveness that amount to a colour bar actual or virtual.... It would seem also that the present situation of social segregation is both unavoidable and mutually acceptable. Hence the tradition of racial separation in educational centres.

Jabavu (1929:935-936) appealed to address this discrimination by giving an equal educational chance to members of the Black community who were capable of uplifting themselves and their community. However, seen against prevalent segregatory and discriminatory thinking and practices at the time, such an ideal was to be unattainable.

The observation of the Welsh Commission during the 1930's (cf 3.3.2.2) regarding educational inequalities in South Africa supports these previous arguments regarding the education received by Black people and the prevalent perceptions held mainly by White South Africans:

[I]t seems clear that there still exists opposition to the education of the Native on the grounds that (a) it makes him lazy and unfit for manual work; (b) it makes him "cheeky" and less docile as a servant; and (c) it estranges him from his own people and often leads him to despise his own culture...the aim that most...critics have at the back of their minds is that we must *give the native an education that will keep him in his place*....Some seem to think of "place" in terms of status (Rose & Tunmer 1975:231-232).

This latter observation would be realised during the 1950's when education was to reflect *apartheid* principles.

4.5.6 *Apartheid* education

The **Second World War** saw to an industrial upsurge in South Africa, which led to increased **urbanisation**, which resulted in all South Africans experiencing **changes** in their **economic** and **social** life. Many White people, especially Nationalist Afrikaners, began to debate whether Non-Whites were part of a **common** integrated Westernised society or whether their existence was **separate** from that of White people (cf Eiselen 1950:9-18). The latter option was to be adopted with the coming into power of the National Party in 1948. These sentiments were reiterated by Werner Eiselen (1950:9-18) in a lecture presented to the Witwatersrand People's Forum on 8 October 1948, where he debated the options for Black people in the present system. His argument obviously emphasised separate development in all areas of life. What is **ambivalent** in his speech is advocating the use of non-violent and constructive means to achieve these aims. Hindsight invariably negates these utopian means of achieving these realities by means of "constructive education", "full and free development" and "freedom of development through separation" since they were just a means of political **rhetoric**, used to influence the public's perception to accept this policy.

This newly elected 1948 Government, was to implement its policy of **separate development** in all earnest. Amongst others, education was to reflect this policy and

in January 1949 a commission on Native Education under the chairmanship of **Dr WWM Eiselen** was brought into being (Behr & MacMillan 1971:396; Lewis 1992:51-53).

With the **Eiselen Report** (cf 3.3.2.2) being laid on the table of the House of Assembly on Monday, 11 February 1952 (*South African Outlook*, 1 March 1952:36; Lewis 1992:51), a new era had been initiated, regarding the education of Black people in South Africa where education was going to **change**, since from now on it was to be openly administered along racial lines. The Commission was asked to formulate plans designed to provide an "education for natives as an *independent race*, in which their past and present, their inherent racial qualities, their *distinctive characteristics and aptitude*, and their needs under ever changing social conditions are taken into consideration" (italics mine) (SA[U] 1951:7).

Of importance and relevance here, is the **overt** racialism (cf 4.2.1.2) denoted in the phrase "an independent race" as well as the quasi-scientific notion of "distinctive aptitude[s]" which was prevalent amongst "racial scientists" such as JA Jansen van Rensburg (4.4.2.2[g]). In essence the outcome of the report was that the Black people should receive a **separate** education suitable to his/her needs within his/her own Black community (Lewis 1992:37).

The Black educationist, Mncwabe (1990:21) when speaking of *apartheid* education maintains that:

> These terms of reference are coined from the intrinsic rejection of the policy
> of integration by apartheid supporters. According to apartheid supporters the
> policy of integration contains a grave threat to racial harmony and to the
> security and survival of the white population. The only logical policy,
> according to this group, is one that makes provision for the free and separate
> development of racial groups.

Objection to the Eiselen Report was considerable, with the **Education League** in Johannesburg seeing the "proposed" new system as ignoring "the growing needs of a vast detribalized and urbanized Native population" (*Cape Times*, 18 September 1953:4) while the editorial of the *South African Outlook* perceived the document as

"a politicians' and not an educationalists' document. It smacks of *apartheid*, of the Nationalist brand, from beginning to end" (*South African Outlook*, 1 March 1952:36).

The general tendency of the document was **perceived** by the editorial of the *South African Outlook* (1 March 1952:36) as supporting the racial policies of the National Party Government. The close **connection** between racial and political policies is disclosed by the following: "Before a satisfactory plan for Bantu education can be formulated there must be a plan for Bantu development, which makes due allowance for all matters which are bound up with this development and emanate therefrom (*South African Outlook*, 1 March 1952:36), thus implying **overt** segregation. Marambana (1987:23) on speaking of the present education **crisis**, unyieldingly declares that "segregation is the root cause of crisis in Black education", with the intention of not merely keeping different groups apart, but to create conditions for inequality, thus "giving the white section superiority and hegemony, and others inferiority and subordination."

With the introduction of the **Bantu Education Act** in 1953 (cf 3.3.2.2), the Minister of Native Affairs – **Dr Hendrik Verwoerd** – introduced an education system which had its roots entirely in the Black areas, environment and community. This Act was largely based on the recommendations of the Eiselen Commission (Behr 1988:35-36). Black education was to be removed from the jurisdiction of the provincial education departments placed under central, separate control and run by the **Department of Bantu Education** (Shepherd 1971:153; Behr 1988:61). Mncwabe (1990:21) notes that this Act "was based on the realistic and separatist principles of the Nationalist government's ideology." South Africa now had four **separate** (but parallel) ministries of education for the four identified racial groups within South Africa. The educationalist Behr (1988:61) argues that this was "a system of centralization *within* each racial group and decentralization *between* groups."

Dube (1985:95) notes that this Act "was introduced without any attempt at pretense" of its aims. **Overt** as well as **covert** (cf 4.2.1.2) manifestations of racism were evident in the planning and implementation of Bantu Education. According to Cook (1990:171), himself Professor of Ecclesiastical History at Rhodes University,

this Act "was a parade book manual imposed from above by an authority determined to control the process of education at every point where it might upset the balance of a society already heavily weighted in favour of whites." However, it should be noted that the ideology of *apartheid* was not a rigid doctrine, but rather a very **plastic** one which could be bent to suit its specific needs. The theoretical plasticity of the ideology of apartheid was evident in the ideas and thoughts of one of the stalwarts of Bantu education, Werner MM Eiselen. Nowhere in his writings did he uphold racial or innate biological **superiority** (cf Davies 1988:96), but he rather based his racial policy on the recognition of **racial** and **cultural** differences (Mncwabe 1990:21).

The results of this Act were profound and endorsed racial **differences** in the field of education. According to this Act, Black education would not be **compulsory** as was the case with White schools, and would be **financed** from limited Governmental funding as well as from Black resources (Hartshorne 1992[b]:37) and not, as was in the case of Whites, from general revenue. A further consequence of this Act was that Black **universities** would be situated in less developed homelands which not only stunted academic and skills development, but it also prohibited Black access to White urban universities (Cook 1990:171-172).

In his capacity as Government spokesman in 1954, Dr Verwoerd noted that the previous system of **mission education** "[was] unsympathetic to the country's policy... by ignoring the segregation or `apartheid' policy.... By blindly producing pupils trained on a European model, the vain hope was created among Natives that they could occupy posts within the European community" (Hansard 1954, col 2898). Further criticism of mission education was also evident from the **Eiselen Report** (Christie 1991:91). Attempts were thus being made at all levels of society to subsequently **change** peoples' perceptions in abhorring the previous system of education in favour of separate education.

Although wide **criticism** to this type of segregated education was prevalent (Cook 1990:172) in **political** (*Cape Times*, 18 September 1953:4) and **educational** circles (*Cape Times* 22 September 1953:5), it was also prevalent in **theological** and **missionary** and implicitly mission education circles (*South African Outlook* , 1 October

1954:145; *Cape Times*, 22 November 1954:4; Sebakwane 1994:12). **Rev Trevor Huddleston** (*The Observer*, 3 October 1954) even compared the ruling National Party to the previous Nazi Regime, while the Bishop of Bloemfontein – **Rt Rev CW Alderson** – likened the Act to the philosophy of communism, as it denied individuals the right to full development (*Cape Times*, 22 November 1954:4). On 10 November 1954, the **Episcopal Synod of the Church of the Province of South Africa** issued a statement condemning the Bantu Education Act. Although not approving the Act as "it [the Act] is morally wrong to follow a policy which has for its object the keeping of a particular racial group in a permanent position of inferiority" (*Cape Times*, 11 November 1954:1), it was prepared to lease certain of its educational buildings to the State since "it was forced to choose the lesser of two evils" – in that closure would do both teachers and pupils out of a job and education. Opposition to the Act was also made known by the **Holiness Mission Churches** (Nkuna 1986:214-215), the **General Assembly of the Bantu Presbyterian Church of South Africa**, the **Methodist Church of South Africa, Episcopal Synod of the Church of the Province**, as well as the **American Board Mission in South Africa**, who all regretted the Government's need to embark on a system of education that would place Blacks in a subordinate position which, in essence, was incompatible with Christian principles (*South African Outlook*, 1 November 1954:164-165,181). Even by 1997 this perception of the 1953 Education Act's influence and results have not **changed**. In a **television** interview, the Rev Prof Nancy Charton (Parish Priest, Grahamstown), herself involved in mission education during the 1950's declared emphatically that this education was in fact "slave education" (Charton 1997) while the Vice-Chancellor of the University of the Western Cape, Prof Cecil Abrahams (Mthetheleli MacKay 1999:13), recently declared in the *Weekend Argus* that "South Africa's universities had all been created under apartheid and colonial conditions. Therefore, they had all been racist institutions" (italics mine). This same **newspaper** report also stated that "with the exception of Fort Hare, the historically black universities were created by the National Party government to bolster its grand apartheid policy by giving each ethnic group its own institution of higher learning" (Mthetheleli MacKay 1999:13).

Opposed to these objections emanating in the early 1950's, the **DRC** Commission's viewpoint was that of **endorsement** of the Government's commitment to **mass**

education, but failed to refer to the Government's plan of segregation (*The South African Outlook* 1 November 1954) thus **amplifying** the stance of the DRC to the acceptance of the ruling party's ideological stance.

However, the **perception** should not be created that policies of separation were always countered and criticised by the Church, especially English-speaking missions since this would result in portraying English-speaking missionaries as wearing "halos", whereas and Afrikaans-speaking missionaries were wearing "horns"; thus the **halo** and **horn** effect (cf 2.5.4). Cochrane (1990:85-86,93) notes that in the period between 1913-1926, Churches were more interested in "a stable white-governed South Africa, now under the banner of 'Christian Trusteeship'" than actively pursuing resistance. This trusteeship implied the function of *"supportively pleading"* the case of Blacks in public as was the case with the Land Act of 1913. This supportive talk was to later (1926-1948) **change,** taking the form of *"formal representations"* to Government by specialised institutions, the most notable was the Christian Council of South Africa (CCSA) to that of *"formal protest"* and even *"passive resistance"*, as from 1948-1960 in opposition to the Policy of *apartheid*. Although some missionaries, such as the Rev Trevor Huddleston, took on a militant attitude towards protest, Archbishop DE Hurley (1997) rather notes that although English churches disagreed with segregatory laws, little was done to really **oppose** the Government, which even led to Huddleston criticising the Church vehemently. Hurley (1997) attributes these shortcomings of the English churches to their internal affairs not being in order, in their way they themselves reflected segregatory practices in all aspects of church life.

4.6   IN SUMMARISING

What has transpired from this global and specific overview of aspects surrounding the concept of "racism" are some inferences to be drawn.

The **problem** with the concept "racism" is the **myriad of definitions** and interpretations thereof, which invariably lead to diverse perceptions. Racism generally involves the expression of prejudiced attitudes in behavioural patterns leading to feelings of racial

superiority and discriminatory practices and unfair treatment of various racial, religious, class and ethnic groups which may be realised overtly, covertly or reactively. **Factors** causing these prejudicial attitudes and behaviour are diverse , and are the subject of numerous theories. These theories range from historical, economic, socio-cultural, situational, psychodynamic, phenomological and earned reputation, as reasons for a racialistic approach.

Although prejudicial attitudes and behaviour have been prevalent for a long period of time, the **Enlightenment** saw an acceleration thereof in an attempt to rationalise and understand certain phenomena, one such phenomenon was the study of the human race.   The outcome of this process was **scientific racism** which in turn led to prejudicial attitudes, and to behaviour being justified by means of pseudoscientific theories invariably influencing the perceptual schemata of Westerners. South Africa did not escape this phenomenon due to, amongst others, its European links, and thus reflected both prejudicial attitudes and discriminatory practice during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Although Enlightenment ideas underpinned racist attitudes and behaviour, they cannot be perceived as main and sole contributory factors. Economic, socio-cultural and situational factors, at national level, are but a few other **contributory** factors towards prejudicial attitudes and behaviour.

Missionaries both **appealed** to, and **refuted** claims of racial superiority during the period under discussion. This acceptance and repudiation was not a static process, but was to reflect **metabletical** characteristics. Reasons for this acceptance and rejection ranged from the specific era, personal and environmental circumstances, past and present experiences to the different personalities of the missionaries themselves.   As missionaries were also under political, cultural, economic and religious influences their education subsequently reflected such policy in the light of a **changing** society. Missionaries were to reflect and criticise these policies.

Closely linked with racial attitudes, is **colonialism.** The following chapter will investigate perception with regard to missionaries and colonialism.

Chapter 5

PERCEPTIONS REGARDING COLONIALISM

Africans in South Africa today tend to see these [mission] schools as having been started for the purpose of making the Africans better servants for the colonialist and not as educating for education's sake

(Dube 1985:90).

5.1   INTRODUCTION AND AIM OF THIS CHAPTER

From the previous chapter dealing with racial perceptions surrounding mission education emanated **diverse** perspectives related to the topic. Closer scrutinising indicated that what contemporary writers and commentators often failed to do, was to understand the whole mission process **contextually,** within the realm of specific **time** and **space.** This neglect very often led to generalisations, stereotypes and selective perceptions.

It is in this light, as a continuation of perceptions surrounding mission education, that is imperative to bring to light, **other** diverse perceptions surrounding this topic within their **metabletical** context. One such perception being the **effect** that colonialism had on missionaries, and on the consequent education which they provided.

As a continuation of this study's critical analysis of certain perceptions surrounding mission education, the **aim** and subsequent **objectives** of this chapter should correspond with those of the previous chapter. The **specific** objectives of this chapter are to:

■   touch on the **diverse** perceptions surrounding colonialism/imperialism;

■   discuss the historical development of the colonial process in **global terms;**

■   discuss the historical development of the colonial process appertaining to **South Africa;**

■   critically analyse, in both the previous objectives, the **role** of missionaries in the light of diverse perceptions, and

■   assess the implications that colonialism had on **mission education** and the implications thereof, within the **metabletical** context.

However, it is with these aims and objectives in mind that the focal point of this chapter will be on the **divergent perceptions** surrounding missionaries involvement in the colonial and imperial process(es).

5.2 PERCEPTIONS SURROUNDING COLONIALISM

5.2.1 Divergent general perceptions

Given the motives for Christian involvement in South Africa, there is a strong tendency amongst contemporary writing – for instance **Marxist Revisionists** – of the history of mission work, that the missionaries were active **agents** of colonialism, who were intent on preserving colonial interests at the cost of those whom they averred to evangelise, missionaries are seen as **cultural imperialists** (cf Zotwana 1993:7; Bloch-Hoell 1982:17; Malan *et al* 1996:47) and as producing labour for the **capitalist** system (Majeke 1952; Carnoy 1974:118; cf Cross 1987:550-551; Van der Walt 1992[b]:75-76). These motives, according to these writers, were ultimately reflected in the **education** that missionaries provided. To Mushkat (1971:220) this Marxist interpretation is especially appealing to Africans as it places the blame for Africa's deplorable conditions on the effects of colonialism and frees Africans from any guilt and responsibility.

These sentiments of cultural imperialism are not only restricted to Marxist writers but are, for example, also amplified by the **post-modern**[1] anthropologist couple Jean and John Comaroff (1991:4) in their book, *Of Revelation and Revolution: Christianity, Colonialism and Consciousness in South Africa*. In their study of the **Southern Tswana** they observe as follows:

> The past century and half has been dominated by the effort of others [especially missionaries] to impose upon them [the Southern Tswana] a particular way of seeing and being. Whether it be in the name of a "benign," civilizing imperialism or in cynical pursuit of their labor power, the final objective of generations of colonizers has been to colonize their consciousness with the axioms and aesthetics of an alien culture. This culture – the culture

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[1]   Post-modern interpretations of history, influenced strongly by disciplines such as anthropology and literature, reflect a strong acknowledgement of subjectivity and not, as is the case of other interpretations, acknowledgement of not being biased and objective. To post-modernists this subjectivity is reflected in the notion that people or groups construct their own reality (Malan *et al* 1996:ix; cf also Chapter 2).

of European capitalism, of Western modernity – had, and continues to have, enormous historical force – a force at once ideological and economic, semantic and social.

However, it is not only present-day writers who share this latter perception. **Intersubjective** (cf 2.7) agreement is also more or less reflected by the **Liberal** historian CW de Kiewiet who in his book, *The Imperial Factor in South Africa* (1937), maintains that:

> Missionaries, though their designs be ever so well meaning, came with an alien culture. Like colonists, traders and magistrates they adhered to moral attitudes, social principles and economic motives that were completely alien to native modes of thought. Whatever the intention of the agencies of European culture that came into contact with native life, whether to "benefit" it by "improving" native moral or economic conditions, or to weaken and destroy their economic strength, their common basis was a disapproval of the native mode of life.

These perceptions are not shared by Gray (1990:59) who, in an analysis of that which has been written on missionaries **globally**, notes that "[o]ne way of explaining the far greater impact of Christian missionaries during the last two centuries is to see them merely as *agents* of the transformation of Africa by Western capitalism and technology" (italics mine). This evidences the phenomenon of **selectivity** (cf 2.5.1), in this case missionaries and the **education** that they provided are perceived in a negative and limited light (cf 2.5.4 "horn effect").

Yet, to the respected **missiologist** Stephen Neill the term **colonialism**, in the present-day sense of the word tends to be:

> used almost exclusively as a term of reproach, implying that the only aim of colonial rule has been the exploitation and impoverishment of weaker and defenceless peoples, and that its only results have been the destruction of what was good in ancient civilizations and the multiplication of measureless evils. [And that:] It is now widely taken for granted that, whatever may have

been the beneficent intentions of the missionaries, they were in fact the tools

of governments, and that missions can be classed as one of the instruments

of Western infiltration and control (Neill 1966:11-12).

This latter observation by Neill can be interpreted dually, in that missionaries **willingly co-operated** with the colonial authorities, as well as interpreted that they were **(mis)used** by the colonial authorities.

However, Christie (1991:67-68) endeavours to place the role of missionaries in a more **balanced** perspective in that they "were part of the unequal colonial society" and that they "were people of their time". In **support** of this perception, Bloch-Hoell (1982:17) argues that "[t]he Christian mission has to a large degree been exercised parallel with colonialism, sometimes in *opposition* to the colonial power, sometimes in *subservience* to it" (italics mine). It is in the light of this comment that cognisance should be taken that during the colonial high period there were missionaries who ran counter to the spirit of colonialism, also there was a waning of colonial connections in the latter part of world history (ie the twentieth century) amongst many missionaries.   Similarly, the **missiologist,** Johannes Verkuyl (1978:168-169) emphatically asserts that imperialist **motives** were present in the work of missions throughout history, but reminds that this perception should be seen in the light of **time** and **space** (cf 3.1 & 3.2.3) and not be subjected to simple **generalisations** (cf 2.5.3) where identical characteristics are **attributed** to all missionaries (cf 2.5.3).   These sentiments concerning the importance of positing the mission endeavour **contextually,** within the realm of particular time and space are also shared by Jenks (1930:3) and Van der Walt (1992[b]:75-85).

Christie (1991:70) further points out that perceptions **vary** from recognition of strong links between missionaries and Governments to those perceiving that the links were not as profound, to those that missionaries' ideas and practices differed from that of the colonial authorities.   These and similar perceptions linger not only amongst **academic** writings, but they are also prevalent amongst **politicians** and **journalists.** MacKenzie (1993:45) is of the opinion that "[p]olitical and journalistic responses to

early missionary education regularly provide *simplified* and *aphoristic* assessments of missionaries and their achievements or failings" (italics mine) (cf Nel 1958:6-26; Bikitsha 1996:4) inevitably impacting negatively on the **education** that was provided by them.

However, before proceeding to an analysis of the colonial experience in its historical context, it is necessary to define the term "colonialism".

5.2.2 Definition of the term

To **define** the term "colonialism" and subsequently "imperialism" at this stage of the research is a very **precarious** endeavour, since as many researchers - so many definitions. Bloch-Hoell (1982:17) maintains that a person's **perception** of the term "depends on how imperialism/colonialism is defined." This is illustrated by O'Meara (1983:34,257-258) who **perceives** and uses the concept "imperialism" - a term very often equated with "colonialism" (cf Etherington 1982:191) - from two different perspectives:

■ The first instance is the **Leninist** conception as a specific stage in the world-wide development of capitalism, in other words, monopoly capitalism (cf Ball 1983:237).

■ In the light of **Afrikaner nationalist ideology,** where Afrikaners were discriminated against along social, political, cultural and economic lines, thus giving rise to anti-imperialistic actions.

Whereas the former referred to a **global** phenomenon, the latter referred to the specific way in which British political and economic forces impacted (negatively) on a **specific** nation - in this instance the Afrikaner nation.

Etherington (1982:191), on the other hand, **equates** the two terms (colonialism and imperialism) referring specifically to them as "political control by Europeans over non-Europeans." In this instance Etherington sees the phenomenon of "colonialism" as

being initiated by European powers, thereby perceiving them in the light of the negative "horn" effect (cf 2.5.4). Closer inspection of the phenomenon will reveal otherwise in that it was a universal occurrence.

It is in the light of these comments that a "fairly objective" **working definition** of the term will be sought from a popular dictionary. "Colonialism", according to *The Shorter Oxford English Dictionary on Historical Principles*, is defined as, and refers to "a colonial practice, idiom, or manner". "Colony", on the other hand refers to, in the modern sense of the word, a settlement in a new country or a body of settlers, forming a community who are politically connected with their original (parent) state (Friedrichsen 1973, sv "colony", "colonialism"). Hence "colonialism" is a **manner** by which a nation asserts or augments its **control** over **foreign** dependencies. However, cognisance must be taken of the **post-modernist** academics Comaroff and Comaroff's (1991:5) observation that "colonialism has been as much a matter of the politics of *perception* and *experience* as it has been an exercise in formal governance" (italics mine). Thus it must be seen not only as "an institutionalized political order", but also "a condition of being" or a state of mind.

To Neill (1966:11) the concept "colonialism" is a recent arrival in Western languages taking the place of the more popular notion of **"imperialism"**. To the contrary, Malan *et al* (1997:27-28) argue that imperialism originated in the 1860's and it "is primarily an awareness, a state of mind, a feeling of self esteem experienced by the people of a nation." They define the term as "the expansion of control by one power over another in order that the dominant power is able to exploit the resources of the other nation to its own advantage"; thus implying **capitalistic** exploitation and **psychological** superiority. In the case of the British, this state of mind led to feelings of **grandeur** - which led its citizens to view themselves in a domineering position over other "less fortunate" nations, who needed upliftment and who would benefit from their progressive culture (cf 3.2.3.1[a] and "Benevolent colonialism"). This was evident in the mid-nineteenth century and onwards, which era led to **political** and **strategic** expansion, as well as **economic** gain.

This chapter will focus largely on that period of time referred to by Neill (1966:11) as the **Vasco da Gama-era** (1492-1947) and will concentrate on **European** expansion only. More specifically the **British** expansion in South Africa, as from the beginning of the nineteenth century, up until the mid-twentieth century.

Given these general observations, the following **questions** arise: Were all missionaries intentionally involved in the process of colonial conquest? Were all missionaries equally guilty of "colonising" the minds and hearts of the indigenous peoples? How did the various groups perceive and experience the colonising process?

From the outset, it must be borne in mind that colonialism is an **ancient** phenomenon and did not only originate in Western Europe, during the early period of Christianity or the Middle Ages (Mushkat 1971:221; Bosch 1991:302). Examples of ancient colonialism are that of the **Phoenicians, Greeks and Romans** (Neill 1966:15-24; Bloch-Hoell 1982:17; Bosch 1991:227). This observation is in **contrast** to Etherington's previous view that the phenomenon was a European one.

What should also be borne in mind before proceeding with the following section, is that although there was a **relationship** between the Church and the State since early Christian times (Constantinian), it was not always a smooth relationship. In the words of Bosch (1991:221):

> The relationship between emperor and pope, during the early Middle Ages, was never completely relaxed; there was almost always a silent *struggle* for supremacy. At the same time each knew that he needed the other.... The church's dependence upon the imperial power, also in its mission work, was both a *necessity* and a *burden* (italics mine).

However, before touching on the main thrust of the research it is necessary to briefly focus on Western colonial expansion in order to put the whole process into **historical** perspective.

5.3   COLONIAL EXPANSION IN THE WESTERN WORLD

By the fifteenth century, trade routes to the East were largely dominated and controlled by the **Muslims**. Western European countries were finding it increasingly difficult, dangerous, and expensive to follow overland trade routes to the East. The capture of **Constantinople** by the Turks in 1453, and the subsequent encircling of Western Europe were both an economic and spiritual catastrophes to the Western world (Neill 1966:35-36; Bosch 1991:226).

The **Atlantic Ocean** was to become the solution to Western Europe's trade problems. This was made possible by the technological advances made in shipbuilding and seamanship in which **Portugal** played a profound role. The truth of this was evident, in that by 1532 Portugal was firmly established in areas in West and East Africa, India, Malacca and the mouth of the Persian Gulf. However, **Spain** ventured to the Americas. Protection of the Atlantic trade route – commerce – was the **motive** for Portugal establishing strongholds along the coast of Africa as well as in the East; "[t]rade, and trade alone, was the ruling consideration" (Neill 1966:38).

As was mentioned previously (cf 3.2.1 & 3.2.3.1[a]), the history that of the Middle Ages was intrinsically **Church** history. Western Europe still had the memory of the Christian **crusades** and the freeing of Spain from the **Muslims**. This influenced their subsequent colonial actions. Neill (1966:39) asserts:

> The ideas of conquest and of conversion lay side by side in the consciousness of the Christians of the Western world. Trade, and the hopes of fame and wealth, were without doubt the dominant *motives*. But there is no reason to doubt the sincerity of those who supposed that the addition of so many lands to the Christian world was an enterprise which could count on the divine blessing, and that nothing could be more beneficial to the inhabitants of those dark lands than their admission to the Christian Church (italics mine).

Bosch (1991:303) argues differently to Neill (1966:39), in that the **motives** for early Western colonialism (Spain and Portugal) were predominantly **political** and **theological**,

later (during the seventeenth century) shifting to **mercantile** and even later (nineteenth century), reverting back to **theological** motives. A cursory analysis of the situation brings to light these differences in **perception** and **interpretation** of the motives for early Western colonialism. Jenks (1930:4) argues that by shedding light on the *Zeitgeist* (cf 3.2.3), as well as the **motives** of the originating country, authors will not fall foul to **generalisations** (cf 2.5.3) in their analysis of Western colonial expansion.

In 1455 the Catholic Pope gave the **King of Portugal** full sovereignty (present and future) of overseas possessions. This included the right to erect churches, monasteries and other religious establishments, as well as to send members of the secular clergy and of the Religious Orders, to station them (Neill 1966:40).

When **Spain** entered the field, it also requested and received ecclesiastical legitimisation for its conquests. According to Pope Alexander VI's *Inter Caetera Divinae* (1493), Spain could rule the world outside Europe to the **West**, and Portugal could rule to the **East** (Neill 1966:40-43; Cook 1990:168). The following three centuries saw Spain and Portugal finance many RCC missions. Neill (1966:43) maintains that "conquest was regarded as legitimate only if the Christian sovereigns conscientiously fulfilled their obligations to Christianize those whom they had conquered". Fortunately, according to Bosch (1991:227) "the first two colonial powers and their rulers were stalwart champions of the Catholic faith and could be trusted to do their best to bring the message of eternal redemption to all, even to the slaves." To colonise and to missionise were two **synonymous** and **complementary** concepts and actions – together with political hegemony went religious hegemony (Bosch 1991:227).

Response to the Spanish conquests (and subsequent attempts at conversion) by the indigenous populations, **varied** from acceptance to resistance. On being conquered, the local inhabitants had to accept that they were vassals of the Spanish King. They then received missionaries who would proclaim to them the word of God. If they **submitted** to their conquerors, they would be granted freedom and protection by the

Spanish King and, after receiving the missionaries, if they did not wish to accept the Catholic faith, they were not compelled to do so. **Failure** to submit, however, would result in a form of slavery and in order to appreciate this, one needs to understand **liberty** and **freedom** in terms of the *Zeitgeist* (cf 3.2.3) within which the Spanish conquerors lived, and not from that of a contemporary frame of reference. The **feudal system** was the prevalent socio-economic system that these conquerors knew, and this consequently shaped and influenced their **thoughts** and **behaviour** (cf 2.1). These conquerors thus intended to be masters over the conquered "heathen". Acceptance of the Christian faith, did not mean that converts were perceived to be totally free, but they were considered and treated as **serfs**, who enjoyed minimum rights in comparison to their masters (Neill 1966:43-46).

Both **resistance** and **compliance** to the excesses of Spanish and Portuguese colonialism in South America and Africa were evident in missionary circles. An example of resistance in South America is that of **Bartolemé de las Casas** (Verkuyl 1978:169; Bosch 1991:310) and in Portugal **Fr Antonio Vieira**. They both preached equality among Europeans and Amerindians. Both these missionaries' actions have been subjected to numerous **interpretations** resulting in diverse **perceptions** (Jenks 1930:27; cf MacKenzie 1993:48-49). What is **ambivalent** from various sources (cf Neill 1966:51-60) is that although both las Casas and Vieira propagated the equality of man, they proposed importing Negro slaves "to save the Amerindian" from extermination. Neill (1966:51-60) points out that Vieira does not even condemn the cruelty and oppression practised by slave masters (Neill 1966:51-60). However, Jenks (1930:27-28) debunks this **selective perception** (cf 2.5.1) created primarily by earlier **Spanish** and **English** historians as being interpreted out of context, but he does note las Casas's regret to have suggested the introduction of slaves "to replace the Indian slaves whom he was now setting free". However, barring these diverse perceptions, this form of **reaction** to colonial authorities should be viewed against the backdrop that **protest** against colonialistic practices was **extremely rare** and such protest was more the exception than the rule. Protest – in most cases in this era by the Church – was predominantly perceived as **reactionary**. In describing the contrast between different eyewitnesses of the colonial conquest and in the light of the last

statement, MacKenzie (1993:48-49) draws a contrast between las Casas and Christopher Columbus regarding the **Church-state relationship.** In order to demonstrate this contrast it is necessary to quote MacKenzie at length:

> Christopher Columbus noted in his log on the first voyage to Latin America in 1492 that "the end and the beginning of this enterprise is the glory of the Christian faith". Yet, having landed in Cuba, he initiated a furious search for gold and observed, with some relief, that only a few Spanish soldiers would be required to subdue the mild-natured islanders. For him, the Church and the state were as one. By contrast, Bartolome de Las Casas...pointedly disavows any collusion on the part of the Catholic missionaries with the barbarities of Spanish colonisers in Latin America whose "fortunes are made at the expense of the local people".

In many instances many missionaries of the colonial churches failed to achieve what they initially set out to do and settled on the fringes of cities, to lead a life of comfortable bachelorhood. This development can be **attributed** to, amongst others, fear of their lives from the indigenous peoples. However, not all missionaries reverted to this type of mission. A missionary order that had a profound influence (both positive and negative) in South America, was the **Jesuit Order** (Neill 1966:60-61). Since a complete description of this order lies beyond the purview of this research, salient aspects will be dealt with to highlight their successes and failures.

This order played a profound role from the seventeenth century onwards. Jesuits set up Christian villages – **Reductions** – where local inhabitants could reside, free from the forced labour of the colonists. In these villages the church was paramount and the inhabitants laboured to and for the benefit of the Church. **Simply** put, the Jesuit missionary was a "dictator", who saw to it that the inhabitants laboured for the benefit of the Church. This practice was **mutually** beneficial to both parties with expulsion from these villages being seen as a kind of "death sentence". Although noting their successes, Neill (1966:65-66) does point to certain **defects** of this system, in doing so Neill does not fall into the trap of perceiving the Jesuit order *only* in a positive light (cf 2.5.4 "halo effect"). These include that:

- this order **segregated** their converts from the outside world, leaving very little opportunity for personal growth;

- no attempt was made by the Jesuit missionaries to train the Amerindians in **independence** and **leadership**, except beyond the most elementary grades, thus destroying a class of potential leaders, and

- the Amerindian **clergy** were not promoted.

Present-day comments by academics about the **education** of the indigenous peoples tends to focus on the **negative** effects *only* (cf 2.5.4 "horn effect") that Jesuit education had on the indigenous population (MacKenzie 1993:49). One such example, is that given by Haussman and Haar (1978:31), who when they comment on the type of **education** given by the Jesuits to the local population during sixteenth century **Brazill**, they argue that it was "not serv[ing] as a means of upward social mobility, but instead perpetuated the élite cultural values of Brazilian colonial society", and that the education provided by this order was "dogmatic, authoritarian, and abstract" as well as promoting rote learning and encyclopaedism. Seen against a **contemporary** backdrop, these deficiencies do reflect a problem, however, what should be borne in mind is that these **educational** practices of the Jesuits were actually reactionary in the context of their own **time** and **spatial** setting which ran counter to normal colonial practices, a factor not considered by Haussman and Haar (1978:31) which results in a **selective** (cf 2.5.1) outlook on the endeavour.

A **positive** aspect of the Jesuits, according to Neill (1966:66) was their giving of the **Holy Communion** to the Amerindian converts. Although Church councils at that time permitted Amerindians, Negroes and half-castes to receiving the Holy Communion, Church practice excluded them (Neill 1966:66). Within that **era** this concession and practice by the Jesuits could be perceived as **revolutionary** and advanced.

In conclusion, the role of the Church during this era shows signs of **ambivalence,** however, in the words of Neill (1966:68):

[O]n the whole the Church was indifferent and complacent, accepting with quiet satisfaction the superiority of the white man to the brown or black, and asking no awkward questions as to the legitimacy of conquestor as to the compatibility of slavery with the Christian Gospel. Yet where the Amerindian or the Negro had a friend, in almost every case that friend was a churchman, one who acted in the name of Christ, and in the light of a vision of the love of God which was denied to most of his contemporaries. Concern was not always accompanied by wisdom.

In the light of the previous discussion, this **generalisation** (cf 2.5.3) of Neill is sound in that it recognises both **positive** and **negative** sides to Spanish and Portuguese missionaries' involvement in the colonialisation process.

Given this short historical background of the European colonial era, it is now necessary and important to focus on British **colonialism** and **imperialism** in South Africa since the start of the nineteenth century. It is especially the role played by **missionaries** and its impact on **education** during this era, specifically as "British colonial policy was important in shaping the power relations and political and socio-economic formations of the region" according to Malan *et al* (1996:33).

5.4   BRITISH COLONIAL POLICY AND SOUTH AFRICA

In order to put matters into perspective, it is necessary to briefly refer to: the **reasons** why the Cape Colony became a British colony; **types** of British colonies; the British colonial **administration**, and finally the **factors** (applicable to this study) that influenced British colonial policy towards South Africa, especially with regard to mission education.

5.4.1 Britain and the Cape Colony

In 1805 **Napoleon** resumed hostilities in Europe. This led to the suspension of the **Treaty of Amiens** and the laying open of the Cape as a strategic base to any power needing to secure access to the East. After conquering the representatives of the

Batavian Republic (the Netherlands) at the Cape, it was taken over by **Great Britain** in 1806 (Newton-King 1980:172; Davenport 1991:37). The reasons for this occupation by Britain were two-fold, namely

■   for **strategic** purposes (Kotzé 1975:117), and

■   because the Cape was a **spoil of war** in the hostilities between France and Britain (Newton-King 1980:172) which invariably meant possession.

Initially, **commerce** was the primary purpose of colonising (Kotzé 1975:117) and during this initial period missionaries were not readily welcomed in the colony since they voiced their **criticisms** towards the overseas trading companies. This was to **change** when Britain adopted a stance of "**benevolent colonialism**" – the conscious responsibility taken by a colonial power for the prosperity of her colonial inhabitants (Bosch 1991:306-307), an **attitude** that was to gain momentum towards the latter part of the nineteenth century.

In the beginning this take-over was temporary by nature, but later it became permanent. British rule at the Cape was confirmed in 1814 by the **London Convention** (Kotzé 1975:118; Malan *et al* 1996:39-40,43), and became permanent at the **Congress of Vienna** in 1815 (Ross 1986:16). Zotwana (1993:5-6) reasons, commenting on the outcome of the Congress of Vienna, that "it is highly unlikely that the missionaries were not relishing the idea of territorial gains by their country, as these were signs of its greatness." While Zotwana's **perception** is valid that the inhabitants of Western countries perceived themselves in a higher light (cf Malan *et al*'s [1977:27-28] and comments in 5.2.1), evidence will show that although these **early** missionaries "relished the idea of territorial gains" their **motives** were in many cases different that of the conquering country, namely predominantly **evangelical** and not political. This ambivalence is evident from the work of the **contemporary** writer Keto (1976:602), who sums up missionaries' **primary** motive:

> [M]any white political officials regarded the African as a twofold problem: he
> occupied land that white settlers needed and he was reluctant to offer his

labor to them for their exploitation of that land. The missionary, on the other hand, viewed the African as a malleable spirit ripe for the noble onslaught of *"civilizing"* and *Christianizing* endeavors (italics mine).

Although referring to missionaries and the subsequent **education** that they provided during the latter nineteenth century, Keto vividly portrays the **motives** of both the colonial official and settler and the missionary. While the former is motivated by ideals of **conquest** (politically, and more specifically material exploitation), the latter's primary aim was to **Christianise**. Although Keto refers to the settler, official and missionary in **general** terms, closer inspection to follow will reveal that both were driven also by other motives not mentioned by Keto. History has shown that there were cases of missionaries closely collaborating with colonial powers, showing signs of evangelical and political motives (cf Bosch 1991:302-313), however, one must analyse these perceptions in the light of their **context**.

5.4.2 British Colonial Administration

From the outset one must bear in mind, that South Africa was one of many regions of colonial interest to Great Britain. Colonial policies from **London** thus applied to all the British Colonies (De Kiewiet 1937:4-11; Christie 1991:33).

5.4.2.1 Types of colonies

British Colonies resorted under **three** categories:

- **Crown** colonies;
- Colonies having **representative governments**: In these colonies the legislature was partly controlled by the Crown having the right of veto concerning matters on local legislature.
- Colonies with **responsible governments**: Here the Crown only had the right of veto (Friedrichsen 1973, sv "colony", "colonialism").

Initially the Cape Colony was run by the Colonial Office as a **crown** colony, gradually took over its own government and in 1872 becoming a **self-governing** colony of Great Britain, that is, parliamentary government with ministerial responsibility (Scholtz 1975:188). In 1910 the Cape, Orange Free State, Natal and Transvaal formed the **Union of South Africa,** whereby South Africa became united into a single British colony (Christie 1991:33,45). According to the South Africa Act (passed in 1909 and which came into effect on 31 May 1910) South Africa took its place as an **independent dominion** within the British Empire (later renamed the Commonwealth of Nations) (Joyce 1989, sv "Union of South Africa").

5.4.2.2 Administration

The **British Parliament** was the sovereign legislative and executive authority for the Colonial dependencies with colonial affairs being looked after and run by the **Colonial Office** in London. Crown Colonies were run by a **Governor,** who was effectively under the **Secretary of State for the Colonies** (Holmes 1967:13-14). The **Governor** was the highest representative of the Colonial Office within each separate colony and took full charge for local control. The colonial Governor had much **freedom** of action, took important decisions within the colony, consulted with his adviser (secretary) and colonists, and made recommendations to the Colonial Office on policies which he thought appropriate (Malan *et al* 1996:33-34).

De Kock's (1996[b]:41) **description** of the early governors at the Cape, is an important element which has to be taken into account when **assessing** their relationship with missionaries. In his opinion these governors were "old fashioned Tories in the soldierly mould who were accustomed to autocratic rule. As traditional high Tories they were opponents of the values of liberalism and urban humanitarianism." Missionaries and colonial Governors thus differed with regard to **class,** with governors coming from the upper class and early missionaries originating mainly from the working class (Gensichen 1982:181). Although this **generalisation** (cf 2.5.3) paints a picture of early governors in a **stereotypical** (cf 2.5.3) image, it seems to be a fairly accurate picture (eg Lord Charles Somerset) (cf Ross 1986:27).

Up until 1854 the **Colonial Office** and the **War Office** comprised a single government department due to their complimentary nature. The **Secretary of State for War and the Colonies** was the cabinet minister in charge of the Colonial Office. The **Parliamentary Undersecretary** assisted the cabinet minister since 1812. This post became a permanent one in the Colonial Office from 1825. Colonial policy was very often determined by other parliamentary policies and issues which resulted in permanent staff of the Colonial Office not being able to act **independently** for example, strict fiscal discipline announced by the Minister of Finance could, for example, result in colonial policies not being able to be implemented (De Kiewiet 1937:8-9).

A post created in 1847 which would have a profound influence on British colonialism/imperialism was that of the **High Commissioner.** This post gave the appointee the right to become legally involved in matters beyond the **boundaries** of the colony. For many years this position and the Governor were one and the same person. To Malan *et al* (1996:34): "the high commissioner was to become the crucial *bulwark* of British imperialism in southern Africa" (italics mine).

5.4.3 Factors influencing initial British colonial policy towards South Africa

To single out one specific **cause** or **motivation** for international colonial expansion in South Africa is a datum that scholars and researchers have not yet reached consensus on. They rather opt for a **synthesis** of factors (cf Atmore & Marks 1974:113-114; Davenport 1991; Malan *et al* 1996:35).

In a series of essays edited by Winks (1963), various factors are given for colonial expansion which range from **economic** (eg profit making, need for raw materials), **political** (eg quest for power and supremacy), **personal tendencies** and **ideological** (humanitarianism and racial superiority) concerns as contributing factors (cf also Atmore & Marks 1974:114-115; Malan *et al* 1996:35) and are valid for the South African context. However, Fieldhouse (1976:93) sees **political** motives as the main contributing factor until 1815, while **political, economic** and **spiritual** motives

contributing largely after 1830. As it is not within the scope of this study to analyse all the factors involved in-depth, only salient factors having a direct bearing on missionaries and the mission endeavour will be discussed **contextually.** One such aspect which had a direct impact on colonial policy was philanthropism.

5.4.3.1 Philanthropism

The first half of the nineteenth century saw the ideology of **philanthropism** having a profound influence on colonial policy in Southern Africa. Linked to both **evangelical Christianity** and other **humanitarian** issues, philanthropism figured both within and beyond the borders of South Africa under religious and non-religious sectors (eg political) of British social structures. Many South African philanthropists were **associated** with and **connected** to missionary societies which functioned predominantly in the Eastern Cape. These missionaries had strong **allies** in Britain who could advance their justifications to influential politicians in the British Government (Kotzé 1975:132-135). This influence would be felt, according to Malan *et al* (1996:46) well up until the 1850's.

Philanthropism was a **social ideology** which propagated the love of mankind emanating specifically in the **modern era** (cf 3.3.1[a]). In essence Philanthropists propagated the European **liberalistic** principles of freedom, justice and equality between all mankind. Kotzé (1975:133) notes that philanthropic ideas "stressed the universal equality of men and the inviolability of their individual worth." Van der Walt (1992[b]:80) maintains that "Philanthropism demanded that social justice be done to all people(s), and in this respect the 'poor heathen' (an expression frequently used at the time) came into specific consideration."

In Great Britain, various philanthropic groups such as the **Anti-slave Committee,** the **Clapham Sect** (led by William Wilberforce) and the **Anti-Slave Society** (led by Thomas Foxwell Buxton) (Malan *et al* 1996:37), together with British authorities such as **James Stephen** (the Permanent Under-Secretary), and **Lord Glenelg** (the Secretary of State) (Kotzé 1975:133) propagated humanitarian issues. One such issue which

received much attention from these philanthropic movements was that of the **abolition of slavery**.

Slave trade within the British Empire was **abolished** in 1807 (Atmore & Marks 1974:116), but not the ownership of slaves. This abolition was primarily due to the feverous efforts of the philanthropic movements. In December 1833 slavery was ended as a **labour practice** and all slaves were set free. Davenport (1991:41) notes that the process of abolition was not as effective as the literature suggests as illegal slave-trading activities led to an increase in the number of slaves. Nonetheless, the abolition and later emancipation of slaves, was to have an **influence** on events at the Cape. As many of the Cape colonists were slave owners, the threat of not being able to purchase slaves and their later emancipation, caused them to come into direct conflict with many philanthropists and missionaries (Malan *et al* 1996:46-47). One such missionary was **Dr John Philip** (1775-1851) (Molema 1920:204).

Bosch (1991:307) notes that initially missionaries at the Cape "ke[pt] their distance" from the colonial authorities, except the LMS, and especially John Philip, being "a case in point" whom Du Toit (1983:934) **perceives** as "a humanitarian with considerable polemical skill" (cf Davenport 1991:42) who, in his book, comprising of two volumes, entitled *Researches in South Africa* (1828[a] & [b]), championed humanitarianism and the rights of the indigenous people in South Africa (Malan *et al* 1996:46-47), as well as what is **perceived** as propagating colonial expansion. In a similar light Davenport (1991:42), when referring to the emancipation of the Khoikhoi and the Free Blacks notes that Philip was capable of making wrong allegations as well as right ones in fluent prose, lost one libel action as a result of this, and became the *bête noire* of White settlers for the damning criticism of their labour relations in his *Researches in South Africa* (1828[a] &[b]). Andrew Ross (1986:77) in his **re-assessment** of Philip in the book *John Philip (1775-1851): Missions, Race and Politics in South Africa* (1986) does not deny these accusations and attempts to put this "instrument of propaganda" (ie Philip's book) into perspective when stating that the aim of these volumes was "not to decry the trekboers as essentially evil men" but "to show that British policy created a situation where, given human nature, injustice

flourished" (cf Ross 1986:117). To Ross, previous historians – eg the **Colonial Historian** GM Theal – have misinterpreted, and subsequently misrepresented Philip's **motives** for the book due to a **lack** of considering important documents applicable to Philip (cf Theal 1900:164) and perceived his approach to human equality, including the **education** of the indigenous population, as "something like giving a child of ten years of age the rights of a full-grown man" (Theal 1900:166). These misinterpretations have subsequently led to **misconceptions** and false **perceptions**. Seen in the light of previous comments that Colonial historians were **pro-settler** (cf 4.2.2.1) and very **critical** of missionary activity, these comments must be interpreted in that light. These historians also believed in the hierarchical ranking of human races, invariably influenced by **modern** thinking and behaviour, thus not recognising non-Whites as being equal to White people. These factors obviously led to **selective perceptions** (cf 2.5.1) on the part of Theal and other Colonial historians.

These and other **perceptions** surrounding Dr John Philip are numerous (cf Du Plessis 1911:152; Ross 1986:1) within South African historiography. He was labelled as pompous, aggressive and arrogant (Ross 1986:5); a "moral totalitarian" (Galbraith 1963:82) and also as a prime agent of colonial conquest (**early radical** writer Majeke [1952:18]; cf also Saunders:1988:137). Majeke (1952:13) – who interestingly enough refers to all South African historiographical writing – except that of radical writing - as "*Herrenvolk* History" – notes two general perceptions about Philip; he was a **mischief-maker** and a **humanitarian and emancipationist** of the indigenous peoples. The former idea was propagated by the likes of the **Colonial historian** George Cory; while the latter sentiments were proposed by whom Majeke (1952:13) sarcastically terms **"liberal apologists"** such as the **liberal** historian WM Macmillan.

Negative **perceptions** about Philip, however, were not only created and evident from historiographical writings , but also found in **political rhetoric** such as that propagated by the former Nationalist Prime Minister, Johannes Strydom, who used Philip's name – as "an immediately recognisable symbol." He "advis[ed] missionaries not to follow in the footsteps of Fr Trevor Huddleston, he warned them 'not to do a Philip'" (Ross 1986:1; cf also Macmillan 1963:10) in other words a **troublemaker**. Further

negative **perceptions** were generated by subsequent generations of **teachers** and **textbooks** (Macmillan 1963:10; Chisholm 1981:143-145; cf Van Jaarsveld 1970:114) and disseminated to pupils who subsequently **learnt** (cf 2.4.2.1) and **perceived** Philip in a negative light, so much so that Macmillan (1963:11) sees Philip as part of "South African mythology". Being confronted by such thoughts, **stereotypical** (cf 2.5.3) images of Philip and other missionaries were inculcated into the minds of learners, which in turn led to negative **thoughts** and **behaviour**. Obviously "that" perception of history did not represent the **whole** story, but were rather used selectively in order to achieve a specific aim, which, in many instances was a prevailing ideology. In this regard, Chisholm (1981:136), although referring specifically to **school** textbooks underpinning the *apartheid* ideology, captures the essence of these books' influence and notes that "South African history textbooks...are useful in showing how dominant minority attitudes, finding expression in certain interpretations and phraseology, can be responsible for the creation of those attitudes which characterise, underpin and sustain the status quo."

(a)   Perceptions surrounding Philip's involvement in the colonial process

One perception that dominates Philip, was around that he was an active **agent** of British colonialism, bent on subjugating the indigenous population·to the policies of the Colonial power. Literature indicates an **ambivalence** in Philip's own views regarding the motives and actions of the **colonial** inhabitants, and those of the British Empire's civilising mission. In his **books** entitled *Researches in South Africa* (1828[a] & [b]) as well as the London proceedings of the **Select Committee on the Aborigines**, notions such as the eastern Cape "colonists' violent conquest and continuing exploitation of the original and rightful inhabitants", were highlighted (Du Toit 1983:937). Yet in the "Preface" of *Researches in South Africa* (1828[a]), he displays "highly developed notions of civilizing mission than do any of the colonial justifications." Here Philip declares that the spread of Christianity must accompany **cultural** and **economic** change by stating that:

> While our missionaries...are everywhere scattering the seeds of civilization, social order, and happiness, they are, by the most exceptionable means extending British interests, British influence, and the British empire.
>
> Wherever the missionary places his standard among a savage tribe, their prejudices against the colonial government give way; their dependence upon the colony is increased by the creation of artificial wants; confidence is restored; intercourse with the colony is established; industry, trade and agriculture spring up; and every genuine convert from among them made to the Christian religion becomes an ally and friend of the colonial government (Philip 1828[a]:ix-x).

While the Cape Town academic Zotwana (1993:6) interprets Philip's reference to "prejudices" as "most probably the spirit of resistance to colonialism", the **early radical** writer Majeke (1952:18) considers Philip's (and other missionaries') **motives** as being spurred on solely by the expansion of **capitalism:**

> Here he [Philip] states both an aim and a method.   The method is christianization, which involves much more than the simple question of religion. The aim is the destruction of one culture, tribalism, and replacing it by capitalism.   By "civilization" he means the Christian capitalist civilization...an industrial civilization that is insatiable in its need for raw materials – grown in new lands that must be confiscated; raw materials that must be procured by the labour of the conquered. It is an industrial civilization that cannot exist without trade and is therefore in constant need of new markets, which are supplied by the conquered and christianized people of new lands.

This perception of Majeke reflects a "conspiracy theory" on the part of missionaries and the colonial authorities (De Kock 1996[b]:41) which implies a strong **working relationship** between the two; all in the name of "capitalism". The **Revisionists,** Atmore and Marks (1974:118) share this notion of Majeke (1952), and see missionaries all over South Africa as being in the forefront of territorial and material expansion of African territory, thus leading to "the end of African independence in the interest of `progress' and civilization".

Du Toit (1983:937) disagrees with the **selective** (cf 2.5.1) interpretation of Majeke as well as Atmore and Marks and rather notes that "[i]f anything, these humanitarian writings tend to display more highly developed notions of civilizing mission than do any of the colonial justifications." Similar pronouncements by missionaries were not out of line with prevalent thought at the time (cf De Kock 1996[b]:39). According to Du Toit (1983:938) Philip was under no illusion with regard to the transformational effects that colonialism would have over traditional societies, however, these **changes** represented "the triumphs of reason over ignorance, of civilization over barbarism, and of benevolence over cruelty and oppression" (Philip 1828[a]:ix-x) and thus reflected prevalent **modern** (cf 3.2.3.1) thinking and subsequent behaviour. These sentiments of Philip were shared and reflected on several occasions by the Wesleyan missionary **William Binnington Boyce**, in his book *Notes on South African Affairs* (Boyce 1838:165-195). Although not explicit, notions of national mission (ideas of Western superiority), as well as the propagation of the doctrine of **Manifest Destiny**, "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" (Bosch 1991:298; cf Weinberg 1935:1-2) were prevalent. Etherington (1982:193) also does not agree with the negativity surrounding Philip, and notes that Philip's "aim was to maintain the cohesion of African societies (a religious policy which his numerous colonial enemies mistook for a *political* policy) (italics mine)" – in Majeke's (1952) case, an **economic** policy.

Ross (1986:11,27,36) also disagrees with this **selective perception** (cf 2.5.1) of Majeke's (1952) and Atmore and Marks (1974), and assesses missionaries **contextually**. Ross believes that the period prior to 1850, saw very little of importance in the line of policy regarding the affairs between South Africa and Great Britain, to cause any interest in Great Britain. South Africa prior to 1850 thus held very little interest for the British public. Tory Governors also had far too little in common with the liberal humanitarians regarding ideology and class, to even suggest any form of "conspiracy" between the two (cf Gensichen 1982:181). Van der Walt (1992[b]:76) also disagrees with these **selective perceptions** (cf 2.5.1) of the function of missionaries' **educational** endeavours; that it only meant **labour reproduction**. He

remarks that authors who perceive in this way, do not view the whole endeavour **contextually,** and that they use history "to prove a point". Seen in the light of the aforementioned, agreement is given to Ross and Van der Walt's observation, that a **contextual** analysis is necessary in order to come to any legitimate conclusion.

(b)   Missionaries' involvement in advancing the rights of the indigenous population

Another element which gave rise to diverse **perceptions,** is the role of missionary leaders and missionaries in protecting and advancing the rights of the **indigenous** people at the Cape. This debate can be taken back to the late 1790's and once again the focus will fall largely on **John Philip.**

Davenport (1991:42) notes that the effectiveness and impact of Philip's campaign regarding the indigenous peoples and the frontier question is a point of **dispute** amongst historians and scholars, which is open to divergent **perceptions** and interpretations. Davenport (1991:42) for example notes that the **colonial** and **liberal** historians GM Theal and WM Macmillan considered him to be very **instrumental,** while **Nationalist** historians such as Henry Cloete and SJ du Toit **disregarded** his influence in their writings on the causes of the Great Trek. Davenport (1991:42) himself acknowledges the influential role played by Philip with regard to the frontier policy as well as with the emancipation of the Khoikhoi. These developments led to frontiersmen harbouring ill-feelings towards missionaries and philanthropists such as Philip (Du Toit 1983:937).

Davenport (1991:42) is quick to assert that in no way can one say that all missionaries and their leaders were involved in this process, thereby obviates any form of **generalisation** (cf 2.5.3). LMS missionaries such as James Read and Johannes van der Kemp, drew attention to the **Khoikhoi's** plight of the near total disintegration of their social and economic structure. A plausible explanation for this attention given by the LMS missionaries is their **evangelistic** (cf 3.2.3.1[a]) background which favoured action as opposed to quietism.

In 1809 Governor Caledon issued the **"Hottentot Proclamation"** which gave the Khoikhoi certain rights, legal protection and recognition as colonial citizens (Kotzé 1975:133), however, in order to combat vagrancy they were required to carry passes and were compelled to work if unemployed. This code "prescribed the conditions for labour contracts and limited the free movement of the Khoikhoi within the colony" (Duly 1972:27). Duly also points out that this was the first legislation to impose a **"master-servant"** relationship. Together with later proclamations in 1812, 1819 and 1823, Philip objected, since this proclamation discriminated against the Khoikhoi as a **class**. On 17 July 1828 **Ordinance 50** was promulgated which freed the Khoikhoi from carrying passes, they could legally own land and there was now the necessity of employers to provide service contracts before employment. Duly (1972:30-34) remarks on three schools of historians' **perceptions** who places Ordinance 50 central in their studies on race relations, along with the role of missionaries in the ordinance. She imposes her interpretation on this set of data:

■ The **Settler or Colonial School,** under the influence of Theal and Cory, who echoed the sentiments of the nineteenth century critics of the missionaries and of British administrative policies.

■ The **Philip School,** mainly headed by WM MacMillan, was limited in that it relied and focussed largely on LMS papers and arguments.

■ The **Stockenstrom School,** spearheaded by JS Marais, perceived the ordinance as both good and bad. It viewed the opinion expressed by Philip in 1834 that the ordinance has led to a rapid improvement of the character and condition of the Khoikhoi, "erring on the side of optimism" (Marais, in Duly 1972:33).

However, Duly (1972:46), commenting on these **perceptions** notes that "historians of the three schools who have placed the ordinance at the centre of their studies on race relations and the role of the Khoikhoi in the history of the Cape may have merely described the law and not its contributions to the historical process."

Davenport (1991:43) does note that the role played by Philip – who was in Britain during the promulgation of Ordinance 50 – in securing an Order-in-Council, banning

its revocation, is **unclear**, but he did help bring about the ensuing renunciation of a **Cape Vagrancy Ordinance** in 1834. Although scholars such as Newton-King (1980:197-200) and Duly (1972:26-46) highlight Ordinance 50's limitations (Davenport 1991:43), cognisance must be taken of the arduous attempts by missionaries such as Philip, to secure the rights of the indigenous population at a time when very little was done for them (cf Newton-King 1980:187,197). However, opposed to this **perception** of Philip's contribution, is that of Galbraith (1963:84), who negatively **perceives** Philip's attitude towards the Khoikhoi as "that of a benevolent despot". The reason for this **perception** of Galbraith is the observation that to Philip, as long as the inhabitants of the missionary institutions remained "decent, industrious and docile they were entitled to remain".

Given these diverse **perceptions**, Ross (1986:3) attempts to portray Philip in a more balanced light notes certain **motivational** and **formative** factors which contributed to Philip's championing of the indigenous people, an facet according to Ross (1986:3) remains largely **unexplored** by many writers, and which is not considered in the literature since both sympathetic and unsympathetic writers have tended to explain "[his] antagonism...in terms of flaws in his character without any reference to the few personal insights that can be gained from the extant material." Ross (1986:3) argues that an historian greatly responsible for much negative **perception** of Philip was George McCall Theal (cf Davenport's perception above) whose ideas were not even based on Philip's letters and journals. These **motivational** and **formative** factors, highlighted by Ross (which are/were ignored by historians), include:

■   the **environment** in which he grew up amongst fighting factions in Scotland where he witnessed defeated people later making a success of their lives; and

■   the strain of **evangelism** that he believed in, insisted that "the Gospel had a bearing on all aspects of society" which believed in the oneness of humankind and that the gospel was to ensure greater justice for humankind. Ross (1986:4) opines that Philip was a **radical** evangelist (Galbraith [1963:82] interestingly perceives Philip in an extreme sense as a "zealot") in that he was totally committed to the anti-slavery movement as opposed to other

evangelicals who in many cases were indifferent to the cause. Radicals were usually in the minority and cognisance should be taken of the fact that being a radical evangelist **countered** the social fabric of the West during this period. Ross (1986:35) observes that

> [i]n the eyes of the British Establishment of the Napoleonic era
> their campaign [anti-slavery] challenged the rights of private
> property, the fabric on which the whole fabric of civilisation
> stood. As a result we have the, preposterous in modern
> [contemporary] eyes, identification of the anti-slavery
> movement with Jacobism and republicanism in high Tory
> circles.

These few observations tell one about the **character** and **personality** of these radical evangelists (Philip being the case in point). In order to do justice to God's Word, they were prepared to go against the social norm to propagate their cause and also voiced similar sentiments as that held by Philip. This has been neglected by many historians in their portrayal of Philip (cf Galbraith and Majeke).

Ross (1986:215) also notes it was not only older historians who did not understand John Philip, but also **contemporary** writers whose **selective perceptions** (cf 2.5.1) are rather a means to an end, since they attempt "to influence the political and social attitudes of the South Africa of their day." One example is the **liberal** historian Macmillan who in an attempt to bring about a **change** in social attitudes and political policies, focussed on certain characteristics of Philip, and negated others. Their "working criterion was not Philip but the South Africa of the inter-war years" (Ross 1986:215; cf Macmillan 1963:ix-xi). Another example of using Philip as a means to an end, is portrayed by the **early radical** Majeke (1952) who not only links Philip to colonial capitalism, but also that he used the indigenous peoples as a means to an end to oust Governor Somerset. Majeke (1952:15) declares that "[h]e [Philip] suddenly discovered the necessity to defend the rights of the oppressed Khoikhoin and used this as a big stick to beat Lord Somerset." These authors perceived Philip

selectively (cf 2.5.1), based on their own interests and backgrounds to portray Philip in a manner consistent with their particular **bias**.

Philanthropy during the first half of the nineteenth century was a powerful determinant of colonial policy in the British Empire and more specifically South Africa (cf Scholtz 1970:257-259). It resulted in the passing of Ordinances 49 and 50 of 1828, which more or less extended the rights of the Khoikhoi, it led to the eventual emancipation of slaves and played a role in the annexation of Natal. It was not so prominent after 1850 due to **economic** reasons (the expense of safeguarding indigenous groups who did not turn out to be pliant British colonists, proved little or no gain for Britain) and the **attenuating fervour** for slavery (Malan *et al* 1996:37,46-47). However, given these remarks, historians and scholars view the role played by missionaries in the colonising process as having the opposite effect that that desired. The **Marxist (Revisionist)** scholars Atmore and Marks (1974:116-117), argue that Christianity forced Black communities to adopt Western **cultural forms**, as well as that Christianity imparted Western values of **industry** and **economics**:

> The ambiguity of humanitarians, the divisions between missionaries (the effective agents of philanthropy in the colony), their overall philosophy that civilization and industry went hand in hand, and their notion that industry was limited either to cash crop production or to working for white colonists meant that they were never as consistently pro-African or pro-Coloured as either the settlers or present-day liberal historians would have us believe (Atmore & Marks 1974:116-117).

These authors also raise Galbraith's argument that Cape humanitarians portrayed Black people to be more **threatening enemies** for the colonists. Atmore and Marks (1974:119) view this perception of Galbraith as "somewhat limited" and **selective** (cf 2.5.1), since many products of mission influence had not all become a threat to the interests of the colonists as well as them assimilating an alien ideology and culture. Whereas these authors' conclusion is sound that Galbraith's perception is **limited**, merely the fact that these authors steep their argument predominantly within the context of **Marxist** thought, in turn limits their own **perception**. What cannot be

forgotten is that many Black people welcomed this new technology and materialism that Western culture introduced due to several factors , these being **environmental** (cf 5.5.3 "difaqane" and "1857 cattle killing") or due to personal **motives** (eg greed).

That colonists **perceived** the missionaries as **hampering** their attempts to gain labour at a time when labour was drastically needed, was also evident. Colonists were of the opinion that missionaries were **indoctrinating** Black people with unbecoming **ideas** and that mission stations were **harbouring laggards** (Malan *et al* 1996:47). The missionary **John Campbell** (1815:71) acknowledges this on his tour of South Africa during the early nineteenth century, he observes (in a **balanced light**) regarding the mission station at Bethelsdorp "[t]hat there are indolent people at Bethelsdorp, as well as in all other places, especially in South Africa, I have no doubt; but from what I have seen and heard, I believe that there are also industrious and active."

In the light of the above and as a continuation of colonialism in South Africa it is necessary to investigate the role played by missionaries in the perceived conquest of independent African societies.

5.4.4 Conquering independent Black societies

Etherington (1982:192-193) is of the opinion that a large part of the previous period (1800-1830) under discussion saw no prominent mission societies propagate the conquest of independent Black societies, however, within missionary societies, colonial **expansion** (not necessarily conquest - AL) took place on a **dual** basis, namely

- the establishment of **nuclear** Christian communities under the austere control of a White pastor (eg the Moravians, Rhenish and Hermannsburg Mission Societies), and

- the conversion of Africans *en masse* (eg Philip of the LMS, Paris Evangelical and the AMB) (Keto 1976:602; Etherington 1982:192-193; cf Bosch 1991:309-310), which, according to Etherington (1982:193) was "a religious

policy which his [Philip's] numerous colonial enemies mistook for a political policy."

Whereas the Moravians were **indifferent** to colonial conquest, as long as it did not interfere with the building and maintaining of their self-contained mission stations (a world-view brought about by their Pietist upbringing which emphasised **quietism** (cf 3.2.3.2[b]), the latter *en masse* approach saw White settler expansion on the frontiers as their greatest threat to their approach's success. In order to solve this problem Philip (according to Etherington [1982:193]), attempted to convince the colonial authorities to support his policy (by means of strict policing of the frontier area or by means of protective annexation), as well as by trying to convince other missionary societies to come out to South Africa to help him with his endeavours. This appeal met with successes and failures.

The period 1830-1880, according to Etherington (1982:193) saw:

> virtually all the missions who initially strove to safeguard African independence gradually become convinced that the destruction of that independence was a necessary precondition of effective evangelism among the heathen masses. In most cases this conclusion was reached in contravention of the advice pressed by mission authorities in the sending countries.

Etherington (1982:193-194) cites a situation in **Zululand** where **AMB** missionaries could not make any headway converting the Zulu nation *en masse* to Christianity; missionaries even prayed for the destruction of Zulu independence so that they could get about with their task of conversion. Etherington even offers support from **primary sources** (a letter from the missionaries Grout to Anderson dated 3 August 1841) as proof for this observation. Benham (1896:50) presents a possible reason as to why missions in Natal "were anything but encouraging", was that missionaries were not totally conversant in the Black languages, however , further elucidation will reveal other reasons.

Although one may initially think that this perception of Etherington is a blatant **generalisation** (cf 2.5.3), Etherington exercises care of not generalising by using of the adverb "virtually" and provides examples of two mission societies which did not falter from their sending country's policy, namely the **Norwegian Missionary Society** and the **Hermannsburg Missionary Society**. These societies also harboured anti-imperialistic notions because they adhered to the doctrines of the sending country's mission statement. The first Norwegian missionary, **Hans Schreuder**, as well as the founder of the Hermannsburg Mission, **Louis Harms** both favoured and propagated the doctrine of "mission colonies" based on monastic missions found during the early Middle Ages in Europe (Bosch 1991:309-310). However, even though the latter group grew despondent (again Etherington [1982:199] offers primary sources as proof) on account of the Zulu monarchy's opposition to their evangelistic deeds, they still remained antagonistic towards British annexation, for a period of time. These observations by Etherington underscore that the **generalisation** (cf 2.5.1) that all missionary societies totally collaborated with the government cannot be maintained. The same applies to the **type of education** that the different missionaries propagated. There were most probably instances where missionaries propagated **pro-imperial attitudes** (due to enlightened forms of knowing and cognitive styles – cf 3.2.3.1[a]) while there were other missionaries who propagated an anti-imperialist education. These attitudes obviously impacted on the **thinking** and **behaviour** (cf 3.1) of the learners that received education at the various mission schools.

Etherington (1982:195) does explain that a number of the missionaries during the 1870's observed that the obstruction to their task of evangelisation was due to the **sovereignty** of independent Black states. De Kiewiet (1937:209) cites exaggerated letters, written by missionaries encouraging the annexation Natal, as their task of evangelisation was making little/no headway unless the "legal and economic supports of the traditional Bantu family had been knocked away" (Etherington 1982:195). Etherington (1982:195) further explains that this **attitude** was "*broadly* characteristic of all missions to the independent kingdoms of Bantu-speaking South Africa (italics mine)" thus, once again he avoids the trap of a **generalisation** (cf 2.5.1). Notable exceptions, according to Etherington (1982:195-199) to the British annexation of

Zululand, were appeals from the Anglican bishop of Natal – **JW Colenso** (1814-1883). However, even Colenso's role has been subjected to diverse perceptions, ranging from **liberal** interpretations that he was a "great tribune of African freedom", to **Marxist** interpretations placing him within the realm of capitalist exploitation (Guy 1983:x). Both of these interpretations conceptualise Colenso's involvement in mission from their own **selective** perceptual schemata (cf 2.5.1). Guy (1983:x) does not reject these two interpretations but rather adopts a **synthesis** of these two approaches and notes that Colenso, and other missionaries "protested at the means being used without losing their conviction that Europe must dominate Africa", a view commonly held during the **modern era** (cf 3.2.3.1).

Etherington (1982:196) reminds us that some missionaries also perceived the **traditional economy** of the Blacks as contrary to their missionary task. An example of how an initial perception could **change** over a period of **time** and due to specific **developments** (cf 2.4.2.1), is that of the Anglican priest (and medical doctor) Henry Callaway (cf 4.4.1) who later became the first Bishop of St John's in Kaffraria. Initially, on being sent as a missionary to Pietermaritzburg in 1854, he came to abhor the effects of colonialism on the local Black population. This is reflected in two letters dated 13 December 1856 and 15 June 1859 (Benham 1896:57,87-89). This perception **changed** , however, when he realised the antagonism to the gospel, and his subsequent failure to convert indigenous peoples, was founded in the ancestral economy of the Nguni, so much so that in a later letter to the same person as the previous two (Mr Hanbury), he begs the question: "Is it right to keep out the struggling, hard-working, white man for such an unprogressive people as this?" (Benham 1896:153). Callaway's **change of attitude** is reflected in a letter dated 24 September, 1877 where he argues:

> I believe that the proper way to deal with these people is to take them over
> as a charge to be attended to, allotted to us by providential position in which
> we find ourselves, and to govern them, not only with kindness and justice, but
> with the firm hand of the law, which shall visit with rapid and sure
> punishment every sin against society (Benham 1896:310).

The **metabletical** nature of this **change** in perceptions (cf 2.8), highlight the **motive** for his change in attitude, as that being driven by **evangelism**. Although this may be perceived as a "pure" motive to some, it is invariably **perceived** in a negative light by contemporary writers. However, seen against the prevalent *Zeitgeist* of **modernity** (cf 3.2.3.1[b]) which propagated "benevolent colonialism" and "manifest destiny", these motives were an acceptable norm in missionary circles during that specific period. However, what is ambivalent, is Callaway's initial extraordinary open-mindedness in a missionary in that period (Etherington 1978:43), which was to later **change** because he made no headway with his evangelical task, thus denoting the negative side of the **motive** of conversion (cf 3.2.2).

These cursory notes highlights colonial developments and contributing factors which influenced Great Britain to take certain actions in South Africa until the 1850's (and until the 1880's) and the role played by missionaries. It is further necessary to highlight briefly the role played by missionaries in what Fieldhouse (1976:91) and Malan *et al* (1997:27) term "New British Imperialism". This **change** in paradigm corresponded with the discovery of **minerals** in South Africa (cf Neill 1966:305-306), and was to have a profound influence on South Africans. Although certain perceptions of this period were dealt with in the previous section, it is necessary to highlight certain historical aspects in order to provide a perspective. This **change** would also have an impact on the **education** system, which was inevitably influenced by societal changes.

5.4.5 New British Imperialism in South Africa

This aspect of South African historiography is well-documented (cf De Kiewiet 1937; Van Zyl 1975[b]:293-323; Fieldhouse 1976:91) and it is thus not necessary within the scope of this study, to go into an in-depth study. What is relevant is the role missionaries played in this process (and its subsequent influence on education) and the divergent **perceptions** thereof. Since the topic is so wide, only **salient** aspects and events will be discussed.

5.4.5.1 Factors influencing, and origins of the new imperialism

Various scholars' interpretations regarding the **motivational** forces surrounding this **new imperialism** differ profoundly. Historians such as the **Afrikaner nationalist** GD Scholtz (1974:538-539) sees this phenomenon as one **politically** inspired. Britain wanted to protect and expand her territorial regions by means of political intervention, while Robinson and Gallagher (1961:3-4) offer the reasons that Britain was protecting her **trade and commercial** enterprises. **Revisionists** such as Marks and Atmore see imperialism, on the other hand, primarily as the manifestation of the **capitalist** motive (Malan *et al* 1997:27-28). Evidence also demonstrates an **ideological** (Victorian superiority attitudes) motive, dovetailing with the imperialistic notion. The mid-nineteenth century saw British attitudes being dominated by the **perception** that it was its mandate to dominate and rule other civilisations, especially African nations, so that Britain would benefit and uplift them – **benevolent colonialism** (Bosch 1991:307). With these attitudes of superiority went the notion of **Manifest Destiny** (cf 5.3.4.1[a]). These attitudes and subsequent missionary spirit were kindled by, amongst others, the British **media** and the pronouncements of **intellectuals**. The works of **Rudyard Kipling, Rider Haggard, JR Seeley's** (1883) *The Expansion of England : Two courses of lectures* and Dilke's *Greater Britain*, are examples of works that had a profound influence on the **perceptions** of nineteenth-century Britains. Expansion and subsequent civilisation by Victorian British were considered as necessary and inevitable (Robinson & Gallagher 1961:3-4; Malan *et al* 1997:29-30).

After the discovery of **minerals** in South Africa, capital investments flowed into South Africa, which in turn led to a boost in the mining and other secondary industries. In essence, the South African economy **changed** from being primarily subsistence farming to an industrial, capitalist and wage economy. The Colonial Office, in the light of these and other developments, now even considered the possibility of a South African **confederation** and the annexation of areas which were previously ignored (Malan *et al* 1997:3,32-34). Seen against the backdrop of British non-expansionist policy due to the signing of the conventions of the 1850's, this new expansionist policy was indeed **ironic** and **ambivalent**.

5.4.5.2   New imperialism in South Africa and the role of missionaries

Without getting embroiled in a lengthy treatise on the topic, only historically salient aspects will be highlighted with the predominant emphasis being on the perceptions surrounding missionaries role in the expansionist process.

In 1867[2] **diamonds** were discovered on the Southern banks of the Orange River near to Hopetown. By the early 1870's a diamond rush had materialised in the Northern Cape. Whereas Great Britain had withdrawn from the Northern Cape in 1854 due to clashes against the Basotho's, she became involved in events in the interior again in 1868 due to the wars between the Orange Free State and the Basotho's, as well as **imperialist and expansionist** policy propagated by the British government. By 1872 Griqualand West was annexed by Great Britain (Shillington 1985:25-60) with obvious **motives** being **politics** and **economics**.

With the so-called mineral revolution and rise of capitalism, came the demand for a cheap and easily available **workforce** (Malan *et al* 1997:18-19). This led to what is known as the process of **proletarianisation** – the breaking down of societies to provide a supply of labourers without rights - with **missionaries** and the **education** that they provided being **perceived** as contributing greatly to this process. **Revisionists** such as Ross (1978), Etherington (1978) and Lambert (1995[b]), **perceive** the role of missionaries, and the **education** that they provided amongst traditional societies, as undermining this type of lifestyle, making it possible for British **annexation** and **proletarianisation**. Bundy (1988:37-38) views the role of missionaries as twofold: They introduced "capitalist social norms and the market economy", as well as contributing to class formation in African society. This is a **Marxist** evaluation of the process yet it fails to do justice to the education endeavour of missionaries due to its **selective** interpretation of historical data. Although one can argue that they inadvertently introduced Western capitalism to Black people in South Africa, it must be seen as a secondary outcome of the type of **culture** that they maintained, and

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[2]   Joyce (1989, sv "diamonds") notes 1866 and not 1867 as in the case of Shillington (1985:25) and Malan *et al* (1997:3-21).

capitalist propagation was not their primary concern, **evangelisation** was.   An example of this primary task is reflected in a remark by the Cape Colony's Superintendent-General for Education, Sir Langham Dale, who, in 1868 expresses that:

> The ministers of religion are apt to regard education from a narrow and exclusively religious point of view, so that the training of children for the occupations of practical life is made in many cases subordinate to that instruction in the catechism and the tenets and services of religious bodies which is likely to influence them in after life and keep them within the pale of the church (Collins 1980:9).

Revisionists such as Wilson (1971:45-46,52) and Lambert (1995[b]:51) explain that missionaries introduced Western ideas, religions and norms (by means of the **education** that they provided). They **frowned** upon, and were **ignorant** of traditional African cultural practices, thus making it easier for proletarianisation. Examples of the latter included the missionary **resentment** of *lobola* (bridewealth) and polygamy. This **perception** is not only limited to, and evident in, the writings of academics, but features in contemporary popular **media** sources, such as the magazine section of the *Sunday Times* (Robertson 1995:14), as well as a newspaper article by Vilakazi (1995:20). In the former article, the writer notes that "[t]he earliest missionaries missed the point of the transaction entirely, condemning *lobola* as the heathenish purchase of a woman from her father." Yet it would be **stereotyping** (cf 2.5.3) revisionists, to imply that it is only these thinkers that maintain such thoughts. **Post-modernist** and **liberal** academics (cf 5.2.1) have also maintained the perceptions that missionary influence (on account of the **education** that they provided) caused a rift in the African societies, due to converts rejecting their traditions in favour of Western traditions and culture. With recruitment for **capitalist** ventures it was thus made easier due to a Westernised, de-tribalised and de-unified African society (Malan *et al* 1997:119). The problem with these perceptions that missionaries suppressed the traditional customs, is that many writers do not provide a **balanced** perspective. This leads to **stereotypical** images and **prejudicial** and **biased** attitudes and behaviour. Mills (1992:153-171) in a paper entitled "Missionaries, Xhosa clergy & the suppression of

traditional customs", attempts to put this whole issue within a **balanced** perspective noting that missionaries views ranged from **total abhorrence** (cf Wesleyan missionary JC Warner's pronouncements in 1856 in Colonel Maclean's *A Compendium of Kafir Laws and Customs* [Maclean 1906:78-112]) to **partial tolerance**. The latter refers to the Anglican Bishop Henry Callaway's evidence in *The Report and proceedings, with appendices of the Government Commission on Native Laws and Customs* (Cape of Good Hope 1883, appendix C:71; cf Benham 1896:91) is less **biased** (cf Rev BL Key's observation in *The Report and proceedings, with appendices of the Government Commission on Native Laws and Customs*) (Cape of Good Hope 1883, appendix C:186). **Tolerance** was also exercised by Bishop Colenso of Natal. However, Etherington (1978:41) maintains that this does not imply that Colenso's tolerance stretched *ad infinitum*. Rather a practical **motive** was involved in this tolerance:

> From a practical point of view he [Colenso] expected that his toleration of customary usages would result in the rapid conversion of the Nguni to Christianity [and did not foresee these practices as being a] permanent feature of the Nguni Christian communities.

These perceptions given above are caused by factors emanating from past and present **experiences** (cf 2.4.3) (cf Key's testimony) to that of **motive** (cf 2.4.2.1) as in the case of Colenso. As an expansion of this observation, Mills (1992:161) argues that one motive was **peer pressure** and **conformity** (cf 2.4.2.3 "the situational context") exerted by Church authorities helped form many missionaries' perceptions of traditional customs. Whereas in the Cape parameters in the mission field were already established, those in Natal were less so. Mills (1992:161) in this regard states that:

> [T]he missionaries in the early decades in the Cape had established norms which later missionaries tended to accept or perhaps found difficult to *change*. In Zululand, on the other hand, very little had been done. The American Board had been active for some years, but until the defeat of the Zulu state, little progress could be made. As a result, Natal was close to a virgin state in

regard to missionary work such as Colenso was less trammelled by preconceptions and established norms (italics mine).

Mills (1992:162-166) maintains that in many cases **opposition** came not only from missionaries, but also from the Black **clergy** and **converts** opposed to their own traditional rites (cf also Mostert [1992426-427]). These perceptions were obviously instilled by their missionary mentors derived at by **learning** and **experience** (cf 2.4.2.1 & 2.4.3.1-2.4.3.2; Mostert 1992:426-427).

There was a gradual **change** towards the latter part of the nineteenth century in missionary attitudes. There was generally an acceptance of traditional customs, brought about by the realisation that to ostracise potential converts would jeopardise their initial aim of building up the church of converts to Christianity (Mills 1992:165-166). This shift in attitudes concurred with what has become known as **post-modern** (cf 3.2.3.2[b]) inclinations towards **inculturation** (cf 3.2.3.2[b]) where a move was made from the **nihilistic** approach of non-European cultures to that of seeing the best in others' cultures. In certain instances where indigenous cultures were perceived as being eradicated and destroyed by missionaries' opposition, Mills (1992:165-166) remarks that traditional customs were rather **assimilated** (cf 2.8 "cultural diffusion") into existing Christian cultural practices. A case in point is the practice of *intonjane* (girl's initiation, puberty rite), which has gradually been incorporated and assimilated into Christian marriage practices with the missionary campaign being more "a contributing factor rather than a determining one" (Mills 1992:166).

However, to declare that missionaries, as agents of imperialism, contributed to the downfall and disruption of the traditional African lifestyle should be made with caution, as the nature and impact of their influence is difficult to establish, as some traditional Black societies, such as the **Zulus** were also dispossessed of their traditional lifestyles without, according to Malan *et al* (1997:120) "any significant intervention by the missionaries." In a letter to the editor of the *Sunday Times*, Shange (1995:22), in an incensed letter of rebuttal, reacts to a previous article by

Vilakazi (1995:20), where the latter not only lauds the history of the Zulu nation, but also **perceives** missionaries as failing to understand Black traditional culture and replacing it with a system of **education** which reflected aversion to the traditional cultures. Shange (1995:22) – presumably not a Zulu – rather declares that Zulus have an "unimpressive record...in resisting colonisation [that] is matched only by that of those who try to impress us with its false credentials". Evidence will show both of these writers' use of the **media** in order to achieve a certain political gain, leads to a distortion of the truth.

Comparison to other Black societies such as the Pedi and the Mfengu, the Zulu society was inaccessible to the influences of missionaries, yet they still succumbed to imperial forces. "Missionary enterprise in Zululand was intense but conspicuous for its lack of success" (Guy 1979:15). Possible reasons for this phenomenon could have been: The Zulu king, **Mpande's**, refusal to missionaries to either live or preach in Zululand (it was only in 1850 that Mpande allowed Norwegian missionaries to live and preach in Zululand); the Zulu-British war's end in 1879 (Bloch-Hoell 1982:13) which, could have resulted in distrust on the part of the Zulus of British missionaries' **motives**. This distrust in part, however, according to Bloch-Hoell (1982:14-15), can be **attributed** the British High Commissioner, **Sir Garnet Wolseley,** who according to the Norwegian missionary, **Reverend OC Oftebro** in the *Natal Mercury* criticised Wolseley in that "the history of the English people presents no parallel to the treatment which Sir Garnet Wolseley has exposed the mission to. He has attempted to bring Christianity into discredit in the eyes of the Zulu people."

Two developments led to a rise in Christian converts after 1880 in Zululand, namely (Bloch-Hoell 1982:15):

- the loss of Zulu national **independence** in 1879 that led to the uprooting of social structures (poverty prevailed and the king and chieftains were deprived of social identity), and
- rapid **urbanisation** due to the mining revolution.

Bloch-Hoell (1982:15) however, **perceives** the events of the latter part of the nineteenth century and early twentieth century as "open[ing] up new opportunities for the missions in South Africa", in the light of the profound social **changes** which were taking place during this period. In view of the observation that profound social change involves social and religious uprooting which in turn may lead to the adaptation to, or identification with, new social and religious structures, Bloch-Hoell's (1982:15) observation is sound. Although arguments can be cited in defence of the missionaries; in that they embraced this opportunity to help the Zulus cope with these social **changes**, other arguments indicate that the missionaries **contributed** to the social upheaval. However, in the case of the Zulus the argument largely falls upon the former due to reasons already furnished.

According to Etherington (1982:191,196) imperialism in South Africa, in a political sense, reached a **climax** towards the latter part of the nineteenth century, more specifically 1880, to be known as the "**high imperial**" era. In contrast, according to him and other writers (cf Keto 1976; Bloch-Hoell 1982; Walls 1982), missionaries from now on were to agitate for the rights of Black people, thereby signalling a **change** in approach.

5.4.6 The high imperial era

The period 1880 to 1895 saw Great Britain engaged in a process of stamping its **authority** in Southern Africa, especially the interior of South Africa, with British politicians frequently using **rhetoric** to express this view (Van Niekerk 1992:98).

Factors contributing to this phenomenon included the fact that previous hopes of **confederacy** had failed, other Western powers were now challenging Britain's **supremacy** and **gold** was discovered in the SAR. These and other factors led to a renewed imperialistic impetus on the part of Great Britain. Walls (1982:159) and Bosch (1991:307) refer to the era after 1880, as the "**high imperial era**". In an attempt to achieve the above-mentioned aims, attempts were made to acquire **territories** in South Africa. This process of acquiring territories was achieved

predominantly by means of imperial collaborators, such as the mining magnate and member of the Cape Legislative Assembly, **Cecil John Rhodes** and **Jan Hofmeyr** (the parliamentary leader of the *Afrikaner Bond*) (Malan *et al* 1997:51-52). Conflict between republican and British imperialists developed due to territorial interests of which certain missionaries would also play a role. Such an instance included the conflict over **Bechuanaland.**

In protest against the territorial interests of the SAR and Cape imperialism towards Bechuanaland, a Kuruman missionary and assistant commissioner for the area, **Reverend John Mackenzie** launched a campaign in Britain to have Bechuanaland incorporated directly under the British crown, and not under either the SAR or the Cape. Mackenzie's **motives** for this campaign were to ensure that the Tlhlaping were not removed from their land by the White people and then forced to live as labourers. Shillington (1985:153) rather notes, in **Marxist** terminology, that "Mackenzie strove for a long-term plan to promote the *even development of capitalism* in southern Africa" (italics mine). Rhodes succeeded in convincing the British high commissioner, **Sir Hercules Robinson**, that the missionary road along the SAR's Western boundary provided an important economic avenue for the Cape Colony. Bechuanaland was accordingly placed under the Cape Colony's control and Mackenzie was replaced by Rhodes as assistant commissioner for Bechuanaland. Shillington (1985:155-161) sees Rhodes' **motives** for this incorporation as ensuring a constant supply of labourers for the diamond mines (Malan *et al* 1997:52), thus reflecting a **Marxist** interpretation, and Mackenzie's dismissal as being **attributed** to his lack of experience, lack of a decent police force and his unacceptable humanitarian policies which ran counter to colonial interests. This **Marxist** interpretation of events surrounding this historical era reflect certain important aspects which need to be seen in context. Although Mackenzie "collaborated" with the colonial authorities in the sense that he was in their employment, he strove to keep the interests of the indigenous people as his primary concern. Also, when his humanitarian concerns ran counter to colonial policy and capitalist interests of the Cape politicians, he was subsequently removed from his position, thus reflecting a difference in **motive** between politicians and missionaries.

The 1880's and onwards saw a **change** in emphasis on the part of some missionaries regarding the **defence** of Black rights regarding their land rights and equality before the law "assum[ing] the unpopular, sometimes heroic role they continue to play to the present day" (so observed by Etherington 1982:196). These sentiments are amplified by Keto (1976:602): "[A]fter 1893 some [missionaries in Natal] also began to encourage black political dissension when they themselves disagreed with the policies of the new settler class", thus reflecting what is today known as **post-modern** tendencies of missionaries to propagate social justice (cf 3.2.3.2[b]).

In **contrast** to Etherington (1982:186) and Keto's (1976:602) perception that after 1880 (Keto notes 1893) Bosch (1991:307), opines "there could no longer be any doubt about the *complicity* of mission agencies in the colonial venture" (italics mine). Bosch is (1991:307), however, cautious to simply **attribute** the increased commitments to the cause of the Empire to an increase in missionary recruitment, but also notes factors such as the missionary revival movement of 1859-1860, as having an influence on the increased number of missionaries. Walls (1982:163) adds other factors, such as the Moody missions and the Keswick Convention, as well as the reconceiving of evangelical piety, which now emphasised consecration and sacrifice; these now all contributed to increase in numbers of missionaries. However, Bosch (1991:307) argues that these events and factors "tended to dovetail with and feed on the new awareness of being sent to remake the world in the image of Britain." Although Bosch has a point, in stating the latter complicity was due to larger instances where missionaries and colonial officials were very often drawn from the **same** class, and not, as was in the past reflect class **differences** (Ross 1986:36), Walls (1982:163) **generalises** (cf 2.5.3) that during this period "British missions, speaking generally, turned away from such things", and that "[w]hen they actively agitated for imperial expansion...the grounds [motives] were invariably pragmatic, local and missionary." Room should also be made for Bosch's (1991:307-308) observation that "[i]t is not unlikely that this development went hand in hand with a lower esteem of 'native' talents and capabilities than had been evident in the mid-nineteenth century and earlier." Very often these university graduated missionaries

were drawn from the same **class** as the government officials contributing towards a joint aim (Ross 1986:36) of complicity.

Keto (1976:600) argues **differently** to this latter observation of Bosch, maintaining that after the 1890's, acknowledging a more **liberal** attitude of missionaries towards social justice, (Natal being the case in point):

> This close co-operation between missionary and administrator began to fade in the 1890s, however, as political power devolved into the hands of the white settler population, which regarded Africans chiefly as competitors for scarce land, a reservoir of labor for their farms, and a source of government revenue. The societal shift in the locus of political authority foreshadowed the demise of the mission reserves as they had existed in the nineteenth century.

A further example of this perception being that of **Jabavu** (1973:246) who in a paper read at the Natal Missionary Conference "The causes of Our Discontent" (Durban, July, 1920) stated that:

> Missionaries will for ever be remembered with gratitude by Natives as the people who befriended them in times of trouble and danger at the risk of their own lives. They faced opprobrium for the sake of black people, founded countless mission stations and bequeathed to them the present foundations of the entire *educational* structure that is today theirs (italics mine).

Given the fact that Jabavu **generalises** (cf 2.5.3) as well as portrays missionaries entirely in a **positive** light (cf 2.5.4 "halo effect") one cannot help but question this observation. However, according to Mandela (1995:53) Professor Jabavu was a man of high moral and political standing amongst Black people, both **during** and **after** his time which invariably makes his observations more acceptable. A further example of missionaries agitating for the rights of Black people and representing them in times of trouble, is provided by **Sol Plaatje** (1917:51) when he refers to the Natives' Land Act of 1913. However, one cannot generalise missionaries' complicity as only being a good one. In this regard Sørensen (in Ball 1983:242) observes that "no matter how

genuine their motives, the missionaries could not avoid the African suspicion that a missionary was no better than a settler." Nowhere was this suspicion more prevalent than in Black **literature**. Although literary protest was initially minimal, this **changed** towards the latter end of the nineteenth century. In **SEK Mqhayi's** "Iqhawe laseBritane" published in *Insuzo* (1942), the link between the colonial authorities, the merchant and the missionary are noted. Translated, this poem reads:

> Ah, but Great Britain!
> She came with the bottle and the Bible
> She came with the missionary hugging the soldier
> She came with the gunpowder and the gun
> She came with the canon and the breechloader (in Zotwana 1993:152).

Although this poem **generalises** (cf 2.5.3) the relationship to a large extent, one has to acknowledge a prevalent perception amongst many, regarding the colonial set-up. One cannot deny that many missionaries still showed signs of colonial **supremacy** and **dominance** (cf Chapter 4), as well as attitudes of **Manifest Destiny** in their thinking and behaviour, due to their modernist forms of knowledge and ways of thinking (cf chapter 4) since they were imbued with **modern** Western culture and its influences on their perceptual schemata (cf 2.6).

In the light of the above divergent perceptions surrounding missionaries and the colonialistic and imperialistic process/ess, it is necessary to discuss the implications on **education** and more specifically **Black** education, provided largely by missionaries. The ensuing section should, however, not be seen in isolation from those dealing with colonialism and imperialism that **impinged** on missionaries, since these innately influenced the education that they provided. This next section will thus **contextualise** the education provided.

5.5   IMPLICATIONS OF COLONIALISM AND IMPERIALISM ON MISSION EDUCATION

In the previous sections an attempt was made to give an **historical** perspective of initiatives by Western powers to colonise regions around the world, as well as to provide some knowledge of the **role** of missionaries in these endeavours. Several **interpretations** were given specifically, focussing on the South African context.

Since education formed an important facet of the missionary endeavour, it is inevitable that it would have been influenced directly and indirectly by British colonialist **incentives**. That education during the colonial period was influenced by the **social system** (eg the law, politics, religion and economy) (cf 4.2.2.3) is a datum. In this regard, Molteno (1984:48) notes succinctly that "it is not that *schooling* was at every point designed deliberately to promote the new colonial order, but its content and consequences were crucially conditioned by this order" (italics mine), due to, amongst others, the sharing of the same Western **culture** which inevitably formed a certain **intersubjective** (cf 2.7) agreement amongst proponents of education.

In itself the process of Black education during the colonial and imperial eras **was, is** and **will be** perceived variously. MacKenzie (1993:45) endorses this observation, and comments: "[F]or those nations whose past has been marked by colonial influence, the historical *perception* of the relationship between the early educational provisions of Christian religious organisations and the indigenous population remains *ambivalent*" (italics mine). He notes several perceptions evident in various "political and journalistic responses to early missionary education [which] regularly provide *simplified* and *aphoristic* assessments of missionaries and their achievements or failings" (italics mine). These perceptions include

- ■   that missionary education was an **instrument** of colonial conquest (cf Cross 1987:550; Gray 1990:79);
- ■   the question of colonial and indigenous **perplexities;**
- ■   the question of **financial co-operation;**

- that missionary education was seen as a form of **cultural** colonisation (cf Gray 1990:59);

- that missionary education was seen as an instrument of **social improvement**, and

- that missionary education determined a pattern of **gender differentiation** within education (cf Sebakwane 1994:10).

Although MacKenzie's analysis is an **international** one, these perceptions are also prevalent in this country. Thus the South African **academic** (cf Majeke 1952; Sebakwane 1994), **political** (Vilakazi 1995:20) and **journalistic** (Farquharson 1995:10; Bikitsha 1996:4) responses also reflect both a positive, a negative as well as a balanced assessment of **missionary education** during the British colonial and imperial period in South Africa.

However, before proceeding to British colonial education, it is necessary to briefly discuss the nature of **pre-colonial** education in South Africa prior to the British colonial period.

5.5.1 Pre-colonial education

Prior to European settlement in 1652, **several** indigenous tribes populated South Africa. **San** hunters and **Khoikhoi** herders lived in close proximity of the Cape, while **Xhosa-speaking** Blacks lived in the Eastern Cape. **Nguni** and **Sotho-speaking** Black people inhabited Natal and the interior, respectively. These Black people primarily practised subsistence farming and grew crops (Christie 1991:30).

No **formal** schooling took place in these societies, however, but as education is seen as a means of **cultural conversion** and societies teach that which they value, education of the young did take place. Luthuli (1981:54-55) regards this type of education as "primitive", yet they instilled moral values, provided vocational training, imparted codes of behaviour and also ensured that the Black child could make use of his/her environment to ensure that their basic **needs** were met (Nkuna 1986:93; Van

Zyl 1997:50-51). Pearce (1988:283) comments that "[i]t is a delusion to suppose that before European missionaries reached Africa there was no indigenous form of education." This type of education was passed down from one generation to the next by specially appointed family members. According to Mugomba and Nyaggah (1980:1) this type of informal education is **perceived** as:

> [R]elevant and closely linked to the spiritual and material aspects of social life before colonization by European imperial powers. There was little separation of learning and productive labour or any consequent division between physical and intellectual labour. This educational process reflected the realities of African society and produced people with an education which equipped them to meet the material, spiritual, and social needs of the society.

Informal education gradually reflected a **metabletical** nature, once Western people inhabited the Cape, and **changed** from a traditional, informal type of education to a predominantly Western, formal education.

5.5.2 Dutch colonial education (1652-1806)

In 1652 the first European settlers landed at the Cape with the aim of setting up a half-way refreshment station for ships voyaging to the East. These settlers were largely part of the **VOC**. Very soon the Cape became a permanent settlement, attracting settlers from several countries.

Other inhabitants at the Cape included the **San** and **Khoikhoi**, as well as a number of imported **slaves**. Later contact was made with the **Xhosa-speaking** tribes by the *Trekboers* (migrating farmers) which gave rise to conflict about land and resources, which inevitably resulted in a number of frontier **wars**.

The period under discussion saw very little being done along the lines of education. Most education presented was done by the **church** (Lewis 1992:20), and was primarily aimed at introducing **Christian** doctrines and practices to the inhabitants at the Cape (Cook 1949:349). This is reflected by the opening of the first public school

in Cape Town, on 17 April 1658, for **slaves** (Behr 1963:404; Van Zyl 1997:51). Molteno (1984:45) **perceives** this education as being "part of the new social relations introduced with colonialism." Du Plessis (1911:29-30), regards Van Riebeeck as "allegedly" **motivated** by an interest in doing something for the slaves' academic and moral well-being, an observation agreed upon by Behr (1963:404). However, Molteno (1984:45) assumes that the reason for the introduction of formal education, was rather to be of benefit to their masters (material needs), and not for their own moral and intellectual well-being, thus driven by **capitalist** needs. Molteno's perception is **selective** (cf 2.5.1) on the role of education, when he sees it as a mechanism of production of labour, ie a Marxist interpretation. Although this could have been *a possible* motive, the particular context also suggest a more **complex** reason. Cognisance should also be taken of Du Plessis (1911) and Behr's (1963) observation in that educating the "heathen" in Christian doctrines at that time was in line with prevalent thought, since many Westerners saw it as their God-called duty to spread the Word of God to the "heathen". This entailed not only learning about **God**, but also learning the **language** of the colonisers (ie the Dutch language) which aided communication for both religious as well as material purposes (cf Van Zyl 1997:52).

The first concerted effort by a missionary to provide education to the indigenous population, was that of the Moravian missionary Georg Schmidt, who set up a mission station at Soetmelksvlei in 1737 (cf 3.3.1) for the **Khoikhoi**. Schmidt later moved to Genadendal, where he **educated** the Khoikhoi in religion and language instruction, as well as taught them the "rudiments of agriculture". A commission of enquiry later found that Schmidt was not "pure in faith" and not "able enough to teach the religion of the reformed Church" (Behr & Macmillan 1971:360-361). The **Dutch Reformed Church** was the influential church at the Cape at the time, and invariably influenced the colonial government to exercise its influence. This **intolerance** towards Schmidt by the Church, colonial government and the Council of Policy, was not an isolated case but this intolerance was also extended towards the Lutherans, according to Böeseken (1975:69-70), thus reflecting **denominational jealousies** as motive, and **not** racial prejudices. Schmidt was later forced to forego

his work, and subsequently left Cape Town in 1744 (Behr & Macmillan 1971:360-361; Böeseken 1975:70).   The **revisionist** Collins (1980:7-8), although acknowledging the aim of evangelisation, sees Schmidt's task as educating the Khoikhoi so that they would abandon their cultural forms and assimilate the Western capitalistic culture.   This interpretation of Collins is **selective** (cf 2.5.1) in that it prioritises the **Marxist** capitalistic perspective in favour of other impingeing factors. Schmidt was a **Pietist** missionary whose main aim was the evangelisation of the "heathen" (cf 3.2.3.1[b]) and was not aimed at incorporating them into Western capitalism.   Due to the fact that these missionaries originated from the Western culture invariably meant that they conveyed their form of thinking and behaviour to their converts.   This aspect was a secondary result of this prevalent culture.

In 1799 educational work amongst the **Black people** was started by the LMS missionaries Dr JT van der Kemp and Read in the Fish River vicinity (cf 3.3.1) of the Eastern frontier (Behr & Macmillan 1971:364).   It is interesting to note the **Settler Historian** Theal's (1900:2) inaccurate **perception** of the state of education in the colony in 1800, when he remarks that "[t]he London Missionary Society was just beginning to send its agents to South Africa, and they had not yet fixed upon a locality for a permanent settlement. *There was not a single individual attempting to instruct any section of the Bantu*" (italics mine).   However, formal education during the Dutch **colonial** period for Black people up until the end of the eighteenth century was on a very **small** (Behr & Macmillan 1971:359) scale (and not non-existent as perceived by Theal [1900:2]), with the large majority still being educated **informally**.

Although literature is in agreement that very **little** was done with regard to educating the inhabitants of the Cape during the Dutch colonial period, Christie (1991:33) does point out that "we should remember that the education that was provided – in school and out of school – was enough to meet the *needs* of that society" (italics mine).   It was thus sufficient for the individual's and community's educational **needs** (cf Lewis 1992).

This largely informal type of education for Black people **changed** from 1806 onwards; a period which corresponded with the British **colonial** and **imperialist** era and education provided by **missionaries**.

5.5.3 Formal education during the British colonial period

5.5.3.1 The period 1806-1834

In 1806 Great Britain occupied the Cape for the second time, which according to Kotzé (1975:117) "had far-reaching effects on the history of South Africa." For the period 1806 to 1834 the Cape was a **crown** colony (cf 5.4.2.1), thus being completely under the control of the British Government. Several factors influenced British colonial policy during this time-frame, which invariably influenced the **socio-political** events at the Cape, and inevitably influenced **education** (Kotzé 1975:17). A sound understanding of the situation at the Cape **contextualises** mission education with regard to space and time (cf 3.1 & 3.2.3). Such contextual factors are:

- The British ruling class evidenced themselves in **reaction** to the French revolution, making it difficult to understand and sympathise with the ambitions of the common people in Great Britain and in the Colonies. Colonial governors were usually from this class.

- The **value** of Colonies was minimised with the losing of the American colonies. The Cape, on the other hand, was of importance for its strategic purpose of safeguarding the route to India.

- The **Napoleonic Wars** had cash-strapped the British economy resulting in stringent measures being applied at the Cape. For example, frontiersmen at the Cape had to defend themselves as army garrisons were reduced.

- In spite of these factors, reflecting the relative unimportance of the Cape Colony, the **philanthropic** (cf 5.4.3.1) factor focussed attention on the Cape.

After 1806 **educational** matters were to receive much more attention than under the previous Dutch colonial government since educational systems very often served

various purposes and aims (Christie 1991:33-34) to underpin colonial policy. This became clear when British colonial policies were starting to unfold, and to influence the educative system in several ways. One such policy was the **anglicization** in Dutch schools (Lewis 1992:20-21) which aimed at bringing the inhabitants of the conquered colony in line with the culture of the mother country, namely Great Britain. This policy was initiated by **Cradock** but was "perfected" by the autocrat **Somerset** (Kotzé 1975:120) during the 1820's. At this stage the establishment of schools for **Black people** was not a major factor of colonial policy (cf Mostert 1992:424), since more attention was paid to other issues.

Although missionary activity for Black people was prevalent towards the latter part of the eighteenth century, it was only during the second decade of the nineteenth century that circumstances began to **change** (especially for the "heathen"); a concerted effort was made to make **education** an important part of colonial policy. In 1813, the British **Parliament** stressed the need to introduce **useful knowledge**, as well as religious and moral advancement (cf 5.4.1 "benevolent colonialism") in India. This colonial policy invariably also applied to other British colonies (Bosch 1991:307), the **Cape** being no exception.

Various missionary societies set up mission stations during the first three decades of the nineteenth century. Both the **LMS** and the **Glasgow Missionary Society** were influential in the Eastern Cape amongst the Xhosa-speaking tribes (cf 3.3.1), with **schools** being set up to see to the **education** of Blacks (eg Lovedale) (Lewis 1992:23). These schools and the missionaries running them were to form part of and be influenced by prevalent political, social, economic and cultural factors during this **period**.

In the light of the above statement, it is in order to highlight a prevalent perception in that **context**. Missionaries and the **education** they provided, were seen as **instruments** (cf 5.2.1) of the colonial order, a common perception amongst whom Cross (1987:550), among others, characterises as "**reproduction theorists**" referring

to Majeke[3] (1952) and Rodney (1972), who view mission education as an agency of social control or a mechanism of production of labour. According to Cross (1987:550) they have

> frequently tended to reduce colonial education, including missionary education, into little more than a mere appendix of state apparatuses and *schools* into simple instruments of colonialism. The application of this theory in a general way, without reference to specific colonial policies, social context, and practices, has led to an *oversimplification* of the role played by colonial education in different and particular situations (italics mine).

These previous sentiments of Majeke and Rodney are also shared by the Cape Town University's Sydney Zotwana (1993:6) who perceives the missionaries as having had a "working relationship" with the colonial government, and that the "history of relations between the Xhosa and the British in the eastern frontier shows enough evidence that the missionaries acted as facilitators of the process of colonising the Xhosa."

This perception is and was voiced by politicians, missionaries and academics alike (cf 5.2.1). In cases where politicians, by means of political rhetoric incited emotions – thus influencing perceptions (cf 2.4.2.1) of citizens, they portrayed the image that missionaries and the Government were an accomplished team. Such a political perception was reaffirmed in 1958, when a member of Parliament and chairman of the Commission of Native Affairs, MDC de W Nel (1958:6-26), made use of such language to propagate and strengthen the Nationalist policy of *apartheid*, as well as to declare that missionaries were government collaborators in the execution of this government policy of separate development. In Christian-National rhetoric (cf 4.4.2.2[h]) he declared that "*[e]lke seun en dogter wat Suid-Afrika lief het, moet*

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[3] Nosipho Majeke was the pseudonym used by Dora Taylor, wife of a University of Cape Town psychology lecturer, to "escape possible retribution, and to depersonalise authorship" (Saunders 1988:137) during the 1950's – the height of Afrikaner nationalism and anti-communist sentiment in South Africa.

*hulself, in een of ander vorm, tot aktiewe sendingaksie inspan, want sendingwerk is
nie alleen Godswerk nie: dit is ook volkswerk!"* (Nel 1958:8).

Although there were numerous instances where missionaries did **collaborate** with
government officials, there were instances where they did not (Bosch 1991:304-
305). However, this is a **simplistic** assessment of the situation and it is necessary
to view this perception in **context** in order to perceive the **complexity** of the
relationship between missionary, government and indigene "that goes beyond a
simple statement of co-operation or obstruction" (MacKenzie 1993:51), since there
were also instances were missionaries were caught up, not only in **macro-politics** of
the ruling authorities, but also in the **micro-politics** of the indigenous tribes to whom
they propagated their message of God, which invariably affected the **education** that
they provided. Missionary **educators** were in many instances caught up between,
what MacKenzie (1993:49) terms as, "inevitable complexities of power and
paradoxes of interrelation, not just with colonial administrations but also with
indigenous populations." This reality is exemplified in various ways.

Liberal Africanists Wilson and Thompson (1982:401) and the **missiologist** Willem
Saayman (1991:33) demonstrates this. Also the **missionary** Richard Gray (1990:61)
who notes the endeavours of the Basotho King, **Moshweshwe**. The latter

■   made use of missionaries to serve his own specific aims in **educating** his
    people;

■   placed missionaries on dangerous and unprotected frontiers to act as **agents**
    for the enlargement of his authority, and

■   made use of the Paris Missionary Society, whom Moshweshwe invited to
    Thaba Bosiu in 1833 (Behr & Macmillan 1971:373; Joyce 1989, sv
    "Moshweshwe") to serve as a **link** with the British Government in the Cape,
    when being threatened by the Trekboers (Gray 1990:61).

Gray (1990:61) further explains that

> although their external political role was of fundamental importance to his
> [Moshweshwe's] security, and although he was himself influenced by their
> *teaching* and preaching, he rigidly restricted the internal influence of the
> missionaries and their converts, consistently selecting only those aspects of
> their way of life which, he thought, could be beneficially incorporated into his
> kingdom (italics mine).

These sentiments expressed by Gray, illustrates his **perception** that of seeing Moshweshwe as **using** missionaries as a means to an end to bring about certain events. This inevitably implied that the **education** that these converts received at the mission schools situated in Moshweshwe's mountain kingdom, **Thaba Bosiu**, was controlled by the King in order to fulfill certain **motives**.

A further example of missionaries being caught up in the micro-polity of the indigenous people, is pinpointed by Mostert (1992:429,433) who refers to attempts by the **LMS** to establish a mission station amongst the **Xhosa** at the beginning of the nineteenth century, in order to **educate** them in the Christian faith. These missionaries were caught up in both colonial and local politics, in their attempts to establish and find a suitable site for their mission station. At that stage, 1816, Somerset was Governor and he hoped to put an end to **frontier** tension on the Eastern Cape border. A strong military presence was impossible, since he had received orders from the colonial office to **economise**, which invariably meant cutting back on the garrison. This meant that the frontier had to be populated with Europeans and that a buffer zone had to be created between White and Black (Kotzé 1975:143). Two excerpts from Mostert's (1992) book, which Mackenzie (1993:47) **perceives** as an "admirably informed *magnus opus*" entitled *Frontiers: the epic of South Africa's creation and tragedy of the Xhosa people*, illustrate in the first instance, the **vulnerability** the LMS was placed in at the grace of the Colonial authorities, while in the second instance it explains the valuable political *coup* the followers of Ndlambe

and Nxele-Makanna would have had over Ngqika[3] if the mission station was situated in their territory:

> [A]s Cuyler [the Landdrost of Uitenhage] and Somerset saw it, gathering that sort of intelligence [gained from missionaries concerning the natives] was the entire *raison d'etre* for sanctioning the move. Both were sufficiently cynical about missionary achievement to doubt that much could come from any attempt to evangelize the Xhosa (Mostert 1992:429).

Mostert reveals the real **motive** of the colonial authorities encouraging missionaries to **educate** the Blacks in the Eastern frontier, as that of them fulfilling a role of Government informant, so as to keep the authorities up to date on events in this area. The colonial authorities were aware of Read's continual petitions to start a mission station amongst the Xhosa-speaking people, in order to Christianise and **educate** them and thus he made use of this need of Read's to evangelise in order to fulfil the need of government informant on situations on the Eastern frontier.

Another example of missionaries being caught up in the politics of the day related to the establishment of a mission station amongst the Xhosas, is also given by Mostert (1992:433) when he writes:

> Acquisition of the mission station had become of great importance to all those associated with Ndlambe and Nxele[-Makanna], who saw establishment of the mission at their own Great Places as a much-desired triumph over Ngqika. It would diminish his importance as the recognized intermediary between colony and Xhosa in commerce and diplomacy, and enhance their own stature (Mostert 1992:433).

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[4] Ngqika was the paramount chief of the Rharhabe people (Western Xhosa). After the death of his father Rharhabe, he was too young to rule and so his uncle, Ndlambe, was to govern as regent. Later these two became bitter enemies. Nxele-Makanna was an ally of Ndlambe (Joyce 1989, sv "Ngqika").

A further example of intricate political game-playing is illustrated by MacKenzie
(1993:51) who notes that:

> [T]he missionaries Read and Williams [the two missionaries sent to investigate
> the possibility of a mission station amongst the Xhosas mentioned previously]
> were obliged to send weekly reports to the British governor Somerset
> (avowedly antipathetical towards missionaries, it should be added), observe
> the delicacies of tribal sensitivities and lobby on behalf of the Xhosa chief
> Ngqika, and skirt the unrelenting suspicions of the Boers (cf also Mostert
> 1992:437-438).

Groves (1948:242), on the other hand, **perceives** that missionaries such as Williams
rather did not succumb to governmental pressure to report on Xhosa robberies and
grievances against colonists, as was requested by the the Landdrost of Uitenhage,
Colonel Cuyler. Williams (in Groves 1948:242) remarks that "the natives would say
that I have come to entrap them, instead of instructing them in the truths of
Christianity."

An example of the complexities of micro-politics during the latter part of the
nineteenth century occurred when missionaries of the **Hermannsburg Missionary
Society** tried to convert the indigenous peoples of **Zululand** by means of
accommodating them into the communal economy of enclosed mission settlements.
However, this did not succeed since **local** antagonism by the monarchy soon
scuppered their attempts of evangelisation and **education.** Although these
missionaries maintained an **anti-imperialistic** attitude towards the Government for a
time, they did "gr[ow] increasingly discouraged as their stations languished in the
hostile climate of opposition from the [Zulu] monarchy" (Etherington 1982:194).
These examples of the complexities of micro-politics would inevitably influence
missionaries' attempts at **educating** the local population.

In the light of the above, MacKenzie (1993:50) explains that "[i]n whatever measure
and however intentionally or inadvertently missionary education endorsed colonial
rule, typically it was itself acutely vulnerable to that rule." Ross (1986:36) in turn

notes that up until 1850, although Protestant missionaries and the colonial authorities came from the same country, the only thing that they had in common was a shared cultural heritage and were as was in the case in the United Kingdom "as often divided by *suspicion* and at times by aggressive *antagonism*" (italics mine) a factor that was to **change** thereafter.

Another event occurring during this period which had a profound influence on mission **education**, which is seldom referred to in the literature, was the effects of the **Difaqane**. Literally meaning "the crushing" this phenomenon referred to the forced migrations of many Black tribes following Shaka's rise to power in 1816, and the swift expansion of his empire thereafter (Joyce 1989, sv "Difaqane, The") as well as other Black leaders pillaging, warring and killing where many tribes were decimated and left powerless. This development had two effects which inevitably impinged on **mission education**, according to Van der Walt (1992[b]:77):

■   In the first instance, it **alienated** Black people from their traditional homes and cultures making them susceptible to new influences.

■   In the second instance, it resulted in a relatively **uninhabited** interior North of the Orange River.

In the light of the commonly-held **perception** that missionaries contributed to the breaking down of **traditional** cultures and subsequent enculturation (cf 5.2.1 & 5.4.6.2; Vilakazi 1995:20) thereof, it is necessary to evaluate this view in the light of **context**.

The Difaqane more or less occurred between 1820 and 1840 (Van der Walt 1992[b]:76), corresponding with initial British colonialism (cf 5.4.1), the Great Trek (Muller 1975[b]:146), as well as profound missionary expansion (cf 3.3.1) in South Africa. With this **breaking up** of their traditional homes and cultures, went a susceptibility to accept foreign cultures and religious notions. This made it possible for missionaries (and *Trekkers*) to, by means of the education, propagate not only conversion of the detribalised Black people, but also to educate them in the type of

education that they were aware of, namely that of **Western, classical nature.** The Difaqane also destabilised the **economy** of the estranged Black people, making them susceptible to be incorporated into the White economy, a process made possible by the education provided by the missionaries. Van der Walt (1992[b]:77) maintains that "[t]he joint impact of the missionaries' endeavours and the Boers' influence on the blacks was probably not foreseeable at the time", he avers that the aim of this education of the missionaries was to Christianise, while that of the *Boers* differed, in that it provided for their labour needs, but also that this labour in itself provided in a need of Black people, namely a place to stay and work, in order to provide for themselves and their families. While the result of this **education** of the missionaries inevitably resulted in a **change** of ideas and of beliefs on account of missionaries applying Western pedagogies to achieve their aim, what is also apparent is the mutual **pragmatism** that arose from such a situation, where Black people fulfilled a need for White people; and White people helped Black people by the **education** that they provided.

This phenomenon of difaqane is an important aspect in negating the perception that the breaking down of traditional cultures and economics were due to the doings of missionaries and the education that they provided. This aspect reflects the tendency to **underestimate** the impact of external and situational causes of behaviour and to **overestimate** the impact of internal or personal causes (cf 2.4.4.1 "fundamental attribution error").

5.5.3.2   The period 1834-1854

Several events and factors from the previous period had a direct bearing on **mission education** during this period under discussion. This period was characterised by greater **centralisation** of government, a continued **philanthropic** policy on the part of the colonial authorities, the **Great Trek,** more **autonomy** to the Cape Colony by means of Executive and Legislative Councils, as well as **economic** prosperity experienced in various parts of South Africa (Kotzé 1975:124,145; Muller 1975[b]:146; Scholtz 1975:183).

Although the period 1834 to 1839 saw educational **changes** being brought about in the Cape's educational system, this was mostly directed at the European schools, and not at mission schools which primarily catered for Black people. It was only after 1839, that educational **change** would be brought about in mission schools relating to their **financing** (Behr & Macmillan 1971:377-378). It is in the light of this observation that an attempt can be made to situate the perception of economic **collaboration** between missionaries and the colonial authorities (cf MacKenzie 1993:51-54) into perspective, by elaborating on the situation prior to and during this period.

Prior to 1841 mission schools were by no means financed by **colonial** sources (Cook 1949:350; Scholtz 1975:209). The setting up of a mission station and the subsequent **education** that it provided was a costly endeavour, in that it demanded capital building costs, periodic expenditure for school establishments, colonial growth, giving rise to increased opportunities for proselytisation (MacKenzie 1993:51) and the cost involved in training of prospective missionaries (Van der Walt 1992[b]:81). These all contributed to added financial burdens. For just over forty years missionaries had **absorbed** the costs of providing education to Black people by means of being self-sufficient and (semi-) independent from their societies, a practice in line with Henry Venn's "Three-Self" theory (*self*-supporting, *self*-governing and *self*-propagating) (cf 5.4.7). This is for example reflected in the choosing of a new site and subsequent building of **Lovedale** during the 1840's when it was declared that:

> From the commencement of the project it was decided to have agricultural operations connected with the institution. It was declared that it was intended that students should labour on the land, partly for their sustenance, partly for their health while otherwise engaged in sedentary pursuits, and more than either that they might be able afterwards to instruct their countrymen in the art of cultivating their own soil as well as the things of religion (Shepherd 1971:12).

This idea of self-sufficiencies, mentioned previously, was a reason why missionaries made use of converts to **labour** on the mission station, as well as **educating** them in trades and skills, a phenomenon very often perceived by **reproduction theorists** (cf

Collins 1980:8) as contributing to Western capitalism (Van der Walt 1992[b]:81). These production theories were influenced by Althusser (1972:242-280) as well as Bowles and Gintis (1976), who perceive the school as selecting and channelling the labour force into various careers, which to Cross (1987:550-551) is "an overly *simplified* way to explain the function of education in colonial processes" (italics mine), therefore giving rise to a **selective perception** (cf 2.5.1) due to a specific world-view adopted to explain a certain phenomena.

As was mentioned previously, mission schools in the Cape of Good Hope were totally **self-financed**. This was **changed** after 1839, when a **Department of Education** was established with mission schools coming under its charge. This development came about as a result of the endeavours of **Sir George Napier,** who voiced the need for central control of education in the Cape Colony during the 1830's (Scholtz 1975:207). Centralisation at government level was to reach its peak during this period (Kotzé 1975:124). In 1837 **Sir John Herschel** was instructed to investigate educational matters in the Colony. One result of this investigation was the publication of a **Government Memorandum** in 1839 whereby a department of education under the supervision of a general superintendent was visualised. The first Superintendent-General of Education to be appointed was **Dr James Rose-Innes,** a Scottish educationist, connected with the South African College, who lay the foundations of this department, despite numerous problems and inadequate funding (Scholtz 1975:207).

In 1841 state aid was made available to mission schools in the form of a **grant** used exclusively for the support of teachers in the form of salaries (Malherbe 1925:88; Behr & MacMillan 1975:378) specifically focussed at the schools for "poorer classes" (Cook 1949:350), which inevitably included **mission schools.** This granting of state aid obviously had implications for mission education. In the words of Behr and MacMillan (1975:378): "Subsidized schools had to be conducted to the satisfaction of the Superintendent-General of Education, who had the right to inspect them and call for returns." The state, according to Behr & MacMillan (1975:378) had a say in, amongst other things, language policy, curricular affairs and admission criteria (cf also

Collins 1980:8). Whereas Christie (1986:71) comments that "[g]overnment funding meant that it was *possible* for the government to exercise some control over schools", Malherbe (1925:88), on the other hand, views Government intervention and the allocation of grants-in-aid as a positive step towards the increased community participation in Governmental matters as opposed to total government control. Molteno (1984:49) sums up the **effect** that this financing had on mission schools, and the education that they provided:

> Thenceforth the mission schools were formally under the jurisdiction of [the] Department [of Education]. Some state control was exercised through the grant of funds, which first became available in 1841 but, in the main, schooling was left to the churches and missionary societies. Although the latter's financial resources were at times supplemented from contributions from the black communities served by the schools, funds were always very limited. The standard of teaching was low; minimal secondary education was offered and that usually by teacher training institutes. Only a minute fraction of the child population received any schooling at all.

Several **reasons** contributed to the granting of financial aid, one was the prevalent colonial policy of **equality** amongst the **inhabitants** of the colonies – due to **philanthropic** influences, as well as the necessity of the Government to have some form of **control** over the education being given to Black people. However, one must see this measure as beneficial to the missionaries; in that many **cash-strapped** missionary societies welcomed any form of monetary aid to alleviate the "monetary burdens of educational provision" (MacKenzie 1993:52). Financial collaboration was thus **motivated** by pragmatic reasons, and not only ideological.

5.5.3.3 The period 1853-1910

This era was characterised, broadly, by **self-government** in the Cape Colony, **annexations** of certain territories, agricultural and economic **depression** during the early 1860's and **revival** during the 1870's on account of, amongst others, the discovery of **minerals, tension** between the *Boer* republics and Rhodes, increasing

imperialism (cf 5.4.4-5.4.7) aimed at ultimate unification, and **war** (Scholtz 1975:183-192).

Colonial policies directed at the **Black** population in the Cape during this period and prior inevitably **impacted** on mission education. One such policy which enfolded just prior to and during the period under discussion, was that propagated by **Sir Harry Smith** under the command of the British Minister of Colonies, **Lord Grey**. Whereas previously education reflected a predominant classical curriculum, this was to **change** during the mid-nineteenth century, emphasising industrial education and training (De Kock 1996[b]:70).

In 1847 Sir Harry Smith was chosen as new Governor and High Commissioner at the Cape, to promote the policy of assimilation and civilization at the Cape Colony. This policy was in reaction to the previous philanthropic policy known as **the Glenelg** system, which was **perceived** as a failure giving rise to the expensive "War of the Axe" (1846-1848) on the Eastern frontier. According to the missionary Shepherd (1971:17), this scrapping of the Glenelg system was regretted by "[s]ome, if not all, the missionaries of the Glasgow Society." In short this new policy according to Scholtz (1975:194-195) was aimed at bringing independent Black tribes "under British protection and white guardianship in order to civilize and detribalize them". Civilising the Black people meant, to Smith, discouragement of tribal traditions and the undermining of tribal authority. This approach by Smith did not succeed in its aim, and a **revised** approach was followed by **Governor George Grey,** a policy aimed at "detribalizing, educating and befriending the native" (Scholtz 1975:196; cf Shepherd 1971:21) by means of **assistance** with missionaries and the **education** that they provided assisting in this aim.

Of importance is Ball's (1983:242) observation concerning "[t]he first *systematic* expression of British government views on education" (italics mine), which was reflected in the **Education Committee of the Privy Council** to the Colonial Office's report in 1847 which states:

A short and simple account of the mode in which the committee of the
Council of Education considers that industrial schools for the coloured races
may be conducted in the colonies and to render the labour of the children
available towards meeting some part of the expenses of their education (Ball
1983:242).

This educational policy of the colony was aimed at alleviating **economic** difficulties
experienced by many colonies, was to fulfill a **political** goal in the Cape Colony during
the 1850's and thereafter. Mission schools, and the education that they provided,
would inevitably reflect this colonial policy, since they were increasingly financed by
the Colonial Government.

With **Sir George Grey** becoming Governor of the Cape Colony in 1854, a new era of
relations between Black people and White people was entered as a result of **political**
policies of the British colonial administrators. In an attempt to control the eastern
frontier, mission education was used by Sir George Grey as part of his "**border
pacification**" policy. He maintained that education was to be the paramount weapon
in the vanquishing of the indigenous people (Shepherd 1971:22,151; Molteno
1984:50), and thus persuaded the British Government to **subsidise** mission
institutions so that Black people could be trained as interpreters, evangelists and
schoolmasters amongst their own people. **Industrial training** in mission schools was
part of his border pacification scheme to ensure political security and social progress
in the Cape Colony (SA[U] 1936:10-12). The influence of this colonial policy is
evident in a speech made by Grey relating to the education of Black people. In the
early part of 1855 in his address to the opening of the second session of the **Colonial
Parliament**:

[W]e should try to make them [the Black people] part of ourselves, with a
common faith and common interests, useful servants, consumers of our
goods, contributors to our revenue; in short, a source of strength and wealth
for this colony, such as providence designed them to be. What, therefore I
propose is, that we should fill it up with a considerable number of Europeans,
of a class fitted to increase our strength in that country, and that, at the same

time, unremitting efforts should be made to raise the Kaffirs in Christianity and civilization, by the establishment among them, and beyond our boundary, of missions connected with industrial schools, by employing them on public works, and by other similar means (Rose & Tunmer 1975:205).

According to Cook (1949), this notion of border pacification was in itself an **ambiguous** scheme. Pacification implies joint participation and clearly this scheme did not take the interests of Black people into consideration.

Perceptions of this policy, applied by Grey, and the effect that it had on education are diverse. In typical **post-modern** terminology, Crais (1992:200) sees Grey's educational plan of civilising Black people as a "colonization of the mind" which was to be achieved, via the mode of English, and more specifically English literature (De Kock 1996[b]:45). However, the real **motive** and **aim** of this scheme was given by Grey where he argued that industrial education should be used as a means of **political** stability and **socio-economic** progress (cf Rose & Tunmer 1975:205). De Kock (1996[b]:71) rather emphasises the **economic** aspect thereof, yet acknowledges the political ramifications when he notes that the end result of this type of education was to acquire "a docile and efficient labour force which would accept both European religious and political authority, as well as European social superiority." In his very factual (pro-British book), *Lovedale South Africa 1824-1955*, Lovedale's fifth principal, Robert HW Shepherd (1971:22-23) praises Grey's initiatives and remarks that "the enlightened nature of Sir George Grey's policy is deserving of amplest recognition" and goes on to note that the then principal, William Govan, expressed "hearty consent" to the Government's initiatives. This latter perception implies missionary endorsement of this colonial policy. However, MacKenzie (1993:49) does remind one that co-operation with the colonial apparatus was done, in many cases, for **pragmatic** rather than ideological reasons. To MacKenzie (1993:49) "[a]cquiescent neutrality may have been the price to be paid for the opportunity to proselytise." Although one does not gather Govan's motives for this "hearty consent" from Shepherd's book, one cannot help but **perceive** Shepherd as supporting this specific endeavour nearly a century later. It appears that Shepherd **perceives** this specific undertaking by Grey as being more beneficial to the mission endeavour (ie

evangelising) than what had been done previously by government endeavours, implying a focus on a different **motive** other than that of the political one of the colonial authorities. Although the Grey Plan ended in 1863, industrial education still received emphasis at mission institutions thereafter.

However, given all of these academic analyses of the influence of Grey's policies on education, it is important to take note of a Black student's **experiences** (cf 2.4.3) of the education provided by mission schools during that period of protracted industrial education. DDT Jabavu remarks on his father's (John Tengu Jabavu) experiences, attending Lovedale Institution:

> Those who knew Jabavu from his young days will agree that he was immensely benefited by the subtle glamour of the Lovedale environment of the early eighties.... As he often remarked to the present writer, those were the happiest days of his life. For he was a vigorous youth placed by the Grace of God in congenial surroundings, the future holding out before him an infinite vista of possibilities (in De Kock 1996[b]:70).

That these particular perceptions made reflected by someone else, other than the person himself, by that person's relative authenticates the perception. DDT Jabavu was himself also someone who was educated at Lovedale Institution.

Scholtz (1975:198) maintains that this plan of Grey would have failed drastically, giving rise to more conflict, had it not been for the effects of the so-called "**Xhosa suicide**" during 1857, in which the Xhosas were instructed by their ancestors to destroy all their provisions, since on a given day dead heroes, cattle and provisions would appear, and European intruders would be swept into the sea (cf Shepherd 1971:23-26). These events never took place, Xhosas were left homeless, hungry and susceptible to being incorporated into the labour force, as well as susceptible to other cultural and religious influences of which education was one. This datum negates the general perception that it was the missionaries who intentionally and willingly educated with the aim of incorporating Black people into the Western mode of culture. This **nihilistic** approach cannot be blamed totally on the influence of

mission education (cf 2.4.4.1 "fundamental attribution error"). However, that certain missionary societies propagated cultural transmission and transfer is evident from the literature. **Schleiermacher** (cf 3.2.3.1 [b]) believed that it was the task of missionaries to transmit and transplant their culture onto the culture of the indigenous populace. Although he was trained in a school run by Herrnhutters who propagated **cultural relativism** (cf 2.6), he maintained his stance on **cultural domination.** However, one cannot **generalise** and **stereotype** (cf 2.5.3) all missionaries in this regard. Verkuyl (1978:171) observes that a notion of cultural relativism was also propagated by several missionaries. However, it should be borne in mind that Schleiermacher had profound influence on many missionaries, who read his works and his views obviously helped to form their perceptions by means of the **learning** process, thus impacting on their **experiencing** (cf 2.4.2.1 & 2.4.3) of the phenomena.

Keto (1976:601) points out that the perception that Black South Africans **passively** subordinated themselves to Western culture, has either been, "overdrawn or completely neglected in previous studies." Although the writings of missionaries aiming to dispel certain cultural beliefs of the Black people (eg the worshipping of dead ancestors and polygamy) is referred to in many ways, (eg the writings of the **missionary,** Henry Callaway [Benham 1896:223,298,331-332]), what many contemporary writers fail to do, is to elaborate on missionaries' aim of **preserving the culture** of the Black people. The "breaking down" perceptions are thus **selective** and **biased** (cf 2.5.1). Callaway might have evidenced cultural chauvinism: "Whatever is evil among them try to correct; whatever is good try to retain." However he and other missionaries did successfully preserve certain cultural traditions of the Black people which would have been lost if it were not for these missionaries. What is necessary, is to **contextualise** these perceptions, in order to view the perception from different angles.

5.6   IN SUMMARISING

Evident from the above discussion of Western colonialism are several fundamental assertions: Colonialism is both **ancient** and **universal** (global). A fundamental

characteristic of colonialism is that of **profit-seeking**. Not only is it the **expansion** of one nation at the expense of another, but also colonisation inevitably includes the **exploitation** of the other country's resources. Colonialism/imperialism is also the deployment of **power**, which in turn results in subjugation and making those subjected dependent.

Missionaries were an integral part of colonisation both wittingly and unwittingly. In the process of colonialism in South Africa, the missionary endeavour not only facilitated it, but also flourished. This aspect has given rise to, and has been the subject of **diverse** perceptions. Cross (1987:550), maintains that often these perceptions are "an overly *simplified* way to explain the function of education in colonial processes" (italics mine), giving rise to **selective perceptions** (cf 2.5.1) influenced by the perceivers' background, experience and attitudes. The **complexity** of relationships that missionaries had with the colonial authorities is often overlooked, these include autonomous sources of finance, recruitment and control, their criticism of colonial policies and their pioneering efforts with Black education. MacKenzie (1993:48) would more or less concur:

> [M]issionary education cannot be viewed as a singular historical entity but a series of disparate educational endeavours that encountered a variety of circumstances particular to their context and shared, to a limited degree and for differing reasons, a set of common experiences.

Although many **academics, journalists and politicians** focus largely on the **negative influence** of missionaries on the indigenous population during the colonial period, closer inspection of sources has revealed that these writers often fail to analyse the situation **contextually**. Missionaries cannot be **selectively** seen as only destroying indigenous culture and being in close collaboration to their colonial governments. Literature abounds with evidence to prove destruction and colonialistic collaboration, but it also proves the contrary.

Although missionaries during the nineteenth century **paternalistically** saw the benefits of Black people acquiring Christianity, one also notes MacKenzie's (1993:51) observation: "The missionaries role was of far greater political intricacy and pluralism

than the label of `accomplice' would suggest." He suggests that the difference between the settler communities and the missionary educators was that of **motive**:

> It is this difference of motive that accounts for the many instances of missionary opposition to colonial rule, and explains why some missionary educative initiatives were launched in countries that were not colonised and in areas deliberately chosen so as to be outside the reach of settler influence (Mackenzie 1993:63).

The following chapter will evaluate mission education in the light of previous **findings** and **conclusions**.

Chapter 6

EVALUATION: FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

If indeed this is the kind of game that academics ... have played
with the perception of educational problems in South Africa, I
would like to urge that we blow the final whistle and play the
same game, but with new rules as the current political scenario
shows and encourages

(Mncwabe 1990:ix).

6.1   INTRODUCTION

In the preceding chapters an attempt was made to critically analyse perceptions surrounding mission education in South Africa in the light of the **metabletical** dimension of time and space. It was necessary to conceptually analyse the term "perception", as well as relating this term to a particular time and spatial setting. In order to note the worth of this enquiry, it is necessary for it to be subjected to **evaluation.**

In the spirit of breaking out of the mould of "pure objectivistic modernism", the evaluation applied is tested by means of a **descriptive test model.** The emphasis here is on the descriptive, and negates any vaunted objectivity towards the proving of facts. Thus the model entails the **testing** of ultimate descriptions in the light of initial assumptions and points of departure. It is averred that what emanates is not proof, but description indicating certain trends and tendencies. In the instance of this study, the description moves from the investigation and description of the phenomenon of "perception" through the history profiles about racism, colonialism and imperialism, emanating in the kind of missionary education as it did, and seems to indicate a reciprocity between the described notions of perception and the biases and generalisations indicated.

Thus the aim of this chapter will be to reflect certain findings, conclusions and recommendations emanating from the preceding research.

6.2   FINDINGS

The following **findings** can be indicated:

6.2.1 Perceptions

In order to understand the diverse perceptions surrounding mission education it was both necessary and essential to understand how humans perceive other humans and

situations, in other words how humans conceptualise events within particular time and specific spatial settings. In order to achieve this, a **conceptual analysis** of "perception" was necessary, dealt in Chapter 1. By itself this revealed the **complexities** of the phenomenon, since several theories exist on how the human being perceives reality. The following developed from this conceptual analysis:

■ It appears that generally, perception is an **understanding** of the world which humans construct from **information** perceived by the **senses** (cf 2.2.2). This understanding inevitably leads to various **thinking** and **behaviour**.

■ Before perception can take place, certain **conditions** and **fundamental** elements need to be met (cf 2.3). The first condition is a sensory system that functions normally. This system should be exposed to sensory stimulation and the stimulation should be in a state of constant flux. Fundamental to perception is that there is a **perceiver**, the **perceived** (object, person, situation or relationship), the **perceptual content** (the perceivers experience of the object, person, situation or relationship) and the **process** taking place. The way humans perceive is a blending of all these essentials and conditions in order that humans can understand their world around them.

■ Individual attitudes and behaviour are shaped by subjective perception of reality, than **objective** reality itself (cf 2.1-2.2).

■ The whole process of perceiving is highly **complex, developmental** and **dynamic** (cf 2.4), which comprises a number of **stages**. The development of the particular perceptual process begins with the experiencing of multiple **stimuli** by the **senses** (cf 2.4.1), which already lends itself to the diverse experiencing thereof. After stimuli are observed, people select their point of focus (cf 2.4.2). This focus is influenced by numerous **factors**. Here the **dynamic** interaction between perceiver (cf 2.4.2.1), the perceived target (cf 2.4.2.2) all within a certain situational context (cf 2.4.2.3), are influenced by various **factors** which in turn influence human thoughts and behaviour. A

frame of reference **filter** (cf 2.4.3) helps humans process stimuli and hereafter meaning is **attributed** (cf 2.4.4) to the received stimuli. The possibility of perceptual **errors** (cf 2.4.4.1) throughout this whole process is possible, due to the complex and dynamic nature of perception already mentioned.

■ Perceptions are significantly affected by a comprehensive, but repeated assortment of **factors** (cf 2.4.2.1–2.4.2.3). These factors include, preconditions by cultural and social experiences, time-setting, motivation, personality characteristics, learning, physical appearance, location of the incident and organizational characteristics.

■ Since perceiving is a complex process, humans tend to develop **techniques** to help them perceive (cf 2.5) reality easier and more consistently. These include selectively interpreting (cf 2.5.1) what they perceive based on their own background, experiences and attitudes **(selective perception)** or when the perceivers own characteristics, traits, emotions and dispositions are attributed to those of other people **(projection)** (cf 2.5.2). When attributing identical characteristics (real or imagined) to a group, they are **stereotyping** or **generalising** (cf 2.5.3). When a single, good characteristic is applied to draw a general inference the **halo effect** (cf 2.5.4) is applied. The **horn effect** (cf 2.5.4) implies the opposite.

■ **Culture** has revealed itself to have a profound influence on how a person perceives (cf 2.6). Cultural groups, in many instances, perceive reality fairly similarly, yet this does not imply that this is always the case. Differences in perception occur within cultural groupings.

■ Groups of people from different backgrounds may also perceive certain phenomena similarly (cf 2.7). This **inter-subjectivity** of perception makes it possible for certain cultural groups, sub-cultures and other communities of knowledge to perceive reality more or less similarly.

■   Perceptions should also be viewed in **developmental** terms, in that certain phenomena can **change** a perception that was previously believed to be correct, to modify or render it incorrect over **time**. Perceptions are formed by a host of factors which may result in certain thoughts and behaviour being changed. However, humans can resist change due to **prejudices**, even if newly acquired information counters these beliefs.

6.2.2 The mission endeavour in historical perspective

To note the workings of the perceptual process is not sufficient to make a critical analysis of why there are diverse perceptions surrounding mission education within its **metabletical** dimension. What is necessary is to place the mission endeavour into its **historical context** in order to ensure a better perspective highlighting certain paradigms that missionaries operated within. In Chapter 3 it was thus necessary to constitute this aim.

■   Since its inception the mission endeavour has witnessed and reflected certain successes and failures over the last nineteen centuries (cf 3.2.1). **Progression** was the result of, amongst others, the Christian crusades, voyages of discovery, the invention of the printing press, the works of the Capuchins and Jesuits during the Counter-reformation, the Pietist movement, as well as the Evangelical awakenings. **Failures** and setbacks in the spread of Christianity by missionaries included Christianity's battle with Islam and the barbarians, the Reformation and the collapse of the Roman Catholic Church during the eighteenth century.

■   Several **motives** surfaced in the literature as to the driving force behind missionaries task in spreading the word of God (cf 3.2.2). These ranged from noble motives to those which could be characterised as being not so noble. Pure motives included the mandate to obey and share the Lord's command of spreading His Name across the world, the need to convert the heathen to Christianity, as well as the need to erect places of worship to fulfill this need.

There has also been the philanthropic motive whereby the church sought for there to be fairness, love and benevolence in the world. Impure motives included imperialism, cultural and ecclesiastical colonialism, the romantic, as well as the commercial motive. These motives, in various ways, subsequently influenced the thoughts and behaviour of missionaries.

■   Missionaries worked within certain **time-spirits** which subsequently influenced their forms of knowledge and cognitive styles (cf 3.2.3). The various *Zeitgeists* reflect certain political, social and intellectual trends that provided missionaries with a plausibility structure according to which reality was interpreted. Two distinctive paradigms were found to occur during the focus of this study, which invariably influenced the perceptual frameworks of missionaries:

☞   The nineteenth century saw missionaries operational within the period of *Enlightenment* (cf 3.2.3.1[a]). The Enlightenment was the resultant reaction to the Church's **authoritative** hold that it had over society. Several key elements were to emerge from these enlightened ideas which stressed, amongst others, the importance of the human's **rational mind,** as well as the importance of **progression.** These Enlightenment ideas were reflected in the mission endeavour (cf 3.2.2.3[b]) in aspects such as expansionism and benevolent mission. Although Christianity did not fit well within this modern era, it did adapt thereto. Enlightenment ideas also permeated social events (cf 3.2.2.3[c]) in the form of journeys of exploration, as well as the American and French Revolutions.

☞   In more or less the twentieth century, the thoughts of the Enlightenment were to be **questioned** giving rise to and **changing** to ideas of *post-modernism* (cf 3.2.3.2[a]). Modern ideas such as the rational justification of human manipulation and exploitation, as well as colonial expansion were, amongst others, the things that were

questioned. These post-modern ideas were reflected in a **changed** mission thinking and approaches giving rise to a more **liberal** approach to mission (cf 3.2.3.2[b]). These post-modern thoughts were to be reflected in, and as **reaction** to, certain international and national events during the twentieth century (cf 3.2.3.2[c]) such as the Second World War which saw many African states shaking off the shackles of colonialism. In South Africa notions of liberation (expounded by many missionaries) were to be thwarted by the Government who propagated a system of separate development and White supremacy, reflected in the *apartheid* ideology.

■ Prior to the nineteenth century, mission activity in South Africa was minimal. This was to **change**. The nineteenth and twentieth centuries saw a phenomenal **increase** in mission work in South Africa, especially amongst Black people (cf 3.3.1) showing both progress and regression. Both the modern and post-modern era influenced the mission endeavour in South Africa reflecting a **change** from paternalism to that of development.

■ **Education** featured strongly in the missionary task, so much so, that well into the twentieth century it was predominantly a mission endeavour in South Africa. This control **changed** after the passing of the 1953 Bantu Education Act, whereby the control of Black schools passed into the hands of the National Party Government heralding a process of institutionalised separate education.

6.2.3 Perceptions on racism

It is in the light of the previous comments that more thorough analysis of certain prevalent perceptions surrounding mission education could be made and attempted. One such perception was that surrounding the **racial** attitudes and behaviour of missionaries and the changing nature thereof reflected **metabletically** in the

educational context. Chapter 4 saw a comprehensive analysis of diverse perceptions surrounding the topic.

■   As a result of scholarly **inquiry, political rhetoric** and certain **media** pronouncements, missionaries and the education that they provided had been subjected to diverse perceptions. One such perception is that they expounded racist attitudes and behaviour (cf 4.1–4.2).

■   Given the general definition (cf 4.2.1) that racism is the belief that human beings can be divided into **separate** races, with some being inherently **inferior** to others, which again give rise to **discriminatory** practices and behaviour, one is aware of much conceptual **confusion** reflected in the literature, as well as the need to look **contextually** at the phenomenon of racism and the role of missionaries in this.

6.2.3.1   The development of racism in terms of international discourse

■   **Prior** to the Enlightenment (cf 4.3.1–4.3.2), racial differences were explained on the basis of, amongst others, **environmental** and **theological** factors. Since the influence of the Church (cf 3.2.1) was strong during these times, the doctrine of **monogenesis** reigned.

■   As a result of prevalent **myths,** the increased availability of the **printed word** (media), **economic exploitation, literature** and the **voyages of discovery,** people "other" than European were seen in a negative light giving rise to stereotypical images.   In most cases these images were portrayed by Black people. Religious, psychodynamic, economic and historical factors influenced peoples' **prejudices** and behaviour and this was not **attributable** to some prevalent scientific theory of racial inferiority.   The concept of race during this era referred to **lineage.**

■   With the dawning of the **Enlightenment** (cf 4.3.3-4.3.4) came the need to explain phenomena in **rational** terms, racial differences being no exception. The concept of race now **changed**. Humans were now classified by scientists into different **types**. Although racial theorising was evident during the early stages of the Enlightenment, it was done within the realms of **monogenetic** thought, differences being attributed to **religious** and **environmental** factors. Prejudicial attitudes and behaviour towards different races were rather attributed to **economic** and **psychodynamic** reasons than to any form of permanent inferiority.

■   In the **latter** Enlightenment (cf 4.3.5-4.3.6) era, theories of racial superiority were to be propagated. This subsequently **changed** on account of **physical anthropology, evolution,** as well as **nationalistic** justifications. White people were seen as being superior to Black people and racial theories were used to justify and rationalise **social, political** and **ideological** arrangements such as colonialism, segregation and nationalism. By the early twentieth century it became general "**scientific**" knowledge that Black people were intellectually inferior to White people. This necessitated paternalistic guidance and Western civilisation.

■   During the twentieth century (cf 4.3.6) this belief of intellectual inferiority was to be countered (but not its **prevalence** to suit pseudo-scientific theories and ideologies). Several **theories** have been as to why racial attitudes and behaviour exist, ranging from **historical** (slavery) and **economical** (exploitation) reasons, **socio-cultural** factors, **situational** emphasis, **psychodynamic** and **phenomological** influences, as well as that racial groups tend to **earn reputations** on account of characteristics.

6.2.3.2   South African discourse

■   In South Africa racial theorising, as well as prejudicial attitudes and behaviour were to manifest themselves in a myriad of ways, both **universally** and

specifically (cf 4.4). Since missionaries were part of the social context, it goes without saying that they would have been caught up in this discourse.

- Missionaries reflected several prevalent theoretical tenets(cf 4.4.1) of Enlightenment discourse in their writings. These tenets ranged from **monogenestic** (eg Holden, Callaway), **pre-Darwinian** (Griffiths) to **intellectual conceptualisation** (Junot, Bryant and Roberts) pronouncements.

- Several **factors** were indicated for these perceptions, which varied from cultural context, prevalent attitudes, forms of knowledge and cognitive styles, as well as learning from past and present experiences (cf 2.4.2–2.4.3; 4.4.1). Several missionaries (eg Callaway and Stewart), receiving new information that **changed** their perceptual schemata, showed a change in attitude and behaviour, which invariably was reflected in their **educative** task.

- Several factors have been identified and offered as leading to racial attitudes and behaviour in South Africa, during the seventeenth through to twentieth centuries. These varied from differences in **cultural** background, **economic** and **employment** policies of the authorities, **distinctions** between status groups, as well as its policies towards the **indigenous** populations and **slaves**. The expansion of the **frontier; philanthropic** and **humanistic** endeavours; the influence of governmental **policies; literary** manifestations; Hamitic and Afrikaner **myths; racial theorising;** the effects of **industrialisation** and Afrikaner **nationalism** (cf 4.4.2), with missionaries and the education that they provided inevitably reflecting these factors.

- In the light of these factors several groups of writers (eg Settler, Marxist, Liberal and Nationalist historians) have **theorised** regarding the role of missionaries and the education that they provided, and how this contributed to racial theories, attitudes and behaviour, on account of their own perceptual **frameworks.** This invariably gave rise to numerous selective perceptions, stereotypes and generalisations about missionaries (cf 2.5 & 4.4.2.2).

■   Although many missionaries subscribed to prevalent racial theorising numerous
      were found to **counter** prevalent attitudes and behaviour due to their
      Evangelical backgrounds, learning and own individual personalities (cf
      4.4.2.2[g]), thus adopting opposite attitudes and behaviour to dominant
      society.

6.2.3.3   Educational manifestations

Mission education did not escape this **changing** racial discourse since education did
not function separately from the rest of society.

■   Initially mission education was not segregated (cf 4.5.2), and functioned as
      a **separate** entity in the early British society without any government aid. This
      financial situation was to **change** in the 1840's when the Cape Colonial
      Government was to **partially** aid mission schools. This led to an increase in
      control which meant that mission education was to reflect government
      policies and ideologies. Together with the existing and prevalent racial
      stratification, and accompanying racial attitudes and behaviour, as well as
      world trends of segregation, mission schools were to inevitably **change** to
      reflect segregatory policies.

■   Although the Cape education system reflected segregatory **policies** in the
      1860's (cf 4.5.3), these were not strictly enforced and was only in the
      1890's that mission schools were barred from allowing Whites to attend, due
      to legislatory policies. Scholars attribute diverse reasons for this phenomena,
      ranging from **capitalistic** reasons to **political, psychodynamic** and **sociocultural**
      reasons.

■   Missionaries functioned and taught in a very negative **environment**, reflecting
      both White and Black prejudices which inevitably had an effect on their work
      (cf 4.5.3–4.5.4). White peoples' perceptions of Black people, were that they
      were intellectually **inferior** to White people; that education would **spoil** Black

people and make them lazy, as well as being a **threat** to the White working class. Some of these perceptions were even prevalent in the 1930's (cf "Welsh Commission").

■   Opposed to this was the perception amongst Black tribal chiefs that the giving of education undermined their **tribal authority**, in that missionaries educated so that their powers could be taken over by the educated elite.

■   With the coming into power of the **National Party** in 1948 and their propagation of the idea of separate development or *apartheid*, the nature of education **changed** and reflected *apartheid* both ideologically and institutionally. The control of Black education was inevitably passed *in toto* to the government, in order to realise this aim of separate development. Pronouncements of Black **inferiority** were reflected in Government documents on education, the most notable being the **Eiselen Report** of 1951, which later formed the foundation of Bantu Education. It was predominantly the English missionaries who criticised these developments with the DRC, usually taking a stance of no comment or pro-government action. However, this cannot be viewed selectively as there were instances of English missionaries taking a racialistic stance towards Black people, as well as DRC missionaries taking an anti-racism stance against government policies (cf 4.5.5). ·

6.2.4 Perceptions on colonialism

A well-contested perception amongst academics and politicians was or is the notion of missionaries' role and involvement in the **colonial** process. In many instances, initiators of these perceptions gave rise to gross **generalisations** and **stereotyping**, as well as to **selective perceptions**. Chapter 5 is an attempt to critically analyse these perceptions **contextually**. An attempt is made below to note the findings:

■   To different people the terms "colonialism" and "imperialism" mean and meant different things giving rise to diverse **interpretations** of the term (cf 5.2.1-

5.2.2). While some academics equate the two terms, others view the term from their own specific viewpoints, for example, Marxist scholars view the process solely from an economic point of view. These interpretations in themselves impact on the way that people perceive the whole process. Generally, the concept colonialism is seen as the way a nation **declares** or **expands** its **control** over foreign **dependencies**, implying political, economic, ideological and psychological expansion and control.

■ Certain **fundamental** givens have emerged from the discussion of Western colonialism that can be applied universally. Colonialism is not a modern phenomenon, but an ancient one which involves the expansion of one nation to the detriment of another. This expansion results in the exploitation of that country's resources, as well as the exercising of power, subsequently results in subjugation (cf 5.2).

6.2.4.1 International discourse

■ Initially, Western colonising went hand in hand with the **Christianisation** and subsequent mission endeavour encountering both **resistance** and **compliance**. Such was evident from Spanish and Portuguese conquests by missionaries as evident from the literature studied (cf 5.3). Perceptions of contemporary writers of one such missionary movement the **Jesuits,** and the subsequent education that they provided, vary between positive and negative. They are also seen in a more balanced light seeking, when they are explained **contextually**.

6.2.4.2 South African discourse

■ During the nineteenth century the **Cape** became a colony of Great Britain. Prior to that, however, it was a colony of the Dutch for nearly a century and a half. Literature suggests that both **trade** and **political** factors (cf 5.4.1)

emerge as initial reasons for this takeover. Later on further expansion was to take place with added motives now being **political, economic, ideological, spiritual** and **personal** (cf 5.4.4).

■ British expansion in South Africa reflected different **epochs** (cf 5.4) with missionaries playing **changing** roles. Ironically enough, during this period of British colonialism and imperialism, missionary **expansion** flourished (5.4.3.1). This gave rise to diverse interpretations in scholarly inquiry, as well as political and journalist responses (cf 5.4-5.5).

■ Literature suggests **several** common perceptions or issues surrounding the mission endeavours' involvement in the colonial process in South Africa (cf 5.4), as well as the **education** (cf 5.5) that they provided, emerged

☞ that missionary education was an **instrument** of colonial conquest;
☞ the question of colonial and indigenous **perplexities;**
☞ the question of **financial co-operation;**
☞ missionary education was seen as **cultural colonisation;**
☞ missionary education was perceived as an instrument of **social improvement;**
☞ missionary education determined the pattern of **gender differentiation** within education.

■ Literature indicates that these perceptions cannot be accepted as **generalisations,** and thus have to be critically analysed and assessed **contextually,** in the light of time and space, in order to put them into their proper perspectives. Very often academics, politicians and journalists do not take this into account when discussing or referring to the topic, consequently giving rise to **stereotypical** images and **selective perceptions** (eg Marxist, Post-modern, Colonial, Radical and Liberal historians, as well as nationalist politicians). On account of these one-sided and biased judgements of missionaries and the education that they provided, prevail.

■   Missionaries and the education they provided cannot be **generalised** terms as being in collusion with the colonial governments. Differences and changes in **culture** (cf 5.4.3.1[a]; 5.4.3.1[b]; 5.4.4; 5.4.5.1; 5.4.6; 5.5.3.1; 5.5.3.3) and **class background** (cf 5.4.3.1[b]; 5.4.6), **ideology** (cf 5.4.3.1 "philanthropism"') **motives** and **personalities** (cf 5.4.3.1[a]; 5.4.3.1[b]; 5.4.4; 5.4.6; 5.5.3.1; 5.5.3.3), **time** and **setting** (cf 5.4.3.1[b]; 5.4.4; 5.4.5.1; 5.4.6; 5.5.3.1; 5.5.3.2; 5.5.3.3) all result in a far more **complex** phenomenon than ascribing mere collusion and co-operation.

6.2.4.3   Educational implications

■   Mission education reflected influence by **colonial** policies in varying degrees during the nineteenth century. In many instances mission education was used by the colonial authorities to fulfill certain political functions (cf 5.5.3.1 & 5.5.3.3) with missionaries in many instances making use of the situation to fulfill a certain **motive**, in many instances a religious and pragmatic one.

■   Colonial influence was brought to bear on educational policy on account of increased **finance** (5.5.3.2). Prior to 1840 mission education was self-financed. After 1840 this **changed**. Increased financial aid resulted in colonial authorities having more direct **control** over mission education. On the other hand, this aid alleviated many financial **burdens** on the part of the missionaries.

■   During the period of **British Imperialism** (cf 5.5.3.3) colonial authorities made use of mission education to achieve certain political goals. This was made easier due to the financial input of colonial authorities. Mission education reflected these goals, more for pragmatic and evangelical reasons, than for politics.

In the light of the aforementioned findings, certain general **conclusions** can be reached.

6.3   CONCLUSIONS

Several **general** conclusions can be inferred from the above-mentioned historical findings:

■   What can be concluded from this critical analysis of various perceptions surrounding mission education, is that no **single** simplistic judgement can be made that would do justice to the whole mission endeavour's education of Black people. The perceptual process has shown itself to be **complex**, giving rise to **various** interpretations of reality: various **factors** contributing to the final percept.   However, one must note that although these perceptions have certain **intersubjective** agreement, in instances they may be incorrect, or partially correct, since they only reflect one perspective from which the writer works.   Academics, journalists and politicians in many instances perceive mission education from their own perceptual framework giving rise to **selective** perceptions, **stereotypes** and simplistic **generalisations,** and very often do not place mission education in a balanced perspective. Very often writers taking a specific stance tend to criticise others' points of view by superimposing their perceptual framework onto the others' perspective, simply replacing one point of view with their own. This gives rise to academic chauvinism or selfishness.

■   Given the fact that there are still many surviving "**products**" of mission education alive today (eg Nelson Mandela, Thabo Mbeki and Archbishop Desmond Tutu, to name but a few), it is natural that each person or group of persons will have his/her **own** perception of mission education. Even their experiences will influence the perception of others' (who maybe did not attend a mission school) thus creating stereotypical images, and this will often lead to prejudice.

■   In historical writing, each story represents reality to the "teller of the story". **Differences** in the portrayal of and the contribution of missionaries to the education process in South Africa can be attributed to, the different and

changing historical eras during which these studies or utterances were carried out or made. The **motives** and **personalities** of the perceiver and the perceived, as well as differences in the **cultural** background also contribute to this. Various writers may perceive the situation or perceived object in what they term "objective" frameworks, it should be remembered that each story represents reality to the story-teller. This does not however, **abscond** writers from not exploring others' perspectives.

■ That missionaries **reflected** both racial attitudes and behaviour, as well as being a part of and advancing colonial interests to the disadvantage of indigenous peoples, is evident from the literature. What should be taken into account was that beyond the fact that missionaries were products of their **time**, they also possessed other **human** attributes which obviously directed their attitudes and behaviour. These attributes included motivation, greed, happiness, sorrow and pain, all aspects often negated in historical analyses of missionaries which obviously played a role in their thinking and behaviour.

■ Political rhetoric, media sensation, cultural differences, lack of communication are amongst the factors contributing to certain commonly held perceptions of which educators and educational researchers must take note. These perceptions may lead to society becoming **fragmented** due to misunderstanding, ignorance and prejudice. The education system thus has a pivotal and accountable role to play in trying to provide basic **information, skills, values and attitudes** about the beliefs, values, traditions and practices of various cultural groups in order to tackle prejudice. Knowledge, skills, values and attitudes should be reflected in a **core curriculum,** as well as being integrated into daily educational **practices.**

■ Perceptions can **change** due to new information showing the previous perception to be either incorrect or that it does not reflect the true picture.

6.4   RECOMMENDATIONS

It is in the light of the above findings and general conclusions that certain **guidelines** and **recommendations** should be made in order for educational practitioners and researchers to be more aware of others' thoughts and actions. These include the following:

●   History literature abounds with stereotypes, generalisations and attributes imposed on mission endeavours. This poses unending problems to those doing research on the role of missionaries in education. By keeping in mind how the perceptual **process** works, as well as taking cognisance of influencing **factors,** other peoples'/groups' perspectives can be better understood and perceptual errors may be minimised through an increased openness to more information.

●   Researchers and other educational stakeholders should understand and be **sensitive** to others' points of view, and not argue from the premise that their perceptions are the only and correct ones. This aspect revealed itself in the study of diverse perceptions surrounding mission education. This observation implies that researchers should show not only sensitivity, but also **maturity** in assessing sources not only in history of educational issues, but also other educational disciplines. How to portray all realities in a balanced manner is a challenge to contemporary research.

●   In the light of this previous recommendation, the education system should instill **attitudes, knowledge and skills** in learners and teachers, which will enable them to **interact** effectively with learners from different cultural backgrounds, in the context of an increasingly interdependent global society, in order for them to be sensitive to other's perceptions of reality. It is important that teachers are not only aware of these knowledge, skills and attitudes, but that they actually reflect these aspects in their teaching **philosophy,** and **practices.**

- Although **intersubjectivity** can give rise to a higher degree of consensual validation, it should be borne in mind that intersubjectivity only leads to *partial* consensual validation and not *total* validation. Perceptual errors can be minimised and differences resolved by **communicating** with people of different cultures, backgrounds and training to get an idea of other viewpoints. The **value** of intersubjectivity is that on knowing what sort of intersubjective categories govern the behaviour of an individual or group of people, one could better understand the reality that they perceive.

- No one cultural group should set its traditions and values as the **norm** for an entire society. Each and every cultural group should be open to learn and be **changed** by the insights, experience and prudence of others' cultures. Multicultural education should actively nurture a process of cultural exchange so that each can learn from, and be enriched by, others' cultures. This does not imply a negation of one's own culture, but a **respect** for one's own and anothers'.

- Because perceptions are so **dynamic**, people need to realise that previously held, and current perceptions that were seen to be correct, may be **changed** by the emergence of new phenomena which may invalidate these over time. The **metabletical** nature of the perceptual process ensures that perceptual errors may be overcome, if there is a **willingness** to change one's perceptions when encountering new and relevant information and to not stubbornly maintain one's point of view, due to selfish reasons. In many instances this implies a change in **mind-set**.

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CFC *see* Consultative Forum on Curriculum.

CDWG *see* Curriculum Development Working Group.

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