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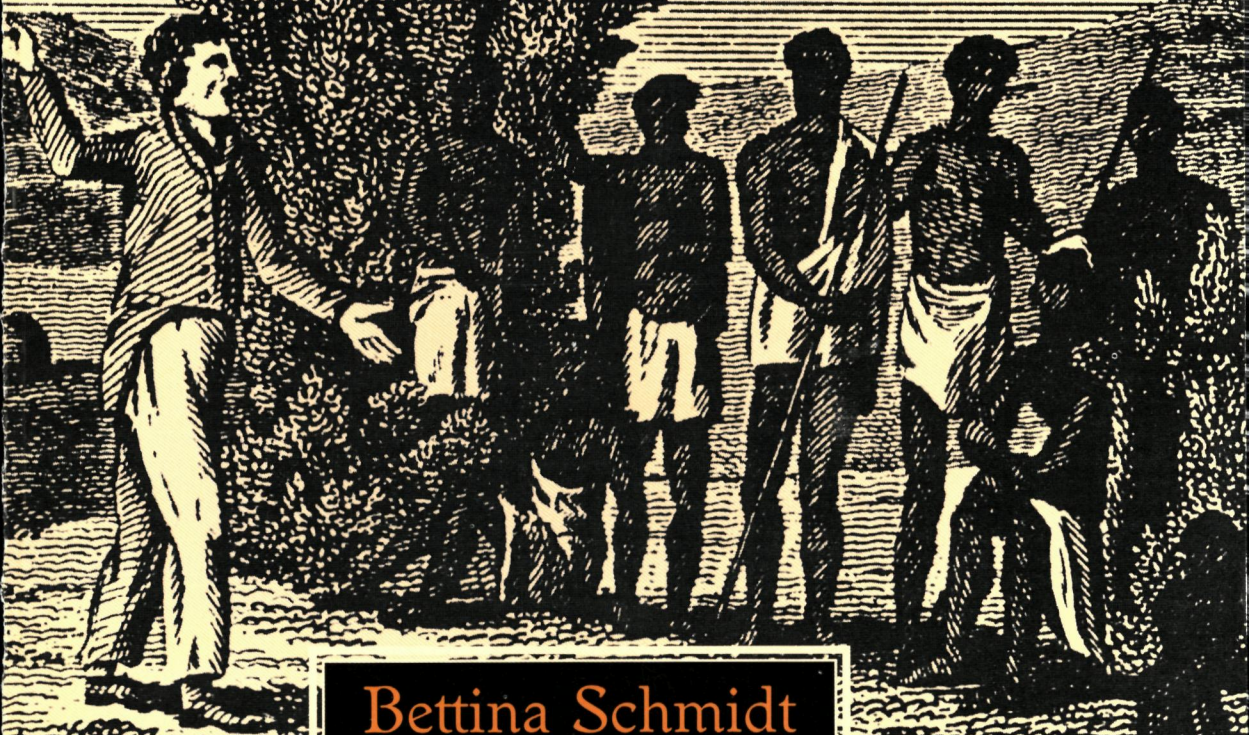
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Creating Order

*Culture as Politics in
19th and 20th Century
South Africa*



Bettina Schmidt

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Culture as Politics
in 19th and 20th Century South Africa

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Culture as Politics

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Een wetenschappelijke proeve
op het gebied van de Sociale Wetenschappen

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Preface

Having grown up in South Africa and later studied social anthropology at a German university, I expected that during my studies I would learn something about the work of South African anthropologists. I can remember being told that Malinowski had visited South Africa, but little did I learn about his and Radcliffe-Brown's involvement in establishing social anthropology at South Africa's universities and the impact South African social anthropologists and volkekundiges had on anthropological theory and practice. The research for my doctoral thesis enabled me to fill this gap.

I did not want to limit myself to filling this gap, but looked at the broader picture, the historic process of creating order in South Africa. By doing so I aimed at questioning the myth that the cultural sphere can exist isolated and separated from the political sphere. The well recorded initiatives of cultural agents, be they missionaries, scientists, government officials or politicians, in creating order makes South Africa an interesting example in presenting empirical evidence for a theory that views culture as an integral part of politics.

Many people have supported me during my research. My greatest debt is to my supervisor Professor Gerrit Huizer. Special thanks also to Paul Drechsel, my relatives and friends in Vallendar, my parents in Stuttgart, Angelika Schmidt, Chris Jones, Richard Griggs, Hans Heese, J.H. Booyens, Wilbert Kruijzen, Robert Thornton and Vernon February, who all assisted me in various ways.

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Introduction

Creating order: culture as politics

The literary scholar Edward W. Said has dealt in his publications in an unprecedented manner not only with the question of how modern imperialism has influenced the culture of the colonised people, but also with the question of how it affected the culture of the coloniser and their scholarship, their aesthetics, and in particular, their literature. In addition, he has shown how this relationship between the coloniser and the colonised took root paradigmatically in the perceptual structures of the metropolitan centres.¹ To summarise in his words:

“We live in a world not only of commodities but also of representation, and representations - their production, circulation, history, and interpretation - are the very element of culture. In much recent theory the problem of representation is deemed to be central, yet rarely is it put in its full political context, a context that is primarily imperial. Instead we have on the one hand an isolated cultural sphere, believed to be freely and unconditionally available to weightless theoretical speculation and investigation, and, on the other hand, a debased political sphere, where the real struggle between interests is supposed to occur. To the professional student of culture - the humanist, the critic, the scholar - only one sphere is relevant, and, more to the point, it is accepted that the two spheres are separated, whereas the two are not only connected but ultimately the same.

A radical falsification has become established in this separation. Culture is exonerated of any entanglements with power, representations are considered only as apolitical images to be parsed and construed as so many grammars of exchange, and the divorce of the present from the past is assumed to be complete. And yet, far from this separation of spheres being a neutral or accidental choice, its real meaning is as an act of complicity, the humanist's choice of a disguised, denuded, systematically purged textual model over a more embattled model, whose principal features would inevitably coalesce around the continuing struggle over the question of empire itself.”²

¹ Edward Said, a Jerusalem-born Arab, lives in the United States and is professor of English and Comparative Literature at Columbia University in New York. He regards himself as an Euro-American as well as an Arab. His well-known earlier work *Orientalism* (1978) focused on the culture of imperialism in the Middle East. In both books, *Orientalism* and *Culture and Imperialism*, Said emphasised culture, or more precisely, imperial culture and Europe's production of the inferior Others, the colonised. The status of the colonised people, wrote Said, “has been fixed in zones of dependency and peripherality, stigmatized in the designation of underdeveloped, developing states, ruled by a superior, developed, or metropolitan colonizer.” (Said 1989:207)

To him the word ‘culture’ has two meanings. “First of all it means all those practices, like arts of description, communication, and representation, that have a relative autonomy from the economic, social, and political realms and that often exist in aesthetic forms”. Second, “culture is a concept that includes a refining and elevating element, each society's reservoir ... In time, culture comes to be associated, often aggressively, with the nation or the state; this differentiates ‘us’ from ‘them’, almost always with some degree of xenophobia. Culture in this sense is a source of identity, and a rather combative one at that, as we see in recent ‘returns’ to culture and tradition.” (Said 1993:xi-xiv) In the formerly colonised world, these ‘returns’, have produced varieties of religious, ethnic and nationalist fundamentalism (Said 1993:xv) In this thesis Said's concept of culture is applied to colonialism and state-formation in South Africa

² Said (1993:66-67).

Said had 'fine' literature in mind, especially the genre of the novel. Undoubtedly, his approach can be applied to the genre of the ethnographic monograph: Generally, ethnographic studies are not just 'fine' representations of the colonised societies; they owe their very existence to the colonial imperium. Yet there is hardly any indication in the ethnographic literature that their textualisation of 'foreign' cultures could be considered as a representation of the politics of colonialism that took on an aesthetic scholarly form or that a complicity could have existed between the anthropologist or ethnographer and colonial politicians. Instead of elucidating this relationship, the scholars spoke of 'foreign' cultures in terms of 'weightless' entities and as imagined 'social wholes' - simple, harmonious and of unique beauty. Presentations and representations appear as apolitical images and the separation between politics and science is made complete. How is one to understand Said's statement that the cultural sphere cannot be separated from the political, their being one and the same? Where lies then the politics of colonialism in the 'beautiful' ethnographic studies of foreign cultures and the 'harmonious' theories of the anthropologists? If Said is correct, then the answer should be found exactly in that which ethnography and anthropology records: namely, in the aesthetic of the representations and in the logic of the theories about these foreign cultures.

Power creates social order, usually its own: the ruling order. Its representation of itself appears seldom 'ugly'. Quite to the contrary, it takes pains to give itself an aesthetic splendour.³ That applies to colonial rule prior to and during the time of imperial capitalism just as well. Its politics was represented as just and good, its origins religiously ordained, its legitimisation justified and its order sensible. In fact, colonial rule decimated the populations of the colonial periphery, destroyed their cultures and subjected them to capitalistic exploitation. At the same time, however, especially during its most advanced stage, it aestheticised the oppressed, deculturated them and paved the way for scientific and scholarly research. 'Fine' representation, scholarly descriptions and the study of the colonised people could, as long as the colonial rule was not radically put in doubt, only confirm the presumptions on which it rested: that it was just and good, religiously ordained, legitimate and sensible. Over and beyond these scientific efforts, colonial politics can be understood as 'creating order'. Since in Said's opinion representation cannot be separated from politics, the 'fine' and 'scholarly' presentations of the cultures of the colonised became essential expressions of the politics of colonialism. Thus colonial rule can be understood not only as 'creating order' but also as 'culture as politics'.

Said maintains that in practice cultural representation is separated out from politics. Accordingly, the process of creating colonial order should have contained something which enabled the culture of the colonised to appear as 'beautiful' and 'harmonious', while unaffected by colonial rule. Thus, colonial rule aimed at erasing all appearances of this freed representation of the colonised being entangled with power by making itself invisible in such a way that a division between representation and politics arose. It served as a means to disguise the process of creating colonial order from perception. When 'culture as politics' is applied to the colonial science of anthropology - given that colonial politics drew the veil over perception - then regaining perception should be possible through the reconstructing of the emergence of this science. That ensures a deconstruction of the colonial science of anthropology.

³ Said (1993:xxv) Thornton has examined the characteristics of this genre in his article *The Rhetoric of Ethnographic Holism* (1988).

Said has long been engaged in uncovering the phenomenon of the disguising of power through the medium of literature of the colonial era. In this thesis the history of South Africa is the vehicle of this same process of disclosure. This historic reconstruction, of this history starting with the Dutch and the British colonial rule and ending with the establishment of 'British' social anthropology and *Afrikaner volkekunde*⁴ in twentieth century South Africa aims to demonstrate how, in the course of 'creating order', culture and scholarly representation were separated from politics. Since according to Said, representation and politics are one and the same, it is also necessary to reconstruct 'culture as politics' in order to show how representation and politics were interwoven in South Africa.

Particularly striking is the apparent continuity in ethnographic monographs on past and contemporary political systems. The early anthropological approach certainly reflected the glaring gulf between the colonial centres and the periphery. It is exactly for this reason that anthropology and sociology were institutionalised as two separate academic disciplines: one as the science of peripheral societies, the other as the science of societies of the centre. In the post-colonial era the genre of ethnographic representation has not changed. The paradigmatic presumptions underlying the separation of the two disciplines have not been altered. Thus, one does not need colonialism to sustain the asymmetry between the centre and its peripheries. The present North-South divide is a continuation of that which started with adventure capital being backed up by soldiers and warships. One could therefore argue that the science of social or cultural anthropology and its literary expression, the ethnographic monograph, did not become obsolete as colonialism and imperialism came to an end. Cultures and ethnic groups remain not only harmonious and 'beautiful'; they have become even more beautiful and exonerated of any entanglement with power in the post-modern ethnography.⁵ The separation between culture and politics seems to have become indeed the ontological presumption of post-modern ethnography. Is not, therefore, Said's approach even more meaningful for the present and future than it is for the study of the past? One can best judge the validity of his findings when one knows more precisely, to what extent Said's notion of representation of cultures is valid for the past. Therefore, it seems appropriate to reflect anew on the theory and practice of anthropology. A re-evaluation of the past performances could open the way for a paradigm befitting modernity in which the culture of the Others is not constituted in the separation of cultural representation from politics, the centre from the periphery, the present from the past.

Such a re-evaluation has already been undertaken. For example, Gérard Leclerc's *Anthropologie et Colonialisme* (1972) is a vehement criticism of anthropology as a henchman of capitalism and imperialism. This was followed in 1973 by Talal Asad's *Anthropology and the Colonial Encounter*. In 1979 Gerrit Huizer and Bruce Mannheim published in *The Politics of Anthropology* contributions to the symposium on 'Ideology and Education of Anthropologists' at the IXth (1973) International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences. In his introduction entitled *Anthropology and Politics: From Naiveté toward Liberation* Huizer

⁴ Volkekunde refers to a specific anthropological school at Afrikaans-medium universities, which constituted a counterpart to the social anthropological school at English-medium universities in South Africa. Hence the Afrikaans word *volkekundige* (pl. *volkekundiges*) refers to Afrikaner scholars of volkekunde.

⁵ See Tyler (1987)

questioned the role that social anthropologists had played up to then. Huizer and other contributors such as Omafume Onoge, Talal Asad, Maxwell Owusu and André Gunder Frank argued that “*anthropology is politics*, generally the politics of domination”.⁶

Nevertheless, one can observe that despite this criticism of anthropological theory and practice, not a single department of social or cultural anthropology has anywhere been closed down. On the contrary, they have multiplied, even in the former colonies, without any serious paradigmatic changes.⁷ The theories have partly become even more artificial in terms of their separating representation from politics more than ever before.⁸ Furthermore, something which has come to the fore - as already noted - is a post-modern ethnography and anthropology that appears to be ‘free’ and ‘weightless’, detached from all the distortions of the world society and especially from the centre-periphery asymmetry. The result is a science in which wandering about with the Others in the earth’s hunger belt appears to be an aesthetic pleasure.⁹

Apparently, a change in paradigm is still being held in abeyance, despite massive critique that anthropology and its insights are in need of a renewal. Thus, one cannot exclude the possibility that for all of the criticism that has been made, something essential may have been overlooked, namely, forces that can no longer be attributed to crude exploitative capitalism, imperialism or colonial politics, but are of a structural kind that are prescribed by general patterns of relationships between the metropolitan West and the peripheries. Hence, this thesis does not analyse the extensive critique of social anthropology or offer a further variation on the same theme, or even treat the pro’s and con’s of post-modern ethnography and anthropology. Focusing on the history of one part of the world, South Africa, this thesis reconstructs instead the emergence of social anthropology and Afrikaner volkekunde and explores the impact social anthropologists and volkekundiges had on the process of creating order. It brings to the fore forces that critics have up to now made short shrift of and that could explain why even in our time the relationship between politics and representation has hardly changed despite critical exposure of this relationship.

This thesis is thus about the complex interrelationship between social actors, different forms of the power and politics of Christian mission, social anthropology and volkekunde that had a decisive impact on ‘creating order: culture as politics’ in South Africa up to the Apartheid-era. South Africa was chosen because presumably nowhere else in modern history is such an intimate relationship between the colonial state and Christian mission or between

⁶ Huizer (1979:15). Emphasis in the original. The titles of their articles emphasise the notion of ‘anthropology is politics’. *The Counterrevolutionary Tradition in African Studies The Case of Applied Anthropology* (Onoge 1979), *Anthropology and the Colonial Encounter* (Asad 1979), *Colonial and Postcolonial Anthropology of Africa: Scholarship or Sentiment?* (Owusu 1979), *Anthropology = Ideology, Applied Anthropology = Politics* (Frank 1979).

⁷ Considerable controversy has developed around the term ‘paradigm’, especially since the appearance of Thomas Kuhn’s *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* (1970). Although the use of the term is often regarded as problematic, I found it more accurate in certain contexts than other available alternatives. In this thesis the idea of paradigm refers to recurrent alternatives in the history of anthropological thought and might also be thought of as traditions or patterns of inquiry and scientific theory, practice and interpretation

⁸ See among others Harris (1969), Leaf (1979) and the theoretical contributions in specialised journals such as *Current Anthropology*, *American Anthropologist* or *Ethnology*, just to mention a few.

⁹ The basis for this, according to Said, is that “Western” postmodernism is separated from the ‘non-European’ world “and from the consequences of European modernism - and modernization - in the colonized world” (Said 1989:222) On post-modernism see Drechsel (1994) - especially his introduction - and Tyler (1987).

the modern state and anthropology and ethnography to be found. Out of all these unique relationships the infamous state-bureaucratic system of Apartheid, based on the premise of cultural and racial difference, was born. Therefore this thesis aims also to find out whether in the process of this 'creation order: culture as politics' a paradigm of anthropology can be derived that is compatible with Apartheid. Some may wonder about or reject the merit of such a pursuit, but as the South African, Vernon February, wrote:

"There is no reason to believe that Verwoerd was fundamentally different in his approach to the 'native' than many anthropologists or political scientists"¹⁰

This thesis aims, for one, to reflect on this statement, for if it be correct, it would, on the one hand, reaffirm Said's thesis on the interrelatedness of culture and politics, and on the other hand, have far reaching consequences for the theory and practice of anthropology.

The historical developments in regard to 'creating order' discussed in the following chapters imply a critique of anthropology, social anthropology and volkekunde, a critique that supplements that which has already been directed against the discipline. It presumes a critical frankness on the part of anthropologists about their position in their own society. More than a decade ago Gerrit Huizer wrote.

"They [the anthropologists] were educated to look carefully, and with all the methodology of their discipline, at their specific group, tribe, or village, without in fact being properly trained to look first at themselves as Westerners"¹¹

One can add to this the statement of Stephen Tyler that "the meaning of native life is only its meaning for us [the Westerners and ethnographers]."¹² In focusing on a specific and limited historical case, that is, the history of South Africa, this thesis attempts to 'look at oneself as a Westerner'. South Africa is all the more suitable for such a study since the first full-time professorship of social anthropology was established there and not in Britain.

Overview

The part of South Africa's history relevant to the topic of this thesis begins with the Dutch occupation of the Cape peninsula in 1652 discussed in chapter I. The Dutch East India Company was not particularly interested in establishing a new order in the region. Its outpost at the Cape served the specific and limited purpose of being a link between Holland and their eastern empire, centred on Batavia, Java. In the course of time, the European settlers at the Cape, the burghers or Boers,¹³ mainly of Dutch but also German and French origin, became in time isolated from Holland, due to the great distance, poor communication and limited social exchange. They began to lead their own lives as though they were living in a remote Dutch province.

No specific ethnic consciousness developed during this early phase of colonisation among the Boers. This chapter deals also with the interaction between the Dutch and the Khoi and San at the Cape up to the 1770s. The Khoi and San in the immediate surroundings of the

¹⁰ February (1991: 173). Verwoerd has been termed repeatedly the 'architect of apartheid'. For example, Henry Kenney titled his book on Hendrik Verwoerd *Architect of Apartheid* (1980).

¹¹ Huizer (1979: 5).

¹² Tyler (1987: 96).

¹³ The term Boer came in common use from 1800 onwards.

Dutch outpost at the Cape were colonised, but not the black (Bantu) population further in the interior - towards the north and east.

Chapter II examines the process of colonisation and the establishment of a new political order at the Cape from 1806 onwards under the British, with the main emphasis on the activities of the various Christian mission societies. For the Boers, the British occupation and the coming of the missionaries meant being jolted out of their isolated, patriarchal social existence. For the blacks it meant experiencing the white newcomers with all their destructive might pitted against their pre-colonial culture and means of existence.

At centre stage of this chapter is the process of ethnogenesis¹⁴ induced by missionaries living and working among the black population. This is illustrated by the examples of the creation of the Xhosa, Zulu, Sotho, and Tswana as cultural entities within the colonial state. It shall be shown in detail how the missionaries acted as cultural agents of the colonial power. Initially, they entered the 'heathen land' of the blacks without any military protection to found mission stations and to spread Christianity and 'civilisation' among the black population. They seldom had success. It took military destruction of the political autonomy of the blacks and the defeat of black resistance followed by annexation of their land before the missionaries could secure a firm footing for their 'civilising mission'. Uprooted blacks moved into the mission stations. New distinct black communities emerged, written languages were introduced, lexicons and grammars were produced in order to translate and print the Bible into the newly created written native (Bantu) languages and devotional and educational material printed. As locally prospering economic units, mission stations proved to be crystallisation points of newly generated ethnicities of converted and mission-educated blacks. While the foundation was being laid for 'civilising' blacks, the colonial administration began to implement a clientel native administrative system. They assigned the black population to reserves and controlled the colonised - so to speak administratively - 'in trusteeship'. It will be examined in detail how the 'civilising mission' of the missionaries as cultural agents stood structurally in relationship to the politics of 'trusteeship' of the colonial power over the blacks.

It was not only the blacks who were colonised and subsequently ethnicised. As discussed in chapter III the Boers too felt themselves colonised by England. The politics of the British colonial power naturally oriented itself towards England, so that Boers in their struggle for political autonomy from England oriented themselves towards the Netherlands. In order to withdraw from the pressure of the British colonial power, a section of the Boers migrated beyond the borders of the Cape Colony, a movement which became known as the Great Trek. This resulted in the formation of two autonomous Boer republics, the Transvaal (South African Republic) and the Orange Free State.

¹⁴ The concept of ethnogenesis refers to the process of ethnicisation of a social group. It means the scientific reconstruction of historical processes of ethnicisation which result in the formation of ethnic groups of different structures and dimensions (clans, tribes, peoples, etc.). It does not contain folk theories, legends and myths of ethnic groups about their own popular history and especially their own history of origin - which Muhlmann (1985) calls *Ethnogenie*. See Muhlmann (1964, 1985), Bukow/Llaryora (1993:62,93) and Kolb (1984) On the use of the concept of ethnogenesis in Afrikaner volkekunde see Coertze (1971a) and J.H. Coetzee (1978.237)

Parallel to and relatively independent of the military conquests and the missionary-administrative ethnogenesis of the blacks ran the conflict between the Boers (Dutch-Afrikaners) and the British. Besides the direct influence exercised by England on the development of the Boers and the emergence of an Afrikaner ethnic consciousness, the Netherlands too, although indirectly, came to influence developments at the Cape and in the Boer republics.

The self-mobilisation of the Boers in the two Boer republics and in the British ruled Cape Colony has to be understood as an effort to distinguish themselves from the British and not just as a reaction to being excluded and marginalised by the British. The self-mobilisation proved to be successful as a result of the support provided by theologians, teachers and other intellectuals as cultural agents, who came from the Netherlands or were Boers who had studied in the Netherlands. It is hardly possible to have an adequate understanding of the political mobilisation of the Dutch-Afrikaners and the emergence of an Afrikaner ethnic consciousness without considering the influence which the Netherlands had on the development of South Africa. Hence, it is necessary to mention those aspects of Holland's history which were of importance for the construction of a later Afrikaner ethnic consciousness. The Boers or Dutch-Afrikaners saw their mobilisation against the dominant influence of England as an essential impulse for their ethnogenesis. When one compares this to the parallel development of the ethnogenesis induced among the blacks, one can get the impression that nineteenth century South Africa was a *mélange* of totally different worlds, time-frames, and developments that ran independently of one another. Such would imply that the influential cultural agents were of two different types originating out of the context of the European processes of modernisation.

With the discovery of gold and diamonds in the Boer republics in the second half of the nineteenth century the economy underwent an intensive industrialisation. In order to take possession of the mineral resources, England annexed both republics, which led to the First and Second Anglo-Boer Wars. These wars signified a conflict between the whites of European origin as well as a conflict between two different forms of modernity and two different world-views (*Weltanschauungen*).

With the formation of the Union of South Africa in 1910, in the context of a modern state and industrial capitalism, there began a new phase of creating order. This is discussed in chapter IV. At first, the English-speaking whites endeavoured to assert their interests against the militarily defeated Boers, which essentially meant that the average Boer had to compete with the blacks in the labour market. This new labour situation led to conflicts amongst the state, the industrialists, and black and white labour, whereby black labour was increasingly marginalised. In the context of modern state formation the missionaries no longer played the role of cultural agents pursuing the ethnogenesis of blacks. The new cultural agents were the government officials working for Department of Native Affairs with the task of solving the so-called Native question in the labour market. Initially, ethnogenesis was not the explicit aim of the Department. The administrative exclusion of all blacks as 'natives' from citizenship in a common society was of high priority. Nevertheless, the groundwork was administratively laid for the creation of black ethnic groups by way of a new type of cultural agents, *viz* the social anthropologists and *volkekundiges*.

In 1921 the first university chair for social anthropology was founded in Cape Town. In their academic pursuits the social anthropologists, as the new type of cultural agents, discov

ered the primordial, harmonious, encapsulated, 'primitive' cultures and ethnic groups where the missionaries as cultural agents of the last century had already been ploughing the fields of ethnogenesis and where in this century the administrators of the Department of Native Affairs were busy excluding the blacks both territorially and politically Chapter V is about the emergence of British social anthropology and the discovery and ethnographic aestheticisation of 'primitive' cultures and societies in South Africa The contributions by Bronislaw Malinowski and Alfred Reginald Radcliffe-Brown, the founders of modern social anthropology, are discussed in detail since they not only worked in or visited South Africa, but laid the foundation for anthropological theory and practice in this century They had a major impact on the work of South African social anthropologists like Isaac Schapera, Winifred Hoernle, Monica (Hunter) and Godfrey Wilson, Eileen and Jack Krige, and Hilda Kuper Biographical details and publications of South African social anthropologists are presented to illustrate how their anthropological theory and practice were shaped by their South African experience It is also shown how they gave substance to an image of the 'native' and of Bantu culture predicated on the fact of otherness and difference, set apart from the 'European' and European culture Thus, it will be shown that the theory and practice of South African social anthropologists truly constituted 'culture as politics'

A discussion of the Afrikaner school of anthropology - *volkekunde* - does not immediately follow the presentation of the theory and practice of social anthropologists The reason is as follows The discipline of *volkekunde* was developed consciously as a counterpart to the social anthropology of the British and English-speaking South Africans It was represented by a counter-type of cultural agent The founding of two anthropological schools reflected the ethnic cleavage in South Africa's white population One must also keep in mind that the theory and practice of Afrikaner *volkekundiges* were part and parcel of the response by Afrikaners to English domination It was accordingly an inseparable part of the Afrikaner ethnic mobilisation that resulted in the 1948 election victory of the Afrikaners and the institutionalisation of the Apartheid state In order to do justice to this fundamental antagonism between English-speaking South Africans and Afrikaners, the political mobilisation of the Afrikaners in the first half of the twentieth century has to be treated in full on its own and not just in the context of anthropology For these reasons the reader is asked to accommodate a break in the flow of the thesis

Chapter VI then concentrates on the response of the Afrikaners to domination by the British and of the English-speaking section of the white population in the context of the modern state of South Africa Modern state formation brought with it a systematic erection of an all encompassing administrative system that increasingly regulated all aspects of life, long before the time of the Apartheid state, including the exclusion of blacks

To the anathema of the Afrikaners, the state remained dominated by the English, so it was not 'their' state Feeling suppressed and discriminated against by the English, the Afrikaners turned to uplifting themselves both economically and politically The Afrikaner Broederbond undertook the task of asserting - as a secret society - the interests of the Afrikaners systematically in politics, economics and society In their response to English domination, the Afrikaners articulated a 'resistance' ideology, which was, to a large extent, theologically legitimated They incorporated essential elements of Abraham Kuyper's theology and state-

theory of the 'sovereignty in one's own sphere' - which he developed in the second half of the last century in the Netherlands - as well as the mission-theory of *panta ta ethne* elaborated by the German theologian Gustav Warneck at the turn of the century.

As mentioned above, the Afrikaners created their own anthropological school as distinct from British social anthropology. Chapter VII presents the theory and practice of the volkekundiges Werner Eiselen and Pieter Johannes Coertze. In contrast to the social anthropologists, the volkekundiges as cultural agents were less interested in the theory of pre-modern 'primitive' societies and cultures, but rather how the blacks as 'foreign' *volke* and ethnic groups could be relegated to defined territories within South Africa, where they would have the right to develop their own national identity. That meant that the volkekundiges pleaded for the exclusion of these 'foreign' cultures from the territory of white South Africa not because they perceived them as 'primitive' ethnic groups but because they perceived them as self-contained national ethnic groups to be integrated in a modern, quasi-federalist (con-federal) South Africa.¹⁵

Separation thus meant for the Afrikaners something other than that to the English. The English favoured the fiction of pre-modern ethnicity within modern South Africa. The Afrikaners had a different reality in mind: that of equally sovereign cultures and peoples, who would eventually be able to share truly in modernisation, but within territorially bound 'independent' polities. The state-bureaucratic system which aimed at implementing this conceptual system they termed apartheid.¹⁶

As a result, the Afrikaners were more modernly oriented than the English, when it came to solving the Native question. For the duration of the Afrikaners' upliftment mobilisation, the blacks had to be 'temporarily' eliminated as competitors. Otherwise, the blacks basically had the same license to modernising as the Afrikaners, but with a difference. The blacks had to retain a status as cheap labourers and as 'deportable' citizens of the so-called independent ethnic homelands. Robert Thornton has thus argued that "Apartheid, both as ideology and as administrative practice, was one of the most virulent varieties of modernism."¹⁷

The process of upliftment of the Afrikaners vis-à-vis the English culminated in the 1948 election victory as their first success. This inaugurated the phase of Afrikaner dominance - the era of Apartheid - during which they could establish 'their' state. Apartheid meant a radical exclusion of the blacks as ethnic groups into so-called homelands as part of the realisation of their ethno-national constitutional autonomy.

The Concluding Remarks summarise and evaluate the developmental strands in South Africa in the light of the paradigm 'creating order: culture as politics'.

¹⁵ Even the apartheid ideologists aimed at a 'federal' system Rhoodie and Venter wrote that "South Africa will in all probability be eventually obliged to federate with a number of sovereign independent Bantu heartlands" (1960 249)

¹⁶ As suggested by Robert Thornton, I shall make use of the distinction between 'apartheid' "(lowercase 'a' for the generic concept) as *the logic of difference* which is, for the most part, still incoherent and ineffable - but which pervades all aspects of life in South Africa, and Apartheid (uppercase 'A' for the named), *the bureaucratic system* which implemented the conceptual system" in the phase from 1948 until the laws were repealed from 1986 to 1993 (Thornton 1994b 8) Emphasis in original

¹⁷ Thornton (1994b)

Remarks

The reconstruction of the historical process of creating order has to be prefaced with two remarks.

First: This thesis is not a historical work with an emphasis on chronology. Even if such a historical study had been intended, it would still have been impossible to press the various concurrent developments determining the process of creating order into a historical chronology. In South Africa there was a conjuncture of historical forces and societies that could not be thematically treated cohesively until the first half of the twentieth century. The reader ought to recall the facts that three separate histories with their own socio-political content were taking their course in South Africa during the last century. These histories were inter-connected and mutually influential, but were histories unto themselves, as though each had nothing to do with the other. The blacks had their own history, the Afrikaners theirs, and the English-speaking theirs. Thematically, each of these histories was worlds apart yet undeniably interwoven with one another. For this reason the course of history presented in the following chapters appears somewhat disjointed. This is inevitable. Despite these historical considerations, in this thesis sociological, political and economic developments and their dialectical relationship are of primary concern.

In the final chapter, the 'Concluding remarks', all the threads are drawn together. What may appear as interruptions in the sequence of chapters is not due to any lassitude on the part of the authoress, but is due to factual considerations.¹⁸ The South African society has been deeply divided since the last century - which is still the case today -, a fact that is reflected in the discontinuity of the chapters. Changing this for the sake of literary fluidity and genre would be inadequate. The concluding remarks will hopefully obliterate the discomfort which the reader felt in leaping from one chapter to another.

Second: Hardly any scholarly publication on South Africa forgoes a comment on terminology, which is and shall remain a problem in the near future. At present in South Africa there is no consensus on what are the boundaries of blacks, of whites, of Indians, of Coloured, of Zulu, etc. There is also no agreement on what constitutes a certain group or ethnic identity. There are conflicting claims to one and the same group identity as, for example, among those who claim to be Afrikaners, Coloureds or Zulus. Not even colour is a reliable signifier any more. There is also a general confusion in the definition and application of terms such as tribe, ethnic group, language group, peoples, volk, nation or race. All are in use at present in South Africa by the one or other person or interest group. The terminology used in this thesis reflects historical usage and not the authoress' proclivities. All these terms have not been placed in quotation marks because the emphasis is on dealing with social categories of political and scholarly discourses. Occasionally, terms do appear in quotations marks, which signify its use by a specific person or persons in a specific historical and political context. As will be shown, different social categories for differentiating between 'them' and 'us' emerged historically and were given meaning in the various socio-political contexts. Since it is intended to reconstruct the *Weltanschauung* of missionaries, administrators, politicians, social anthropologists and volkekundiges, and at the same time reconstruct the process of creating order, cate-

¹⁸ I have already co-published a chronological history of South Africa (Drechsel/Schmidt 1995:57-179)

gories are used which by now are no longer in common use - such as kafir (kaffir) or savage. As will be shown, the use of the term 'primitive society' by social anthropologists and 'volk' by volkekundiges cannot simply be translated as people or nation. Those who used these terms gave them a specific meaning. It was this meaning that was decisive in creating an ethnic order in South Africa.

When reference is made to people, alluding to realities existing beyond official classification adopted during the nineteenth and twentieth century, the terms Khoi, San, Coloured, Indian, black and white shall be used. The term English is used to refer to English-speaking white South Africans and the terms Boers, Dutch-Afrikaners and Afrikaners for people in South Africa of mainly Dutch, French and German origin who came to identify themselves as Afrikaners. When referring to people or languages by Bantu language terms such as Xhosa, Tswana, Zulu etc. the prefixes were dropped.¹⁹

Wherever quotations from Afrikaans and German sources are translated by the authoress it is explicitly indicated in the footnotes. Terms in a language other than English which are specifically defined appear in italics in the first instance only; thereafter in the interest of fluency the italics is limited. Terms not defined in the text or any words not translated into English remain in italics. Books and articles are italicised throughout.

¹⁹ An exception is made in the case of the term Basotho - and Sesotho language - because the root Sotho is commonly used to describe the Tswana, Pedi and Basotho

Chapter I

The Cape, outpost of the world power Holland

The seventeenth century is known as the Golden Age of the Netherlands¹ Its merchants were Europe's most successful businessmen Their Dutch East India Company (VOC) was the world's largest trading corporation Holland's rise to power, especially the city state of Amsterdam, as the centre of international trade was unending, as described in the book *Capitalism and Material Life 1400-1800* (1973) by Fernand Braudel² The Dutch provinces were highly commercialised, and the population urbanised³

After the Dutch provinces (today Benelux) had struggled for and won independence from the continental powers, especially Spain,⁴ three institutions formed the basis of freedom, unity and prosperity 1) the federal structure of the *Staten-Generaal* (States-General), the parliament, which consisted of two chambers a First Chamber, whose members were elected by the members of the councils of the seven provinces and a directly elected Second Chamber, 2) the Calvinistic faith; and 3) free trade

1. The Dutch East India Company

In the 1580s and 1590s wealthy capital owners had entered into partnership to cover the costs not only for equipping ships destined for trade in south-east Asia, but also for bearing and spreading the risks of loss To prevent unnecessary competition among these capital companies, representatives of the States-General urged their consolidation On the 20th of March 1602 various companies merged to form the Dutch East India Company (*Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie* or VOC) It was a joint-stock company with assets of 6.5 million guilders Half of the sum had been paid by the Amsterdam merchants and the rest came from Middelburg, Rotterdam, Delft, Hoorn and Enkhuizen In each of these six towns - the former seats of the pioneer companies - regional boards or chambers (*kamers*) were established These fell under the authority of the sixty directors (*bewindhebbers*) representing regional chambers, who also elected the governing body of seventeen directors, called the *Heeren XVII* Eight of the *Heeren* came out of Amsterdam and thus held decisive influence

Under the charter awarded by the States-General to the VOC, the Company was given a monopoly over all Dutch trade and navigation east of the Cape of Good Hope and west of the straits of Magellan for an initial period of twenty-one years The *Heeren XVII* was empowered to conclude treaties of peace and alliance, to wage defensive wars, to build fortresses and strongholds, and to establish administrations abroad The VOC was thus virtually a state

Schama (1991)

¹ It was published in German under the title *Sozialgeschichte des 15-18 Jahrhunderts Aufbruch zur Weltwirtschaft* (1986)

² Braudel (1986) 192 In Flanders and the Province of Holland forty per cent of the population lived in cities by 1500

⁴ See Lademacher (1993), Erbe (1993), Schama (1991) and Boxer (1966) for a history of the Netherlands

within a state, a *staatbouwende-staat*.⁵ Once the men of the VOC went on the offensive, they concentrated on Portuguese strongholds and settlements in overseas territories. The Dutch drove the Portuguese out of the Moluccas and Java in 1641. The governor-general of the VOC, who was directly responsible to the Heeren XVII, established his administrative centre at Batavia, Java.

The Dutch empire reached its height in the 1650s and 1660s, displacing and taking over from the Portuguese in the Far East. The Dutch also began to compete for the Indian trade, but collided with Indian as well as British merchants. The British had already founded their English East Indian Company two years before the VOC in 1600, but had less initial capital than the Dutch. Their expansion was thus hampered. Only towards the end of the eighteenth century could the British break the trade monopoly of Holland.⁶

2. The colonisation of the Cape

In 1652 the VOC sent Jan van Riebeeck to occupy Table Bay and to establish an outpost for servicing their ships on the trade routes between the Netherlands and their Asian colonies, centred in Batavia, Java. The Company had initially no intention of creating anything more than a fortified base and was anxious to keep it small in order to minimise administrative costs and to keep contacts with the indigenous population equally to a minimum. However, over the years the Cape outpost developed a certain economic autonomy and its own unforeseeable dynamic.⁷

In 1654 van Riebeeck granted some of his indentured labourers the right to work the land and to raise cattle and to sell their products to the Company at set prices. The Company released these employees from their work contracts, gave them the status of free *burghers* (citizens), and leased them land surrounding the fort. The burghers achieved a certain degree of economic independence, but remained subjects of the VOC. In the years that followed, land leases were granted for more farmland in the interior. The land was allocated at the expense of indigenous pastoralists, the Khoi, and hunters and gatherers, the San. At first there was peaceful trading in cattle with the Khoi, but as the white farmers began to expand, tension mounted. Between 1658 and 1660 the first of the Khoi-Dutch Wars broke out and between 1673 and 1677 the second. They were basically confrontations for control over land. The Khoi and San could not hinder the Dutch expansion.⁸

In the 1670s the VOC changed its colonial politics at the Cape. The motives were two-fold. One was to consolidate and expand Dutch colonial rule and the second was to prevent Britain from occupying the Cape, especially during and after the Third Anglo-Dutch War

⁵ Braudel (1986 230-252) and Boxer (1966 24-25). In the words of the Company's advocate, Pieter van Dam, the States-General had conferred upon the VOC a charter "in order to promote the welfare of the United Netherlands to secure and develop trade, and to operate for the profit of the Company and the inhabitants of the Country" (quoted in Schutte 1984 175).

⁶ Braudel (1986 240-243).

⁷ On the history of the Dutch occupation at the Cape see Elphick/Gillmore (1984), Guelke (1984), Schutte (1984) and Katzen (1969).

⁸ Elphick (1984 11-18). On pre-colonial society in southern Africa see Thompson (1969a), Schapera (1930a) and Elphick (1977, 1984).

between 1672 and 1674 Hence, additional burgher settlements served the interests of the VOC and the Dutch government

Between 1672 and 1679 the number of free burghers increased from 168 to 259, due partly to the release of more VOC indentured servants, partly to the birth-rate exceeding the death-rate, and to a lesser degree to immigration In 1679 the Stellenbosch settlement was founded - with 99 families living there by 1683 - and the Paarl settlement in 1687⁹ In the decades to follow more European newcomers settled at the Cape Not only were the Dutch welcome at the Cape, but also Germans and especially French Huguenots¹⁰

After the French government reversed its policy of tolerating Protestantism by revoking the Edict of Nantes (1685), Huguenots sought refuge in the Netherlands The VOC won 200 of them to settle at the Cape in 1688 The Cape administration dispersed them among Dutch farmers in order to facilitate rapid assimilation Additionally, Dutch was the only language of instruction allowed in the public schools¹¹

By the end of the seventeenth century there were groups of white settlers at the Cape, officials and burghers, i.e., those who regarded the Cape as their permanent home and those who 'remained Dutch', perceiving themselves as temporary residents and Company employees Agriculturally the colony had become self-sufficient The VOC had laid down regulations whereby farms and vineyards became private property of the burghers Pasturing was allowed outside the VOC territory as well as profitable cattle trading with the Khoi This led to further conflicts with the Khoi

The Cape administration found it increasingly difficult to control the burghers who sought new opportunities beyond the colony's borders In an attempt to re-establish control on the frontier the Cape administration after negotiating with the directors of the VOC decided in 1700 to prohibit any new immigration from Europe Thereafter the growth of the free white population was largely due to natural increase, rising from 1,265 in 1701 to 9,721 in 1778¹²

With their own self-interest in mind, the VOC imported slaves as cheap labour As early as 1658 the first shipload of slaves from Dahomey and Angola arrived in the Cape Colony As the white settler population grew and agriculture expanded, the demand for more labourers increased correspondingly This demand was largely met by importing enslaved inhabitants of the east African coast, India and Madagascar In 1711, the proportion of enslaved population to burgher population was circa 1,780 to 1,750, and in 1778, circa 11,100 to 9,720¹³ The increase in productivity made the Cape the major supplier of wheat for the Dutch Eastern Empire until 1781 Between 1770 and 1780 wheat was even exported to Amsterdam

⁹ Katzen (1969 196)

¹⁰ On the country of origin of Cape families, the ancestors of Afrikaners, see Heese (1971) and February (1991 9 12)

¹¹ In 1739 the French were prohibited from holding church services in French (Templin 1984 56) On the French Huguenots at the Cape and especially their role as pioneers of the Afrikaans language movement see February (1991 18 37) and Coertzen (1988)

¹² Katzen (1969 198,201) On population figures see also Guelke (1984 41) Children from semi permanent and permanent unions between white men and enslaved women were in the early years of Dutch rule assimilated into the white community (Elphick/Shell 1984 126 135 Guelke 1984 43)

¹³ Katzen (1969 205) See Shell (1994), Armstrong (1984) and Watson (1990) with details on the slaves at the Cape

2.1. The VOC government at the Cape

The Cape was simultaneously a remote branch of a large private commercial company concerned primarily with profit-making and a rapidly expanding Dutch colony with the largest white population in the Dutch Eastern Empire. The white population in the Cape Colony over the years acquired rights (*burgerregten*) more or less comparable to those of burghers in the mother country. The Cape constitution of 1652 to 1778 reflected this situation.

Initially, Cape burghers had the right to participate in the local administration, but had no influence on policy making. A republic of free citizens was a mere aspiration, not a reality. The Heeren XVII of the VOC in Amsterdam were reluctant to relax their strict political control over the Cape population. They had established a system of governance under which the Governor at the Cape

“was subject to the instructions and veto of both the chamber in Amsterdam and the Governor General in Council at Batavia. The Batavian government sent the Cape copies of laws passed by the State-General [in the Netherlands], orders of the Seventeen, and Batavian laws applicable to all the *busten comptoren* [branch offices ruled by governors], subject to the approval of the Seventeen”¹⁴

The real responsibility over the Cape rested with the Netherlands and Batavian authorities, who exercised their control through visiting commissioners. The day-to-day governance rested with senior Company officials who formed the Cape Council of Policy. This Council, which also functioned as the Council of Justice, represented the interests of the VOC and the Dutch State. The furtherance of their own commercial interests led to conflicts of interest with the free burghers. The Council of Policy levied taxes on the burghers and fixed prices for the produce sold to the Company.

The VOC officials at the Cape pursued too their own personal interests. Corruption and favouritism became widespread. For example, they reserved for themselves the best farm land. Numerous restrictions were imposed to hamper the agricultural activities of the burghers, and as a result the VOC's fiscal policy was hated and feared. Due to increasing tensions, burghers depicted the situation by saying that the officials “were the ‘legitimate’ and burghers the ‘illegitimate’ children of the Company”¹⁵. In 1705 the burghers forwarded their complaints directly to the VOC in Amsterdam and Batavia about illegal trading and farming by VOC officials. The VOC reacted immediately and harshly. Official trading and farming were once again prohibited. As the historian Katzen asserted “Thus the burghers, not the Council of Policy, acted as the guardians of public morality at the Cape.”¹⁶

Until the late eighteenth century the VOC senior officials tended to regard the Cape burghers merely as liberated VOC servants, instead of as genuinely free burghers entitled to the same rights as those in the mother country. But the Cape-born burghers continued to claim their participatory rights and their equality with the burghers of the Netherlands. In response to the demands of the Cape Patriot movement, the *Kaapse Patriotte*, the Heeren XVII approved in 1779 burgher political representation by allowing an equal number of

¹⁴ Katzen (1969 214). Until 1732 the Cape was governed by instructions both from the Heeren XVII and from Batavia but thereafter instructions came from the Netherlands directly (Schutte 1984 174 175).

¹⁵ Katzen (1969 218). See also Boxer (1966 216 219) on restrictions applied by the Company on the burghers.

¹⁶ Katzen (1969 218). This incident evidences the extent to which the burghers still felt they were part of the Netherlands.

burghers and officials - six members each - on the Council of Justice, the chairmanship, however, being left in the hands of a Company official. The Council of Justice at the Cape followed the procedures applicable in the Netherlands and Batavia. Its members combined executive and judicial functions and served as judge and jury in one.¹⁷

Councils of burghers were also founded on local administrative levels. Burghers on the Council of Justice formed the municipal Burgher Council for Cape Town. The Council had no legal standing but was *de facto* recognised by the VOC administration. Outlying districts were demarcated and administered by full-time paid magistrates, the *landdrosts*. Part-time unpaid *heemraden* and field-cornets acted as local executive administrators for decisions taken at Cape Town and could settle minor civil disputes. Stellenbosch inaugurated a council in 1682. Drakenstein and Swellendam fell until 1745 under the authority of Stellenbosch. Until 1806 Graaff-Reinet (founded 1785) was the only other settlement with a council. Cape Town controlled and regulated all councils very closely. Burghers were also represented in the Church Consistory.

Thus, in this way the Cape burghers gained experience in political self-administration during the eighteenth century. Although the burgher councillors and *heemraden* were not popularly elected and belonged to a small circle of well-off burghers, they came to be regarded by the burgher community as their representatives. Between 1779 and 1791 the Cape Patriot Movement successfully pressed for the improvement of burgher representation. At the turn of the eighteenth century there was even a short-lived call from the republicans in Swellendam and Graaff-Reinet for full burgher control of local government in the region.¹⁸ In 1793 when the Burgher Council was officially recognised as a separate political institution in its own right, the end of Company rule was already in sight.

2.2. The Dutch Reformed Church

It can be argued that the Cape burghers comprised a homogeneous community with a common European heritage and common political experience, especially in local government under the umbrella of the VOC. However, the strongest unifying institution, both emotionally and intellectually, was the Dutch Reformed Church (Nederduits-Gereformeerde Kerk or NGK). The Dutch Reformed Church (DRC) was the Cape's State Church. The church was from 1652 to 1804 under the control of the VOC and maintained a close relationship with the Classis of Amsterdam.¹⁹ No other denomination was officially tolerated until the 1790s, when the German Moravian Mission and thereafter the London Missionary Society (1799) were granted freedom of public worship.²⁰ The Dutch Reformed Church was to a certain

¹⁷ Schutte (1984:180) and Katzen (1968 220-221)

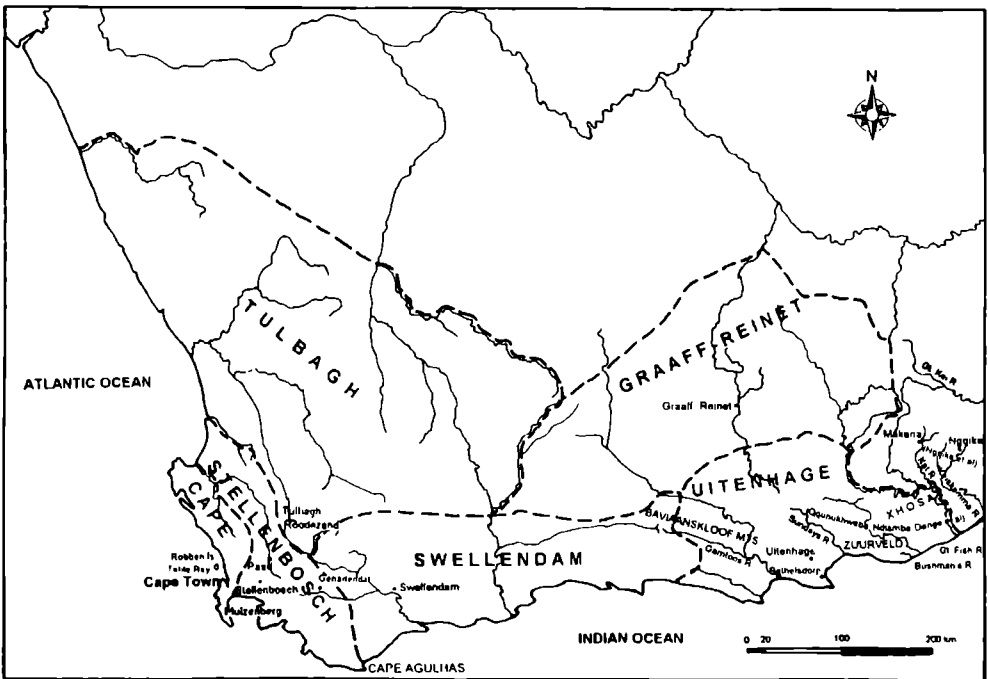
¹⁸ On the burgher rebellions at the Cape see Giliomee (1984a)

¹⁹ In 1806 the Church was forced to break its links with the Netherlands because of the second British occupation at the Cape. On the role of the Dutch Reformed Church in southern Africa see Niederberger (1959), Gerstner (1991) and Beckers (1969)

²⁰ A first attempt by the missionary Georg Schmidt to establish the Moravian Mission at the Cape aroused suspicion among the Dutch Reformed ministers, who then forced Schmidt to leave the Cape in 1744. In 1791 the Moravians received permission from the Heeren XVII to return, with the stipulation that they should not work in areas where there was a Dutch Reformed church. With this understanding Moravians returned to the Cape in 1792. See Hinchliff (1968 8-12), Kruger (1966 11-46) and Niederberger (1959 83-101)

extent a branch of the VOC administration. The VOC employed *predikanten* (ministers) ordained by the Classis of Amsterdam and deployed a number of them in the Cape. It also appointed two deacons who were authorised to exclude undesirables from the *kerkraden* (church consistories). The congregation elected its elders subject to VOC approval. A lay official of the VOC, the political commissioner, was supposed to attend the meetings of each *kerkraad* and report back to the government. The *predikanten* tended to identify themselves as VOC employees and sided with other Company officials against burghers. However, the church as such was not a Company marionette. For the Company interfered in religious matters only when necessary to enforce the authority of the Classis in Amsterdam, and otherwise allowed the church's presbyterian organisation relatively free rein in its administration of church affairs.²¹

The evangelistic efforts of the Company ministers were limited, especially in the more distant frontier region. As the population on the eastern frontier petitioned the VOC administration for more churches, churches were founded first in Cape Town, 1666 in Cape Town, 1685 in Stellenbosch, 1691 in Drakenstein, 1743 in Roodezand (Tulbagh), 1745 in Zwartland, and 1792 in Graaff-Reinet.²²



Map A. The Cape districts in 1805²³

²¹ Katzen (1969:229).

²² Thompson (1964:186).

²³ Compiled from Bergh/Visagie (1985:19).

The church was the main source of culture and education at the Cape. It insisted that members should be able to read, especially the Bible. In the late eighteenth century the educational system did little more than prepare children for confirmation and impart an elementary knowledge of reading, writing, and arithmetic. In the hinterland elementary education was left to wandering tutors and predikanten. Illiteracy was fairly common among whites and the norm among servants and slaves. Intellectually, the Cape remained a backwater. Up to the end of the eighteenth century, none of the cultural attainments of the Netherlands society in the fields of art, literature and scientific inquiry were present at the Cape. Visitors commented on the ignorance and lack of scientific curiosity and were sometimes shocked by the Cape insularity.

Because of this insularity, the white settlers had a feeling of being a distinct community as a colony *sui generis* with a predominantly Dutch stamp. Although the Cape settler community actually formed a fragment of the Netherlands society, it differed markedly from it. Essentially, it was a segment of Dutch people from the lower strata. The Cape burghers were drawn almost exclusively from elements which had failed to prosper in the competitive society of the Netherlands. Under the over-regulated, but inefficient rule of the VOC, many traits of Dutch society could not survive. The dispersal of the population over vast distances tended to create a series of atomised families, living on patriarchal estates in the western Cape hinterland. And the further people lived away from Cape Town the rougher and more 'uncivilised' living conditions were.²⁴

3. Colonial expansion and the 'opening up' of the frontier zone

The nomadic and pastoral Khoi who had occupied the land before the arrival of the Dutch were driven into the interior once the VOC began to settle farmers in the environs of its capital and seaport, the Cape of Good Hope (Cape Town). While the Dutch Company refused to incorporate the Khoi as citizens into the Colony, they came to be an inseparable part of its economy. Having lost their cattle and all effective rights to land, the Khoi faced the choice of either becoming servants or migrating beyond the boundaries of the Colony. Those who migrated were doomed to vagrancy, thievery, and living on land belonging to others. Thieving - as a response to colonial encroachment - was used in turn by the administration to justify indiscriminate military and violent action against the San and Khoi alike. Some Khoi - including offspring of European and Khoi unions or descendants of black-white unions - joined up with runaway slaves and found independence and a new identity as wandering bands of Griquas and Bastards²⁵ until they were subjected to colonial rule during the second half of the nineteenth century.

Whites migrated out of the western Cape beyond the colonial borders toward the north and east. A northern trek further into the interior began about 1700, after the white farmers shifted to stock-farming. Also moving north were hunters, traders and adventurers, runaway slaves, Khoi, and people of 'mixed descent'.²⁶ They were seeking new opportunities on land traditionally occupied by autonomous groups of Khoi and San and to the north-east by the

²⁴ Katzen (1969:231-232), Boxer (1966:256) and Thompson (1964:182)

²⁵ Those called Bastard-Hottentotten where mostly of Khoi-slave origin

²⁶ See Legassick (1984).

Bantu chiefdoms. A second migration eastwards and toward the black (Bantu) chiefdoms occurred along the coast. Initially this proved far more successful. Grazing areas in well-watered valleys and the general climate were all suitable for stock-farming and settlement. The boundary of the Cape Colony also shifted steadily eastward with the establishment of villages and administrative districts. The new outposts of the Colony, the *verafgeleegene Districten* (remote districts), gave the Colony a partially defined eastern boundary.

The colonial government tried to exercise control over the eastward migrating whites by granting grazing licenses to stock farmers and institutionalising a new system of land tenure, the so-called loan-farming system. By and large, however, until 1820 the eastern Cape frontier remained out of reach of the Colony's administrative measures.

3.1. A growing group consciousness among the burghers

On the one hand the growing group consciousness of the Cape burghers found its expression in increasing antagonism against Company officials. On the other hand through contact with the indigenous black populations of autonomous chiefdoms, a process was set into motion by which the frontier colonists (*grensboere*), burghers and trekboers came to identify themselves as distinct from others, the blacks. Central to this self-identification was the religious affiliation, not racial distinctions. Christianity became a mark of superiority over the indigenous people. As Jonathan Gerstner put it:

"They as a group were objectively different because of being Christians, it was not merely an external position which could be offered to the heathen as well; it was grace realized, a qualitative distinction between themselves and the heathen."²⁷

The Khoi and the blacks on the eastern frontier adopted the heathen-Christian distinction too. 'Christian' and 'colonist' were used largely synonymously. The 'Coloured' population came to be known as and partly identified themselves as 'bastard Christians' or simply 'Bastaards'. The black population on the eastern frontier used the term Christian for the frontier farmers, and not for all 'Europeans'.²⁸ It can be assumed that the use of 'Christian' reflected the trekboers' own self-concept.

²⁷ Gerstner (1991 250) MacCrone (1937) and Crijns (1959) share this view. MacCrone and Crijns have argued that attitudes towards the blacks were shaped by those of Europe, which saw a Christian-heathen rather than a white-black dichotomy. Baptism was the key to entry into the white community. Yet after the mid-nineteenth century, with the rise of industrial capitalism in southern Africa, the gulf between black and white led to heightened racial tensions between black and white.

²⁸ Gerstner (1991 252) The term Coloured refers to people of 'mixed descent'. Coloured or *kleurling* came in use in the Cape at the turn of the eighteenth century, but remained highly ambiguous until the twentieth century. It was employed in different ways: to embrace all non-white people; or to signify people of 'mixed race', freed slaves and Khoi who had neither been absorbed into the Xhosa or other Bantu-speaking groups nor into the white community. It was the Cape census of 1904 that officially defined the term Coloured as one of the three 'race groups' in the colony: White, Bantu (native) and Coloured. According to this census, Coloureds were "all intermediate shades between the first two" (quoted in Goldin 1989 243). On the origins and history of the Coloureds see Maras (1957), Patterson (1953), Venter (1974), Hugo (1978), February (1981), Goldin (1987, 1987a) and Lewis (1987). It would be beyond the scope of this study to discuss the Coloureds in detail. The literature available on the topic suggests that there are major parallels between Coloureds and blacks in the way they were affected by the European cultural agents' process of creating order.

As already mentioned, the frontier colonists in a desire to distinguish themselves from the black inhabitants considered themselves as a distinct group based on the idea of Christianity as a birthright. By the end of the eighteenth century, this label was also used by the frontier colonists to distinguish themselves from their compatriots in Cape Town. Later, British imperialism induced this need for a sense of self-identity, which took the form of Afrikaner ethnic nationalism, as the British granted legal equality to the very people - the blacks - in reaction to whom the Afrikaner's sense of identity had developed.

Gerstner has argued that the roots of Afrikaner ethnic nationalism can be found already in the early years when the trekboers encountered the Xhosa chiefdoms, the first people with whom they interacted and traded apart from the Company. They did not primarily identify themselves as Dutch, Germans, or whites, but as Christians. Thus, Gerstner concluded that Afrikaner ethnic consciousness was rooted in their response to blacks and was not a forced reaction - as conventional theory has it - to the British attempts at anglicising the burghers and trekboers, who were collectively termed Boers as distinct from British or English.²⁹

Given this Afrikaner proto-ethnic group formation as Christians, it becomes more understandable why the Boers fought so vehemently the *gelykstelling* (treating equal) with blacks. The British principle of treating all 'races' as equal before the law caused a stormy reaction from the trekboers. For them equality was totally inappropriate, since it implied treating Christians and heathens or christianised heathens as equals. They firmly believed that Christians had privileges that could not apply to the heathens. It was inevitable that Christians and heathens became synonymous with white and black. Therefore, long before the concept of an Afrikaner volk crystallised into ethnic nationalism, it was the concept of a Christian volk that defined who was part of the community.³⁰ And this sense of community that emerged excluded others from participation.

²⁹ Gerstner (1991:252,254). While Gerstner argued that the interaction between blacks and Boers was of prime importance in shaping Afrikaner ethnic consciousness, it is argued in this thesis that both the interaction between blacks and Boers as well as that between Boers and British were of major impact, yet varying according to the historical context.

³⁰ Gerstner (1991:257).

Chapter II

The British colonial government and missionaries

In 1806 Dutch rule at the Cape came to an end and Britain gained control over the Cape Colony.¹ Up to this point the Cape Boers had developed their own way of life without being able to achieve greater political independence. Economically they remained in a stage of pre-industrial agricultural and pastoral economy. That changed with the arrival of the British, who were undergoing a stormy industrial revolution in Britain. It was not only this new economics and the British colonial politics that posed an unexpected challenge to the Boers, but rather the new social forces from Britain that poured into the Cape Colony and brought about a socio-political transformation of society.

In the new British Colony, all powers of government, civil and military, were vested solely in the governor. In other words, legislative, executive and judicial powers all rested in one man, laying the foundations for autocratic colonial rule in the Cape. While in Britain pressure grew to bring about effective checks and balances against the misuse of power and a tyrannical government, no such checks were institutionalised in the colonies. Politics affecting the British colonies remained largely in the hands of the upper class with commissions in the army, seats in Parliament, and patronage in the Anglican Church. "One after another, gentlemen whose chief qualification for office was that they had served with Wellington in the Peninsula, or in France, were sent to fill the post of Governor."² Birth and rank, not qualification, determined the fate of subjects in the colonies. Until the mid-eighteenth century colonial policy was chiefly a concern of the British upper class and even at that much was left up to the Cape Colony's governor to go his own way.

Two forces at work in the Colony have to be distinguished, mutually supportive of each other and at the same time effecting opposing influences. They were the political colonial powers and the relatively independent - though not inimical to the political forces - 'civilising' forces in the form of the missionaries. The colonial political forces colonised not only the Khoi, San and blacks but also the Boers.³ The missionaries, however, used their energies mainly to 'civilise' the colonised blacks, whom they also ethnicised. The Boers tried to escape the political pressures of the British colonial power as well as the 'civilising' efforts of the missionaries. In this process of resistance they began to ethnicise themselves, a process that was not completed as the nineteenth century came to an end. Since the missionaries were in

¹ The Dutch East India Company's rule had been replaced by that of the British in 1795. In 1794 the Netherlands was defeated by France. To prevent a possible occupation by France, the British occupied the Cape in an attempt to secure their trade with India. Under the terms of the Treaty of Amiens of March 1802, the Cape was handed over to the authorities of the Dutch Batavian Republic. Dutch rule lasted from 1803 to 1806 and with the resumption of Britain's war against Napoleon it was occupied by the British again in 1806. Initially, the change of government had little significance for the composition of the population of the Colony. Changes occurred once the government settled British immigrants at the Cape in 1820 as part of its policy of Anglicisation.

² Macmillan (1968:46)

³ The Boers suffered a fate similar to that of the Irish and French settlers in Canada.

essence 'culture and ethnicity bearers' to colonised blacks in southern Africa, it is necessary to reconstruct their 'civilising' aims and the process of transformation they facilitated.

The general indifference in Europe towards all affairs of colonial governments except profits was a challenge and an opportunity upon which philanthropists and missionaries sought to capitalise. As for their background, British representatives of colonial government had little in common with the missionaries. The former, most of them gentlemen of high birth and rank, represented the interests of a small elite in Britain, who were increasingly being challenged by the missionaries, who represented the emerging middle-class of the Non-conformists.

Missionaries carried their mistrust towards government authorities to southern Africa. Reports of missionaries, such as John Philip's *Researches in South Africa* (1828), appealed to public opinion against the colonial policy of the British Government. Philip's influence in Britain was far more widely spread and had a larger impact on public opinion than it had in the Cape. Philip's radicalism gained support only among a minority of evangelical missionaries in the Cape and engendered hostility among Boers and British settlers who opposed all that what they perceived as missionary interference in the Colony's affairs.⁴

1. 'Go ye into all the world and preach the Gospel to every creature'

The arrival of the missionaries in the colonies marked the beginning of a new epoch. They challenged the accepted views held by colonists - white administrators, burghers and settlers - on the rights of the colonised. Prior to the missions, there was no institutionalised body that sought to represent the interests of the slaves, Khoi and San in the Cape. European governments paid little attention, if any at all, to their conditions as slaves and servants. In practice, the colonised were viewed as property and distinguished and set apart from the citizens of the so-called civilised community. Under these conditions, it is not surprising that the San were considered as animal-like to be shot at sight.⁵

Arguments against slavery were not based on ethical and moral grounds alone. In 1819 John Philip made his first investigatory tour of the Cape Colony as a full member of the Board of Directors of the London Missionary Society and Superintendent for the Cape Colony. Philip's argument against enslavement was based on economic grounds:

"The slave system as it is carried on in the Colony is injurious to morals, to industry, to wealth and comfort. Half a dozen of good English servants could do more work than twenty slaves. In the Lange Kloof you may find from twenty to fifty slaves and Hottentots on one farm and under one

⁴ The agitation of British settlers against Philip was led by the Grahamstown Journal (Ross 1986:187). Missionaries of the Wesleyan, Glasgow, and Moravian Mission Societies as well as the LMS - such as Robert Moffat - dissociated themselves completely from Philip and his supporters (du Plessis 1965:149, Mostert 1992:803). In the 1840s a number of LMS missionaries submitted a petition to the directors of the Society in London, requesting that Philip be withdrawn and the superintendency system be abolished and replaced by local missionary committees (Ross 1986:178). After Philip's retirement in 1848 the LMS did not appoint another superintendent. Reverend William Thompson who succeeded Philip as minister of the Union Chapel in Cape Town was entrusted to handle the financial affairs of the LMS in the Cape (Hofmeyr/Pillay 1994:53-57).

⁵ The near extinction of indigenous peoples was one of the consequences of colonialism and more general the consequences of hunter and gatherers being displaced by agriculturists. Similar developments took place in Australia and America. On the American Indians see, for example, Talbot (1979).

roof. From such a retinue of servants it might be expected that the farmers should cultivate much land. This is not however the case; he does not seem to think of more than is necessary to supply his family and servants with food and enable his wife and daughters to appear fine when they go to church."⁶

Philip's impression of the economic activities of the Boers was that they were unproductive and outdated.

Philip's arguments were not atypical. Most of the British Evangelicals in the colonial periphery were steeped in the same prevailing humanitarian philosophies shaping the emerging British middle class. They brought with them the currents of thought prevailing in the colonial centre such as the concepts of freedom and the industrial work ethic. Furthermore, self-assertion, dissension, and nonconformity were characteristic of the times. Additionally, their mistrust of the State and state interference, initially only in church matters, increasingly brought them into line with the dominant thought of the day, 'laissez-faire'-economics.⁷ The missionaries wanted to play a role in shaping the colonial society just as they played a crucial role in crystallising the values of later nineteenth century middle-class Victorian Britain.⁸

When considered against their European social and political background, the missionaries in the colonial periphery were "vastly more than a spiritual force; [they were] the preserver and transmitter of the traditions of civilization and culture".⁹ Being the agents of cultural change, the missionaries inspired an awareness of the Others, the colonised. They defined the ways in which non-European cultures differed from their own, and articulated the contrasting images of civilisation and primitiveness (savagery), Christians and heathens.

The English missionaries, experienced in anti-slavery campaigns, challenged the colonial social order. The ethics and morality of the slave-based society was questioned and the missionaries further argued that the colonist had a special responsibility for bringing the 'backward races' into 'civilised' society.¹⁰ As elsewhere in the British colonies, Cape slave-owners¹¹ protested and controversy ensued over their future status in society. Emancipation called for a vast socio-economic restructuring.¹² Cheap enslaved labour was the economic foundation of the society and a way of life based on a master-servant relation. Thus there was strong resistance against the abolition of slavery. Nevertheless, they could not prevent it and in 1834 the Emancipation Act was legislated in the Cape.

Although the Khoi were not enslaved, the emancipation of the imported slaves between 1834 and 1838 had a major impact on the Khoi way of life. The farming community in the Cape Colony increasingly replaced their slaves with 'Hottentots' (Khoi). The status of the

⁶ Quoted in Macmillan (1968:76) For a detailed study on John Philip see Ross (1986) and Macmillan (1968)

⁷ Hobsbawm (1979 23) and Adelman (1984 2-10)

⁸ On the social and political influence of Nonconformists in industrial England see D M Thompson (1972), Gilbert (1976), Semmel (1971), K D Brown (1988), Towlson (1957), Warner (1967), Elliot-Binns (1953), Lang (1941), C P Williams (1980) and Potter (1974).

⁹ Macmillan (1968:55).

¹⁰ The only non-church organised body against enslavement in the Cape Colony consisted of fifteen white individuals who met on 27 June 1828 to found the Cape of Good Hope Philanthropic Society for Aiding Deserving Slaves to Purchase Their Freedom in Cape Town (Watson 1990 67)

¹¹ At the end of the 1820s the enslaved population in the Cape Colony amounted to some 39,000 (Macmillan 1968 77)

¹² Neill (1964,1966) deals in detail with the relation between the missions of the Christian churches and the policies of the various colonial powers. Some missionaries defending the interests of the colonised had to be reckoned with by all colonial powers in varying degrees

Khoi was perceived to be a stage higher than the San, but not better than the slaves who had been imported under Dutch Company rule. After 1834, the freed slaves and Khoi were merged by the colonial authorities into one category known as the 'Cape Coloured'.

It should be noted, however, that the position of missionaries and their humanitarian efforts and their work among the natives in southern Africa were at all times ambivalent. The expansion of British influence, and thus colonialism itself, was a precondition for missionary activities in various parts of the world and as such was not perceived as a contradiction, but rather an essential part of their civilising mission. Yet in the specific colonial context, the interests, functions and duties of colonial administrators and missionaries differed. Where the colonial administrators ruled at the expense of the colonised, they came in conflict with missionaries who were increasingly restricted in their programme of conversion aimed at uplifting the 'heathens' from 'a stage of barbarism' and 'savagery' to Christian civilisation. While some missionaries, on the one hand, criticised or opposed the colonial government they were, on the other hand, tolerated and even supported by the government in their endeavours. It should not be forgotten that mission societies and individual missionaries were at the mercy of the respective colonial governments.

In the Cape Colony and areas beyond the colonial borders, missionaries were welcomed by the colonial administration and the black population as intermediaries between two opposing political forces: the colonised subjects and the colonisers. The latter sought to control both people and land as part of imperial expansion while the Khoi, San and blacks resisted colonial encroachment and sought to retain political autonomy and power in their respective territories.

Mounting pressure from colonial administrators and the acceptance of offers to serve as government agents resulted in the missionaries losing what independent status they had. Thus Macmillan concluded: "Government favour for missions was, in fact, likely to be whole-hearted only in proportion to their success in improving the relations of the Colony and colonists with the coloured races. The missionaries were expected to act, on occasion at least, almost as confidential Government agents."¹³ Out of necessity, the role of a mediator transformed the missionary into a politician, backed up by the force of the English Evangelical movement.

The missionaries' aim to establish mission stations as local centres for the conversion of 'heathens' demanded from missionaries an accommodation of government interests in pursuing their civilising mission. Yet as spokespersons for the newly converted, missionaries gained increasing influence within the black Christian communities.

In order to gain a more comprehensive understanding of the complex developments underlying the process of 'creating a colonial order' in southern Africa it is necessary to study the history of the interaction between the white and black population in more detail. The tensions and conflicts in the eastern Cape, especially the so-called Frontier Wars, will be examined, as well as the gradual annexation of land by the British and the transformation of society. In a sub-section reference is made to the Boers and their Great Trek as well as the 1820 British settlers and the Mfengu in the eastern Cape.

¹³ Macmillan (1968:128).

A reconstruction of political developments in the various parts of southern Africa follows with a special emphasis on the missionaries' efforts to christianise the colonised. As will be shown, the missionaries were crucial in shaping a new order that perceived the blacks not primarily as the colonised but as the Xhosa of the Transkei and the Ciskei, the Zulu of Zululand and Natal, the Sotho in Basutoland and the Tswana in Bechuanaland. It also induced a development whereby the blacks perceived themselves as being part of these newly constructed entities. Finally, various aspects of the process of 'creating order' in the Transvaal are examined.

2. Creating order in the eastern Cape

Although the Dutch Cape colonial government aimed at maintaining control over the eastward migration of European traders and trekboers, during the eighteenth century it did not succeed in imposing its administrative measures in the eastern Cape. From 1715 onwards, armed commandos consisting of civilians - including Khoi - acted independently in the Colony's hinterland. Commandos exterminated bands of San, displaced Khoi, captured their children as well as cattle, and fought wars against hostile chiefs.

In the last quarter of the eighteenth century the interaction between Khoi, Boers and black chiefdoms became increasingly hostile. The conflict between the various parties involved cannot be reduced to one of black versus white as some historians believe.¹⁴ Local alliances among individual chiefs, white traders and trekboers in the Zuurveld region resulted in cross-cutting alliances. The process which eventually led to the conquest of the chiefdoms in the eastern Cape was profoundly influenced by internecine strife between the various chiefdoms, which the newcomers sought to exploit to their own advantage. Additionally, the chiefdoms were weakened internally in the wake of competition for the chieftainship among the members of polygynous ruling lineages. In the frontier zone the role of the Khoi was precarious. The whites feared that Khoi and black chiefs could form an alliance against white intruders.¹⁵ Under the rule of the Xhosa¹⁶ paramount chief Phalo - from 1736 until his death in 1775 - groups of Khoi, voluntarily or by force, came to accept his authority. Other Khoi, such as the Inqua, retained their autonomy. They were in an advantageous position: accu-

¹⁴ Historical writings, such as for example of G.M. Theal (1919), saw the frontier from a white point of view and were uncomplimentary about the blacks. They gave a simplified picture of consistent Xhosa aggression, fitting an image of black hostility against white thereby rationalising annexation and subjugation (Smith 1988 19-41).

¹⁵ On the interaction between Khoi and Xhosa see Harinck (1969), Peires (1981:22-26) and Elphick/Giliomee (1984).

¹⁶ There is reason to believe that the word Xhosa, which came in common use as a generic term for all chiefdoms in the eastern Cape, is an invention by outsiders and derived from the Khoi *\kxosa*, meaning 'angry men'. The boundaries between Xhosa chiefdoms and groups of Khoi were not fixed and static, but changed according to shifting alliances, sometimes voluntary and sometimes forced.

The term Xhosa is used in this historical context only to refer to those people who claim descent from an ancestor named Xhosa. These are the Gcaleka and Rharhabe of the present day. The Xhosa were divided into various (paramount) chiefdoms, such as the Gcaleka Xhosa under the leadership of paramount-chief Sarhili, situated most of the time east of the Kei River; the Ngqika Xhosa under the leadership of Sandile and his brothers; the Ndlambe Xhosa who lived east of the Kei River, an area which after annexation became part of British Kaffraria; and various smaller chiefdoms, the most important being the Gqunukhwebe Xhosa led by Phato and his junior brother Kama, residing east of the Keiskamma River, which also became part of British Kaffraria. Xhosa as an ethnic term for all blacks living in the eastern Cape (former Ciskei and Transkei) emerged only in the late nineteenth century.

mulating wealth derived from controlling trade with Europeans or absorbing Khoi refugees fleeing from Dutch settlements.

Before 1770, when the residence of the Xhosa paramount chief was in the area just west of the Mbashe River, several minor chiefs and their followers hived off. Instead of subjugating themselves to the paramount they established autonomous chiefdoms, located in the area between the Kei and Keiskamma River. By 1750 these chiefdoms included the Ntinde, Gwali, Mbalu, Dange and Gqunukhwebe. The westmost chiefdom, the Gqunukhwebe, was to some extent distinct from the other chiefdoms: its members had mixed to a far greater extent with the Khoi as in other chiefdoms. The Xhosa were both cattle-herders and hoe-agriculturists who lived on well-watered land - usually in river valleys - in dispersed kraal settlements. A few homesteads grouped together around a cattle kraal formed the economic and social nucleus. By way of tribute and political loyalty these units were incorporated into a chiefdom. Paramount chiefdoms emerged, where various chiefs accepted the authority of a superior chief. In the early 1770s incoming whites established permanent settlements in the west of the Gamtoos River, with trekboers and commandos crossing the river and migrating further eastward, entering an area that was already undergoing turmoil.

The early phase of interaction between Xhosa chiefs and incoming whites did little to diminish the independence and self-confidence of the Xhosa geared towards indefinite expansion. As the historian Jeff Peires wrote:

“[T]he Xhosa saw no reason why Xhosa and Europeans should not merge into a single society rather after the pattern of Xhosa and Khoi. They sought to include the Colony within their economic, political and social network. They traded with the Boers as they did with other nations. Poor Xhosa wishing to acquire cattle worked for the rich Boers as they would have done for rich Xhosa. Politically, Xhosa chiefs saw the Boers as potential allies or enemies, as they offered to help them in turn against the San and the English. Their chiefs assiduously cultivated Colonial officials sending them presents and visiting them regularly. Ngqika hoped to marry Buys' daughter to cement the alliance between himself and the Dutch. Xhosa were prepared to comply with reasonable Colonial usages (renting grazing land) and expected the colonists to comply with theirs (giving tribute to chiefs).”¹⁷

This expectation of a relationship between the Colony and Xhosa was not sustainable since it did not take into consideration the incompatibility of interests between the protagonists as Peires concluded:

“Whereas the self-confident Xhosa wanted an open frontier, the more vulnerable Colonial authorities wanted a boundary which was emphatically closed. The problem was that both Xhosa and Colonists had conflicting claims to the rectangle of land, bounded in the east and north by the Fish River and in the west by the Bushmans River, that was known as Zuurveld.”¹⁸

Tensions among the Xhosa escalated with the death of the paramount chief Phalo in 1775. Succession rivalries between two of his sons, Gcaleka and Rharhabe, led to a lineage split, dividing the Xhosa into two sections.¹⁹ While the area east of the Kei River remained under the control of Gcaleka, Rharhabe migrated with his followers west of the Kei River. When

¹⁷ Peires (1981:54).

¹⁸ Peires (1981:54).

¹⁹ Peires (1981:45-50) and Mostert (1992:209-210). Out of this historical event originated the split between the Gcaleka in the former Transkei and the Rharhabe in the former Ciskei.

Rharhabe moved westward, he claimed authority over minor chiefdoms such as the Ntinde, Gwali, Dange and Gqunukhwebe, who were unwilling to relinquish the degree of independence they had established since the beginning of the eighteenth century. In an attempt to build up his power, Rharhabe also mobilised his warriors against the Khoi and San.

Taking advantage of his brother's death in 1778, Rharhabe launched an attack against Gcaleka's son and successor Khawuta.²⁰ In the end Rharhabe had to retreat. He was defeated once more in an attack on the Thembu to the north in 1782. In the clash he and his heir Mlawu were killed. The question of succession threatened immediate rift among the followers of the deceased Rharhabe. Mlawu had fathered two sons, Ntimbo and Ngqika. The former was considered as rightful heir by the councillors, and Ngqika was supported by Rharhabe's son Ndlambe, who was to rule the Rharhabe while Ngqika was still a minor. It was during the rule of Ndlambe that the Rharhabe Xhosa regained their power at the expense of other chiefdoms.

Aiming at establishing himself as the paramount chief, Ndlambe attacked chiefs of minor chiefdoms in the Zuurveld which he regarded as rebellious, forcing their followers to retreat further westward into the Colony. Such was the result of an attack on the Dange. Their chief Mahote was killed and they retreated westward, across the Fish River. During their retreat they intruded territory claimed by the Boers, culminating in the First Frontier War (1779) between Boer commandos and sections of the Xhosa. The result was that the Dange, Ntinde, Gwali and Mbalu²¹ were forced to withdraw.

Ndlambe's chief opponent in the Zuurveld was the Gqunukhwebe chief Tshaka and his son Chungwa, who acknowledged the Gcaleka chief rather than the Rharhabe chief as paramount. Having established good links with Khoi and trekboers, they were determined to stay in the Zuurveld. But an attack by Ndlambe and his warriors forced chief Tshaka to retreat westwards, deeper into the Colony. Trying to recover from the defeat and defend his position, he recruited Khoi from west of the Fish River to defend himself against further attacks.

An alliance between a Boer commando, under Barend Lindeque and Ndlambe, and conducting joint raids against chiefs who refused to recognise Ndlambe's paramouncy in the Zuurveld, was short-lived. Once chiefs opposing Ndlambe's drive for expansion sensed the interference of Boers in Xhosa politics, they initiated a counter-attack against white settlements in 1789 (Second Frontier War). This sparked off a general panic among the whites and they abandoned the Zuurveld almost completely. The colonial authorities reacted and sent a combined commando from Graaff-Reinet²² and Swellendam to attack hostile Xhosa and reclaim the Zuurveld. Besides capturing 8,000 cattle, the commando forced a considerable number of Xhosa to retreat to safety beyond the Fish River. Their retreat was a welcome opportunity for Ndlambe and his warriors to launch an attack. It resulted in the death of the Gqunukhwebe chief Tshaka and the capture of chief Langa of the Mbalu (who apparently died soon afterwards).

²⁰ Khawuta's reign from 1778 to 1794, as far as documentation is available, was rather ineffectual. His heir Hintsu was still a minor at his death.

²¹ Langa, the chief of the Mbalu, was a brother of Rharhabe and Gcaleka. For a genealogy of Xhosa chiefs see Peires (1981:48-49,83).

²² Responding to requests from the eastern regions, the Company established the frontier district of Graaff-Reinet in 1786. The white newcomers to the area hoped to receive better military protection, and the Company desired to assert greater administrative control over the Colony's outlying regions to prevent disruptive clashes

Ndlambe was not able to build upon his triumph. Shortly after this incident disputes over Ngqika's regency forced him to step down. It is not clear whether Ndlambe was ousted because he was reluctant to surrender power once Ngqika came of age or whether Ngqika rebelled and launched an attack against Ndlambe after having been installed as chief.

After Ngqika ousted Ndlambe, the latter tried to raise support in an attempt to re-establish a power-base. In search of allies, Ndlambe sought support from Thembu chiefs and from the Boers which was refused. He finally obtained help from the Gcaleka chief. But Ngqika was able to repel their joint invasion in 1795 and defeated both. As a result of his victory and through a network of external relations, Ngqika was able to claim the status of paramount chief of all the Xhosa, his residence being situated east of the Keiskamma River.²³ Ndlambe was taken prisoner and stripped of his power. He was allowed to settle at Ngqika's residence. Ndlambe's ally Hintsá - Khawuta's heir - had also been taken prisoner, but succeeded in escaping from captivity. Ngqika pursued a policy of concentrating power in his own hands, deposing councillors to bring his followers direct under his control. From 1800 he encountered major problems. His brothers Sigcawu and Hlahla seceded, and joined by Ndlambe - who had escaped semi-captivity - they moved with their followers west of the Fish River where the Third Frontier War was underway.

Neither the previous two wars nor the Third Frontier War (1799-1802) could force the Xhosa chiefdoms to surrender. Xhosa chiefdoms held their ground against colonial encroachment. But the Third Frontier War marked a turning point. The attack against chiefdoms in the Zuurveld - in an attempt to drive chief Chungwa of the Gqunukhwebe across the Fish River - was marked by a rhetoric that pictured the Xhosa as intruders who had to be driven out of the Zuurveld permanently, depriving them of the right to coexist in the area of white settlement. Resisting the attack, Chungwa was joined by Khoi and defeated British forces that included a body of armed Khoi belonging to the 'Hottentot Corps' in a night attack near the Sundays River. Chief Chungwa benefited from a period of weakness in the colonial state. This occurred at a time when Boers in the eastern district of the Colony rebelled against the new British government of the Cape Colony.

In a peace agreement between chief Chungwa and the Acting Governor Dundas in October 1799, Chungwa and his people were allowed to remain between the Bushman's and Sundays Rivers, provided he abstained from attacks against whites.²⁴ As a consequence, when hostilities flared up again between Khoi and Boers, Chungwa did not join an attack against the Boers but remained neutral. This did not prevent commandos attacking his people and driving all 'Kafirs', as they were called, across the Fish River. Chungwa's strategy, like that of a number of other chiefs, was motivated by the desire to preserve his autonomy. He favoured remaining on friendly terms with colonial officials rather than accepting submission under chief Ngqika.

In December 1811, despite the agreement between Dundas and Chungwa, Xhosa chiefdoms, weakened by internal strife, were attacked by regular British troops backed by Boer commandos. Destroying homesteads and fields and capturing cattle, the British colonial government attempted to remove the Xhosa permanently beyond the Fish River. The en-

²³ By 1795 Ngqika's residence was on the upper reaches of the Keiskamma River, in 1797 still east of the Keiskamma but further south east, and by 1799 just west of the Tyhume River.

²⁴ On the first three Frontier Wars see Peires (1981:50-59) and Giliomee (1984:303-316).

uring Fourth Frontier War (1811-1812) was a shattering experience for the Xhosa since it was the first large-scale war with troop-engagement, revealing the full extent of the Colony's technical and material resources.²⁵ The expulsion of the Xhosa from the Zuurveld enabled the incorporation of the disputed territory into the Cape Colony. It brought the Xhosa to the realisation that this territory was lost to them. In the following years the various Xhosa chiefs attempted to regain control over their former territory, making life insecure for the whites, who either had to flee or call upon civil and military protection. Responding to the tensions along the frontier, Lord Charles Somerset, installed as governor in April 1814 (until March 1826), continued the task of his predecessors by reinforcing the military presence and the defences of the eastern Cape. Military posts were built along the western banks of the Fish River and on farms in the area.

In a further attempt to pacify the region, Somerset was met with the Xhosa paramount chief Ngqika at the Kat River in March 1817. Ngqika, like other chiefs, was involved in colonial trade and had an interest in securing good relations.²⁶ Somerset offered Ngqika a deal: Ngqika would be allowed to trade with the colony, would receive military assistance in return for restraining his people from attacking farms and raiding cattle across the border (Fish River).²⁷ Thus, the colonial power held him responsible for future incidents. By putting himself into a position where he had to control and restrict his followers to satisfy the Colony's Government he aroused suspicion, with the result that his status and prestige plummeted while followers deserted him. With the hope of being able to strengthen his own position, Ndlambe was tempted to try to make separate agreements with colonial officials.²⁸

While internecine strife among the ranks of the Rharhabe and the fission between the Ndlambe and Ngqika Xhosa weakened their political power, the Gcaleka Xhosa had gradually recovered from their internal disputes and from their defeat by Ngqika in 1795. Various chiefs were prepared to throw their weight behind Khawuta's heir Hintsa (1789-1835), thereby expanding his influence over land and people. After 1795 the Gcaleka returned east of the Kei River, after having settled in the west at least since 1752. Upon their return, the Thembu chiefs, inhabiting the region east of that river, had to withdraw to the area north and east of the Gcaleka, which had long been controlled by them. Besides various minor events that would have provoked attack and retaliation from either side involved in the war, the Gcaleka under Hintsa combined forces with Ndlambe and overwhelmed Ngqika and his warriors in the Battle of Amalinde in October 1818. Significantly, the prophet Nxele enhanced Hintsa's position by rallying the Xhosa factions behind the ageing chief.²⁹ Ngqika managed to escape and appealed to colonial authorities for support. The colonial government sided with Ngqika. The Fifth Frontier War (1818-1819) commenced when British troops attacked Ndlambe and captured his cattle in December 1819. Ndlambe and his allies invaded in turn the Colony and attacked the new garrison at Grahamstown in broad daylight on 22 April 1819. With the British military victory by October, Ngqika's ascendance over Hintsa

²⁵ Peires (1981:65-66,142-143). During an attack by British troops Chungwa was killed.

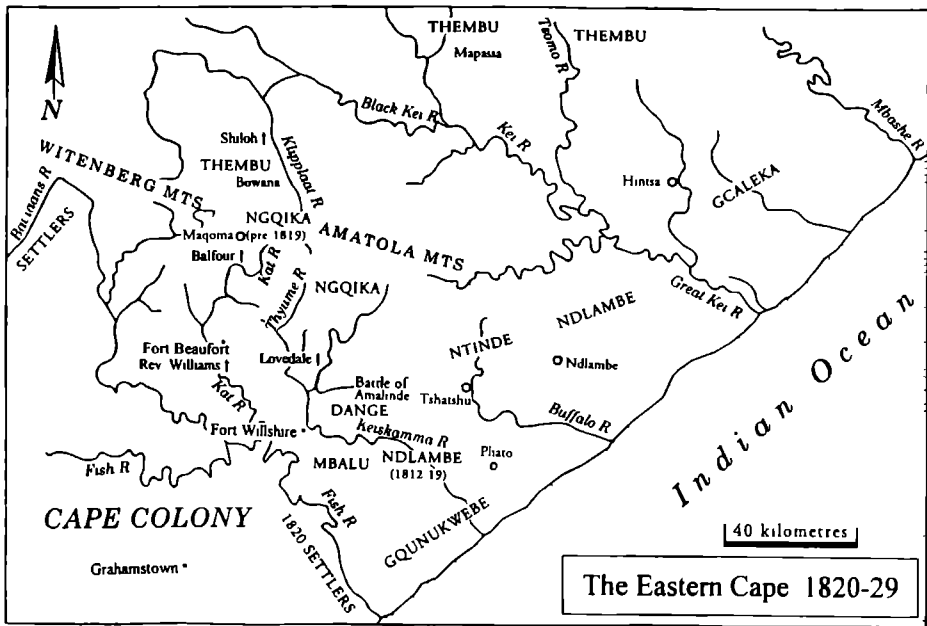
²⁶ See Crais (1992:105-112) on trade in the eastern Cape.

²⁷ As part of the deal Somerset recognised Ngqika as paramount chief of the Xhosa west of the Kei River. The colonial press portrayed Ndlambe as a 'restless freebooter' and a threat to the Colony (Stapleton 1994:26).

²⁸ Stapleton (1994:25-26) and Peires (1981:60-63).

²⁹ Peires (1981:63,70). For a detailed analysis on the role of Xhosa prophets see Peires (1990).

and Ndlambe was firmly established. Having gained the upper hand, the colonial government moved swiftly and annexed the territory between the Fish and Keiskamma Rivers, establishing a new boundary. A buffer zone was created to keep black settlements distant from those of the whites.



Map B. The eastern Cape 1820-29

Ngqika's victory over Hintsa and Ndlambe proved hollow. At a meeting with his ally Governor Somerset, he was informed that the Colony claimed part of his land between the Fish and Kat Rivers. His protest as well as that of his son chief Maqoma against this land claim - which included their birthplaces and also the location of Maqoma's residence - was rejected. He had no alternative but to yield the region between the Fish and Baviaans Rivers and the Keiskamma and Tyhume Rivers to the British. Tensions broke out among his followers who believed that Ngqika had sold the land to the Colony in exchange for military assistance. Ngqika never regained power, but was ravaged by liquor and tuberculosis, and died in 1829. Ndlambe, who had died in the previous year (February 1828), left behind a chiefdom that was deeply divided and on the verge of disintegration.

Ngqika died when his son and heir Sandile (1820-1879) was still a minor. His second son Maqoma (1798-1873) therefore became the ruler of the Rharhabe Xhosa. Already by the mid-1820s Maqoma had begun to eclipse the influence of his father by troubling neighbouring chiefdoms and the colonists in the region. In an attempt to expand his influence over people and land Maqoma attacked the neighbouring Thembu under chief Bowana and

Galela. He wanted 'to make those Thembu to Xhosa'.³⁰ A number of Thembu fled into the Colony and into an area occupied by the Rharhabe Xhosa. The British reacted by reversing their policy of separate settlements and allowed the Xhosa to live in areas controlled by the colonial government. They also decided to get rid of the 'troublesome' chief Maqoma. After Maqoma was expelled, the plan was to secure the frontier by allocating the confiscated land to Coloureds - to a great extent Khoi - that came to be known as the Kat River Settlement.

Maqoma resented the British establishing a 'Neutral Zone' - renamed Ceded Territory - between the Fish and Keiskamma Rivers. From the point of view of Xhosa chiefs the area was more accurately named 'Annexed Territory'. Matters reached a climax when Maqoma was ordered to vacate the Tyhume valley which was part of the Neutral Zone. Colonial aggression led to Xhosa retaliation. Maqoma's warriors attacked white settlements in late 1834, thus leading to the Sixth Frontier War (1834-1835). With a few minor exceptions, all the Xhosa chiefdoms were involved in attacks on white settlements that raged unabated for nine months. Farmhouses were destroyed and burnt, white settlers killed and cattle raided. Once Colonel Harry Smith, commander of the British troops, realised that an attack on Maqoma and his followers would not be easy, he embarked on a campaign across the Kei River attacking the Gcaleka and leading to the tragic death of Hintsá. Maqoma was eventually defeated by Harry Smith and sent to captivity on Robben Island. The Ngqika became subjected to the colonial government and Governor D'Urban³¹ annexed the territory between the Fish and Kei Rivers. The newly acquired area between the Keiskamma and Kei Rivers was named Province of Queen Adelaide and became part of British Kaffraria in 1847. On instructions of the Government new forts were built and peace treaties concluded with various chiefs, who were allotted specific territories, so that unallotted land was made available for white settlement. On orders from D'Urban, Sarhili, paramount chief of the Gcaleka - Hintsá's successor - was installed as paramount chief of all the Xhosa in British Kaffraria subject to the same liabilities as his father.

2.1. The Khoi, the Mfengu, British immigrants and the Great Trek

During the 1820s newcomers accelerated the erosion of Xhosa autonomy. In an attempt to bring the eastern Cape under British control, Governor Somerset sought to maintain a belt of dense settlements to hold the frontier. Settlements were established for British immigrants, Khoi and people of 'mixed' descent (Coloureds), and Mfengu.

In 1820 Governor Somerset had gained approval for a scheme to settle British immigrants in the Zuurveld (magisterial district of Albany). About 5,000 persons emigrated to the Cape, mainly to avoid the prospect of unemployment in Britain. However, the plan was ill-fated. It seemed that the settlers were not qualified for intensive farming on small plots, and in any case, such farming was not profitable. After a short period the majority gave up and moved to the towns. Grahamstown developed as their administrative, commercial and social-religious centre. Although the settlement programme failed to secure the frontier, it had important implications for the history of the region. The settlers' low status at home in the

³⁰ Peires (1981:89) and Stapleton (1994:56-58).

³¹ Major-General Sir Benjamin D'Urban was governor of the Cape Colony from 1834 until January 1838. On the Sixth Frontier War see Stapleton (1994:85-104) and Peires (1981:109-117).

British society did not prevent them from quickly identifying themselves with British colonial interests. By making demands for more land and resources they claimed a superior status at the expense of the black population in the region

The Colony's Government attempted once more to establish a buffer defence zone against Xhosa invasion and to prevent chief Maqoma from reoccupying the land in the Kat River region³² with a second settlement scheme in 1829, but this time only for the Khoi and Coloureds.³³ Key to understanding why the Khoi especially were targeted by the government's 'magnanimity' was the political pressure mounting on the British government because of the mistreatment, injustice and crimes committed against the Khoi and slaves. The central figure who advocated improving the conditions of Khoi, San and slaves in the Cape was the Reverend John Philip who had been profoundly influenced by a radical brand of evangelicalism in Scotland and agitated against slavery. He was committed to Christianising the non-Christian people of southern Africa as part of God's plan for a more humane society based on the oneness of all humankind.

In the early 1820s, when Philip visited the mission stations in the eastern Cape, he was struck by the unjust treatment of the Khoi in the environs of the Betheldorp mission station.³⁴ His appeal to the Government in Britain and the Colony on behalf of the Khoi proved to be decisive for improvements in their legal status. He argued that the aims of colonisation and missionary endeavours were complementary. More specifically, slavery and injustice hampered both economic development and the need for a Christian civilising mission in southern Africa. He wrote in his *Researches in South Africa*:

"While our missionaries, beyond the borders of the colony of the Cape of Good Hope, are everywhere scattering the seeds of civilization, social order and happiness, they are by the most unexceptional means, extending British interests, British influence and the British empire. Wherever the missionary places his standard among a savage tribe, their prejudices against colonial government give way, their dependence upon the colony is increased by the creation of artificial wants, so confidence is restored, intercourse with the colony is established; industry, trade and agriculture spring up, and every genuine convert from among them made to Christian religion becomes the ally and friend of the colonial government."³⁵

³² The Kat River Settlement comprised land which the Rharhabe chief Maqoma claimed to be part of his territory. On Maqoma's role in resisting colonial expansion see Stapleton (1994)

³³ As a result of pressures from the black communities along the frontier on the one side and their marginalisation in a white settler dominated society on the other, the Khoi and people of 'mixed' descent found themselves in a situation in which they could neither identify themselves with black or white, but with an in-between status

³⁴ Khoi sought refuge at Betheldorp. Van der Kemp and James Read encouraged Khoi who felt they had a case against their present or former masters for physical ill-treatment or for breaking the contract to take the matter to court. The legal status of Khoi was regulated by the Vagrancy Proclamation of 1809, the Circuit Courts Ordinance of 1811 and the Apprentices Proclamation of 1812. The Vagrancy Proclamation stated that all Khoi at all times belonged to some white. To check vagrancy, a kind of Pass Law was enacted. If a Khoi was found by a white and could not produce a letter from a master explaining who he was, he or she could be taken to the nearest *landdrost*. The officer would then appoint the Khoi to serve a new master. This and the Proclamation of 1812 gave a white person the right to the labour of all Khoi children on his farm. The Apprentices Proclamation also stated that labour contracts had to be made with Khoi, and they could bring their masters to court over breach of contract and ill-treatment. The Circuit Courts Ordinance enabled penal conviction of farmers (Macmillan 1968: 89-91, 161-168). These proclamations were repealed by Ordinance 50 in 1828.

³⁵ Philip (1828: ix-x)

The publication of Philip's book coincided with the promulgation of Ordinance 50 of 1828 'for improving the condition of the Hottentots and other free persons of colour at the Cape'³⁶ The ordinance as well as the abolition of slavery six years later had as its major objective the creation of 'free' labour as a means of developing the Colony economically and achieving political stability. This was in line with Philip's ideals of a civilising mission.

Against this political agitation the Government of the Colony described its initiative as an humanitarian act, and colonial officials depicted the Kat River Settlement as an experiment to see how Khoi (Coloureds) would fare as small-scale farmers.³⁷ It is more likely that the Government acted out of fear due to dangers that the newly emancipated landless Khoi posed to the colonial order.

Khoi (Coloureds) were allocated small portions of land in areas most exposed to attacks from hostile Xhosa. The new community was heterogeneous: Some had adopted Boer (Dutch) clothing, religion, technology and language; they set themselves apart from other Khoi and those of 'mixed' Khoi and Xhosa descent who associated themselves with their Khoi heritage. Others were converts from the mission stations at Theopolis (Albany district) and Bethelsdorp (Uitenhage district) and looked to the London Missionary Society for guidance.

The settlement initially flourished, but as a result of racial injustice and the government practice of using the settlement as a dumping ground for displaced people, discontent led to rebellion in 1851. The government reacted by confiscating the land.³⁸ This repressive response was influenced by the economic interests of the expanding white farming community whose members did not want to compete with black and Coloured farmers. Generally, the Boers feared losing access to land and labour and therefore resented the policy of settling Khoi (Coloureds) farmers along the frontier.

2.2. Boers in search of new land

Ordinance 50 of 1828, the British Parliamentary Act of 1833, followed by the emancipation of slaves in 1834 in the Cape, and the favouring of British settlers in land allocation in the eastern districts led to widespread dissatisfaction among the Boers. They wanted to retain their patriarchal system of master and servant. They opposed the new legislation by the Cape Government during the 1820s and early 1830s which gradually supplanted the Dutch regulations prevailing in the older established western Cape and along the volatile northern and eastern frontiers. In an attempt to recreate the old order of the frontier trekboers and farmers outside British political control, groups of Boers began to discuss the possibility of an organised migration as early as 1832. Two years later, three reconnaissance parties (*kommissietrekke*) were organised and despatched to find the 'promised land'. Early in 1835 two groups of *voortrekkers* (pioneers) under the leadership of Louis Trichard and Jan van Rensburg trekked

³⁶ Section 2 stated "And whereas by usage and custom of this Colony, Hottentots and other free persons of colour have been subjected to certain restraints as to their residence, mode of life, and employment, and to certain compulsory services to which other of His Majesty's subjects are not liable Be it therefore enacted, that from and after the passing of this Ordinance, no Hottentot or other free person of colour, lawfully residing in this Colony, shall be subject to any compulsory service to which other of His Majesty's subjects therein are not liable " (Macmillan 1968 211-212)

³⁷ Crais (1992 79)

³⁸ On the Kat River Settlement see Kirk (1973,1990) and Macmillan (1968 239-242)

northwards across the Orange and Vaal Rivers. The main groups constituting what came to be known as the Great Trek, did not begin to leave the Cape Colony until the early months of 1836, while the last party under the leadership of Piet Retief left in February 1837. The famous manifesto that Piet Retief sent to the *Grahamstown Journal* on the eve of departure unambiguously stated their grievances: "We quit this colony under the full assurance that the English Government has nothing more to require of us, and will allow us to govern ourselves without its interference in future." It was their intention to create for themselves a new home and reconstitute an order based on the preservation of "proper relations between master and servant".³⁹

The relation between master and servant was rationalised on religious grounds. Any liberal political alteration of this relation was resented by Boers. Many years after the Trek, in 1876, Anna Steenkamp wrote

"The reasons for which we abandoned our lands and homesteads, our country, and kindred, were the following (1) The continual depredations and robberies of the Kafirs (with unfulfilled promises of compensation for the stolen property) (2) The shameful and unjust proceedings with reference to the freedom of our slaves, and yet it is not so much freedom that drove us to such lengths, as their being placed on an equal footing with Christians, contrary to the laws of God and the natural distinction of race and religion, so that it was intolerable for any decent Christian to bow down beneath such a yoke, wherefore we rather withdrew, in order thus to preserve our doctrines in purity."⁴⁰

2.3. The Mfengu

The third group that emerged in the frontier situation in the eastern Cape and came to hold an intermediary position were the Mfengu. The term Mfengu is a generic name for those people who fled southward as a result of Shaka's military expansion between 1818 and 1828. They originated from several chiefdoms, the most important of them being the Bhele, Zizi and the Hlubi, who had once been located between the Tugela and Mzinyati Rivers. Upon fleeing into foreign territory, it is said that the refugees initiated communication with the chiefs with the word *siyamfenguza*, which literally means 'we are hungry and seeking shelter'. In later years these people were referred to as Mfengu.⁴¹

The Mfengu sought refuge among the Mpondo, Thembu and Xhosa chiefs. Since they had neither property nor local kin they could not be expected to be treated on an equal footing with their new hosts. They were assigned a subordinate position. Their dependent status led them to accept any opportunities offered by British colonial expansion, whether in the form of mission stations or through trade and commerce. At the close of the Sixth Frontier War in 1836, several thousand Mfengu, persuaded by the Wesleyan missionary John Ayliff, deserted their Xhosa patrons and crossed the Kei River at the invitation of the governor. They were given land - previously occupied by Xhosa - to settle, graze their cattle and cultivate.⁴²

³⁹ Quoted in du Toit/Gilmore (1983:214)

⁴⁰ Cape Monthly Magazine, September 1876, quoted in Macmillan (1968:81). For Steenkamp slaves to servants were interchangeable.

⁴¹ Moyer (1973:145). See also Moyer (1974).

⁴² Mostert (1992:697-698).

Mfengu adopted European agricultural techniques and proved remarkably receptive to western ideas. On 14 May 1835 Mfengu gathered under a tree in the Peddie district, where they had received land in the environs of Fort Peddie, and swore an oath to obey the Queen, accept Christianity and its civilising mission.⁴³ In the years following, the Mfengu were allocated substantial areas as a reward for fighting alongside the colonial troops in frontier wars. In 1839 the Mfengu were placed in villages along the frontier from the mouth of the Keiskamma River to the Tyhume valley, and later north of the Amatola Mountains. In the mid-1860s the Mfengu were allocated a stretch of land known as Fingoland which included the old residence of Hintsas near the mission station of the Wesleyan Methodists at Butterworth.

While Xhosa chiefs kept up resistance against colonial expansion, harassing soldiers and settlers until the end of the Ninth Frontier War in 1877, the British had found in the Mfengu 'true and loyal' supporters. From the Xhosa point of view they were disloyal traitors. Reaffirming the point of view of the Xhosa the social anthropologist Philip Mayer described the Mfengu as

"the type of 'traitor' *par excellence*. Having fled from the Zulu wars in Natal, and being forced to accept a somewhat subordinate status in return for Xhosa protection, they gladly turned to the British as possible deliverers, and proved easy material for the missionaries. In 1835, at the height of the 6th Kaffir War [Frontier War], Mfengu Christians deliberately placed themselves under the protection of the British Government ... To this day the Xhosa will, if provoked, sneer at the Mfengu as traitors, while White people find Mfengu 'easier to get on with'."⁴⁴

2.4. Chiefs versus commissioners: the annexation of the trans-Kei

In March 1846 war broke out as colonial troops, backed by Khoi and Mfengu recruits, launched a pre-emptive offensive against the embittered Ngqika Xhosa, led by the paramount chief Sandile.⁴⁵ Sandile (1820-1879) who had replaced chief Maqoma as ruler of the Rharhabe in 1842 won support among Xhosa chiefs as well as the Thembu - led by chief Mapassa - and launched a counter-offensive that was initially successful. The Gqunukhwebe under Chungwa's son Phato joined the war and staged attacks against white settlements and military posts along the coastal area of the Ceded Territory. Sarhili (1809-1892) who had succeeded Hintsas as paramount chief of the Gcaleka remained neutral. Sympathetic, however, he offered refuge and cattle to the Ndlambe Xhosa under chief Mhala who were crushed at the Battle of Gwangqa at the end of May 1846. Faced with ever shortening food supplies and eventually the prospect of famine in a prolonged war, Sandile decided to end the war. The fields had to be cultivated again. As the chiefs offered to end the war against the British and

⁴³ Since 1907 the 14th of May is celebrated as Mfengu Emancipation Day. The rivalry and ethnic tensions between Rharhabe and Mfengu, especially in the context of former Ciskei homeland politics originated in the Frontier Wars and has been sustained by socio-economic and political competition. In the former Ciskei the population was split almost equally between Mfengu and Xhosa. On the ethnic Mfengu-Rharhabe rivalry in the early twentieth century and during Lennox Sebe's rule (1982 to March 1990) - himself a Rharhabe - in the former homeland Ciskei see Anonymous (Peires) (1989) and Manona (1980)

⁴⁴ Mayer (1971:31-32)

⁴⁵ The events leading to the Seventh Frontier War and the events of the war were even more complex than in the case of previous ones. See Peires (1981:109-160) for a detailed description of events.

asked for the terms of peace they were told that only unconditional surrender was acceptable. The Xhosa were not beaten, but near starvation. Maqoma surrendered on 26 October 1847 and Sandile on 17 December. Once Phato surrendered the Seventh Frontier War was concluded in December 1847.⁴⁶

With the end of the war significant changes occurred on the eastern frontier. Sir Harry Smith, commander of the British colonial forces, became governor of the Cape. Convinced that he would solve the frontier dilemma which had troubled his predecessors, Smith⁴⁷ increased the military presence in the eastern Cape and propagated a policy of colonial expansion and annexation. He knew that he was backed up by an imperial government which would not allow itself to be defeated. The treaty system which had regulated relations between Xhosa chiefs and the Colony since 1836 was abandoned⁴⁸ and formally superseded by a system of direct British administration of the black population in annexed areas. On 17 December 1847 Smith proclaimed a new eastern boundary between the Cape Colony and the territory to the north-east still under the control of autonomous chiefs. A week later, on 23 December, Smith declared the area between the Keiskamma and Kei Rivers and further northward between the Klipplaats and Black Kei Rivers to be British Kaffraria. King William's Town became its administrative centre. The territory was administered as a Crown Colony and its inhabitants came under the direct control of the governor in his capacity as High Commissioner. Smith had come to the conclusion that it was useless to 'exterminate the tribes' and pile them up behind the Kei River and that the only policy to pursue was to accommodate the black population in reserves and bring them under European 'guidance'. Henceforth chiefs had land allotted to them from the Queen's representative, the High Commissioner, acting as Great Chief, *Inkosi Inkhulu*, as Smith called himself. Chiefs could still rule their people, but now they were made accountable to Government magistrates and native affairs commissioners. The magistrates were to judge if the chiefs' actions were 'inconsistent with justice and humanity'.⁴⁹

In the colonial context, the recognition of a chief implied the recognition of a tribe as a political entity. Within days after Smith's proclamation, the various chiefs were allocated to clearly defined tribal territories, squeezing them on about 5,000 square kilometres of specified locations. Apart from the Thembu who were administered by one native affairs commissioner, the Xhosa were divided into two administrative districts, viz. the Ngqika and the Ndlambe districts each controlled by a commissioner. Besides the Ngqika, the Ntinde and

⁴⁶ Peires (1981:150-160) The Seventh Frontier War was the first war in which the Xhosa made extensive use of firearms and adopted new tactics of warfare. They abandoned the use of shields realising that they hindered mobility and were useless against bullets (Peires 1981:155)

⁴⁷ Sir Harry Smith was High Commissioner and Governor of the Cape from 1 December 1847 to 31 March 1852. He was succeeded by Sir George Cathcart (March 1852 to December 1854)

⁴⁸ The treaty system was introduced by Andries Stockenström, formerly *landdrost* of Graaff-Reinet and Commissioner-General for the Eastern Districts at Grahamstown, responsible for supervising and reporting to the governor on the affairs in that region and drafting treaties with local chiefs. The Stockenström's system, wrote Peires, "was based on two fundamental propositions. The first was that the Xhosa chiefs were sovereign rulers who could be dealt with in accordance with signed treaties regulated through diplomatic Agents. The second was that the problem of cattle theft could only be solved within the Colony itself, and not across the border in Xhosaland" (Peires 1981:119). In 1839 Stockenström was forced out of office by the settlers.

⁴⁹ Walker (1928:238,296), Peires (1981:165-169) and Stapleton (1994:147-150) Administration in British Kaffraria was in the hands of a chief magistrate assisted by three magistrates

Dange were included in the Ngqika district, while the Ndlambe district included the Ndlambe, Dushane-Ndlambe, Mqhayi-Ndlambe, Gqunukhwebe, Gasela, Mbalu and others.⁵⁰ British Kaffraria was dotted with settler enclaves: towns, villages, forts, and missions stations. The most fertile land was set aside for white farmers and special areas were allocated to the Mfengu.

Just as Britain was divided into counties, British Kaffraria was carved up into counties which did not necessarily coincide with the newly established tribal boundaries. In the case of the Gqunukhwebe they came to reside in the county of Bedfordshire; the Ngqika territory was divided into the counties Yorkshire and Middlesex; and the Mbalu, Mdushane-Ndlambe and Mqhayi-Ndlambe were grouped into the county of Lincolnshire. The residences of chiefs were named after British cities, such as York for Sandile's residence, Newark for Siwani's (son of Mdushane) and Cambridge for Mhala's (son of Ndlambe). Government agents were placed at the chiefs' residences.

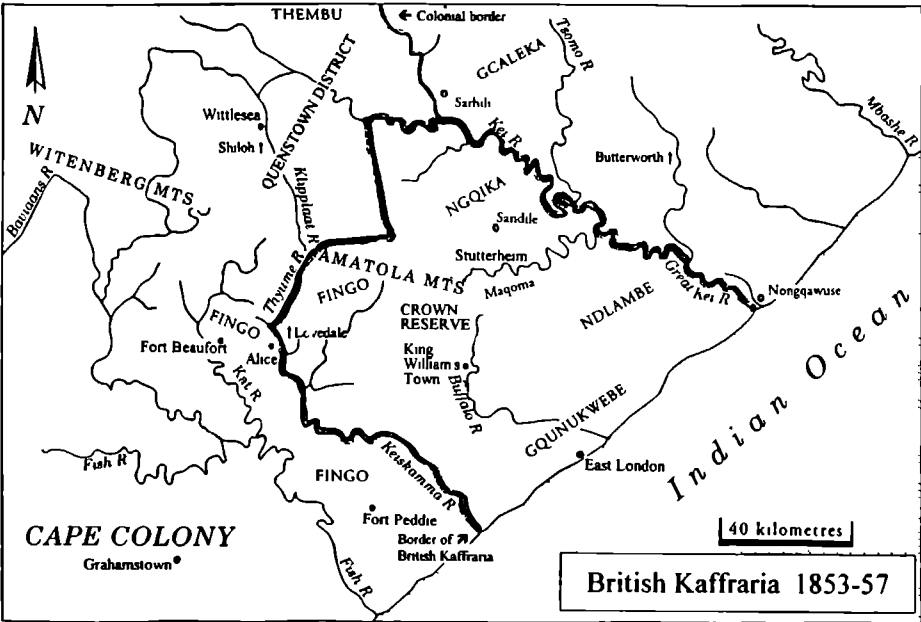
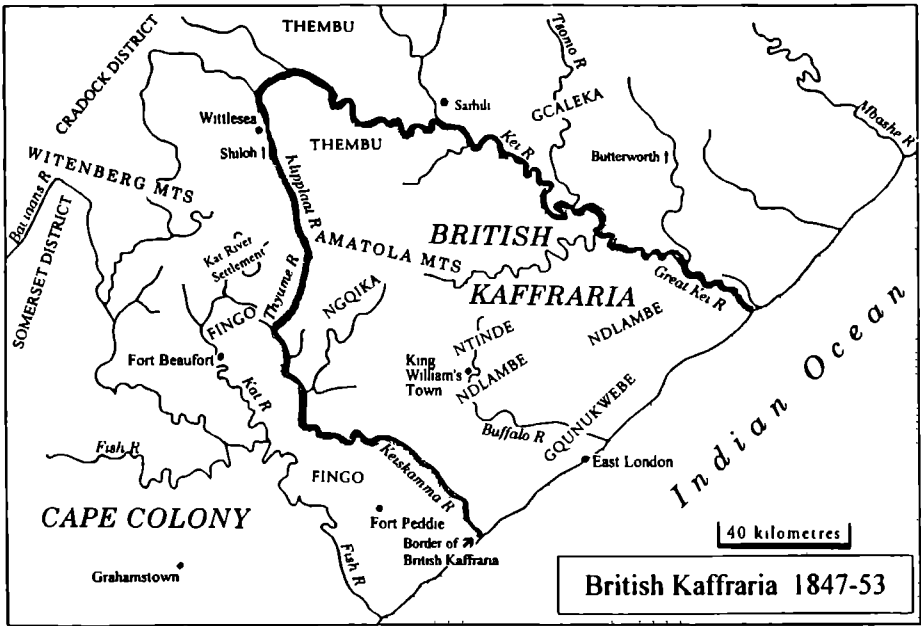
'Tribes' emerged as the colonial government brought autonomous chiefdoms under the administration of the British colonial government and declared all the people to be subjects of the British Queen. The term tribe came to stand for political entities which were integrated into a colonial administration and at the same time kept apart. The redefinition of previously autonomous chiefdoms as tribes within clearly bounded territories with names assigned by the Government was a result of contact between the European and native, the coloniser and the colonised. Names for the newly defined tribes were fixed in mission and government records and placed on maps. It is not surprising that the colonial officials chose the names of chiefs with whom they interacted at that specific time as the basis for the demarcation of borders and identification of tribal entities within the colonial state. It was the Xhosa chiefs Rharhabe (ca.1725-1782), Gcaleka (1730-ca.1792), Ndlambe (ca.1738-1828), and Ngqika (1778-1829), who first came in contact with the white newcomers on the eastern frontier. With the first historical documentation written by whites their names were fixed, standing for tribal divisions and socio-political entities among the Xhosa. Once tribal entities were accommodated within the legal framework and administrative bureaucracy of the colonial government, a system of native administration was established exclusively for administering the black population.⁵¹

The creation of tribal territories in the periphery of the British colonial empire went beyond the creation of separate identities. It also served to create and maintain a core and periphery of power determined not by the dynamics of faction and fission within a respective chiefdom, or competition between rival chiefs or alliances between chiefs, but by external factors due to their incorporation into a colonial state and a world economy.

Harry Smith bore a major share of personal responsibility for manufacturing the events that led to violent conflicts between December 1850 and February 1853. The new political order had deeply humiliated and denigrated the chiefs. The Ngqika paramount chief Sandile had been deposed by Smith after he failed to attend a meeting of chiefs in October 1850. Smith appointed the Commissioner Charles Brownlee - the son of the LMS missionary John

⁵⁰ In 1849 the Ntinde territory was re-assigned to the Ndlambe district and the Mbalu territory to the Ngqika district. See Bergh/Visagie (1985:49,51) for detailed maps of British Kaffraria.

⁵¹ In later years the administrative system would further differentiate Coloureds and Indians as separate socio-political entities.



Map C. The eastern Cape 1847-57

Brownlee - in Sandile's place The chiefs in the Ngqika district and councillors attempted to resist Smith's autocratic rule. They were encouraged by the prophet Mlangeni, who had gained credence and respect among the Ngqika Xhosa. When Smith called in troops to stage a display of British strength in the Ngqika territory, Sandile and his men took revenge by attacking the military camps in the Tyhume Valley on Christmas Day 1850 and launching further attacks on forts and white settlements. Lovedale Mission, practically in the centre of the disturbances, was converted into a fort and in the course of the war completely destroyed for the second time.

Mlangeni was influential in unifying and mobilising Xhosa in the war against the British. He claimed that he had been to heaven and had talked to God who was displeased with the white man. God would help the blacks to fight the government troops. A root of the pelargonium plant would make them invulnerable. In 'washing' and purifying the warriors, Mlangeni ordered the identification and rooting out of witches as a necessary prerequisite for a victorious war. Mlangeni's prophecies did not materialise. The Eighth Frontier War ended in early March 1853 once Ngqika agreed to accept British peace terms.⁵² Chiefs such as Sandile and Mapassa, who had taken up arms against the British, were deprived of their land or portions of it, and loyal chiefs and the Mfengu were rewarded with land.⁵³ Just as after previous wars, more land was made available for white settlement, the Mfengu reservations, and mission stations.

The British strategy of starving the Xhosa into submission ended the war, but had disastrous consequences. Famine, military defeats and turmoil resulted in a drastic decline in the status of chiefs and the emergence of religious-spiritual leaders, whose prophetic guidance was sought in an attempt to restore peace and establishing order in times of chaos and anarchy. The revelations of prophets such as Ntsikana and Mlangeni, who had been influenced by Christianity, illustrate how spiritual leaders were adjusting the traditional religious and social framework by merging Xhosa religious teachings with those of Christianity in order to formulate a new world-view that went beyond merely reaffirming pre-colonial forms of socio-political organisation. Accommodating changes caused by Europeans could be interpreted as an indication that the Xhosa were beginning to perceive themselves as part of an entity which went beyond the socio-political organisation of autonomous chiefdoms but lacked the means and power to be able to fully visualise and institutionalise an alternative. This crisis and destabilisation of previously autonomous chiefdoms, paired with an increasing helplessness in the face of European imperial power, culminated in the cattle-killing disaster of 1856-7, resulting in the defeat of the Xhosa and their further marginalisation within the colonial order.

The principal actors in this tragedy, apart from the Gcaleka paramount chief Sarhili and other Xhosa chiefs, were Mhlakaza, Sarhili's councillor, diviner and prophet, and his niece Nongqawuse. In April 1856 Nongqawuse had a vision and was entrusted with a message:

"Tell that the whole community will rise from the dead; and that all cattle now living must be slaughtered, for they have been reared by contaminated hands because there are people about who deal in witchcraft. There should be no cultivation, but great new grain pits must be dug, new houses must be built, and great strong cattle enclosures must be erected. Cut out new milksacks and weave

⁵² See Peires (1990:1-44), Bergh/Visagie (1985:52-54), Stapleton (1994:151-167) and Meintjes (1971) on events leading to the Eighth Frontier War.

⁵³ See Bergh/Visagie (1985:54-55) for a detailed account on loss of land and new land allocation to chiefs.

many doors from buka roots. So says the chief Napakade, the descendant of Sifuba-sibanzi. The people must leave their witchcraft, for soon they will be examined by diviners."⁵⁴

Sandile's people, the Gqunukhwebe under Phato, the Ndlambe Xhosa under Mhala, and the Gcaleka Xhosa under Sarhili joined the cattle-killing movement.⁵⁵ The destruction of their material possessions, especially their crops, and the killing of cattle were carried out to the bitter end. Thousands of cattle were killed, between 35,000 and 50,000 people died, and many more were displaced from their homes in the following year. The cattle-killing movement was a last attempt to restore the old order and way of life. In analysing its significance Monica Wilson concludes: "The cattle-killing was clearly, in one aspect, a 'resistance movement', in which people participated in the hope of getting rid of the whites and recovering their land. It was also a 'revivalist' movement involving purification from witchcraft; and it was a fusion of old and new religious and revelation through diviners, and in Christian teaching of the apocalypse."⁵⁶

As a consequence of the economic and political disaster followed by a drastic reduction in the black population, Sir George Grey, the new governor of the Colony, did not meet major resistance when he began expropriating the land claimed by chiefs who had taken part in the cattle-killing movement. The Land was surveyed then allocated to white farmers. With the arrival of German immigrants in 1857 the number of white settlements and military posts in British Kaffraria grew rapidly.⁵⁷ In contrast to the military approach of Smith, George Grey embarked on a 'civilising mission'. He was the first civilian governor in the Cape. Being deeply convinced of the moral superiority of Christianity, he was, unlike any other governor before him, interested in combining imperialism - the defence of British interests - with Christian humanitarianism. Inspired by his dealings with the Maori in New Zealand in his previous posting, he based his policy on the idea that it was far more effective to civilise than to fight the indigenous population. At the core of his policy was the structuring of a relationship between the coloniser and the colonised, that would stabilise a new order dominated by the British.

Grey succeeded in convincing the colonial officials in London that costly wars could be avoided if his plans for a reorganisation of the administration of British Kaffraria were undertaken by seeking the co-operation of blacks and further incorporating them into the Colony's administration and economy. He saw in the mission institutions an important vehicle for spreading his idea of civilisation. Mission schools, institutions for agricultural training and hospitals would turn uncivilised blacks into wage earners and involve black farmers in food-production for a growing market. From the profits earned by their participation in the cash economy they could then be encouraged to buy or lease Crown Land. By putting blacks to work building roads, permanent settlements and digging irrigation channels to improve the water supply, Grey saw a means to teach them the 'dignity of wage labour'. As he put it:

⁵⁴ Quoted in Peires (1990:79). Peires (1990) provides a compelling reconstruction of the cattle-killing movement of 1856-1857. See also Peires (1979,1986,1987) and Stapleton (1994:169-192).

⁵⁵ While the major Xhosa chiefs believed in the prophecy others did not. This divided the Xhosa into 'soft' and loyal believers and the traitor unbelievers (Peires 1986,1990:158-180,203-214).

⁵⁶ Wilson (1969:260).

⁵⁷ Sir George Grey was governor of the Cape Colony from December 1854 to January 1862. Grey had been appointed Colonial Governor of the Colony of South Australia in 1841 and of New Zealand in 1845. In New Zealand he succeeded in winning the respect of Maori chiefs and negotiating a treaty that was accepted by the Maori chiefs and British alike.

"The plan I propose to pursue with a view to the general adjustment of these questions [frontier policy] is, to attempt to gain an influence over all the tribes included between the present north-eastern boundary of this colony and Natal, by employing them upon public works, which will tend to open up their country, by establishing institutions for the education of their children, and the relief of their sick, by introducing amongst them institutions of a civil character suited to their present condition, and by these and other like means to attempt gradually to win them to civilization and Christianity, and thus to change by degree our at present unconquered and apparently irreclaimable foes into friends who may have common interests with ourselves."⁵⁸

The modernisation envisaged by Grey also necessitated changes in the administration set up to govern the black population. In his opinion, successful re-incorporation of the black population into the Colony hinged on how effectively he could accommodate chiefs within the colonial administration.

Chiefs could hardly be expected to be willingly incorporated voluntarily since it implied curtailing their autonomy and authority and reducing them to salaried employees supervised by white magistrates. But the response to Grey's administrative measures was not uniform. A number of chiefs and councillors resisted the new scheme. For some impoverished chiefs there seemed to be no alternative. Others saw in the scheme an opportunity to consolidate their power. Grey insisted that the black population lived in villages (locations). He granted land to chiefs supporting his new scheme and granted Crown Land to those individual blacks paying income tax. The first grants were made in 1856. In defence of his policy, Grey pointed out that

"[t]he lands, from which these grants will be made, were the possessions of the forefathers of these children, who were entrusted by their parents to my care, a proof of confidence of the most remarkable kind, and if, after I have taken them from savage life, and have had a good education given to them, they are thrown back without resources or without home upon their own Tribes, I shall have inflicted an injury upon them, instead of a benefit as I desired."⁵⁹

Grey believed firmly in the creation of an integrated society based upon equal rights. Traditionalism, in Grey's opinion, had to give way if blacks were to be civilised. This implied the replacement of chiefly authority by that of the magistrate, and the introduction of Cape colonial law in place of customary law. In Grey's own words: "European laws will, by imperceptible degrees, take the place of their own barbarous customs and any Kaffir chief of importance will be daily brought into contact with a talented and honourable European gentleman who will hourly interest himself in the advance and improvement of the tribe."⁶⁰ In the words of his biographer J. Rutherford, Grey's aims were:

"... to undermine the power of the chiefs, break up the large tribes into smaller, more manageable units, overawe them by a show of military force, remove large numbers of natives out of the province altogether, concentrate the rest in village settlements under European officers, and convey large areas of the best land to European farmers. He announced in 1857 that the Kafirs must either be absorbed by the Europeans or succumb to them"⁶¹

⁵⁸ George Grey in a letter to the Colonial Secretary, 22 December 1854, quoted in Molteno (1984 50-51)

⁵⁹ George Grey to Duke of Newcastle, Secretary of State for the Colonies, 19 August 1859, C.O. 48/397, quoted in Williams (1978 53)

⁶⁰ Quoted in Brookes (1927 62). See also Parry (1983 379)

⁶¹ Rutherford (1961 328-329)

Indeed, the administrative mind of the era often perceived political and socio-religious organisation of pre-modern societies as the very opposite to European ideals of modernisation. Religious differences were especially singled out. Heathenism was equated with an inferior social system, and overcoming it was seen as a precondition to modernisation. As one magistrate pointed out in 1875

“and when we remember that heathenism means antagonism to everything of a progressive and developing nature, it will be seen that in order to open a country to the influence and benefit of civilisation, powerful influence must be brought to bear upon the system”⁶²

Modernisation did not imply limiting transformation to the religious and political spheres. It also necessitated economic changes as a means to make colonial expansion profitable. In the words of a magistrate in 1875

“Whatever tends to raise and civilise a barbarous people must of necessity in the end prove a source of benefit to its civilised rulers. Increased revenue, increased production, increase in the equality and quantity of labour, increase of political and national strength, these must be the objects of a truly wise native administration”⁶³

In 1866 British Kaffraria was annexed to the Cape Colony. The previous division of the Kaffraria territory into counties was abolished and it was redistricted into the districts of East London and King William's Town. Direct British colonial administration resulted in a stronger economic integration. Although the land assigned to the black population was reduced, the successes of black farmers - land tenants and land owners - and traders were not well-received by their white competitors. The need for black wage labour led to an alliance between the colonial government and white settlers with the aim of further marginalising the black population politically and economically. This development encouraged by Grey's successors contradicted his civilising mission.⁶⁴ The land set aside for the black population proved to be insufficient for their subsistence and they were obliged to seek work on white farms and in towns.

The situation was different for the inhabitants east of the Kei River, in the trans-Kei. Interactions between black and white in the early decades of the nineteenth century were far less developed in that area. Traders and missionaries had settled there, even though officially the Kei River was the outer most boundary of British sovereignty. But it cannot be said that the Kei River was simply a dividing line between black and white. Chiefs were nominally independent, but those chiefdoms furthest west along the Kei River had been profoundly transformed by colonial expansion especially since the cattle-killing disaster. The Gcaleka were allowed to return to the coastal portion of their land between the Kei and Mbashe Rivers in 1865, to be known as Gcalekaland, the Thembu were allocated a district called Emigrant Thembuland, and in between these two districts land previously occupied by the Gcaleka was set aside for Mfengu settlement, named Fingoland.⁶⁵ Further to the east, Griqua - people of 'mixed' des-

⁶² F P Gladwyn, Acting British Res. St Johns Territory 31 December 1875 (G 16 76, 27) quoted in Schreuder (1976 291)

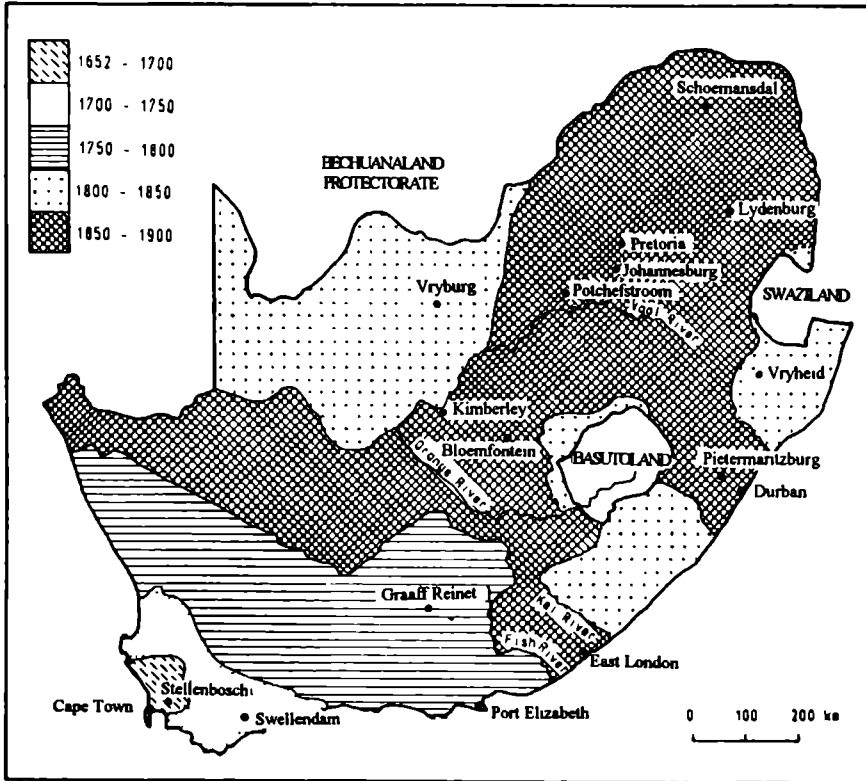
⁶³ Quoted in Schreuder (1976 291)

⁶⁴ Colin Bundy (1988) has presented in detail the rise and fall of the black peasantry and their marginalisation in an expanding capitalist economy

⁶⁵ Migration by Mfengu with their herds of cattle, sheep and goats to Fingoland commenced in 1867

cent who migrated from the Orange/Vaal River area (Griqualand West)- settled as British subjects on land called Nomandsland - later East Griqualand - at the invitation of George Grey.⁶⁶

The policy of annexing more land was delayed because of a division of opinion within the Cape Colony and between the Colonial Office in London and the British Government. The expansion of white administration right up to the Natal border had long been favoured by Cape officials. Shortly after the Cape Responsible Government was instituted in 1872, it began the staged annexation of territories between the Kei River and the Natal border, known as the Transkei.⁶⁷



Map D. Sequence of European annexation⁶⁸

Colonial advancement was interrupted in 1877 as Sandile and Sarhili defied the government. A clash between colonial troops and Sarhili's warriors in September 1877 culminated in a

⁶⁶ As previously in Griqualand West, the Griqua lost their land to white settlers. On the Griqua see Legassick (1984), Thompson (1969) and Marais (1957).

⁶⁷ At that time, the British Government was not particularly interested in annexing these territories, since it would lead to additional expenditures, and because of the conviction that further annexation could lead to unforeseen problems.

⁶⁸ Compiled from Christopher (1994:15).

final series of military battles (Ninth Frontier War). The combined Gcaleka Ngqika force and other minor chiefs had little chance against counter-attacks by British troops and their allies (mainly the Mfengu but also including some Thembu). Quarrels between Thembu and Gcaleka and fear of Gcaleka aggression drove the Thembu to request British protection. Sarhili's warriors were ambushed and he was forced to retreat. In May 1878 Sandile was fatally wounded. The Xhosa were punished by confiscation of parts of their territory, which was then subdivided into farms for sale to whites. Those chiefs who remained loyal and did not join the war were rewarded with permission to settle on confiscated land.

In 1878 the Cape Government, with a view to speedy incorporation of further territories, began to consolidate its administrative structures by appointing three magistrates: one for Gcalekaland, Fingoland and Idutywa; the second for Thembuland, Emigrant Thembuland, and Bomvanaland; and a third for Griqualand East. Fingoland, Idutywa Reserve and Griqualand East were the first three territories to be annexed to the Cape Colony in 1879. Control over the Mfengu was tightened with the introduction of a hut tax. On 15 September 1884 Port St. Johns was annexed and incorporated into the Cape Colony once legislation had been passed by the Cape parliament and ratified by Britain. Thembuland, Emigrant Thembuland, Gcalekaland and Bomvanaland followed in 1885. British colonial expansion culminated in 1894 in the annexation of Pondoland. Internal dissent had weakened the unity of the Mpondo paramountcy and faced with the threat of armed intervention paramount chief Sigcau along with other Mpondo chiefs surrendered.⁶⁹

2.5. Native Administration

After the Cape Colony was granted Responsible Government in 1872 under Prime Minister John Molteno, one of its first acts was to establish a Department of Native Affairs headed by Charles Brownlee. For the sake of uniformity in the administration of the black population, territorial and administrative units were created under the Native Location Acts of 1869, 1876, 1884 and again amended in 1892. Scattered homesteads were divided into location sections,⁷⁰ each under a sub-headman who was appointed by the colonial administration and held responsible to the location headman. The location headman was a paid official of the Department of Native Affairs.

Previously, a headman's position was subordinate to the chief. He acted as his deputy and in his absence was his representative. The chief was assisted by a council which included his own senior male relatives and other important heads of families. Ultimate political and religious power vested in the hands of the chief. He had the right to dispense land, acted as intermediary between his people and their ancestors, and held juridical powers. The colonial administration retained the headmen but curtailed the power of chiefs.

Over and above the location were two larger intersecting administrative units: a) the magisterial district under the control of a magistrate with a native affairs commissioner, and b) the chiefdoms. Some chiefdoms coincided with magisterial districts, but more often a district encompassed more than one chiefdom. The magistrates and native affairs commissioners

⁶⁹ On the Mpondo see Beinart (1982) and Hunter (Wilson) (1961).

⁷⁰ Four or five sections made up a location.

with their staff were directly responsible to the Chief Magistrate for both administrative and judicial matters, who in turn was accountable to the head of the Department of Native Affairs. Alongside the system of direct rule by magistrates, a network of councils was established, with the Transkeian Territories General Council at the apex. These councils came about as a result of government officials' experience in dealing with the black population.

The aggressive assertion of political and economic interests demanded an administrative system that would assure land and labour and stabilise relations between the colonial government and the colonised. Apart from direct rule an administrative system was required that would somehow channel the native interests. A shift in strategic thinking can be illustrated in the report of the Cape Native Laws and Customs Commission of 1883 covering questions of law and custom, land tenure, taxation, and local government. Magistrates who gave evidence to the Commission questioned the practice of pressing the black population into a European cultural mould. To retain power and stability a system was envisaged that would allow blacks some degree of administrative control.⁷¹

This led to the passing of the Glen Grey Act of 1894 introducing location councils first in the Glen Grey district and thereafter extended to the Transkei by Proclamation 352 of 1894. Besides regulating the council system, the Glen Grey Act regulated limited freehold tenure and taxation.⁷² Although the councils had only advisory powers the system was important because it allowed blacks representation. For the first time non-voting blacks received a forum in which to express their opinions. While educated blacks were reluctant to give support to the council system, in fear that it would undermine their right to vote, headmen and their allies came to dominate the district councils, cementing an alliance between an emerging black administrative elite and white government officials. Their co-operation in government controlled district councils increased their influence and power in the locations.

The Cape Government's establishment of councils was politically motivated by a desire to compensate blacks for the limited rights granted to them under the Cape's colour-blind franchise policy. It was a qualified franchise system with proof of property ownership and literacy as requirements for voter registration. By stiffening the franchise qualifications in 1887 and 1892 the Government made it increasingly difficult for blacks to become eligible for the vote, thus decreasing their influence in the Cape parliament. The intention was to restrict black political participation to the councils.⁷³

The administration of the 27 Transkeian districts was co-ordinated by a Chief Magistrate and a Native Affairs Commissioner attached to the Transkeian Territories General Council or *Bunga* based in Umtata. Although the black councillors of the *Bunga* were supposed to con-

⁷¹ Davenport (1978:103).

⁷² On native administration and the Glen Grey Act see Rogers (1933:37-43), Switzer (1993:101-106) and Southall (1982:88-92). By the turn of the century the district councils had been established in most parts of the area defined as Transkeian Territories. Representatives from the districts were incorporated into a Transkeian Territories General Council in 1906, except for Western and Eastern Pondoland where councils were introduced in 1911 and 1927 respectively. From 1890 to 1896 Cecil Rhodes, representing mining interests and supporting British territorial expansion, was prime minister of the Cape Colony. He played a decisive role in redefining Native policy once he personally had taken charge of the Native Affairs Department in 1893. His priority was to secure cheap labour for the growing mining and commercial agrarian sector, transforming the old amalgamationist policy of 'native improvement' to one of political control. His thinking was crystallised in the Glen Grey Act.

⁷³ Trapido (1968:81).

fine their attention to non-political matters, on occasion they expressed, in unmistakable terms, demands for extending rather than eroding political and franchise rights of blacks.⁷⁴ In general, the council system served as a means to incorporate blacks into separate administrative structures, restricted in powers and subordinate to a white government. These legislative measures marked the first step in the development of a policy for natives in the Cape that moved away from a strategy of 'amalgamation' to one of 'segregation' that was to end in a socio-political differentiation of society which was compatible with the incorporation of the black population into a racially stratified economy.

The historian de Kiewiet has argued that the Transkeian council system was part and parcel of a process of modernisation. It

"was to be the forerunner of a greater measure of native self-government so that the benefits of Victorian liberalism should be bestowed on Her Majesty's black subjects as well. Within the limits of the Transkeian Territories the experience showed distinct elements of success".⁷⁵

2.6. Customary laws and the concept of tribe

Even the administration of justice was subjected to the racial differentiation policy. Before the annexation of Transkei all inhabitants of the Cape Colony were equally subject to the law of the Colony.⁷⁶ Upon the annexation of the Transkei, legislation was passed introducing magistrates' courts with almost unlimited jurisdiction. It lay in the magistrate's discretion to apply customary laws instead of the general law of the Colony. Towards the end of the nineteenth century, therefore, the Cape Colony was, as far as the administration of justice was concerned, divided into two jurisdictions: 1) the Colony proper as it was called, where the law of the Colony was applied to all; and 2) the Transkei, where the magistrates' courts were empowered to administer both the law of the Colony and customary laws.⁷⁷

The Native Law and Customs Commission had argued in favour of enforcing customary laws, because

"many of the existing Kafir laws and customs are so interwoven with the social conditions and ordinary institutions of the native population ... that any premature or violent attempt to break them down ... would be mischievous and dangerous in the highest degree, besides as experience has shown, defeating the object in view ... we have directed our attention to ... drafting a special Code

⁷⁴ On Transkei native administration see Southall (1982 88-98), Rogers (1933 43-75), Laurence (1976 22-25) and Carter/Karis/Stultz (1967.77) From 1894 to 1931 the annexed areas were incorporated and administered by the Transkeian Territories General Council or Bunga chaired by white officials. Transformed into the United Transkeian Territories General Council in 1931, it became the major official platform for self-expression until it was transformed into the Transkeian Territorial Authority under the Bantu Authorities Act of 1956. The essential feature of the new system was to reconstitute the power of chiefs. In 1976 the black political elite under the leadership of Kaiser Matanzima accepted 'independence'. See Southall (1982), Hammond-Tooke (1975), Streek/Wicksteed (1981), Laurence (1976), Stultz (1980) and Carter/Karis/Stultz (1967) for a political history of the Transkei.

⁷⁵ De Kiewiet (1972 199).

⁷⁶ The system of law governing the Cape Colony was the Roman-Dutch law modified by legislation. For the modification and application of customary law in southern Africa see Bennett (1980,1991), Bekker (1993), Sanders (1987), Suttner (1987) and Gordon (1989).

⁷⁷ This policy continued until the passing of the Native Administration Act of 1927.

of Regulations, which for the present, would leave such of their customary laws as are not opposed to the universal principles of morality and humanity, subsequently unaltered."⁷⁸

In the process of identifying and applying customary laws alterations did take place. First of all, the Transkeian Territories Appeal Court under the presidency of the Chief Magistrate reduced the unwritten customary laws to a written form. Furthermore, the Court felt free to introduce whatever changes in the customary laws were deemed necessary to serve the consolidation of the new colonial order. Essentially, the introduction of new legal instruments and institutions, including the location and council system in the Colony, can all be seen to be elements of what came to be known as the tribal system. Previously autonomous chiefdoms were redefined as political tribal entities and 'fixed' within newly defined territorial boundaries. Social forms of organisation rooted in the pre-colonial past were superseded by those of the colonial state and were remoulded to constitute a tribe. Central to the concept of the tribe was the stripping of chiefs of autonomous exercise of their coercive powers. Exercise of such power became subject to the dominant colonial order.

With the passing of the Native Administration Act of 1927 chiefs were held responsible for enforcing the internal cohesion of the tribal entities to which the colonising power assigned them. Tribes were conceived of as primordial, homogeneous political units with specified boundaries, and not as heterogeneous entities with shifting geographical and political boundaries, characteristic for pre-colonial autonomous chiefdoms. By its very nature this political transformation called for manipulation of power and authority.

The concept of the bounded and homogeneous tribe came to be presented in the literature since the second half of the nineteenth century as though tribal organisation were brought about by the adherents of the tribe itself and not a form of organisation that was essentially the result of colonial subjugation. In essence the transformation of pre-colonial forms of political organisation and the introduction of the tribal system constituted the first steps to modernise and accommodate elements of per-modern and pre-colonial forms of social organisation within a modern state. It was not initiated by the black population itself, but essentially by the dominant political forces within the colonial state. Boundaries of locations and tribal areas created in the eastern Cape and the Transkei between the 1870s and the turn of the century remained largely unchanged until the 1970s.

While annexation was proceeding, the white population, composed of traders, missionaries, colonial administrators and farmers, grew rapidly. The introduction of a capitalist market economy transformed society, and new opportunities were seized by some while resisted by others. The black population, however, as a whole was set apart and increasingly excluded from political participation and free access to the market economy. While in Europe at the time nationalism was serving as an ideology to homogenise and unite as well as democratise its peoples within nation-states, Britain and other European states were enforcing a policy of fragmentation and marginalisation in their colonial peripheries. Leroy Vail has argued that the

"[c]ommunication between the European administrator and subordinate Africans was distinctly tribal in its tone and content. Africans were talked to in terms deemed suitable, and these terms were ethnic."⁷⁹

⁷⁸ Report of the Native Laws and Customs Commission (Barry Commission), quoted in Parry (1983:382)

A general historical reconstruction of all of South Africa's ethnic and linguistic groups and the various social forces involved will not be attempted. It is rather the role of missionaries in the construction of language and ethnic groups that is of interest. How important the process of reducing unwritten languages to written forms and the creation of written histories has been in the articulation of a nationalist or ethnic identity has been the central theme of various academic publications.⁸⁰ In the African context, attention has been drawn to the key role European missionaries and their black converts played in reducing unwritten African languages to writing thereby creating formal orthographies and regular grammars.⁸¹ Missionaries learned the local vernacular and created printed material in order to communicate in the language spoken among the people with whom they worked. Translating the Bible into the vernacular was a prerequisite for the spreading of the Gospel, the basis of their civilising mission. Missionaries adhered to the dictum that 'languages are a pedigree of nations'. It was the missionary who had the skill to reduce unwritten language to a written form, "thereby delivering the pedigrees that the new 'tribes' required for acceptance".⁸² By creating written languages, missionaries became instrumentals of furthering unity while at the same time producing division by establishing firm boundaries. The missionaries assumed that all blacks belonged to 'tribes', but once converted to Christianity, they could become modernised as 'nations'. The translation of the Bible and publication of religious texts, followed by written 'tribal' - 'national' - histories ensured educational materials becoming essential. The first to be influenced thereby were the mission-educated blacks. They then themselves, having adopted the mission ideology, gave meaning to and transformed cultural identities through their practice. Language was thus used to consolidate the ideology that saw groups of previously autonomous chiefdoms as homogenised cultural and ethnic groups or nations.

In order to explain the effects the 'civilising mission' had on the black population an analysis of the interaction between European missionaries and 'their' black converts in the colonial context four distinct areas of mission activity are presented.

An analysis of the activities of missionaries in South Africa is also essential for understanding the emergence of the discipline of social anthropology, especially since the linguistic and ethnographic work of missionaries in the nineteenth century influenced not only the emergence of social anthropology in Europe, but also in South Africa. In southern Africa the most important contribution of missionaries to social science lay in their role as cultural agents in the process of creating a colonial order. Particularly important were their efforts of transforming oral languages into a written code, thereby contributing to the creation of clearly defined Bantu language units, which served as a means of classifying people. Additionally, their ethnographic writings constituted the foundation for the establishment of the academic discipline of social anthropology at universities. Their ethnographic writings provided a specialised vocabulary, defined the field of study and some of its essential organi-

⁷⁹ Vail (1989: 13). Such political fragmentation and differentiation lay at the core of South Africa's homeland policy, the cornerstone of Apartheid.

⁸⁰ See especially Anderson (1990) and Vail (1989).

⁸¹ See Gérard (1971), Vail (1989), Ranger (1989), Etherington (1978, 1983), Williams (1978), Peires (1979a), Comaroff/Comaroff (1991) and Davis (1969).

⁸² Vail (1989: 11).

sing concepts and set the moral parameters of discourse on which anthropology was to be based.⁸³

3. Southern Africa, an 'unbounded' mission field

The mission work of British mission societies in the eighteenth century expanded hand in hand with the expansion of Britain's global influence. The first British initiative to establish mission institutions abroad did not come from the Anglican Church but was rather a joint effort by Nonconformists and dissenters, who, faithful to John Wesley's ideas, founded the London Missionary Society (LMS) in 1795.⁸⁴ This was followed by the Church Missionary Society (CMS) of the Anglican Church in 1799; the British and Foreign Bible Society in 1804; and the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society (WMMS) in 1813. The LMS was organised across denominational lines "promoting the great work of introducing the Gospel and its ordinances to heathen and other unenlightened countries". As a joint movement of Nonconformists, it consisted of "evangelical ministers and lay brethren of all denominations".⁸⁵

Following disputes among the various denominations of Nonconformists united in the LMS, and the withdrawal of the Presbyterians and Episcopalians, its directors met on 9 May 1796 to clarify the direction the Society was to take. They adopted what has since become known as the fundamental principles of the LMS.

"As a union of God's People of various Denominations, in carrying on this great Work, is a desirable Object, so, to prevent, if possible, any cause of future dissension, it is declared to be a fundamental principle of the Missionary Society, that our design is not to send Presbyterianism, Independency, Episcopacy, or any other form of Church Order and Government (about which there might be differences of opinion among serious Persons), but the Glorious Gospel of the blessed God to the Heathen: and that it shall be left (as it ever ought to be left) to the minds of the Persons whom God may call into the fellowship of His Son from among them to assume for themselves such form of Church Government, as to them shall appear most agreeable to the word of God"⁸⁶

In 1798 the LMS sent the first missionaries to the Cape Colony. Leading the mission was the Dutchman Johannes van der Kemp (1748-1811), a former army officer and trained medical doctor, accompanied by two English artisans and a divinity student from Utrecht. It was expected of van der Kemp to identify a suitable area of activity. He decided to move to a then remote and turbulent region outside the colonial border close to the Tyhume and Keiskamma River. He arrived at chief Ngqika's residence on 20 September 1799 and expressed his intention of preaching the Gospel and establishing a mission station nearby.⁸⁷ However, tensions

⁸³ See Thornton (1983 502-503)

⁸⁴ The founding of the LMS was followed by the founding of the Nederlandsch Zending Genootschap - Netherlands Missionary Society (NMS) - in 1797. Until 1810 the NMS offered assistance to the LMS in terms of manpower and cash. As a result of this co-operation, Dr Johannes van der Kemp was sent to the Cape (Mostert 1992 286-289, Enklaar 1988 69ff)

⁸⁵ Lovett (1899, I 15)

⁸⁶ Quoted in Lovett (1899, I 49-50)

⁸⁷ Van der Kemp was accompanied by his Dutch colleague Johannes Jacobus Kicherer while the two English colleagues, John Edmonds and William Edwards, travelled north to establish the first mission station among the 'Bushmen' (San), although with little success (du Plessis 1965 103-105, Lovett 1899, I 481-517)

and conflict between the colonial government, burghers,⁸⁸ trekboers, Khoi and the various chiefdoms on the eastern frontier leading to the Third Frontier War (1799-1803) made it impossible for van der Kemp to establish a permanent mission among Ngqika's people at that time. The fertile grazing area between the Sundays and Fish River, had been a troublesome region ever since the First Frontier War. Although a zone of trade, it was also an area of competition and conflict between newcomers to the area and the existing autonomous chiefdoms. Instead, van der Kemp, along with his colleague James Read, established the Bethelsdorp mission station (near present Port Elizabeth) in 1802, attracting Khoi and people of 'mixed' descent - Coloureds - to settle on land allocated to the LMS.⁸⁹

By the late eighteenth century the eastern frontier region had become an area of tension and conflict between white newcomers, Khoi (Coloureds) and black chiefdoms. It became at the same time a significant site for the emergence of mission work in southern Africa. Having failed in his attempt to establish permanent mission stations beyond the official eastern border of the Cape Colony, Joseph Williams (1816-1818), a LMS missionary, set out from Bethelsdorp in 1816 to establish the first mission station near the military base of Fort Beaufort and in the neighbourhood of Maqoma's residence, in what was then called Kaffirland. Williams died after two years. His work was soon resumed, not only by the LMS, but by a number of German and British mission agencies as well. In due course the LMS expanded its work beyond the Cape Colony's eastern border establishing a series of missions at Knapp's Hope under the supervision of Frederick Gottlieb Kayser, at Kat River under James Read (among Khoi), and another near Fort Beaufort under Richard Birt, who later moved to Peelton near King William's Town.⁹⁰

One of the most influential missionaries on the eastern frontier was John Brownlee, a Scotsman, who agreed at first to work for the LMS, then left the Society to become a missionary agent salaried by the colonial government (in 1818). Brownlee did not hold the position as government missionary for long and resumed his position with the Society in 1825.⁹¹

Missionaries were appointed by government officials to reside among the 'kafirs' in order to facilitate communication with the black population and to assure the presence of intermediaries at the residence of chiefs acting on behalf of the colonial government. While John Philip saw the danger of government missionaries "sinking into political agents, and of per-

⁸⁸ For the burgher revolts against central government between 1795 and 1815 and the rise of the Cape patriot movement after 1780 see Giliomee (1984a)

⁸⁹ The first attempt to start missionary activity amongst the Khoi had been undertaken by the German Moravian missionary Georg Schmidt. He set up a mission station in the hinterland of the Dutch settlement at Cape Town, at Baviaanskloof, in 1737. Hostilities on the part of the Cape burghers forced him to abandon the mission and return to Europe in 1744. The Moravians returned to the Cape in 1792, re-building the station at Baviaanskloof, renamed Genadendal in 1805, and expanding their mission work to and beyond the eastern frontier. For a history of the Moravian Church in South Africa see Kruger (1966) and Kruger/Schaberg (1984)

⁹⁰ The fifteen stations superintended by LMS agents in 1818 were Bethelsdorp (1802), Griqua Town (1802), Stellenbosch (1802), Tulbagh, Bethesda (1808), Caledon Institution (1811), Hooge Kraal (1813), Theopilus (1814), Thornberg/Grace Hill (1814), Bethany, Peace Mountain (1815), Kaffraria (1816), Hephzibah (1816), Lattakoo (1817), and Cape Town (Lovett 1899, I 107, 536-538, du Plessis 1965:141)

⁹¹ Macmillan (1968:94) and Lovett (1899, I 567). After resuming work for the LMS, Brownlee founded a station at a site which is now King William's Town (du Plessis 1965:248)

haps acting the politicians so far as to endanger their expulsion from the sphere of their labours",⁹² he was prepared to compromise and suggested sending one or two missionaries to serve the government. He was fully aware that missionary expansion was intimately linked with colonial expansion, as he wrote in *Researches in South Africa*:

"While our missionaries beyond the borders of the colony of the Cape of Good Hope are everywhere scattering the seeds of civilization, social order and happiness, they are by the most unexceptional means, extending British influence and the British empire. Wherever the missionary places his standard among a savage tribe, their prejudice against colonial government give way, their dependence upon the colony is increased by the creation of artificial wants, so confidence is restored, intercourse with the colony is established, industry, trade and agriculture spring up; and every genuine convert among them made to Christian religion becomes the ally and friend of the colonial Government."⁹³

During his service as government missionary, John Brownlee travelled throughout the territories of the chiefs Ngqika, Ndlambe, Gqunukhwebe, and Gcaleka to gather information. In addition to writing a report about his journey he sent a rough sketch map to the Cape Government identifying chiefs and their territorial claims.⁹⁴ In 1821 Brownlee aided the first missionaries - William Ritchie Thomson and John Bennie - of the Glasgow Missionary Society (GMS) who came to the Ceded Territory to establish their first station, the Tyhume Mission Station. It was located along the Mgwali, a tributary of the Tyhume River, not far from Ngqika's residence.⁹⁵

Shortly after their arrival the two missionaries opened a school attracting fifty pupils. The baptism of black converts commenced at Tyhume in 1823. At the end of the year another missionary, Reverend John Ross, arrived bringing with him a printing-press. In 1824 the team split up. Bennie and Ross lay the foundation for a second mission station 13 kilometres from Tyhume, named Lovedale.⁹⁶ The mission station rapidly grew and became the most important educational centre for blacks. GMS's policy of 'civilisation as a means of Christianisation' was realised in the Lovedale institution. With the arrival of reinforcements two more mission stations were created, at Pirie and Burnshill, respectively. At the new

⁹² Quoted in Macmillan (1968 126)

⁹³ Philip (1828 ix-x)

⁹⁴ See Bergh/Visagie (1985 20-21) for a reconstruction of his route and the location of chiefdoms as mapped by Brownlee

⁹⁵ The Reverend William Ritchie Thomson came to the Ceded Territory as a government agent and missionary John Bennie was a lay missionary Tyhume Mission Station - also called Gwali or Mgwali Mission - was situated 16 kilometres from the present site of Lovedale and abandoned in 1851

⁹⁶ The mission was named Lovedale in 1826 in honour of Dr Love, the general secretary of the GMS who had died the previous year. Lovedale was destroyed in the Sixth Frontier War (1834-1835) and rebuilt in 1841 at a site nearby. In the same year Dr. William Govan arrived at Lovedale as the first principal of the Lovedale Seminar, which became the most important educational centre for blacks in the region and in South Africa. In the 1850s, during Grey's governorship of the Cape Colony, government grants were available to missions in order to further the education of blacks. In 1861 Lovedale started a printing and book department, a retail and wholesale bookstore, and started publishing South Africa's oldest continuous mission journal. The journal was the Kaffir Express (October 1870 - December 1875), renamed the Christian Express (January 1876 - December 1921) and finally named South African Outlook in January 1921. In 1916 the South African Native College (Fort Hare) was established, the combined effort of Presbyterians, Methodists and Anglicans, specifically set up to provide a university education for blacks and to train theological students. At Fort Hare the first black student received his Bachelor of Arts in 1924. About fifty per cent of the African Nationalist Congress leadership in the 1940s and 1950s had studied at Fort Hare and Lovedale.

stations black converts of the earlier mission stations served as assistants, catechists and teachers.

3.1. The coming of the Wesleyan Methodist Mission

When the first Methodist missionary, John McKenny, was appointed to the Cape in 1814, he discovered that the Anglican Church claimed to be the official church of the Cape Colony. Alongside it, the Dutch Reformed Church ministered mainly to the Boers.⁹⁷ After failing to reach an agreement with the Anglican Church and the governor at the Cape, McKenny proceeded to Ceylon. It was up to his successor, Reverend Barnabas Shaw, who reached the Cape in April 1816, to institute the Methodist mission.

When Shaw arrived, he was confronted with white civilians and military personnel who had misgivings about missionaries. Missionaries, they believed, were instigators who fomented resistance among the Khoi and slaves. In the face of such hostility the Wesleyan Methodists decided to concentrate their hopes and energies beyond the Colony's border. Following the paths of previous missionaries, they travelled northward and to the eastern frontier, seeking sites for their mission stations. While Barnabas Shaw worked for ten years at the Methodist station Leliefontein in Namaqualand, another colleague, William Shaw established the Wesleyan Methodist mission in the eastern Cape.

A group of British immigrants from the Street Chapel of the Wesleyan Methodists in London came to the Cape accompanied by their chaplain the Reverend William Shaw (1798-1872). Once they arrived at their destination in the eastern Zuurveld, they built under the guidance of Shaw a village named Salem (some 40 km south of Grahamstown). Within a few years several chapels were built in the area. Shaw not only ministered to his group of settlers, but also to the military stationed at the garrison of Grahamstown. He conducted services for members of all denominations including separate services in Dutch for the members of the Dutch Reformed Church in his vicinity.

Shaw's work entailed two responsibilities: He had to serve the white settlers as chaplain and initiate missionary work among blacks. Keen to commence work among the blacks, he wrote:

"From the time when I received my appointment to Southern Africa, as Chaplain or Minister to a party of British settlers, my mind was filled with the idea that Divine Providence designed, after I had accomplished some preparatory work among the settlers who were located on the border of Kaffraria, that I should proceed beyond the boundaries, and establish a Wesleyan Mission among the Kaffirs. Hence I resolved not to be disobedient to the heavenly call; but while steadily pursuing the work of the day, my eye was constantly fixed on Kaffraria, as a great field for future Missions."⁹⁸

In 1823, William Shaw established a station among the Gqunukhwebe and named it Wesleyville. Shaw, accompanied by his wife and the artisan and assistant missionary John Shepstone, was cordially received by chief Phato, whom Shaw described as not being a 'pure' Xhosa. In his correspondence with the Wesleyan Methodist Society - in 1828 - Shaw showed himself to be wary about his first success in establishing a mission among the blacks. Phato, he wrote,

⁹⁷ For the Wesleyan Methodist Mission in South Africa see du Plessis (1965:165-181,294-302) and Hofmeyr/Pillay (1994:59-67).

⁹⁸ Quoted in Davies/Shepherd (1954:109).

"greatly values our mission because it proves a civil and political benefit to himself and his people and I believe he would greatly deprecate the breaking up of the Mission, but I fear he hates the Gospel."⁹⁹

Under Shaw's supervision a chain of six mission stations from Wesleyville to Natal were built. He thus laid the foundations for the advancement of Methodism in the eastern Cape, a region which came to be regarded as the heartland of South African Methodism. While William Shaw's task was to minister to both the Colony's white population as well as the newly founded black congregations, the missionaries arriving thereafter were entrusted with the duty of working either among the white or black population. This set in motion a process that resulted in segregated congregations being increasingly ministered to separately.

Some 65 kilometres to the east of Wesleyville among Ndlambe's people lay Mount Coke, the second station Shaw established (1825) in his chain of stations. It was entrusted to Stephan Kay. The third station, named Butterworth, was built beyond the Kei River among the Gcaleka in 1827. During conflicts between the Gcaleka paramount chief Hintsa and neighbouring chiefdoms and the war with colonial troops, the mission station at Butterworth was laid to ruins three times. While the Gcaleka were slow to receive the Gospel, the Mfengu were far more responsive to missionary conversion. This led to John Ayliff at Butterworth siding with the Mfengu and persuading them to desert their Gcaleka Xhosa patrons early in 1835. As a result the Mfengu came increasingly under attack from Xhosa chiefs. Confronted with these hostilities, the Wesleyan missionary Ayliff assigned to himself the role of being the protector of the Mfengu and their spiritual advisor and teacher. In an attempt to counter the attacks of Hintsa against his mission station and the Mfengu, Ayliff approached the governor for protection, offering an alliance with the Mfengu. He asked that they be treated as British subjects.¹⁰⁰ As tensions increased between various chiefdoms as well as between blacks and whites, mission stations became places of refuge, especially for the Mfengu, as well as for others who had converted to Christianity and had settled on mission land.

The alliance between the Mfengu and colonial troops in the war against Xhosa chiefdoms set in motion events that were to be of great significance to developments in the region. First of all, the alliance led to separate treatment of the Mfengu, laying the foundation for the emergence of a Mfengu identity distinct from that of the Xhosa. In time, the Mfengu were rewarded for their co-operative response to the Colony Government and missionaries. In subsequent years, as

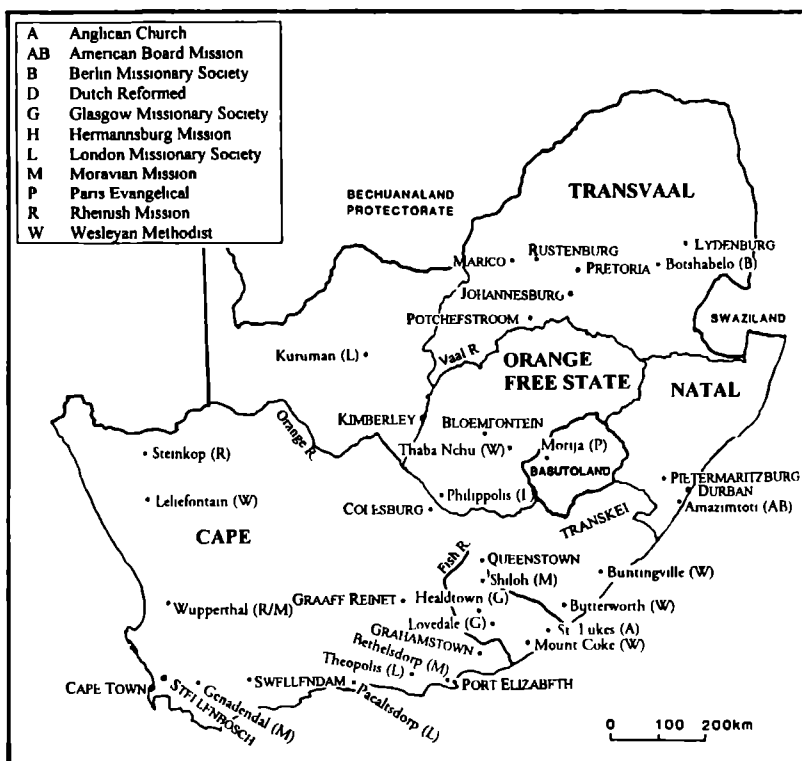
"the better-educated and more European oriented group, they naturally secured the bulk of elite positions as clerks, teachers, peasants and petty traders that were available to blacks in an elective system based on merit and achievement, as opposed to the pre-colonial Xhosa pattern of strong hereditary chiefs. They viewed themselves as the bearers of a great Christian Civilization, and tended to regard the Rharhabe and other Xhosa as backward and uncivilized. The Rharhabe, for their part, resented Mfengu predominance in the professions and salaried posts, their hold on the headmanships and other organs of local political authority, and their control over land which had formerly belonged to the Xhosa."¹⁰¹

⁹⁹ Letter of William Shaw to the Secretary of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, 4 February 1828 quoted in Williams (1978: 5)

¹⁰⁰ Mostert (1992: 697-699)

¹⁰¹ Anonymous (1989: 398)

The fourth Methodist mission station was that of Morley (1829) near the residence of a Mpondo chief. Then came the Clarkebury Mission (1830) among the Thembu, followed by Buntingville (1830) - founded by William Boyce - among the Mpondo under the paramount chief Faku. Other pioneer mission stations established by the Methodists between the Keiskamma and Fish Rivers included Newtondale and Peddie in the southern part of the Ceded Territory, Lesseyton near Queenstown, and Healdtown near Fort Beaufort. Offering educational and industrial training, the Healdtown mission station was to become the centrepiece of Methodism.



Map E. Some mission stations in 19th century South Africa

After the 1820s Methodists found themselves no more alone. Many more other denominations, such as the Moravian Mission and the Berlin Mission,¹⁰² began work in the eastern Cape. Some time elapsed before the Anglican Church¹⁰³ extended its work to the eastern front-

¹⁰² Donovan Williams presents a profile of 28 male missionaries who worked at the eastern frontier between 1799 and 1853. All the Presbyterians and most of the LMS missionaries had some university training, but the Methodists - and they were in the majority - had little postprimary education. Most of their missionaries came from the lower middle-class. Personal idiosyncrasies, argued Williams, lack of conviction, emotional instability, and mental stress 'blunted the missionary thrust' in the eastern Cape during this period (Williams 1989: 33).

¹⁰³ Lewis/Edwards (1934: 235-302, 531-572)

tier. St. Luke's was established in 1854, 50 kilometres east of King William's Town, in the same year as Sir George Grey took up office as governor of the Cape.

Mission stations scattered throughout the country introduced a completely new type of community to southern Africa. People were grouped together under the authority of a missionary with little consideration of or reference to kinship relationships. This differed from the chiefdoms, whose power structures were based on kinship obligations. In the mission stations the power structure had the effect of destroying the ritual and ceremonial bonds to which the people had been accustomed to before coming into the mission structures.

Even in terms of appearance, the mission station was more like a European village, as one missionary commented on the Lovedale Mission: "If you except the black faces, a stranger would almost think he had dropped into a Scotch village."¹⁰⁴ Monica Wilson argued that missionaries

"and others of the last century had a Victorian preoccupation with clothes, and still more culture-bound preoccupation with squareness as opposed to roundness in building. Square houses were regarded as a mark of civilization."¹⁰⁵

4. Building a nation from words: missionaries and the creation of Xhosa

Spreading the Gospel involved the learning of new languages, translating and printing the Bible and religious and educational materials in an attempt to teach converts Christian ethics and values. This was a preoccupation of practically every mission agent. Hence there began a period of intensive monographic study of the Bantu languages in the 1830s until the turn of the century, a period in which the missionaries did almost all of the recording and linguistic research. The recording of the local Bantu languages, undertaking grammatical analysis, creating an orthography and making translations all went hand in hand for the main purposes of translating the Bible and conversion.

The most influential among the missionaries in producing a written Xhosa¹⁰⁶ language were John Bennie of the GMS at Lovedale and the Wesleyan Methodists William Boyce and John W. Appleyard.¹⁰⁷ Decisive in the development of written Xhosa as it is known today is the fact that John Bennie commenced his language work at Lovedale, located in an area occupied by the Ngqika Xhosa. The language which Bennie learnt from his black informants was that spoken by Ngqika and his people. Bennie termed it 'Kafir language'. He commenced his language work by composing a word list and an elementary grammar jointly with Ross, Thomson and Brownlee for basic use by missionaries and other newcomers to the area. In November 1824 Bennie reported to his presbytery that he intended to compile an extended and systematic vocabulary of the 'Kafir language'. In 1826 there appeared *A Systematic*

¹⁰⁴ Glasgow Missionary Society Report, 1827, quoted in Shepherd (1940:67).

¹⁰⁵ Wilson (1976:41).

¹⁰⁶ The word Xhosa was not used in the early years of language study, rather the term Kaffir/Kafir.

¹⁰⁷ The way how missionaries transformed oral languages into a written code still awaits systematic research. This includes the process of constructing the Xhosa language. On the work of John Bennie (1795-1869) see Doke (1959:7-8), du Plessis (1965:184) and Godfrey (1934); on William Boyce (1803-1889) see du Plessis (1965:174, 431-2), Doke (1959:8-9); and on Appleyard (1814-1874) see Doke (1958:86, 1959:12-14).

Vocabulary of the Kaffrarian Language in Two Parts, to which is Prefixed an Introduction to Kaffrarian Grammar published by the Glasgow Mission Press at Lovedale.¹⁰⁸ The printing-press set up by Ross was essential for the creation of a written language. As no other mission station had a press, a whole range of devotional and educational literature based on the language spoken locally by the Ngqika was produced for all missionaries in the region.

Bennie who became known as 'the father of Kafir language',¹⁰⁹ acquired an understanding of the basic grammatical structures of Xhosa. He understood the importance of the noun prefix in determining the prefixes of related adjectives and verbs and was the first to use the term 'class' in connection with nouns. His classes originally numbered fourteen.

Once the language appeared in the written form, it was the language spoken by the Ngqika Xhosa that came to be used by missionaries in areas where other 'dialects' were spoken. Due to its adoption by missionaries as the basis of their work, the Ngqika 'dialect' spread with the expansion of the mission field as far afield as Buntingville and was gradually transformed from a local dialect into a *lingua franca*. "The labors of early missionaries", wrote Jeff Peires, "had enshrined the Ngqika dialect of Xhosa - that spoken around Lovedale - as the undisputed ideal of linguistic rectitude".¹¹⁰ Missionaries used publications from Lovedale to master the 'Kafir language' and in turn to instruct black converts in the reading and writing of religious literature and hymnals.

John Bennie translated parts of the Bible into Xhosa, but his work remained only a manuscript. The first published Xhosa version of the scriptures was Luke's Gospel, accomplished by two Wesleyan Methodist missionaries, William Boyce and Barnabas Shaw in 1833, and printed at Grahamstown. As a result of a joint effort on the part of a number of Methodist missionaries, a translation of the New Testament was completed in 1838 and published in 1846.

William Boyce, who arrived in the Cape in 1830, served at Buntingville, Mount Coke,¹¹¹ Wesleyville and Grahamstown consecutively until 1843 when he returned to Britain. He also concentrated on language studies, making use of existing materials from Lovedale. Boyce's main and lasting contribution to the study of the 'Kafir language' lay in his identifying the euphonic concord as the basic principle governing all Bantu languages. Boyce showed that in a sentence the noun was the governing element, and that all other parts of speech were thrown into an euphonic (alliterative) concord with the governing noun, causing a frequent repetition of the same letter - prefix with which many words in a sentence began.¹¹² Boyce's *Grammar of the Kafir Language* was printed 1834 in Grahamstown.

A second language pioneer among the Wesleyan Methodists was John Appleyard. He had arrived in the Cape in 1839, and after working in Port Elizabeth went to Salem and then on to Mount Coke. The mission station at Mount Coke was equipped with a printing press, enabling Appleyard to publish religious materials, notably a hymnal book and his version of the 'Kafir Bible' which he finalised - assisted by Johann Albert Kropf¹¹³ of the Berlin Mission

¹⁰⁸ Godfrey (1934:123-124)

¹⁰⁹ Godfrey (1934:123)

¹¹⁰ Peires (1979a:160).

¹¹¹ The Mount Coke station bordered Ndlambe and Ngqika Xhosa territory.

¹¹² Doke (1959:8).

¹¹³ Johann Albert Kropf (1822-1910) came to the Cape in 1845 and worked for the Berlin Mission at its station in Bethel - at the foot of the Amatola Mountains - which had been founded in 1835. With the shifting of the boundary as

and Moravian Brethren - in 1859.¹¹⁴ In 1850 he produced *The Kafir Language Comprising a Sketch of its History; Remarks upon its Nature and a Grammar*, an important publication for several reasons. First of all, the 330 pages devoted to the grammatical study of Xhosa was the most complete of its time, and secondly, it gave for the first time an overview of the classification of languages, making it a pioneer work of comparative philology. Appleyard classified the 'South African dialects' into two types: the 'click class' and the 'alliteral class'. The former comprised two 'families': 'Hottentot' and 'Bushmen', the latter - known as Bantu - was divided by Appleyard into four families: 'Congo, Damara, Sechuana and Kafir'. He further subdivided 'the Kafir family' into (1) 'the Kafir branch' spoken by the 'Amaxosa or Kafir proper', (2) 'the Zulu branch' and (3) 'the Fingoe branch', including among others the 'Amafengu' and 'Amabaca' as well as the 'Matabele' and 'Amaswazi'.¹¹⁵

The creation of written languages was founded on a European theory of grammar, according to which languages are constructed into 'families'. Such constructions were rooted in conceptualising supra-tribal entities. Hence, the creation of a written Xhosa language and the translation of the Bible were only the beginnings of missionaries' efforts to cope with and understand the foreign customs and ways of life of the black population. Understanding black society was essential to the missionaries' attempts to transform that society. They published detailed descriptions of the people among whom they worked, wrote on 'Kafir life', customs and traditions. The missionaries' ethnographic descriptions as a form of textual representation, argued Robert Thornton,

"contributed to the development of the ethnographic monograph by helping to provide a specialised vocabulary, by defining both the 'field' of study and some of its essential organising concepts (such as 'tribe' and 'language'), and by setting the moral parameters of the discourse"¹¹⁶

As Thornton observed, 'tribe' and 'language' were the most central organising concepts and had important bearings on the definition of the parameters of study. 'Tribe' and 'nation' were conceptualised as natural units of society. The 'existence' or the identity of a people

"depended, for most European readers, on the existence or non-existence of something written about them, or something written in their language (for example, a translation of part of the Bible) Thus, current classifications of African languages were (and still are) taken to be classifications of African peoples, when in fact, they can only be classifications or (largely) mission produced lexicographical texts."

Linguistic identity is to some extent created and legitimated through the linguistic text.

"This was, in part, the conscious intent of the missionary linguistics who intended to give African peoples just such an identity through literature in and about their language."¹¹⁷

white settlers penetrated further eastward, the area where Kropf worked was wrested from autonomous chiefdoms (the Ngqika chief Sandile) in 1935, was first named Queen of Adelaide Province, then, after the frontier war in 1847 incorporated into British Kaffraria. Kropf was an eye-witness to the cattle-killing disaster. The significance of Kropf's life work lies in his contribution to the anthropological and linguistic discourse of the nineteenth century. Besides working on the translation of the Bible (1887-1889) and *A Kafir-English Dictionary* (1899), he wrote an anthropological study titled *Das Volk der Xosa-Kaffern* (1899a) (Pakendorf 1992)

¹¹⁴ Revisions of the Xhosa Bible appeared in 1889. With the standardisation of Xhosa orthography in 1935, a new version of the Xhosa Bible was written in the same year (Doke 1958 86-87)

¹¹⁵ Appleyard (1850 36-43). See also Doke (1959 12)

¹¹⁶ Thornton (1983 503)

¹¹⁷ Thornton (1983 507)

Besides publishing their own writings, missionaries also encouraged 'their' educated converts to write on more general topics in an effort to create 'good literature' for the 'Kafirs'. Thus, the mission station at Lovedale with its printing facilities was turned 'into the cradle of modern Xhosa literature'.¹¹⁸ Fables, folklore, praise-poems, proverbs, biographies and histories of the 'Xhosa nation' as well as journalistic writings on political developments were poured out. By taking up the challenge, the converts and educated blacks accepted and internalised the European and Christian images of Africa, the past and the present. During the first century of written Xhosa literature, most mission-educated writers came from a small area between Healdtown, King William's Town, Peelson, and Keiskammahoek, formerly Ngqika territory. This geographical concentration reaffirmed the missionary's use of Ngqika Xhosa as the basis for written Xhosa.

Initially, in the first missionary texts the newly created written language of the Ngqika Xhosa was termed Kafir language - an anglicised Arabic word meaning 'infidel'. The more the missionaries grew knowledgeable about the people among whom they worked, the more they became familiar with native terms. The adoption of native terms, such as Xhosa, led to the "coining of words to name and classify the various languages and peoples with which ethnography attempted to deal".¹¹⁹ Since the written word was cardinal to the missionary's work, it was only natural for them to adopt one language for the entire eastern Cape mission field. An area extending from the Zuurveld up to the Natal border became the term of reference. Xhosa became the *lingua franca*, overriding the languages or dialects spoken by people of other chiefdoms or 'tribes.'

4.1. Christianity versus 'heathenism'

The work of missionaries was not taking place in a social vacuum. They measured their success in spreading Christianity by the extent to which they could replace African pre-modern world-views with a Christian-European one. Ancestral worship was declared to be heathenism, therefore of a 'lower order' than Christianity, and thereby justifying conversion. This rejection of any other religious beliefs alongside Christianity also entailed rejecting equally existing social and political values and norms. Discouraging practices that were associated with heathenism, as defined by the missionaries, led to the emergence of distinct communities separating the 'saved' from the 'unsaved', the Christian from the heathen.

The mission redefined every stage of the life cycle: birth, initiation into manhood and womanhood, marriage, last rites and burial. Female and male initiation rites, male polygyny, the exchange of women against cattle (*lobola*, dowry), ancestral worship, beer drinking, dancing, open sexual behaviour and nudity - as perceived by the missionaries - medical practices associated with witchcraft, and the use of charms and amulets to ward off evil were rejected as anti-Christian. To enforce compliance with the new moral order, missionaries formulated codes of conduct and any individual living on mission land who violated the code faced expulsion.

¹¹⁸ Gérard (1971:48). For a history of Xhosa literature see Archibald C. Jordan (1973), Daniel P. Kunene and R. Kirsch (1967), Gérard (1971:21-100), L. and D. Schwitzer (1979) on the black press, and Peires (1979a) who revisited the Lovedale Press.

¹¹⁹ Thornton (1983:511).

The rigorous demands of an uncompromising new faith met with resistance. Initial attempts at conversion were disappointing. Even if individuals had undergone lengthy instructions for confirmation, the new converts rarely complied fully with the new moral code. They attempted rather to merge the two world-views that missionaries had found incompatible. Individual converts were also reluctant to break their allegiance to a chief and replace the chiefly authority with the authority of the missionary. Conversion among the first generation of mission-educated blacks, argued Les Switzer, "involved nothing less than a complete break with the old way of life"¹²⁰.

Missionaries came to realise that Christianity, as the basis of a new order, could only really gain ground once the power of chiefs had been broken. They also shared this view with the colonial government.¹²¹ In this sense the creation of a colonial administration that would diminish the power of chiefs and therefore their power over their followers facilitated establishing the missionary's sovereignty. Setting up mission communities outside the sphere of influence of chiefs was an important aspect in transforming the blacks' society.

The initial reaction of chiefs to the missionaries was one of restrained curiosity, combined with opportunism and a desire for material and political benefits. The introduction of the plough and digging of irrigation trenches as a means to increase productivity was undoubtedly attractive, as were the gifts offered to chiefs by the missionaries. As British influence became more pervasive, chiefs hoped that the missionaries would intercede as mediators on behalf of the blacks. Minor chiefs accepted missionaries to improve their status among their own people. In the first decades of mission work, as Donovan Williams has suggested, the political benefits chiefs hoped to gain outweighed by far their desire to convert to Christianity. In later years, as colonial expansion brought increasing hardship on the black population, chiefs openly resisted Christianity in an effort to ward off the erosion of their status and political autonomy by alien values. Williams argued in turn, that the failure of missionaries to live up to the chiefs' expectations forced them to lean even more heavily upon government¹²²

By the 1860s black resistance to conversion had weakened under the continuous pressures of colonial expansion. This smoothed the way for continued mission expansion albeit not every effort was successful. Both the blacks and the colonial government remained sceptical about missionary activities. More and more blacks came to regard missions as an extension of the colonial government. The colonial government in turn was apprehensive about interference from missionaries of humanitarian persuasion. With the dispossession of land and

¹²⁰ Switzer (1993 118)

¹²¹ The view on chiefs varied according to the situation and circumstances from complete rejection to accommodation. A frontier official in East Pondoland for example came to the conclusion "It has once more been made apparent that if South Africa is to become a prosperous country, the tribal system must be destroyed. It is plain that the great object of the chiefs has been to maintain the war spirit in the hearts of the people, and to evoke it when it has suited their purpose. Until chieftainship is a thing of the past our native subjects can never become a peace-loving and industrious people" (G 20-'81, 138 Oxley Oxland, Eastern Pondoland, quoted in Schreuder 1976 293) Other officials preferred a policy that would favour the creation of a collaborative black elite "It is by taking the best parts of the native laws, and on them framing a code of laws for all native districts, that wise legislation will be effected. Every effort should also be made to induce the headmen and people to take an intelligent part in their government, acting as jurors or assessors, a public discussion of all laws affecting their districts (before enactment by the Cape Assembly), etc., so that they can feel that they have some voice in public matters. Then, and only then, are Native Affairs on a safe footing" (Matthew Blyth, Annual Report, quoted in Schreuder 1976 296)

¹²² Williams (1978 4-5,48)

other injustices missionaries were increasingly drawn into political activity. It "quickened missionary zeal to defend the victims of alleged or real colonial oppression".¹²³

4.2. Christianity, commerce and civilisation

The transformation initiated by missionaries did not only involve learning the language, developing an orthography and grammar, translating religious texts, and conversion, but also encouraging economic innovations based on the Christian work ethic and European industrial development. James Stewart, who became the principal of Lovedale in 1870, stated his understanding of the work ethic in unequivocal terms.

"The gospel of work does not save souls, but it saves peoples. It is not a Christian maxim only, that they who do not work should not eat; it is also in the end a law of nature and of nations. Lazy races die or decay. Races that work prosper on earth. The British race in all its greatest branches is noted for its restless activity. Its life's motto is Work! Work! Work! And its deepest contempt is reserved for those who will not thus exert themselves."¹²⁴

Economic development and religious conversion demanded that black society make difficult and radical adjustments including the shift from a community-based identity to the one based on individualism, from extended families to nuclear families, and from the male domain of cattle herding to tilling the soil. Agriculture was placed in male hands, and women, who were formerly the cultivators, still laboured in the fields, but were increasingly confined to the domestic household. Ploughs and wagons, irrigation schemes, the introduction of new crops, villagisation, the construction of squared houses rather than round ones, the concept of a six-day-week with Sunday prayer and contemplation altered the prevailing pre-modern economic system and pattern of work. Economic advancement assumed participation in a capitalist market economy. Individual enterprise, trade, craftsmanship and surplus production on mission land gradually monetarised the mission community. Christianity, commerce and civilisation were inseparable, as the missionary and traveller David Livingstone put it:

"Sending the Gospel to the Heathen includes much more than is implied in the usual picture of a missionary, namely, a man going about with a Bible under his arm. The promotion of commerce ought to be especially attended to, as this, more speedily than anything else, demolishes that sense of isolation which heathenism engenders. My observations make me extremely desirous to promote the preparation of the raw materials of European manufacture in Africa, for by that means we may not only put a stop to the slave-trade, but introduce the negro family into the body of corporate nations... Success in this... would lead, in the course of time, to a much larger diffusion of the blessings of civilization than efforts exclusively spiritual and educational confined to any small tribe. These, however, it would of course be extremely desirable to carry on at the same time at large central and healthy stations, for neither civilization nor Christianity can be promoted alone. In fact they are inseparable."¹²⁵

"The strength of mission enterprise", Les Switzer has maintained,

"stemmed, in part, from the ability to shape the convert's perception of reality in such a way that its authority was legitimated. The missionary's construction of reality was to be accepted as objective

¹²³ Williams (1978: 46)

¹²⁴ Quoted in Trapido (1990: 259)

¹²⁵ Livingstone (1857: 34-5)

reality The Christian community was to be subordinated to a new social order with its framework articulated by the mission.¹²⁶

4.3. Christian mission and education

Christianisation, intertwined with European concepts of economic and social advancement, put the acquiring of new skills to become teachers, traders, craftsmen and farmers working on freehold land at the centre of mission work. Schools had first been built at the missions in an attempt to train better qualified black mission workers to support the work of white missionaries.¹²⁷ The need for staff increased once missions expanded their educational institutions. The educational facilities offered new opportunities for a small group of black converts. As the social anthropologist Monica Wilson put it:

"[M]uch of the real work of evangelization throughout the homesteads turned on the work of men and women - evangelists, teachers, ministers, and ordinary believers, preaching the Word to their own kinsmen and neighbours. Jan Tshatshu, Ntsikana, Tiyo Soga, John Knox Bokwe, Elijah Makiwane, Mpambane Mzumba were leaders in a great company of faithful men and women preaching the good news in the homesteads, gathering children to teach them, training candidates for baptism."¹²⁸

The Lovedale Seminar founded by the Glasgow Missionary Society in July 1841 and the Healdtown Institution opened in 1854 by John Ayliff became the principal training institutions for blacks. They provided primary and secondary education as well as industrial, theological and teachers training programmes.¹²⁹

During Grey's governorship in the Cape, mission schools received regular government grants. The main beneficiaries were Lovedale and boarding schools founded by the Wesleyan Methodists such as Healdtown and Lesseyton. Of most interest to the government was the industrial training. It was motivated by a desire to have blacks supply manual labour. Industrial training, which included agriculture, often involved not more than learning the simple

¹²⁶ Switzer (1993: 117)

¹²⁷ Utilising black mission workers in order to proselytise the black population was termed 'native agency'. See Davis (1969: 194-206)

¹²⁸ Wilson (1976: 42) As a 1928 survey shows, blacks undertook the bulk of evangelistic and pastoral work, in large part because they could do it more effectively than outsiders. There was a clear division of labour: whites, including a small number of blacks from North America, supervised the work of South African black evangelists, nurses and teachers (Elphick 1987: 68)

¹²⁹ Healdtown Theological College ordained the first black ministers of the South African Methodist Church in 1871 (Davis 1979: 16). At about the same time as the Healdtown Institution commenced its theological training programme the Free Church of Scotland began to train black theologians at Lovedale.

Deep divisions within the Church of Scotland in Britain because of disagreement over the voluntary principle versus a state church (non-voluntarism) caused the break-up of the original Glasgow Missionary Society in 1837 and affected missions in the Cape. Missionaries at Lovedale, Burnshill and Pirie retained the connection with the GMS, while Tyhume and Igqibigha associated themselves with the newly formed Glasgow South African Missionary Society (GSAMS). Within the next decade the GMS ceased to be an inter-denominational body and became part of the Free Church of Scotland. The missions of the GSAMS came under the aegis of the United Presbyterian Church, a voluntary church formed in 1847. A split occurred once again with the founding of the Presbyterian Church of Africa (later renamed the Reformed Church of Africa) in 1898 as Pambani Jeremiah Mzumba broke away from the Free Church. In 1900 the Free Church of Scotland and the United Presbyterian Church joined forces to become the United Free Church of Scotland (Hofmeyr/Pillay 1994: 69-70,73)

use of tools and developing work habits appropriate for integrating blacks as manual labour in a modernising capitalist economy. The sociologist Frank Molteno has argued that schooling

"assisted in incorporating into the new order those set loose from the tribal structures of social control in such a way that they could be disciplined and made to serve the interests of the colonists. Grey saw the integration of the African population into the Cape economy in terms of their becoming 'useful servants, consumer of our goods, contributors to our revenue, in short, a source of strength and wealth to the Colony, such as Providence designed them to be'. The schools helped to make 'useful servants' of them by teaching them the basics of their new masters' language and providing them with the limited vocabulary that would be relevant to their role in the colonial order."¹³⁰

As subordinates and not as equals, blacks were integrated economically while being kept 'outside' politically and at a distance socially. Only a few were allowed to go further than the rest to constitute a small educated elite, comprised of preachers and teachers, schooled in the views and ways of their white superiors. They acquired the position of intermediaries between the colonial authorities, white dominated mission institutions and the black population.¹³¹

It was initially the Mfengu who benefited in the eastern Cape most from missionary education because they were the first to respond to Christianity. Nevertheless Christian institutions for higher education and teacher's training, such as Healdtown and Lovedale, attracted people from various parts of the country of heterogeneous cultural, ethnic and religious backgrounds.¹³² Out of the graduates of these institutions emerged a black elite strongly influenced by Christian and European values, transcending the boundaries of denominations, 'tribes' and ethnicity. Detached from the vast majority of the uneducated black population, who increasingly began to associate missionary work with colonial subjugation, and being at the same time outsiders in the dominant white colonial society, the mission-educated blacks came increasingly under pressure.

A person that was shaped by these tensions was that of Tiyo Soga (1829-1871)¹³³ He became the first ordained black minister in the eastern Cape. Soga was a promising pupil at the

¹³⁰ Molteno (1984: 51) In 1863 government grants to black schools were cut by almost half, aid went primarily to schools for the whites. As early as 1839, a Department of Education was established in the Cape Colony. The mission schools were placed formally under its jurisdiction. In was from the 1860s onwards that the government increasingly gained control over black education. In 1894 a sub-department of Native Education under the Superintendent of Education was created (Molteno 1984: 49-94). By 1882, there were 18,427 black pupils enrolled in 375 schools under the supervision of the Cape Department of Education (Davis 1979: 13).

¹³¹ Langham Dale, Superintendent-General of Education in the Cape, from 1859-1892, believed that education at mission schools and in general should not be supported beyond the 'elementary instruction' (primary level) except in the case of teacher training. "I am inclined to assist only in the training of a sufficient number of native teachers to occupy the various school-stations at the kraals. To the educated Kafirs there is no opening either there is no demand for such persons, or prejudice operates against persons of colour being so employed." (Dale quoted in Goedhals 1979: 138). The mission-educated were well aware of the government's intentions, which, in Soga's words, "opposed the elevation of the natives, whom they would fain keep down as men and maid-servants, and do little for them" (quoted in Williams 1978: 42).

¹³² Between 1841 and 1870 only 380 pupils attended the Lovedale School. The numbers increased to almost 1,000 in the next ten years, levelling off at the turn of the century. According to Les Switzer, there were 889 at Lovedale Seminar in 1896, representing - in addition to whites and Coloureds - fourteen black ethnic groups and seven religious denominations (Switzer 1993: 135).

¹³³ For a biography on Tiyo Soga see Williams (1978). Tiyo Soga was born on the eastern frontier of the Cape Colony, at Mgwali in the Tyhume Valley in 1829. His father was a councillor of the paramount chief Ngqika.

Lovedale school and in 1846 he was sent for further schooling to Scotland. After graduating from Glasgow University, Soga was ordained as minister of the United Presbyterian Church in December 1856. He married a Scotswoman and returned to the Cape launching new stations among the Ngqika Xhosa at Mgwali (about 40 km north of King William's Town) and at Thuthura - east of the Kei River among Sarhili's people - where he worked from 1868 until his death in 1871.

One of Soga's greatest achievements was his contribution to Xhosa literature. He was a dedicated translator and writer, unquestionably a pioneer literary figure. His early writings covered devotional, evangelical and educational themes. He translated *Pilgrim's Progress* published under the title *Uhambo Lomhambi* by Lovedale Press in 1867 and was involved in the revision of the Xhosa Bible. He further composed hymns.

Through his privileged position Tiyo Soga brought his influence to bear on government attitudes towards blacks in British Kaffraria. He sought to soften government attitudes and to promote good relations among the various interest groups. Soga, wrote Donovan Williams,

"wanted firm British control to save his people from internecine warfare and allow its stabilizing presence to radiate civilisation and Christianity, so that they [the black population] might be uplifted"¹⁵⁴

He hoped that the blacks would be accepted as equals in an integrated society. His loyalty to the new order brought him in conflict with black resistance. He was not prepared to identify himself with actions that resulted in destructive attacks against mission stations.

The harsh conditions blacks faced in British Kaffraria in the mid-1860s eventually brought about a shift in Tiyo Soga's thinking. He came to argue in favour of territorial and moral integrity for the blacks, thus generating within himself a serious conflict of loyalties which had to be reconciled.¹⁵⁵ Soga's dilemma of being torn between two worlds found expression in his writings which reflected on black consciousness and nationalism. Interpolating his European education with his identification with the fate of the fellow blacks he used the western concept of nation in an attempt to foster national identity and unity among blacks against white territorial and cultural encroachment. To legitimise the existence of a black nation, Soga sought to reconstruct the past, perceiving previously autonomous chiefdoms as merely parts of a national unit. Soga's writings on black nationalism are probably the first expressions of the first generation of mission-educated blacks revealing a search for an identity that went beyond forging an identity based on loyalty to a chief or within the framework of colonial tribal consciousness.

Soga collected fables, legends, proverbs, and fragments of the custom and history of his people, the Xhosa. With great enthusiasm he sought to preserve their history. In the monthly newspaper *Indaba* (The News), Soga made an emotional appeal to the past, its heroes and their achievements. In an article in its first issue Soga envisaged *Indaba* as

"a beautiful vessel for preserving the stories, fables, legends, customs, anecdotes and history of the tribes. Our veterans of the Xhosa and Embo people must disgorge all they know. Everything must be imparted to the nation as a whole. Fables must be retold, what was history or legends should be recounted. What has been preserved as traditions should be related. Whatever was seen, heard or done under the requirements of custom should be brought to light and placed on the national table

¹⁵⁴ Williams (1978: 35)

¹⁵⁵ Williams (1978: 35)

to be sifted for preservation. Were there not several tribes before? Had we not chiefs in days gone by? Where are the anecdotes of their periods? .. We should revive and bring to light all this great wealth of information. Let us bring to life our ancestors' Ngconde, Togu, Tshwo, Phalo, Rharhabe, Mlawu, Ngqika and Ndlambe. Let us resurrect our ancestral forebears who bequeathed to us a rich heritage. All anecdotes with the life of the nation should be brought to this big corn-pit, our national newspaper Indaba (The News)."¹³⁶

In this article Soga conceived of the Xhosa as constituting a 'people' or 'nation', as being unique, and at the same time as a part of the wider 'family of the Kaffir tribe'. Soga pleaded for the restoration of black dignity, believing that the confrontation between black society and European norms should not necessarily imply subservience to whites and destruction of black society. He disapproved of missionaries who encouraged converts to reject chieftainship. Authority was God-given and demanded respect for chiefs.¹³⁷ Soga also used the Bible to justify the right of blacks to resist colonial intervention and colonisation and claim territorial integrity. Christianity thus provided the vehicle and opportunity for the black mission-educated to express their consciousness of belonging to a supra-tribal community, an ethnic group and nation. In a letter to the editor of the King William's Town Gazette - published on 11 May 1865 - Soga responded to an article by the missionary John Aitken Chalmers who had suggested that the 'Kaffir race' was doomed. Soga vehemently opposed this view by stating:

"I find the family of the Kaffir tribe extending nearly to the equator, along this line I find them taking the north-eastern coast of Africa, the dominant and the governing race, they are all one in language, and are one people - for language is that which decides the difference between one race and another. Now, I venture to say that if this doom includes all these tribes, the process of extinction will be very long indeed."

Soga continued by giving a detailed exposition of his interpretation of the Ham story in the Bible:

"Africa was of God given to the race of Ham. I find the Negro from the days of the old Assyrians downwards, keeping his 'individuality' and 'distinctiveness' amid the wreck of empires, and the revolution of ages. I find him keeping his place among the nations, and keeping his home and country. I find him opposed by nation after nation and driven from his home. I find him enslaved - exposed to all the vices and the brandy of the white man. I find him in this condition for many a day - in the West Indian Island, in Northern and Southern America, and in the South American colonies of Spain and Portugal. I find him exposed to all these disasters, and yet living - multiplying 'and never extinct'. Yea, I find him now as the prevalence of christian and philanthropic opinions on the right of man obtains among civilised nations, returning unmanacled to the land of his forefathers, taking back with him the civilisation and the christianity of these nations (see the Negro Republic of Liberia). I find the negro in the present struggle in America looking forward - though still with chains on his hands and with chains on his feet - yet looking forward to the dawn of a bet-

¹³⁶ Indaba, August 1862, quoted in Williams (1978 98-99). Indaba was published at Lovedale between August 1862 and February 1865. Tiyo Soga's son, John Henderson Soga (1859-1941), followed in his footsteps. He too was educated in Scotland, composed hymns, translated religious texts, collected Xhosa fables and wrote several articles and books dealing with Xhosa history such as *The South-Eastern Bantu* (a translation of *Abe-Nguni*, *Aba-Mbo*, *Ama-Lala* completed in 1926) published in 1930, and *The Ama-Xhosa Life and Customs*, printed at Lovedale in 1932. In his preface to the former, he wrote that his purpose "was to place in the hands of the rising generation of the Bantu something of the history of their people, in the hope that it might help them to a clearer perception of who and what they are and to encourage in them a desire for reading and for studying their language" (Soga 1930 xvii).

¹³⁷ Williams (1978 102).

ter day for himself and all his sable brethren in Africa. Until the Negro is doomed against all history and experience - until his God-given inheritance of Africa be taken finally from him, I shall never believe in the total extinction of his brethren along the northern limits of the land of Ham. The fact that the dark races of this vast continent, amid intestine wars and revolutions, and notwithstanding external spoliation, have remained 'unextinct', have retained their individuality, has baffled historians, and challenges the author of the doom of the Kaffir race to a satisfactory explanation. There has been observed among these races the operation of a singular law, by which events have readjusted themselves when they threatened their destruction. I believe firmly that among the Negro races of South Africa events will follow the same law and that therefore neither the indolence of the Kaffirs, nor their aversion to change, nor the vices of civilization, all of which barriers the gospel must overthrow, shall suffice to exterminate them as a people."¹³⁸

Soga's positive articulation of black consciousness which saw virtue in black society shaped his identity as an educated black person. He belonged to that group of educated Xhosa or modernists, who adapted themselves to the European presence and laid the ground for an emerging black political nationalist movement. Writing to a friend in Britain, Soga described his own identity as a black person:

"I can now tell you from this far-off South Africa, that among my own people I am a Kafir of the Kafirs. To me that fact is a mere straw by the wind; but you Englishmen, lay great stress on such things, and sometimes I see it is of advantage to tell them that socially, although not politically, we too can lay claim to as honourable an ancestry as they can."¹³⁹

5. Zululand: from independence to British rule

Sometime before 1818, in a controversial accession, Shaka kaSenzangakhona took over the chieftainship of the Zulu.¹⁴⁰ In the take-over he was assisted by Dingiswayo, the paramount chief of the Mthethwa, to whom the Zulu were paying tribute. Dingiswayo had succeeded in expanding his influence over various chiefdoms in the region because of social and political innovations he introduced increasing his coercive power over his subjects and neighbouring

¹³⁸ Quoted in Williams (1978 96-97) An entry in his journal prior to publication articulates his standpoint even more clearly "One of our missionaries - wiser than his predecessor, has pronounced in an article in the Native periodical - Indaba - on the doom of my Race - Without disputing his superior sagacity and foresight, I should like to know - for myself - whether in this doom is included the Kaffir races of Tambookies - Mapondos - Mapondomise - Mabomvana - Galekas - Zulus - Maswazi - these races are all pure Kaffir races - one in language and in manner - with but slight differences - If in this doom is included all these races - I venture to say the process of destruction will take a very long time to accomplish its work - The Bible is the only Book whose predicutions to me are law - Africa God has given to Ham and all its descendants - My firm believe (sic) is - that nothing shall ever dispossess them of this inheritance - that God will keep the Kaffir in his Southern portion of it - and that God will so overrule events as always to secure it" (quoted in Williams 1978 95) The story of Ham (Genesis 9 18-27) provided not only Soga with an intellectual framework for interpreting the history of the black people of Africa. The Afrikaners too used it in order to legitimise black subordination. They argued that the blacks, as descendants of Ham, were cursed to be servants to Shem and Japheth

¹³⁹ Quoted in Williams (1978 104)

¹⁴⁰ Publications on the nineteenth century history of south-eastern Africa, Zululand and Natal, are numerous. This brief reconstruction of Zulu history is based on Duminy/Guest (1989), Guy (1979,1982,1990), Gluckman (1969) Brookes/Webb (1987), Etherington (1978,1989), Duminy/Ballard (1988), Welsh (1973), Laband/Thompson (1990), Omer-Cooper (1974) and Bryant (1929,1970) On twentieth century Zulu history and politics see, for example, Marks (1978 1986,1989), Cope (1985,1993) and Maré/Hamilton (1987)

chiefdoms, including the Zulu chiefdom.¹⁴¹ The ensuing altered relations of power within chiefdoms and between chiefdoms brought about new principles of social organisation that transformed southern Africa. The changes included: new methods of surplus appropriation; a new division of labour; new forms of extraction; regional domination of labour and resources by lineage-based military and political leaders; new forms of exploiting the surplus of production; and new forms of distributing wealth as well as trade. These new forms of control over production and reproduction and superior military power enabled a single ruler and a ruling lineage to subjugate lesser authorities. This concentrated political, judicial and religious powers and consolidated a tributary mode of production.

One of Dingiswayo's principal innovations was the transformation of male circumcision schools into compulsory age regiments known as *amabutho*.¹⁴² These organisations of young warriors facilitated territorial expansion and the accumulation of power and wealth into the hands of a ruling elite. The *amabutho* became the very foundation of Dingiswayo's chiefly power and success based on cattle-raiding, tribute gathering, and territorial conquest. This newly obtained military strength enabled Dingiswayo to expand territorially, even to the extent of controlling key long-distance trade routes (e.g., Delagoa Bay).

5.1. Shaka's expansionist policy, the Boers and the British

Around 1818, a two-year long rivalry between the Ndwandwe, under the leadership of Zwide, and the Mthethwa reached a peak when the Ndwandwe defeated their enemy's *amabutho*. Dingiswayo was captured and killed. Shaka took advantage of the resulting political instability and succeeded in forcing the Mthethwa to accept his overlordship. Once Shaka was able to defeat the Ndwandwe and drive them across the Phongolo River, the Zulu lineage became the predominant power in the Phongolo-Thukela region extending control over chiefdoms which formerly had been owing tribute to Zwide.

In the early 1820s a number of chiefdoms south of the Thukela River and in the coastal region became clients of the Zulu paramourcy. By the mid-1820s Shaka's *amabutho* raided resistant areas far to the south including Pondoland (as named by the British). Securing conquered areas depended on Shaka's tight-fisted control over the *amabutho*, political opponents, and subjugated chiefdoms. Many chiefs found themselves incorporated into the lower echelons of Shaka's centralised paramourcy.

These new power relations did not imply the creation of linguistic and cultural homogeneity or the 'Zuluisation' of its subjects, but rather the accommodation of differences as a means to stabilise a social hierarchy. It was only the Zulu ruling lineage that claimed for itself linguistic and cultural conformity. Zulu patterns of speech and behaviour were favoured over

¹⁴¹ Such political transformations have a long history in south central Africa as the examples of early state formation of Mapungubwe (ca 850), Zimbabwe (ca 1150-1450), Munhumutapa (ca 1450 1760) and Buganda reveal. As the coercive power of their rulers waned, these early states or paramount chiefdoms collapsed and autonomous chiefdoms re-emerged. See Sagan (1987), Sinclair (1987), Mudenge (1988), Claessen (1978,1981) and Schmidt (1991). For a definition of the term early state see Claessen (1978: 640).

¹⁴² Singular *ibutho*. Young men were conscripted into *amabutho*, segregated into specially-built homesteads or *amakhanda*, and forbidden to marry without the permission of the paramount chief. Control over manpower, i.e. an army of men, gave Dingiswayo and later the Zulu rulers power which smaller chiefdoms lacked.

non-Zulu ones to reaffirm the Zulu claim to a superior status and to prevent the non-Zulu lineages living in the core of Shaka's territory from contesting Zulu power. Hence Zuluness became an exclusive privilege of the ruling elite.

The next strata in the social hierarchy were chiefs ruling in the core area of Shaka's territory. They were incorporated into the centralised body politic through alignments with the Zulu lineage, marriage arrangements, appointments to Shaka's council, and compulsory service of young men in the *amabutho*. To encourage loyalty to the Zulu ruling lineage it was essential to foster common interests in preserving the social hierarchy. Those privileged to belong to the inner circle of power, were encouraged to consider themselves as being of *amanungwa* (up-country) descent, sharing a superior status based on common origin and culture. This helped them to foster a corporate identity while preserving the superior status of the Zulu ruling lineage. The group comprising the third and bottom strata in this hierarchy formed the majority in the periphery of Shaka's paramount chiefdom. As tributaries of Shaka, these chiefdoms retained a certain autonomy as long as they did not infringe upon Shaka's power. Terminology used to refer to subjects in the periphery typecast them as socially inferior outsiders. They were the *amalala* (menials), *amanhlwenga* (destitutes), or *iziyendane* (those with a strange hairstyle)¹⁴³. Concerning the socio-political organisation of the Zulu and contrary to arguments in favour of a primordial and homogeneous Zulu ethnicity, the historians Carolyn Hamilton and John Wright have argued

"There is no evidence to suggest that in the kingdom's lifetime a broad identity as 'Zulu' ever developed among the various different descent-groups which had become subject to the rule of the Zulu. The kingdom was not, as is commonly thought, a cohesive and united polity. It was an amalgamation of discrete, previously independent chiefdoms, each with its own chief, its own memory of the times before the Zulu conquest, and its own separate identity. Zulu overlordship met sustained resistance, and in 1839-40 and 1856 the kingdom was wracked by civil war. In the 1860s and 1870s the kingdom began to achieve a greater degree of political unity in the face of external threats from the British in the colony of Natal and the Boers in the Transvaal. But local and regional loyalties remained of prime importance, and the term 'Zulu' remained the designation exclusively of members of the ruling descent-group."¹⁴⁴

The formation of Shaka's paramount chiefdom had varied political effects in southern Africa. In the process of subjugation by Shaka, chiefs were killed, chiefdoms fell apart and their populations were dispersed or captured. Chiefdoms disappeared and their history came to an end. Some chiefs voluntarily surrendered and other chiefs together with their followers fled and migrated to the north, south and west, out of reach of direct Zulu control bringing disruption and instability in the areas into which they fled. For example, Mzilikazi, chief of the

¹⁴³ Hamilton/Wright (1990), Wright/Hamilton (1989:72-73), Wright (1987:108-1992:4-6) and Maylam/Meintjes/Wright (1988:3).

¹⁴⁴ Hamilton/Wright (1993:43). Concerning the socio-political organisation and especially the inherent institutional weakness that made it difficult for Shaka to maintain power and claim overlordship of a vast territory and its people, it is more accurate to speak of a patrimonial paramount chiefdom and not of a centralised kingdom or state. At most it was a kind of early state consisting of a core area to which a periphery of subject chiefs was attached. Historical publications on the Zulu mentioned in the first footnote of this chapter largely make use of the terms kingdom and state without providing a convincing argument for equating them with the term paramount chiefdom. In order to distinguish between the modern concept of state and pre-colonial forms of political organisation in Africa I use the term paramount chiefdom.

Khumalo, fled with his followers westward across the Highveld. Upon meeting resistance from attacking and counter-attacking Boer commandos, reinforced by Griqua horsemen and local chiefs in 1837-38, Mzilikazi was forced to retreat northwards where he established a paramount chiefdom on the Zimbabwe Plateau.¹⁴⁵

The southern periphery of Shaka's power base was occupied by tributary chiefdoms both friendly and hostile to Shaka. South of the Mkomazi River in the 1820s, Zulu rule was far more tenuous, if it existed at all.¹⁴⁶ In 1824 the first whites penetrated the southern periphery and settled at Port Natal (Durban). They traded for skins, ivory and cattle. Their firearms gave them a power out of proportion to their numbers and this proved attractive to Shaka's enemies. Migrant chiefs thirsting for revenge saw advantages in allying with the whites.

The arrival of whites thus markedly influenced political developments in the region, especially once they formed alliances with Shaka's enemies. Frictions within the ruling lineage and among Shaka's followers, especially among the amabutho, led to splits into anti- and pro-Shaka factions, and set the scene for a crisis in 1828. Dingane kaSenzangakhona and Mhlangana, two of Shaka's half-brothers, struck against Shaka, who was killed at his residence in late September 1828, the site of present-day Stanger.¹⁴⁷ Dingane's take-over ushered in a period of civil war and a flight of peoples once again southward.

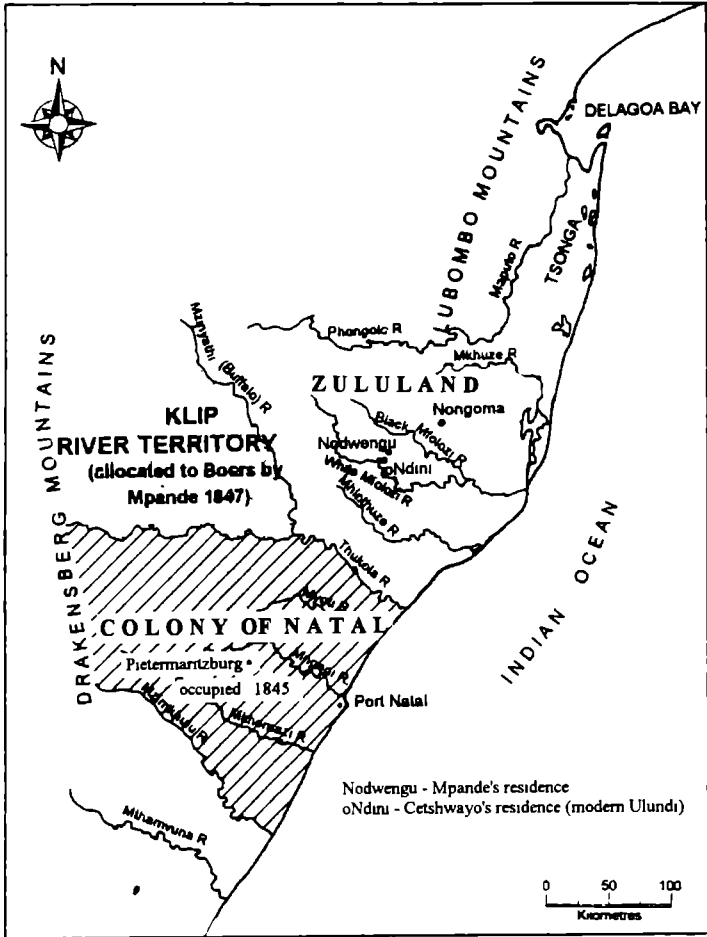
In the ensuing years, the Boers, and later the British, capitalised on the overall political instability and especially on the marginal status of migrants and refugees in black communities who were tolerated but held in an inferior status. The refugee flight into areas adjacent to white settlements plus political malcontent at Port Natal resulted in Dingane changing his attitude towards the white newcomers. He saw them more and more as a threat. He banned all commerce with the whites and prohibited them from entering his territory, except the newly arrived missionary Allen Gardiner. Therefore, the arrival of the Boer voortrekker leader Piet Retief in late 1837 to negotiate the cession of land for settlement south of the Thukela was perceived as a further threat to the cohesion of Dingane's power base. On 6 February 1838 Retief and his party were killed by Dingane's men. Late that same year, Dingane dispatched his amabutho to attack and wipe out the Boers in their encampments near the upper Thukela. The besieged Boers rallied around a new leader, Andries Pretorius. Under his command they inflicted a crushing defeat on Dingane's amabutho at the Ncome (Blood) River on 16 December 1838.

The terms of the peace treaty between the Boers and Dingane entailed restoring livestock to the Boers, refraining from aggression, and ceding territory south of the Thukela and a strip of territory east of the river. This treaty paved the way for the Boers to found their voortrekker Republic of Natalia with its capital at Pietermaritzburg. The territorial claims by the white newcomers marked a disastrous turn of events for Dingane. External threats and internal tensions weakened his power base. Mpande rebelled against his half-brother Dingane, fled

¹⁴⁵ Cobbing (1976) and Schmidt (1991:48-68).

¹⁴⁶ Shaka's expansionist policy in the 1820s affecting the entire region of southern Africa, marked by massive migration, raids and battles, has been termed *mfecane*. Because of an inadequate explanation by historians and Julian Cobbing's (1988) provocative critique of the prevailing concept of *mfecane*, the University of the Witwatersrand organised in September 1991 a conference on 'The Mfecane Aftermath Towards a New Paradigm' For a reconsideration of the *mfecane* see Hamilton (1992,1995), Eldredge (1992) and Cobbing (1988)

¹⁴⁷ Colenbrander (1989 83) Shortly thereafter Dingane had Mhlangana assassinated and reigned over the Zulu polity until 1840



Map F. Zululand and the colony of Natal, 1840-1879¹⁴⁸

with his adherents across the Thukela River and entered into a political and military alliance with Pretorius in an attempt to gain assistance from the Boers to establish himself as the Zulu paramount chief. Jointly they attacked Dingane's amabutho in January 1840, and in the following month Dingane was defeated at the battle of Maqongqo. Dingane fled northward where he was killed. Mpande was recognised by the Boers as 'king of the Zulus', setting him on the political apex.¹⁴⁹ White intervention had far-reaching socio-political consequences. The power and influence of the white presence had now to be taken into account by chiefs and paramount chiefs in their calculations for retaining their power base and territorial integrity. White interests increasingly came to dominate the life of ordinary people as well as the ruling lineages.

¹⁴⁸ Compiled from Duminy/Guest (1989:98)

¹⁴⁹ Colenbrander (1989 91-94).

Mpande began to realise the threat the Boers posed to his status and power. As early as 1841 he sought the support of British settlers by establishing and maintaining good relations with the British garrison at Port Natal. The British in the Cape and at Port Natal favoured an alliance with Mpande since they resented the Boer's military and political victories as threats to British strategic interests. In May 1844 the British annexed the territory between the Thukela and Mzimkhulu Rivers as a separate district of the Cape Colony. In December 1845, Martin West assumed the Lieutenant-Governorship with a handful of other officials and promulgated the Charter of Natal in 1856 to create Natal as a separate colony with a limited form of representative government.¹⁵⁰ By that time many Boers had already emigrated. Resenting once again British domination, they had migrated across the Drakensberg to join their fellow voortrekkers on the Highveld. Although the British recognised the power of Mpande by guaranteeing the independence of Zululand with fixed boundaries, internal opposition emerged in the 1850s centred around Cetshwayo, Mpande's son, who had been able to capitalise on widespread popular grievances. Cetshwayo began his formal reign after Mpande's death in 1872.

Although by this time the black population had been affected in various degrees by the new modes of production of a capitalist economy and a superior and more powerful government than their own, political initiatives by Mpande or Cetshwayo did not result in major institutional changes in the Zulu polity. The structural basis of the paramountcy chiefdom remained largely the same as under Shaka.

The British invasion of Zululand and the outbreak of the Anglo-Zulu War in 1879 brought an end to Cetshwayo's rule. He was defeated at Ulundi and imprisoned. By the 1880s, with the break-up of the paramountcy chiefdom of the Zulu ruling lineage, loyalty to the Zulu gradually declined. The incorporation of the conquered territory into the Natal Colony in 1897 imposed on its black subjects a system of governance that was to alter their lives fundamentally. The black population began to feel the weight of oppressive and exploitative rule by the colonial government and the white population.

6. The emergence of a Zulu Christian Mission

It was not only colonial rule as such which transformed the southern African societies. With the arrival of white travellers, traders and adventurers at Port Natal, news spread back to Europe about the emergence of Shaka, thus provoking interest among the Christian missionary societies in Europe and America. After the demise of Shaka, Allen Gardiner, the first evangelist to pay Dingane a visit at his residence, considered establishing a mission station in 'his' country. On his return to London in 1836 Gardiner was able to convince the Church Missionary Society to send Francis Owen, a Yorkshire clergyman, to inaugurate a mission in Dingane's country.

After a few months at Dingane's residence preaching 'the Word of God to the king', the English missionaries were forced to close their mission station, and Owen fled, being the sole European to survive the attack on Retief's party in 1838.¹⁵¹

¹⁵⁰ Brookes/Webb (1987:40-41,75-84).

¹⁵¹ Brookes/Webb (1987:24-27) and du Plessis (1965:235-241).

The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions founded in 1810 with its headquarters in Boston was inspired by John Philip of the LMS to embark on missionary work in Africa. On terms similar to Philip's 'civilising mission', the American Mission aimed 'to rear up Christian communities'. Six missionaries, including Newton Adams, George Champion, Daniel Lindley¹⁵² and Aldin Grout, arrived at Port Natal in December 1835. Aldin Grout responded to Mpande's call for a missionary and established a station at Inkanyezi in 1840. In a letter home Grout described the political situation of his mission from the point of views of the blacks at his station. He reported that some of them were saying "that if Umpande does not treat them well, they will just walk off, or move their village upon my place, taking it for granted if they are upon the station they are out of Zulu authority".¹⁵³ This position proved to be unfortunate for the future of the mission. Seeing in Grout's station a threat to his supremacy, Mpande lost his enthusiasm for the mission. Persons attached to the mission station were harassed, and fearing an attack, Grout fled in 1842. While Grout had once characterised the Zulu ruler as cordial, 'perfectly accessible, free and familiar', he prayed after his flight for the extinction of the 'Zulu kingdom'.¹⁵⁴ However, there was another version of the story. The American missionary Newton Adams wanted to find out what had happened and approached Mpande who gave him the following account:

"The missionary came to me, and I welcomed him, and allowed him to select a location where he pleased. I told the people to go to the meeting and attend to his instructions. But the people soon came to call themselves the people of the missionary, and refused to obey me, I had no authority over them - they cast off their allegiance to their king and were of no use to me. The missionary should have told the people in the beginning that he could not be their captain. I have been obliged to kill several of those people, and much mischief has resulted from the mission established there."¹⁵⁵

From 1842 onwards Mpande prohibited missions in his country. Attempts by the Norwegian Lutherans to gain the confidence of Mpande failed. Patiently biding his time, the Norwegian missionary Hans Schreuder built a mission station on the Natal side of the border in 1848. His chance came in 1850 when Mpande fell ill. Schreuder was asked for medicine. Mpande rewarded him for his help with permission to establish mission stations inside Zululand. Upon Mpande's request for more missionaries, Schreuder approached the German Hermannsburg Mission and in response, the Hermannsburg Mission built its first station at Emlalazi in southern Zululand in 1858 followed by over ten stations built during the 1860s.¹⁵⁶ The Norwegians and Germans were followed by a vast number of missionaries. Anglicans, Wesleyan Methodists, Scottish Presbyterians, French and German Catholics, the

¹⁵² Daniel Lindley (1801-1880) took up an appointment as preacher for the Voortrekkers in January 1841 and later resumed mission work from 1847 until 1873 at Inanda. On the American Zulu Mission see du Plessis (1965 219-232) and Keto (1977).

¹⁵³ Aldin Grout to Anderson, 3 August 1841, American Board Mission 15 4 II, quoted in Etherington (1978 74 75).

¹⁵⁴ Etherington (1978 28,74-75). Aldin Grout (1803-1894) proceeded to work at Umvoti from 1843 to 1870.

¹⁵⁵ Adams to Anderson, 30 May 1843, American Board Mission, 15 4 II, quoted in Etherington (1978 75). Dr Newton Adams (1804-1851) established the first US American mission station at Umlazi near Durban in 1835. In 1847 he founded the Amanzimtoti Theological College (later Adams College). James Dube, spokesman of the *kholwa* ('believers', i.e. black Christians) community and father of the ANC leader John Dube, was one of the first ordained ministers of the American Zulu mission.

¹⁵⁶ For an account on the Hermannsburg Mission see Hasselhorn (1988). Schreuder (1817-1882) established a station at Empangeni in Zululand in 1851 and a second station at Entumeni in 1854. For a map on and list of mission stations in Natal, Zululand and Pondoland see Etherington (1978 26-27).

Berlin Mission, American and Scandinavian mission societies, eventually making Natal one of the most heavily-evangelised regions in the world¹⁵⁷ Mpande granted only usufructuary rights in the land allocated land to the missionaries at his discretion This dependence demanded from missionaries a sensitive balancing act between their own interests and recognition of Mpande's supremacy In time, however, the missionaries soon emerged as competitors to the chief's sovereignty, for they realised that chiefly control over the population posed an important obstacle to the spread of Christianity, especially since the Zulu paramount chiefs (first Mpande then Cetshwayo) still exercised enough control to rally resistance against conversion The missionaries' dreams of converting the 'Zulu nation' *en masse* quickly faded They had grossly overestimated their ability to alter basic cultural patterns

Mpande and Cetshwayo pursued a policy of quarantining mission stations to ensure that missionaries could not spread sedition This also had the effect of creating a clear distinction between 'them' and 'us', the Christians and 'heathens' To some extent those men and women who came to live on mission stations, accepting Christianity and the authority of the missionary, ceased to be subjects of the Zulu ruling lineage They did not believe in giving allegiance to a 'heathenist king' Men lost their regimental identification and were exempted from military service and any duties required of those loyal to the Zulu paramount They adhered instead to the Christian moral code thereby abandoning ancestral worship, witchcraft, lobola and polygyny These mission residents were seen as strangers by their own relatives and labelled with the same epithet which the whites gave to blacks in general, namely 'mission kaffirs'. "Until the Zulu War", argued Norman Etherington, "Christianity and Zulu citizenship were mutually exclusive"¹⁵⁸

In turn, the missionaries' rejection of non-western political and cultural practices left the mission communities in Zululand small and isolated The early attempts of mission workers to modernise the society faced powerful obstacles, including the acknowledged independence of Zululand until 1879, the existence of an officially recognised boundary between Zululand and the colony of Natal, and the recognised political-territorial authority of the Zulu paramount The Wesleyan Methodist missionary William Holden complained

"[T]he success of Christian missions is most seriously retarded by the operation of those laws and usages which prevail among the Kaffirs Polygamy and witchcraft are so directly opposed to Christian institutions, that these two evils alone have placed the Kaffirs in a position of great hostility to the Gospel, and the most systematic persecution is arranged, consolidated and practised, so that at this moment this vast mass of heathens stand boldly confronting the only instrumentality which is brought into operation for their improvement"¹⁵⁹

The situation in the colony of Natal was similar to that in the eastern Cape where missionaries made rapid progress in christianising the Mfengu Those driven south by the turbulences of the Shaka era now residing in the colony of Natal - as was the case with the Mfengu in the eastern Cape -, found a precarious refuge in the area and were keen to accept new opportunities The expansion of white settlements and land claims in Natal had led the landless black

¹⁵⁷ Etherington (1989 275)

¹⁵⁸ Etherington (1978 80)

¹⁵⁹ Quoted in Welsh (1973 45) The Wesleyan Methodists dispatched James Archbell to serve the white community at Port Natal in 1841 In 1847 James Allison came to Natal and founded two large mission stations one at Indaleni in 1847 and another at Edendale, near Pietermaritzburg, in 1851 (Brookes/Webb 1987 72, du Plessis 1965 300 302)

population in their search for new land to seek refuge among the missionaries. It is, therefore, not surprising that the most successful mission stations attracting large numbers of black converts were those which had the best land.¹⁶⁰ Missionaries hired black labour to work in their homes and on the mission station and offered them the opportunity to cultivate land for their own use. A significant number of converts were recruited from the ranks of hired servants.¹⁶¹ Missionaries gladly welcomed the landless refugees so long as their misdeeds did not directly transgress European codes of behaviour.¹⁶² Mission stations were in effect a state within a state until the Natal Government began to restrict the missionaries politically and economically, especially in regard to access to land.

The material benefits blacks gained through associating with one of the various missions brought about new patterns of life and led to the emergence of a distinct social grouping of black farmers, craftsmen and traders. They distinguished themselves by their access to western Christian education and came to be called *kholwa* (believer).¹⁶³ Kholwa, however, experienced rejection from both the black and white community. Such isolation acted as a powerful spur to attaining material and educational advantages from the benefits offered by missionaries.

The missionaries were aware of their role in this transformation. In Bishop Colenso's words, their duty was "to cherish and prune the plants that have grown from these seeds - if need be, cut them down almost to the ground - but not coarsely and violently to root them up altogether". It should be a slow process, "not a special forcing in a few particular instances, but a general improvement in the whole mass of a native community, by the increase of habits of industry among them, and a steady, though, it may be, slow and gradual process of intellectual, moral, and religious development".¹⁶⁴

Aside from the introduction of economic innovations, the most important element of social change introduced by missionaries was education paired with conversion. It was their primary intention to give the 'natives' the Bible and teach them to read and write. Inevitably, the language research of missionaries reflected the particular forms of spoken language they learnt from their servants and first converts. Once codified as 'Zulu', the language was applied

¹⁶⁰ When Argentz Tonneson (c 1827-1886) - ordained as deacon of the Church of England after he had spent five years with the Norwegian church in Zululand - was asked why some missionaries were more successful in attracting black followers, as was, for example, the case of Henry Callaway's station, he replied that the stations's land was "superior to any other in that locality, and that accounts for the number of native[s] which have built there. The natives may be converted in any place but they know the country too well to settle where they cannot have good pasture and where they cannot at the same time carry out agricultural pursuits with profit. Where that is not the case they will leave and go to other places (generally to other Mission Stations). This is one of the reasons which has guided the Berlin Society in buying farms to establish their Mission Station here in this Colony" (Tonneson to the Secretaries, 31 May 1863, quoted in Etherington 1978 91)

¹⁶¹ Etherington (1978 89-91)

¹⁶² Etherington has examined the first Christians in Zululand and the colony of Natal and their reasons for joining the missions (Etherington 1976, 1978 87-114). After four years of work at Umlazi, Robert Robertson (c 1839-1897) - a member of the initial missionary team of Colenso - wrote that "with only one exception, all our converts have been people from a distance - while those around seemed hardened and indifferent" (quoted in Etherington 1978 109). When Robertson was assigned to Zululand (Ikwamagwaza mission station) in 1860, he took most of his followers with him.

¹⁶³ Norman Etherington has suggested that the black Christian population in Natal did not exceed 10,000, considerably less than 10 per cent of the total black population and in Zululand converts numbered only in the hundreds (Etherington 1978 24)

¹⁶⁴ Colenso (1865 cclxxii, cclxxv)

throughout the mission's area of influence. By means of a mission-school network, the language expanded. Armed with this new literary language and with instructional and devotional material in Zulu, black evangelists and teachers poured out into the area of the mission's outreach. Once the written Zulu language came to be associated with a new life-style and especially with economic advancement, its use marked a commitment to modernisation.

6.1. The creation of a written Zulu language

Two early eminent missionaries of the American Board Mission, James C. Bryant and Lewis Grout, stand out for their contribution to the creation of a written Zulu language. James Bryant arrived at Port Natal in April 1846 and proceeded to the American Board mission station at Umlazi, where he learnt the locally spoken vernacular termed 'Zulu'. He proceeded to prepare an elementary arithmetic text in Zulu, religious tracts and hymns and to translate sections of the Scripture while stationed at Amanzimtoti and Ifumi. His ideas about the Zulu language were summarised in an article titled *The Zulu Language* (1849) which was published in the American Journal of the Oriental Society a year before his death in December 1850. Appearing in the same edition of the Journal was an article by Lewis Grout titled *The Zulu and other Dialects of Southern Africa*. Both referred to Boyce's previous linguistic work on Xhosa and both articles discussed the grammatical structure of Zulu, identifying noun classes. For classifying the dialects of southern Africa, Grout suggested a division of languages based largely on Appleyard's classification. He divided the languages into the 'click class' and the 'alliterative class', subdividing the latter again into four groups: 'The Zulu or Kafir; the Sechuana; the Damara; and the Congo'. 'Zulu, Kafir and Fingo' were classified as cognate languages of one group.¹⁶⁵

Cognisant of the different dialects spoken in the region and the confusion caused by various missionaries who had written a number of 'Zulu' grammars differing from one another, Grout stressed the need for a standardised Zulu.¹⁶⁶ To establish a uniform Zulu language and orthography the American Board Mission, or American Zulu Mission as it was then termed, set up a Committee on Uniform Orthography, on which Grout served. In 1859 Grout published *The Isizulu: A Grammar of the Zulu Language*, printed at the mission press in Umsunduzi that he had established. Although Grout's work attracted criticism from his

¹⁶⁵ See also Grout (1853) On the basis of this and later linguistic research, the term adopted for classifying people of this group of languages was Nguni. The linguist Wilhelm Bleek did not make use of the term, it was mainly due to Bryant's publication of *Olden Times in Zululand and Natal* (1929) and his appointment as lecturer for Bantu Studies at the University of Witwatersrand in 1920 that Nguni as a generic term became established in scholarly usage (Wright 1987, Marks 1969). The government ethnologist van Warmelo commented that the term Nguni is a recent creation and does not coincide with the original meaning of the term *abeNguni* (van Warmelo 1935:59)

¹⁶⁶ On early Zulu linguistic works by missionaries see Doke (1937,1958,1959) The Norwegian missionary Hans Schreuder (1817-1882) published his *Grammatik for Zulusproget* (1850); Carl Posselt (1815-1885) of the Berlin Missionary Society published *The Zulu Companion Offered to the Natal Colonist, to Facilitate his Intercourse with the Natives* (1850), James Perrin (1801-1888) prepared *A Kafir-English Dictionary of the Zulu-Kafir Language, as Spoken by the Tribes of the Colony of Natal* (1855), followed by Jacob Ludwig Dohne's *Zulu-Kafir Dictionary, Etymologically Explained with Copious Illustrations and Examples* (1857), as well as the works of the Anglicans John Colenso and Henry Callaway, which are discussed below

missionary colleagues, his orthographical version was most widely applied until the mid-1930s.

The first Zulu translation of the New Testament, which was the work of various missionaries, was published in 1865 by the American Zulu Mission, and both the Old and New Testaments were published in 1883 by the American Bible Society. These were not the only translations. Once the Anglican Bishop John Colenso presented his translation of the Scripture, theological differences among missionaries became acute.

6.2. Colenso's interpretation of the scripture and the Christian Zulu

Bishop Colenso is less well-known for the fact that he was a devoted bishop and for his linguistic command of the Zulu language than for his biblical criticism.¹⁶⁷ It was Colenso's concern for the 'Zulus' that led him to engage in a biblical criticism that challenged not only the practice of Christian missionaries in southern Africa, but also the Anglican State Church in Britain. His approach so deeply offended dominant beliefs that the Bishop of Cape Town, Robert Grey, convened an ecclesiastical court which tried and found Colenso guilty of heresy in 1863.¹⁶⁸

Colenso had been ordained as Bishop of Natal in November 1853. He arrived in his diocese in January 1854 for a ten week tour of Natal, at the end of which he returned to Britain to raise funds and recruit missionaries. As part of his British campaign he published a pamphlet entitled *Church Mission among the Heathen in the Diocese of Natal*, which he later incorporated into his book, *Ten Weeks in Natal. A Journal of a First Tour of Visitation among the Colonists and Zulu Kafirs of Natal* (1855a). Colenso was impressed by the friendly reception he received from the chiefs of Natal during his tour organised by the Secretary of Native Affairs Theophilus Shepstone. Out of his observations about Zulu customs, history and relations with the whites, especially the missionaries, he concluded, contrary to the prevailing view held by missionaries at that time, that Zulus had sophisticated religious ideas. Colenso noted, for example, that Zulus praised a Supreme Being, "whom they call *Unkulunkulu*",¹⁶⁹ celebrated the harvest festival and honoured the dead.

His major concern was how Christianity could be communicated by people of one culture to those of another. He was convinced that Zulu customs were reconcilable with Christianity. Zulu customs could be transformed so that in time they would be associated with "thankfulness and reference to God as the giver of all goodness".¹⁷⁰ Colenso argued that under-

¹⁶⁷ Colenso was born in 1814 in St Austell, Cornwall. He studied mathematics at St John's College, Cambridge. In the 1840s Colenso began to concern himself more with theology and biblical interpretation. He was strongly influenced by his mentor Frederick Dennison Maurice, a leading liberal Anglican theologian. For details on Colenso's work and life, especially in reference to his years in South Africa - from 1853 to 1883 - see Guy (1983), Thornton (1994-1995), Webb/Brookes (1987: 105-112), Etherington (1978), Edgcombe (1982), Sachs (1993: 142-144, 198-202, 250-252), Lewis/Edwards (1934: 159-174, 303-319) and Hinchliff (1963, 1968: 65-71).

¹⁶⁸ Colenso brought his case before the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, the highest appellate tribunal for the British colonies. Although the tribunal confirmed him as the legal Bishop of Natal, Grey and the majority of the white Anglican congregation at Pietermaritzburg refused to reinstate Colenso and in 1869 a rival Bishop was consecrated, splitting the Anglicans in Natal into two bitterly divided camps (Guy 1983: 140-153, Hofmeyr/Pillay 1994: 135).

¹⁶⁹ Translated by Colenso as 'the Great-Great One' (Colenso 1865: cclxxiii).

¹⁷⁰ Colenso (1855a: 93).

standing the customs, history and political situation of the Zulu was a precondition for conversion. He rejected the approach commonly held by other missionaries that whatever was foreign to Christian and European ways was evil and inferior:

“Missionaries of narrow views seek not infrequently to make that very light to be darkness, and try to teach their converts to renounce altogether the religious actions in which they have been reared, instead of meeting them, as it were, by the way, upon a common ground of our humanity, which a Divine Life has quickened, and showing how far what they have hitherto believed is really true, how far in their ignorance they have mingled falsehood with truth.”¹⁷¹

Colenso believed in what he called the ‘essential brotherhood of the great human family’, the unity of humankind. In his sermon held on the occasion of Henry Callaway’s ordination on 13 August 1854, Colenso reminded his Christian brethren,

“that the tidings of joy were not meant for us only - for us, who have heard the glad sounds, and are rejoicing already in the Light of our Saviour’s Coming. But they are meant for all mankind. They are meant for all, who, in every tribe and nation, are suffering the consequences of their first parents’ fall. There is life and hope for all, through the Mercy of God ... the Saviour of the World, Who (as the Prayer-book teaches us) ‘hath redeemed us *and all mankind*’ ... God’s Love is not confined to a few, here and there, of His creatures, but extends, like the light and warmth of His glorious sun, to all ... Bear you this in mind, my Brother, when you land upon a heathen soil ... when you look upon the thousands of dark creatures, by whom you will there be surrounded, that these are they for whom God died - for whom the Saviour came into the world to bless them - to raise them from being bondslaves of Satan, to be numbered with us among the Family of God.”¹⁷²

Colenso sought to accommodate all human beings with their different cultural backgrounds as equals into one godly commonwealth of nations: “[T]he peculiar type of the Zulu will not be without its place, use, and glory in the great family of regenerated man - ‘the one body of that Church which shall be gathered out of all nations’.”¹⁷³ As a student at Cambridge and in later years, Colenso was inspired by reading the work of Samuel Coleridge and Thomas Arnold and his meeting with Frederick Denison Maurice, who believed in God’s presence in every culture.¹⁷⁴

After touring Britain, Colenso returned to Natal in May of 1855 with his wife, children and forty mission workers to officially commence his mission endeavours. Near Pietermaritzburg Colenso established the Bishop’s residence, Bishopstowe, and the mission station Ekukanyeni (‘the home of light’). He intended the mission station to be a strong, efficient central station equipped with a farm, a school, a chapel, a theological college, rooms where he and his interpreters could work on translations, and a printing press.

Colenso also invited a young German linguist, Wilhelm Bleek, for the purpose of studying the Zulu language. In mid-1855 Wilhelm Bleek proceeded to the residence of Mpande, where he lived for several months, conducting research on Zulu language, reconstructing its grammar and studying ‘Zulu’ culture. He can be said to have been the first to undertake

¹⁷¹ Colenso (1865:cclxxi-cclxxiii). In his article *On the Efforts of Missionaries Among the Savages* (1865) Colenso criticised his colleagues for their ignorance.

¹⁷² Colenso (1982:35,39).

¹⁷³ Colenso (1982:223).

¹⁷⁴ See Sachs (1993:142) and Thornton (1983a,1994).

scholarly linguistic and ethnographic fieldwork in Africa.¹⁷⁵ Based on Bleek's linguistic work, Colenso published *First Steps in Zulu-Kafir: Being an Elementary Grammar of the Zulu-Kafir Language* (1855/1872), thus contributing to the reification of the Zulu as a single linguistic unit. In the preface to the second edition published in 1872 Colenso acknowledged that the 'dialect' presented as 'Zulu' was only that of a

"small tribe, the amaZulu, who under their famous chief *uTshaka* (Chaka) [Shaka], and his brothers and successors *uDingane* (Dingane) and *umPande* (Panda), have acquired and maintained ... the supremacy over the natives along the S.E. coast of Africa, excepting, of course, those who have been living under British protection since Natal came under our government ... On this account it has a right to be considered the standard dialect of this part of Africa".¹⁷⁶

Colenso also published educational and devotional material. An important educational tool was the *Zulu-Kafir Reading Book* in which he recorded the pre- and colonial history of the 'Zulu' based on 'authentic accounts of historical facts within the memory of living men'. Colenso wanted to "let the people know all about the Leg.[islative] Council, & their own right to vote for members, when properly qualified".¹⁷⁷ Most exceptional was Colenso's historical account of his expedition to Zululand and visit to Mpande's residence,¹⁷⁸ later complemented by his publication of *Three Native Accounts of the Visit of the Bishop of Natal in September and October, 1859, to Umpande, King of the Zulus* (1860).¹⁷⁹ These were the journals of three of his converts who had accompanied him.

Colenso sought to use his knowledge of Zulu customs and traditions to bridge the chasm between the old life and the new he was offering. In an attempt to accommodate 'native customs',¹⁸⁰ Colenso was prepared to tolerate polygyny for baptised converts. From a practical point of view he expected that such toleration of customary usages would result in the rapid conversion of the Zulus to Christianity.

As the missionary opinion had been overwhelmingly against Colenso, he turned for support to Shepstone, Natal's Secretary of Native Affairs, whose system of indirect rule seemed to be a secular version of his own missionary policy. Together they laid plans to increase missionary presence in the Natal native reserves by setting aside large tracks of land for mission use. Colenso justified creating native reserves in terms of trusteeship:

¹⁷⁵ Wilhelm Bleek was the son of a prominent German biblical scholar. On Bleek's linguistic research see Thornton (1983a, 1983b, 1994:39-59, 91-102).

¹⁷⁶ Colenso (1872:2).

¹⁷⁷ Quoted in Edgecombe (1982:xix).

¹⁷⁸ His account, entitled *Diocese of Natal. The First Steps of the Zulu Mission*, was published in London by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge in 1860. See the reprint in Edgecombe (1982:43-144). His journal provides a vivid insight into the impact of civil war and the unresolved struggle for power between Mpande and his son Cetshwayo.

¹⁷⁹ These three accounts in Zulu plus a literal English translation were, Colenso maintained, 'designed for the use of students of the Zulu language'. See also the reprint of the English translation in Edgecombe (1982:163-195).

¹⁸⁰ Radcliffe-Brown commented sixty years later on the missionary approach - such as that of Colenso - which sought to accommodate customs, e.g., initiation rites. "The experiment of adapting and modifying the initiation rites has indeed been tried, and apparently with great success, by missionaries in one part of South Africa. This is a good example of the new policy in missionary work, the policy not of trying to sweep away all existing custom, but of actually using it as a basis on which to build, or as a material out of which to build, by the process of modification and substitution, a better and a Christian culture, sifting the good from the bad and retaining the one while getting rid of the other. For such a policy knowledge and understanding are required as well as sympathy, and the careful study of native life becomes a prime requisite." (Radcliffe-Brown 1969:11)

“Our natives are not yet fit for civilized laws - and our English population will not long allow them to be governed by their own laws. The only remedy would be to afford a safety valve by such a scheme as Mr. Shepstone proposed.”¹⁸¹

Colenso eventually lost the support even of the colonial government. His stand on the Langalibalele rebellion and its aftermath in 1873-4 shattered his friendship with Shepstone. When Langalibalele, chief of the Hlubi, failed to respond to orders by the colonial government, Shepstone sent armed forces to arrest Langalibalele. The Hlubi and the neighbouring chiefdoms were punished for their resistance. Their acting chiefs were deposed, their chiefdoms broken up, their land and cattle confiscated. While white public opinion favoured harsh action, Colenso believed that there was no justification for the course taken by Shepstone. He became increasingly opposed to Natal's policy of native administration. For most of the latter part of his life, Colenso was devoted to defending the rights of the Zulus in their struggle against the Natal colonial government.¹⁸²

6.3. Constructing Zulu identity: Colenso and Callaway

The year 1861 marked a turning point in Colenso's career as a missionary bishop. In that year Colenso published a commentary on Romans, and in the following year the first part of a massive study on the Pentateuch. In *St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans: Newly Translated and Explained from a Missionary Point of View*, Colenso argued, among other things, that baptism was simply the recognition of the fact that 'all men were justified in Christ from the hour of their birth', pointing to God's presence among all people. He also questioned the belief that the sinner and non-Christian are sentenced to eternal damnation. His subsequent work, *The Pentateuch and the Book of Joshua Critically Examined*, triggered a major crisis in the Anglican Church. He questioned the veracity of biblical miracles, challenged Moses' authorship of the Pentateuch and the literalness of the creation and the flood.¹⁸³

The queries of William Ngidi, Colenso's translation assistant at Ekukanyeni, and his own knowledge of modern science had caused Colenso to question the historical accuracy of the Old Testament.¹⁸⁴ Colenso read the Scripture as a human-inspired document. This had an impact on his Bible translation into Zulu. Instead of translating literally word by word, he interpreted the Bible according to his own beliefs. In his search for ways to accommodate the Zulus, Colenso uncovered an appreciation of non-European cultures and peoples and a new image of religious community. In doing so he began to extend the notion of the uniqueness and superiority of European culture to the Zulu culture. His highlighting of the uniqueness of Zulu culture as a holistic entity and nation was a new concept in the context of missionary practice.

¹⁸¹ Quoted in Edgecombe (1982:xxi).

¹⁸² Brookes/Webb (1987 111-117)

¹⁸³ See Guy (1983 95-139), Thornton (1983,1994:60-73) and Edgecombe (1982) on Colenso's biblical criticism

¹⁸⁴ The translation of the Scripture, wrote Colenso, "compelled [me] to discuss all the minutest details with intelligent natives, whose mode of life and habits, and even the nature of their country, so nearly correspond to those of ancient Israelites, that the very same scenes are brought continually, as it were, before our eyes, and *usually realised in a practical point of view*, in a way which an English student would scarcely think of looking at them" (quoted in Edgecombe 1982 xxiv). Emphasis in the original.

Colenso's critical approach to the Scripture was based on his experience as a missionary and his anthropological knowledge of Zulu society combined with a European scientific methodology. Nearly all of Colenso's colleagues distanced themselves from his radical critique of the Bible albeit one of his colleagues, Henry Callaway, shared his anthropological concerns and the desire to protect Zulu Christian culture against an increasingly repressive colonial regime. Both men perceived the Anglican Church as capable of embracing a variety of cultures and nations, each with its own linguistic, ethnological, and theological approach in translating the Bible. Unlike Colenso, Callaway did not challenge the very doctrines of the Anglican Church but did seek a way to construct a distinct Zulu expression of Christian faith.

Inspired by the work of Wilhelm Bleek, Callaway spent a good deal of his time writing down Zulu customs, traditions and beliefs. In his collections of ethnographic material, *Nursery Tales, Traditions and Histories of the Amazulu* (1868) and *The Religious System of the Amazulu* (1870), Callaway presented Zulu religion and tradition as a whole, emphasising the unity and coherence of Zulu society based on the assumption that religion and culture were closely interrelated. Appraising Callaway's work, Robert Thornton wrote:

"His template was the Bible. On multiple levels the process of compilation, categorization and characterization proceeded with the result that a 'whole' - in this case the religious system - was convincingly presented in text. Today, as a result of this achievement, the work of Callaway and others like it is cited, both by Zulu leaders who wish to mobilize Nguni-speakers along ethnic lines, and by the government of South Africa [pre-1990 Apartheid government], to support their claims that a Zulu primordial ethnicity is an inescapable fact of southern African political life."¹⁸⁵

Experiencing the Zulu ruling elite, the chiefs and commoners in a foreign land, the missionaries began to perceive the area under Zulu paramountcy as a single distinct social and cultural entity. They rejected the political and cultural practices which were not based on Christian principles. This led to a strategy of conversion that attributed a Zulu identity, not just to the ruling lineage, but also to the tributary population. The missionaries had hoped to see mass conversion via conversion of the Zulu 'monarch' who represented the Zulu 'nation'. It was the missionaries who associated the 'Zulu nation' with a specific territorial entity which they came to regard as 'Zululand'. From their European point of view, the use of 'Zulu' exclusively as a name for one lineage did not make sense. They memorialised their classification of the Zulu as a Zulu nation in lexicographical texts that defined the Zulu nation and constructed a Zulu identity in literature they published in and about the Zulu language. *Pante ta ethne* as the basis of their civilising mission resulted in the construction of a new social order intended to shape the convert's perception of reality in such a way that it legitimised the religious and socio-political framework articulated by the Christian mission.¹⁸⁶

7. Reconstructing Zulu identity: state policy and political organisation

Theophilus Shepstone,¹⁸⁷ who was held in high esteem by Colenso during his early years in Natal, was the central figure in shaping a Native policy in the Colony. In 1845 Shepstone was

¹⁸⁵ Thornton (1994: 109)

¹⁸⁶ Etherington (1989)

¹⁸⁷ Shepstone (1815-1893) was the son of a Wesleyan Methodist missionary living in the eastern frontier of the Cape Colony

appointed a Diplomatic Agent to the Native Tribes of Natal with the task of establishing an administration for Natal's black inhabitants for the next three decades.

In March 1846 Natal's Lieutenant-Governor Martin West¹⁸⁸ appointed a commission to submit recommendations for the reservation of land for the black population with a view to securing colonial control over the Colony.¹⁸⁹ The commissioners were instructed to demarcate native reserves "in such a manner as will best prevent any collision between their interests and those of emigrant farmers".¹⁹⁰ The commission defined sites for establishing locations for Natal's black inhabitants as well as for 'mission reserves' and outlined an administrative system. They then left the actual task of constructing a coherent native administrative system almost exclusively in the hands of Shepstone, in his function as Diplomatic Agent until 1853 and then as Secretary for Native Affairs from 1853 to 1875.

The first native location in Natal was Zwartkop near Pietermaritzburg, which was demarcated in November 1846, followed by the Umlazi, Umvoti and Inanda locations in 1847.¹⁹¹ The black population continued to be allowed access to land for cultivation and grazing, either on the basis of communal tribal tenure in the locations or reserves, or as tenants on Crown Land and white owned farms. In order to control a large population accustomed to migrating at will, Shepstone decided to incorporate chiefs as tribal leaders into an administrative system that came to be known as Native Administration.¹⁹²

Shepstone's scheme imposed British authority on the local political institution of chieftainship. At the apex of the administrative hierarchy was the office of the 'Supreme Chief', i.e., the colonial governor, in whose hand the ultimate power rested. Second in the hierarchy was the Secretary of Native Affairs, followed by the white magistrates, and beneath them the chiefs and headmen. To finance this apparatus of government, Shepstone imposed a hut tax on every black head of household, according to the number of huts in his homestead¹⁹³

The incorporation of chiefs in Shepstone's native administration necessitated the identifying of chiefs and their followers, defining chiefs' judicial functions, demarcating and allocating tribal land. The advantage to the colonial administration of dividing people into recognisable tribes was stated by Shepstone unambiguously: "Tribal distinctions that obtain among them are highly useful in managing them in detail, and those are sufficiently preserved

¹⁸⁸ Martin West took office in the new Colony in December 1845 and was subordinate to the Cape's governor. The colonial administration consisted further of a Colonial Secretary, a Crown Prosecutor, and a Diplomatic Agent to the Native Tribes

¹⁸⁹ The commissioners were Shepstone, W Stanger (Surveyor-General), Lieutenant Gibb (Engineer Officer), and the two American missionaries Newton Adams and Daniel Lindley

¹⁹⁰ Quoted in Welsh (1973 12)

¹⁹¹ The 1859 map of Natal showed eight locations Zwartkop, Umlazi, Inanda, Umvoti, Tugela, Impafana, Umzinyati and Kahlamba

¹⁹² Such a policy was a radical departure from the colonial policy of direct rule and only years later gained popularity once Frederick (Lord) Lugard, Governor of Nigeria from 1914 to 1919, made indirect rule Britain's official colonial policy. On the 'Shepstone system' of native administration see Etherington (1989a) and Welsh (1973)

¹⁹³ To socially justify his hut tax, Shepstone commented "While their present customs prevail, this would not only be the simplest to collect, but I think the most just to impose, it embraces every advantage of both a property and an income tax, and has the further recommendation of directly discouraging polygamy, that great incentive to the exclusive acquirement of cattle, as the most desirable description of property" (quoted in Welsh 1973 23) While the social consequences can be disputed, this strategy was successful in that it made the black population pay for 'their own' government

by their tribal heads." It was further thought that highlighting the tribal distinctions would hinder alliances among chiefs for purposes of rebellion against the whites. "[T]he cohesive power of one acknowledged ruling head, supreme over all subordinate authorities, is wanting amongst them. They form a republic of petty clans, without a federal head; and must therefore exist in a state of political weakness."¹⁹⁴

In 1864 Shepstone classified the tribal entities in Natal and concluded that forty-three of the original ninety-four 'aboriginal Natal tribes' had 'retained their original tribal organisation'; nine were 'mixed tribes, that is, collections of various tribes'; seven had immigrated into area of Natal between 1812 and 1843; and six tribes had entered Natal during its first five years as a British colony.¹⁹⁵ The allocation of tribal land in the demarcated locations and reserves was designed to impel resettlement in these areas. Shepstone invoked the principle of 'tribal responsibility' which made each chief responsible for the conduct of every member of 'his tribe'. Blacks who lived on the fringes of white towns and outside the reserves were required to register.

Shepstone acquired the position of a supreme chief with the power to rule over Natal's black population, distribute land, appoint chiefs, depose those who resented complying with the new administrative regulations, and create new tribes.¹⁹⁶

With the incorporation of chiefs into a colonial administrative system also came restrictions on the application of customary laws. Ordinance 3 of 1849 recognised the application of customary laws only by chiefs and only in cases (civil and criminal) involving blacks in the reserves or in civil disputes between blacks outside the reserves. Criminal cases involving blacks outside the reserves were heard under Roman-Dutch law. Checks on chiefly power were maintained through a general control exercised by the magistrates who were to modify customary practices "to suit the circumstances of the Colony and the character of a civilized Government".¹⁹⁷ Customary law was acceptable only in "so far as it was not repugnant to the general principles of humanity observed throughout the civilized world".¹⁹⁸ Therefore the next step was the codification of customary laws. In 1869 the customary laws first reduced to writing related to marriage and divorce and were modified over the years to suit government requirements. In 1875 the Board of Native Administration was asked to "reduce to writing the Native Law as at present administered in this Colony; and shall from time to time, as occasion may require, propose the alternations, amendment, or repeal of any of the provisions of the aforesaid Native Law, and also the establishment of new provisions therein, and the alteration, amendment or repeal, from time to time, of any such new provisions".¹⁹⁹

¹⁹⁴ Quoted in Welsh (1973:22).

¹⁹⁵ Welsh (1973:3-4). In the appendix to the Natal Native Commission of 1881-1882 there were said to be 102 tribes under the charge of 173 chiefs or headmen in Natal. Of the chiefs, 99 were hereditary, 46 were created or appointed, while 28 ranked as headmen appointed and recognised by the government (Welsh 1973:114).

¹⁹⁶ In Hamilton's article on Shepstone's role during the coronation of Ceshwayo in 1873, she has shown how he, with the support of Zulu leaders, cast himself in the role of Shaka. She argued that "Shepstone found in the Zulu monarchy a model for his own administration. This, I argue, underlay his willingness to assume the mantle of Shaka." (Hamilton 1993:39)

¹⁹⁷ Memorandum by Shepstone, 12 June 1874, quoted in Etherington (1978:15).

¹⁹⁸ Brookes (1934:243). On application, kholwa could be exempted from the Code (Etherington 1978:117).

¹⁹⁹ Quoted in Welsh (1973:165). Upon the role of customary law see McClendon (1992), de Haas (1988), Suttner (1987) and Welsh (1973:67-216).

Its recommendations were published in 1878. They were not legally binding in Natal but, by Proclamation 2 of 1887 they became law in Zululand. The Natal Code was revised in 1888 and put into force in 1891. The new Code was received with mixed reaction. The native administration greeted it because it essentially favoured traditionalism and served as a useful instrument for maintaining white domination. Kholwa saw in the Natal Code an incubus which hindered their claim to a legal status equal to that of whites. A kholwa elaborated this view in a letter published in the Natal newspaper *Inkanyiso* in 1892:

“Law 19, 1891 [legalising the Native Code], has confirmed my views and ... has clearly demonstrated that retrogressive policy now indulged in. The tribal system is being built up, strengthened, and perpetuated, instead of being gradually broken up with a view to its final abolition. If the latter were done it would immensely benefit our people and the Colony generally; because with the tribal system, in the event of its abolition, would go those tribal customs, ideas and predilections which are so baneful to our existence as a people ... By maintaining and nursing the tribal system and the power of the Chiefs, our Legislators and Rulers are maintaining and nursing the very thing which check our progress, which prevent our taking that interest in the works and affairs of our land which we should take, and which are sure only to demoralise and ruin us.”²⁰⁰

The newspaper *Ilanga lase Natal* asserted in 1908: “The so-called native code is simply a means at keeping the native people down in [a] state in which they were forty years ago.”²⁰¹

Shepstone's location policy did not find favour among white farmers since it infringed on their need for cheap labour. As long as blacks earned enough from herding cattle or cultivating of land to meet their demands, white farmers feared not being able to obtain sufficient cheap and long-term labour to make their enterprise feasible. They were also concerned that they had to compete with successful black producers who readily sought new opportunities and increased their production for a growing market. The whites would have preferred a policy that forced blacks into greater dependency, subservient to the requirements of the colonist. Their concerns were not groundless, for even despite an increasingly repressive labour policy, restrictions on land purchases by blacks, and tax increases, the number of blacks who became wage labourers remained low until the 1880s.

The failure by the colonial administration to squeeze labour power out of the reserves and the rising demand for cheap labour, especially for the coastal sugar plantations, left the government no option but to import labour from outside the Colony. From the 1850s until the 1880s temporary migration of the ‘Thonga’ (Tsonga) from the area north of Zululand was encouraged.²⁰² The most important step taken to alleviate the labour crisis was an agreement reached with the Indian colonial government to allow the recruitment of indentured labour from India, which began in 1860. Imported labour became even more important for the Colony's economy as more areas of employment opened up such as the construction of the Cape railway or mining in the diamond fields of Kimberley and gold-mines on the Rand.²⁰³ Black wages rose and blacks migrated from Natal and Zululand to these areas, diver-

²⁰⁰ Quoted in Welsh (1993:173)

²⁰¹ Quoted in Welsh (1973:173).

²⁰² On migrant labour from southern Mozambique and the emergence of a Tsonga ethnic identity see Harries (1982, 1988, 1989, 1994).

²⁰³ On mine workers, migration and the social and economic history of Kimberley and the *Witwatersrand* see Worger (1987), Moodie (1994), Harries (1994) and van Onselen (1982).

ting blacks from working in Natal. In the 1870s Natal's labour shortages caused Shepstone to focus attention upon Zululand. Many whites had come to believe that only British expansion would solve the long-term economic and security problems of Natal. Cetshwayo increasingly faced pressure from Natal officials. On 11 December 1878, at a meeting with Natal colonial officials on the banks of the Thukela River, an ultimatum was delivered to Cetshwayo threatening declaration of war. They demanded that he withdrew his people from a disputed border area, pay a fine of 600 cattle, and above all, disband the Zulu army. Cetshwayo could not have been expected to comply with these terms that required the destruction of a central institution on which Zulu power was based. The Zulus found themselves forced to prepare for a struggle for survival. The war commenced on 12 January 1879. After a successful attack against British troops at Isandlwana, British reinforcement began arriving. Thereafter, Cetshwayo could not win the war. After the end of the Anglo-Zulu War, Sir Garnet Wolseley, Her Majesty's High Commissioner for South-East Africa, addressed an assembly of chiefs:

"Only yesterday you yourselves have seen [Cetshwayo] carried away as prisoner, never to return to Zululand ... His country is now to be divided up into different chieftainships, and I hope his fate will be a warning to all chiefs not to follow in his footsteps, but to act according to the commands and terms given by the British Queen ... Zululand now belongs to the Queen of England. She has, however, already enough land in Africa, and so has, through me as her representative, appointed certain chiefs to rule over the districts which I shall presently name."²⁰⁴

Zululand was not annexed, but in an attempt to render the claim of Zulu paramountcy harmless, the British divided the territory up into thirteen separate chiefdoms, replacing the rule of a 'Zulu king' with the rule of chiefs, who were appointed by, and therefore beholden to, the colonial administration. When Zululand became a British Colony in 1887,²⁰⁵ it came under the authority of the Governor of Natal who administered the territory through a Resident Commissioner at Eshowe, who in turn supervised the Resident Magistrates of the six administrative districts into which Zululand was divided, effectively extending the Shepstone system of indirect rule of Natal to Zululand. For all outward appearances, the way of life of Zululand's population did not seem to have been transformed radically, but gradually its population was made to conform to the requirements of an industrialising subcontinent. A significant indication of this process was the accelerated rate at which young men were transformed into migrant labourers for farms, mines and towns. New needs and aspirations were evolving among the black population as a consequence of this process. New social relationships and social divisions were also emerging. It is an irony of history that the old order of Zulu paramountcy had to be broken up, Cetshwayo and his heir Dinuzulu exiled, their territory partitioned between the British and Boers, thus creating new conditions that would allow new kinds of alignments with remnants of the Zulu lineage, in order to provide, as John Wright put it, "the basis for the emergence of a new set of claims to a Zulu identity".²⁰⁶

From the 1890s onwards black Christians (kholwa) were increasingly frustrated by the obstacles the white government was placing in the way of their economic, social and political aspirations. Influenced by the ideas of Christianity and civilisation, the kholwa, on the one hand,

²⁰⁴ Quoted in Cope (1993:3). See also Guy (1979:69-79) and Ballard (1988).

²⁰⁵ British Zululand was incorporated into the colony of Natal in 1897.

²⁰⁶ Wright (1992:8)

were seeking to establish a nationalist alliance in and outside Natal. On the other hand, their rejection of tribalism as shaped in the colonial context did not stand in the way of their seeking to combine nationalist aspirations with the restoration of the Zulu monarchy in an attempt to establish a new political power base. With the incorporation of Zululand into Natal, the kholwa communities in Natal began to move north of the Thukela River once the Zululand Lands Delimitation Commission of 1902-4 set aside forty per cent of Zululand available for purchase by blacks and whites. The incorporation of Zululand into labour and commodity markets brought about fundamental changes, weakening political forms of organisation based on chiefly authority and control. The fact of individual land ownership outside the control of chiefs was in itself a significant indication of social change.

In 1900 kholwa founded the Natal Native Congress. Its purpose was to cultivate political awareness among the black population, educate them about their rights, and to provide a forum for articulating grievances. Their four political priorities were: 1) the extension of the franchise; 2) freehold land tenure; 3) the improvement of education and industrial training; and 4) their inclusion as full members in a 'non-racial South African middle class'.²⁰⁷ None of these demands were incorporated into the Constitution of the Union of South Africa in 1910. As a result, leaders of the Natal Native Congress convened with other local and regional political organisations from throughout South Africa at Bloemfontein on 8 January 1912 to jointly found the South African Native National Congress (SANNC) - later renamed African National Congress (ANC).

With the passing of the Land Act in 1913, there was a clamp-down on black land purchase in Natal. This, coupled with the demand of the white dominated industry and commercial agricultural sector for labour, further marginalised the kholwa politically and economically. This led to the forging of an alliance between the more prosperous black farmers and educated elite among the kholwa and chiefs, especially those related to the Zulu ruling lineage, that set itself in opposition to white domination. This opposition found expression in a nationalist ideology coupled with Zulu ethnic consciousness. Zuluness embodied the notion that all black people of the Natal-Zululand region were 'Zulus' because their ancestors were once ruled by Zulu kings. This sense of Zuluness converged with European concepts of a distinct political entity, a Zulu nation as expressed by missionaries such as Colenso and Callaway during the second half of the nineteenth century.

Shula Marks has argued that this nationalist ideology included a mixture of historical influences:

"...on the one hand, pre-colonial ideology focused around the Zulu king, as the symbol of the unity of the nation; on the other, the aspirations of Christian converts imbued with nineteenth century notions not only of progress and improvement but also of universalism, the possibilities of individual assimilation to western norms and a constitutional monarchy. Born of the contradiction between the promise of progress and the reality of conquest and exploitation ... the mobilization of nationalism or ethnic consciousness is everywhere both backward and forward looking."²⁰⁸

²⁰⁷ Cope (1993:23).

²⁰⁸ Marks (1989:221).

In turning their attention to the pre-colonial past, the kholwa extracted from it the right to land and political independence, but rejected a system of tribal 'separation'.²⁰⁹

From 1920 onwards, Solomon, the son of Dinuzulu, and the Zulu lineage began to associate themselves politically more and more with the kholwa in an attempt to consolidate support for the reinstatement of Solomon as king of all 'Zulu people'.²¹⁰ A result of this alliance was the formation of the cultural and political organisation Inkatha.²¹¹ The preamble of the 1926 Inkatha constitution dwelt on the need for a Zulu national unity in order to lay claim to political independence:

"[I]t is to attempt to have unity amongst the Zulu people now scattered throughout and outside the Union with a view to establishing something tangible and worth the name of the once powerful ZULU NATION and also with the ideas of obtaining a place under the sun and not infinitely to suffer to be [down] trodden and looked down upon by other nations."²¹²

The 'Hereditary Paramount Chief of the Zulu Nation' was to be the patron of this new movement. Aims of the organisation were to 'encourage thrift amongst the Zulus as well as establish industries and trades' in order that the community prospered, for the Zulus were 'worthy of the name and traditions of their ancestors'; to further economic progress in the agricultural sector; and to establish 'educational and industrial schools' for Zulus. The aims reflected the kholwa's preoccupation with their own economic concerns and their dominance in the organisational structure of Inkatha.

"The formation of Inkatha [Zulu National Council]", stated Nicholas Cope, "was essentially an attempt on the part of local educated individuals (mainly from the Vryheid district) to cooperate with rural chiefs ... [and] was seen as a means through which commercial agriculture could be set underway on land purchased ostensibly by a 'tribe.' - non-tribal land buying syndicates had been practically outlawed following the 1913 Act".²¹³

The desired projects never materialised. Only two years later (1928) a new Inkatha constitution was adopted, largely due to government pressure. Officials resented the alliance between the leaders of the Natal Native Congress, the SANNC, and chiefs. Various individuals in the Department of Native Affairs gained the confidence of tribal leaders in order to influence the re-emergence of Inkatha as a cultural and quasi non-political organisation,²¹⁴ aligned with the

²⁰⁹ As John Dube, for example, put it, when he attacked whites' plans to pass the segregationist Native Land Act: "The system of tribal segregation may have suited very well a period when barbarism and darkness reigned supreme, and nothing was required beyond those doubtful blessings, but it had the fatal defect of being essentially opposed to all enlightenment and Christianity, of utterly lacking what nowadays is our supreme requirement - the power and means of raising the native people out of the slough of ignorance, idleness, poverty [and] superstition - in a word of utter uselessness as citizens or even servants in a civilised land. The times have changed and manners must change with them" (Pretoria News 23 March 1913, quoted in Marks 1986:53-54). The 1913 Land Act prevented blacks from purchasing land or remaining as squatters on the property of white land-owners.

²¹⁰ For a detailed study on the life of Solomon kaDinuzulu, the history of Inkatha, and the emergence of Zulu nationalism see Cope (1985,1993).

²¹¹ The original Zulu *inkatha* was an artefact, a 'sacred' coil passed on from generation to generation as part of the chief's regalia. Customarily it hung from the chief's or paramount chief's residence, symbolising the unity of the people. In 1879 Cetshwayo's *inkatha* was destroyed as British soldiers attacked his residence at Ulundi (Cope 1993:108, Maré/Hamilton 1987:227).

²¹² Quoted in Cope (1993:171).

²¹³ Cope (1985:156).

²¹⁴ Cope (1993:201-220).

government rather than the 'militant' black nationalist opposition. The timing was not just a matter of coincidence. A year earlier the Native Administration Act of 1927 legislated the restoration of tribal authorities. The revised 1928 constitution of Inkatha kwaZulu stated that it was necessary

"to foster by every constitutional means the spirit of unity among the people of the Zulu Nation and to keep alive the Nation's fine traditions, and its sense of obligations imposed upon it by those traditions toward the other races of the Union of South Africa, both Natives and Europeans" [Furthermore,] "it had become expedient to organise the heads of the Nations, and its responsible members in such a manner, and under such a constitution as will have the approval and sympathy of the Government of the Union of South Africa"²¹⁵

It was further decided that Inkatha was to be constituted "under the patronage of the Hereditary Chief of the Zulu nation, whose loyal devotion to the best interests, and traditions of his people had been so constantly and practically shown". Promoting 'Zulu traditions' and a sense of nationhood that set Zulus apart from others was intended to encourage "the development and progress of the Nation along such lines as will naturally be evolved out of the life and traditions of its people and to prepare them for the establishment of their own trade and industries".²¹⁶

The construction of a distinct Zulu culture and nation within the Union of South Africa as envisaged in the Inkatha constitution of 1928 would, as stated in the organisation's objectives, "secure the approval and sympathy of the Government of the Union of South Africa in all matters tending to uplift the Bantu races in the Union of South Africa". It was envisaged that under Inkatha, the Zulu nation would be a constitutional monarchy. Inkatha leaders sought state recognition as the representative organisation of a self-governing Zulu nation.²¹⁷ Although the government did not recognise the establishment of a Zulu constitutional monarchy and Inkatha disintegrated in the early 1930s, those who aligned themselves with Inkatha came to play an important political role. They formed an ideological opposition to trade unionism and ANC demands for the integration of South Africa's black and white population in a common society and served as a rallying-point of Zulu ethnic and nationalist consciousness.

By the time of Solomon's death in March 1933, Inkatha had disintegrated, but through its publicity and fund-raising campaigns it had done much to propagate an ideology of Zulu nationhood, which continued to have an influence on Zulu politics. "Solomon and Inkatha as a single image", argued Cope, "still had an important cultural - if not direct political - role to perform as an embodiment of Zulu nationalist concepts".²¹⁸

²¹⁵ The Inkatha constitution cited in Els (1990 134)

²¹⁶ Quoted in Els (1990 135). For the 1928 constitution of Inkatha see Els (1990 134-135), Cope (1993 202) and Buthelezi (1973)

²¹⁷ Cope (1993 215)

²¹⁸ Cope (1985 386). In the context of South Africa's homeland-policy in the Apartheid era the resuscitation of Inkatha by Mangosuthu Buthelezi in 1975 revived the historic claim for a Zulu monarchy and an independent Zulu nation-state. As leader of the Zulus and of the Inkatha movement Buthelezi repeatedly stressed that "Inkatha kwaZulu was a National Movement founded by the late King of the Zulus, Solomon kaDinuzulu in 1928. This was not a political organization but a National Movement" (Buthelezi 1973 3). On 14 July 1990 Inkatha was transformed into a political party. The political role of Buthelezi and Inkatha in recent South African politics is well documented. See for example Maré/Hamilton (1987), Maré (1992) and Mzala (1988)

8. Moshoeshoe, the missionaries, the Sesotho Bible and Basotho nation

The emergence of a Basotho nation had its origins in the nineteenth century transformation of a paramount chieftaincy into a nation. Moshoeshoe, son of a sub-chief of the Koena, succeeded in gaining acceptance as paramount chief in the area of present-day Lesotho.²¹⁹ His authority was reaffirmed by missionaries who identified with Moshoeshoe's determination to rule over previously independent chiefdoms, while retaining independence in the face of colonial expansion. Missionaries not only acted as his trusted advisors in dealing with the British and Boers, but also moulded the polity of Moshoeshoe's paramount chiefdom to coincide with the missionaries' concept of 'kingdom' and 'nation'. The creation of a bounded mission field in the southern African interior that was seen to coincide with an area under Moshoeshoe's rule, the demarcation of the territorial boundaries of Basutoland (Lesotho) by the British, and the creation of a written language were cardinal in shaping a Basotho ethnic identity. The contribution of French missionaries in this process is reconstructed in this chapter.

The socio-political organisation in the pre-Moshoeshoe era was characterised by autonomous chiefdoms scattered over southern Africa. Faction fights and succession disputes within ruling lineages posed a constant threat to chiefly authority. The situation became even more unstable in the 1820s when Shaka began to engage in expansionist politics. Chiefs, fleeing from the turmoil with their followers and their salvaged possessions, caused further disruptions and war. Virtually every chiefdom in the Highveld fell prey to plundering invaders. Some of the newcomers were absorbed by local chiefs, who then strengthened their forces and attacked neighbouring chiefdoms. Chiefs were continuously forming new alliances and breaking them once they were defeated by a stronger opponent. Moshoeshoe capitalised on the disruptions of this period and gathered together survivors of raids and wars. As his son, Nehemiah Moshoeshoe, observed, "The paramouncy was created by the disturbances of the Fecani [*difacane* (the scattering)]".²²⁰ Moshoeshoe succeeded in amalgamating previously disparate communities and transforming lineage-based chiefdoms into tributary units under the control of a paramount.²²¹ In exchange for recognising Moshoeshoe's overlordship and paying him tribute, foreigners were given access to land and accommodated in his centralised polity. Moshoeshoe maintained his commanding position by cattle-raiding, plunder, and diplomacy. He provided organisation, peace and regularity, thus attracting a large group of followers. William Lye summarised the genius of his charisma:

"By combining a secure retreat with astute political acts, and wealth in cattle, Moshoeshoe united most of the Southern Sotho. He appears to have obtained the submission of those whom he could dominate, to have accepted the alliance of those whom he could not, and to have submitted, at least

²¹⁹ For a detailed historical account on Lesotho and the Sotho see Lye/Murray (1980), Burman (1981), Eldredge (1993), Legassick (1969), Atmore (1969) and Halpern (1965).

²²⁰ Quoted in Lye/Murray (1980:50).

²²¹ Scholars have suggested a number of factors that might account for this transformation, including environmental and ecological factors resulting from population pressure, soil erosion and overgrazing, increased numbers of cattle, innovations in locally produced commodities, new forms of division of labour, introduction of long-distant trade and increasing commercial and social interaction with Europeans operating from the Cape and the coastal towns of Port Natal and at the Delagoa Bay (Cobbing 1988, Guy 1990, Gluckman 1960).

nominally, to those whom he could not resist. He used time and circumstances to consolidate his power.²²²

In 1833, the French missionaries Thomas Arbousset (1810-1877), Eugène Casalis (1812-1891) and Constant Gosselin of the Paris Evangelical Missionary Society²²³ arrived at Thaba Bosiu, responding to an invitation from Moshoeshoe. He had invited missionaries after he had been told how they had helped the Griqua to organise themselves to lay claim to a territory and win recognition by the Cape Colony as autonomous Griqualand. The Christian newcomers founded the mission stations Morija - at the residence of Moshoeshoe's two sons Letsie and Molapo - the stations Bethulie (1833), Beersheba (1835) and Mekuatleng (1837). In 1837 Moshoeshoe recalled Casalis to settle at Thaba Bosiu, where he became his trusted adviser. Mission stations became part of Moshoeshoe's strategy of peaceful consolidation of a territory which had long been troubled by mfecane wars (*lifaqane* or *difaqane* in Sesotho²²⁴) and internal feuds.

At Morija, where Arbousset was based, a school was built to educate converts. A high-point for the mission was the baptism of Moshoeshoe's son, Masopha (c.1820-1899), on Christmas Day in 1840, an event attended by Moshoeshoe himself. Having secured their loyalty, Moshoeshoe trusted the missionaries as useful channels of information and explanation. The missionaries believed in the superiority of the European Christian civilisation and Moshoeshoe came to share with them the ideal of establishing an independent kingdom and supra-'tribal' nation. In the missionaries' view such a transformation required changes in laws and customs, especially in regard to initiation schools and polygyny, thereby arousing deep resentment and rejection from the more conservative sections of the population, especially sub-chiefs. At the instigation of the missionaries, Moshoeshoe, for example, temporarily banned initiations schools and several of his sons did not attend them. To some of his wives Moshoeshoe granted letters of divorce, since they could not be admitted to church membership unless they separated themselves from him and accepted monogamy. Casalis reported:

"His [Moshoeshoe's] decision to separate from these women was not a private arrangement, simply between himself and the women, but it was proclaimed in a great assembly of the people in 1840. Some of the heathen present raised their voice in the meeting to oppose the introduction of the new custom, and even threatened one of the councillors of Moshesh with instant death for advising the chief to divorce his wives. But Moshesh was firm."²²⁵

The missionaries recognised Moshoeshoe as an 'African prince' and paramount chief. They believed that this gave him the power to make ultimate decisions in matters of law. They reduced the laws to writing and convinced Moshoeshoe to introduce new laws, e.g., an ordi-

²²² Lye/Murray (1980:50). Moshoeshoe lived from about 1786 to 1870. The exact date of his birth is unknown.

²²³ The Paris Evangelical Missionary Society (Société des Missions Évangéliques de Paris) was founded in 1822 and supported by Protestant churches in France and Switzerland. It was John Philip who had encouraged the French mission to commence work in southern Africa. He had visited France and Germany during his stay in Britain from 1826 to 1829. See Ambrose/Brutsch (1991) for details on Arbousset's life and work along with an English translation of Arbousset's journal of the missionary expedition in the company of 'King Moshoeshoe' in 1840. The journal was first published in French in 1842.

²²⁴ On the meaning of Sesotho see Coplan (1993). There are two orthographies of Sesotho in use: one in Lesotho, based on the written form developed by the French missionaries; the other in South Africa, following a conference in 1959 which sought to standardise the Sotho language. Hence, *lifaqane* in Lesotho becomes *difaqane* in South Africa.

²²⁵ Quoted in Burman (1981:13)

nance prohibiting liquor trade; a proclamation prohibiting the killing of people imputed to be witches; and a regulation which made it obligatory to seek Moshoeshoe's permission for trading, and further denied any white person the right to own land as private property²²⁶

In christianising the local population, the French missionaries followed the pattern set by their colleagues of the London Missionary Society and the Glasgow Missionary Society among the Tswana and Xhosa: They commenced by learning the language spoken in the environs of their mission stations, reduced the language to writing, set up schools, and started printing devotional and educational materials. By 1837 the missionaries had published a small catechism, and after a printing press for their station in Beersheba was set up in 1841, further publications followed. In 1845 the first complete version of the New Testament was printed at Beersheba.²²⁷ By 1864 literacy had spread to such an extent that the mission started publishing a monthly paper, *Leselinyana la Lesotho* (The Little Light of Lesotho), in the newly written language.²²⁸ Encouraged by missionaries, mission-educated authors wrote numerous articles on Basotho customs and history thus providing the first historical accounts of the Basotho written by blacks.

Just as the Christian missionaries had sought an active political role in transforming society, so did the mission-educated blacks become agents of change as reflected in their writings. The work of the Basotho authors, wrote Leloba Molema,

"are replete with references to *bohete* (heathenism), *botsho* (darkness), *bobe* (ugliness, sin), which is how they describe traditional culture. They condemn it roundly and upheld in its stead the 'light' and 'blessing' of Christianity . [T]he simple and practical decision of the missionaries to spread the Gospel through the medium of schools and printing presses not only had profound social and political consequences for traditional society, but also played an important part in mentally preparing Africans who were exposed to this education for their incorporation into the European economic system and way of doing"²²⁹

²²⁶ Moshoeshoe's Law of Trade of 1859 stated "Any trader who wishes to establish a shop, must first obtain permission from me Should he build a house, I grant him no right to sell it Further, I do not grant him liberty to plough the fields, but only to plant a small vegetable garden The trader who fancies that the place he is sojourning belongs to him, must dismiss the thought, if not, he is to quit, for there is no place belonging to the whites, in my land, and I have granted no white man a place, either by word, or by writing" (quoted in Halpern 1965 220)

²²⁷ The publication of the Sotho Bible, so commented the linguist Clement Doke, "has had a powerful influence in stabilising the language With the early translations 'Sesotho' became a literary language" (Doke 1958 89) How central the translation of the Bible was to the creation of new written languages is reflected in G H Franz's statement "When read in Sesotho, the Bible conjured up quite a different picture, than when read in one of the European languages The language of the Bible is furthermore the language of the Basotho people, and must always remain the standard of Sesotho the translators of the Bible were purists, and so their translation of the Bible is an exceptionally pure form of Sesotho" (Franz 1930 147)

²²⁸ *Leselinyana* and other short-lived periodicals laid the foundation for Sesotho literature An outstanding contributor to *Leselinyana* in the 1880s and 1890s was Azarel Sekese, an evangelist and teacher, who wrote religious meditations, the first collection of Sesotho proverbs and tales, and on Basotho customs An even more renowned contributor was Thomas Mofolo He had started off as 'houseboy' for Alfred Casalis, who sent him to attend a Bible School and a Teacher Training College In 1899 he started working at Casalis's press and Book Depot and after the Anglo-Boer War became proof-reader for the press It was in the years 1905 and 1906 that Mofolo wrote the first Sotho novel *Moeti oa Bochabela* (The Traveller to the East) (1907) On Mofolo and Sesotho literature see Kunene (1989) and Gérard (1971 101-180) and on Christian images in Sesotho literature see Molema (1989)

²²⁹ Molema (1989 xxiv-xxv)

In the early years of their language studies, missionaries considered Sesotho to be a dialect of Tswana (Tlhaping), which had been transcribed by Robert Moffat of the London Missionary Society at Kuruman. This was the point of view Casalis adopted in his book *La Langue Séchuana*, written during the 1830s and published in Paris in 1841. He stated that Sesotho was "one of the most considerable sub-divisions of this [Bechuana] family".²³⁰ The book contained three parts: an introduction of sixty pages dealing with the progress of the mission, a grammatical section, and finally a chapter titled 'Poésies des Bassoutos', in which proverbs, praises and folk-tales were reproduced in French translation. In respect to spelling and mixture of forms, the language he defined as 'Séchuana' was actually the dialect spoken by the people at Thaba Bosiu, who were Rolong (Tswana) and who spoke a language that was much interspersed with 'Sotho' elements.²³¹ In the 1830s the French missionaries applied the term 'Béchuana' or its English equivalent 'Bechuana' to describe all people residing in the southern African interior and speaking one of the Sotho-Tswana group of languages. 'Sechuana' or 'Séchuana' was used as a collective term for the dialects of any of these people.²³²

Casalis and Arbousset, like other missionaries, were opposed at first to the proliferation of publications in diverse dialects. They felt that this impeded their work. In their initial transcription of Sesotho, Casalis and Arbousset were guided by Robert Moffat's Tlhaping (Tswana) vocabulary. Eventually, however, due to Moshoeshoe's intervention, they created a standard version of Sesotho as the language of Moshoeshoe. Moshoeshoe expressed his dissatisfaction with the language adopted by the missionaries, citing the conflation of 'royal Sekoena' - the language spoken by the 'king' Moshoeshoe - with Tlhaping. Arbousset recorded in his journal written during an expedition to the northern reaches of Moshoeshoe's territory in 1840 the following conversation with Moshoeshoe:

"Once the people of the village had withdrawn, Moshoeshoe began a long conversation with me about Sesotho. 'My language is nevertheless very beautiful!', said the chief unaffectedly. 'We are only beginning to realise this since we have seen it written down. Thanks to the little books of the missionaries, it will not be altered: there it is written; oh, your paper; that paper organises everything well!'... he continued, 'and then, I only see words that are being changed because they are Tlhaping words. My language remains my language on paper. If that paper came from some remote corner of the Maloti, and if it arrived by itself at Thaba-Bosiu, it would be recognised as a Mosotho, and we would ask it if it had not been written by one of the subjects of Mokoteli [an ancestor of Moshoeshoe of the Bakoena ruling lineage].'"²³³

The missionaries came to perceive the language spoken by Moshoeshoe and the ruling lineage as the 'purest Sesotho' or 'royal Sesotho' and made it the basis for the written language, thereby reaffirming Moshoeshoe's political sovereignty. Tlhaping words were systematically eliminated and Moshoeshoe was regarded by Arbousset as the guardian of pure Sesotho. Strictly speaking, Sesotho stood for *Seshoeshoe*, the language of Moshoeshoe.²³⁴ The spread of Sesotho and its recognition as the sole language throughout the area under Moshoeshoe's in-

²³⁰ Casalis quoted in Legassick (1969:96). In the 1840s the French missionaries came to consider Sesotho as a distinct language (Ambrose/Brutsch 1991:11). For a list of publications dealing with Sesotho see Doke (1933:54-65).

²³¹ Lestrade in Doke (1933:77). See Doke (1959:10).

²³² The meaning and origin of the word *tswana* or 'bechuana' is not clear. Most convincing is the suggestion that the Xhosa called the people living in the interior *Abetswana* (Legassick 1969:95-96).

²³³ Arbousset (1991:101-2).

²³⁴ Ambrose/Brutsch (1991:102,180).

fluence and in areas bordering his territory had a unifying effect and provided a linguistic base for a political identity of the monarchical state.

Besides creating a written Sesotho language, missionaries published detailed accounts of their expeditions throughout the country. They recorded their interactions with the local population,²³⁵ proverbs, folktales and oral historical accounts, some of which were later published in mission journals. The *Journal des Missions Évangéliques*, which appeared from 1934 onwards, published the first detailed accounts about 'Moshoeshoe's kingdom'. It was Casalis's ethnographic monograph *Les Bassoutos* (1859/1861) that translated for the first time into text the coherency of a Basotho political, cultural and linguistic entity. Casalis gave detailed descriptions of village life, economy, customs, religion, the political and kinship system, language and history of a people, presenting a holistic *Bassouto*, i.e. Basotho identity. The social anthropologist Isaac Schapera regarded Casalis's publications as a "famous work, written at a time (1859) when scientific ethnographical research had not yet been born, [it] still ranks as the standard monograph".²³⁶

By the end of the first half of the nineteenth century the Paris Mission had founded eleven mission stations and jealously guarded their mission field against the intrusion of other mission societies. It was only in 1862 that the Catholic Mission was welcomed by Moshoeshoe after its missionaries had assured him that their work would not have the effect of dividing political loyalties. In fact, the Paris and Catholic Missions competed to win support among the ruling lineage in the form of converts to their own denomination. Against the protests of the French missionaries, the Anglican Church started founding mission stations in Basutoland from 1875 onwards too.

The missionaries were not the only white newcomers whom Moshoeshoe and other chiefs encountered. Since the early nineteenth century trekboers, traders and hunters had been crossing the Orange River. Circumstances changed abruptly with the arrival of the voortrekkers, who had left the Cape in search of land and a permanent new home. To halt Boer encroachment, the missionaries, on behalf of Moshoeshoe, made a formal request to the British officials in the Cape to enter an alliance. In 1843 and 1845 the British signed treaties with Moshoeshoe, offering him protection from the Boers, and then in 1848 annexed his land, creating a new British territory between the Orange and Vaal Rivers called Orange River Sovereignty.²³⁷

By signing the Napier Treaty of 1843, named after the Cape Governor Sir George Napier, Moshoeshoe agreed 'to be a faithful friend and ally of the colony', and 'to preserve order in the territory'. The treaty explicitly allowed the colonial authorities to define the boundaries of his territory.²³⁸ But Moshoeshoe was dissatisfied with the introduction of formal delimitation

²³⁵ See for example Arbousset (1991) and Arbousset/Daumas (1968).

²³⁶ Schapera further commented on Casalis's work: "It contains a good general account of the people, but is inevitably deficient in very much of what we now regard as essential to the full understanding of Native culture." (Schapera 1934:246). A second ethnographic monograph, *History of the Basuto: Ancient and Modern* (1912), was written by the missionary Frederic Ellenberger. For a bibliography of early ethnographical publications on the Basotho see Schapera (1934:323-325).

²³⁷ In fact this protection was never given (Burman 1981:14).

²³⁸ Napier was governor of the Cape from January 1838 to March 1844. His predecessor, Benjamin D'Urban, had already negotiated a 'treaty of friendship' between the Colony and the Griqua under the leadership of Andries Waterboer

of his boundaries since this curtailed his right to claim further land. After a series of attacks and counter-attacks between Moshoeshoe and colonial forces - supported by Rolong auxiliaries - the Orange River Sovereignty lapsed into chaos. A change in policy led to the British abandoning the Sovereignty in 1854. Notwithstanding agreements with the Cape Government guaranteeing protection, the Boers continued to infiltrate Moshoeshoe's land, leading to a series of wars between Moshoeshoe's warriors and the Boers.²³⁹

Desirous of preventing further destruction at the hands of the Boers and on the verge of defeat, Moshoeshoe, his son, and missionaries once again requested British protection. This time, fearing that the Boers might gain control over Moshoeshoe's territory, the British reversed their policy of neglect and intervened. In March 1868 they annexed the country to the Crown, officially naming it Basutoland. Additionally, the British consolidated further their rule in the region by annexing Griqualand West with its diamond fields in 1871, incorporating the area into the Cape Colony in 1880, and establishing a protectorate over Bechuanaland in 1885.

With the discovery of diamonds at Kimberley, the population of Basutoland took advantage of the economic boom. They supplied grain and labour (as mine workers and artisans). Some became independent businessmen. The new forms of income thus enabled them to purchase livestock, guns, blankets, and wagons to transport rural surplus to markets, transforming the 'rural' economy.

During the wars, the position of the missionaries became precarious. Their stations were attacked, and Moshoeshoe's son Masopha, who had been baptised, began to resent missionary practice. He became an ardent supporter of the very customs condemned by missionaries, such as circumcision and polygyny. Because of increasing opposition from chiefs, missionaries and converts readily accepted the colonial government's 'protection'. With the collapse of the political independence of the chiefs the missionaries lost their privileged status as advisers and intermediaries in the chief's dealings with the Cape Colony. In 1870, two years after the British annexed Basutoland to the Crown, Moshoeshoe died and was succeeded by his son Masopha. One year later, Britain transferred Basutoland to the Cape Colony, dividing the newly acquired territory into four districts and appointing a magistrate based at Maseru and

at Griquatown in 1834 in order to stabilise the northern border of the Colony. The Napier Treaty stated: "The territory of the chief Moshesh is bounded from the west, from the junction of the Caledon with the Gariep [Orange] rivers to the sources of those rivers near Bouta Bouta; on the south, by the Gariep River, from the junction aforesaid, on the north, by a line extending from about 25 to 30 miles north of the Caledon River, excepting near to its sources, and at its junction with the Gariep, where the lands of Bethulie and the territory of Sekonyela come close upon its northern bank." (quoted in Lye/Murray 1980:63) Moshoeshoe laid a counterclaim which was not recognised. After annexation, the boundaries of Basutoland were redrawn and defined by the treaty of Aliwal North of 1869. The area under the rule of Mopeli Mokhachane, half brother of Moshoeshoe and previously a subordinate chief, was not incorporated into Basutoland, but became part of the Orange Free State. Mopeli had, independently of Moshoeshoe, negotiated a treaty with the Free State Government. In 1867 a reserve was created to accommodate Mopeli, his followers and a group of refugees from Moshoeshoe's Basotho polity. Under Apartheid the reserve was transformed into the homeland QwaQwa.

²³⁹ Chiefs opposing Moshoeshoe, such as Moroka, aligned themselves with the Boers. In 1836 and 1837 several parties of the voortrekkers converged on Thaba Nchu, where they were cordially received by Moroka, chief of the Seleka Barolong. He was not rewarded for his friendship. After the Sotho-Boer War of 1865-1868 his land was absorbed into the Orange Free State and the black population was restricted to settlement in reserves. In the 1970s the boundaries of the district Thaba Nchu were redrawn and it was declared part of the homeland Bophuthatswana. For a history on Thaba Nchu see Murray (1992)

assistant magistrates in the districts, thus bringing the black population under the authority of the Department of Native Affairs. In order to avoid resistance from chiefs and especially Masopha, the magistrates adapted their administration to local conditions, and being unfettered by directives from Cape Town (at least until 1879) established a system of indirect rule.

Unlike the missionaries who increasingly came to resent chiefly authority and rejected old customs, native administrators did not abandon the office of chief, but modified his political role in society, undermining its authority. Colonial administrators sought to strike a balance between new regulatory and administrative structures and native law. Charles Duncan Griffith, from 1871 to 1881 Governor's Agent to Basutoland, wrote in a circular letter to the magistrates on 30 January 1872:

"With reference to Native Custom in Basutoland, and the attitude which Officials of the government should assume with regard to them, I shall from time to time have occasion to communicate with you my views and instructions. Some of these customs will be found not only harmless but useful and beneficial to the people at large, and in that case they should be encouraged and supported. Others will be found hurtful and illegal, both in the general tendency and practical results, and these should be discountenanced and done away with at once."²⁴⁰

Missionaries and their converts, who were by now being opposed by the chiefs, readily aligned themselves with the colonial administration. The Christians, wrote the missionary Emile Rolland to the Secretary of Native Affairs, Charles Brownlee, will

"naturally look to the Government for protection and get it, and are thus strong partisans of our rule as opposed to that of the chiefs. In any outbreak they would side with us to a man, and their example would be followed by their friends and relations and by all those who have learned to look up to their superior intelligence and experience for guidance and advice. The chiefs know this and know that no intrigues could be carried out without some Christian hearing of it and warning us, and thus a great moral check is established upon them, far beyond that which would be exercised by a mere political minority of the tribe."²⁴¹

The missionaries and the government, however, underestimated the Basotho. When the Cape Government announced that it would increase taxation and disarm the Basotho, chiefs were able to unite their people effectively into a successful revolt. They led a popular uprising, the War of the Guns (*Ntoa oa Lithunya*), against the Cape Government's 'civilising policy'. Using guns and guerrilla tactics, the Basotho warriors outmanoeuvred the Cape police units and troops. Since an unconditional surrender was not in sight, the experienced Cape official Griffith suggested:

"Knowing the Basutos ... I am bound to express my opinion that if the unconditional surrender of arms is not now enforced it would be better to withdraw from the country and let the Basutos manage their own affairs; if they are allowed to keep their arms now, after all that has been gone through, the magistrates, and the loyal people who have stuck with them, will return humiliated to their respective stations, without 'prestige', and without power to do any good, and the Government of the country will be virtually back again in the hands of chiefs, as it was before they became British subjects."²⁴²

²⁴⁰ Quoted in Burman (1981:75).

²⁴¹ Cape Native Affairs 274: Rolland to Brownlee, 28 December 1877, quoted in Burman (1981:84).

²⁴² Griffith to H. Robinson, Governor of the Cape Colony (1881-89), 20 April 1881, quoted in Burman (1981:151).

With the end of the war in April 1881 the chiefs were able to reconstitute their authority. In the years ensuing the magistrates became increasingly impotent and Christian converts no longer associated themselves with the administration. In fact, some of the converts had sympathised with the rebels. Steps by the Cape Government to establish order were not effective and it lost confidence in coping with the situation. After negotiations with the British Government, the Cape Parliament promulgated the de-annexation of Basutoland in March 1884. The territory fell anew under British control as the Crown Colony of British Basutoland. British administrators implemented the policy of indirect rule, allowing chiefs to administer local affairs. They worked closely with Letsie and Lerotholi, Moshoeshoe's senior son and grandson. In 1903 a National Council, with limited functions and dominated by chiefs, was established as an advisory body to the paramount chief.²⁴³ Opposing demands for an incorporation of the territory into South Africa in 1909, Britain assured the Basotho chiefs that their country would not be incorporated without consultation.

In summary, once the boundaries of Basutoland were defined and the territory recognised as a British protectorate, a national identity emerged. The population collectively came to identified themselves as the Basotho.

Their struggle to retain a certain political independence during the nineteenth and first half of the twentieth century came to be identified with the paramount chieftaincy and chiefs who sought to accommodate British institutions of governance by transforming their pre-colonial form of political organisation into a permanent demarcated polity. As Basutoland celebrated its independence as the kingdom of Lesotho in 1966, Moshoeshoe was commemorated as founder and originator of the Basotho 'kingdom'.

Although Basutoland/Lesotho was not territorially incorporated into South Africa, it functioned in economic terms just like any other native reserve: providing cheap labour and relieving the South African government of the social and administrative costs of maintaining the work force. By the end of World War II, some quarter million Basotho were working in South Africa's mines. Lesotho's economic dependency on migrant wage labour persists even today.

Basotho identity was further reinforced by the experience of mining. The dangerous work and lack of legal protection resulted in worker support networks. Basotho identity was further affirmed at the work-place due to employers coupling ethnicity with work skills. The Basotho mine workers were regarded by employers as having unchallengeable skills as manual rock loaders. They were further regarded by management as 'good boys'. While other workers organised work stoppages and strikes, the Basotho sought to gain advantages by co-operating with management. The Basotho's own emphasis on ethnic identity and the departmentalisation of the work force along ethnic lines encouraged ethnic rivalry in mine compounds, leading to faction fights between Basotho on the one hand and Xhosa or Mpondo on the other, as well as to ethnic strife in the townships. Gangs, organised along ethnic lines, such as the Ma-Rashea - the Russians - in the 1930s and 1940s, formed vigilantes, defending the interests of its members in the townships. The membership of Ma-Rashea comprised Basotho

²⁴³ The National Council, and later the Basutoland Council (founded in 1910), were dominated by Sotho chiefs, especially by 'the sons of Moshoeshoe'. The first political opposition to the chiefs emerged amongst the educated, the civil servants, businessmen and traders, who formed also in 1903 the Progressive Association

of common rural background, history, language and tradition, who had come to South African towns and mines in search of work as wage labourers.²⁴⁴

The Basotho living outside the borders of Basutoland/Lesotho were excluded from Basutoland citizenship. Treated as South African natives, they lived in reserves. In 1974 the one and a half million 'Basotho of South African origin' were assigned to the 'Basotho-homeland' named QwaQwa. Only a small percentage of them settled - either voluntarily or by force - in the over-crowded and poverty stricken 'homeland'. The majority of South African Basotho continued to reside outside QwaQwa as ethnic minorities in the black townships or 'homelands' of Transkei, Ciskei and Bophuthatswana.²⁴⁵

9. Missionaries and the shaping of Tswana identity

The contributions of missionaries to shaping Tswana identity were threefold: first, they transcribed the language spoken by the people among whom they worked and created a written language of Setswana (i.e. Tswana), which was adopted as the *lingua franca* of the missions, second, they introduced new norms and values on which conversion was prefaced; and third, missionaries such as Joseph Ludorf and John Mackenzie sought to transform political structures by supporting the idea of a Tswana 'territorial government'.²⁴⁶

From 1812 to 1814, Reverend John Campbell was charged by the Directors of the London Mission Society to Cape Town to inspect its mission stations in southern Africa and select new sites.²⁴⁷ He travelled to the eastern Cape, visiting Bethelsdorp, then proceeded on to Grahamstown and Graaff-Reinet. Accompanied by the missionary James Read, who was stationed at Bethelsdorp, Campbell proceeded northward, beyond the colonial border, to the mission station at Klaarwater among the Griqua. During his visit Campbell collected information about the hitherto unknown 'Bechwana tribes'. Having learned that chief Mothibi of the Tlhaping had expressed interest in receiving missionaries, he proceeded to Dithakong, the residence of chief Mothobi. Campbell returned to the Cape, pleased that the chief had accepted missionary work among his people.

The LMS commenced work among the Tlhaping in 1816, but in the first years made little progress. It was to fall to Robert Moffat to revive the mission in 1821. It was during the mfecane (difacane), as Robert Moffat sided with chief Mothibi and his people, defending Dithakong against attacks from marauding bands and neighbouring chiefdoms, that the reputation of missionaries improved somewhat. Mothibi and a group of his followers proved, nonetheless, unreceptive to conversion and moved away. A section of the Tlhaping remained behind, and the mission station became a magnet for dispossessed people. As a place of refuge, Kuruman proved important. The congregation grew, a church and school were built, and the church services were readily attended by the newcomers. As early as 1827 Moffat

²⁴⁴ On Basotho ethnicity and migrant labour see Guy/Thabane (1987,1988,1991)

²⁴⁵ QwaQwa's population increased from 24,000 in 1970 to 90,000 in 1975 (Bank 1994 81). On the political structures of QwaQwa and the emergence of a distinct ethnic nationalism see Quinlan (1986) and Bank (1994). All black homelands were incorporated into South Africa proper in 1994.

²⁴⁶ On the Tswana see Schapera (1952,1961,1970), Schapera/Comaroff (1988), Broadbent (1865), Kuper (1975, 1987), Lye/Murray (1980), Comaroff/Comaroff (1986,1991,1992), J L Comaroff (1974) and J Comaroff (1985)

²⁴⁷ Lovett (1899,I 531)

described the population of Kuruman as heterogeneous, comprising Tlhaping, Tlharo, Rolong, Kwena and 'Bashutas' (Basotho).²⁴⁸

The Wesleyan Methodists began soon afterwards to establish their own missions in the interior on the Highveld. In 1823 the Methodist missionaries Samuel Broadbent and Thomas Hodgson commenced work among the Seleka Rolong. The Seleka Rolong had emerged as an independent chiefdom as a result of political dissent. After the death of Tau, who had been the paramount chief of the Rolong around 1760, independent chiefdoms emerged, identified by the names of his four sons: Ratlou, Tshidi, Seleka and Rapulana. Further fractional divisions took place once the communities were caught up in the upheavals of the difacane. For example, in response to threats and attacks by the Tlokwa, the followers of Tshidi moved to a less accessible region along the Molopo River, while the Seleka fled southwards. It was at this time that the latter encountered the Wesleyan missionaries, who were searching for a community in which to build a station. Settling at Matlwase (later annexed to Transvaal), the chief of the Seleka granted land for the mission. It was the earliest Methodist mission station in the area.

Despite attacks and renewed uprooting, the Wesleyan Methodist missionaries remained loyal to the Seleka Rolong, and in 1826 under Broadbent's and James Archbell's guidance, a section of the Seleka settled at Platberg on the Vaal River. The Methodist mission was rebuilt at the new site, and a school and a printing press were set up. Platberg proved a safe refuge and in 1832 the Seleka were joined by the Tshidi and Ratlou. With an increase in population from 8,000 to 30,000, pasture land became scarce, making removal to a more fertile locality imperative.²⁴⁹ Archbell and John Edwards accompanied an exploring party in search of a new place to settle. In July 1834 the two missionaries negotiated with the Tlokwa chief Sekonyela and the paramount chief Moshoeshoe - working through the latter's own resident missionary adviser - and secured a suitable tract of land designated Thaba Nchu.²⁵⁰ The agreement drawn up by Archbell and Edwards stated explicitly that the transfer of land was made to the mission society and not to the Seleka. The missionaries presided over the orderly removal of the

²⁴⁸ Robert Moffat in a letter to Burder of the LMS, 20 August 1827 (quoted in Dachs 1975: 4)

²⁴⁹ Comaroff (1985: 23)

²⁵⁰ Moshoeshoe and Sekonyela signed an agreement, dated 17 July 1834, for the cession of land to the Wesleyan Methodists. It read "This indenture made this 17th day of July in the year of our Lord 1834, between Moshesh, chief of the Basutos, and Sikonyela, chief of the Mantaus, on the first part, and the Rev James Archbell and Rev John Edwards on the second part, other trustees from among the inhabitants of the ground bought to be hereinafter added Whereas the said Moshesh and Sikonyela have agreed with the said Rev James Archbell and Rev John Edwards for the absolute sale to them of the country hereinafter particularly mentioned, at or for the price of 8 head of horned cattle, 34 sheep and 5 goats And whereas the said country hath been so purchased as aforesaid for the purpose of establishing thereon a Mission Station for the use of preachers who are and may be members of the Methodist Conference, as established by the late Rev John Wesley, and of the Society of Methodists in connection with them, and for the use of the people who from time to time shall be actual resident therein, and the said purchase of cattle hath been raised by voluntary contributions from the individuals belonging to the said Society, and hath been agreed that the country so purchased shall be conveyed upon Trusts hereafter declared, they, the said Moshesh and Sikonyela, hath granted, bargained and sold, and by these presents do grant, bargain and sell, unto the said Rev James Archbell and the Rev John Edwards and the other persons hereafter to be named as Trustees, their Heirs and Assigns, all that Country situated round the mountain called Platberg, reaching on the north to the poort called Leeuw Poort from thence in a line to Leeuw River, which is the boundary on the west and south to its junction with the river called Caledon, which latter forms the boundary on the east and south till it passes the poort called Leeuw Poort, the northern boundary" (quoted in du Plessis 1965: 433-434)

Sekela Rolong to Thaba Nchu. As a result, Thaba Nchu became the core area of Maroka's chiefdom up to the 1870's. While the missionaries became the new owners of the land, a community emerged under the leadership of chiefs who continued to exert their authority and proceeded to allocate land according to long-standing customs.

The Wesleyan Methodist missionaries like those of the London Missionary Society found it necessary at the start to associate themselves with individual chiefs, serving as practical and spiritual advisors to their hosts. In the course of time, their attitude changed. For example, after chief Mothibi of the Tlhaping moved his residence in 1828, Kuruman's LMS missionaries stayed behind and opted for offering their services to people marginalised during the unsettled times who were no more associated with a particular chief. Through this experience, missionaries had come to realise that when a local population was well integrated into a political-religious system of chiefly power and ritual it remained reluctant to associate itself closely with the church and accept baptism. Virtually all of the earliest converts were outsiders, who had been left destitute by the ravages of the difaqane, or had been serfs in local chiefdoms.²⁵¹ Edwards's account of the establishment of a station at Litshuani, near Thaba Nchu, in 1833 referred to the marginal situation of these people:

"The natives of that country who ... were through fear living in the mountains, gained courage from seeing we were settling down quietly and living in peace, and they came down and began to settle at and near the Station."²⁵²

By 1848 the Tshidi had left Thaba Nchu and returned to the Molopo region, as chief Tawana was succeeded by his son Montshiwa. Recognising the strategic benefits of a missionary presence such as at Thaba Nchu, Montshiwa requested a resident missionary for Molopo. In January 1850 Reverend Ludorf arrived to take up residence at Lotlhakane. Montshiwa's invitation to him reflected a growing consciousness among chiefs in the interior on the Highveld that missionaries were indispensable, especially in their efforts to secure political independence in the face of colonial advancement. Missionaries were valued as political agents for exchanges with the outside world.

The LMS and WMMS established a network of mission stations constituting the Bechuana (Tswana) Mission. Initially, the term 'Bechuana' was adopted as a blanket term for all peoples living in the interior. "The Bechuana", wrote James Archbell in 1830,

"are known to commence in the east about Delagoa Bay and to extend southward and westward to the colony of the Cape ... They incline to the north and are found on the western shores about the 23° of southern Lat, under the denomination of Damaras ... if there are many dialects of Bechuana, the differences are very small."²⁵³

Being very much aware of the fact that various dialects were indeed spoken among the 'Bechuana', and that there was no single central authority to impose a standardised form of language and culture, the missionaries undertook to create a written language that would transcend existing political, social and linguistic differences and serve as a central vehicle in their own 'civilising' project. They did not wish to have their mission field defined by any one independent chiefdom or 'tribe' but rather as a 'supra-tribal nation'. This was reaffirmed by

²⁵¹ Comaroff/Comaroff (1991:238-239).

²⁵² Quoted in Comaroff/Comaroff (1991:238).

²⁵³ James Archbell, 6 September 1830, quoted in Legassick (1969:96).

John Mackenzie, who came to Kuruman to work for the LMS in 1858. On the use of the word Bechuana he stated:

“These people do not use this word [Bechuana] of themselves, or of one another; nevertheless they accept of it as the white man’s name for them, and now begin to use it for themselves.”²⁵⁴

Mackenzie presupposed in his ethnographic tract that chiefdoms and ‘tribes’ on the Highveld constituted a cultural and linguistic unity as ‘one people’, the ‘Bechwana’.²⁵⁵

It can be concluded that the category Bechuana was of no real meaning to the black population living between the Malopo and Vaal Rivers (Southern Tswana) or to the population north of the Malopo River, in present-day Botswana (Northern Tswana), prior to the arrival of the whites. It was to be made a reality in the process of christianisation and the establishment of a colonial order. The unifying elements on which this new Tswana identity was based were the creation of a standard language Setswana (i.e. Tswana) as the *lingua franca*, and the transformation of pre-modern governmental and political forms of organisation.

9.1. The politics of language

In order to preach and teach, James Read at the LMS station at Latakoo - founded in 1817 - learnt the local language spoken by chief Mothibi and his followers, the Tlhaping, and produced the first Tlhaping spelling book that his colleagues printed at Griqua Town. Robert Moffat, who was most the influential person in establishing the Tswana Christian Mission, became the epitome of the self-sacrificing missionary. Upon his arrival in the interior in 1821 he sought to master the local vernacular as quickly as possible.²⁵⁶ Nevertheless, being slow in learning the local language, he preached for some years in Dutch and used interpreters, a situation he resented. Moffat commented about his problems in communicating with the black population in these words:

“A missionary who commences giving direct instructions to the natives, though far from being competent in the language, is proceeding on safer ground than if he were employing an interpreter, who is not proficient in both languages, and who has not a tolerable understanding of the doctrines of the Gospel. Trusting to an ignorant and unqualified interpreter, is attended with consequences .. dangerous to the very objects which lie nearest the missionary’s heart.”²⁵⁷

Language was not only the key to religious conversion but to communicating the civilising mission. Moffat believed that the power of the written word and the force of God’s moving

²⁵⁴ Mackenzie (1887, I 22)

²⁵⁵ Dachs (1975:9-13) Dachs reprinted a manuscript written by Mackenzie in 1881, in which he described chiefs and tribes he identified as ‘Bechwana’. He also argued that the ‘Bechwana’ and the ‘Basuto’ could be regarded as one people

²⁵⁶ Robert Moffat was born at Ormiston, some 40 kilometres outside Edinburgh, on 21 December 1795. He had a strict Calvinist upbringing in a United Presbyterian household, “a household for which improvement meant not only industry and thrift, but also good works for those less fortunate” (Comaroff/Comaroff 1991 82) He had almost no formal schooling and theological training. At the age of fourteen he became an apprentice gardener, and later moved to Cheshire, where he joined a group of Independent Methodists. He offered his service to the LMS, was ordained and sailed for southern Africa in 1816, landing in Cape Town in January 1817 (du Plessis 1965 154, Comaroff/Comaroff 1991:82-83).

²⁵⁷ Moffat (1842 293-294). On Robert Moffat and the ‘Bechuana Mission’ see Moffat (1842), Lovett (1899, I 582-608, 632-648), du Plessis (1965 154-164) and Comaroff/Comaroff (1991 127-215).

message would transform the existing order of societies untouched by Christianity. Hence the mastery of the 'language of the natives' was a primary objective of Moffat:

"The vast importance of having the Scriptures in the language of the natives will be seen when we look on the scattered towns and hamlets which stud the interior, over which one language, with slight variations, is spoken as far as the Equator. When taught to read they have in their hands the means not only of recovering them from their natural darkness, but of keeping the lamp of life burning even amidst comparatively desert gloom."²⁵⁸

In order to master the native language, Moffat left Kuruman for two months to live among indigenous speakers; on coming back he was able to preach in 'Sechuana' (Tlhaping). By 1826 Robert Moffat as well as his Methodist colleagues Samuel Broadbent and James Archbell had translated English educational materials into the locally spoken languages. Moffat translated Luke's Gospel and in June 1830 travelled to Cape Town to have it printed. He returned to Kuruman with a printing-press and by 1838 Moffat had completed his first draft of the New Testament. In commenting on his Bible translation, Moffat wrote:

"The Sechuana language, though exceedingly copious, is of course deficient in theological terms ... This at first occasioned considerable difficulty; but research has convinced me, that the language itself possesses an ample source of suitable words to convey with wonderful clearness, the language and meaning of the Scripture."²⁵⁹

Tswana was deemed to reflect the 'primitive' mentality of the local population, similar to peripheral 'folk' dialects in Europe.

The missionaries' approach to learning the native language was based on the models of normative grammar and vocabulary common in Britain and Europe, but the categories applied did not always neatly correspond to their Tswana equivalents. In addition to coming to terms with grammar, Moffat and his colleagues paid great attention to vocabulary, compiling wordlists in the form of spelling books. To Moffat it was self-evident that Tswana terms should be synonymous with their English counterparts. He created a counterpart of the Scriptures, as he read them, in the tongue of the 'natives'. In translating the Bible, Moffat gave new insinuations to Tswana words, reflecting on the European mission ideology. For example, Moffat used the word *badimo* (ancestor) to denote 'demons' and it became standard church usage. He perceived ancestral worship as unacceptable to Christianity and interpreted it as a sign of primitiveness. Everyday words such as *moruti* (teacher) for the 'evangelist' and *modumedi* (one who agrees) for 'Christian believer' were practically redefined for the Christian context. Additionally, Dutch and especially English words were introduced to denote European innovations and practices: for example *madi* for 'money' and *tikete* for 'membership ticket', *kereke* for 'church' and *sekolo* for 'school'. The impact of the Christian mission was also exemplified by the new conventions introduced for personal naming. The church authorities required that Christian names be given at baptism and complemented with a family name, which was derived from the eponymous heads of local agnatic decent groups. In this manner Christians were to be set apart from non-Christians.

Assigning words new contextual meanings introduced a powerful agent of change once they were institutionalised as part of the daily practice and rituals of Christian converts. The

²⁵⁸ Moffat (1842:618).

²⁵⁹ Moffat at Kuruman to the Bible House, London, 3 July 1838, quoted in Doke (1958:85).

institution of baptism was to replace the religious rites of initiation and circumcision and missionaries repeatedly announced the impending demise of these rites. As Mackenzie wrote:

"The early missionaries opposed circumcision as a religious rite; ... [saying] in effect, to the people, 'There are two ways and two rites: the way of God's Word and the way of heathenism; the rite of baptism and the rite of circumcision. Let all give up one and adopt the other'."²⁶⁰

Until the mid-nineteenth century the influence of Tswana mission on transforming pre-modern society in the interior was limited. The people, later classified as Tswana, did not readily accept the revision of their language as Moffat observed:

"Many, alarmed at the progress made by the 'medicine of God's word', as they termed it, were loud in their complaints of the new order of things which was introduced, and some were determinably opposed to this new word or doctrine, that they removed to a distance beyond the reach of the Christian atmosphere."²⁶¹

The Wesleyan Methodists devised their own orthography independently of the LMS, treating Rolong as the language of the people on the Highveld. James Archbell printed his own Rolong language book at Platberg and in 1837 published in Thaba Nchu the first grammar of the 'Bechuana language' - imitating Boyce's Xhosa grammar. Once Moffat published the Tswana Bible, however, his translation came to prevail as his publications were used throughout the Tswana mission field. Rolong thus was classified as a dialect of Tswana.

In 1856 a new phase began, marked by the emergence of a definable mission-educated black Tswana-speaking community and Tswana literature. That year the Wesleyan, Joseph Ludorf, began publishing a periodical titled *Molekori oa Bechuana* (The Tswana People's Voice), and in the next year William Ashton, stationed at Kuruman, started a newspaper called *Mokaeri oa Becuana, le Muleri ea Mahuku* (The Instigator of the Tswana People and Announcer of the News). Although these publications were short-lived, they served as a common public forum for the literate Tswana community. The articles written by mission-educated blacks reveal that they had adopted norms and values communicated to them by the missionaries and was thus central in spreading Christianity and ideas of a new social order.

9.2. The politics of Christian trusteeship

In the early years of mission work among the Tswana, the LMS and Methodists worked under the aegis of the chiefs. Most first-generation missionaries saw the practical advantages of a strong chiefship, since it ensured a stable polity within which they could work and commence to build their 'Kingdom of God'.²⁶² Co-existence, however, between the chief and missionary soon eroded. Notwithstanding the material benefits chiefs and their people had by accommodating missionaries, long-term mission activities undermined the chief's status as political and religious sovereign by opposing rites essential to his control over his people and property. The missionaries' rejection of existing communal rituals as 'heathen ceremonies' was an attempt to reclaim religion exclusively for God, creating a distinction between the

²⁶⁰ Mackenzie (1871:378).

²⁶¹ Moffat (1842:576).

²⁶² Comaroff/Comaroff (1991:258-259).

'political' and the 'religious', thus fracturing chiefship and challenging the legitimacy of the chief. Hence, missionaries' attempts to control the religious realm rendered the missionary and chief competitors. The Christian missions came to offer people an alternative to chiefly rule. Mission societies mobilised their own followers, institutionalised alternative forms of social organisation based on individualism, self-improvement and a monogamous household as the basic unit of production and consumption, and created new leadership structures and a moral code. Once converts had accepted Christian values and practices, they rarely saw a possibility of being accommodated within the religious or political institutions of pre-modern chiefdoms. They served as agents of change in institutions of the mission, or as staff within the lower reaches of the colonial bureaucracy. Mackenzie's judgement on the institution of chiefly rule reflected to a large extent the opinion of missionaries in general:

"On the whole, the old feudal power of the native chiefs is opposed to Christianity; and the people who are living under English law are in a far more advantageous position as to the reception of the Gospel than when they were living in their own heathen towns surrounded by all its thralls and sanction."²⁶³

According to Mackenzie the question was "how the feudal and tribal system could be superseded by a general government, without loss of personal property, the unoccupied lands and the supremacy of the chiefs being the only things taken away".²⁶⁴ He suggested that chiefs and headmen ought to adjust their rule to be "the chiefs of to-day and not of the olden times".²⁶⁵ To him, 'chiefs of to-day' ought to accommodate values of industry and commerce paired with Christian religious practice. Missionaries, he believed, had a key role in this transformation:

"[If] a man becomes a Christian he cannot continue to live in the habits of a heathen ... In order to complete the work of elevating the people, we must teach them the arts of civilized life ... If they are no longer to start upon the marauding expedition, if they are not to depend upon the precarious results of chase, then we must teach them to till their own land, sow and reap their own crops, build their own barns, as well as tend their own flocks ... [The missionary] longs to see Africans united as friends, interwoven with the general brotherhood of race. He desires to behold the African ship weighted with the produce of African soil and the results of African industry, mingling on the great ocean with ships of other lands, and returning home laden with the varied treasures of commerce."²⁶⁶

When John Mackenzie arrived at the Cape in 1858, the mission societies were well established throughout southern Africa, and the Cape colonial government and the Boers were beginning to compete over control of the territory to the north and east. The entire Highveld became a scene of divided loyalties and endemic conflict. Upon failing to pacify the region, the British and the Cape Government temporarily withdrew.

In January 1852, the Cape Government negotiated an agreement with the representative of the Boers, Andries Pretorius, who had settled with his people on the western Highveld,

²⁶³ Mackenzie, August 1876, quoted in Dachs (1972:650).

²⁶⁴ Mackenzie (1887,1:79).

²⁶⁵ Mackenzie (1887,1:77).

²⁶⁶ Mackenzie quoted in Dachs (1975:72). This was part of Mackenzie's statement at his ordination in Edinburgh in April 1858, as he was asked to answer questions regarding his mission work.

around Potchefstroom. Under the terms of the Sand River Convention the British granted the Transvaal Boers independence and thus the right to claim the territory beyond the Vaal River. In the second agreement, the Bloemfontein Convention (1854), the British abandoned the Orange River Sovereignty and transferred it to the Boers. Thereafter the Boers made a serious effort to subjugate the black population along the western border of Transvaal and in the area of Thaba Nchu, seeking to exact taxes and labour for their farms. Some chiefs withdrew to avoid confrontation, others agreed to sign treaties in order to receive recognition by the Boers. The presence of Boers had a destabilising effect in the interior. They lacked the means to control the black population in their midst, let alone those at the borders of their claimed territory.

When Mackenzie first reached Kuruman in December 1858, the station was under the threat of an imminent attack by the Transvaal Boers. Under these circumstances, Mackenzie formed a long-standing impression of the Boers as aggressors. He rejected the attempt by Boers to control Tswana land and labour. Responding to the growing threat Boers posed to the chiefdoms in the interior, Mackenzie demanded a strong British presence to control them. Mackenzie was not alone in his defence of the Tswana. The missionary Joseph Ludorf, who had worked among the Thidi in the Molopo region, strove for an autonomous Tswana state, the 'United Tswana Nation'. But no easy solution to the conflicts in the interior was in sight.

Almost immediately after the discovery of diamonds in 1867 at Hopetown on the Orange River, six parties laid claim to the territory. Competing claims were made by the British; the Boer republics of the Orange Free State and Transvaal, the Griqua, the Tlhaping; the Rolong (Tshidi and Seleka), who asserted rights over half of the disputed land on the grounds that it had been theirs before they moved to Thaba Nchu, and the Tshidi, who argued that the other half was theirs by ancestral inheritance. The Bloemhof Commission met in April 1871 to take evidence on titles to land at the diamond fields. The matter was then subjected to arbitration under the chairmanship of Lieutenant-Governor Keate of Natal. The hearing ended with a grant of the land with the diamond fields to the Griqua, which was duly ceded to Britain. Prior to the hearing, the Griqua leader, Nicholas Waterboer, had petitioned the British High Commissioner to place his territory - including the contested area - under British rule. At the hearing, Ludorf defended the Rolong's case and succeeded in having the Rolong and Tlhaping awarded most of their claim to the territory to the north, including land regarded by the Boers as falling inside their western territory.²⁶⁷ While the Boers denounced the land claims as invalid, and Ludorf feared that the Rolong and Tlhaping would be defeated, he called on the chiefs to unite. Ludorf drew up a constitution for a 'United Barolong, Batlhaping and Bangwaketse Nation', a Tswana state with a formal government, appointing himself as 'commissioner and agent' to the chiefs in the awarded territory. In his view this was the only solution to avoid oppression at the hands of the Boers.

While Ludorf sought to create a Tswana nation politically independent from Britain, the Cape and the Boer republics, Mackenzie favoured a reform of Tswana society moulded by Christian teachings and British civilisation. His scheme of territorial government aimed at weakening "the communistic relations of the members of a tribe among one another, letting

²⁶⁷ Comaroff (1985:32).

in fresh, stimulating breath of healthy individualistic competition; and slowly, but surely and in the general tribal interest, to supersede the power and influence of the chiefs by an evidently helpful Queen's Government".²⁶⁸ Mackenzie wanted Bechuanaland to be brought under British rule and in 1878 began pressing Tswana chiefs and British alike to implement his scheme of 'territorial government' in order to end the tensions and wars marking the 1870s. Chiefdoms in the interior faced severe struggles over their sovereignty and access to and control of land. Some chiefs sought British protection, other chiefs found advantage in siding with the Boers against competing chiefs. Treaties signed by some Rolong and Tshidi chiefs sanctioned Boer intrusion. Other chiefs responded by launching an attack on Boer settlements in the Tansvaal in 1878. In turn, the Transvaal Government responded by annexing land. In this atmosphere of turmoil Mackenzie hurried to London to advocate British protection for the Tswana people. In March 1884 after accepting an offer to enter government service, Mackenzie formally resigned his missionary appointment²⁶⁹ and became the Deputy Commissioner in the Bechuanaland Protectorate (later named Botswana), established in 1884. He saw no problem with a missionary taking a government post; he argued that it "would be regarded, and justly, as a case of the missionary coming to the assistance of the native and getting for him his rights".²⁷⁰

Chiefdoms south of the Molopo River (Southern Bechuanaland) accepted British rule in an attempt to restrain the Boers. During this time the Tshidi Rolong dominated the north while the Tlhaping and Tlharo were the major chiefdoms of the south. Southern Tswana came under British control in 1884 and was made into a Crown Colony, British Bechuanaland. In 1885 the northern chiefdoms came under the British as the latter proclaimed the Bechuanaland Protectorate. This newly defined territory excluded the Seleka Rolong residing at Thaba Nchu. The Boer Republic of Orange Free State dissolved the political independence of the Seleka Rolong chiefs. Southern Bechuanaland was administered under a system of indirect rule by the Governor of the Cape, who was simultaneously the High Commissioner for

²⁶⁸ Mackenzie, 4 December 1883, quoted in (Dachs 1972:652).

²⁶⁹ The LMS rejected a too close union between Church and State as the LMS Acting Foreign Secretary Whitehouse put it in 1879: "The Directors object to sustaining the two relations, that of the Missionary and that of the Government official. This has been tried by Missionaries for years, but in general the results were more or less disastrous. Additional reasons supporting the Directors' objection are found to exist in Bechuana land. I refer to the sensitiveness of the natives in many cases under their suspicion of, not to say hostility to, the British Government. Recently they appear to have regarded the Missionary as well as other white men, as lined in some way with the British Government, and this impression is likely to be deepened if one of the Missionary circle should become a government official." (quoted in Dachs 1975:133-134) It was only in early 1884 that Mackenzie resigned from his missionary post. In the resolution of the LMS Board of Directors - on 19 March 1884 - concerning Mackenzie's withdrawal, they expressed their respect for his work: "And the Board would further pray: That with the development of a just and humane policy on the part of the British Government, administered with the firmness and gentleness which the Commissioner possesses, there may be inaugurated a future for the Bechwana people by which the first beginnings of civilization and the early lessons of the Gospel may be carried out in abundant prosperity, and the production of the highest virtue and the brightest graces of the Christian life." (quoted in Dachs 1975:165-167). Mackenzie was well acquainted with Northern Bechuanaland. From May 1862 until 1876 he had lived there representing the LMS in the Ngwato chiefdom. Chief Khama of the Ngwato had been converted to Christianity. He used the Christian doctrines to introduce innovations and eventually ousted his father. Together with Mackenzie, Khama lobbied in Britain against subjugation by the Boers (Dachs 1975:193-205).

²⁷⁰ Mackenzie in Kuruman 1879, quoted in Dachs (1975:133).

Bechuanaland, represented through resident officers in each of the three newly established districts of Vryburg, Mafeking and Taung

Mackenzie's aim was to create a unified government for both Northern Bechuanaland (Bechuanaland Protectorate) and Southern Bechuanaland, but in the face of increasing hostility against his policy of trusteeship, he resigned his deputy commissionership in August 1884. This opened the way to Cecil Rhodes' implementing his imperial plans, which suited the aspirations of the Cape Government. Isolated and powerless, Mackenzie settled in British Bechuanaland where he hoped to arbitrate outstanding disputes among the Bechuana chiefdoms, the Transvaal white farmers and 'freebooters', the latter having formed two tiny republics, Stellaland and Goshen, from which they repeatedly raided the Tlhaping and Tshidi. In his efforts to restore land to the Tswana chiefs, Mackenzie pleaded for armed help to restore peace. This alienated him further from the Boers, the Cape Government and the British High Commissioner. As a proposal to annex Bechuanaland gained rapid support among Cape politicians and officials, Mackenzie tirelessly warned officials in Britain and the Cape of the consequences.

"I referred to the 'situation' as regard Cape Town and especially as to the indecent haste with which the Cape politicians have made a 'rush' for Bechuanaland by annexation to the Cape Colony, altho' they would not move an inch to fight for the country as against the Transvaal, or in the interest of its native owners. Annexation to the Cape Colony at present will mean ruin to many a native interest, and will without doubt lead to war. Leave us under Territorial Government, till we have settled some of our pressing affairs, settled them in our own Territorial Court from which there is no appeal, and Bechuanaland may come right yet."²⁷¹

Mackenzie repeatedly mobilised chiefs to articulate their desire to be ruled by the laws of England under the Government of the Queen. Letters from chiefs - translated by John Mackenzie - to Her Majesty the Queen endorsed Mackenzie's arguments. As a Rolong chief put it:

"I do not desire to be governed by the Cape Government. I learned from the two Honourable Ministers from Upington and Sprigg, when they came to speak concerning my country, that they intended to take my country from me and give it to the Freebooters. To myself and my tribe they proposed to give ten farms. So I observed that the Cape Govt. does not like black people, and does not like that we remain a nation."²⁷²

Although opposition against his plans grew, Mackenzie continued to fight against the Cape Government's expansionist politics. He saw his plan as a political solution to the growing racial polarisation in the Boer republics and the Cape Colony, pleading to Sydney Buxton, the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies in London:

"I beg to remind you of the great importance of your attitude towards Bechuanaland, *as being still the key of the political situation in South Africa*. You will remember that my contention was that our progress in South Africa need not be accompanied with bloodshed and outrage, and that the natives were willing peacefully to yield their Sovereignty and their unoccupied lands *provided we assure them of protection and fair usage in the possession of the land which they were occupying and able to use*. All this was held by certain people to be 'too favourable' to the natives on the one hand, and

²⁷¹ Mackenzie in Taung to Frederick William Chesson, Secretary of the Aborigines Protection Society and member of the Liberal Party, 6 May 1884, quoted in Dachs (1975: 167-168).

²⁷² Chief Montshiwa, Mafikeng, 13 July 1885, quoted in Dachs (1975: 184).

too favourable to the British power in South Africa on the other ... And so the arrangement made with Khame and other Chiefs was rejected at Cape Town ... If the British Government *hold on to* Bechuanaland, and govern it as a Crown Colony, we are really bringing about and making possible a future Confederation of South African states and colonies under the British flag. It is a mere question of our *holding on to* and administering a country now in our hands, a country which would be a necessary factor in such a Confederation. If we keep in the front in this way and *wisely administer and really open up and develop Bechuanaland and Khame's country*, our presence and our policy will give tone to the whole of South Africa; and in the course of years the progressive peoples of the various states will make their presence felt and a happy Confederation is formed. But if you aggrandize the Cape Colony, you destroy all hope of a well-balanced Confederation; you sacrifice with your eyes open the interests of the natives and you place the whole country in the hands, and at the disposal, of men utterly opposed to ourselves as to justice and fair-dealing between man and man.²⁷³

In 1895 the British transferred Southern Bechuanaland to the Cape Colony at the request of Cecil Rhodes, fulfilling his goal to acquire direct control over the black population. Colonial interests proved to be more powerful than Ludorf's and Mackenzie's plea for Tswana territorial government.

The discrepancy between the values learned from the mission and the harsh reality of an increasingly racist society led the literate and educated blacks to express open resistance to the colonial order. While some questioned the legitimacy of the European mission churches and responded by forming independent black churches, others moved beyond the context of the church and founded political organisations. The protest articulated by these local and regional organisations, which came to constitute the South African National Congress in 1912, was framed in the ideology of the mission, viz., liberal democracy, individual equality, the separation of Church and State, and a qualified franchise system based on the principle of having to prove oneself 'sufficiently civilised'.

By the end of the nineteenth century neither did the chiefdoms retain their independence nor was the formation of a united Tswana nation accomplished. The territory had been partitioned among the Cape Colony in the south, Great Britain in the north, and the South African Republic (Transvaal) in the East. Starting in the 1880s these governments set aside native locations or reserves.²⁷⁴ By that time large tracts of land formerly held by chiefs, especially in the Transvaal, had already been taken over by whites. The power of chiefs had been curtailed and black persons became subject to taxation and labour supply laws.

10. Creating order in the Transvaal

Wherever Boers had settled, they tolerated scarcely any social interaction with the black population except as masters and servants. In the Boer republics the black population by far outnumbered the white newcomers and the vast territories claimed by the Boers were fragile entities. The black communities were far from disintegrating as had occurred in North

²⁷³ Mackenzie to Buxton, Hankey, 18 October 1892, quoted in Dachs (1975 257-258) Emphasis in original

²⁷⁴ In the Bechuanaland Protectorate the British established 'tribal reserves' for the major chiefdoms, the Ngwato, Tawana, Kwena, Ngwaketse and Kgata in 1899, the Maletle in 1909 and the Tlokwa in 1933. Additionally land was reserved for the Tau Mining Company in 1909 and for Europeans the rest of the country became Crown Lands. In September 1966 Botswana was granted independence (Lye/Murray 1980 85-87). On the delimitation of tribal reserves in the Bechuanaland Protectorate see the map in Schapera (1970)

America and Australia. They adapted to new opportunities as well as to restraints created by the invaders

When the Boers defeated the chiefs on land adjacent to their settlements, the black population responded either by retreating or remaining behind, paying rent in cattle and sheep and providing labour for Boers. As the Boers strengthened their position, they sought to accumulate more land for farming. In order to satisfy the demand for labour, armed commandos raided neighbouring chiefdoms to capture especially children, who were then kept as servants. They called them *ingeboektes* or apprentices to avoid the charge of slavery, hence minimising the risk of British intervention.²⁷⁵ Through intermittent attacks on the chiefdoms in the periphery of the Republic and the prohibition of trading in firearms and ammunition with blacks, the Boers attempted to weaken resistance against their rule. In response to such pressure, chiefdoms split, some of which were incorporated into the Transvaal, others of which preserved their autonomy on the fringes.

In 1847 an attack was launched against the paramount chief Sekwati and his people, the Pedi, marking the beginning of tensions and continuous attacks between the Boers and the Pedi.²⁷⁶ Although succession disputes and civil war, rooted in rivalry after Sekwati's death in 1861 between Sekwati's two sons, Mampuru and Sekhukhune, weakened their resistance against the Boers, Pedi were able to retain their autonomy throughout the 1860s. Under Sekhukhune's rule the population increased rapidly once he welcomed 'Swazi' and 'Zulu' refugees into his country. During the peaceful 1860s and 1870s, Pedi migrated in large numbers to work in the diamond fields. Chiefs encouraged this, for with the loss of cattle through disease, drought and raiding, taxes levied on returning labourers provided an important source of revenue for the Pedi polity.²⁷⁷

By the beginning of 1876 Sekhukhune had mobilised his warriors, attacking Boer settlements in the eastern Transvaal. In May 1876 the Transvaal Government responded by declaring war on the Pedi. The British annexation of the Transvaal in 1877 resulted in the restructuring and strengthening of the state. In November 1879 a British-led army, with 'Swazi' and Ndzundza assistance, staged a massive assault on the Pedi stronghold resulting in a crushing defeat. The Pedi chief himself was captured.

Once Sekhukhune was set free to return to his country, he faced the rivalry of his brother Mampuru, who sent an armed party to murder him in August 1882. Mampuru's victory came to nought, for he was eventually captured by Transvaal officials, tried and hanged in November 1883. Another brother of Sekhukhune, Kgoloko, was appointed and ruled the polity for ten years. His power and authority hinged on his collaboration with government officials. He co-operated closely with Jacobus Abel Erasmus, the local Native Affairs commissioner, by supplying labour and military levies and facilitating tax collection.²⁷⁸ In 1885 the boundaries of the Geluks Location, set aside for confining the Pedi, were demarcated, restricting the sphere of authority of its paramount chief to just a fragment of the land formally claimed by the Pedi.

²⁷⁵ Delius/Trapido (1981)

²⁷⁶ On the Pedi see Delius (1983, 1986, 1990, 1993), K.W. Smith (1969), the ethnographic monograph of Monnig (1978) and Alexander Merensky's account, *Erinnerungen aus dem Missionsleben in Sudost Afrika (Transvaal)* (1888) on his experiences as missionary of the Berlin Mission Society during the years 1859 to 1882.

²⁷⁷ On Pedi migrant labour see Delius (1990) and Worger (1987: 83-88).

²⁷⁸ Delius (1986: 186).

The second major conflict over land and labour occurred between the Boers and the Ndzundza chiefdom located near the Steelpoort River. The Ndzundza²⁷⁹ as well as their neighbour, the Manala chiefdom (in the Pretoria area), had suffered heavily during the mfecane - not least at the hands of Mzilikazi's regiments. The Manala barely recovered with a few survivors living on the Wallmansthal mission station and surrounding Boer farms. The Ndzundza under the leadership of Mabhoga (Mapoch) Mahlangu re-emerged in the 1830s and 1840s as a significant chiefdom in the region.

In the 1840s relationships with the voortrekkers, who demanded land and labour, developed from uneasy coexistence to open confrontation. Attempts in the 1860s to subdue the chiefdom failed, but once the Pedi had been defeated and white landowners and speculators started to press for land in the region, a confrontation between the Ndzundza and the restored Boer republic became inevitable. With the ending of the Mapoch War, which had lasted from November 1882 until July 1883, the Ndzundza paramount chief Nyabela plus subordinate chiefs surrendered, were taken as captives to Pretoria, and sentenced to imprisonment with hard labour. In an attempt to prevent the Ndzundza from seeking refuge amongst other chiefdoms in the region and thus slipping beyond their control as well as seeing an opportunity to acquire black labour, the Volksraad decided on drastic measures. The heartland of the chiefdom was opened to farmers and speculators. It was decreed that "kaffer kraals or tribes large or small [would] not be permitted ... on this land" The Volksraad further decreed that the population of the chiefdom "in the interest of order, safety and humanity"²⁸⁰ would be dispersed on white farms as indentured labour. In order to cater for its own financial needs, the Volksraad held each employer responsible for paying taxes for each family head acquired. Although the official period of indenture was limited to five years, and despite attempts to break free from Boer farms, the Ndzundza had little choice. Restrictive conditions written into their labour contracts and a lack of resources hindered their seeking alternative opportunities by migration. Thus they remained largely farm labourers in a relatively disadvantaged position. In 1895, this stretch of land, then called Mapoch's Gronden, was incorporated as a ward of Middleburg district. The land annexation was complete. Giving evidence to the South African Native Affairs Commission, the sub-Native Commissioner of the Middelberg district described the miserable situation of the black population as follows:

"Compared with other natives, farm labourers in the Transvaal are very poor. Take a definite tribe - the Ndebele for instance; compared to other tribes, they are as poor as mice. They were broken up after they were subdued by the South African Republic; they work for no wages, and going out to the mines is, to say the least, openly discouraged."²⁸¹

After fifteen years of hard labour, chief Nyabela was conditionally released and started regrouping his people at his new residence, KwaMkhina. By the turn of the century, the Ndebele comprised the Manala around Middleburg, the Ndzundza (since Nyabela's death in 1903 under the leadership of Fene Andries) and the Mtshatshane Japhtha (under the leader-

²⁷⁹ For historical accounts on the (Ndzundza) and the other chiefdoms which were eventually defined as Ndebele see Delius (1983 131-132, 1989), Schapera (1949), Mchunu (1991), James (1990), Myburgh (1956), Fourie (1921) and A. Kuper (1978)

²⁸⁰ Secretary of the Volksraad to State Secretary, 21 July 1883, quoted in Delius (1989 232)

²⁸¹ Evidence of T. Edwards to the South African Native Affairs Commission (1903-5) quoted in Delius (1989 247)

ship of Nyabela's brother). Following faction fights among the ruling lineages, unity was finally established in 1919, as the Ndzundza and Manala National Association was formed with the intention of unification and forging a homogenous culture so as the raise Ndzundza and Manala 'as a nation among nations'. They attempted to revive the key social institutions like the homestead and male initiation. It was basically an organisation of Ndebele chiefs and remained the preserve of a small group with minor impact at the time.²⁸²

The legislation of the South African Republic and later Transvaal concerning the 'non-white' population had as its aim to establish and maintain a social order of master and servant. In the *Grondwet*, i.e., Constitution, adopted in February 1858 by the various Boer factions, the Transvaal Volksraad was given "the supreme authority and the legislative power of the country". The status of the black population was defined in Article 9 of the Constitution:

"The people [het volk] are not prepared to allow any equality of the non-white with the white inhabitants, either in Church or State."²⁸³

Blacks were excluded from every sphere of government. Further legislation prohibited them from moving at large without a pass signed by an employer or an official. Yet they had to pay for this system. In 1880 the Volksraad introduced a ten shilling hut tax for blacks and formulated clear pass regulations. White farmers were entitled to have blacks live and labour on their farms, but those who were not farm labourers or servants in white households were from 1884 onwards allotted to locations. The administration of the affairs of these locations was delegated to military authorities, who had policing, administrative and quasi-judicial powers all in one. Field-cornets and their superiors, the commandants, acted as local representatives of wards and districts, chosen by the white voters of the respective district. The implementation of the Volksraad's regulations varied greatly with time and place. In practice, the government lacked the means to enforce its laws systematically.

As for missionaries, the Boers were not keen to have them in the Republic. The Government of the Republic forbade the London Missionary Society to reside within its territory, suspecting their members, especially David Livingstone, of selling arms to blacks and siding with them in their struggle against the Boers. In October 1860 the Volksraad passed legislation regulating missionary activities. Only mission societies prepared to work within the framework of the existing social order were welcome. The Volksraad resolved that the

"Government reserves to itself the right to determine where the mission station shall be established, and can at any time, when in the best interests of the state demand its being transferred or disbanded ... No one shall have the right to establish a mission station on any land within the Republic without the permission of the Government, according to Article 38 of the field-cornet's instructions and the above mentioned regulations".²⁸⁴

²⁸² For a discussion on Ndebele ethnicity see James (1990). In 1949 Isaac Schapera published an article on the Ndebele, "the least-known native tribe of the Transvaal". The Ndebele, he argued, "are divided into a number of separate tribes, each under its own chief, but they bear a collective name Ndebele and claim to have a common origin" (Schapera 1949:408). With the assumption of National Party rule in 1948 and the implementation of its policy of ethnic separation under the Promotion of Self-Government Act of 1959, the regime assigned the scattered Ndebele to the homelands of Bophuthatswana (for the Tswana) and Lebowa (for the Pedi). It was only in 1972 that some Ndebele worked out a deal with the regime to recognise the Ndebele as an ethnic group and allocate land to consolidate a Ndebele homeland. In 1981 the KwaNdebele Legislative Assembly was established at the new administrative capital of Siyabuswa.

²⁸³ Quoted in Thompson (1969:430- 431). On the Native policy in the Transvaal see Agar-Hamilton (1928:49-206).

²⁸⁴ Merensky (1888:487). Translated by B. Schmidt

The Berlin Mission Society (BMS) was prepared to accept these conditions and was accordingly encouraged by the Boers to work in the Republic. The BMS missionaries carefully observed the code of conduct laid down and sought to avoid any open challenge to the claims to authority by the Boer state. During his first encounter with Boer farmers, the missionary Alexander Merensky was made aware of the Boers' animosity. The reasons for this attitude were clear to him:

"In the first decades of mission work, some missionaries had taken sides against the colonists. Because one (the Boers) believed that christianising would lead to the much hated equality between blacks and whites, the Constitution of the Republic contains the sentence: 'The volk is not opposed to the spreading of the Gospel among the heathens, but will be allowed only under specific rules that prevent deception and temptation.' Furthermore another paragraph forbade equality between whites and blacks."²⁸⁵

Responding to complaints against the regime's treatment of blacks and the rejection of missionaries, Transvaal's president Paul Kruger commented on the Republic's policy towards the natives:

"[T]he Boers were neither opposed to the missionaries nor enemies of the natives. Native politics gave rise to exceptional difficulties in our Republic, where so many kafir tribes live among us and around us. The cardinal principle in this regard must always be that barbarism must be kept within bounds, and must be regulated by justice and civilisation".²⁸⁶

In this sense, the 'civilising policy' of the Transvaal rationalised a social transformation which accommodated the blacks as dependent labour required to create an economic basis for the newly established Boer republic.

²⁸⁵ Merensky (1888 2-3) Translated by B. Schmidt. On the work of Merensky and the Berlin Mission among the Pedi see Delius (1983 108-125)

²⁸⁶ Quoted in Nathan (1944 254)

Chapter III

The beginnings of Afrikaner ethnic consciousness in the 19th century

The absorption of the Cape into the British empire had far reaching consequences for the black and white population in southern Africa. The consequences for the black population in the course of the eighteenth century have been discussed in detail in the previous chapter. In this chapter the influence the British occupation had on the white inhabitants, Dutch, French and German immigrants, who came to live in the Cape from 1652 onwards, shall be discussed. These European immigrants had identified themselves strongly with the Netherlands, the prior colonial power at the Cape. The British occupation in 1806 did not hinder further political, economic and social ties with the Netherlands, but did leave its mark on all aspects of life in the Colony. The new rulers attempted to recast political and social institutions in a British mould. First, they encouraged the settlement of British immigrants. They replaced Dutch by English as the official language of the public service and judiciary, and British officials were appointed in increasing numbers. Privileges bestowed on the British newcomers caused resentment among the Dutch-Afrikaners.¹

The new British immigrants saw no need to assimilate into the culture of the earlier settlers, chiefly because the official language was English, the administration was English, and because they were more sophisticated. They brought with them new standards in agricultural production, trade, education, and literature. They distanced themselves from the earlier settlers, whom they called Boers, and in time the term took on a derogatory overtone. In turn, the white inhabitants of Dutch, German and French descent saw themselves as Dutch (coming from Europe) or Christians. At the same time there existed also a notion of a Boer people, especially among the pastoral farmers in the interior. In order to distance themselves from the British newcomers, some few individuals also began to call themselves Africaander, as coined by W.J. Burchell in 1810. The term Dutch-Afrikaner shall be used in this chapter to indicate those people who were not of British origin, whose descendants came to identify themselves as Afrikaners and came to speak Afrikaans. The concept of Afrikaner did not crystallise until the late nineteenth century.²

The administrative and economic changes were followed by the Anglicisation and modernisation of major social institutions such as the church and the schools.³ As Governor of the

¹ As has been mentioned in chapter II the various initiatives to abolish slavery aroused strong anti-British feelings

² The term Afrikaner for designating a distinct ethnic group remained highly ambiguous until the 1920s. Different interest groups used it in different ways. See Giliomee (1989 22-23) and du Toit/Giliomee (1983 xxv-xxx)

³ After the turbulence of the first decades of British colonial rule, the situation stabilised around 1840. Rule over the Cape was consolidated and a modern colonial state emerged. British merchant capitalism soon assumed a prominent position in the Cape Colony. Mercantilist institutions and constraints as well as the earlier system of arbitrary autocratic power and patronage were abolished. The colonial economy was drawn into the dynamic of free trade and commercial agriculture flourished. By the 1850s the colonial economy was rapidly growing. The population of the Colony also

Cape, Lord Charles Somerset set about alleviating the severe shortage of schools. He was the first one to introduce teachers and ministers from England and Scotland in 1822 - the very year of his Language Proclamation, the preamble of which stated unequivocally:

“Whereas it has been expedient with a view to the prosperity of the Settlement that the Language of the Parent Country should be more universally diffused, and that a period should now be fixed, at which the English Language shall be exclusively used in all Judicial and Official Acts, Proceedings and Business.”⁴

The implementation of the new language policy went hand in hand with educational reforms. School attendance rose from fewer than 4,000 (2,800 whites) children in 1842 to almost 20,000 (9,500 whites) in 1860 and more than 40,000 (18,000 whites) in 1870. State-aided schools were introduced in 1843 to curb the proliferation of small private schools.⁵ Government control tended to secularise the educational system and of course promoted the use of English. A section of the Dutch-Afrikaner population rejected these English schools. This stimulated the creation of Dutch private schools, of which there were 94 by 1839. The largest Dutch private school was the *Tot Nut van het Algemeen* (To the Common Good) that was established in Cape Town in 1804 and had 360 pupils in 1834. In 1829 an institution for higher education, the *Zuid Afrikaansche Athenaeum* (later South African College), was founded. Dr. Antoine Changuion, who taught classical languages there, proceeded to found his own institute in 1843. In 1857 a private Dutch school, the *Paarl Gymnasium*, was established, followed by the *Theological Seminar* in Stellenbosch in 1859. Other major secondary education institutions at the Cape were the *Diocesan College* at Rondebosch founded in 1849, *St. Andrew's* in Grahamstown (1856), the *Grey Institute* in Port Elizabeth (1856), the *Graaff-Reinet College* (1860) and a college in Stellenbosch (1866). A Board of Examiners was established in 1858 to co-ordinate and control higher education in the Colony.⁶

The British colonial authorities consistently promoted the quality and organisation of English-medium education and restricted Dutch-medium education to the private sector. But a considerable number of Dutch-Afrikaners also attended the English public schools, knowing that English had a decided economic value. English became the language of urbanisation and modernisation. While this was generally true, there were professionals who sought to secure the recognition of Dutch in the Cape.

The mushrooming of educational facilities up the mid-century markedly improved the literacy rate among Dutch-Afrikaners. Around 1830 a small group of Cape Town professionals and cultural entrepreneurs tried to stimulate a sense of collective identity based on a shared language and history distinct from that of the English. They sought to increase the use of Dutch in the church, media, education and politics. As an alternative to the English newspaper *The South African Commercial Advertiser* - founded in 1824 - *De Zuid-Afrikaan*⁷

increased rapidly, despite the emigration of Boers northwards during and following the Great Trek. The white population of the Cape Colony increased from 66,000 in 1832 to 140,000 in 1854. Only a minority of about twenty per cent were British (du Toit 1987:37).

⁴ Quoted in February (1991:77).

⁵ Du Toit (1987:38).

⁶ Du Toit (1987:38-39), Bond (1971:126-137) and Ponelis (1993:47).

⁷ The *De Zuid-Afrikaan* became a forum for slave-holders who were united in their antipathy to philanthropic policies. See Watson (1990:117-158). From 1830 to 1832, the French Huguenot and journalist Charles Etienne Boniface, who arrived at the Cape from the Netherlands in 1807, was its first editor (February 1991:33).

appeared in April 1830. It was published weekly in English and Dutch and was in its early years the principal public forum for anti-British sentiments. The only Dutch language journal of substance, *De Nederlandsch Zuid-Afrikaansche Tijdschrift*, appeared in 1824, but folded in 1843. Also a society of arts and letters was formed, but it soon ceased to function since the group of professionals was too small and the interest among the farming population too apathetic.⁸ After 1850 journalistic activity increased and the Colony saw the emergence of a number of new Dutch language newspapers and journals: the newspapers *Het Volksblad*, appeared in 1856 and *De Volksvriend* (1862); the journals *De Gereformeerde Kerkbode* (1849) of the Dutch Reformed Church, *Elpis* (1857), *De Wekker* (1859), *De Onderzoeker* (1860), and the journal *De Bode* (1859) of the Moravian Mission at Genadendal.

Regarding the substantial increase in the circulation of literature either imported from the Netherlands and from Britain or published locally, André du Toit concluded: "By the 1850 there existed, therefore, for the first time, a more substantial public audience among Cape Afrikaners capable of participating in public debates and controversies."⁹ A public culture had taken root, but it should not be overestimated given its colonial context. What was important was that the first generation of locally educated Dutch-Afrikaner teachers, journalists and clergymen emerged, who were prepared to engage in public affairs and to reach a wider audience. For almost two hundred years the whites at the Cape had lacked an indigenous intellectual 'class'. The tiny professional and cultural elite, mainly concentrated in Cape Town, had depended considerably on recruitment from outside: clergymen, teachers, lawyers, and journalists. Before 1840 a few isolated individuals mainly from the tiny group of Cape Town gentry had studied in Europe. The mid-century saw an upsurge in the numbers of those studying in Utrecht or Leiden, including Dutch-Afrikaners from Paarl, Stellenbosch, Graaff-Reinet and even farther afield.

The European political revolutions of 1848 threw their shadow on the Cape Colony. A 'liberal struggle' for social progress and democracy emerged. What took place was rather confusing and was rooted in the specific situation of the Cape Colony, which had something of a liberal tradition.

Between 1846 and 1850 South Africa had stood in a crisis, related to the white expansion towards the east, the wars with the Xhosa, and the confrontation between trekboers and British troops. In 1849 Britain added fuel to the fire when the Colonial Secretary Earl Grey shipped convicts to the Cape. But he failed to anticipate the public opposition in the Cape launched by the spontaneously formed Anti-Convict Association. It organised a boycott against those who aided the disembarkment of the 282 undesirable immigrants arriving on the *Neptune*. Most of the citizen members of the Legislative Council resigned in protest. Eventually, the imperial authorities had to back down. This protest movement brought English liberals and Cape Dutch together in a new alliance. Although the anti-convicts agitation was a passing episode, it demonstrated that the whites were capable of uniting in opposition against the imperial authorities. It also provided the catalyst for a popular movement for greater self-determination.¹⁰ This new radical liberalism was supported by various newspapers. Frederik Stephanus Watermeyer (1828-1864), lawyer, founder and editor of *The Cape of*

⁸ Giliomee (1989:22) and du Toit (1987:39).

⁹ Du Toit (1987:39).

¹⁰ Cordeur (1981:212-223).

Good Hope Observer, wrote in his article 'A quiet Revolution' (17 July 1849): "The people ... do not choose longer to have others rule them. They will not that the heel of power shall longer be upon their necks ... [T]hey now demand that there shall be established in their country, forthwith, a free and liberal constitution." He linked the Cape's populist movement with revolutionary developments in Europe: "Be it known that the revolutionary genius of the age has reached even upon the Cape: and that we are now in a state of war with the government."¹¹

In the vein of Watermeyer's call for a 'right of resistance', Changuion stressed in his article in the *De Zuid-Afrikaan* in September 1849 the need for a genuine democratic culture: "As English subjects, we do have obligations, but also rights and privileges ... we refuse to be oppressed."¹²

Initially resenting giving in to the demands from white settlers for democratic rights, the colonial executive officials agreed, however, in 1850 to introduce Responsible Government and a qualified franchise system. The initially proposed £25 occupation franchise was surprisingly low, much lower than in Britain. It would have been to the advantage of the poorer Dutch-Afrikaners, who outnumbered the majority over the much smaller group of prosperous English merchants. It also meant that a substantial number of blacks would be eligible for the franchise. In subsequent deliberations the colonial officials and English merchants argued for a £50 qualification. The increase aside, the result was noteworthy. It was the first non-racial franchise at the Cape. It was supported not only by English liberals and missionaries, but also by liberal Dutch-Afrikaners. Among the opponents to the non-racial franchise were the Boers and voortrekkers in the North and the English settlers. The latter feared the preponderance of the Dutch-Afrikaners, the former, the ruin of the divine world order. But once the new franchise system became law, the political controversies began to wane.¹³

After 1853, the liberal popular movement subsided once its main objectives were written into the new constitution of 1853. Yet it did not disappear totally. It found a home in the 'liberal struggle' of the Dutch Reformed Church, where it came under the influence of developments in Europe, especially in the Netherlands. Their impact varied according to the activities of the concerned group at the Cape. They affected the Dutch-Afrikaner in the Boer republics differently from the Cape Dutch-Afrikaner. Among the English-speakers, the liberal tradition affected especially the Scottish clergy. These complex developments in the Cape Colony and the Boer republics can be better understood if one first summarises the political and religious developments in the Netherlands, specifically neo-Calvinist theology, that had an enormous influence on Afrikaner politics and theology.

1. State and church in the Netherlands

After the Napoleonic Wars, the Netherlands had only a secondary role to play in world politics. The centre of the world economy had shifted from the Netherlands to England. The Netherlands was spared political disruptions that rocked the Continent. It had no student movement, no Hambacher Fest, no civil war, no Restoration, no great socio-political utopian

¹¹ Watermeyer's article is reprinted in du Toit/Giliomee (1983:291-292).

¹² Changuion quoted in du Toit (1987:42).

¹³ Du Toit (1987:43-44).

visions. The historian Horst Lademacher wrote that the Dutch cloaked themselves in a certain introversion and deemed obsolete the great debates on the birth of the modern nation-state that swept the neighbouring countries. At the same time, the Netherlands saw itself as a premature child among the European states. Well before 1848 they had completed their constitutional reforms strengthening Parliament against the King and conferring democratic freedoms on its citizens.¹⁴

Wilhelm II died in March of 1849. His conservative successor, Wilhelm III, had to respect the new liberal constitution which conferred supremacy on the States-General (National Assembly). The monarch was made a servant to and not a master of government. After Britain repealed the Navigation Act of 1651, the government of Johan Rudolf Thorbecke¹⁵ adopted a free trade policy. Custom duties were reduced and in 1862 abolished. The Netherlands, with the fourth largest trading fleet in the world, became a transit trade zone. The Rotterdam harbour as a result flourished. Industrialisation came gradually to the northern part of the country. The Netherlands would have continued peacefully accumulating wealth and modernising itself had it not been for a denominational conflict over education (*schoolstrijd*) that engulfed the entire country and divided the population into a system of mutually exclusive religious communities, later to be known as vertical pluralism or *verzuiling*. Several forces were responsible for this development.

In the 1840s the liberals, led by Thorbecke, and the Roman Catholics, had entered into negotiations for an alliance. The Catholics won a number of valuable concessions. The liberals promised in turn to bring about a separation of the Dutch State and the Reformed Church and to guarantee equality for all citizens before the law. The Catholic-liberal alliance facilitated the enactment of the liberal constitution of 1848. The relationship began to sour in 1853 when the Pope created an archbishopric at Utrecht and bishoprics at Haarlem, 's-Hertogenbosch, Roermond and Breda. The Protestant protest - the April Movement - against the interference of Pope Pius IX and Rome's vehement anti-liberal pronouncements undermined the uneasy Catholic-liberal alliance. Finally in the early 1870s, conflicts over a new constitution, franchise laws and the liberal opposition to state support for denominational schools drove a wedge between the liberals and Catholics resulting in the formation of political parties along denominational lines.¹⁶

Catholics in the Netherlands were no minority, yet were treated as such. They were accused of disloyalty to the motherland as they sided with the Pope. In the civil service as well as elsewhere they were discriminated against and as a consequence they isolated themselves from the dominating Protestants. They sought their emancipation in their own sphere, or *zuil* (literally pillar).¹⁷ One could also argue, as Lademacher put it, that their 'verzuiling' was a

¹⁴ Lademacher (1993 408) The diffusion of new ideas in the Netherlands, due to the influence of the German, Anglo-Scottish and French Enlightenment, penetrated Dutch politics and formed the basis of political liberalism (Wintle 1987 9) When the 1848 revolutions broke out, first in France and then in central Europe, William II turned to the leading liberal thinker Thorbecke to guide the change

¹⁵ Thorbecke (1798-1872) was prime minister from 1849 to 1853, 1862 to 1866, and again in 1871/72

¹⁶ Bank (1981 210) and Wintle (1987 46-50)

¹⁷ *Verzuiling* describes the division of Dutch society and political life into vertical sections or *zulen* (see below on Kuyper's use of the term) The population of each *zuil* was to live and work in separate residential areas, have its own schools and churches, its own shops and associations The term 'verzuiling', literally pillarisation or vertical pluralism, describes the divisions of Dutch society into three vertical 'zulen' (pillars), based on common ideologies rather than

means to maintain a hold on whatever gains were made: "Moreover it fulfilled the wish among the Dutch not only to see themselves as something special, but to be able to live out their specialness undisturbed and peacefully while retaining full consciousness of their national Dutch identity."¹⁸ Unlike the Catholics, the Dutch Protestants did not have to trouble themselves with emancipating their church or finding an identity and nationalistic consciousness. The concern which both shared was the issue of the relation between Church and State, which was to become an internal Church problem.

Both the ultra-montane Catholics¹⁹ and the orthodox Calvinists had opposed the Catholic-liberal alliance. They resented the enlightened ideals nurturing reforms in church governance and the new directions in theological and political thinking. They raised their voices and formed an opposition to Enlightenment. The result was the so-called April Movement that forced the government to resign. The conflict revealed fundamental differences between the liberals - who constituted a political party in 1885 - and the orthodox Calvinists of Dutch Protestantism who named themselves anti-revolutionaries. Leading figures of orthodox Calvinism were Guillaume Groen van Prinsterer (1801-1876) and Abraham Kuyper. Both, in their political and religious practice, played prominent roles in the development of the Afrikaners' ethnic self-awareness in South Africa.

The Calvinist church organisation in the Netherlands had undergone a radical change when the *Nederlandse Hervormde Kerk* (NHK) replaced the old *Gereformeerde Kerk* in 1816. It changed from an ascending presbyterian (congregational) structure to a descending hierarchical and synodal system. The synod became the governing body of the church. The royal decree of the 7th of January 1816 brought the NHK into being, thus ending the autonomy of the Dutch Reformed Church. About this reform process Michael Wintle wrote:

"[T]he very modernity of the new structure, and its closeness to the state, appealed to those Calvinists who had been most affected by the rationalist and humanist ideals of the Enlightenment. Many in less favoured positions and of more orthodox leanings were not in agreement."²⁰ The more orthodox Calvinists, or *gereformeerden*, continuously agitated against the reforms of the Dutch Reformed Church, accusing the *hervormden* of neglecting the doctrinal letter.²¹

According to Wintle, Dutch Calvinist reactions fell into three main categories:

socio-economic class status the Calvinists, the Roman Catholics and the Liberals. To the original three *zulen*' were eventually added Socialist and minor parties. During the latter half of the nineteenth century the Catholics, Calvinists, Liberals and Socialists entrenched themselves within their own political and social organisations, with their own particular religious and political ideologies. Arend Lijphart studied the Dutch phenomenon of '*verzuijing*' in *The Politics of Accommodation* (1968). See also Bank (1981) and Daalder (1981). For religious affiliation statistics in the Netherlands between 1815 and 1899 see Wintle (1987: 3). The Roman Catholics remained constant at about 38 percent, suffering a slight decline to 35 per cent in 1899. The Dutch Reformed Church (*Nederlandse Hervormde Kerk*, NHK) population witnessed a decline from 55 to 48 per cent between 1815 and 1899, mainly due to gains by the orthodox Calvinists (*gereformeerden*), who grew from 0 to more than 8 per cent between the 1830s and the end of the century.

¹⁸ Lademacher (1993: 449). Translated by B. Schmidt.

¹⁹ The ultra-montane movement leaned towards the power of Rome, clericalism, and a general conservatism in theology and especially politics.

²⁰ Wintle (1987: 19-20). On biblical interpretation in the Dutch modernist theological movement see de Vries (1989: 28-38).

²¹ The orthodox Calvinist doctrine was enshrined in three main documents apart from the Bible: the Confession of Faith or Belgic Confession (1559), the Dutch edition of the Heidelberg Catechism (1563), and the doctrinal canons of the Synod of Dordrecht (1619).

"First there was a nostalgic Romanticism, especially well illustrated in a cultural movement called Réveil. Secondly, a form of Christian humanism rose to reject the cerebral side of supranaturalist theology, and this was centred in a theological development known as the Groninger Richting (Groningen Movement). Finally, there was a series of orthodox Calvinist protests and schisms, culminating in the major breakaway from the NHK in 1834 called the *Afscheiding* (Secession)."²²

The secession of 1834 was closely linked with the developments among the adherents of the Dutch Réveil, which was part of a European intellectual and literary post-revolutionary movement, closely related to the Swiss low-church revival. The Réveil, wrote Simon de Vries, "was strongly pietistic, methodistic, and individualistic, though some of its adherents worked for a strengthening of the old Reformed church polity." As for their use of the Bible, it was "naively and rigidly biblicistic as were similar pietistic movements of the time".²³ Followers, or 'Christian Friends' as they called themselves, were concentrated in 'select circles' (*kringen*) in The Hague and Amsterdam. Although they opposed the modernists dominating the NHK, they were unwilling to leave the church and this distinguished them from those who seceded in 1834.

One of the leading figures of the Dutch Réveil was the poet and historian Willem Bilderdijk (1756-1831). He gathered around him a group of devoted followers, all dedicated to combating the Enlightenment and rationalism in their church. Among them were Isaac da Costa (1798-1860) - an Amsterdam Jew converted to orthodox Calvinism in 1822 - Abraham Capadose (1795-1874), and the above mentioned Guillaume Groen van Prinsterer. Da Costa advocated the necessity of a system of privileges rooted in one's origins, despised popular power as well as absolute monarchical power, rejected freedom of the press and the abolition of slavery. He was disliked by both the liberals and the monarchists. Nevertheless, the Sunday evening meetings in his house became the centre of the Réveil movement. Groen van Prinsterer took on a prominent role.²⁴ Alongside their purely intellectual activities, adherents of the Réveil undertook also evangelical and social work. As with the British Nonconformists, this movement had no ordained ministers and therefore was not part of the official church. Yet uneasiness about their activities increasingly spread within the established church.

The leader of the first secession from the NHK in 1834 was Hendrik de Cock (1801-1842), a young reformed minister of the village Ulrum in the province of Groningen. In 1834 he had been dismissed because of his inflammatory attacks from the pulpit on his less orthodox colleagues and his stand against the new hymnal introduced by the NHK in 1807. He took the Ulrum congregation with him. It signed a declaration of secession from the NHK in October 1834. Immediately after de Cock's suspension by the Classis, the predikant Hendrik Peter Scholte (1805-1868) offered him his support, and in the course of the following months they were joined by other ministers and a few thousand laity across the country. The secession became a major schism. The secessionists mobilised followers largely among the lower middle class and the poor, the *kleine luyden* as they were called. Despite constitutional guarantees of freedom of religion, the separatists had to endure severe repression and harassment

²² Wintle (1987:21). On the major Protestant movements of Dutch theology see Mackay (1911), de Vries (1989:21-27) and de Jong (1975:213-218).

²³ De Vries (1989:25,26). On the European and Dutch Réveil see Gensichen (1976), de Jong (1975:211-213), de Vries (1989), Wintle (1987), and van der Berg/van Doorden (1978) on pietism in the Netherlands.

²⁴ Lademacher (1993:451-452), Vogel (1937:42-53) and Wintle (1987:21-27).

by civil authorities. These persecutions were bitterly attacked by Groen van Prinsterer in his pamphlet *The Measures Taken Against the Separatists*.²⁵ In 1838 the pressure eased and the Afscheidenen grew into a sizeable Calvinist denomination. They together with the followers of the Dutch Réveil later established their own nation-wide church, the Christelijke Gereformeerde Kerk, in 1869.²⁶ As a result of the political pressures and economic straits of the 1830s, groups of Afscheidenen had migrated to the United States, founding the religious communities 'Holland' in Michigan and 'Pella' in Iowa. The Dutch Afscheidenen extended contacts as far afield as the Transvaal, where they influenced the founding of the Dopperkerk in 1859.²⁷ The Dopperkerk became one of the most influential propagators of Afrikaner nationalism, the secret Broederbond, and the apartheid ideology in the first half of the twentieth century. The next section shall discuss the political philosophy and theology of the groups that opposed the modern Dutch State and State Church.

1.2. The Calvinists of the anti-revolutionary movement

In the 1840s Dutch Calvinist theologians came under the influence of German and Swiss Protestantism. The rationalist philosophy of Kant and the idealism of Hegel were part of the theological discourse. Their supporters were known as the Modernists.²⁸ The conservative wing of the Dutch faithful felt provoked into resistance. Groen van Prinsterer of the conservative Protestant revival movement pitted himself against the modernists, even calling for political action from the state against them. He popularised the word 'antithesis' to denote the sharp difference between the sectarian and the non-sectarian, the believers and the non-believers, the Christian and the humanist. Politically he intended to draw the lines between the pro-French revolutionists and the anti-revolutionaries, associating revolution with irreligion. He saw in the modern liberal principle of individuality the basis of disbelief and lack of faith. Belief and faith could not be, in his opinion, matters of private conscience. They signified the submission of a society to God's will. He campaigned as a self-appointed politician against the franchise as the epitome of disbelieving individualism. His followers, the anti-revolutionaries, came from the upper (*Bürgertum*) as well as from the middle and lower middle class. They galvanised even further conservative support on the issue of whether the schools should be secular or denominational. In the 1870s the theologian, journalist and politician Abraham Kuyper succeeded Groen van Prinsterer as leader of the anti-revolutionary movement. True to Groen van Prinsterer's ideology, he welded the movement into a cohesive political unit, mobilising the *gereformeerde* section (pillar) of the population. In 1879 Kuyper became the leader of the newly founded political party, the Anti-Revolutionaire Partij (ARP).

The anti-revolutionaries fought the secularisation of society, viewing it as modern disbelief and faithlessness, as well as the secular state for fear that it would claim to be on a par

²⁵ *Maatregelen tegen de Afscheidenen* (1837). See Wintle (1987:30).

²⁶ De Jong (1975:215), de Vries (1989:41-42) and Wintle (1987:28-30). Their theological college in Kampen, founded in 1854, became an important center of orthodox opposition to liberal theology.

²⁷ Lademacher (1993:455) and de Jong (1975:215). On the influence the Dutch Afscheidenen and especially Abraham Kuyper had in shaping Afrikaner theology see Hexham (1981), Loubser (1987:27-50), Botha (1986) and Moodie (1980:52-72). See also chapter VI.

²⁸ On the modernist movement see de Vries (1989:28-38,47-88) and Wintle (1987:40-44,50-54).

with the all-powerful divinity.²⁹ Apposite to such a powerful centralised secular state they proclaimed the virtues of independent spheres of social life. This was the background against which Abraham Kuyper later developed his anti-revolutionary axiom of *soevereintest in eigen kring* (sovereignty in one's own sphere). Rejecting the centralised state, Groen van Prinsterer fell back on extolling the past era of the republic with its federalistic even particularistic structures. Leading his flock into politics, he saw, in a nutshell, the modern state as a secularising force intolerable for Christians. As Lademacher put it: "He [saw] in his concept the need for a neat separation between state and church and demanded that the state be guided by Christian principles. He wanted neither Caesaropapism nor *ius in sacra* or state religion; he limited the state's authority to a supervisory right over all religious groups with equal rights and a protective role."³⁰ His politics went even further. He appealed for the realisation of a Christian state. Hence, he supported the founding of political associations and the programmatic covenants between the elected and the electors. That all led in the direction of a politicisation of the society and modernisation of the political debate. Education was an important component of this debate.³¹

In the education controversy (*schoolstryd*) the liberals opposed every form of state support for denominational schools. This position drove the Catholics away from the liberals. The 1857 education law permitted non-denominational and denominational schools, but no state funding for the latter. That provoked a conflict. The Protestants were just as outspoken against liberals as were the Catholics. The anti-revolutionaries, under the leadership of Groen van Prinsterer, denied the public schools the right to teach 'Christian virtues' and religion. In 1860 they founded the Vereniging voor Christelijk Nationaal Schoolonderwijs (Association of Christian National Education), demanding subsidies for their own 'schools with the Bible'. Having the same interests, the Catholics allied with the Calvinists in 1870. But the liberal neutrality of the state tolerated no special denominational status. Twenty-one years later, the 1878 school law left hardly any room for denominational schools. The anti-revolutionaries, 300,000 strong, and the Catholics had petitioned unsuccessfully the King to veto the law. Defeated, the two denominations moved even closer together, a novelty in Dutch domestic politics. Social 'sectioning' continued, but the alliance nonetheless led eventually to the local authorities collecting school money even for public schools.³²

1.3. The theologian and politician Abraham Kuyper

Christian democratic parties founded in the Netherlands as elsewhere in Europe exercised strong political influence. The Netherlands' extreme federalistic, democratic pluralism reflected neo-Calvinist theology which brought about the Dutch phenomenon of 'verzuiling'

²⁹ See Erbe (1993 247), Lademacher (1993 451-458), Wintle (1987 8,40,49-60), Vogel (1937 54-99) and van der Kroef (1948) In 1888 Kuyper formed a coalition with the Catholics. Hence, the religious parties were able to dominate politics as opposed to the secular parties of the liberals and the socialists

³⁰ Lademacher (1993 467) Translated by B. Schmidt. On Groen van Prinsterer's Christian political alternatives see also Schurte (1987 395-396) and Mackay (1911 115-121)

³¹ Kuyper followed in Groen van Prinsterer's footsteps, promoting an even more radical modernisation and democratisation, even though this may not at first be obvious

³² Lademacher (1993 456-460) Kuyper, who became prime minister of the Netherlands in 1900, resolved the conflict by permitting equal subsidies for state and 'free' schools

or 'vertical pluralism'. This theology, once modified and applied by Afrikaners to the South African situation, served to rationalize separate development (apartheid). Ironically, this theology, which, despite its political conservative spokesmen, was embedded in the modernisation of Dutch society in the late nineteenth century, should stand in the service of those in South Africa who aimed at the very opposite of the European modernisation process of pluralism and democratisation. The theology that came to be the 'henchman' of Apartheid was the neo-Calvinist political theology of Abraham Kuyper.³³

Abraham Kuyper (1837-1920) was the son of a minister of the Nederlandse Hervormde Kerk (NHK).³⁴ Treading in his father's footsteps, he studied theology at Leiden University. There, modernist currents influenced his theology. But he fell out of sympathy with the modernists during his service as pastor in a remote community in the province of Gelderland from 1863 to 1867. His congregation, simple folk, clung to orthodox Calvinism. This changed his attitude and Kuyper converted to orthodox Calvinism. During the next two years of his pastorate in Utrecht Kuyper collided with the General Synod of the NHK for having criticised church subjugation to state control as well as its entire ritual. Kuyper demanded that the canons of the Synod of Dordrecht be reinstated and the royal decree of 1816 be withdrawn. 'Liberate the Church' became his slogan. Due to his acquaintance with Groen van Prinsterer, Kuyper came to believe in the validity of the anti-revolutionary principles, and upon Groen van Prinsterer's death in 1876 took over the leadership of the movement. He transformed it into a cohesive force and a religious-political movement. Like Groen van Prinsterer, he saw the society rent by the antitheses of religion and irreligion, the sacred and the secular, true Christianity and worldly humanism. His church programme called the born-again to restore the authority of God's word according to the Bible and throw off the synodal yoke. He wanted a truly independent church and believed that Calvinism formed the *kern der natie* (core of the nation).

Leading the Anti-Revolutionary Party, Kuyper was no friend of the Calvinist aristocracy of the Réveil movement. He favoured the *kleine luyden*, the artisans, traders, fishermen, the small-scale self-employed of the lower middle-class, who stood just below the threshold of the property requirement for the franchise. He was known as their caretaker. Hence Kuyper supported extending the franchise to include 'his' *kleine luyden*. They thronged into his political party when it was founded in 1879.³⁵ The party's principles, which he drafted, stressed the Protestant character of the party and the nation. The state, divinely created, was to revoke all measures and regulations that hindered the spread of the Gospel. Kuyper popularised the concept of Christian Nationalism. In the tradition of Groen van Prinsterer he

³³ One cannot underestimate Kuyper's influence on the politics, philosophy and theology of the Afrikaners at the turn of the century and afterwards. Kuyper himself took a keen interest in South Africa on which he published the book *Die Kriese in Sudafrika* (The Crisis in South Africa) (1900). He befriended Paul Kruger, established personal ties with theologians in the Transvaal and championed the cause of the Boers in their struggle for sovereignty. About the Boers Kuyper wrote: "The Boers are determined: they shall never be obedient subjects of England. And even when defeated, they would pray day and night that God redeem their fathers from their yoke ... To win over the Boers with sheer force, England will have to exterminate them and sweep them out of the row of nations." (Kuyper 1900:50-51) Translated by B. Schmidt.

³⁴ See de Jong (1975:220-223), Lademacher (1993:441-478), Wintle (1987:53-68), Kroef (1948) and Vogel (1937) for Kuyper's biographical details.

³⁵ Lademacher (1993:471) and Wintle (1987:59).

asserted that volk-sovereignty was inimical to God's sovereignty.³⁶ Yet he allowed for volk-influence on the state. He pleaded for a democratised franchise based on the census and a right to vote for every male head of household.³⁷

Upon the formation of the Anti-Revolutionaire Partij, which was the first modern political party in the country, and in the wake of the political controversy over schools, the orthodox Calvinists grew more aggressive. The party's newspapers, the weekly *De Heraut* (The Herald) (first published in 1871) and the daily *De Standaard* (first published in 1872), both edited by Kuyper, thundered out the message of antithesis, calling the orthodox faithful to organise. It was incumbent upon every Christian to serve God in all spheres of life, in science, politics, art, with the lifetime task of emancipating the Christian folk in its own sovereign sphere.

In 1870 Kuyper was appointed to minister the NHK's largest congregation in Amsterdam. A dearth of orthodox ministers plus the government's conferring in 1876 on the *hervormde* churches control over all theological faculties led to Kuyper considering establishing an independent theological training centre. But first he mocked the state's absurd 'neutrality'. He further complained of the partiality of the Hervormde Synod in appointing only professors of the Evangelical and Modernist Schools. He inspired other orthodox intellectuals to support his plan for founding a 'free' university, free of all state interference. In 1880 the Free University of Amsterdam was established. Kuyper was one of its three theology professors with the task of training more leaders in the 'true' Calvinist faith and to further *gereformeerde* scholarship. The university was almost entirely funded by donations from orthodox congregations. The Hervormde Synod, refusing in 1882 and again in 1885 to recognise the Free University qualifications, accepted none of its graduates as ministers. The battle went on. Once Kuyper's ideas penetrated the congregations, country-wide friction was inevitable. Once again ministers were suspended, including Kuyper. Since the suspended Amsterdam *Doleerenden* (those who grieve) enjoyed large support in the congregations, rejecting the yoke of the existing NHK, Kuyper hoped to unite all the orthodox under his religious banner in the *Doleantie*. Although he did not succeed in uniting all of them, Kuyper's *Doleantie* congregations eventually united with the Christelijke Gereformeerde Kerken, which had emerged out of the secession of 1834, and in 1892 they formed the Gereformeerde Kerken in Nederlands (Reformed Churches in the Netherlands).³⁸ In 1901 Kuyper became prime minister with a coalition cabinet of Catholics and the Anti-Revolutionary Party until his defeat in the 1905 elections.

2. Abraham Kuyper's neo-Calvinism and the *soevereiniteit in eigen kring*

Kuyper was not only a brilliant politician, journalist and organiser, but also a noteworthy theologian. His greatest achievement was his formulation of a neo-Calvinist theology upon which he erected a political and social philosophy, the most significant one of lasting influ-

³⁶ Kuyper (1869) stated that his basic viewpoint was Christian historical, which proved later compatible with a Christian national viewpoint based on the principles of equality and diversity (Kuyper 1869:22,29).

³⁷ Vogel (1937:65-66). Universal franchise for men replaced the qualified franchise in the Netherlands in 1917 and in 1922 was extended to women.

³⁸ Wintle (1987:53-60).

ence in post mid-nineteenth century Protestant Netherlands. The basis of Kuyper's doctrine of the *sovereiniteit in eigen kring* (sovereignty in one's own sphere)³⁹ was that state and society constituted sovereign spheres. In turn, society in itself contained a wide variety of social and community life and set a boundary over which the state was not to cross. Thus confronting the state were various spheres of life all of equal worth which had their own laws. The state was to intervene only when the social order as a whole was threatened. It could not intervene in the social spheres of life which were sovereign unto themselves, such as the family, voluntary associations, church and school. In effect, this theory presupposed a pluralistic society composed of autonomous spheres. Kuyper's neo-Calvinism was deeply rooted in autonomy. Tolerance was a basic principle in this kind of society - tolerance among the autonomous parts and tolerance between them and the state.⁴⁰ The next logical derivative from the thesis of sovereignty in the individual social spheres was the view that the common basis on which the different social groups stood was like a roof upheld by pillars ('zuilen'). Out of this was coined later the notion of the pillarisation of Dutch society, i.e., it was composed of the Protestant, Catholic and Humanist (Liberal and Socialist) pillars ('zuilen').

The Stone Foundation Lectures, held by Abraham Kuyper in 1898 in Princeton, USA, provide the most comprehensive exposé of his neo-Calvinist theory of the sovereignty in one's own sphere ('sovereiniteit in eigen kring').⁴¹ He intended neo-Calvinism to be the answer to what he saw as the eroding influence of modernism:

"Calvinism [is] the only decisive, lawful, and consistent defence for Protestant nations against encroaching, and overwhelming Modernism.⁴² ... And as a political name, Calvinism indicates that political movement which has guaranteed the liberty of nations in constitutional statesmanship; first in Holland, then in England, and since the close of the last century [eighteenth century] in the United States." (1899:7-8)

Such a political stance flowed logically from the theological core of Calvinism:

"It [= Calvinism] does not seek God *in* the creature, as Paganism; it does not *isolate* God *from* the creature, as Islamism; it posits no *mediate communion* between God and the creature, as does Romanism; but proclaims the exalted thought that, although standing in high majesty above the creature, God enters *into immediate fellowship with the creature*, as God the Holy Spirit. This is even the heart and kernel of the Calvinistic confession of predestination. There is communion with God, but only in entire accord with his counsel of peace from all eternity." (1899:18)

Because of the sovereign character of God, communion with a person is direct, and is therefore democratically constituted: "*Assurance of eternal Salvation*, not only without the intervention of the Church, but even in opposition to the Church." (1899:23)

Kuyper had no problem in applying this line of thought to the state. He believed that God's relation to human creatures was again reflected in human beings' relationships with

³⁹ In Kuyper's Stone Lectures 'sovereiniteit in eigen kring' is translated as 'sovereignty in the individual social spheres' (Kuyper 1899:116). In this publication the translation 'sovereignty in one's own sphere' will be used.

⁴⁰ Kuyper's emphasis on freedom and tolerance presupposed a democratic system. Hence, it is to Kuyper's credit that he modernised Calvinism, providing a religious ideology for the democratic nation-state.

⁴¹ References to Kuyper's published lectures, *Calvinism. Six Stone Lectures* (1899), appear in brackets in the text itself.

⁴² Kuyper (1899:5). Yet Kuyper did not seem to be aware that he was giving a theological basis to modernism in the sense of 'differentiation' into 'autonomous social spheres of action' (Schmidt 1989, Beyme 1991, Luhmann 1983). However, he was conscious of the fact that Calvinism was an expression of modernity.

one another, namely, that as each individual stands equal before God, each is consequently equal as 'man to man' (1899:26-27).

"Hence Calvinism condemns not merely all open slavery and systems of caste, but also all covert slavery of woman and of the poor; it is opposed to all hierarchy among men; it tolerates no aristocracy save such as is able, either in person or in family, by the grace of God, to exhibit superiority of character or talent ... So Calvinism was bound to find its utterance in the democratic interpretation of life; to proclaim the liberty of nations." (1899:27)

Out of a Calvinist fear of God a holy democratic ideal emerged (1899:28).

In the life-cycle of nations, so Kuyper argued, people undergo a development from a state of non-emancipation to emancipation. The fall into sin was responsible for the non-emancipated state. He named people who in his opinion were non-emancipated, as in China, India and the Aztecs, as examples. In his view they had made no progress towards emancipation and did not contribute anything towards the development and emancipation of humankind. He continued by stating: "This applies more strongly still to the life of the coloured races on the coast and in the interior of Africa - a far lower form of existence, reminding us not even of a lake but rather of pools and marshes." (1899:34) On the other hand he glorified Europe and America: "The fundamental idea of Calvinism has been transplanted from Holland and England to America, thus driving our higher development ever more Westward, until on the shores of the Pacific it now reverently awaits whatsoever God has ordained." (1899:36) Such was his reasoning.

What interested the Afrikaners in South Africa was not so much his view of 'coloured races' and other peoples of the world, but rather his highly differentiated theory of democracy.

As already observed, Kuyper's theory of democracy flowed from the notion of God's sovereignty. According to Calvinism a human being is directly linked to Christ through the Holy Spirit. This is the doctrine of personal election and predestination. Thus, in Kuyper's view, religion found its true expression in 'the general priesthood of believers'. There was no need for a church to act as a mediator: "Only he who personally stands before God on his own account ... can properly display the glorious wings of liberty." (1899:57) Wherever the individual may stand, whatever he or she may do, in commerce, agriculture or industry, in art or in science, he or she is constantly standing before the face of God (1899:63).

Kuyper proceeded to develop a doctrine of common grace that distinguished between the particular grace of God, necessary for salvation, and God's common or universal grace (*gemeene gracie*), underlying the structure of creation and uniting all human beings despite sin.⁴³ Central to his idea of common grace was the Christian community rather than the individual alone which "under the influence of the sociological element of all religion, have formed a society, and are endeavouring to live together" (1899:76). Kuyper's doctrine of common grace allowed the individual's relationship with God to be mediated through the nation.

A system of ranking believers had no place in Kuyper's neo-Calvinism. Rather he laid stress on individual beings "equal under Him" (God), the Christian community being based on "a thoroughly Presbyterian form of government" (1899:77):

⁴³ Kuyper (1899:71). Although Kuyper's doctrine of the state conformed to orthodox Calvinism, the doctrine of common grace was new. This idea is not evident in Calvin's writings (Moodie 1980:54-55).

"So the sovereignty of Christ remains absolutely monarchical, but the government of the Church on earth becomes democratic to its bones and marrow; a system leading logically to this other sequence, that all believers and all congregations being of equal standing, no Church may exercise any dominion over another, but that all local churches are of equal rank, and as manifestations of one and the same body, can only be united synodically, i.e., by way of *confederation*." (1899:77)

Differences "in climate and of nation, of historical past, and of disposition of mind come in to exercise a widely variegating influence, and multiformity in ecclesiastical matters" is the foundation of the "union of confessors" in the way of confederation (1899:78). The very multiformity of denominations among the Calvinistic churches Kuyper valued positively in

"that this multiformity, which is inseparably connected with the fundamental thought of Calvinism, has been much more favourable to the growth and prosperity of religious life than the compulsory uniformity in which others [for example Rome] sought the very basis of its strength".⁴⁴

Kuyper was not only a Calvinist reformer. He was explicitly a political theologian, as clearly shown in his third Stone Lecture on 'Calvinism and Politics', in which he discussed the political concepts of Calvinism and the influence of Calvinism on political development. He demonstrated how Calvinism effected political freedom in the Netherlands, England, and America. He cited Bancroft's history of the United States (1853) to support his argument: "The fanatic for Calvinism was a fanatic for liberty; for in the moral warfare for freedom, his creed was a part of his army and his most faithful ally in the battle." (1899:99) Kuyper also agreed with Groen van Prinsterer, who believed that "[i]n Calvinism lies the origin and guarantee for our constitutional liberties" (1899:99). From the principle of the primordial sovereignty of God he derived a threefold deduced sovereignty: that of the state, that of the society and that of the church.⁴⁵ For Kuyper these three forms of sovereignty were shaped fundamentally by the disintegrating forces of sin. Sovereignty in the form of one world community, argued Kuyper, was nothing but a looking back towards paradise (1899:101).

State authorities, he argued, were instituted by God because of human sin:

"Calvinism has therefore, by its deep conception of sin, laid bare the true roots of state-life, and has taught us two things: First - that we have gratefully to receive, from the hand of God, the institution of the State with its magistrates, as a means of preservation, now indeed indispensable. And on the other hand also that, by virtue of our natural impulse, we must ever watch against the danger, which lurks, for our personal liberty, in the power of the State." (1899:102-103)

God created also nations and peoples: "They exist for Him. They are his own. And therefore all these nations, and in them all humanity, must exist for His glory and consequently after His ordinances, in order that in the well-being, when they walk after His ordinances, His divine wisdom may shine forth." (1899:103) Kuyper found support in the story of Babel

⁴⁴ Kuyper (1899:79). Deviating from the mission theories put forth at the turn of the century, Kuyper denounced the idea of a national church (*Volkskerche*): "A national church, i.e., a church comprising only one nation, and that nation entirely, is a Heathen, or at most, a Jewish conception. The Church of Christ is not national but ecumenical. Not one single state, but the whole world is its domain." (1899:80-81) Because of this position, proponents of the Kuyper school in South Africa had to develop a new theory at the beginning of the twentieth century that stressed Kuyper's principle of diversity and at the same time accommodated mission theorists such as the German theologian Gustav Warneck (1902). See chapter VII.

⁴⁵ Kuyper (1899:99). As shall be discussed further on in this chapter, each of these three spheres of sovereignty was assigned a certain authority of its own, which Kuyper called 'sovereiniteit in eigen kring'. He regarded these spheres of authority as 'creation ordinances' of God.

(Genesis 11) for a theory of the origin of peoples and nations. God, he said, created them in order to restore order in the midst of chaos resulting from humans' sinfulness so that people could live side by side in a humane society. It followed, in Kuyper's view, that God alone would have a right to establish the social order by which human beings are to live: "No man has the right to rule over another man, otherwise, such a right necessarily, and immediately, becomes the *right of the strongest*." (1899:103) Kuyper continued:

"Nor can a group of men, by contract, from their own right, compel you to obey a fellow-man
As man I stand, free and bold, over against the most powerful of my fellow-men . . . in the sphere of the State I do not yield or bow down to anyone, who is man, as I am. Authority over men cannot arise from men. Just as little from a majority over against a minority." (1899:104)

Given these clear principles, it is not surprising that Kuyper, the anti-revolutionaries and the *Afgescheidenen* of the Netherlands vehemently opposed the ideas of the French Revolution and especially Rousseau's theory of *volonté général* (1899:109-112). The ideas of the Revolution and of Rousseau represented for them the very epitome of state terror. The notion of *volonté général*, they claimed, ignored God. *Ni Dieu ni maître* was seen as an article of confession of an ungodly order. Thus, sin necessitated the establishment of an inherently sovereign authority, that is, an authority that would have nothing above it except God. Opposed not only to the ungodly anarchistic order, Kuyper also strove against an extreme form of mystification of the state as articulated in the German idealist philosophy and romantic nationalist state philosophy (1899:115). The best form of the state, as recommended by Kuyper, was "*where the people itself chooses its own magistrates*".⁴⁶ He chose again the example of the American settlers to illustrate his point, quoting the preamble from their Constitution: "Grateful to the Almighty God, that He gave us the power to choose our own magistrates' " (1899:106)

Kuyper's approach to state sovereignty was not novel. What was revolutionary and innovative in his theory was the notion of sovereignty in one's own sphere. This notion meant that the various social spheres of society, e.g. family, business, school, science, art, church, etc.,

"which do not owe their existence to the State, and which do not derive the law of their life from the superiority of the State, but obey a high authority within their own bosom; and authority which rules, by the grace of God, just as the sovereignty of the State does" (1899 116)

Kuyper's theory was preconditioned by the notion of separation of state and society, wherein society is neither undifferentiated nor hierarchically structured, but rather differentiable into organic parts, each part having its own independent character (1899:116). From this independence the members of each part were to derive their own self-reliant character.

"In this independent character a special *higher authority* is of necessity involved and this highest authority we intentionally call - *sovereignty in the individual social spheres*, in order that it may be sharply and decidedly expressed that these different developments of social life have *nothing above themselves but God*, and that the State cannot intrude here, and has nothing to command in their domain. As you feel at once, this is the deeply interesting question of our *civil liberties*." (1899 116)

"The consequence of all this is that on the one hand, in a people, all sorts of *organic* phenomena of life arise, from its *social* spheres, but that, high above all these, the *mechanical* unifying force of the government is observable. From this arises all friction and clashing." (1899 120)

⁴⁶ Kuyper (1899 106) Emphasis in the original

For both state and society, Kuyper demanded independence in each of their own spheres and regulation of their relationship to each other under the law (1899:120-121). Thus, it can be said that Kuyper's neo-Calvinism sanctioned the unification of all spheres of influence under the umbrella of state constitutionalism.

The idea of sovereignty in one's own sphere could be described as the organic authority of each sphere. This notion would allow each sphere of social life to exist independently of the state and of all other spheres, being subject only to God. As Kuyper stated:

"The University exercises scientific dominion; the Academy of fine arts is possessed of art-power; the guild exercised a technical dominion; the trades-union rules over labour; - and each of these spheres or corporations is conscious of the power of exclusive independent judgement and authoritative action, within its proper sphere of operation. Behind these organic spheres ... the sphere of the family opens itself ... which arises from the very necessities of life, and which therefore must be autonomous." (1899:123)

Since the structure of these individual spheres was laid down in their original creation, and their purpose and function was thus defined by their very nature, the state could not impose its laws on them nor interfere in their affairs and had to respect the innate law of life:

"Neither the life of science nor of art, nor of agriculture, nor of industry, nor of commerce, nor of navigation, nor of the family, nor of human relationship may be coerced to suit itself to the grace of the government." (1899:124) "And thus the struggle for liberty is not only declared permissible, but is made a duty for each individual in his own sphere." (1899:127)

Needless to say, this notion of the autonomy of individual spheres included the church.⁴⁷

Neo-Calvinism, as formulated by Kuyper contained not only a very modern theology, but also a highly modern sociology and social philosophy, which still remains unparalleled.⁴⁸ He developed an explicit theory of diversity that was compatible with the phenomenon of modernist differentiation. In applying this theory to the life of nations, Kuyper concluded that the lower the level of development of a nation, the less the diversity in opinion and thought patterns. Accordingly, he argued, nearly all nations begin with unity of religion (1899:135-136). In answer to the question why and where differences arise, Kuyper replied:

"There is no life without differentiation and no differentiation without inequality. The perception of difference the very source of human consciousness, the causative principle of all that exists and grows and develops, in short the mainspring of all life and thought." (1899:269)

The theory of sovereignty in one's own sphere provided not only the basis for the politics of democratic 'verzuiling' in the Netherlands, but also for the undemocratic politics of apartheid in South Africa. How this came about is the theme of the next section (and chapters VI and VII). It shall be shown how the influences from both the modernists and the anti-modernists thus contributed to perplexing results in South Africa.

⁴⁷ Kuyper's fourth and fifth Stone Lectures dealt with the relevance of science and art. Although it is very tempting to analyse them too, this would go beyond the scope of this study.

⁴⁸ See Schmidt (1989), von Beyme (1991) and Rombach (1987).

3. Dutch modernists and anti-modernists and their influence on the Dutch-Afrikaners

The conflicts within the Dutch NHK and among the various Protestant movements had a tremendous effect on the development of Protestantism in South Africa. The issue of church-state relation is exemplary. The Dutch Reformed Church (DRC), i.e. the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk (NGK) in the Cape Colony was a unified church until 1850, a proto-national Dutch-Afrikaner institution. The split that came arose out of the different theological orientations to which the South Africans were exposed. Members of two different Calvinistic nationalities, the Scots and the Dutch-Afrikaner, studied theology at the time of the Réveil in the Netherlands at the same universities. The Scots were oriented more towards Britain, and the Dutch-Afrikaners, distancing themselves from colonial Anglicisation, turned more to the Netherlands. Both groups were equally represented among the ranks of the DRC ministers.

In the 1840s Dutch-Afrikaners left in larger numbers for the Netherlands for advanced studies. They isolated themselves from the influences of modernists like Johannes Henricus Scholten (1811-1885), Professor of Theology in Leiden. They joined the student organisation *Secor Dabar* (Remember the Word), and even formed their own organisation especially for students from the Cape, called the *Elpis Agape en Chariti* (Hope, Love and Grace). The members of *Elpis* later formed the core of the orthodox wing in the battle against the liberal tendencies in the DRC. This first generation of Afrikaner theology students included Andrew Murray, the Hofmeyrs, and Neethlings. Most students of the next generation, however, embraced modernist theology in the Netherlands and did not join *Secor Dabar* or *Elpis*.⁴⁹

Even the evangelical revival movement spread via the Netherlands and Britain to the Cape in the mid-nineteenth century to the furthestmost outposts of white settlements in the Boer republics. It inspired informal prayer meetings outside formal church services. Orthodox Calvinist ministers were at first sceptical or inimical, but recognised soon that they had lost control over their flock. Two enthusiastic supporters of this evangelical revival movement were the Scottish DRC ministers, Andrew Murray, Sr., and his son Andrew. Andrew Murray, Jr. wrote that "there had been a wonderful change brought about among us. In almost every house where you come the subject is the 'opwekking' or the prayer meetings."⁵⁰

The church leadership had changed drastically since the take-over by the British from VOC rule some decades earlier. Many more ministers were in the Colony, a large proportion of whom were of Scottish origin. Between 1817 and 1867, 23 Scottish Presbyterian ministers were ordained in the Cape church.⁵¹ Being aware of the shortage of ministers at the beginning of their rule, the British colonial authorities had subsidised the growth of the ministry. Although the British had guaranteed the dominance of the Dutch Reformed Church, they were anxious to anglicise the church. The good relations between the Presbyterian church in

⁴⁹ Du Toit (1987 50)

⁵⁰ Murray quoted in Ross (1993 187). Andrew Murray Senior had been recruited in Scotland as a minister for the DRC in Graaff-Reinet. Andrew Murray, Junior (1828-1917) was born in the Cape Colony and educated in Scotland and the Netherlands. Upon his return in 1848 he led the evangelical wing in the DRC. In 1849 he was appointed the first permanent minister in the Orange River Sovereignty. He was sympathetic with the moderate Boers in the north. During the 1870s he initiated a series of revivals, undertaking evangelical tours and mission work, which caused the evangelicals to almost dominate the church (Hexham 1981:26, du Plessis 1965:448-449, Templin 1984 135-140)

⁵¹ Ponelis (1993:46) In 1834 there were 23 ministers in total, of whom 13 were Scotsmen (B du Toit 1970 534)

Scotland and the Calvinist church in the Netherlands that had been cemented in the times of John Knox turned out to their advantage. As Robert Ross put it: "The agreement of theological tradition within the Dutch and Scottish churches made Scottish ministers attractive to a British government seeking to anglicise the Cape, so it paid their wages."⁵² In most cases these men had spent a few months in the Netherlands during their training, usually at the University of Utrecht, where most of them had been members of the influential student society *Secor Dabar*. Consequently, the theology students from both Scotland and South Africa fell under the same influences. But Governor Somerset's decision to employ Scottish ministers for the Cape's Dutch Reformed Church boomeranged: "Instead of the Scottish turning the DRC into an English church," wrote Meiring, "the Scottish ministers were changed by the church into Afrikaners. A substantial number of Afrikaner patriots of the next generation were born in Scottish ministers' families!"⁵³

The promoters of the Dutch revival, Willem Bilderdijk and Isaak da Costa, keenly supported theological student organisations in the Netherlands, including those with South African membership. Back in the Cape, the Scots and Dutch-Afrikaners "were instrumental in bringing about the widespread shift in religious attitudes among white South Africans, in part because numerous new parishes had been set up throughout the length and breadth of the Cape. The new ministers saw themselves as stout Calvinists."⁵⁴ The most prominent Cape ministers in the first half of the nineteenth century were the Andrew Murrays (father and son), Abraham Fauré and Gottlieb Wilhelm Antony van der Lingen. They reconciled their Calvinist predestination doctrines with active evangelical work.

These stout Calvinists founded their own press organs: the *Elpis*, a quarterly with international ecumenical connections; *De Wekker*, a more popular monthly; and the newspaper *De Volksvriend*, edited by the young Jan Hendrik Hofmeyr (1845-1909) - later known as *Onze Jan*. They introduced innovations in church activities and religious practice; their preaching had an unwonted evangelical urgency and pietistic emphasis on personal conversion; they founded numerous Sunday schools, and encouraged regular prayer meetings.⁵⁵

This new religious mobilisation was not apolitical. It worked towards placing moral and God-fearing men in the Cape parliament. The approach of the Dutch Reformed Church at that time was universalistic, not nationalistic. Some ministers, van der Lingen, for example, saw themselves as members of the *Nederduitsch* nation, not as Cape Afrikaners.⁵⁶

The 'liberal struggle' over the church-state relationship, combined with the political conflicts between the Cape Colony and the northern Afrikaner republics, eventually led to splits and schisms in the Dutch Reformed Church of the Cape Colony and Boer republics. In 1853 the Dutch-Afrikaners in the Transvaal broke away from the Dutch Reformed Church, i.e. the *Nederduits-Gereformeerde Kerk*, and formed the *Nederduits Hervormde Kerk* (NHK), which was declared in 1856 the State Church of the South African Republic (Transvaal). Clause 3 of its statutes excluded non-whites from membership. In February 1859 the Gerefor-

⁵² Ross (1993:187).

⁵³ Meiring (1975:57).

⁵⁴ Ross (1993:187-188).

⁵⁵ Du Toit (1987:60).

⁵⁶ Ross (1993:188).

meerde Kerk (GK) or Dopperkerk was officially established when it broke away from the Hervormde Kerk in the Transvaal. The Doppers opined that the preaching of the NHK were not sufficiently orthodox and that the doctrinal standards of the Synod of Dordrecht were not being strictly adhered to.⁵⁷ In 1881 the Dutch Reformed Church started up a mission church as a separate church for blacks. The background of these splits shall be discussed below.

After 1853 a number of controversies arose involving the DRC. One issue was the church-state relationship, also known as the 'voluntary principle', i.e., the church should not receive state funding but rely solely on voluntary member contributions. On 7 August 1854 Saul Solomon introduced a motion in parliament to stop state funding for the church. Initially he did not achieve his objective, but the desired law was eventually passed in 1875.

Advocates of the voluntary principle as the basis of church communities relied on much of the same arguments used by the Afscheidenen in the Netherlands. The DRC opposed them and tended to align with the colonial authorities rather than its own membership. But more and more Dutch-Afrikaner liberals supported the voluntary principle. As the conflict intensified in the 1860s, polarisation set in. It dominated the parliamentary elections of 1869, candidates canvassing as pro- or anti-voluntarists. This conflict had also implications for more democratic participation in the church. The oligarchic nature of the DRC had already in 1850 set the scene for conflict. Only a tiny clique drawn from a few families controlled the church council. An 1860 editorial on church reform in *Het Volksblad* placed the call for free elections in the church in conjunction with the spread of democratic ideas: "We want representative institutions both in the Church and in the State".⁵⁸

With the politicisation of church matters there was a growing tendency for individuals to appeal against the decisions of church councils to the civil courts. One of the most celebrated cases that went up to the Privy Council in Britain related to the alleged doctrinal heresies of leading liberals such as J.J. Kotzé and Thomas François Burgers.⁵⁹ The orthodox party considered the intervention by the civil courts an affront to the spiritual authority of the church. In the early 1850s, even before the case of the outspoken liberal ministers Kotzé and Burgers, the Hofmeyrs and Murrays, supporters of the evangelical revival, published articles in the *De Gereformerde Kerkbode* warning against the dangers of modernist theology and liberalism. Liberals such as P.J. Kotzé, the father of J.J. Kotzé, countered with publicising the work of the Dutch modernist theologian J.H. Scholten. In 1860 the journal *De Onderzoeker* began to provide a forum for liberal theology. After the Privy Council's judgement favouring Kotzé and Burgers, they were reinstated at the synod of 1870. Thereafter, interest in theological debate waned.⁶⁰

André du Toit maintained that the Cape church struggle reflected dramatic social changes of the century:

⁵⁷ In the nineteenth century this church was surprisingly less puritanical and more theologically liberal, a factor in the Doppers' secession. In the first half of the twentieth century the NHK was known as the South African Party church. After 1960 it became the most *verkramp* (conservative) of the three Afrikaner churches (Serfontein 1982:127).

⁵⁸ Du Toit (1987:54).

⁵⁹ Hexham (1980:199-201). Burgers, who became Transvaal's first prime minister (1872-1877), was born in 1834 and spent his youth at Graaff-Reinet, before leaving for the Netherlands to study theology at the University of Utrecht. Upon his return to South Africa Burgers was appointed minister of the parish Hanover (Templin 1984:158-161, Nathan 1944:93).

⁶⁰ Du Toit (1987:56-57), Templin (1984:158) and Ross (1993:186).

"The grand themes of liberal rights and equal freedoms did not remain mere abstractions but found application ... in a more secular orientation of education, growing support for the separation of church and state, popular challenges to the oligarchic authority structures in local congregations as well as in the church at large, increasing use of appeals to the secular courts and to the rule of law, a growing interest in public debates on controversial matters in newspapers, journals, conferences, and lecture series, and, in general, a more positive orientation toward whatever was perceived as introducing progress, enlightenment, and the modern world to South Africa."⁶¹

In other words, doctrinal conflicts of the past should be understood in the context of many other controversies over the voluntary principle, free elections, and recourse to the secular courts. Traders, townsmen, and farmers were responding positively to the forces of modernisation, but for the old guard, the traditional church and social order were at stake. It had to be defended against what was seen as the threatening incursions of the 'modern' world.

The old guard, however, was not homogenous nor were the older and younger generations united. The young activists, the Hofmeyrs, Murrays, and Neethlings, later labelled conservatives, conflicted with the old guard. These well-educated young men were not rooted in traditional rural communities or dependent on local resources; they were highly mobile, skilled organisers, capable of reaching a wider audience. They were proficient publicists, making effective use of newspapers, journals, and pamphlets and generating new forums as they went along. Organisationally, this younger generation was thoroughly of the modern world with its means of communication and methods of popular mobilisation.⁶²

The liberal Changuion, whose school had to close due to lack of finances, returned to Europe in 1865, complaining of the victory of the conservatives and orthodox over Cape liberalism. He failed to see, however, the important role his institution had played in this process. "The irony that escaped him", wrote du Toit,

"was that it had been precisely the products of his own educational efforts, the Hofmeyrs and Neethlings, who had defeated him by using these very modern educational skills and intellectual resources for purposes more realizable in the colonial context ... The DRC tradition itself remained limited to its own Afrikaner and church context, but it was the rise of Afrikaner nationalism as a major political force that would expose the innocence and powerlessness of liberal aspirations in our time. Here it is not too difficult to see the analogies between the Hofmeyrs, the Murrays, and the Neethlings, with their 'orthodox' project in the church, and the political and cultural projects of later Afrikaner cultural entrepreneurs in the Afrikaans language movement and the Afrikaner Broederbond ... Indeed, in some ways the historical continuities are quite direct: S.J. du Toit, prime mover of the first Afrikaans language movement and, with Onze Jan Hofmeyr, founder of the first Afrikaner-dominated political party, the Afrikaner Bond, was the spiritual heir of van der Lingens in his Paarl congregation and a first-generation product of the Stellenbosch Theological Seminary ... But the supreme irony is that the man with perhaps the best title to being the first articulate Afrikaner nationalist in the early 1870s was none other than T.F. Burgers, president of the Transvaal, 1872-1877, one of the main protagonists of the liberal tendency in the church struggles of the 1860s."⁶³

Developments in the Boer republics were less turbulent, but similar to those in the Cape. First of all, after the Great Trek, the pastoral care in the Boer republics had to be self-suffi-

⁶¹ Du Toit (1987:58).

⁶² Du Toit (1987:59).

⁶³ Du Toit (1987:62-63).

cient. With only the Bible, and attached to it the Dutch version of the Heidelberg Catechism, the Belgic Confession and the canons of the Synod of Dordrecht, they developed into highly idiosyncratic fundamentalist Christians, still far, however, from the racist and apartheid Calvinists of the twentieth century. The English wrote them off as ignorant and backward - 'white Kaffirs'. In fact a section of them were as liberal as, if not more than, the Cape Dutch-Afrikaners. For example, the Boers of the Republic of Transvaal elected the teacher and minister T.F. Burgers as their president, whom the Cape synod had suspended on grounds of heresy. The dominant church in the Transvaal, the Nederduitse Hervormde Kerk, supported Burgers, but he was not accepted by the less-educated Boers, followers of the Dopperkerk, who favoured Paul Kruger.⁶⁴

Two fundamentalist movements arose among the farmers and trekboers in the interior: the Jerusalemgangers (those destined for Jerusalem) in the Marico district with whom David Livingstone collided, and the Doppers. The first group embraced the apocalyptic vision of the Book of Joel. First appearing in a distant part of the Swellendam parish, they supported the Great Trek against British domination. Once established in the Transvaal, they were quickly absorbed into the more orthodox Gereformeerde Kerk, better known as the Dopperkerk. The Doppers were the true backvelders, the conservatives of the Dutch-Afrikaners.⁶⁵ The Doppers influenced to a great extent the shaping of Afrikaner ethnic nationalism, which gained prominence after 1900, and decades later its theology served intellectuals' construction of apartheid.⁶⁶

The Doppers' Gereformeerde Kerk had contacts with the Dutch Afscheidenen fundamentalists, adherents of the canons of the Synod of Dordrecht.⁶⁷ In 1857 the Free State politician and founding member of the Gereformeerde Kerk in the Free State, Jacobus J Venter, complained to J. van Andel of the Dutch Afscheidenen Christelike Gereformeerde Kerk about the evangelical and liberal influences in southern Africa and requested him to send a minister loyal to the canons of the Synod of Dordrecht. The Afscheidenen sent Dirk Postma (1818-1890) to investigate the situation.⁶⁸ From Cape Town Postma travelled to the

⁶⁴ Templin (1984 158-163) and Ross (1993 189)

⁶⁵ The exact meaning of *Dopper* is unclear. It could be a modification of the Dutch *dorper* (village dweller) indicating the type of small settlements of the majority of Boers living in the interior. Or it may have referred to the old fashioned hairstyle of the men, said to be the result of placing a basin, a *dop*, over their heads and cutting the hair along the rim (also practised by Puritans in America and the English 'Roundheads' under Cromwell). Or, as the Doppers themselves liked to say, it came from *domper*, the device used to extinguish a candle. It symbolised their conservatism, which wanted to extinguish the 'new light' of the Enlightenment that Postma believed threatened to destroy the old ways of Afrikanerdom. The English were especially targeted as the bearers of Enlightenment in southern Africa (Hexham 1981 47,61) for a detailed history on the Doppers see Spoelstra (1963)

⁶⁶ The Doppers, as a small but distinct religious community, appeared first in the 1760s. Their extreme conservatism distinguished them from other religious groups and provoked hostility from the DRC. The Doppers were not initially anti-English. The original core, in Colesberg, were notable for their loyalty to the Cape Colony, and most did not trek to the new northern republics (Spoelstra 1963 18, Hexham 1981 61). Their attitude changed as the British consolidated their domination and modernisation of the Colony, as the DRC became gripped in controversy, and as the Doppers spread from the North Eastern Cape to the Transvaal. The wife of Andrew Murray disliked them and stated in 1856 "The only people I don't really like are the Doppers. They are such a dirty obstinate race - many of them very religious, but prejudiced and ignorant to a degree" (quoted in Spoelstra 1963 17)

⁶⁷ Spoelstra (1963 192)

⁶⁸ After being apprenticed as a tinsmith, Postma trained to become a minister of the Christelike Gereformeerde Kerk (Hexham 1981 60)

Transvaal and was invited by the Rustenburg consistory to become their minister, which had just seceded from the Dutch Reformed Church over the issue of singing hymns.⁶⁹ Those who joined Postma's new church were the Doppers.

Postma turned his scattered groups of followers into a viable and enduring church. Within one year he had established seven congregations with some 2,250 members. By 1869 there were sixteen congregations with 4,362 members and by the outbreak of the Anglo-Boer War in 1899 forty-three with 10,678 members.⁷⁰ The task exceeded the capacities of one man. By the end of 1860 the Potchefstroom, Waterberg, Lydenburg, Reddersburg, Burgersdorp, Colesberg and Middleburg (Cape) congregations all wanted ordained ministers. So Postma turned to the Christelijke Gereformeerde Kerk in the Netherlands for help. The response from the Dutch church was rather disappointing. Only one minister joined him. Postma then decided to train his own students, instructing three of them as they accompanied him on his travels. In 1868 his student Jan Lion Cachet won recognition from the General Synod for administering the word and sacraments, followed by a second student, A.A.J. de Klerk, in 1869. Cachet assisted Postma in teaching other theology students Hebrew and in 1869 helped Postma to establish a permanent theological school at Burgersdorp.⁷¹

Like the Afscheidenen in the Netherlands, who had made privately funded education their major thrust and founded the Vereniging voor Christelijk Nationaal Schoolonderwijs, the Doppers too established their own

"Theologische School van de Gereformeerde Kerk van Zuid-Afrika (The Theological School of the Reformed Church of South Africa). It was a protest against the official educational policy of the Cape Colony and the disorganized state of schooling in the Transvaal Republic. It served as a beacon against liberalism of the nineteenth century. As the reformed doctrine demanded Christian schooling by Christian teachers the Burgersdorp school was to produce its own teachers, the official beginning of Christian National Education and the application of science in the name of the Lord."⁷²

Anxious to uplift primary and secondary schooling in the Dopper community, Postma and Cachet were instrumental in establishing in 1885 a Free Christian School in Burgersdorp, which was to be incorporated into the Theological School. By the outbreak of the Anglo-Boer War the Church was involved with some 142 schools educating over 3,000 children.⁷³

⁶⁹ In January 1859 the Synod of the NHK in the Transvaal passed a resolution allowing the singing of evangelical hymns in the church, which the Calvinists considered doctrinally impure. Consequently, Paul Kruger (1825-1905) and a group of like-minded members of the Rustenburg congregation seceded from the Transvaal NGK in February 1859 and formed the Gereformeerde Kerk (Templin 1984 149-152)

⁷⁰ Hexham (1981 62)

⁷¹ Jan Lion Cachet was born in Amsterdam in 1838 of Jewish parentage. Through close ties with Isaac da Costa his family came under the influence of the Dutch Réveil. Jan together with his brother Frans trained at the seminary of the Free Church of Scotland in Amsterdam. In 1861 Jan followed his brother Frans who had migrated to the Cape in 1860. In 1865 Jan joined Postma in Rustenburg and became a leading figure in the Gereformeerde Kerk. In 1894 he became its first and only full-time theology professor at Burgersdorp's theological school, which was moved in 1905 to Potchefstroom. He also founded and edited the church's monthly magazine *De Maandbode*, renamed *Het Kerkblad* in 1896. The Dutchmen Jan and Frans Lion Cachet thus played important roles in shaping Afrikaner theology (Hexham 1981 63, Kamsteeg/van Dijk 1990 15-19, Cilliers 1982 25-29, Kistner 1975 77-79)

⁷² Kamsteeg/van Dijk (1990 17)

⁷³ Hexham (1981 64)

Equally important as this struggle for Christian schools was the formulation of a theological doctrine justifying the Doppers' political view that the Church and State stood under God's sovereignty. For this, the Burgersdorp school, and later the Potchefstroom University College, relied on the works of the Dutch neo-Calvinist theologians Abraham Kuyper and Herman Bavinck (1854-1921) of the Free University of Amsterdam, which became the Mecca for Burgersdorp and Potchefstroom graduates.⁷⁴ All this meant that the so-called 'backward' and 'conservative' republican Boers were actually educated in the most modern of Calvinist theology that Europe offered. It was modern in the sense that its ideal was a democratic social order, founding its principle of government not in an ecclesiastical hierarchical organisation, but in the life of local autonomous congregations. This contrasted with the English and German theological preoccupations with the centralist nation-state. As Hexham put it: "Despite its Calvinistic inheritance of Presbyterianism the Reformed Church had a strongly Congregational tone that led very naturally to the growth of an independent and democratic spirit."⁷⁵ The Calvinist internal ecclesiastical system of governance was to be representative; the local congregation vested with the authority that God had placed in His Church was to elect office bearers to whom the congregation delegated its authority. But the local congregation was not to regard itself as independent, but rather as united with the one Church. This unity was to be manifested through symbols, not permanent organisational and bureaucratic structures.

The impact of the Afscheidenen and the anti-revolutionary movement in the Netherlands on the development in South Africa is best summarised in the words of Irving Hexham:

"The success of the Anti-Revolutionary movement and the intellectual leadership of men like Kuyper inspired Calvinists in South Africa to create a Calvinist society on the Dutch model in South Africa. Kuyper's work provided members of the Reformed Church with needed tools to resist both Methodism in religion and English culture in the social realm. His ideas about a Christian political party, Christian schools, and the need for Calvinist groups to work with their own social and religious communities fitted the needs of the South African situation. Equally important were the ideas of [Groen] van Prinsterer whose dictum 'In isolation is our strength' provided a perfect slogan for anyone seeking to resist the influence of the English ... By helping create the 'verzuiling' [pillarisation] ... of Dutch society the Dutch neo-Calvinist movement had created a religiously based social apartheid in the Netherlands. Catholics, Liberals and Reformed Christians all had their own political parties, trade unions, newspapers and even, in practice, their own shops. Thus Dutch society was rigidly segmented. This social division, which the Doppers could see in Dutch society, they also knew as the reality of Afrikaner society as they themselves lived it, apart from their non-Dopper neighbors. Hence, they saw in Dutch neo-Calvinism theoretical justification for their way of life."⁷⁶

Parallel to these political and neo-Calvinist influences from the Netherlands on the Dutch-Afrikaners ran another development of purely local origin. It was a movement of those Dutch-Afrikaners who wanted to distance themselves from Britain and the Netherlands in terms of language. While Dutch was an official language, many Boers, who spoke a 'simpli-

⁷⁴ At the Burgersdorp theological school *Veritas Vincet* (founded in 1894) was the first student organisation consciously promoting Kuyper's neo-Calvinism (Loubser 1987:34)

⁷⁵ Hexham (1981:73).

⁷⁶ Hexham (1981:115-116). Hexham drew a parallel between 'verzuiling' in the Netherlands and apartheid in South Africa.

fied Dutch', found high Dutch just as foreign as English. Latent and manifest forces for Afrikaner self-determination led to Afrikaner ethnic consciousness, articulated especially through language.

4. The Afrikaans language movement

Membership in an Afrikaner ethnic community was rarely invoked as a political issue, at least not until 1850. Hendrik Bibault's 1707 declaration 'ik ben een Africaander' (I am an Afrikaner) found no echo. Even the members of the Patriot movement of 1778 and 1784 made their claims in their capacities as producers of trade goods and privileged burghers. The voortrekkers too did not perceive the Great Trek of 1835-38 as an expression of Afrikaner political ethnicity; they were rather 'emigrants' and 'expatriates'.⁷⁷ However, when they realised that despite such pressure, the British colonial authorities were not going to meet their demands to improve their economic position and political status, the Trek came to symbolise something else. Thrown back on their own resources, they came to see Africa as their only home. Even the Dutch-Afrikaners who did not join the Great Trek showed little sense of an ethnic consciousness. In the 1830s, professionals who initiated *Het Nederduitsch-Zuid-Afrikaansch Tijdschrift* tried to stimulate a Dutch-Afrikaner cultural identity based on a shared language and history, but without much initial success. The forebears of contemporary Afrikaners still called themselves Christians, colonists, inhabitants, emigrants, Boers, voortrekkers, and even South Africans. Though ambiguously, they also used the term Afrikaner. It was employed by various interest groups differently. It could refer to: enslaved or emancipated Africans, locally born white colonists, or colonists of mainly or exclusively of Dutch descent. The most widely read Dutch publication *De Zuid Afrikaan* defined in 1830 Afrikaners as those "whether English or Dutch who inhabited the land and were bound by duty and interest to further the well-being of their country".⁷⁸ This definition favoured an amalgamation of all white inhabitants in southern Africa. Those who resisted abandoning Dutch language and customs for English cultural and social values resented the all inclusive concept of Afrikanerhood. In 1835 the Dutch newspaper *De Zuid-Afrikaan* wrote:

"It is an error we have frequently opposed, to suppose that as British subjects we are compelled to adopt a British nationality. A colonist of Dutch descent cannot become an Englishman, nor should he strive to be a Hollander."⁷⁹

In the same year, an article in *Het Nederduitsch Zuid-Afrikaansch Tydschrift* stressed the need to retain a Dutch nationality: "Even if man so wishes, he cannot so lightly forget the past, nor shake off the mores of his [Dutch] ancestors."⁸⁰

In the second half of the nineteenth century a number of intellectuals, theologians and teachers tried to deal with the crisis of Dutch-Afrikaners by developing a specific ethnic ideology based on a common language and a unique Afrikaner culture and history. Possessed of an aversion to secularisation and Anglicisation of education as a part of their resistance to marginalisation, a group of the Dutch-Afrikaners sought to encapsulate Afrikaners in their

⁷⁷ Giliomee (1989:22).

⁷⁸ Quoted in Giliomee (1989:22).

⁷⁹ Quoted in Adam/Giliomee (1979:99).

⁸⁰ Quoted in Adam/Giliomee (1979:99).

own institutions and culture. This movement was initially regional, centred in Paarl, led by Arnoldus Pannevis (1838-1884), a Paarl Gymnasium teacher; Casper Peter Hoogenhout (1843-1922), a teacher in the outlying district of Wellington near Paarl, and the Dutch Reformed Church predikant and son of a Paarl wine grower Stephanus Johannes du Toit (1847-1911). All three pressed for the elevation of Afrikaans from a vernacular to a written language. The history of the Afrikaans language movement came to be closely aligned with the struggle to have the Bible translated into Afrikaans. In a letter to the editor of *De Zuid-Afrikaan*, published on 7 September 1872, Pannevis pleaded to have the Bible translated into 'Afrikaansch'. The British Bible Society responded negatively in November 1874 to Pannevis's request for a translation. In 1873 Hoogenhout appealed in *De Zuid-Afrikaan* for an Afrikaans translation of the Bible "not only for the brown people but also for many whites, because there are really many whites who do not understand half of the Dutch language .. the Lord would not tolerate that the Bible should remain unintelligible to many poor people in South Africa."⁸¹ The plea to render the Bible into Afrikaans for the 'brown people' or Cape Coloureds was soon played down. The translation of the Bible was not only perceived as a powerful weapon in the struggle to have Afrikaans recognised but also to establish Afrikaans as the 'true language of a people', the white Afrikaners.⁸² The struggle for Afrikaans thus became synonymous with the struggle against English hegemony, "making Afrikaans the cardinal ethnic symbol which encapsulated the history and singularity of the Afrikaner people".⁸³

On 14 August 1875 S.J. du Toit, Hoogenhout and six others founded the *Genootskap van Regte Afrikaners* (Association of True Afrikaners) (GRA) in Paarl. Its statutes defined Afrikaner as a distinct volk and ethnic group: "Die 'doel' van ons Genootskap is: om te staan ver ons Taal, ons Nasie en ons Land." Their aims included among others: "To use Afrikaans at all our meetings and in all our official documents"; "To issue a monthly newspaper entitled 'Die Afrikaanse Patriot'". The religious confession was equally emphasised: "Every member must believe in the death of reconciliation and in atonement of our Lord Jesus Christ Every meeting shall open with a prayer and close with a prayer."⁸⁴ *Die Afrikaanse Patriot* was written in the Paarl Afrikaans dialect, which du Toit declared as *die taal van ons volk* (the language of our people). The *Afrikaanse Patriot* was at the time the only newspaper running against the *Nederduitsch* trend aimed at recognising Dutch in the Cape as the second official language and its recognition in the Orange Free State and Transvaal as the first.⁸⁵ *Die Patriot*

⁸¹ Quoted in Gilomee (1989 34) See also February (1991 79-80)

⁸² This was poetically expressed in a letter to the editor of *Die Patriot* in 1885 "Ons oorsprong en ons voorgeslag Was Hollands, Duits en heelwat Frans, Ofskoon hul bloed nog vul ons are As nasi is ons Afrikaans, In Afrika is ons gebore, Ons praat gen Hollans, Duits of Frans, Wel is ons taal daaruit gebore Maar wat ons praat is Afrikaans, Die Bybel moet daar oek in wese, Ons moet dit in eie taal kan lese" (quoted in Cilliers 1982 55)

⁸³ Gilomee (1989 34)

⁸⁴ "The aim of our Genootskap is *To stand for our language, our nation and our country*" (Emphasis in original) See the statutes in 'Afrikaans' in *Die Afrikaanse Patriot*, 15 February 1876 and in a 1974 facsimile reproduction of the first year of the newspaper (pp 29-30) Founding members of the first Afrikaans language movement were C P Hoogenhout, S J du Toit, August Ahrbeck, S G du Toit, Gideon Malherbe, Dr D F du Toit, D F du Toit (Oom Lokomotief) and P J Malherbe From 1879 to 1904 S J du Toit was editor of *Die Afrikaanse Patriot* and in 1896 he convened the first Afrikaans Language Conference at Paarl

⁸⁵ Church leaders and academics for example at the Theological Seminar in Stellenbosch firmly opposed having the Bible translated in Afrikaans Under the leadership of Hofmeyr, the Afrikanerbond preferred Dutch in the Cape media The

advocated instead the elevation of Afrikaans. It provided furthermore a public forum for supporters of a 'true Afrikanerdom'. The Calvinist principles of its editor, S.J. du Toit, contributed substantially to forming the ideology, culture and political economy of Afrikaner nationalism. His ideas derived from Dutch neo-Calvinist theologians, especially Kuyper. To the notions of God's absolute sovereignty and sovereignty in one's own sphere, du Toit added his notion of Afrikaners' destiny as a 'Chosen People'. This, according to André du Toit, was the fundament of Afrikaner ideology.⁶⁶

The first edition of *Die Afrikaanse Patriot* of the GRA identified three types of Afrikaners:

"There are Afrikaners with English hearts. There are Afrikaners with Dutch hearts. And, there are Afrikaners with Afrikaans hearts. The latter we call the true Afrikaners and these we ask to side with us. And what are we going to do? ... True Afrikaners we appeal to you to recognize with us, that Afrikaans is our mother tongue given to us by our Dear Lord. And, that they must stand by us through thick and thin; and, not rest before our language is generally recognized in every respect as the language of our people and our land."⁶⁷

It was argued that the language and culture of the Afrikaner nation was as much divinely sanctioned as for other nations. The biblical justification for this was spelt out in detail.

"Our Dear Lord has placed diverse nations on earth and has given to each nation its own language. Because of the sins of man, the Dear Lord had divided the 'volke' and caused a confusion of tongues at the tower of Babel (Gen. 11) ... [I]t is quite clear that different nations and languages are recognised before the throne of God even in heaven."⁶⁸

The Genootskap published an Afrikaans grammar, religious texts, school textbooks, and an Afrikaner folk-history, *Die Geskiedenis van ons Land, in die Taal van ons Volk* (1877)⁶⁹ Presuming to put the facts 'right' from an Afrikaner point of view, it was the first common history of the 'Afrikaners' in the Boer republics and the Cape Colony. True Afrikaners, as defined by the GRA, constituted a distinct people, but speaking Afrikaans was not the sole

proponents of Dutch founded in 1890 the Zuid-Afrikaansche Taalbond (The South African Language Union) to improve the standard of Dutch. It was again revived in 1903 with Jan Hofmeyr as one of its leading figures (Hexham 1981: 129). Not until 1932 did Afrikaans finally replace Dutch.

⁶⁶ André du Toit concluded that "it is here that the actual history of modern Afrikaner 'Calvinist' notions, culminating in Dr Verwoerd's ideological vision of an apartheid order as a divine mission of Afrikanerdom, should start. Afrikaner nationalism is less the product of its unique cultural roots than the result of the ideological labors of a modernising elite speaking to ensure social cohesion in transitional times" (du Toit 1983: 951-952). According to the same author, S.J. du Toit's neo-Calvinist programme was not well received by the church and the wealthier constituency of the Afrikaner Bond during the 1880s (du Toit 1983: 951).

⁶⁷ "Mar daar is daarom drie soorte van Afrikaanders. Die moet ons in die oog hou. Daar is Afrikaanders met ENGELSE harte. En daar is Afrikaanders met HOLLANSE harte. En dan is daar AFRIKAANERS met AFRIKAANSE harte. Die laaste noem ons REGTE AFRIKAANERS, en die veral roep ons op om an ons kant te kom stan" (*Die Afrikaanse Patriot* 1974: 9). Emphasis in the original. Translated by B. Schmidt.

⁶⁸ *Die Afrikaanse Patriot* (1974: 5-6). Translated by B. Schmidt. On the image of the Afrikaner as a 'chosen people' see van Jaarsveld (1964) and du Toit (1983). The ideological justification of Afrikaner ethnic nationalism found in these early writings of followers of the Genootskap was used again in the first half of the twentieth century as the basis of Afrikaner folklore and theology in order to justify the implementation of Apartheid. See Nel (1979) on the role of the GRA and its activities in shaping Afrikaner identity.

⁶⁹ *The History of Our Country in the Language of Our People* written by S.J. du Toit. It was, wrote the historian Leonard Thompson, "the first book to set out the rudiments of a national mythology, with the overt purpose of encouraging Afrikaners to think of themselves as forming a distinct people with a common destiny and to resist the pressure for assimilation into British culture" (Thompson 1985: 31).

measure of an Afrikaner. A division between white and 'brown' Afrikaans-speakers had to be made. Whites prided themselves as a master or aristocratic race. Thus, despite a number of marriages across the colour line, Afrikaner ethnic consciousness had a racist dimension. Die Patriot and De Zuid Afrikaan spoke only of the Afrikaners' white or European ancestry. The alienation of the 'brown' Afrikaans speakers, the Coloureds, led to institutionalised segregation, as seen, for example, in the separate mission churches for the 'non-whites' established by the Nederduits-Gereformeerde Kerk in 1881.⁹⁰

4.1. No easy path to Afrikaner unity

As already mentioned, the Afrikaner perception of and response to political and economic pressure from the British colonial forces resulted in the Great Trek and the creation of the Boer republics. Although significant religious and political influences on the Dutch-Afrikaners came from the Netherlands, there was a tendency among Dutch-Afrikaners towards developing a distinct ethnic consciousness in order to underpin the claim of 'Afrikaners' to political self-determination. The introduction of an Afrikaans language became an important symbol in furthering this aim. But Dutch-Afrikaners in the Cape Colony, in Natal and the two Boer republics were far from being united. Afrikaner ethnic consciousness came step by step and revealed more impotent confusion than clear definition. This becomes more understandable in the light of the political and economic developments of the last decades of the nineteenth century.

In 1861 Britain abolished the preferential tariff on Cape wines and wool. Thus the resulting price increase hit hard the two most important agricultural branches in which Cape Dutch-Afrikaners were engaged. Wine exports dropped from 319,146 gallons in 1863 to 57,942 in 1875. The value of wool exports had peaked at more than £3,000,000 in the early 1870s, but by 1885 it had dropped to less than half of that.⁹¹ The wine and sheep farmers became financially dependent on London-based banks with branches at the Cape. Dutch-Afrikaners slowly turned to industry, but could hardly compete with the more skilled Cape English. "Against this general economic background," wrote Hermann Giliomee,

"Dutch-Afrikaners began to agitate for protectionist policies to aid farmers, a national bank to counter the imperial banks, and equal status for the Dutch language. In general, English-speakers, with their base in commerce and industry and mostly unilingual, opposed these demands".⁹²

The introduction of Responsible Government in 1872 also posed unforeseen barriers for Dutch-Afrikaners wanting to enter government. In the 1850s Dutch-Afrikaner leaders had supported the lowered requirements for the colour-blind franchise, hoping that it would be to their advantage. But in the 1860s their hopes gave way to disillusionment. Black voters supported the English rather than the Dutch-Afrikaner candidates who represented mainly the interests of the white farming community. The results prompted Dutch-Afrikaner leaders to resort to racist politics. Still the situation did not foster a clear Afrikaner ethnic consciousness. Even in Transvaal, there was no clear social boundary between Afrikaner and English.

⁹⁰ The 'daughter' churches founded were the NGK in Africa for blacks, the NG Sendingkerk for Coloureds, and the Reformed Church in Africa for Indians.

⁹¹ Giliomee (1989:30).

⁹² Giliomee (1989:30).

The Boer republics agreed to support free trade and accept British control over the essential coastal ports. British merchant capitalism dominated both the two British colonies and the Boer republics. The towns of the Free State and Transvaal, where one would expect ethnic movements to emerge, were dominated by merchants hostile to local nationalisms and culturally pro-English. In the Transvaal private capital financed private schools which attracted as many pupils as the state schools. Eager to master the language of commerce, the Dutch-Afrikaners also preferred to attend the English-medium state schools. Due to the greater availability of English-speaking teachers, four of the eight state schools in the Transvaal could afford to teach only in English in 1876. Accepted as the language of commerce and urban intellectual discourse, English penetrated also the rural areas. Although Dutch was the official language in the Transvaal and its use was strongly supported by the Dutch immigrant civil servants and school teachers, the education department was remarkably lax in enforcing the language rule.⁹³

Other stumbling blocks standing in the way of an Afrikaner ethnic consciousness were internal social conflicts and cleavages in Dutch-Afrikaner society, decentralised power structures, and regional rivalries. Large landholders held the power and wealth. They imposed a patronage system that held Boer families - as client tenants (*bywoners*) - dependent. "Instead of the growth of a unifying ethnic consciousness," argued Giliomee, "extreme individualism, self-aggrandisement, and even anarchy prevailed in the early years of the Transvaal and Free State."⁹⁴ Regionalism was a powerful force between 1850 and 1880 so that whites in the Boer republics rarely identified themselves with the state or as one people. The theologian Frans Lion Cachet aptly remarked in 1872 that the Transvaal citizens were so divided that they appeared to be four or five nations instead of one nation.⁹⁵ Ironically, the greatest factionalism and disintegration occurred under the Afrikaner nationalist T.F. Burgers, Transvaal's president from 1872 to 1877. He advocated the unity of all Afrikaners whether by birth or adoption and the teaching of a national history to counteract English cultural hegemony. Paul Kruger disapproved of Burgers from the start of his presidency and lost no opportunity to influence people to oppose him.⁹⁶ When the British agent, Theophilus Shepstone, arrived in the Transvaal in 1877 to annex the territory, it was utterly corrupt and politically paralysed because of such divisions.

In the Cape Colony, except for some localised tensions between British and Cape Afrikaners there was little ethnic rivalry as long as it was understood that the English-speakers were to continue dominating commerce and politics. But as mentioned above, as liberal ideas gained acceptance in the Cape Colony, British cultural imperialism intensified. In the process of secularising and anglicising education the government abolished Dutch as a medium of instruction in government schools in 1865 and imposed English. This decision was also supported by the so-called Anglo-Afrikaners in and around Cape Town, who had become fully or semi-anglicised. Even a section within the prestigious DRC met the demand for English services. In effect, the Anglo-Afrikaners felt legitimised.

⁹³ Giliomee (1989:23-24). Burgers recruited teachers and government officials from the Netherlands. In 1899, 300 teachers from the Netherlands were employed in the Transvaal (Ponelis 1993:47).

⁹⁴ Giliomee (1989:24-25).

⁹⁵ Giliomee (1989:29).

⁹⁶ Giliomee (1989:29) and Nathan (1944:90-121). Kruger was president of the Transvaal republic from 1883 to 1900.

All this changed with the opening of the diamond fields in 1869 and the discovery of gold in the 1880s. In a short time 20,000 to 25,000 English and 40,000 to 50,000 blacks streamed to the Kimberley diamond fields. The sudden social change produced not only racist tensions, but also conflicts typical of nascent capitalism. There arose conflicts of interest between the wealthy farmers and the mining magnates, between the mine and farm workers, as well as among the miners themselves. On top of this, British and Dutch-Afrikaner political interests collided. The British wanted to pursue their interests in the Boer republics. The opportunity came quickly. When the first diamonds were discovered in Griqualand West, settled by the Griqua and some Tswana chiefs, the British annexed the area in 1871. The move was justified as a precaution to secure the land rights of the Griqua against Boer threats. Thus, the British came to own the diamond fields.⁹⁷ The republican Boers were upset. The British land take-over had once again blocked their access to valuable resources, and they feared the growth of direct British influence on their territory. Polarisation between the Boers and British was practically inevitable, as the British mining interests expanded with the discovery of gold on the Rand, as a very heterogeneous labour force immigrated and brought with it urbanisation and modernisation in terms of large settlements and new infrastructures, e.g. telegraph lines, roads, railways, etc. In 1880 the Boers rose up against the British who, in the wake of a devastating defeat at the Battle of Majuba in 1881, had to formally recognise the independence of the Boer republics.

Due to the growing mining sector the economic centre shifted from the Cape to Kimberley and the Witwatersrand (Johannesburg). This also had political implications. The new mining economy was posited on cheap black labour on a large scale. With the economic shift away from the Cape and the fact that liberalism was not posited on the incorporation of cheap black labour, these changes in the economy undermined Cape liberalism. The tide turned in the direction of an even more restrictive franchise and more extensive state intervention to meet the labour needs in the mining and agricultural sectors. This pushed the black population further away from decision-making processes. Also the social cleavages within the Dutch-Afrikaner society became even more pronounced. At the top were the landholders and commercialised farmers and the prosperous urban Cape Dutch-Afrikaners. Then came a large number of middling farmers, and finally, at the bottom, the farmers who held small parcels of land and the bywoners. The 1870s saw the appearance of a large group of poor, often destitute, farmers. Land pressure and lack of financial resources drove them to migrate to the towns, to vagrancy, begging and crime.⁹⁸ The urban population grew rapidly; blacks and whites worked and lived in close proximity. The economic crises threw Dutch-Afrikaners also into a grave cultural crisis. A turnabout came in 1881.

The Boer victory at Majuba Hill over the British in February 1881 evoked a feeling of common fate and destiny among Dutch-Afrikaners especially in the Transvaal and Orange Free State spurred on by a vigorous anti-British feeling. After this first Boer War of Independence (First Anglo-Boer War), the Boer generals and Paul Kruger engaged in fostering a sense of community and Transvaal nationalism. History was reinterpreted and rewritten. The English were presented as unjust and oppressive. The Great Trek came to be inter-

⁹⁷ On Kimberley and the socio-economic and political developments in the region see Worger (1987) and Roberts (1984).

⁹⁸ Van Onselen (1982:111-170) and Giliomee (1989:32).

preted as a 'sacred passion for freedom' and the 1838 victory of the Boers in the battle of the Blood River⁹⁹ over the Zulu won a central place in the historical mythology. The victory in 1881 made the Boer generals heroes. Also Kruger's speeches during the gatherings at Paardekraal between 1881 and 1900 girded the Afrikaners in their struggle for freedom and preservation of their culture.¹⁰⁰ S.J. du Toit interpreted the victory of Majuba as the birth of the Afrikaner nation.¹⁰¹ After the Majuba victory the number of copies sold of *Die Afrikaanse Patriot* rose noticeably. The Afrikaner Bond benefited too. But the conflicts of interest and other socio-economic divisions within the Dutch-Afrikaner society were still too deep and prevented ethnic solidarity within the Transvaal as well as among Cape, Free State and Transvaal Dutch-Afrikaners.

In the Cape, the shift in economic emphasis from agriculture to mining and industry stimulated a we-group feeling among Dutch-Afrikaner farmers. Fearing economic disadvantages, they created various farmer associations, *boeren vereenigings*, modelled on their English counterparts. In the 1870s several such associations were formed in the north-eastern and eastern regions of the Cape Colony. They demanded the right to speak Dutch in parliament and proposed the formation of a colony-wide Dutch-Afrikaner party. In response to an excise bill which threatened to raise costs for wine producers in the western Cape, they founded the Zuid Afrikaansche Boeren Bescherminings Vereeniging (BBV) under the leadership of Onze Jan Hofmeyr.¹⁰² Although the BBV won nine of the twenty-one upper house seats and a third in the lower house in the 1878-79 elections, their influence began to decline until they were absorbed into S.J. du Toit's Afrikaner Bond founded in 1880.

The Afrikaner Bond was the first Dutch-Afrikaner political organisation with a nationalist populist programme that advocated the establishment of a national bank and farmers' co-operatives, the boycotting of British commercial institutions, and the channelling of state funds to Dutch education and Afrikaner enterprises. It was du Toit's intention to unite the Afrikaners and co-ordinate activities of the GRA, BBV, various 'boeren vereenigings' as well as Boers in the two republics. But the Bond was not an Afrikaner organisation in the narrow

⁹⁹ On the revival of the commemoration of the battle of Blood River in Natal and Transvaal in the second half of the nineteenth century see Kistner (1975), van Jaarsveld (1964) and Thompson (1985:144-188). In 1864 the two Dutch Reformed clergy, P. Huet and Frans Lion Cachet, persuaded the general assembly of the Natal DRC to celebrate 16 December as a 'day of thanks' and in 1865 the Transvaal government proclaimed 16 December a public holiday.

¹⁰⁰ See Moodie's analysis of Kruger's Paardekraal speeches and his construction of Afrikaner 'sacred history'. Kruger applied the doctrine of the national covenant to the people of the Transvaal (Moodie 1980:22,26-37).

¹⁰¹ After the first Anglo-Boer War (1881-2) S.J. du Toit was appointed superintendent of education in the Transvaal. He did not restrict himself to education, playing an active role in Transvaal politics. He drafted, for example, Kruger's 1882 election manifesto which adapted the 1879 programme of Kuyper's Anti-Revolutionary Party to fit Afrikaner nationalist politics (A. du Toit 1985:228). It stated inter alia: "On the political terrain as well I [Kruger] confess to the eternal principles of God's Word", a formulation identical with article 3 of the 1879 platform of Kuyper's party (see Kruger's programme quoted by van Oordt (1898:379); the ARP platform is quoted in Vogel 1937:74). Du Toit argued that S.J. du Toit did not succeed in getting his views accepted in the mainstream of Afrikaner politics during his life-time (du Toit 1985:228-232). André du Toit, an anti-nationalist Afrikaner, challenged the role of Calvinism in the emergence of Afrikaner nationalism, declaring the Calvinist paradigm of Afrikaner history an historical myth (du Toit 1983,1985).

¹⁰² On the role of Dutch Afrikaner farmer associations in the struggle for *Afrikaner regte* (the rights of Afrikaners) see Cilliers (1982). Although they struggled to have Dutch accepted in parliament and schools, at the same time they proclaimed a distinct Afrikaner identity. As one of its followers put it: "Elke nasie moet 'n taal he . Myn vader was 'n Hollander mar ek is 'n volbloed Afrikaner, en ek is trots daarop." (*Die Patriot* 17 March 1882, quoted in Cilliers 1982:14)

sense. Its political agenda was broader.¹⁰³ While du Toit attacked English domination, defending the Afrikaner cause, Hofmeyr had a more inclusive approach, favouring the Bond's definition of 'Afrikaner' as including all those who recognised Africa as their homeland and wanted to work together for the development of a united South Africa. Hofmeyr rejected the idea of an Afrikaner unity under its own flag in preference to a political union between the Dutch-Afrikaners and the English. After taking over the Bond, Hofmeyr toned down the nationalist strains, cementing co-operation between Afrikaners and English.

The most influential Bond members were the town-based businessmen, wealthy landholders and commercial farmers, who looked to the state to further their interests, and were inclined to back Hofmeyr rather than du Toit.¹⁰⁴ Having increased their political strength from approximately one-third in the 1850s to just under a half of the seats in the Cape Parliament in the last two decades of the century, the Afrikaner Bond was able to secure approval for Dutch to be used in parliament, in the courts and as the medium of instruction in schools.¹⁰⁵ Achievements of the Afrikaner Bond were paled by tensions. In the early 1890s Hofmeyr's support for Cecil Rhodes's expansionist policy led to tensions between the Transvaal Boers and the Cape Dutch-Afrikaners, whom the Boers accused of being British agents. As the British launched their military attack on the Transvaal, Hofmeyr's protest against the annexation was unconvincing. Obviously, he and his supporters were reluctant to challenge the consensus between the Cape Dutch-Afrikaners and the English. Once the British granted Transvaal a qualified independence, Hofmeyr proudly declared in parliament that "the generosity of the terms had strengthened the loyalty of the Dutch in the Colony". And as Hofmeyr came to negotiate with Transvaal's president Paul Kruger on behalf of Rhodes, Kruger thundered at him: "You are a traitor of the Afrikaner cause."¹⁰⁶

Regardless of the various tensions among Dutch-Afrikaners during the nineteenth century there was a tendency towards an increasing awareness among Dutch-Afrikaners of a common Afrikaner ethnic community. Yet the term Afrikaner meant different things to different individuals and interest groups. The GRA and Die Afrikaanse Patriot defined the term in a narrow ethnic sense to mean a people with a common descent, culture and history. Hofmeyr and Die Zuid-Afrikaan went the way of mirroring a nation-in-the-making comprising both the Dutch-Afrikaners and the English-speakers who were loyal to their homeland, some kind of unified South Africa, and where whites would rule supremely over blacks. Cecil John Rhodes¹⁰⁷ embraced their inclusive concept of Afrikanerhood, including all except the blacks. Since he depended politically on the support of Hofmeyr's Bond, he adopted their political rhetoric, their views on labour and their policy towards the black

¹⁰³ For a history of the Afrikaner Bond see Davenport (1966) *The Bond dissolved in 1911*. Its members supported the South African Party (SAP). The Afrikaner Bond formulated its principles in 1879 as follows: "1. The Afrikaner Bond starts from the principle, that we Afrikaners have our own general as well as special interests, which each true Afrikaner is called upon to protect. 2. In order, however, to exercise influence socially and politically, there is need of an association or organisation, that will unite all forces, and that means the Bond. 3. To that end it includes every one who has chosen Africa as his fatherland, and aims at Africa's prosperity, irrespective of his national descent, or the ecclesiastical or political party to which he otherwise belongs" (quoted in Templin 1984:230).

¹⁰⁴ Giliomee (1989:37-39) and Templin (1984:201-203,214)

¹⁰⁵ Giliomee (1989:37)

¹⁰⁶ Quoted in Giliomee (1989:27,40)

¹⁰⁷ Hewison (1989:30,41) and Giliomee (1989:40). Cecil Rhodes became a member of the Cape parliament in 1880 and was prime minister of the Cape Colony from 1890 to 1896.

population. Leading politicians in the Transvaal defined the term *Afrikaner* in a narrow, republican sense. Burgers and Kruger propagated a distinct Transvaal nationalism viewing everyone beyond the border of the republic as foreigners (*uitlanders*). But commercialisation of farming during the 1880s and 1890s, industrialisation, and problems of illiteracy brought new social and political divisions and conflicts.

Thus, despite its initial accomplishments, *Afrikaner* political ethnicity failed to sustain its momentum. Hermann Giliomee summarised the reasons for the failure:

"Three forces worked against it: first, continuing British imperial hegemony; second, deepening class cleavages within the Dutch-Afrikaner group; and third, intense inter-state rivalries between the Cape Colony and Transvaal. All of these contributed to an incoherent and inconsistent ideological conception of 'Afrikanerhood'."¹⁰⁸

Tensions between the British and Transvaal Boers during the last two decades of the nineteenth century increasingly dominated politics. The discovery of gold had made the Transvaal the new economic powerhouse, and the Cape, in desperate need of revenue, feared losing the race. Paul Kruger did everything in his power to reduce British influence and prevent outflows of the new-found wealth into the Cape. He made it as difficult for the Cape Dutch-Afrikaners as for the English newcomers (*uitlanders*) to obtain citizenship rights in the Transvaal. Hence the resulting inter-state rivalries weakened also the ethnic alliance between Cape and Transvaal Afrikaners.¹⁰⁹ Not even the Anglo-Boer Wars closed the gap.

This situation was a consequence of economic changes, the discovery of the gold fields on the Witwatersrand in 1886, similar to what had already occurred with the diamond discoveries in Kimberley, but on a much larger scale. Tens of thousands of English whites and black workers migrated to the Transvaal mines.¹¹⁰ Wealthy landowners and mining magnates then had to compete for cheap black labour.¹¹¹ The Transvaal government wanted by all means to steer the resulting transformation to their advantage so as to minimise the influence of the newcomers and the British-dominated mining industry. Hence, the government refused extending the franchise to *uitlanders*, let alone to the blacks. In 1892 the English-speaking *uitlanders* formed the Transvaal National Union for representing their interests vis à vis the blacks and to obtain the right to political participation. But President Kruger and the *Volksraad*, being determined to secure the Boer's control of the state and defend the republic's independence, refused to give in to British demands.

Since the mid-nineteenth century the British had repeatedly tried to persuade the Boer republics to consider entering a federation. On the question of why this was in the British interests, Porter wrote:

"For years the ideal solution to the South African problem had been seen as federation: originally to give co-ordination to the frontier policy, now (towards the end of the nineteenth century) to disarm

¹⁰⁸ Giliomee (1989:37).

¹⁰⁹ Giliomee (1989:39). On Kruger's attitude towards *uitlanders* and the citizenship laws see Nathan (1944:240-270)

¹¹⁰ On the relationship between Boers and *uitlanders*, i.e. immigrants from England and other European lands, Wheatcroft wrote: "Boer and *Uitlander* seemed to hate each other, but they needed each other. For all their contemptuous behaviour, the ruling class of the Transvaal had done well from the gold-fields." (1985:160)

¹¹¹ In the 1890s more and more blacks migrated from Natal to Witwatersrand seeking work. By 1909 almost 80 per cent of Natal's male black population working for whites were migratory labour in the Transvaal mines.

the Afrikaner challenge by absorption ... British interests in the country were not completely secure."¹¹²

The Boers, fully aware of what the British interests were, rejected inclusion in a federation that would have been dominated by Britain in any case. Such a federation, in the view of the Transvaal Boers, would have brought to naught the gains won through the exodus from the Cape Colony. In the face of such 'stubborn' rejection, the British concluded that only a military intervention could bring about a lasting solution.

The British Government and the High Commissioner of the Cape Colony, Sir Alfred Milner, with their federalist strategy in mind, were determined to obtain political rights for the uitlanders. British interest in the gold fields was also decisive in their uncompromising attitude towards the Boers that led to war. On 12 October 1899 the Anglo-Boer War broke out. The war led to the defeat of the Boer forces and the signing of the Treaty of Vereeniging on 31 May 1902.¹¹³ By this time the country had become British South Africa.

Even if one wants to believe that this war consolidated the Afrikaner ethnic consciousness, one should consider the fate of the bywoners who did not support the Boers in the war. In conflict with their landlords, about 5,000 bywoners decided not to defend the property of their landlords and supported the British instead in the war. They hoped for a better deal from the British in exchange for their collaboration. The Afrikaners deemed them traitors. Even though 5,000 is small compared with the hundred thousands involved on both sides of the war, this group defies the myth which the Afrikaners later constructed that all Afrikaners fought against the hated British colonial power.¹¹⁴

In any case, the Boers' massive suffering in the war at the hands of the British stood at the core of the Afrikaners' struggle for unity.

¹¹² Porter (1984:100).

¹¹³ This war was in some ways a foreshadowing of the world war to come, in terms of burnt-earth strategy, mass extermination, and concentration camps. Historically aware Boers still complain to this day of the concentration camps, in which approximately 20,000 children and women died. But one usually forgets that just as many blacks died in the camps too. The British wanted to prevent blacks from carrying on the farm work in the absence of their Boers masters during the war. Blacks were not only victims of the Boer-British conflict, but were also involved in the war as spies, guards, drivers, servants and messengers. The British had at least 10,000 blacks in their armed forces. The Boers recruited black soldiers too (Warwick 1993 6-27).

¹¹⁴ Giliomee (1989 24)

Chapter IV

Creating order in 20th century South Africa: constructing the European and the native

After the Anglo-Boer War and in the process of modern South African state formation, successive governments defined as one of their primary problems that of race relations, more specifically the so-called Native problem.¹ In all the inquiries and discussions on this topic the idea prevailed that the Native problem had to be solved in such a way as to secure the interests of the white population. From this point of view the Native problem was rather a 'white problem', viz., the problem of how a white minority intended to relate to a black majority, and how, from the Afrikaner point of view, they could uplift themselves over and above the blacks.

Agreements and consensus reached by the British and the Boers after the Anglo-Boer War were largely influenced by the need for economic recovery from the post-war depression in the agricultural and industrial sectors. The gold mines had to increase their production to give a boost to the entire South African economy. A dearth of cheap labour was hampering production. As a result, labour had to be hired from Mozambique and indentured Chinese labourers imported in 1904. South African blacks, disillusioned with developments since the Anglo-Boer War, were reluctant to respond to white demands. Two main factors were influencing the attitudes of blacks towards the whites: a) industrialisation with its cash economy and labour demands as well as the reserve policy, which led to a fundamental transformation of black societies rooted in pre-industrial modes of production; and b) missionary education, which gave educated blacks the hope that with the defeat of the Boers in the Anglo-Boer War their status would improve.

It was especially the mission-educated blacks who took the offensive after the War. The South African Native Congress, for example, the main organisation of educated blacks in the Cape Colony, submitted in 1903 a statement to the Secretary of State for the Colonies in Cape Town on issues 'affecting the Natives and Coloured people resident in British South Africa'. They pointed out that there was discriminatory treatment between blacks and Boers: the latter were granted amnesty and compensation, while the former had their land confiscated.²

Educated blacks had hoped, but in vain, that the British would extend the franchise system to the Boer republics. The Treaty of Vereeniging stipulated that the question of black franchise would be set aside until the new British colonies were granted self-government. White politicians responded to the demands for black franchise by stressing the need for a

¹ The terms Naveu policy, Native question and Naveu problem, or in Afrikaans *naturelle vraagstuk*, used in this chapter refer to terminology adopted by the whites, especially government officials. They encompass all measures undertaken to define the relation between the black and white population in South Africa. Hence they are used in the text to reflect historical usage in the sense that they were central in the official discourse.

² Odendaal (1984:40-41).

'civilised policy' that would secure white political supremacy. The British High-Commissioner Viscount Milner had a ready justification for such a policy in May 1903:

"One of the strongest arguments why the White man must rule is because that is the only possible means of raising the black man, not to our level of civilization - which it is doubtful whether he would ever attain - but to a much higher level than that which he at present occupies."³

Native policy had not been uniform in the four colonies. After the War this changed. The increasing migration of blacks into urban centres, the rising demand for labour, and especially resistance by the blacks, Coloureds and Indians in various parts of the country against the repressive policies⁴ led the colonial government to consider a unified policy towards the black population. In 1903 Milner appointed the South African Native Affairs Commission under the chairmanship of Sir Godfrey Lagden. Its task was to gather "accurate information on certain matters relating to the Natives and Native administration ... with the object of arriving at a common understanding of Native policy".⁵ For the first time the South African black population as a whole became the focus of attention by the Government.

The Native problem was an issue which united the British and the Boers. The Native question or Native problem, as mentioned above, was essentially a white problem, rooted in the contradiction of excluding and marginalising the black majority from participation in government and at the same time incorporating them into a rapidly expanding economy which depended on cheap black labour. The Native question was to become a decisive factor in the white community's decision to join forces and seek a unification of the four territories. Justification of excluding the black majority from government took on the form of defining a collective identity of the natives as opposed to that of the whites. Thus, vis-à-vis the black population the white population stressed and articulated a homogeneous identity of the European, whereas among themselves they were deeply divided into the British and Boer/Afrikaner camps.

1. The South African Native Affairs Commission (1903-1905): defining the native

The South African Native Affairs Commission (SANAC) and similar commissions appointed by successive South African governments laid the basis of defining the 'true nature of the

³ Headlam (1933 II 467) Milner was British High Commissioner in South Africa from May 1897 to April 1905. He was succeeded by Lord Selborne.

⁴ In Natal, for example, discontent over Natal's Native policy and the imposition of a tax culminated in an open rebellion in 1906 led by Bambata, a chief in the Greytown district. Some 3,000 Zulus, 30 whites and Bambata himself died as a result of a violent confrontation between his followers and British troops. The Natal government, convinced that Dinuzulu, the head of the Zulu royal house, was responsible for continued unrest and violence, imprisoned and deported him (Brookes/Webb 1987 220-230). Additionally, Mahatma Gandhi mobilised the Indian population in Natal to challenge repressive policies (Swan 1985).

⁵ Report of the South African Native Affairs Commission (1905 para.5). Further references to the report of the SANAC will be in the form of bracketed numbers of the respective paragraph. For a detailed analysis of the report of the SANAC see Ashforth (1990 22-68) and Cell (1987 196-210). Members of the Commission were almost all English-speaking. They were Sir Godfrey Lagden, Commissioner of Native Affairs in the Transvaal administration, Walter Stanford from the Cape and formerly Chief Magistrate of the Transkeian Territories, Samuel Samuelson, Under Secretary of Native Affairs in Natal, and Johannes Krogh, formerly Superintendent of Natives in the Transvaal.

Native' and justifying legislation passed by the white government. The terms of reference set for the Native Affairs Commission were 'to inquire into and report on' the following aspects of the personal, political, economic and social lives of natives:

1. the status and condition of the natives; the lines on which their natural advancement should proceed; their education, industrial training; and labour
2. native land tenure and resulting obligations to the State
3. native law and administration
4. the prohibition and sale of liquor to natives
5. the extent and effect of polygamy (para.1).

The purpose of such exercise was to identify the organisational principles on which unified structures for native administration were to be based. Information was gathered through personal observation by the Commission members and testimony of officials, missionaries, educationalists, traders, farmers and employers of black labour (para.7,10). The Commission relied also on the experiences and wide range of reports and publications by missionaries and administrators on the various aspects of 'Native life': beliefs, laws and customs, as well as practical lessons won by establishing western institutions such as churches and local administrations.

The report's historical introduction reveals the obvious necessity the Commission felt to define the native as distinct from the white. The Commission referred to a variety of terms in use: Natives, Bantu, Kafirs and savages.⁶ According to the report, the natives of South Africa

⁶ 'Bantu' was thought out as a scientific term for a linguistic category used for the black population of Sub-Saharan Africa, but excluding the Khoi and San. It was coined by Wilhelm Bleek, who applied it for the first time in his classification of the linguistic and ethnological works of Sir George Grey's Library in the 1850s (Thornton 1983:512). "On a larger scale", wrote Thornton, "the coining of the term 'Bantu' had even further-reaching historical effects, both intellectual and political, since it came to designate, ambiguously, an imagined 'race', a conjectured common history, a family of languages, a 'zeitgeist' or worldview, a 'stage in civilisation' or a culture ... 'Bantu' was taken into the service of many racist and evolutionist theories of the time." (Thornton 1983:512) Kafir was a term used by whites to indicate the 'primitive' and thus inferior nature of natives. It derived from an Arabic word meaning infidel or unbeliever seems to have been once applied indiscriminately to all the black population of Africa. The Eastern Cape settlers used it mainly to refer to the chiefdoms later known as Xhosa. The Eastern Cape was referred to as Kaffirland; the wars between settlers, British troops and the local black population were labelled Kaffir Wars; the Xhosa language was referred to as Kaffir language. See Doke (1959) and Schapera (1967:137). Over the years Kafir became a derogatory term referring to any black person (Doke 1959:7). The term savage described the physical, psychological and social condition of the natives before contact with the Europeans. Etymologically, 'savage' derives from the Latin term *silvanus* which means nothing else than 'living in the forest' or 'belonging to the forest'. In the colonial context savages were heathens or barbarians practising witchcraft and polygyny. The questions on which theologians differed are whether natives, as heathens, a) were damned eternally and therefore not members of a universal brotherhood; b) possessed equal status before conversion, or c) would first have to be saved by conversion to Christianity to be worthy of an equal status (Gerstner 1991.244-257) The South African historian M.G. Theal (1837-1919), who argued in favour of the division of human beings into neat categories and groups, reflected the thinking of his time prevalent throughout Europe and the colonised world. He identified four separate 'races' in South Africa: the 'Bushman', 'Hottentot', 'Bantu' and 'European', each with its own physical, cultural and mental characteristics. He ranked the four unassimilable 'races' on a scale from 'barbarism' to 'civilisation'. The Bushmen, according to Theal, "were savages of a very low type", the Hottentots whom he presented as living in idleness and filthiness were in his opinion capable of improvement. However they "have not indeed shown a capacity to rise to the highest level of civilised life, but they have reached a stage much above that of barbarism ... [The Bantu] were certainly of mixed blood ... proof of a mixed ancestry of very unequal capability is afforded by the fact that most of these people seem unable to rise to the European level of civilization, though not a few individuals have shown themselves possessed of a mental power equal to that of white men." (Theal 1894:4-5) The stigma of inferiority with which the 'civilised European' branded the black population also served as a constant reminder to the conquered

"known generally as the Kafirs, [were] an offshoot of the great Bantu race believed to have sprung originally from Central Africa" and were thus just as foreign to South Africa as the whites (para.16). A mere geographical definition did not suffice. The members of the Commission had to conceptualise the principles underlying population differences within a modern and unified South African state. The native and the European each had to be attributed an identity manifested in clear boundaries that reflected two different but nascent social realities. Less significant to the Commission were categories such as Xhosa and Zulu. These names, stated the report, were attached by natives themselves to their 'own tribes'. Additionally, the Commission saw no need to stress the uniqueness of each tribe or ethnic group. It sought instead to justify treating the black population as a whole differently from the white population in terms of citizenship and property rights.⁷ Taking into account the 'racial intermixture which had taken place' the Commission recommended a broad definition of the category 'native':

"That the word 'Native' shall be taken to mean an aboriginal inhabitant of Africa, south of the Equator, and to include half-castes and their descendants by Natives."⁸

Within the framework of a unified system of native administration on the basis of social difference between the native and white, the Commission was aware of the regional and local differences which existed, for example, in the application of native laws, yet optimistically reported: "[A]lthough marked differences exist, it should be possible to arrive at uniform principles to be followed in the future policy of the South African Governments." (para.52) It sought to construct the category native in such a way that a social homogeneity could be assumed as well as special obligations towards the black population as a whole. This in turn could be used to justify a unified system of administration and legislation for South Africa.

Central to the native social and political organisation as opposed to that of white society was the tribal system. The Commission defined tribe as

"a community or collection of Natives forming a political and social organization under the government control and leadership of a Chief who is the centre of the national or tribe life. Each member of the tribe owes him personal allegiance and services, to be performed gratuitously when called upon, in the interests of the Chief or the tribe. Each member has the right to maintenance from the land of the tribe" (para.212)

population that they were a group apart, that they were not equals in the respectable society, thus implying that citizenship was an exclusive white privilege. This stigmatisation led either to natives and whites accepting that the native was what the European was not, thus 'non-European', or to attempts at assimilating the native into the European world with the result that after having lost "his traditional culture orientation and assimilated the culture of the stronger group" the native was still not accepted by the whites. The latter group of natives, suggested Brown, came to resent their treatment by the dominant group and returned to their original groups, became their leaders and developed a race consciousness that set the stage for a struggle between dominant and subordinate groups for status, resources and physical survival (Brown 1934 44-45)

⁷ Differentiation into clear-cut ethnic groups was a later development in which social anthropologists and volkekundiges were involved. This is the topic of chapter V and VII

⁸ Para 74. The reader should keep in mind the evolution and convolution of definitions of 'native'. The missionaries of the nineteenth century had constructed the dominant dialect as *lingua franca* in more or less clearly defined mission fields and thus laid the foundation for distinct language and ethnic groups. But at the start of the twentieth century, due to political and economic interests of the whites, all blacks were classified as belonging to one group, the natives. Eventually, they were re-categorised into language clusters and the social anthropologists created out of these clusters 'primitive ethnic groups'. This will be discussed in chapter V

Tribes were distinguished from states, for lack of bureaucratic organisation, diversification in the economic and political sphere, literacy and other features commonly ascribed to 'civilised societies'.⁹ Tribes stood for 'social wholes' and the summary of attributes different from those of the society of the whites and European. The tribal system was conceived as a ready-made administrative instrument, although, as the report further mentioned, these traditional authority structures amongst the colonised people had in many instances "either been modified or displaced by, or gradually being brought under, statutory and administrative European control" (para.214). Irrespective of the fact that previous autochthonous chiefdoms had been conquered, broken up and subjected to colonial rule, the Commission found that the tribal system

"was a form of government perfectly understood by the natives, carried with it mutual responsibilities and suretyship, and required implicit obedience to authority. It possessed a ready means of communication and control extending from the paramount Chief to the individual Native in his kraal. It embodied an unbroken chain of responsibility."¹⁰

Through the eyes of paternalism, the Commission idealised the role of the chief:

"As father exercises authority within his family, as headman of a kraal or collection of kraals rules them and exercises authority over them, so the Chief rules the tribe and guides its destinies" (para.213)

The chief was the guarantor of the tribal order. Over the decades to follow this continuous recourse to the image of a pre-modern society profoundly shaped South Africa's Native policy. Change was essentially understood to refer to changes in the economic and political sphere of the whites rather than changes within the black communities.

Hence, the role of the chiefs with all their pre-modern attributes had to be conceived in such a way that it suited the demands of modern South Africa. First, it was argued that with the annexation of chiefdoms, the power of chiefs was transferred to the Crown. Since the chief was seen to administer 'the ancestral land held by their forefathers' in 'trust' for the people, the vesting of chiefs' power in the Crown meant that the Crown as sovereign took over the full rights and obligations of the chief (para.143). Therefore the Commission suggested restoring the 'rule of the Native chiefs', albeit as an authority subordinate to the Crown.

It was noted by the Commission that under this 'ancient tribal system' the natives were not without representation, but there were no elections (para.420). Hence, as long as the tribal system remained, natives did not require voting rights or direct representation in order to have their interests represented in the democratically constituted South Africa (para.421). Additionally, the recognition by the Crown of native laws, as distinct from the Roman-Dutch law, was further used to justify separate treatment of the black population as a whole. Given

⁹ The report conceptualised the other, the non-European, in an evolutionary framework. The concept of tribe with its pejorative meaning was equated with primitiveness, tribal societies were small in scale as opposed to nations and states (para 57). Nation denoted people organised under one government, a 'body politic' (e.g. an egalitarian Anglo-Saxon nation). It was also seen as an achievement of civilisation which distinguished it from tribal society. Not having achieved civilisation, the blacks, it was argued, could not be incorporated into the wider society. Separate institutions for them had to be created: the tribal system and reserves for blacks and the egalitarian Anglo-Saxon nation-state for the whites.

¹⁰ Para 214. For a discussion on the use of the term 'tribe' see Gutkind (1970) and Fried (1975). In the 1933 Oxford English Dictionary (Vol. IX, 1933:339) tribe was defined as "a primary aggregate of people in a primitive or barbarous condition, under a headman or chief. A group of persons forming a community and claiming descent from a common ancestor" (quoted in Fried 1975:7).

its particular interpretation of history and the definition of a tribal system, the Commission did not see any need of individual political representation for blacks outside the tribe. It is not surprising that the Commission criticised the Cape franchise system. It suggested that Cape natives be removed from the common voters roll and that a separate structure be established in future (para.442,444). What the Commission really was aiming at was to defuse what they perceived as a threat from educated blacks or so-called political agitators who spoke the political language of the Europeans and thus transgressed the cultural-political boundary the Commission wanted to establish (para.323). Institutionalising a tribal system was intended to de-legitimise the authenticity of those educated blacks. As Adam Ashforth put it:

“This allows the state to ignore, or silence, such voices thereby overcoming the manifest contradiction between according citizenship to ‘Europeans’ on the grounds that all persons (or nearly all) are entitled to a voice in the political community while denying a hearing to Africans. The Cape ‘Native’ franchise provisions of the Act of Union embodied this contradiction; the SANAC Report desired to remove it.”¹¹

The most important recommendation of the Commission was the reservation of land for natives. It laid the basis for territorial segregation. The report concluded that the land reserved for natives had become Crown land through ‘peaceful annexation’, but was at the same time ancestral land in which natives had ‘antecedent rights’ (para.416). The Commission members believed that “the time has arrived when the lands dedicated and set apart, or to be dedicated and set apart, as locations, reserves, or otherwise, should be defined, delimited and reserved for the Natives by legislative enactment” (para.207). The Commission also recommended restrictions on the purchase of land by natives in order to “safeguard what is conceived to be the interests of the Europeans of this country” (para.193). Thus, it was suggested that “purchase of land by Natives should in future be limited to certain areas to be defined by legislative enactment” (para.193).

The Commission’s model for the administration of the black population along their own lines paved the way for a legal basis for the reservation of land which in turn underpinned separate criteria for citizenship and access to the benefits of ‘civilisation’ for whites and blacks to different degrees, yet nevertheless within one state.

Just as important an issue for the Commission as the reconstruction of the tribal system to suit the demands of the time was the transformation of the tribal native into an industrial native. An all-inclusive administrative system that encompassed both sorts of native was needed. The Commission was optimistic that “forces surrounding the Natives are tending more and more to bring them into the field of industry, and to effect slowly by a natural process their conversion into an industrial people” (para.326).

The report of the Commission was one of the first efforts of the state to conceptualise ‘the Native’, his identity and role within the future of the modern South African State. Of no

¹¹ Ashforth (1990:55). The problem of accommodating the educated or so-called detribalised native in a rigid framework of native administration was not peculiar to South Africa. In regard to Lugard’s native administration Lord Hailey observed: “The existence of what have been conventionally described as ‘detribalised’ Africans had always posed a problem for which Indirect Rule had no satisfactory solution and as western education became more widespread and more and more Africans entered the economy there emerged a class of ‘new men’ who felt themselves excluded from a share in political authority owing to the operation of the Native Authority system.” (Hailey 1957:202)

impact, however, were the statements of, for example, Martin Luthuli of the Natal Native Congress, representatives of the Native Vigilance Association of the Orange River Colony, and black church representatives testifying before the Native Affairs Commission. They demanded that natives be allowed to represent their own interests, be given free access to land and individual land tenure, be subject to compulsory education and be given industrial training. They also questioned the application of native laws in place of laws "which are governing civilised people" since sections of the black population "are showing their progressiveness in their mode of living and otherwise" and "our people are already reaching this [European] stage of civilisation".¹²

2. The Union of South Africa and the Native question

Before the unification in 1910 there was a general agreement among the white population that the whites had the responsibility and obligation to find a solution to the Native problem, but there was no general agreement among the whites on how to proceed in establishing a new order. Four lines of thought prevailed:

1. to give the native equal rights as he showed himself qualified;
2. to deal with the native differently from the white;
3. to isolate and set him apart on reservations; and
4. to give him no political rights.¹³

In the early years of this century all four aims were in one way or another implemented: The annexations had led to the demarcation of reserves. The Cape Colony and Natal qualified franchise gave only a small black educated elite the right to vote, while blacks in the Orange River Colony and Transvaal were disenfranchised. While, as mentioned above, whites agreed on the broad principle that blacks needed to be treated differently from the whites, the whites failed to agree even on the eve of the unification of South Africa as to how this principle should have been introduced into the law. This was well illustrated during the debate by the white delegates at the National Convention on the franchise for blacks.¹⁴

During the debates of the National Convention preparing a draft constitution for a united South Africa - between October 1908 and February 1909 - delegates including Jan Smuts and John Merriman feared that a preference for a unitary constitution modelled on the British parliamentary system could fail, given the regional, racial and ideological conflicts in South Africa. In order to achieve a united South Africa and not jeopardise the negotiations between the British and the Boers, the delegates avoided finding a comprehensive solution to the political status and rights of natives. The differences between the Transvaal Boers and some Natal delegates who were against a native franchise and Cape liberals who wanted to extend the Cape franchise system throughout the country were accommodated in a compromise that

¹² Quoted in Karis/Carter (1978:35,39). On testimonies before the Native Affairs Commission in 1904 see Karis/Carter (1978:29-45). It was only in the 1920s that the government used scientific evidence to support and sanction the separate treatment of South Africa's black population, an approach which is discussed in detail in chapter V. But similarly to the ethnographic writings of anthropologists, the Commission's report as text constructed an imagined social reality which laid the foundation for future categorisation, classification and legislation. Power came to rest on drawing lines between social and cultural entities designed to lock individuals into 'static' boundaries of assumed common origin and loyalty.

¹³ Hewison (1989:330).

¹⁴ For a detailed historical account on the events leading to the unification see Thompson (1960).

left the franchise as it stood in the various colonies until after Union. It was agreed that the franchise law could be amended only by a two-thirds majority at a joint sitting of the two Houses of Parliament. It was further decided that blacks and Coloureds could sit on the Cape Provincial Council but not in the Union parliament.¹⁵ The black population whose destiny was being determined was not present at the National Convention. Petitions from organisations representing black interests laid before the Convention went unheard.

With the passing of the South Africa Act by the British Parliament in August 1909 the way for the unification of South Africa was finally cleared. A new self-governing state within the British Empire came into being.¹⁶ Protests from black, Indian and Coloured delegations who had travelled to London opposing the South Africa Act went unheeded. While the unification of South Africa excluded the black population from political participation, an awareness of common destiny and marginalisation prevailed among the educated blacks as well as broader sections of the black population. In a complementary reaction to the unity of whites in a new Union, blacks decided to unite on a national level in opposition to the ruling white minority - leading to the founding of the African National Congress in 1912.¹⁷

On 21 May 1910, Lord Gladstone, in his maiden speech in Cape Town as governor-general, summoned General Louis Botha to form a government. He announced the constitution of his cabinet members on 30 May. On the following day the Union of South Africa was proclaimed with Louis Botha as South Africa's first prime minister.¹⁸ The first elections took place in September 1910 and were based on the franchise agreed to in 1909, which included all white males in the Union and black males in the Cape who fulfilled the 'civilisation qualification'.¹⁹ The vast majority of the blacks, Coloureds and Indians were excluded.

In his election speech of 10 August 1910 Jan Smuts spared a few sentences for the issue of native franchise as reported in the newspaper *Transvaal Leader*:

"He personally was not against the native, but was against the policy of oppression. He would help the native in every legitimate way in accordance with his present requirements, but he could not forget that civilization had been built up in this country by the white race, and that they were the guardians of liberty, justice and all the elements of progress in South Africa. The franchise was the

¹⁵ Prior to the National Convention, Smuts and Merriman had agreed not only on tactics and procedures, but also on which principles were to be embodied in the constitution. Their positions eventually won the day. See Hancock (1962 246-268). In a letter to John X. Merriman, Smuts expressed his reluctance to address the issue of native representation in government: "On the question of native franchise my mind is full of Cimmerian darkness and I incline very strongly to leaving that matter over for the Union Parliament. I also feel pretty certain that a native franchise imported into the Constitution would make Union impossible of acceptance by the people. Let us therefore adhere to the comfortable gospel of *laissez-faire*." (Smuts quoted in Hancock 1962 257)

¹⁶ In December 1909 the British Government appointed Lord Gladstone as the first governor-general of South Africa. The governor-general was the formal head of the executive. In South Africa the British system of parliamentary supremacy was to prevail.

¹⁷ It would be beyond the scope of this study to present the response to creating order as, for example, articulated by leaders and members of the African National Congress (ANC) and black trade unions. The history of the African National Congress has been widely covered in academic literature. See for example Walshe (1987), Karis/Carter (1979), Ellis/Sechaba (1992) and Meli (1989).

¹⁸ Members of the cabinet were Jan Christian Smuts (Minister of the Interior, Mines and Defence), James Barry Hertzog (Minister of Justice), J.W. Sauer (Minister of Railways and Harbours - later Native Affairs), F.S. Malan (Education), Abraham Fisher (Lands) and F.K. Moor (Commerce and Industry).

¹⁹ All black male of mature age who could sign their name and write their address and occupation, who either earned 50 Pounds in wages a year or who occupied a house or land valued at 75 Pounds.

last argument; it was more powerful than the sword or rifle, and the day that the white race gave away the final protection they possessed they would have to consider very carefully what they are doing. They had received a heritage of civilization from their fathers, which he hoped they would hand on intact and unspoiled to their children. If those children found an opening to extend the rule of liberty and political rights in this country, they could do so; but to his mind it would be one of the most dangerous things for the white race, constituted as it was, in South Africa, to take any such steps today."²⁰

After the unification in 1910 the South African government established a unified Native Affairs Department, charged with dealing with all aspects affecting the black population. Under the authority of an almost exclusively white controlled and centralised state, the Native Affairs Department, as Ashforth stated, was "to be constituted as the principal authority in speaking of, for and to the 'Natives'".²¹ A separate bureaucratic state institution such as the Native Affairs Department necessitated the creation of a separate uniformly differentiated subject population.

2.1. Territorial separation as the basis for a divided citizenship

The fact that the unification of South Africa was geared to the economic and political needs of the white population, i.e., the British and Boers, became obvious soon after the Union was proclaimed. The reconciliation between the British and Boers and their common agenda of institutionalising white privileges, although in different ways, paved the way for securing these privileges through legislation. One key statute in this process was the Native Land Act of 1913. The Native Land Act is generally described as laying the basis for segregation. In Solomon Plaatje's words: "Awakening on Friday morning, June 20, 1913, the South African native found himself, not actually a slave, but a pariah in the land of his birth."²²

The Act set aside 'scheduled' areas as native reserves, making it unlawful for natives to buy or lease land outside these areas. The areas comprised 23,500,000 acres or 7.13 per cent of the land. Since the demarcation of boundaries of the existing reserves were far from complete, the Act also prescribed that

"the Governor-General shall appoint a commission whose functions shall be to inquire and report a) what areas should be set apart as areas within which the natives shall not be permitted to acquire or hire land or interests in land, b) what areas should be set apart as areas within which persons other than natives shall not be permitted to acquire or hire land or interests in land. The commission shall

²⁰ Transvaal Leader, 11 8 1910, quoted in Hancock (1962 319). The political debate on how white South Africa could survive was strongly influenced by Maurice Evans' segregation theory which he published in his book *Black and White in South East Africa A Study in Sociology* (1911). He identified three cardinal principles underlying governance of the 'native race': "1. The white man must govern. 2. The Parliament elected by the white man must realise that while it is their duty to decide upon the line of policy to be adopted, they must delegate a large measure of power to those especially qualified, and must refrain from undue interference. 3. The main line of policy must be the separation of the races as far as possible, our aim being to prevent race deterioration, to preserve race integrity, and to give both opportunity to build up and develop their race life." (Evans 1911 310)

²¹ Ashforth (1990 43). For a comprehensive study on the organisation and function of the Native Affairs Department see Rogers (1933) and Dubow (1986, 1989 77-130)

²² Plaatje (1982 21)

submit with any report - (i) descriptions of the boundaries of any area which it proposes should be so set apart; and (ii) a map or maps showing every such area."²³

The Beaumont Commission, which was called in 1916 to find solutions to the land question, could not agree on final delimitation of native reserves. The Commission encountered constitutional and political difficulties. The Commission's chairman, Sir William Beaumont, wished to augment the land set aside for the reserves, but other members argued that his position was 'contrary to the intention of the legislature'.²⁴ As to be expected, the white agricultural sector opposed any policy that would limit whites' access to land or negatively affect the flow of black labour from the reserves to the farms.

The matter was held in abeyance until 1936 when the parliament approved an amendment to the Native Land Act. The South African House of Assembly too postponed its plans for legislation that would have established an administrative structure for the 'scheduled areas' or reserves until 1927.²⁵ Although the delimitation of the reserves' boundaries for ethnic and cultural home-lands were not finalised until much later, the intention was nevertheless clear. Plans, however, were finalised for transferring the urban and industrial areas and the best agricultural land to whites for their exclusive use. Thus, deferral of legislation regarding the administration of the rural areas and native reserves to an unspecified date in the future revealed the government's priority for finding solutions to problems in the urban areas and specifically the industrial labour market. The Native Land Act prevented blacks from claiming property rights outside the 'scheduled areas' of the native reserves. This caused untold hardship for those who were evicted from land claimed by whites. The marginalisation of the black population in overcrowded and underdeveloped reserves facilitated the recruitment of labour for the agricultural and industrial sector.

2.2. The natives as industrial labourers and the 'civilised labour policy'

Industrialisation in general and the rapid expansion of the mining sector in particular depended on the availability of cheap labour. The mining sector preferred using a system of migrant labour, under which young men were hired in the reserves to work in the mines for a period of nine to eleven months.²⁶ While working in the mines, the migrant labourers lived in the mine compounds. Families in the reserves increasingly depended on cash income. They could no longer sustain themselves from the land by virtue of insufficient land and payment of taxes. Due to employment opportunities in towns blacks sought to remain permanently in the urban areas, settling in informal shacks, thereafter establishing more permanent housing on the fringes of towns.

²³ Plaatje (1982:63). The Native Land Act is cited in full length in Plaatje (1982:61-69)

²⁴ Plaatje (1982:410). See also the Report of the Native Land Commission (1916).

²⁵ In 1917 the prime minister, Louis Botha, introduced the Native Administration Bill to implement a uniform Native policy. After the Bill was referred to a select committee it was withdrawn, partly because it conflicted with the franchise clause in the South African constitution. The Bill needed a two-thirds majority vote of a joint sitting of both Houses of Parliament. The matter was dropped until Hertzog's tabling of the Native Administration Act in 1927 (Kallaway 1974:119)

²⁶ As long as black labour had its rural base and the pre-capitalist economy maintained its productive capacity, it was argued that wages for blacks were supplements to their subsistence economy in the reserves and therefore could remain low. For a detailed analysis of the foundations of the cheap labour system see Levy (1982) and Lacey (1981)

But blacks were not the only ones who migrated to the cities temporarily or permanently. Boers too were forced off their land since the restructuring of the agricultural sector after the Anglo-Boer War favoured large-scale commercial farming. Commercialisation forced small-scale farmers, i.e., the Boers, who were unable to obtain land and had become client tenants (bywoners), off the land. In search of work, they migrated to the cities.²⁷ In the cities, the poor whites, or *armblankes* as they were called, came to realise that the mining magnates wanted to cut costs by employing cheap labour, irrespective of race and colour. Hence, the poor whites became increasingly marginalised.

In modern South Africa, where successful white politics was largely dependent on a tripartite alliance between the mining sector, the agricultural sector and the state, poor whites had to fend for themselves. Various factors, especially competition between unskilled white and black labourers, led to an escalation of racial conflicts in the towns. Although the Mines and Works Act of 1911 had placed white labour in a preferential position over black labour, the mining sector preferred the cheaper black labour for economic reasons. After 1914 the mining sector underwent a crisis, productivity declined and costs increased. The inflation accompanying the First World War seriously affected the mines by pushing up costs for equipment and stores. World inflation and a fixed gold price had the effect of undermining the purchase power of gold. As a result of their strengthened wartime bargaining position, white labour won reduced working hours and a wage increase. As the cost of their labour increased, their productivity declined. Furthermore, there was a shortage of semiskilled white labour. In reaction to this crisis the Chamber of Mines decided to reorganise the wage scale to economise on expensive white workers, reduce wages and further alter the ratio between black and white miners in favour of the former. In 1916 the number of blacks employed on the Rand gold mines peaked at 201,873.²⁸

The pressure on poor whites and unskilled white labour grew with the rapid growth of the urban black population. Demanding redress of political, economic and social grievances, the urban black population and workers were increasingly becoming politically militant as well as trade union conscious. The Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union (ICU) was formed in 1919 under the leadership of Clements Kadalie. Black workers and their unions demanded higher salaries, improved working conditions, and an end to racist discrimination. Police suppression of the black mine workers' strikes in Johannesburg in 1920 made clear that the government was not prepared to accept demands for black political participation and economic upliftment. The radicalisation of the black urban population did not only startle white workers, but also made the government fearful of the political dangers of an ever growing black urban population.²⁹ In response to black militancy, the undercutting of wages by cheap black labour, and a constant decline in living standards, thousands of white mine workers

²⁷ Van Jaarsveld's book *Die Afrikaners se Groot Trek na die Stede en ander Opstelle* (1982) is a record of this migration to the cities. At the turn of the century only about 10,000 out of a total of 500,000 Boers lived in the cities. In 1911 the number had risen to 200,000 or 29 per cent, and in 1950 to 77 per cent. In the late 1920s Afrikaners outnumbered the English population in towns (Hagemann 1989:33-34, Hancock 1968:288). For further figures on migrancy and urbanisation of whites and blacks see Stent (1948) and Rich (1978:180).

²⁸ Yudelman (1983:134-144). White miners numbered 22,085 (Yudelman 1983:135). For skilled labour the mining companies recruited immigrants from Britain. On economic developments between 1910 and 1933 see Jones/Müller (1992:19-126) and Drechsel/Schmidt (1995:93-99)

²⁹ Simons/Simons (1983:353-385).

went on strike. The white miners' strike of 1922 was organised by semiskilled white workers and supported by the newly founded Communist Party of South Africa. They marched through Johannesburg's streets crying out the slogan 'Workers of the world, fight and unite for a white South Africa'.³⁰ A confrontation between the workers and military troops and police escalated into violence. This was the so-called Rand Revolt. After the government troops had put down the strike, white workers had to accept the conditions of the Chamber of Mines.³¹

The Chamber of Mines and the government under the leadership of Jan Smuts thus achieved a victory over white workers. The profits the mining sector generated, on which the government depended, seemed to have been secured. Despite defeat white workers were prepared, however, to fight for preferential treatment and a legislated colour bar.

As a result of the brutal clamp-down of the strikes, the poor whites and emerging Afrikaner nationalists, as well as the English-speaking workers of the lower income-group, came to the conclusion that Jan Smuts - prime minister of South Africa since 1919 - served the interests of British capital without consideration of labour problems. In this situation the Labour Party, headed exclusively by English-speakers and supported mainly by English-speaking white skilled workers, decided in favour of a seemingly contradictory alliance with the Afrikaner National Party, co-founded by James Barry Hertzog and supported by the agrarian sector. Their common interest lay in combating militant blacks, favouring legislation that restricted black workers to unskilled positions and the lowest paid jobs as a means to secure jobs for whites. White farmers were also eager to maintain a strict racial and class hierarchy in order to secure cheap black labour for the agrarian sector. They had experienced continuous shortage of black labour since wages for blacks were lower in the agrarian sector than in the mining sector. Pressures and conflicts on the labour market soon became the central issue of all political parties. The South African Party (SAP), the National Party (NP) and the Labour Party (LP), all rallying for votes amongst the white electorate.

Although anticipating parliamentary opposition, Jan Smuts introduced several statutory amendments in favour of organised white labour,³² but did not succeed in restoring confidence in his Government after the Rand Revolt. The revolt had made the state and the owners of capital aware of the threat posed by militant white workers to the political stability so urgently needed. In response to the strikes a bill was drafted to reorganise industrial relations. The result was the Industrial Conciliation Act of 1924 which required trade unions to be registered and established machinery for industrial conciliation. Conciliation boards were set up, on which representatives from unions, employers, and government officials sat. Black

³⁰ On the interests of white labour see Lipton (1986:183-226) Founded in 1921, the South African Communist Party (SACP) addressed itself in the early years to the white workers In the 1924 elections the SACP backed the Pact-Government (Pike 1988 143) A few years later, initially on instructions from the Comintern, it adopted a strategy based on the idea that the 'revolutionary potential' in South Africa lay with the black workers and peasantry See Simons/Simons (1983 386-415) This policy was adopted by the SACP in 1928 after a power struggle between a 'pro-Bantu group' in the SACP led by Stanley Percival Bunting and an opposing group that felt that 'European workers' still represented the most important 'revolutionary force' (Pike 1988 141)

³¹ How traumatic the defeat was for white workers became obvious as courts invalidated regulations under the Mines and Works Act of 1911 which had reserved skilled jobs for whites On the Rand Revolt see Yudelman (1983), Simons/Simons (1983:271-299) and Jones/Muller (1992:55-56)

³² The SAP further protected the interests of white workers with the Apprenticeship Act (1922), which prevented blacks from training for skilled jobs

trade unions were not illegal, but their position severely curtailed because the Act excluded blacks from the definition of 'employee'. Hence, while the new legislation enhanced the legitimacy of organised white labour, it was not applicable to the great number of black workers.

In 1924 Jan Smuts and his South Africa Party were defeated by the NP-LP alliance, which formed the new Pact-Government with Hertzog as prime minister. Contrary to the SAP's Native policy, the new alliance demanded a colour bar and a strict separation between black and white so as to secure the living standard for whites in general but in particular to improve that of the poor whites. The Pact-Government introduced legislation and policies which, on the one hand, showed a certain continuity with the previous government, and on the other hand, improved the relation between white labour and the state while further marginalising the black population in all spheres of life. Its labour policy aimed at

"the provision of preferential wages, conditions and level of employment for 'civilised' [European] labour, a series of inter-linked measures have been passed and where necessary amended, the effect of which has been to exclude Africans from skilled occupations and prevent the substitution of African labour for European in unskilled and semi-skilled trades".³³

In this sense the Pact-Government, electorally dependent upon white farmers and workers, aimed to meet the latter's needs, while at the same time making concessions to the mining sector on which the state was fiscally dependent.

2.3. The black urban population

The Union of South Africa Act of 1909 and the Native Land Act of 1913 proved to be inadequate for dealing with the regulation and control of movements of blacks whose labour was needed in white urban areas, on white-owned farms, and in an expanding white-controlled economy, but who, as inhabitants of the reserves, were denied citizenship rights. The presence of a large number of more or less permanent black residents in white areas outside the reserves created administrative and political problems for municipalities as well as for the state.³⁴

The growth of black urban settlements heightened the awareness among government officials for the need of more effective administrative structures for the governance of blacks. Three commissions dealt with the urban aspect of Native policy: the 1920 Native Affairs Commission, the 1921 Transvaal Local Government Commission (Stallard Commission), and the 1920 Inter-Departmental Committee on the Native Pass Laws (Godley Commission). Whereas the Godley Commission suggested a strategy which would have recognised the right of a section of the black population to reside in towns, providing them with "suitable accommodation in properly controlled locations",³⁵ the Stallard Commission articulated a strategy based on a fundamentally different set of principles. It expressed the fear that once blacks were recognised as permanent urban residents it would be difficult to explain why they

³³ Stent (1948:182). The 'civilised labour policy' was written into the Mines and Works Act of 1911 as amended in 1924, the Industrial Conciliation Act of 1924, the Apprenticeship Act of 1922, and the Wage Act of 1925. The Amendment Act 1926 of the Mines and Works Act entrenched job reservation for white workers.

³⁴ The twentieth century was marked by the fear of a white minority being 'swamped' by a black majority - or in other words, the fear of having to compete with blacks on equal terms.

³⁵ Report of the Inter-Departmental Committee on the Native Pass Laws (1922:para.46).

were denied citizenship rights. In order to be able to follow their line of argumentation it is worth quoting from the Stallard Commission's Report at length. The Commission argued

"If the native is to be regarded as a permanent element in municipal areas, and if he is to have an equal opportunity of establishing himself there permanently, there can be no justification for basing his exclusion from the franchise on the simple ground of colour. Some coloured persons and natives are possessed of property and of brains, and have educational qualifications not inferior to some enfranchised Europeans, many carry on trades and are their own employers, and it cannot be denied that they have special and peculiar needs not presently being met. If, as we consider, it is to the public advantage that all sections of the permanent community should be represented in government, on what ground is the franchise withheld from the natives? We consider that the history of the races, especially having regard to South African history, shows that the commingling of black and white is undesirable. The native should only be allowed to enter urban areas, which are essentially the white man's creation, when he is willing to enter and to minister to the needs of the white man, and should depart therefrom when he ceases so to minister."³⁶

Hence, the report recommended that a black person should be seen as a 'temporary sojourner' or as 'redundant' or 'surplus labour' with their home-base in the reserves. As a solution of the Native problem in urban areas the report suggested the forcible removal of 'redundant Natives' from urban areas.

The position of the Stallard Commission on the Native urban problem served as the basis for the Urban Areas Act of 1923, the cornerstone of control of natives in towns and white areas and the later more elaborate system of influx control.³⁷ The core principle of the Act was that the size of the urban black population should be restricted according to the labour demands of the resident white population. Apart from a few exempted persons, blacks in urban areas once unemployed would be liable to expulsion.

"The mechanism for exercising this control was to be the registration of all service contracts with the NAD [Native Affairs Department]. The NAD would approve and register the employment of all black men [black women were excluded from this provision] and issue a registration document which had to be produced on demand to police or state official checking the men's right to be in urban areas. The efficacy of the influx control system therefore depended on ubiquitous policing, to locate those whose work-seekers' permits had expired without their finding work [within fourteen days]."³⁸

The Act entrenched for the first time at national level urban segregation based on the premise that blacks were only to be in urban areas so long as they 'ministered to the needs of the white man'. Basically, it was believed that the blacks did not belong to the cities at all. The Act simply underlined once more the constructed social differences between black and white, 'native' and 'European', spatially, politically, and economically. The black was temporarily in white urban areas while the white had permanent residence and citizenship rights. Difference in residence rights was used to justify discrimination in citizenship rights.³⁹

Since the contradictory aims, i.e. the exclusion of the black population from citizenship and property rights in white areas and at the same time their inclusion as labour in a white-

³⁶ Report of the Local Government Commission (1921 para.42)

³⁷ Welsh (1971:197-202)

³⁸ Posel (1991:41). The Urban Areas Act, frequently amended and consolidated, remained until 1986 the principal statutory instrument controlling blacks in urban areas.

³⁹ The exception comprised black men in the Cape who qualified for the franchise.

controlled economy, were at no time accommodated in a single statute, amendments to various Acts were continuously undertaken. After 1923 the Urban Areas Act was repeatedly amended, and with each amendment it became more difficult for blacks to enter towns and settle there with their families.⁴⁰ At the same time it became increasingly difficult to implement influx control for purposes of labour until the system collapsed in the mid-1980s

The Stallard Commission Report was not greeted unequivocally in the white community. While both staunch segregationists and liberal whites accepted maintaining the distinctions between the black and the white, or the 'native' and the 'European', the liberals were more critical of the coercive measures that would be required to implement the recommendations of the Commission. The liberals wanted to accommodate the more affluent section of the urbanised black community along the lines of the Native Affairs Act of 1920.⁴¹ This Act had allowed separate administrative structures for blacks in the form of local councils modelled on the Transkei council system.

On the national level an all-white Native Affairs Commission - presided over by the Minister of Native Affairs - was established to advise the government and act as a liaison between white legislators and 'native opinion'. The Commission organised national conferences⁴² to enable consultation with chiefs and delegates of black organisations and also to afford those not otherwise represented the opportunity of expressing their views.

By confining native local councils to the rural reserves under the supervision of the Department of Native Affairs, the South African government preserved affairs affecting central government and urban areas for the whites. Defending his policy in parliament, Smuts affirmed that the 'principle of self-government for natives' in their own territories was an essential part of segregation. Although the Native Affairs Act had as its objective diversion of the aspirations of educated black leaders and black political organisations, which were growing phenomenally in urban areas, some liberal whites and blacks saw the Act as a first step to-

⁴⁰ The Urban Areas Act, frequently amended and consolidated, remained until 1986 the principal statutory instrument controlling blacks in urban areas "The trend of legislation was opposite to that of economic forces which drove increasing numbers of Africans into industrial employment" (Welsh 1971 198) The Urban Areas Amendment Act of 1930 gave local authorities in proclaimed areas power to exclude women from the towns unless they had a certificate. Previously, they had 'free' access to urban areas. In 1937 an amendment to the Act prohibited blacks from entering urban areas to look for work. Only those who had approved employment were entitled to be in the cities. It empowered the government and especially the Minister of Native Affairs to remove or to compel municipalities to remove any black person from an urban area if he were deemed 'surplus' (Posel 1991 41-43). Such legislation reflected the pressure from the white farmers, who wanted to secure and retain labour by restricting the urban migration of blacks.

⁴¹ Posel (1991 40) For a discussion on the Urban Areas Act and the two competing strategies - the one accepting a section of the black population as permanently urban, the other considering all blacks to be temporary in white areas see Posel (1991 39-45) For a discussion and critique of liberal and Marxist approaches to the analysis of urban segregation see Rich (1978, 1984). Rich has argued that the development of segregation has to be located in the urban areas in South Africa (Rich 1978 190) and that the approach of the Stallard Commission served as a ready-made basis for the implementation of the apartheid ideology after 1948 (Rich 1980).

⁴² These were annually convened Native Conferences, the first being held at Bloemfontein in September 1922. The Native Affairs Commission, commencing in 1921, was guided by the following considerations: a) "that it was primarily and essentially the friend of the native people" and therefore "aspirations and progress of the natives should be considered sympathetically by it"; b) "that it was the advisor of the Government in matters affecting the interests of the natives"; c) "that it should endeavour to win the confidence of the natives"; d) "that it should strive to educate public opinion so as to bring about the most harmonious relations between black and white in South Africa" (South Africa 1928 951).

wards recognition of black political representation.⁴³ The Act was in line with the liberal opinion of that time which emphasised the economic and socio-political disabilities of blacks and believed that blacks, especially the urban and educated ones, could advance to higher - 'European' - standards through a policy of gradualism and under European guidance. White liberals saw it as their task on behalf of the blacks to press government authorities for 'guided' black upliftment.

In response to the Native Affairs Act and as an alternative to more radical organisations such as the black trade unions and the African National Congress (ANC), which were committed to direct representation in parliament, white liberals together with a group of black political leaders established inter-racial Joint Councils in 1921 with the aim of promoting understanding between the 'races'.⁴⁴ While the Joint Council movement - which was most active in Johannesburg - re-awakened hopes of active white assistance for the native cause and encouraged leaders of the ANC to adopt a more conciliatory policy in the early 1920s, the influence of trade unions such as the ICU grew among the black urban population. Distrustful of the Councils, opponents in the black trade unions and the ANC against the white-dominated Joint Councils attacked individual black leaders for their co-operation and what they saw as the Council's interference in ANC politics. When it was clear by the early 1930s that the government was not going to change its policy, hopes for joint action by blacks and white liberals diminished, leading to a rapid decline of black participation in the Joint Council movement.⁴⁵

Two phases can be identified in the political stance of the Joint Council movement: the first in the 1920s with its policy in support for separate treatment and administration for black and white, in other words, a policy of segregation under European guidance stressing the need for native welfare; and the second phase in the late 1920s and early 1930s marked by disillusionment with the legislated segregationist policy.⁴⁶ But the liberal intellectuals, also termed 'friends of the natives' were in a dilemma, as summed up by John Wright.

"On the one hand, they were concerned about the possible political consequences of increased legal entrenchment of discrimination against Africans and of the increasing suppression of the material

⁴³ See Cope (1993 100-101), Dubow (1989 40) and Walshe (1987 100-102)

⁴⁴ There were 26 Joint Councils in the major cities and towns by 1930, and about 40 by 1935, all headed by whites. Partly with the support of the Chamber of Mines white liberals formed welfare and cultural associations to improve the living standard of urban blacks. Prominent white liberals involved in the Joint Council movement were Charles Templeman Loram, Howard Pim, Edgar Brookes, John David Rheinallt Jones, and the Rev Ray Phillips. Among blacks involved in the movement were Selby Msimang, Richard Victor Selope Thema, Davidson Don Tengo Jabavu, Zachariah Keodireleng Matthews, John Dube and Alfred Bitini Xuma. Blacks involved in the Rand Joint Council were almost all graduates of Fort Hare. For a discussion on positions, strategies and role of the Joint Council movement see Rich (1978 182-183, 1981, 1984 18-32, 1989), Davis (1984), and on its influence on the ANC leadership see Walshe (1987 187-192, 219-220). See also Macmillan (1975 204-230) and H Macmillan (1989).

⁴⁵ Walshe (1987 97-100) and Rich (1984 10-32)

⁴⁶ See Dubow (1989 45-50) on the various reasons why white liberals broke with segregation. Edgar Brookes' recantation after 1927 is most widely known through his various publications. See Brookes' history of Native policy (1927) first published in 1924 - and his later publications, which were critical of segregationist policies (1927a, 1934, 1934a). He argued in his Phelps-Stokes Lecture, *The Colour Problems of South Africa*, in favour of 'a moderate and inclusive nationalism'. "South Africa can only be great if the individual members of the community be they Black, White or Brown, are great. Let us treat individuals as individuals, as persons, entitled to respect, and to recognition on their merits, not merely as members of artificially defined and limited groups" (Brookes 1934a 50). While Brookes came to stress the individual, Alfred Hoernlé and social anthropologists emphasised the concept of social group. See chapter V.

and political aspirations of the African 'elite' On the other hand, they were fearful about the threat which, to their mind, the processes of African urbanization and proletarianization presented to 'civilized values' (read 'capitalist order') in South Africa⁴⁷

3. Hertzog and Smuts: defining the relation between the native and European

When Hertzog took over the reins of government from Smuts in 1924, differences between the two political opponents may have been perceivable by their respective supporters, but in terms of basic policies, the change in government was characterised by continuity rather than drastic reversals. Continuity was signalled by the key word 'segregation', accepted by Hertzog and Smuts alike. Their approach, however, differed. Smuts had not taken a definitive stand on or emphasised issues of Native policy and its implementation,⁴⁸ having left the details of a segregationist system vague. Hertzog, however, placed Native policy high on his political agenda. He intended to take his portfolio of Native Affairs seriously.⁴⁹ He aimed at a more systematic and consistent Native policy based on state intervention.

In his Malmesbury Speech of May 1926 Hertzog declared that a more systematic and consistent policy on the *naturrellevraagstuk* (Native question) was needed in South Africa. He fiercely opposed the Cape's Native franchise system and stood for the removal of common citizenship and the implementation of segregation. To be able to follow Hertzog's line of argumentation it is worth quoting from his speech - held in Afrikaans - at length:

In the first place I wish to draw your attention to the composition of our population. In round figures we can fix it at 2,000,000 whites against 6,000,000 natives. Look at the difference in civilisation! Against a European civilisation which has its origin in a slow development which stretches back over a period of almost 2,000 years, stand the native, without civilisation [*sonder volksbeskawing*], still on the doorstep of his development. Next to the European the native stands as an eight-year-old child to a man of great experience - a child in religion, a child in moral conviction without art and without science, with the most primitive needs, and the most elementary knowledge to provide for these needs.

If ever a race (*volksras*) had need of guidance and protection from another people with whom it is placed in contact, then it is the native in contact with the white man.

Another point of difference of the greatest importance, is that of national character and customs [*volksaard en volksgewoonte*]. How much this difference is something which will eventually disappear as the native becomes civilised cannot be determined with any certainty. We also cannot just

⁴⁷ Wright (1989: 281)

⁴⁸ Up to the 1920s little thought was given to the development of administrative structures for blacks in the reserves. Kallaway has shown how in the years between 1913 and 1924 F. S. Malan - a representative of the Cape liberal tradition - had a major impact on the legislation tabled in the House of Assembly in connection with the portfolio of Native Affairs. He controlled the Department of Native Affairs. He supported a "sympathetic handling of the colour question in a broad and liberal spirit", perpetuating the tradition of paternalism and conservatism along the lines of Cape liberalism (Kallaway 1974: 116). His influence on Native policy was decisive, especially since neither Botha nor Smuts - although holding the portfolios of Prime Minister, Defence and Native Affairs, took a definitive stand on the issue. It has been argued that Smuts had little interest in issues affecting the black population, thus taking a *laissez faire* approach (Kallaway 1974: 116; Hancock 1962: 225; Beukes 1989: 141, 156; Dubow 1989: 43).

⁴⁹ Pelzer (1966: xxxi)

assume that the native, in his development to civilisation, will not follow his own national character with his own eventual and unique civilisation (*eiernaardige volksbeskawing*).

Difference in national character, national customs, national development and civilisation exists and will exist long, and, in proportion to this difference there will necessarily be a difference in national needs, which demands difference in treatment - and this affects legislation no less than administration.

To protest against this, as is done today by thoughtless people, as though such a dividing line is attributable to colour prejudice alone, is not justified. No! not colour, but a definite difference in national character, development and civilisation, is the basis of the so-called colour bar. In establishing the bar, in any particular instance, it is either the interest of the native, or that of the European, which makes it necessary and determines the decision. I say 'or that of the European' because people are only too inclined to think that the European has no right to protection against the native.

The time has come for a definite native policy, a policy which will remove all doubt from the native mind as to what his place will be in the political society during the time of his cultural immaturity. To take away the uncertainty, it is not only necessary that he realises clearly that equality with the European as regards political rights is impossible, but he will have to be told in the most unequivocal language that the European is fully determined that South Africa will be ruled by the white man. Any discord about this will lead to the existence of false expectations and disappointment on the part of the native and to suspicion and bitter feeling against the native on the part of the European. The duty rests with us Europeans to make the native understand unambiguously that his claim to dominance will never be fulfilled.

This means that not only must we warn him by word against any efforts in this direction, but we must not give him rights calculated to arouse false hopes on his mind, and as far as he already has such rights, we must make sure that he renounces them in favour of what will be, for him, more conducive to progress and happiness ...

The welfare and happiness of the native ... will depend on the good feeling and upright intentions of the white man; and anything which could lead to the disturbance of the desired relationship between him and the white man must be avoided, by the native and by the European."⁵⁰

The occasions on which Jan Smuts spoke on native matters were rare. Two other occasions are worth mentioning. Interestingly, his outline of a Native policy in both instances were before audiences in Great Britain. He reaffirmed a policy of separate treatment of black and white based on cultural difference, emphasising the protection of 'European civilisation' and a 'Christian moral code'.⁵¹ In his widely reported speech held at the Savoy Hotel in London in

⁵⁰ The speech in Afrikaans is reprinted in Nienaber (1965 232-239) and translated by B. Schmidt. One year earlier in 1925, Hertzog made his first and only appearance before the conference organised by the Native Affairs Commission. He delivered there a condensed version of his Malmesbury Speech (Karis/Carter 1978 172-176). In addition to his thoughts on segregation, Hertzog outlined during the formation of the National Party in 1914 his thoughts about the relationship between the English and Boers. To keep British domination at bay, he reiterated his belief in the development among the whites along parallel lines: "Each stream with its own language, its own way of living, its own great men, its own heroic deeds and its own noble characters. That this is so, is the result of history. Nobody is to blame and each one has the right to honour, to protect and to maintain its own. But it is our duty to help develop a more exalted national life wherein we may enter together notwithstanding the difference of language" (quoted in Kruger 1978 67).

⁵¹ Beukes (1989 155).

May 1917 titled 'The White Man's Task', Jan Smuts anticipated the idea of 'apartheid' and saw therein a solution for South Africa's racial problems. He stated:

"We have realised that political ideas which apply to our white civilisation largely do not apply to the administration of the native affairs. To apply the same institutions on an equal basis to white and black alike does not lead to the best results, and so a practice has grown up in South Africa of creating parallel institutions - giving the native their own separate institutions on parallel lines with institutions for whites. It may be that on those parallel lines we may yet be able to solve a problem which may otherwise be insoluble ... We have felt more and more that if we are to solve our native question it is useless to try to govern black and white in the same system, to subject them to the same institutions of government and legislation. They are different not only in colour but in mind and in political capacity and their political institutions should be different, while always proceeding on the basis of self-government ... we have now legislation before Parliament of the Union in which an attempt is made⁵² ... to create all over South Africa, wherever there are any considerable native communities, independent self-governing institutions for them ... Thus in South Africa you will have in the long run large areas cultivated by blacks and governed by blacks, where they will look after themselves in all their forms of living and development, while in the rest of the country you will have your white communities, which will govern themselves separately according to the accepted European principles."⁵³

Smuts reaffirmed his stand-point on a future Native policy in 1929 in a series of lectures at Oxford.⁵⁴

"If we could evolve and pursue a policy which will promote the cause of civilization in Africa without injustice to the African, without injury to what is typical and specific in the African, we shall render a great service to the cause of humanity. For there is much that is good in the African and which ought to be preserved and developed." (1930:74)

'The Bantu', Smuts suggested, represented a distinct human type which remained largely child-like. In his view a "child-like human cannot be a bad human, for are we not in spiritual matters bidden to be like unto children? Perhaps as a direct result of this temperament the African is the only happy human I have come across. No other race is so easily satisfied, so good-tempered, so care-free." (1930:75) He concluded accordingly that

"a race so unique, and so different in its mentality and its cultures from those of Europe, requires a policy very unlike that which would suit Europeans. Nothing could be worse for Africa than the application of a policy, the object or tendency of which would be to destroy the basis of this African type, to de-Africanize the African and turn him either into a beast of the field or into a pseudo-European. And yet in the past we have tried both alternatives in our dealings with the Africans." (1930:76)

He was referring to the early phase in which blacks were treated as inferior or sub-human. He then moved on to the phase of radical equal treatment: "The African now became a man and a brother. Religion and politics combined to shape this new policy." (1930:77) As a result of this new policy the "political system of the natives was ruthlessly destroyed in order to incorporate them as equals into the white system" (1930:77). Smuts rejected both strategies and

⁵² Smuts was referring to the Native Administration Bill introduced by Prime Minister Louis Botha in 1917. It extended the Transkeian local council system to other reserves in an attempt to achieve a uniform Native policy, but the Bill was withdrawn (Kallaway 1974:119, Hancock 1968:116).

⁵³ Smuts (1940:17-18).

⁵⁴ His lecture on 'Native policy in Africa' was published in Smuts (1930:73-103) and reprinted in Smuts (1940:36-56).

suggested a new policy that would foster "an indigenous native culture or system of cultures, and to cease to force the African into alien European moulds" (1930:84). Such a policy, argued Smuts, would give the native his own institutions for his 'self-development' and 'self-government' (1930:84). As "a practical policy of native government" Smuts favoured a system of "native self-government through their own tribal chiefs and elected councils" (1930:84).

Smuts blamed the missionaries and previous governments for having failed to preserve the African tribal system and warned of the "possibilities of universal Bolshevism" (1930:87). Christian religion, argued Smuts,

"meant the breakdown of the entire integral native Weltanschauung ... A knowledge of anthropology would have been most useful, and would have helped to conserve the native social system, while ridding it of what was barbarous or degrading." (1930:86)

Smuts favoured a form of parallel development, whereby tribalised blacks remained in their own territories and retained their own form of life under a tribal system. But he realised at the same time that this was only half of the problem. The urbanised blacks, the 'semi-civilised' and 'detribalised', constituted the real crux and raised a crucial problem for the whole principle of segregation. Since the urban blacks did not wish to be thrust back into the seclusion of their former tribal associations a 'clean cleavage' between the native and European, as suggested by Smuts, was difficult to obtain. Smuts warned about the consequences should segregation fail:

"This separation is imperative, not only in the interest of native culture, and to prevent native traditions and institutions from being swamped by the more powerful organization of the whites, but also for other important purposes, such as public health, racial purity, and public good order. The mixing up of two such alien elements as white and black leads to unhappy social results ... In these great matters of race, colour, and culture, residential separation and parallel institutions alone can do justice to the ideals of both sections of the population." (1930:93)

As for economic developments, Smuts rejected the colour bar favoured by Hertzog and the National Party. While in favour of territorial segregation, Smuts did not find it practicable to separate black and white in the economic sphere, and as "a worker the white man should be able to hold his own in competition with the native. Industrial as distinguished from territorial segregation would be impracticable and an offence against modern conscience."⁵⁵

Although South Africa still had a long way to go before segregation was fully implemented, Smuts was optimistic about the future of South Africa:

"The white man's civilization and the steadily progressing native culture will live side by side and react on each other, and the problems of their contact will provide a fruitful theme for the statesmen of the future." (1930:103)

With hindsight, it is amazing to what extent the theories of these two politically opposed statesmen endured over the decades and were eventually put in practice. Smuts and Hertzog shared a common cultural and ethnic background, but they differed in the setting of priorities. Both were of Dutch-Afrikaner origin and in favour of white supremacy and both had been influenced by their years of study in Europe. Yet their world-views differed. Jan Smuts (1870-1950), who studied in Cambridge from 1891 to 1895, fought in the Anglo-Boer War

⁵⁵ Smuts (1930:94) His thinking reflected to a large extent that of white liberals involved in the Joint Council movement and SAP politics in the early 1930s.

against the British, but thereafter supported British-Boer co-operation, especially in the economic field. Politically, he supported the British in the First and Second World Wars and was involved in establishing the League of Nations. Hertzog (1866-1942), who grew up in the Orange Free State, studied in Amsterdam, and early in his political career committed himself to the cause of Afrikaner politics, favouring political and economic autonomy from Britain. Heading the National Party founded in 1914, Hertzog rallied Afrikaners to oppose British domination. His priority was to find a solution to the poor white problem, which he believed would solve the Native problem at the same time.

4. Legal segregation and the creation of a uniform native administrative system

While Government had passed various laws serving to secure an increasingly exclusively white political and economic sphere based on economic and cultural superiority, pressure grew from the side of the blacks. It took various forms. There was a rapid increase of permanent urban blacks, the growth of 'Native nationalism' or 'race consciousness' directed at inclusion and participation in politics and economy. Until the mid-1920s Government had failed to establish a uniform legal framework for native administration throughout the Union.⁵⁶

Faced by demands from the urban black population for inclusion and with the fears of sections of the white population, who recognised the potential dangers of militant blacks to their status, Government was forced to develop a uniform Native policy that would divert, as already mentioned, the energies of the black political organisations and bring the black population under tighter government control. The need for uniformity also served to justify the centralisation of native administration.

The 'detrribalised', Europeanised or educated native was a stumbling-block to a Native policy based on defining neat boundaries between what was white and what was black. G. Heaton Nicholls, a segregationist from Natal, was by no means in the minority when he rose in parliament to deplore those blacks who made implementation of segregation problematical:

"We have a large educated class [of Blacks] but what are they to the rising Bantu races - detrribalized, Europeanized, chockfull of ideas and emotions which are quite alien to the ordinary native, seeking progress entirely on the lines of the European ... Many of these people have drunk very deeply of the wine of European demagogy, and they spew it all over the country to unsettle the native mind."⁵⁷

Hertzog, as a minister of Native Affairs, blamed the British for the past mistakes. He maintained that the neglect of native laws and customs had undermined the authority of the chiefs and deprived them of their control over the youth, steadily further eroding tribal structures.⁵⁸

⁵⁶ Legislative attempts at a uniform Native policy in 1917 and 1926 had failed, partly because the proposed bills conflicted with the franchise clause in South Africa's constitution.

⁵⁷ House of Assembly Debates, 1927, Col. 2924 ff., quoted in Welsh (1972:42).

⁵⁸ The 'ordinary native' as opposed to the 'Europeanised native' was perceived as a 'tribal native' who had his home in the reserves, migrated to work in the mines or on white farms, but above all, adhered to tribal customs rather than striving for the ideals and achievements of civilisation and European standards. As David Welsh put it: "The whites received the benefit of African labour but spurned blacks as potential coequals in a common society, justifying this repudiation with an ostensible concern for their tradition." (Welsh 1972:43)

4.1. The Native Administration Act of 1927

Native administration in the four provinces of the Union was based on the system each had inherited from the colonial period. The colonial native administration system had aimed at codifying the customary laws of the various 'tribes', subject to the different conditions of annexation and interaction with the colonists. The Union government emphasised instead administrative uniformity. The promulgation of the Native Administration Act of 1927 superseded and uniformised the colonial and provincial systems. Committed to preserving its construct of tribal order, the government embodied in the Act a legal framework which entrenched a division between white and black political systems, thus giving a statutory underpinning to the cultural dimension of segregation rather than solely stressing the factor of 'race' with all its pejorative political overtones. The state overlapped culture and 'race'. Once an individual was typed 'Native' he or she was subject to customary laws and had no freedom to choose to be subjected to a European system of law.⁵⁹

The Native Administration Act incorporated elements of the Transkei and Natal Native administration systems, gave statutory recognition of customary laws, provided for the employment of chiefs and headmen as administrative and judicial officials, organised courts, extended the Transkei Council System to other reserves, and finally, appointed the governor-general as 'Supreme Chief of all Natives' with the power to rule by promulgation.⁶⁰

As a starting point, the Act defined the term native as to include any person who was a member of any 'aboriginal race or tribe of Africa'. For such persons a legal system separate from that for non-natives was created. This entailed the creation of separate courts for natives - chiefs' courts and commissioners' courts - to settle disputes between natives. Section 11 (1) of the Native Administration Act of 1927 enacted that commissioners' courts had discretion to apply customary law "in all suits or proceedings between Natives involving questions of customs followed by Natives ... except in so far as it [had] been repealed or modified."⁶¹ Section 11 (1) further instructed these courts to reject any customary law which was 'contrary to the principles of public policy or natural justice'. The custom of *lobola*⁶² and polygynous marriages were not declared contrary to public policy and the Act ensured that it was given a proper place in customary law by providing that "it shall not be lawful for any court to declare

⁵⁹ Bennett (1980 132) Although section 31 of the Native Administration Act vested in the Head of State the discretion to grant exemption from customary law, it did not enable a black person to be treated as though he or she were white (Bennett 1991 128-129) This rigid form of socio-political stratification differed from other British colonial systems in which a black could prove sufficient change in his cultural attributes (assimilation) and therefore abandon customary law in favour of the general (European) civil law. This recognition of two different legal systems and the individual's capacity to choose according to his/her life-style was founded in the discretion of the colonial officials "It is no surprise," argued Bennett, "that the system failed" (Bennett 1980 132) This policy of assimilation was also favoured by a section of the white missionary community in southern Africa in the nineteenth century as well as those who supported the Cape and Natal Native franchise systems

⁶⁰ Rogers (1933 20) citing the Native Administration Act

⁶¹ Quoted in Bennett (1991 118)

⁶² The use of the Zulu word *lobola* is widespread and used to refer to dowry irrespective of ethnic or cultural differences. *Lobola* was held to be central to polygamous customary marriages and the foundation on which the whole fabric of native family life and society rested. For a detailed analysis of customary marriage and the implementation of customary law in South Africa see Bennett (1991) and Bekker (1993)

that the custom of lobola or bogadi or other similar custom is repugnant to" public policy or natural justice.⁶³

Besides establishing the commissioners' courts, section 12 (1) of the Act of 1927 gave chiefs and headmen civil jurisdiction limited to matters governed by customary law:

"The Minister may (a) authorize any Native chief or headman recognized or appointed under subsection (7) and (8) of section two to hear and determine civil claims arising out of Native law and custom brought before him by Native against Native resident within his area of jurisdiction."⁶⁴

While claiming to introduce uniformity, the Act at the same time recognised the diversities of customary laws in various parts of the Union. It was ambiguous on the question of which customary law would apply in case of conflict of the different versions of customary laws. It was not clear whether the choice of customary law should be based on territory or person (tribal affiliation). As Bennett wrote, there "[was] no indication how courts were to determine tribal affiliation nor how they were to check the authenticity of the various systems of tribal law they were supposed to apply".⁶⁵ Customary laws were seen to be rooted in the communities to which they applied and the government gave the tribal courts the authority to administer the authentic version. Knowledge of how customary laws changed in the course of time was won from reports of individual native administrators and commissioners, missionaries, commissions of inquiry or anthropological research.⁶⁶

But with rapid social changes courts alienated themselves from the communities. For the adjudicating authorities applied a law that did not accommodate changes. The problem was compounded by the fact that the revisionary judges were white, for whom customary law was a foreign system. Their knowledge of customary law was necessarily second-hand. Since courts could not be expected to know all the customary laws, although they had been given a general discretion to apply it, section 19 (1) of the Native Administration Act allowed a Commissioners' Court to call to its assistance one or more assessors to give advice on matters of customary law.⁶⁷ Critical of the court's readiness to authenticate rules mostly by reference to older texts, Bennett has argued, that the temptation to rely on the authority of past procedures and out-of-date ethnographies led to a rurally based traditional system of customary law more appropriate for a hundred years earlier. "Social lag", wrote Bennett,

⁶³ Quoted in Bennett (1991:204). The Act suppressed variations in the cultural practice of lobola. Irrespective of the moral outcry of the churches, bride-wealth had become a protected institution. Section 11 (3b) of the Act also upheld what it thought to be the customary law of guardianship, whereby a black woman (excluding black women who permanently resided in Natal) "who is a partner in a customary union and who is living with her husband, shall be deemed to be a minor and her husband shall be deemed to be her guardian" (quoted in Bennett 1991:333). Black women therefore lacked contractual capacity.

⁶⁴ Quoted in Bekker (1993:15).

⁶⁵ Bennett (1991:135).

⁶⁶ For a survey and extensive bibliography on native law see Lewin (1941). With the help of experienced administrators and missionaries, e.g., Warner, Brownlee, Ayliff, Maclean, who was Chief Commissioner of British Kaffraria, published *A Compendium of Kafir Laws and Customs* (1858), which, according to Lewin, was the first attempt to undertake the task of reducing native laws to writing. The publication of Isaac Schapera's *Handbook of Tswana Law and Custom* (1938/1970) marked a new stage in the process of determining native laws on a scientific basis. For a discussion on the distortion of customary law see Sanders (1987), Gordon (1989) and Suttner (1987).

⁶⁷ Bennett (1991:137).

"is a problem with all legal systems; it is accentuated in the case of customary law. The courts find it easier to apply the customary law which is certain and accessible than to undertake the admittedly laborious task of ascertaining changes."⁶⁸

While the Native Affairs Department appreciated the efficient more economical control that the Act conferred on it over large numbers of natives, it was also aware of the steady erosion of chiefly authority in the reserves. The Act gave the Native Affairs Department extensive powers transforming it into a more or less self-contained government responsible for all matters affecting the natives, in other words, it spoke to, of and for the natives. Since the Act allowed the Native Affairs Department control over all the native administrators in the reserves, it was also held responsible for arresting the erosion of tribal structures. It could reinstate them in order to hold intact the principle of separate development.

The whites' concern for constructing a system of native law and custom served to legitimise separate administrative structures - traditional for the native and modern and advanced for the European. Nonetheless, on the other hand, as David Welsh argued, this created problems since little of this traditionalism seemed to be compatible with the requirements of industrial development within a newly established nation-state.⁶⁹ Hence it was essentially the task of the Native Affairs Department to modify native law and customs as to suit the modernising process underway in South Africa. In other words, constructing a coherent system for the governance of South Africa's periphery and creating a world for the native which was incompatible with participating in the governance of white South Africa. This incompatibility justified the discrimination in citizenship, territorial separation, selective economic segregation and recognition of differences in norms, in life-style and in property rights. Tribe and tribal society became the identity-metaphor for the 'Native' as opposed to the 'civilisation' metaphor for the 'European'.⁷⁰

5. The Native Economic Commission (1930-1932)

Implementing the principle of social differentiation also motivated an investigation into the socio-economic conditions of the natives within the Union of South Africa commissioned by the Minister of Native Affairs, Ernest George Jansen,⁷¹ in June 1930. The members⁷² of the Native Economic Commission (NEC) were appointed to inquire into and report on

⁶⁸ Bennett (1991 140)

⁶⁹ Welsh (1972 43)

⁷⁰ The 'European' in South Africa as opposed to the European in Europe had over the years developed a distinct identity. The social anthropologist Isaac Schapera pointed to the fact that "the presence of the Natives has so profoundly affected the social and economic development of the Europeans as to have become an indispensable part of the whole structure of civilization in South Africa. It is no longer possible for the two races to develop apart from each other" (Schapera 1934a ix)

⁷¹ Jansen entered politics in 1922 as National Party Member of Parliament for the Vryheid constituency and twice held the post of Minister of Native Affairs, i.e., from 1929 to 1932 and from 1948 until 1950, when he became governor general. He died in November 1959 in Pretoria.

⁷² The members of the Native Economic Commission belonged to both major political parties but could hardly be classified as economic experts: the chairperson John E. Holloway (Director of Census and Statistics), R.W. Anderson (businessman), H.C.M. Fourie (Afrikaner preacher and Bible translator), F.A.W. Lucas (barrister and Chairman of the Wages Board), A.M. Mostert (fruit-grower), Dr. Alex Roberts (educationalist and principal of Lovedale Native College, Native Affairs Commissioner, and Native Representative in the Senate), and P.W. le Roux van Niekerk (National Party

1. the economic and social condition of natives especially in the larger towns of the Union;
2. the application to natives in urban areas of the existing laws relating to the regulation of wages and conditions of employment and for dealing with industrial disputes and the desirability of any modification of these laws;
3. the economic and social effect upon the European and Coloured population of the Union of the residence of natives in urban areas and the measures, if any, to be adopted to deal with surplus natives in, and to prevent the increasing migration of natives to, such areas; and
4. the proportion of the public revenue contributed by the native population directly and indirectly; the proportion of the public expenditure necessitated by the presence of, and reasonably chargeable to, the native population (para. 1).

As with previous reports the intention was to recommend solutions to the Native problem. The specific focus here was on collecting facts relating to the economic situation of the native in the political economy of South Africa as a whole. In other words, the Commission expressed by publishing its report in 1932 its understanding of the social world in which the social category of native was objectified. Its recommendations to Government served as a basis for further social engineering.⁷³

The Commission used the term 'native', which had come to be associated with nativeness - in turn associated with black persons - which meant an early (primitive) stage in evolution as well as a specific place, the reserves. The Commission, however, was not completely in agreement with the use of the term and suggested an alternative: Bantu.⁷⁴ In the terminological annex to its report the Commission in regard to the use of the term native argued:

"This word is now in common use throughout the Union for the Bantu-speaking peoples, and in that sense has acquired the force of a proper noun. It is accordingly used widely in the Report, and is written with a capital initial letter. It is not a very suitable word, however, inasmuch as it excludes all other people who are likewise 'native' to the country. It also leads to such contradictions as 'indigenous Native' and 'foreign Native'. The Commission has also employed the words Abantu (as a noun) and Bantu (as an adjective), which would be more suitable than Native for general use"⁷⁵

Senator and member of the Native Affairs Commission) Lucas and Roberts frequently disagreed with evidence given by the majority. Their interpretation of the evidence presented by the Commission was attached to the Report as 'minority statements'. Instead of segregation they favoured assimilation, the Victorian and liberal notion of a civilising mission. Quotations from and references to the Report of the Native Economic Commission (NEC) are given with the respective paragraph in brackets. The periodical Bantu Studies published a summary of the NEC Report (Rheinallt Jones/Saffery 1933, 1934). For a comprehensive analysis of the report see Ashforth (1990: 69-113).

⁷³ Ashforth (1990: 75)

⁷⁴ In the 1940s the homogeneous category of native was replaced by the heterogeneous and plural Bantu cultures, each to be associated with respective reserves. The basis for this new categorisation can be found on the one hand in social anthropological studies and on the other hand in the rise of Afrikaner nationalism, its underlying concept of volk and culture and its brand of volkekunde. See chapter V, VI and VII.

⁷⁵ NEC Report (1932: 265-266). It will be discussed in chapter V how the academic discipline of social anthropology influenced the substance and rhetoric of the Native policy.

The Commission avoided referring to the fact that dealing with the economic conditions of the natives meant that the Commission in one way or another had to deal with the sensitive issue of ownership rights. It can only be assumed that the Commission was aware of the sensitive issue associated with the usage of the term 'native' which could imply for example the demand for aboriginal rights to land and its resources. To avoid possible political implications associated with the term native the Commission sought to argue in favour of the use of the scientific term 'Bantu' as more adequate to describe the specific condition of 'primitive economy' and politics (tribal system) as well as a distinct culture which

The key problem identified in the NEC Report was the economic conflict between a 'civilised money' and industrial economy and a 'non-money', 'subsistence', 'primitive' and 'backward' economy (para.8-13). "The continued existence of a primitive subsistence economy in such close contact with an advanced money economy, as the two systems are in South Africa, must be expected to create serious maladjustments." (para.12) According to the report the state's role was to iron out such maladjustments. The question posed, therefore, was "*how best the Native population can be led onward step by step in an orderly march to civilization*".⁷⁶ The emphasis on a strategy to support the native on his 'march to civilisation' was seen to lie not with the small group of articulate urban natives, i.e., the ANC, but with the mass of natives in the reserves:

"The Native economic question is not primarily a problem of a small, vocal, dissatisfied, semi-civilised group of urbanized Natives; it is primarily a problem of millions of uneducated tribal Natives, held in the grip of superstition and of an anti-progressive social system." (para 16)

Acknowledging the backwardness and the disastrous living conditions in the reserves in which the natives were held,⁷⁷ the Report nonetheless demonstrated that the reserves as homes of the natives still could be seen as capable of performing the social and economic functions required by them. As a development strategy for the reserves the report favoured adaptation rather than assimilation into western civilisation:

"The inevitable effect of the under-development of the Reserves is that the orientation of the most advanced Natives has been towards the European. Instead of finding in their own area a fruitful field for using their energies, and their knowledge to uplift their own people, they have been forced out from among them and have become 'exiles' elsewhere. To develop the Natives, and the Reserves; to make the dead hand of tribalism relax its grip, to convert tribalism into a progressive force; to set the Native mass in motion on the upward path of civilization, and to enable them to shoulder the burden of their own advancement - such must be ... the main approach to the solution of the Native problem in its economic aspect."⁷⁸

The report therefore pointed out a way by which the native and especially the 'advanced native' could be reoriented towards the reserves. The reserves were to serve two functions. They were to maintain a system that would attract natives to work in the white economy

was to be associated with the mass of black population. The reference to a change in terminology reflected a change in thinking among sectors of the white population, especially the Afrikaners, who claimed to be native South Africans, while accusing the English-speaking of being British and hence foreigners

⁷⁶ Para 14 Emphasis in original

⁷⁷ Conditions in the reserves were described as disastrous "[W]e have now throughout the reserves a state of affairs in which, with few exceptions, the carrying capacity of the soil for both human beings and animals is definitely on the downgrade, a state of affairs which, unless soon remedied, will within one or at the outside two decades create in the Union an appalling problem of native poverty" (para 69) Under the heading 'The Underdeveloped Condition of the Reserves' (para 68-71) the appalling conditions in the reserves were described as miserable because "with increasing numbers both of human beings and animals, the methods hitherto found sufficient no longer meet the case. The ruthless efficiency of the white veterinarians increased the number of Native cattle and quarantine regulation limited access to the market. Overpopulation became an evil in the Native territories, because numbers increased and knowledge of how to make the land itself 'beget' more did not increase amongst the Natives or was neglected" (para 67)

⁷⁸ Para.82 Such intentions were repeated in the Tomlinson Report. See chapter VII Opposing the Commission's concept of adaptation, Alex Roberts suggested that the "way of progress for the Native people lies along the path of the Native assimilating as rapidly as possible the European civilization and culture" (para 291) Yet his argument did not imply the dissolution of the reserves

outside the reserves. They were also to curb the flow outside the reserves if necessary and, in the interest of 'Native advancement', force the blacks back to the reserves. For maintaining and balancing the labour supply between the sectors and regions the key was 'development of the Reserves':

"A permanent cure for an economic evil must not run counter to economic forces, but must utilize economic forces to achieve its purpose. The permanent cure for the urban wage problem must be looked for in the Reserves. By cutting off the flow of casual labour which now drifts to the towns, it must create conditions for efficiency and consequently high wages in towns. By development of the wealth-producing capacity of the Reserves they should absorb the surplus Natives who now make a tom-tiddlers ground of the towns at the cost of efficiency, to the detriment of their brethren who want to make the towns their homes, and at the risk of creating a large slum population." (para.560)
 "In order to encompass this it is essential that no time shall be lost both in developing the Reserves, and in reducing the present pressure on land, by making available more areas for Native occupation." (para.561)

The Commission saw in labour migrancy a means for the white economy to subsidise the development of the 'primitive economy' in the reserves. The cash earned outside the reserves would then be utilised to improve conditions in the reserves (para.625). The overall control and regulation of black labour was seen as the responsibility of the government, suggesting that state policy should be directed towards the object of giving more permanence and more stability to the various classes of labour while reducing in so far as possible its casual nature.⁷⁹

The framework, into which all aspects of native life dealt with in the report were to be fitted, was outlined in the section on segregation (para.692-703). 'Full economic segregation' was rejected as well as 'partial economic segregation' based solely on migratory labour. 'Territorial segregation', 'residential segregation', 'occupational segregation' and 'social segregation' were seen as an unobjectionable reality in South Africa and to some extent formed part of the Commission's own version of 'partial segregation' based on

"developing the Native areas sufficiently to make greater provision for the needs of the Natives resident therein. The effect of this will be that the classes of urban and rural labour will crystallize to an extent which will enable a greater efficiency to be achieved among both. The urban labourer will be in a position that he can emerge from the present unfair competition of the casual rural labourer. The towns would be less inundated by the latter because the competition of more efficient regular town-dwellers would make the conditions less attractive to them. A considerable number of Natives from the Reserves would still have to come out from time to time to work. They would, however, flow into channels where casual labour is regularly required. Mining would offer scope as at present for a large proportion of these labourers; and as the development of the Reserves would interest the Natives in better agriculture, it might be expected that there would grow up a class of more or less specialized land workers from which there would be available a surplus of labour naturally gravitating to casual work on European farms as it was required there. The effect should therefore be to create a more economical distribution of the labour forces than obtains now." (para.695)

Apart from the need for black labour in the white economy, making the reserves the home of the black majority implied that nativeness and native identity were almost exclusively tied to

⁷⁹ Paras.540-557. While the Commission did not object to the colour bar, Roberts once again differed with the majority. On the issue of labour tenancy he argued that the principles of 'freedom of movement' and 'freedom of occupation' should have applied to all citizens of the Union. Any "endeavour to limit the occupation or movement of Natives is therefore an infringement of their rights as citizens of the land" (para.847).

the reserves. Hence 'development of the Reserves' became an ideological slogan, synonymous for the exploitation of black labour as deemed necessary by the state and economy. It was said that in order to enable development in the reserves the native had to overcome his backwardness:

"It would be unwise to leave the Native in this fool's paradise. His light is insufficient for the new conditions of life. His mind must be freed from his animistic conceptions if he is to create worthy conditions for his descendants. He must learn to school his body to hard work, which is not only a condition of his advance in civilization, but of his final survival in a civilized environment." (para.77)

In other words, the 'indolent' and 'leisure-seeking' native, accustomed to the 'comfort and solace of tribal life', needed to be assisted in order to become an industrial worker (paras.532, 551). According to the report the first priority for a successful development strategy in the reserves was changing the native mentality.⁸⁰ The key to modifying the 'primitive mentality' supposedly lay in education.⁸¹ While honouring the educational work of missionary societies over a hundred years, the Commission was critical of the missionary approach. Their type of education was deemed unsuitable to serve native needs and advancement since it was modelled upon the European system of school education which had its 'roots in a civilised society', whereas for the most part that type of society was absent from native life (para.624-629). Instead of the three R's (Reading, wRiting, aRithmetic), the Commission was convinced that 'the great bulk of the Native population' would derive much more good from teachings on 'simple hygiene' and 'elementary agricultural' (para.630-631). The Commission thought that the aims of native education should have been 'social' embracing the following: firstly, freeing the mass of natives from reactionary "conceptions as animism, witchcraft and the cattle cult"; second, it should not pursue a course which made the natives dissatisfied with everything in their own background, but build up, "giving the Native a pride in his own people", and a "desire to develop what is good in his own institutions"; and third, it should have aimed at making the "educated Native a missionary to his own people" (para.628). To succeed in modifying 'native mentality' the Commission argued that it was essential that native education in "view of its peculiar nature" should be controlled by an officer of the Union Government (para.640).

The report further found that the tribal system was 'opposed to progress', was 'reactionary', 'stagnant', and therefore reproducing the primitive mentality. Hence, the Commission urged that the tribal system be modernised and developed 'into something higher' and serve as a starting-point for native government. It argued in favour of the recognition of chiefs, tribal courts, and native laws, and the employment of chiefs as minor administrative officials within their own districts (paras.35,61,62,63,75,82,217).

The Commission believed that it was possible to utilise and modernise 'Native institutions' as the basis for a policy of differential development or segregation. Adapting the native institutions to changing demands was considered a compromise between two extremes of repression and assimilation. In this respect the Commission adopted the view of the government ethnologist Gérard Lestrade.

⁸⁰ It is remarkable that as the Commission was formulating these statements, social anthropologists were constructing theoretically the notion of the primitive native. This topic will be discussed in chapter V.

⁸¹ See chapter VII on Bantu education.

Lestrade⁸² had classified three main schools of thought on the Native question: repressionist, which aimed at tying down or driving the native back to the 'barbarism' in which he lived prior to contact with the European; assimilationist, which made of the native a 'black European'; and adaptationist, which considered a compromise between the two extremes to be the only solution (para.200). Lestrade argued in his statement addressed to the NEC in 1931 that it was possible

"to adopt an adaptationist attitude which would take out of the Bantu past what was good, and even what was merely neutral, and together with what is good of European culture for the Bantu, build up a Bantu future. To this latter school I would take this opportunity of declaring my adherence".⁸³

Responding to Lestrade's proposal in favour of cultural adaptation, his colleague Isaac Schapera posed the ethical question about who was to judge what was 'good' for the native either in his own culture or in the white culture. Taking into consideration the existing interdependence of natives and whites, Schapera concluded: "A thorough-going policy of adaptation thus calls for complete segregation of the Native under absolute administrative control extending to every aspect of life" Schapera wrongly concluded: "As things now are in South Africa, this condition is not likely to be realized".⁸⁴

The Report of the Native Economic Commission conformed to the Native policy that Hertzog had propagated since the mid-1920s. Oswald Pirow⁸⁵ summed up Hertzog's Native policy as follows:

"1 South Africa belongs to all its inhabitants jointly, irrespective of race and colour and every section must be given an adequate opportunity to develop to the fullest extent for which its inherent talents qualify it. The fact that the supremacy of white civilisation must always be paramount is as much in the interest of the non-European - unless he is prepared to be a semi-barbarian for all time - as of the white man.

2. The coloured man, as distinct from the Bantu - and excluding the Asiatic, to whom special circumstances apply - must be given a place next to the European in the economic, industrial and political spheres. Social intercourse is not desired by either party.

3. The native voter must be removed from the common roll where he was being exploited by Europeans for party political purposes,⁸⁶ and given a separate franchise with European representatives elected solely to serve Bantu interests.

4. The natives must have home areas of their own to which the European would only be admitted if the interests of the Bantu demanded it. The existing native areas already embracing some of the best land in the Union were to be expanded on a very generous scale.

⁸² In 1925 Gérard Paul Lestrade was appointed Government Ethnologist in the Department of Native Affairs and headed the new Ethnological Section. In 1930 he was appointed professor of Bantu Languages at the University of Pretoria and in 1935 offered the Chair of Bantu Languages at the University of Cape Town.

⁸³ Lestrade (1931:4) The theory of adaptation was strongly reminiscent of the policy of indirect rule in British colonies.

⁸⁴ Schapera (1934a: xi-xii).

⁸⁵ From 1929 to 1933 Oswald Pirow was Minister of Justice under Hertzog and in 1933 became Minister of Railways and Defence in the coalition government of Hertzog and Smuts. The following quote is from Pirow's biography on Hertzog.

⁸⁶ Hertzog's main reason for reducing the number of black votes between 1929 and 1933 was related to the fact that the South African Party had gained additional seats in Parliament due to the black vote. In the 1920s Hertzog and his National Party constantly warned their supporters that they would one day be 'swamped' by black voters. This kind of rhetoric reached its peak in the *swart gevaar* (black peril) election campaign of 1929.

5. The development of the natives must be carefully supervised by a sympathetic government. It would be dangerous to forgo this benevolent guardianship, as most of the Bantu intellectuals were not prepared to lead their own race and as the half-educated native was still at heart a barbarian.

6. Ultimately the whole of Africa south of the Sahara would be gathered into a Union of black and white states ... The States would ultimately consort on a footing of equality, provided their respective standards of civilisation had become equal.⁸⁷

It is against this background that the South African government finally passed Hertzog's Native Bills in 1936.⁸⁸ While Hertzog had failed to gain a two-thirds majority for his Native Bills in the 1920s, in 1936, with the support of nearly the whole of the old South African Party led by Smuts, the Representation of Natives Act and the Native Trust and Land Act were passed, fixing the political status of natives on a uniform basis throughout the Union.

The Representation of Natives Act abolished the Cape Native franchise system⁸⁹ and the common voters' roll, thus removing the last stumbling block for the creation of a white South Africa. It also provided for the establishment of a Natives' Representative Council consisting of 23 members⁹⁰ who were to meet annually to advise the government on matters affecting the black population. It was purely an advisory body with no real powers.

The Native Trust and Land Act according to its preamble was designed to assist and develop the "material and moral welfare of the Natives of the Union".⁹¹ It made provision for the purchase of additional land - released areas - for the reserves which brought them up to

⁸⁷ Pirow (1958:197).

⁸⁸ In an effort to bring about broader white unity the coalition agreement between Hertzog and Smuts in early 1933 resulted in a fusion of the South African Party with the National Party, leading to the formation of the United South African National Party in 1934. As reasons for entering into a coalition agreement with Smuts, Hertzog mentioned in a speech he held in Smithfield - his own constituency - on 5 March 1933 the following: first, the nation desired coalition, secondly, the economic conditions of the country demanded it, and thirdly, the NP might be defeated at the next election. A seven-point plan for co-operation was agreed upon by Hertzog and Smuts: the maintenance of South African autonomy as defined in the Statute of Westminster; acceptance of the national flag; equal language rights for Afrikaans- and English-speakers; the development of a prosperous white farming community, acceptance of a 'civilised labour policy'; the solution of the Native question through maintenance of 'white civilisation' and political separation; and the protection of South Africa's currency and economic assets (Davenport 1978:215). The coalition agreement between Hertzog and Smuts was to split the Afrikaners and a bitter struggle by those who rejected any sort of co-operation with 'the enemy' emerged. With the help of the Afrikaner Broederbond the former predikant Daniel François Malan was able to mobilise the Afrikaners effectively against Hertzog. Under his leadership the Gesuwerde Nasionale Party - later named National Party - was formed. On 4 September 1939, after Smuts had received a majority of votes in parliament (80:67) in favour of supporting the British in the Second World War, Hertzog resigned as prime minister, being succeeded by Smuts.

⁸⁹ Only for the Native Representation Act, not for the other two acts, was a two-thirds majority required. Figures on Cape black voters were: in 1903, 8,117; in 1919, 9,801; in 1923, 13,848; in 1926, 14,912; in 1929, 15,786; in 1931, 12,271; and in 1933, 10,776 voters. The number of voters decreased after 1929 because the qualifications were raised. White voters numbered in 1929 167,184 and in 1933 it was 369,182. In 1930 the Women's Enfranchisement Act extended the vote to white but not black women (Lacey 1981:74-76).

⁹⁰ Seven 'European' official members, four nominated black members and twelve elected black members sat on the Council. The Representation of Natives Act also provided for the election of four senators by the black population of the Union. These included Donald Molteno, Gordon Hemming, Margaret Ballinger, J.D. Rheinallt Jones and Edgar Brookes. For a personal account on J.K. Matthews' experiences as a black member of the NRC see Matthews (1983:137-156). In 1946 the black members of the NRC decided to adjourn in protest against the government's refusal to repeal discriminatory legislation. The NRC was legally abolished by legislating the Bantu Authorities Act of 1951

⁹¹ Quoted in Jones (1940:180). Jones presents South Africa's Native land policy from 1900 to 1939

about 13.5 per cent of the total land area of the Union. The Native Trust was established under the Act with the governor-general as trustee, with the authority to delegate his powers as trustee to the Minister of Native Affairs, who was to act in conjunction with the Native Affairs Commission. The Native Trust with special capital funds was empowered to acquire, administer and develop land on which black people would be settled. Development measures to be undertaken under the Act were intended to shore up the reserves which were at the brink of economic collapse. At the same time, other parts of the Act were designed to undercut independent black farming (black freehold farming), to restrict blacks' rights to own land, and thus their economic activities, in order to secure a steady supply of labour for the farms and mines.⁹²

⁹² Jones (1940:179-193).

Chapter V

The development of social anthropology in South Africa

In order to appreciate the role social anthropology played in South Africa during the first half of the twentieth century it is useful to highlight some aspects dealt with in the preceding chapters. In chapter II the military defeat of the black population in southern Africa and their deculturation was outlined as well as the ethnogenesis of the black population initiated by both missionaries and the British colonial administration. In chapter III the origins of Afrikaner ethnic consciousness were examined. After the Anglo-Boer War the distinct paths of black and Afrikaner ethnogenesis converged. After the War it became clear that the Boers would continue to try to dominate the black population though it was not expected that Afrikaner ethnic nationalism would at any time triumph over British colonial nationalism given the British military victory and its economic power. In spite of the peace treaty and reconciliation, the British continued to do all in their power to ensure Boer inferiority, just as in the previous century, their efforts were to anglicise the Boers. This attitude of the English towards the Boers was the primary motive for the emergence of an Afrikaner ethnic nationalism in the twentieth century.

To the ongoing conflict between the British and the Boers, in the midst of an all encompassing industrialisation and a capitalist market economy, was added a new player: the native. The black population was a key and indispensable source of labour. The mining industry and the embryonic manufacturing industry used not only the blacks but also sections of the white population as cheap labour. However, the white workers, particularly the poor whites, strongly resisted a wage competition between black and white labour. At the turn of the century, the attempt to exclude black workers to compete in an open labour market gradually and systematically became redefined as a political-ethnic conflict; solutions to this conflict were increasingly sought for and formulated in terms of ethnic categories. The white political parties focusing on this labour conflict presented their proposals as ethnic solutions to the Native question, while business tried at first to defend its interests and to correct ethnic distortions of the labour market; eventually, the business community adapted to the solutions offered by the political party controlling the government.

In order to fully comprehend what follows, it is relevant to remember that this process of creating of black ethnic groups as a solution to the Native question took place - in contrast to the last century - *within* a modern, democratically constituted state and also *within* a modern, private capitalist economic system. Compared to the previous century, a radical transformation had taken place with respect to the constitution and composition of society and this is particularly true of the politics in regard to the construction of ethnic entities in South Africa. In the process of colonial expansion, especially in the nineteenth century, previously autonomous political entities - chiefdoms and paramountcy chiefdoms - became part of modern world politics, not as equals but as colonised subjects. Heterogeneity among the colonised and their incorporation as distinct entities into the colonial state in southern Africa during

the nineteenth century were a precondition for the construction of ethnic groups. These constructed ethnicities became the centre-piece of the Native question in the twentieth century. It is noteworthy that after the turn of the century neither missionaries nor lower rank colonial administrators were consulted by the government when dealing with the problem of the modern ethnicities.

The preceding chapter dealt with the intertwining of modern politics, economics, and administrative solutions to the Native question. On the assumption of a radical modernisation since the beginning of the twentieth century in South Africa, a 'new' ethnic category and a 'new' treatment of this 'new' ethnic quality should be traceable. This is indeed the case, for it was not until the 1920s that the science of 'primitive cultures' or 'primitive ethnic groups' was formally established in South Africa; ironically, this came after pre-colonial autochthonous ethnic entities had either been destroyed or had completely been modified and then reconstructed. It was at a time when the blacks had become economically desirable to a white dominated economy and an indispensable source of labour.

Therefore, it seems inevitable after the founding of the Union of South Africa in 1910 - with its subsequent policies for solving the Native question - that a demand for anthropological research should arise. At a time when there was not a single full-time professorship of anthropology in any British university, a chair of Social Anthropology was established at the University of Cape Town in South Africa, as the nucleus of a School of African Life and Languages.¹ Indeed, it was there, and nowhere else, that one of the 'founding fathers' of modern anthropology, Alfred Reginald Radcliffe-Brown, was active, simultaneously, it was in South Africa that the modern systems theory concept of an ethnic group was formulated and defined: namely, as the structural-functional holistic 'primitive' organisation within the setting of a modern state.

1. The need for a scientific solution to the Native question

A number of influential South African politicians and academics - like William Alfred Norton, Charles T. Loram, John David Rheinallt Jones, James Duerden and Jan Smuts - were instrumental in promoting and establishing the discipline of social anthropology in South Africa. In their view such a discipline could ensure a conception of the native and especially a solution to the Native question. Social anthropology was looked to as a source of applied knowledge that would be of great value to native administration.

The Anglican missionary William Alfred Norton (1870-1962) joined the University of Cape Town in 1917 as lecturer. In April 1920 he was promoted to a Professorship of Bantu Philology. He had been engaged in presenting a scheme for the establishment of a school of Bantu Life and Literature. The year Norton joined the University of Cape Town his article on *The Need and Value of Academic Study of Native Philology and Ethnology* (1917) was published in the *South African Journal of Science*. Noting attempts in Europe to institutionalise the study of 'native philology and ethnology', Norton disappointingly observed that "Africa has nothing" (1917:198). Important precedents referred to by Norton were the Kolonial-

¹ Fortes (1956:172). It was only in 1927 that the University of London created the first full time professorship of social anthropology at a British university.

schule founded in Germany in 1899, the Berlin Seminar für Orientalische Sprachen (1887), the Hamburg Kolonialinstitut (1908) under the linguist Carl Meinhof, and the School of Oriental Studies in London. Norton began his article with a quote from the speech of the King of England at the opening of the School of Oriental Studies in London: "If the school happily succeeds in imparting to the pupils, sent out as teachers of unselfish government and civilised commerce, a clearer comprehension of the thoughts and lives of the diverse races of the East, the good effects of that success will extend far beyond the immediate and tangible results" (1917:194) Norton found this equally relevant for South Africa:

"[As] a missionary and a citizen of South Africa, I for one cannot but deplore in particular the amazing want in the past of scientific interest in that great asset of the Union, the native races [but] we have nothing practically in the way of endowment of research into matters native [and] there are very few serious students in South Africa adequately equipped philologically and ethnologically, who can guide us to anything like a wide view of the Bantu races. Unfortunately, it is not alone the State which is to blame in this neglect of research into native matters." (1917 194-195)

He was also critical of the missionaries:

"But missions as well, though in their poverty they may rightly look for aid, on the academic side, to South African Universities; have not done, and are not doing, what they might ... At present I fear that a large number of us missionary clergy cannot even read intelligibly in the native tongues" (1917:195)

In order to understand the natives better, Norton argued,

"it is not only the training in philological studies that is necessary. The life and customs of the natives need much deeper and systematic study We need, then, a fuller use of all that science can contribute to our work, and especially (surely) in the highly technical business of mission to heathen, whose languages and customs, so remote to our own ... demand all the encouragements to adequate scientific study which we, both in State and Church, at present so generally neglect" (1917:196) "It is absurd," he further argued, "to have a University in South Africa which ignores the language and custom of five-sixths of her population, while it has, for example (very rightly) a Chair of Hebrew" (1917:200).

He thus demanded that "South Africa should have chairs of Bantu Philology and Ethnology ... because she alone can do justice to these subjects".²

A few years later in 1921, Dr. Charles T. Loram³ spoke at the annual conference of the South African Association for the Advancement of Science⁴ on *The Claims of the Native Ques-*

² Norton (1917 197) According to Norton, ethnology should deal with "folk-lore and customs, tribal history, wandering of peoples, music, star-names etc" (Norton 1917 197)

³ Charles Templeman Loram (1879-1940) was born in Pietermaritzburg and studied at the universities of Cape Town and Cambridge. He began his career as assistant inspector of schools in Natal. He completed his doctorate at Columbia University Teachers' College, where he developed an interest in studying the education of black Americans. His thesis, *The Education of the South African Native*, was published in 1917. From 1920 to 1930 he sat on the Native Affairs Commission and was, in many respects, one of the chief spokesmen for white liberalism in the 1920s. He was a founding member and first chairman of the South African Institute of Race Relations (1929) in Johannesburg. In 1931 Loram left South Africa and became Professor of Education at Yale University (Davis 1984)

⁴ Loram held the presidential address before Section E. The South African Association of Science was founded in 1903 on the model of the British Association for the Advancement of Science founded in 1831. In the British association Anthropology had full section status (Section H) and Ethnology a subsection status. In South Africa Anthropology and Ethnography⁵ formed part of Section B from 1903 to 1906, together with Geography, Geology and Zoology, from 1910

tion upon Scientists. He argued that finding a solution for the Native question ought to be a challenge to scientists, though it would be just as difficult a problem to solve as the problems of Ireland. As a member of the Government's Native Affairs Commission, established to improve relations between black and white South Africans, Loram had to admit that the Department of Native Affairs had failed to find a solution to the Native question: "The machinery for dealing with the Native question has become obsolete and ineffectual ... [and the] general ignorance of the people on Native matters is appalling." (1921:99) Solutions, he suggested, would require "the help of the scientist ... [T]he Native question needs the human-nature scientists, namely, the political scientist, the economist, the psychologist, and sociologist" (1921:99-100). He found the studies by ethnologists of little help, for they were "made of the Native in his primitive or isolated state" (1921:100). What was needed was research of the native in contact with 'white civilisation', since the "troublesome educated and semi-educated Native is a problem. It is from the Native in contact with the European that the Native problem arises, and there is a great dearth of studies of the Native in this relationship." (1921:100)

Loram listed the problem areas in which scientific investigation was needed: legal and psychological problems, economic relationships, and the sociological relationship between black and white. The problems the blacks were undergoing because of direct and indirect influences of the Europeans he attributed to rapid changes. Tribal customs were rapidly breaking down. Loram was also fearful of the formation of trade unions among the natives, of the "106 denominations under Native control", of native social clubs, which "[found] it almost impossible to refrain from politics", and of 'secret societies' among the natives (1921:108-107). To guide the research on native culture that he was proposing, Loram formulated concrete questions relevant to the political administration of the natives that social scientists were to try to answer:

"1) The origin, nature, and extent of the alleged anti-white propaganda in South Africa; 2) Native political organisations; 3) Ninevites and other secret societies among the Natives; 4) Isitabane and organisations for vicious purposes; 5) Native child labour in town; 6) Native night schools and their work; 7) The Native press with special reference to its vernacular articles; 8) The proprietary medicine trade among Natives; 9) The Native Church with special reference to separatist movements; and 10) A survey of the racial, religious, housing and economic conditions of an urban Native location." (1921:109)

He appealed to those responsible for the formulation of a Native policy to seek the aid of the scientists: "Of generalisations about the Native question we have enough, but of scientifically developed researches there is a great dearth." (1921:109)

While Loram pleaded for sociological investigations, the Rhodes University zoologist James Duerden defended the anthropologist, seeing in the "anthropologist a wise counsellor of the State, and this means a counsellor in political matters, in commercial matters, and in social matters".⁵ As the President of the South African Association for the Advancement of

to 1916 it was part of Section F, together with Education, History, Philology, Sociology and Statistic; and in 1917 it became part of Section E together with Archaeology, Philology and Native Sociology (Schapera 1934:226). In 1905 the British Association held its annual meeting in South Africa with the intention of improving British-South African relations (Rich 1990:107,239, MacLeod/Collins 1981:175).

⁵ Duerden (1921:4). Duerden quoted Karl Pearson, director of the Galton Laboratory in London, and fully endorsed his view as being applicable to South Africa.

Science James Duerden gave his presentation on *Social Anthropology in South Africa Problems of Race and Nationality* (1921) at the annual meeting, on 11 July 1921, two days before Loram delivered his speech. In his speech Duerden set out the direction he thought anthropology should take. He understood anthropology as "an all-embracing science, taking man in all his aspects, ethnological, archaeological, historical and psychological" (1921:4). Both Loram and Duerden had no use for an anthropology confined to describing habits, customs and beliefs of the natives, without explanations and lacking in practical use. Anthropological studies as envisioned by Duerden were to "contribute to the up-building of the State by offering a scientific understanding of the peoples within it" (1921:5). He demanded a new and more adequate approach to anthropological research for the new era and the new politics of native administration in modern South Africa.

The most significant part of Duerden's lecture dealt with basic principles of society in general and paradigmatic premises of science and research in relation to the social sciences in South Africa. He anticipated what later came to constitute the apartheid ideology as well as ideas that shaped and influenced the social sciences in South Africa.

Duerden claimed that in South Africa "distinct races and nations settled within its borders at diverse stages of social evolution". At the one extreme were the Bushmen, "representatives of the primitive communistic hunting stage of human development" and the "lowly Hottentots". Then there were the Bantu who "have attained only a primitive agricultural stage", followed by the 'Coloured peoples' comprising the Malays, Indians and 'Euro-Africans'. "Finally, the highest extreme [were] the 'civilised', the Nordic whites, mainly representatives of the two European nations, British and Dutch, but mingled with French, including also communities of Germans." As to how this one society was to be forged out of this diversity of peoples, Duerden looked to the Act of Union in 1910 "[W]e are all to live together, confined in one Union - British, Dutch, Bantu, Asiatic, Euro-African and all the smaller elements which make up our population" (1921:6). Out of this Union arose South Africa's problems, but from this Union would also come the solutions.

"The vastness of the sociological problems presented by this unique admixture of people must appeal to all. It can hardly be expected that peoples differing racially and at different stages of social evolution can live side by side with the same harmony as obtains among people of the same nation. Hence the need for the continued study of the attributes as well as of the material welfare of our peoples, and for their guidance in the light of the historic past and of accepted sociological principles" (1921:7-8).

But the material welfare of each population group in the Union was not to be left to the group to determine for itself. For the 'native elements' in the population, it was the whites who were to be charged with the task of looking after the 'native welfare'. Whites were to exercise 'benevolent guidance' for the blacks. "Whenever in intimate relationship with the black, the white man must exercise a benevolent guidance, in conformity with the claims of universal humanitarianism" (1921:17). Benevolent guidance was premised, however, on two principles: sympathetic treatment of blacks and averting 'aversion between white and black' (1921:9). He concluded, that the best way to avoid aversion was to maintain the relationship of master and servant between white and black. As long as blacks recognised this relationship of a "superior towards an inferior" - which Duerden found comparable to that of the normal relationship between employer and employee anywhere else in the world - "no feeling of

antipathy, much less of hatred, [would] exist.” (1921:11) If, and only if, the native attempted to assume an attitude of equality with the white would antipathy be engendered. Duerden justified his position with the argument that the black races in his opinion were mentally inferior and therefore “it [was] difficult to contemplate social equality for white and black, even in the future; but sympathetic relationships appear likely to increase with real advancement on the part of the natives”.⁶

Assuming the inevitable advancement of blacks under the guidance of whites, Duerden postulated the three choices that were available for the future South Africa: 1) Each ‘racial group’ could separate itself from the others, retaining all its distinctive characteristics and leading its life apart and independently. 2) All the groups could intermingle and blend thus forming a more or less homogeneous people. 3) Each group could retain its ‘primary racial distinctness’, and yet intermingle for the everyday affairs of life (1921:16). Duerden discarded the first option as practically unfeasible, since too many blacks were employed in industry and in domestic services; furthermore, it would have been inhuman to leave the “native isolated in his lowly condition, with all the barbarous customs and practices” (1921:16). The second possibility was rejected as well since this would imply “an absolute abhorrence to any Nordic white”. He favoured the third option as “that for which South Africa offers the greatest support” (1921:17).

Given his choice for the third option, Duerden assumed that each group would in time consolidate itself into an homogeneous whole. With the increase in such group solidarity, Duerden envisaged then a situation would occur in which “the various peoples settle down and begin to realise themselves as a fixed community” (1921:17). Each community would be set apart with its own social and religious life and ‘own general organisations’:

“We see then that the Bantu, the Indian, the Malay, the Euro-African and the European, all constituent parts of the South African nation, intermingle in their every-day avocations and act as one people. Yet when their daily task is over they disentangle and separate, and each group leads its emotional life apart and according to its own fashion. For industrial purposes they may be regarded as one complex, each within its own sphere, but in their free voluntary life they segregate themselves apart, and each follows its own nature. Moreover, as the realisation of racial consciousness grows, the bonds of organisation will get stronger and stronger.”⁷

Thus, these were the thoughts of a South African scientist at the English dominated Rhodes University in Grahamstown and President of the South African Association for the Advancement of Science. Revealing is Duerden’s use of the word apart, which in the 1940s became the slogan of Afrikaner nationalist politics. Duerden also stressed the need for the recognition of a specific type of sphere sovereignty, ‘each within its own sphere’.⁸ This allowed the parallel and autonomous development of each group along its own lines. The ideal end results of this “[w]isely directed racial determinism among the various heterogeneous elements in South Africa” (1921:18) that Duerden envisaged would, in his view, bring to an end insidious racial comparisons and therefore the end of ‘racial clashes’. Separate and parallel development would

⁶ Duerden (1921:12-13). Duerden associated slavery and ‘harsh exploitation’ with unsympathetic treatment and welfare with sympathetic treatment. Proudly, he stated that South Africa “never enslaved its own natives” (1921:9)

⁷ Duerden (1921:18). Emphasis added by authoress.

⁸ Duerden did not name his sources in his lecture, but there is a coincidence of terms and ideas which are compatible with those developed by Afrikaner nationalists, discussed in chapter V

eventually eliminate the need for each 'race' to compare itself to another, so that there would no longer be any implication that one was "higher or lower, or superior or inferior". He believed that "there will be no racial clash socially, for each will lead its own life apart and comparisons will not obtrude".⁹

As indicated from their writings, Norton, Loram and Duerden expected social anthropology and the social sciences in general to contribute to solving the Native question. The total exclusion of blacks from the process of modernisation in South Africa was not at stake, but keeping them on the fringes, 'apart', was the goal. The science that was to guide this process was social anthropology.

Besides suggesting a construct of the relations between South Africa's black and white population, Duerden stressed in addition the ideological differences between the English and Afrikaans speaking whites as well as their common stand vis-à-vis the blacks. Regarding the rivalry between the English and Afrikaners Duerden was optimistic that in future these two 'Nordic races' would unite in solidarity, at least those who were well off. He was less optimistic when it came to the poor whites 'of Dutch origin'. In his opinion they posed problems of grave concern: "It is a problem highly specific in its nature, and its solution appeals to the geneticist rather than to the anthropologist." He characterised these former trekboers, driven off from the land, as degenerated, "by nature incapable of fitting into the complexities of modern life" (1921:22). Duerden attributed this state to their extended isolation in Africa, far from 'civilisation', especially education and religion, and thus 'driven to inbreeding'.

"Recovery of the poor white as a class is not without its hopefulness. But for adults, however, the geneticist has nothing to offer. They are the inheritors of the two or three hundred years of environmental influences, unfitting for modern South Africa ... In general, he is incapable of making a decent livelihood either under or away from his old surroundings, incapable of adaptations to the more strenuous and complex conditions now normal to South Africa ... His day of opportunity has gone by; he remains a genuine subject for philanthropic effort." (1921:25)

However, aside from the poor white problem and apart from the differences between the 'English and Dutch', Duerden believed that "each stock will retain its primary nationalism, with its sentiments and traditions; while in all that concerns the real welfare of South Africa the two will work together with the determinism of one nation" (1921:21). What was important was that the "benevolent aristocracy of ability" of the whites would secure the welfare of all South Africans (1921:28).

Duerden, an influential figure in the English-speaking academic community at the time, thus ranked the poor whites just as inferior as the blacks. Hence, one can understand why the Boers, in rejecting such an attitude, concentrated on overcoming the dominance and arrogance of the English towards the Afrikaners. One has to keep this English- Afrikaner conflict in mind in order to gain a fuller picture of the development of social anthropology and volkekunde.

At the 1926 conference of the Society for the Advancement of Science the renown South African liberal James D. Rheinallt Jones¹⁰ presented his presidential address to Section E on

⁹ Duerden (1921:18).

¹⁰ Rheinallt Jones was a leading figure in the Johannesburg Joint Council movement and a founding member and director of the South African Institute of Race Relations (1929). He closely co-operated with social anthropologists at the

The Need of a Scientific Basis for South African Native Policy (1926). He addressed the growing fears among whites that the Native question was not being properly answered despite the existence of a chair in social anthropology at the University of Cape Town since 1921:

“There appears to be a growing opinion in South Africa that the Bantu cannot be absorbed into our social organisation because of their inherent inability to re-act to what we call our Western Civilisation. As a result, we find that proposals for complete separation of the Bantu from the rest of our population find popular favour on the ground that, to turn the Native back into the circles of ‘Bantu Culture’ and let him develop there on his own lines, would be an act of mercy and justice ... It is therefore, a problem in the mental field of anthropological research that one would bring to the attention of scientific workers ... Fortunately, our Universities are now being organised to undertake the study of Native life, so that the moment seems opportune to suggest lines of research through which the Universities can contribute, even more richly than they now do, to political thought and practice in South Africa.” (1926:80)

At the end of his lecture Rheinallt Jones drew the conclusion that “any Native policy which seeks to drive the Native back into the Bantu Culture, is setting the Native’s face in the wrong direction - not towards liberty, but into thralldom” (1926:90). Rheinallt Jones’ ideas on a successful Native policy were based on a reformulation of the theory of ‘civilisation’ to suite the South African circumstances:

“In economic development, the aim would be to supply the individual with inducements to industry and social effort, and to provide the means for a progressive way of living ... Governmental control would endeavour to guide the individual in his civil relations in the community, encouraging him to take his share of the responsibility of citizenship.”

It was no longer possible, argued Rheinallt Jones,

“to secure the conditions of life under which primitive people would continue to be untouched by advanced cultures. The world has shrunk so much in recent years that isolation will soon be no longer possible for any people” (1926:85).

He concluded that the

“direction which Native policy should take is, therefore, dependent upon the view we take of the phase which the primitive races are destined, by reason of their inherent capacities, to have in modern civilization. A definite responsibility rests upon scientific workers in the field of anthropological and psychological research to collect the data from which general principles may be deduced to guide the country in the adoption of a sound policy in race relationships” (1926:91).

Rheinallt Jones suggested the direction that anthropologists should take in their research. He wanted them to investigate the singularity of the ‘Bantu culture’ in order to determine scientifically how it could be controlled and directed towards attaining civilisation. And this at a time when segregationist laws were marginalising blacks politically and economically. At the same time, Rheinallt Jones was issuing a warning to the social anthropologists that it was time that they achieve something. As will be shown, they took up the challenge offered by politicians,¹¹ but were at the same time not able to offer practical solutions to prevailing problems. The reason was simple. The Native question was not soluble. One could not categorise the

University of the Witwatersrand, lectured part-time at the Department of Bantu Studies and edited the anthropological journal *Bantu Studies*.

¹¹ See for example Smuts’ preface to Monica (Wilson) Hunter’s monograph and that of Jack and Eileen Krige (Smuts 1947, 1961).

blacks as an indispensable part of South Africa's modern economic system and at the same time expel them into pre-modernity.

2. Social anthropology in British and South African universities

The emergence of social anthropology in the early twentieth century and its further development as an academic discipline owes much to Alfred Reginald Radcliffe-Brown and Bronislaw Malinowski, the acknowledged founders of social anthropology. Both had close ties with South Africa and strongly influenced the development of social anthropology at South Africa's universities. South African social anthropologists became internationally renowned largely due to the works of Isaac Schapera, Monica Wilson (née Hunter), Meyer Fortes, Max Gluckman, Agnes Winifred Hoernlé (née Tucker), Hilda Kuper (née Beemer), Jack Krige and Eileen Krige (née Jensen). After completing their first degree in South Africa, they left for Britain for further studies, obtained academic posts abroad, or returned to South Africa to undertake field studies and take up university posts there.

As has been mentioned above, the need for ethnological and anthropological studies had been recognised in South Africa by a number of South African officials and academics prior to its institutionalisation as an academic discipline. The South African Association for the Advancement of Science recognised anthropology and ethnography as research topics - not yet as disciplines - in its founding year of 1903. Two years later, in 1905, anthropology got a boost when the British Association of the Advancement of Science held its annual conference jointly with the South African Association in Johannesburg.¹² Alfred Cort Haddon, who taught ethnology in Cambridge and was very supportive of the establishment of anthropology as an academic discipline in South Africa, addressed the Anthropological Section (Section H) in Johannesburg. In his speech Haddon made a strong plea in favour of applied anthropology, especially in regard to the South African situation:

"[T]he day is past when the amassing of detailed information will satisfy the demands of science. The leaders, at all events, will view the subject as a whole, and so direct individual labour that the hewers of wood and drawers of water, as it were, shall not mechanically amass material of which no immediate use can be made, but they will be so directed that all their energies can be exercised in solving definite problems or in filling up gaps in our information, with knowledge which is of real importance."¹³

In other words, anthropology was no longer to be perceived as an esoteric accumulation of ethnographic data on the life and customs of exotic peoples and places, but was to justify its existence by offering assistance and advice, in the form of anthropological research, to the running of a modern state - as in South Africa - and a modern system of imperial rule. Additionally, it was hoped that anthropology would also be of use to the missionaries.

It is worthwhile mentioning that in 1905, the very year in which the British Association held its annual conference in South Africa, the South African Native Commission published its report of recommendations for a future Native policy. While Haddon praised the work of the Commission as "valuable", he also raised objection: It was "exclusively administrative.

¹² The conference was attended by 2,130 people (MacLeod/Collins 1981:281).

¹³ Haddon (1905:471). See also Rich (1990:107-108).

Consequently the evidence is only incidentally of ethnological interest ... Admirable, therefore, as is the work done by these Commissions, it is but a small part of what must be undertaken if an accurate account of the natives of South Africa is to be obtained and preserved for scientific use, and as an historical record."¹⁴

Upon the recommendation of the British and South African Association, an Anthropological Standing Committee of the South African Association was formed. Its objectives were:

"a) the preservation of all records, traditions and legends etc., of the Native peoples; b) the promulgation of an authoritative and uniform system of spelling for all geographical, historical and analogous terms in Native languages; and c) the education in Anthropology and Ethnography of all officials in the various Native Affairs Departments of the South African Government."¹⁵

Although the visit of the British Association greatly stimulated academic interest in 'scientific ethnography', the Committee, however, "seems to have found it impossible to enlist the support of the various Governments concerned, and after submitting two brief reports faded quietly out of existence".¹⁶ Early initiatives by British and South African academics to establish an Ethnographical Bureau, along the lines of the Bureau of American Ethnology, also failed.¹⁷ The following sub-chapters shall examine in detail the way in which developments in British and South African social anthropology mutually influenced each other.

2.1. Social anthropology in Britain

The establishment of social anthropology as a new subject at British universities was the result of years of campaigning by Alfred Cort Haddon (1855-1940) and William Halse Rivers (1864-1922) between 1898 and 1925. Commanding considerable interest, their campaign is briefly recounted below.

In 1888, Alfred Haddon, then Professor of Zoology in Dublin, went on an expedition to the Torres Straits. James Frazer had approached Haddon and asked him to collect information about totemism during his expedition. Arriving in the Torres Straits, Haddon found himself more intrigued by the inhabitants and their folklore than the coral reefs. He devoted much of his time collecting anthropological data. Subsequently, Haddon abandoned zoology for ethnology and planned a second expedition to the Torres Straits to investigate all aspects of the lives of the indigenous inhabitants. The expedition took place between April and October 1898. Haddon was accompanied, among others, by the pathologist Charles Gabriel Seligman (1873-1940), and William Rivers, lecturer in experimental psychology at Cambridge. The expedition occasioned "a profound awakening of anthropological interest in pre-literate humanity".¹⁸ Returning home, Haddon resigned from his professorship in zoology in Dublin in 1900. He took up an ill-paid non-tenured lectureship in ethnology at Cambridge University, a post which was attached to the Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology. Nine years later his post was upgraded to a personal readership, the only salaried 'anthropology'

¹⁴ Haddon (1905:478).

¹⁵ Schapera (1934:226).

¹⁶ Schapera (1934:226).

¹⁷ Rich (1990:107) and Schapera (1934:225-226;1990). The Bureau of American Ethnology was founded as a part of the Smithsonian Institution in 1879 under the leadership of John Wesley Powell.

¹⁸ Langham (1981:65).

post at the time. Although Rivers continued to teach psychology at Cambridge and undertook psychological research, he devoted his energy to further ethnographic field work. But neither Haddon nor Rivers succeeded in gaining enough recognition to influence developments at the university. Just as at Oxford, where Edward Burnett Tylor (1832-1917) had taught ethnology, so also at Cambridge anthropology remained a non-subject. Leach argued that all three scholars were more or less marginalised because they were 'no gentlemen'.¹⁹

The approach that Haddon took at the Anthropological Institute which he joined after his first expedition was comprehensive. Anthropology's task was no less than the "complete history of man". This involved a synthesis of physical anthropology, the study of customs, language, and antiquities to construct a total ethnographic account of the people of any one area.²⁰ As summarised by Urry, it "was an holistic vision of anthropology that continued the older tradition of ethnology in Britain, but utilised new methods and new ideas to analyze the material."²¹ In his collaborative work, Rivers focused mainly on collecting genealogies to "discover whether or not those who were closely related resembled one another in their reactions to the various psychological and physiological tests".²² He subsequently realised that the 'genealogical method' had sociological potential as well. He then, and Haddon especially, began to develop an interest in the method of 'direct observation' of social phenomena in order to determine the 'laws by which they are governed'. Their scientific method of observation was an important precursor for the development of and emphasis on field work within a functionalist paradigm during and after the First World War.

2.2. Alfred Reginald Radcliffe-Brown

One of Rivers' students was Alfred Reginald Radcliffe-Brown, an undergraduate in Mental and Moral Sciences. Born Alfred Brown,²³ Radcliffe-Brown (1881-1955) grew up in Birmingham, where his mother had been left penniless after his father's death. After a year of studying pre-medical science in Birmingham, he won a scholarship to study at Trinity College in Cambridge from 1901 to 1906. Throughout these years Radcliffe-Brown received financial and moral support from his elder brother, who had gone to live in Johannesburg in South Africa. In 1905 Radcliffe-Brown visited South Africa for the first time attending the annual meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science in Johannesburg. He was secretary of Section H, of which Haddon was president.

Under the guidance of Rivers and Haddon, Radcliffe-Brown undertook a field study in the Andaman Islands from 1906 to 1908 as the Anthony Wilkin Student in Ethnology. The results were presented as his doctoral thesis, and finally published in 1922 under the title *The Andaman Islanders* (1922a) His thesis won him a fellowship at Trinity College which he held

¹⁹ Leach (1984:5).

²⁰ Haddon (1890:638)

²¹ Urry (1984:87)

²² Rivers quoted in Stocking (1984:139) On Rivers' new orientation to a kinship-oriented study of social organisation, diverting the attention of British anthropologists from the evolution of religious thought to the functioning of single societies see Langham (1981:50-93)

²³ To avoid confusion I am using the name Radcliffe-Brown, although in his early years and occasionally during his career he used the name Brown. For biographical details on Radcliffe-Brown see Firth (1956), Fortes (1949,1956), Eggan/Warner (1956) and Kuper (1993:36-68)

from 1908 to 1914. For the academic year 1909-10 he lectured - as Reader in Ethnology - in anthropology at the London School of Economics and at Cambridge. He also had the opportunity to visit France, where he came in contact with Émile Durkheim (1858-1917) and Marcel Mauss (1872-1950). During this time he converted from diffusionism to Durkheim's sociological theories, especially after reading *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life* (1912/1915). Durkheim's sociology influenced Radcliffe-Brown to work out a sociological method of interpreting 'primitive social institutions'. Durkheim's influence, maintained Meyer Fortes,

"is writ large in the work of Radcliffe-Brown, Malinowski, and all their pupils. His vital contribution, however, lay in his general postulates of method. His basic theses, that social facts are real in their own right, are collective possessions invested with moral constraint for the individual, and are to be explained primarily by their functions, that is the social ends they serve in maintaining order, formed the starting point of functional theory ... it enabled social anthropology to throw off the bonds of evolutionary historicism".²⁴

Although the subject-matter of anthropology was quite clearly defined by the early twentieth century, it was difficult to assign a name to the discipline itself, as Radcliffe-Brown noted when recalling a meeting held in 1909:

"A meeting of teachers from Oxford, Cambridge and London was held to discuss the terminology of our subject. We agreed to use 'ethnography' as the term for descriptive accounts of non-literate peoples. The hypothetical reconstruction of 'history' of such peoples was accepted as the task of ethnology and prehistoric archaeology. The comparative study of the institutions of primitive societies was accepted as the task of social anthropology, and this name was preferred to 'sociology'. Frazer, in 1906, had already defined social anthropology as a branch of sociology that deals with primitive peoples."²⁵

The approach adopted by the University of Oxford in its syllabus for the newly established diploma in anthropology in 1906 made similar distinctions. 'Cultural anthropology' was distinguished from physical anthropology and consisted of four aspects: archaeology, technology, ethnology and sociology. The report on the syllabus also distinguished clearly between ethnology and sociology. Ethnology, as the study of primitive society, was concerned with the "comparative study and classification of peoples, based upon conditions of material culture, language and religious and social institutions and ideas, as distinguished from physical characters".

This definition of ethnology as a classification exercise was inclined towards diffusionism, a theoretical tendency from which Radcliffe-Brown and Malinowski tended to distance themselves. Radcliffe-Brown rejected the whole ethnological enterprise and was instead more inclined to sociology, which was concerned with the

"comparative study of social phenomena, with special reference to the earlier history of - (a) social organization (including marriage customs), government and law; (b) moral ideas and codes; (c) magical and religious practices and beliefs (including treatment of the dead); (d) modes of communicating ideas by signs, articulate language, pictographs, and writing."²⁶

²⁴ Fortes (1953:23-24).

²⁵ Radcliffe-Brown (1952a:276).

²⁶ Report in *Man* (1906:57) quoted in Kuper (1993:2-3).

The functionalist school of social anthropology made the study of social phenomena their topic, but dropped the 'special reference to the earlier history', which was associated with evolutionism. More on approaches and methods will be discussed in subsequent sub-chapters.

In 1910 Radcliffe-Brown went to Western Australia to study the social organisation, especially the system of kinship and marriage, of the Aborigines. His findings were published many years later in his famous essay, *The Social Organization of Australian Tribes* in Oceania (1930-1). In 1912 he returned to Britain with his newly married wife and was back in Australia in 1914. It was during the Australian meeting of the British Association in August 1914 that Malinowski and Radcliffe-Brown met. Radcliffe-Brown stayed in Australia during the First World War, teaching at a grammar School and lecturing on Australian Ethnology at the University in Sydney. Between 1916 and 1919 he served as the Director of Education for the Kingdom of Tonga (Friendly Islands) in the South Pacific. Radcliffe-Brown became, however, ill, and on medical advice left Australia to join his brother in Johannesburg.

3. Radcliffe-Brown and the beginnings of social anthropology in South Africa

Radcliffe-Brown's arrival in South Africa coincided with increasing demands from academics that the South African government ought to finance academic posts in Bantu Studies. Their efforts ultimately met with success. In 1919 the South African Minister of Education appointed a Committee, known as the Coleman Committee, to inquire into the funding of 'ethnological research'. In response to a request from the University of Cape Town, the

"Committee recommended 'that the Government should at once take steps to establish a school', with two professors and 'additional staff', for conducting 'ethnological research' and 'work in comparative philology' and instructing 'persons intending to work for or among natives'"²⁷

While the University was undertaking steps to implement the scheme agreed upon by Government, Radcliffe-Brown accepted temporary employment as a lecturer at the Normal College and as lecturer in psychology at the School of Mines and Technology in Johannesburg. He lobbied too for the recognition of social anthropology by urging Haddon in a letter in March 1920 to write to South Africa's Prime Minister Jan Smuts and encourage him "to inaugurate an Ethnological Bureau for the purpose of performing an anthropological survey of the Union"²⁸

Almost at the same time when Radcliffe-Brown was appointed to the post of museum ethnologist in Pretoria,²⁹ the Council of the University of Cape Town announced plans to found a School of African Life and Languages and took steps to establish a Chair for Social Anthropology. The post was advertised locally on 6 November 1920. The eight applications, including that of Radcliffe-Brown, were referred to an advisory committee in Britain consisting of Haddon, Frazer, Marett, and Rivers.³⁰ The committee's recommendation of Radcliffe-

²⁷ Schapera (1990 3, 1934 227) and Coleman Committee (1920)

²⁸ Quoted in Schapera (1990 1) Thereupon Haddon wrote to Smuts in April 1920 in support of Radcliffe Brown's suggestion (Schapera 1990 2)

²⁹ He started to work at the Transvaal Museum in January 1921 as Curator of Ethnology

³⁰ The applicants were A R Brown, A T Bryant, Natal, R.G Dunning, Grahamstown W D Hambly, Leyton (England), P Nielson, Rhodesia, W J R Scott, London, W Wanger, Rome, and F E Williams, Oxford Bryant, Wanger

Brown as the most qualified candidate for the professorship was accepted by the University Council in Cape Town on 26 April 1921. Radcliffe-Brown moved to Cape Town and assumed his duties in August 1921. Thus, South Africa achieved a full-time professorship of social anthropology several years before any British university took such a step.

As for the appointment of Radcliffe-Brown, a controversy arose many years later among social anthropologists over the role Jan Smuts played in the appointment of Radcliffe-Brown. Adam Kuper wrote for example that "Haddon had been lobbying from Cambridge for the institution of anthropological studies in South Africa, and in 1920 General Smuts invited Radcliffe-Brown to establish the subject at the University of Cape Town".³¹ Ian Langham, referring to a letter from Smuts to Radcliffe-Brown, argued that "[s]ubsequent to this favourable communication from the South African Prime Minister, Radcliffe-Brown was appointed to the position of museum ethnologist and then ... to the foundation Chair of Social Anthropology".³² Edmund Leach argued that "Smuts had established Radcliffe-Brown as Professor ... on advice of Haddon".³³ Leach and Kuper in support of their argument pointed out the 'old school ties' Haddon and Smuts had as fellows of Christ's College in Cambridge.

In a detailed reconstruction of the events in the early 1920s, Schapera shed more light on the matter. According to him,

"apart from putting RB [Radcliffe-Brown] in touch with Sir J.C. Beattie, Principal of UCT, Smuts in fact did nothing to secure the Chair for him in particular. He certainly did not recommend, let alone persuade, the University to offer it to RB."³⁴

Schapera documented the appointment procedure from advertisement of the post and the recommendations of the advisory committee in Britain to the Cape Town University Council decision in order to show that the decision to appoint Radcliffe-Brown was one of merit and not of political interference. Whether Jan Smuts directly or indirectly influenced the appointment of Radcliffe-Brown is of no particular relevance. Relevant is the expectation on the part of a politician like Smuts that the science of social anthropology would be an asset in finding a solution to the Native question.³⁵ Equally of great interest is the fact that anthropologists signalled their willingness to serve Government in developing a Native policy.

Dunning and Scott "were dismissed because they had no training in anthropology"; Nielson was "not acquainted with the literature on the subject"; and Hambly and Williams, although they had been trained in anthropology at Oxford, lacked field work experience (Schapera 1990:6-7). It is worth noting that Radcliffe-Brown was succeeded in Cape Town by T.T. Barnard, who had not published anything in anthropology nor undertaken field work, but he had the advantage of his aristocratic social position. (Leach 1984:6-7).

³¹ Kuper (1993:46).

³² Langham (1981:287).

³³ Leach (1984:7). Raymond Firth gave the impression that it was Haddon and Smuts who instituted a chair for Radcliffe-Brown (Firth 1956:292-293).

³⁴ The letter from Jan Smuts to Radcliffe-Brown, dated 24 June 1920, read: "Dear Mr. Brown, I have received a letter from Mr. Haddon of Christ's College about our ethnographical work in South Africa and your special qualifications for such work. I have discussed the subject with Professor Beattie of the Cape Town University and shall be glad if you will communicate with him as the University has a scheme for taking up this work. Yrs. sincerely J. C. Smuts" (quoted in Firth 1956:293)

³⁵ Duerden mentioned in his presidential address on 11 July 1921 that the founding of the Professorship of Social Anthropology and the establishment of the Native Affairs Commission - advised by men with great interest in anthropological investigation - can be traced "to the initiative and wise statesmanship of General Smuts" (Duerden 1921:5). Over the years Smuts retained an interest in anthropology. His nephew Jack Krige and the latter's wife became

As has been shown in chapter IV and exemplified in commission reports and parliamentary debates in 1920 on the Native Affairs Act, the Native question had become a burning issue in South Africa. Academics could not help but be infected by the debate. The circumstances that led to the establishment of social anthropology was put into a broader perspective by Meyer Fortes:

"A great turning point came in 1921, South Africa was changing from a mainly agricultural to a mainly industrial and urban economy. This led to a rapid flow of African labour to industrial areas; and the historical Native problem thus took a new and more intractable turn. A demand arose, from both political and academic circles, for the dispassionate study of the native peoples of South Africa, and the first step was the establishment ... of a Chair in Anthropology in the University of Cape Town, as the nucleus of a School of African Life and Languages."³⁶

The precedent set by the University of Cape Town was followed by the universities of the Witwatersrand, Stellenbosch and Pretoria. The departments of anthropology were composite departments and included studies in Bantu Languages and Native Administration. At the University of the Witwatersrand anthropology was introduced by Reverend A.T. Bryant, who was appointed as Research Fellow and Lecturer in Bantu Ethnology in 1920, the first step towards establishing a full-fledged Department of Bantu Studies there. In 1921 the anthropological journal *Bantu Studies* first appeared.³⁷

In 1926 the University of Stellenbosch offered degree courses in Bantu Languages and Ethnology, taught by Werner Eiselen. Two years later, Eiselen's post was converted to the first professorship in volkekunde at an Afrikaans-medium university.³⁸

After five years in the chair, Radcliffe-Brown resigned from his professorship in Cape Town upon being invited to establish a department of social anthropology at the Australian National University in Sydney (1926-1931). After working for five years in Australia, he began teaching at the University of Chicago in 1931 and stayed there until 1937, financially supported by the Rockefeller Foundation. In 1937 he returned to Britain to take up the first Chair of Social Anthropology at Oxford,³⁹ again founding a department. From 1942 to 1944 he lived in Brazil, where he was on a cultural mission for the British Council. He retired from Oxford in 1946, when he then took a chair in Sociology at the Farouk I University in Alexandria. In 1950 he was elected Simon Visiting Professor at Manchester University, and later went back again to South Africa to Rhodes University, Grahamstown, first as a Research Fellow and then as Visiting Professor. Falling ill, he returned to England in 1954 and died in London on 24 October 1955.⁴⁰

distinguished anthropologists and Smuts wrote the preface to the monographies of Jack and Eileen Krige on the Lovedu in 1941 and of Monica Hunter (Wilson) on the Mpondo in 1936 (Smuts 1947, 1961)

³⁶ Fortes (1956 151)

³⁷ The first issue was published in October 1921. The first volume (Oct. 1921-1922) contained articles on Bantu languages, the syllabus of the B.A. course in 'Bantu Languages and Social Anthropology' at the Cape Town University, a description of 'A Hottentot Rain Ceremony' by Hoernlé, an article on folklore of the Lamba people by C.M. Doke and an article on *Problems of Bantu Sociology* by Radcliffe-Brown. In 1923 the publication of the journal was taken over by the Witwatersrand University Press. During the first eight years however, only three volumes were published. Thereafter *Bantu Studies* was published quarterly until the end of 1941, when, with the completion of Volume 15, the name was changed to *African Studies*.

³⁸ On Werner Eiselen and Afrikaans volkekunde see chapter VII.

³⁹ In Cambridge the first chair for social anthropology was created in 1932 (Fortes 1953 13).

⁴⁰ Fortes (1956 149)

4. Bronislaw Malinowski and the functionalist theory of culture

Bronislaw Kaspar Malinowski was the second founding father of social anthropology. He was not as directly involved in South Africa as Radcliffe-Brown, but South African social anthropologists came to attend his courses in London and became adherents to Malinowski's functionalist approach.

Malinowski was born in Cracow in 1884. His father was professor for Slavic philology at the Jagellonian University in Cracow. Malinowski started studying physics and mathematics there in 1902, but by the end of his undergraduate studies he had moved to the philosophy of science. In 1908 he submitted his graduate thesis titled 'On the Principle of the Economy of Thought',⁴¹ a critical exposition of the positivist epistemology of Richard Avenarius and Ernst Mach. After attaining his doctorate in Poland, Malinowski proceeded to Leipzig in order to study *Völkerpsychologie* under Wilhelm Wundt (1832-1920) and economic history with Karl Bücher from 1908 to 1910. Malinowski, like Émile Durkheim and Franz Boas before him, was greatly influenced by Wundt. While Malinowski is known as the founder of the functionalist anthropological school, according to Adam Kuper, "the major elements of functionalism can be discerned in Wundt".⁴² In Leipzig Malinowski began work on his first anthropological study on Australian family organisation before he left for studies at the London School of Economics (LSE) in 1910.

The LSE was an upstart institution created as a platform for radical Fabian ideas⁴³ and thus did not enjoy the status of a Cambridge and Oxford. At the LSE Malinowski became a student of Edward Westermarck (1862-1939) - the son of a German missionary and former professor in Leipzig - and Charles Seligman. Edward Westermarck had begun already in 1904 to teach sociology and field work based anthropology. Malinowski was influenced more strongly by Westermarck and Seligman than Rivers and Haddon. In 1913 Malinowski published *The Family among the Australian Aborigines: A Sociological Study*, for which the University awarded him a DSc. In 1915 he published a book in Polish on 'Primitive Beliefs and Forms of Social Structure'. The book on Australia was commended by Radcliffe-Brown as "by far the best example in English of scientific method in dealing with descriptions of the customs and institutions of a savage people".⁴⁴ Malinowski then delivered lectures on the theme of 'Primitive Religion and Social Differentiation' which reflected a Durkheimian orientation in general and in particular Durkheim's work on Australian totemism.

The First World War marked a turning point in Malinowski's career. Robert Ranulph Marett (1866-1943) enabled Malinowski to travel to Australia in 1914 as the recording secretary for Section H of the British Association. While there, the First World War broke out and Britain and Poland became involved in hostilities. Malinowski technically became an enemy alien. Nevertheless, the Australian authorities permitted him to move freely and conduct further research. After the War he undertook his famous field work on the Trobriand Islands that under-girded his later reputation. Upon ending his field research he married the daugh-

⁴¹ Reprinted in Thornton/Skalnik (1993:89-116). For biographical details on Malinowski see among others, Thornton/Skalnik (1993:9-64), Stocking (1986), Firth (1970,1970a,1988) and Kuper (1993:1-35).

⁴² Kuper (1993:11).

⁴³ Leach (1984:6). On the role of Fabianism in nineteenth century Britain see Hobsbawm (1979:250-271).

⁴⁴ Radcliffe-Brown quoted in Kuper (1993:12).

ter of an Australian professor. In the summer term of 1920 and again in 1922 he lectured at the LSE. In the early 1920s, as plans were underway to establish a chair in Cultural Anthropology, and in response to questions about a suitable title for his own appointment, Malinowski wrote to the director of the LSE:

"I suggest the title Social Anthropology, so that we are distinct from the U[niversity] C[ollege] people, who no doubt will insist on being 'Cultural' ... Social will also indicate that our interest is mainly sociological ... Social Anthropology has also its good English tradition by now ... Cultural is really borrowed from German, where Kultur means civilisation with its fine shade of meaning not implied in the English Culture."⁴⁵

Malinowski did not specify what he meant by civilisation in the English sense and rejected the German term *Kultur* to describe his work. It is worth mentioning Malinowski's definition of culture:

"It [Culture] obviously is the integral whole consisting of implements and consumers' goods, of constitutional charters for the various social groupings, of human ideas and crafts, beliefs and customs."⁴⁶

This was more functional than the German term *Kultur*, which embodied *Volksgeist*, the metaphysical substance of a volk which was articulated - as through Herder, Fichte, and the Grimm brothers - in the language and speech of a volk, or as Wundt put it, which was to be found in the *Volkspsyche*.⁴⁷ Malinowski rejected the notion of a metaphysical substance of the wholeness of the volk. He was a 'technical' functionalist, devoted to analysing 'social wholes', the 'charter', the normative institutional interwovenness. These made up culture.

In 1924 Malinowski was appointed to a Readership in Social Anthropology at the University of London. In 1927 he was appointed to the first chair in anthropology at the LSE; Seligman held the chair in ethnology. In May 1934 Malinowski went to South Africa to attend the New Education Fellowship Conference and toured South and East Africa, visiting his students in the field, including Hilda Kuper in Swaziland and Audrey Richards among the Bemba. He remained at the LSE until 1938 when he went to the United States on sabbatical leave, only to be stranded there by the outbreak of the Second World War. He taught at Yale and did field work in Mexico. In 1942 he died at the age of fifty-eight.⁴⁸

4.1. The functionalist theory of culture

Since several South African anthropologists were students of Malinowski and Radcliffe-Brown, it is appropriate at this point to deal with the theories they developed relating to functionalism and functional structuralism, for which British social anthropology became famous. Theoretically, functionalism and functional structuralism presuppose holistic social entities, a 'social whole' composed of mutually determining parts.

⁴⁵ Malinowski quoted in Kuper (1993:19).

⁴⁶ Malinowski (1944:36). For the numerous definitions of culture see Kroeber/Kluckhohn (1952).

⁴⁷ As will be discussed below, the *Volksgeist* (in Afrikaans *volksiel*) was of major interest to volkekundiges in South Africa and to a lesser extent to American cultural anthropologists.

⁴⁸ Malinowski's seven monographs on the Trobriand Islands were published between 1922 and 1935.

“Whether the parts are taken to be persons, groups, institutions, symbols, combinations of these or something else entirely, it is usually asserted that the ‘social whole’ is made up of just these parts.”⁴⁹

It is not the sum of the parts that merits attention, but rather their relation to one another that constitutes the ‘social whole’.

Functionalism breaks with evolutionist theory that presupposes open-ended systems. Functionalism is a synchronic model of holistic entities, or in systems theory jargon: functionalism is the characteristic of closed social systems. Closed ‘functional’ social systems are synchronic ‘feedback-systems’. Functionalism also differs from diffusionism in so far that the focus is not whether particular institutions in a society are taken over by another society, for whatever is found in one society, whether borrowed or not, is functionally bound together as a social whole.

It has been mentioned above that Malinowski had studied in Leipzig with Wundt. Wilhelm Wundt, the founder of experimental psychology, was interested in both individual and collective phenomena. Making use of a wide range of empirical data, mainly from ‘primitive societies’, Wundt developed a *Völkerpsychologie* that was concerned with culture, that is,

“those mental products which are created by a community of human life and are, therefore, inexplicable in terms of merely individual consciousness, since they presuppose the reciprocal action of many ... Thus, then, in the analysis of the higher mental processes, folk psychology is an indispensable supplement to the psychology of individual consciousness.”⁵⁰

This idea of psychic entity resembled Durkheim’s notion of the collective consciousness. Wundt objected to the tracing of the development of one cultural phenomenon in isolation, whether language, or myth, or religion, for in his opinion, the various mental expressions are so intertwined that they are scarcely separable from one another.⁵¹ This notion of inseparableness echoed the basic principles of functional holism. Malinowski assumed too that aspects of culture could not be studied in isolation; they must be understood in the context of their use. This notion of culture as an integrated whole was not new, it being akin to the earlier organic views of culture and society. However, Malinowski’s point was that cultures should be seen as social wholes, as ‘working units’: Every custom exists to fulfil a purpose, and all customs have a living, current meaning for members of a society. According to Paluch, Malinowski’s idea of culture can be reduced to four theses: “‘culture is a whole’; ‘culture is an integral system’; ‘culture has a functional character’; and ‘culture is an instrumental apparatus’.”⁵²

Malinowski knew very well that he had developed a new approach. To distinguish his theoretical approach from those of the evolutionists, the diffusionists and the culture contact theorists, he wrote in the conclusion of his book *Argonauts of the Western Pacific* (1922):

“[I]t seems to me that there is room for a new type of theory ... The influence on one another of the various aspects of an institution, the study of the social and psychological mechanism on which the institution is based, are a type of theoretical studies which has been practised up till now in a tenta-

⁴⁹ Thornton (1988:291).

⁵⁰ Wundt quoted in Leaf (1979:131). Wundt’s *Völkerpsychologie* was translated in English in 1916. On the relationship between *Völkerpsychologie* and *Ethnologie* in Germany see Muhlmann (1961)

⁵¹ Kuper (1993:11).

⁵² Paluch (1988:74). Paluch discusses in detail Malinowski’s theory of culture and the notion of human needs

tive way only, but I venture to foretell will come into their own sooner or later. This type of research will pave the way and provide the material for the others."⁵³

The forces operating in Malinowski's 'working unit' he defined as 'basic human needs', which should generate specific institutions. He asserted that

"human culture is primarily founded on the biological needs of man. Following this cue, we can add that in satisfying his primary biological needs through the instrumentalities of culture, man imposes new determinants on his behavior, that is, develops new needs. In the first place he must organize his tools, his artefacts, and his food-producing activities through the guidance of knowledge. Hence the need for primitive science."⁵⁴

Thus, culture would derive its functional character from the fact that every element of culture can be related to human needs: "[F]unction," argued Malinowski, "cannot be defined in any other way than the satisfaction of a need by an activity in which human beings cooperate, use artefacts, and consume goods."⁵⁵ The category of needs became the dominant concept of Malinowski's theory of culture.

Malinowski further explained that any cultural system would be structured according to three principles: the principle of consensus, the principle of structural equilibrium and the principle of ahistoricity.⁵⁶ Conflict and lack of structural equilibrium were seen by Malinowski as only temporary conditions. In light of these three principles he concluded that culture as structural equilibrium or as an harmonious system would secure the human needs of its inhabitants and therefore culture as such ought to be researched and preserved.⁵⁷

At this point it is necessary to deal briefly with the differences between Malinowski's ideas and Radcliffe-Brown's structural-functional theory.

Radcliffe-Brown discussed the structural-functional theory in two essays - one in 1935 on the concept of function and one in 1940 on social structure - and in his introduction to his collection of essays, *Structure and Function in Primitive Society* (1952).⁵⁸ In these publications he often metaphorically compared societies to organisms, but he differed from Malinowski by stressing the individual and the inter-personal relations. Without the individual and his relations to others there could be no 'social facts'. Social relations he deemed 'concrete' objects. Radcliffe-Brown's central object of research was the study of the social process in the social system. In describing Radcliffe-Brown's approach, Adam Kuper wrote: "These were systems 'of real relations of connectedness between individuals', or more properly, between individuals occupying social roles, between persons. This constituted the social structure which was not an abstraction."⁵⁹ Likewise, Radcliffe-Brown stated:

⁵³ Malinowski (1922:515-516).

⁵⁴ Malinowski (1948:202).

⁵⁵ Malinowski (1944:39). Malinowski related culture to the nature of 'man' as expressed in terms of needs: "Culture consists of the body of commodities and instruments as well as customs and bodily or mental habits which work directly or indirectly for the satisfaction of human needs." (Malinowski 1931:625)

⁵⁶ Paluch (1988:81).

⁵⁷ Radcliffe-Brown rejected the view that "all customs and institutions of any society are right and good, and ... that all socially accepted beliefs are true", as implied in Malinowski's basic need approach to culture (Radcliffe-Brown (1949) reprinted in Kuper (1977:51).

⁵⁸ Radcliffe-Brown's article *On Social Structure* (1940) and *On the Concept of Function in Social Science* (1935) were re-published in 1952 and also reprinted in Kuper (1977).

⁵⁹ Kuper (1993:53).

"We do not observe 'culture', since that word denotes, not any concrete reality, but an abstraction, and as it is commonly used a vague abstraction. But direct observation does reveal to us that these human beings are connected by a complex network of social relations. I use the term 'social structure' to denote this network of actually existing relations. It is this that I regard as my business to study if I am working not as an ethnologist or psychologist, but as a social anthropologist"⁶⁰

Radcliffe-Brown defined social structure as consisting "of the sum total of all the social relationships of all individuals at a given moment in time. Although it cannot, naturally be seen in its entirety at any one moment, we can observe it; all of the phenomenal reality is there".⁶¹ Nevertheless what the researcher in the field was to describe was something different. It was the 'structural form', that is the normal pattern of relationships which he was to abstract from the flux of observed reality. Radcliffe-Brown was not particularly interested in researching holistic tribal entities that had no outside contact. His structuralist theory drove him to comparative research. As he himself put it:

"The basis of science is systematic classification. It is the first task of social statics to make some attempt to compare forms of social life in order to arrive at classifications. But forms of social life cannot be classified into species and genera in the way we classify forms of organic life, the classification has to be not specific but typological, and this is a more complicated kind of investigation"⁶²

In other words, having abstracted the social form of a number of societies, one should proceed then to comparison and classification, the basis of 'correct scientific procedure'. This led Radcliffe-Brown to compare among other things kinship systems and marriage customs. His aim was to uncover "certain *general features* of social life of a selected region" or 'culture area', then ultimately formulate generalisations about "forms of social life amongst primitive peoples".⁶³ He hoped to establish functional relationships of such generality as to constitute social laws. Here one has to differentiate between wish and reality. Neither Radcliffe-Brown nor others were all that successful in identifying the 'social laws'. The main reason why they were not successful was that social anthropologists limited themselves to studying so-called 'primitive societies'. Hence for social anthropologists serious problems arose dealing with situations of contact between the 'primitive societies' and the Europeans and the resulting 'culture change'. Such a situation also made it increasingly difficult for social anthropologists to define their unit of study. As Radcliffe-Brown admitted:

"If we say that our subject is the study and comparison of human societies, we ought to be able to say what are the unit entities with which we are concerned. At the present moment of history, the network of social relations spreads over the whole world ... This gives rise to ... the difficulty of defining what is meant by the term 'a society'."⁶⁴

Radcliffe-Brown deemed the process of social life to be largely shaped by fluctuating social forms and comparatively stable social structures. Kuper summarised Radcliffe-Brown's approach on social process:

"The stability of the structural form depends upon the integration of its parts, and the performance by these parts of particular tasks that are necessary for the maintenance of the form. These are the

⁶⁰ Radcliffe-Brown (1952 190)

⁶¹ Radcliffe-Brown (1957) quoted in Kuper (1993 53)

⁶² Radcliffe-Brown (1952 7)

⁶³ Radcliffe-Brown (1952 4)

⁶⁴ Radcliffe-Brown (1952 193)

'functions' of the parts of the system. Laws of social statics would be statements about the needs which had to be met if social forms were to persist. He called the needs of all societies 'coaptation', the mutual adjustment of the interests of the members of the society. This necessitates some standardization of behaviour, and it was here that 'culture' comes in, for culture is the realm of learnt ways of feeling, thinking and behaving. Ultimately coaptation requires the standardization of beliefs and sentiments, which are kept alive through rituals and symbols. But for Radcliffe-Brown this area of social life - corresponding to Durkheim's 'collective consciousness' - could not be studied in isolation, as Malinowski and most American cultural anthropologists believed.⁶⁵

As Radcliffe-Brown put it:

"You cannot have a science of culture. You can study culture only as a characteristic of a social system ... if you study culture, you are always studying the acts of behaviour of a specific set of persons who are linked together in a social structure."⁶⁶

Although Radcliffe-Brown made reference to the problem of change, it seems that he was more interested in statics and continuity than in changes in social structure and culture. Change he regarded as secondary to problems of continuity since the laws of social change would be deduced from the laws of social continuity. Radcliffe-Brown never devoted serious attention to social change.⁶⁷

How then does the functionalism of Malinowski differ from the structural functionalism of Radcliffe-Brown? In their field work practice and approach to ethnographic writing a difference is hardly discernible. Their ethnographic monographs belong to what can be described as 'holistic genre'.⁶⁸ Also their comparative researches show little differences. It has been a general practice among social anthropologists to compare kinship systems and marriage systems with one another, subsequently also political systems and economic systems. Comparison, as a means to produce classificatory or taxonomic systems, became the essence of the discipline. One could, however, try to formulate the difference between Malinowski and Radcliffe-Brown as follows: Malinowski applied functionalism, the paradigmatic precondition for any notion of system and structure, to every 'primitive society' specifically, whereas for Radcliffe-Brown there was no individually unique primitive society; they all together constituted 'one' generalised type: primitive society.

Radcliffe-Brown once used the case of South Africa to show how he differed from Malinowski. He explained that the Union of South Africa in 1910 provided the country with one "political and economic structure and a population including English-speaking and Afrikaans-speaking peoples, ... 'coloured people' ... remaining Hottentots, the 'Malays' ... and a number of Bantu tribes." While Malinowski sought to study the process of change by considering the interaction as being one in which two or more cultures or population groups interact, Radcliffe-Brown argued that it is "the interaction of individuals and groups within an established social structure which is itself in process of change".⁶⁹

In practice, these differences highlighted by Radcliffe-Brown did not have a major impact for his work in South Africa nor for South African social anthropologists. In the latter's

⁶⁵ Kuper (1993:55).

⁶⁶ Radcliffe-Brown (1957:106).

⁶⁷ Kuper (1993:55).

⁶⁸ See Thornton (1988).

⁶⁹ Radcliffe-Brown (1952:202).

ethnographic monographs the identification of tribal and ethnic groups as units of study was the *sine qua non* of their research. Thus in practice the differences between the two approaches were not decisive.

With the theory of functionalist anthropology in mind, it is possible to discern the social anthropologist's contribution to solving the Native question in South Africa. By applying the holistic structural-functional theory they constructed 'primitive societies' which, by the time of their scientific research no longer existed. Their non-existence is exemplified by the fact that the Department of Native Affairs showed little interest in the scientific investigations of social anthropologists: in a practical sense, it was not possible to implement their constructions. But for the politician and administrator, what the social anthropologists theoretically constructed was of invaluable help: All laws designed to set apart, control, regulate, marginalise and exploit the black population aimed at creating a social political reality which coincided with the theoretical framework of social anthropologists. Thus, the scientific imagination of 'primitive society' and political practical ends coincided. Such an argument ought to be dealt with in more detail. As is discussed below, the South African social anthropologists, through their practice, approved the idea of setting the blacks, as constituting 'primitive societies' - later renamed ethnic groups - apart.

5. Social anthropology and 'its application to the Native problem'

In August 1921 Radcliffe-Brown held his inaugural lecture at the University of Cape Town. It was reported in detail in the newspaper, *Cape Times* (25 August 1921), under the headline *Anthropology as a Science: Its Application to our Native Problem*.⁷⁰ According to the newspaper article, Radcliffe-Brown had said that with the inauguration of a new department and the introduction of social anthropology as a new subject in the academic world of South Africa, "a real study of the South African native" would be thus possible. After explaining his functionalist approach, whereby "in the social system of any people, each part was dependent upon the other", he had discerned that South Africa had different people and social systems - the Bantu and the European - and that contact between these two would have necessarily resulted in change in both social systems. The change, however, "would be greater in the lower race than in the higher". He had argued that since a vast body of cheap black labour had been introduced into 'our economic system' it would have been inevitable that "the presence in our midst of people of lower type, with whom we have to form, as it were, one whole society ... could not fail to change our own social system". The change that he had meant had been the policy of segregation. On the one hand, Radcliffe-Brown had argued that the South African society had been already so interconnected and complex that a policy of segregation had been unworkable, and thus had antagonised white missionaries, politicians and administrators alike. On the other hand, he had warned white South Africans that they had been failing to realise how endangered the future of 'white civilisation' in South Africa had been. By way of remedy Radcliffe-Brown had suggested that this danger could be overcome by a

⁷⁰ The original text of the lecture is not available to the author. It is not listed in any bibliography of Radcliffe-Brown's published works. The *Cape Times* summary of his lecture is reprinted in Gordon (1990:35-39). It is an important document and at variance with what is conventionally believed to have been his inaugural lecture: cf., his article on *Some Problems of Bantu Sociology* in *Bantu Studies* (1922).

careful and scientific study of the problem in every aspect: "We could study the native and ourselves and endeavour to foresee the future".

A year after his inaugural lecture, in an article on *Some Problems of Bantu Sociology* (1922) published in *Bantu Studies*, Radcliffe-Brown summarised the South African situation and identified the role of the scientist and social anthropologist:

"The one great problem on which the future welfare of South Africa depends is that of finding some social and political systems in which the natives and the whites may live together without conflict; and the successful solution of that problem would certainly seem to require a thorough knowledge of the native civilization between which and our own we need to establish some sort of harmonious relation." (1922:38)

In this regard anthropology was of practical importance:

"[The] practical importance of the subject has been kept constantly in view, and the training and research are being organised on this basis. But this does not mean that the social anthropologist is to concern himself with the actual problems that face the administrator and the legislator at the present time. The scientist must always keep himself free from concern with the practical applications of the laws." (1922:38)

Although Radcliffe-Brown perceived South Africa as a country where white and black had to live together, he explicitly limited his investigative field of social anthropology to the study of the native - Bantu - as constituting a distinct and separate entity with its own distinct social institutions. Thus, not surprisingly, he termed the subject of his study 'Bantu sociology'.

In establishing social anthropology in South Africa, Radcliffe-Brown had the formidable task of making the educated public understand the significance of the subject for South Africa. In order to gain support, and more practically, funds for research, he wrote to the press, gave public lectures, addressed conferences of educators and social welfare agents, and, most successful of all, organised vacation courses in applied anthropology.⁷¹ These vacation courses, stated Radcliffe-Brown, were "initiated ... in the hope that [they] might be of service to those whose work brings them into contact with natives".⁷²

In 1924, at one of these vacation courses on 'African Life and Languages'⁷³ Radcliffe-Brown gave a lecture on *Science and the Native Problem*. The course was attended by missionaries, administrators working for the Native Affairs Department in the reserves, and by others concerned with native affairs. By way of introduction Radcliffe-Brown made it clear that

"anthropologists do not as a rule make any reference to practical problems. In that they act quite rightly, for their task is to discover scientific laws, not to apply them; the application of their discoveries must be the work of others - missionaries, teachers, magistrates and administrators" (1986:18).

As for the intervention of the white administration in the 'social system of the Bantu', especially the family organisation, Radcliffe-Brown illustrated to his audience how scientific study bears on practical administration. He took as an example the problem of the Zulu rebellion in 1906. Why, he asked, had there been a rebellion in Zululand as the hut tax was introduced? He saw in the rebellion a "direct objection to the form of the tax, which directly attacked the

⁷¹ Fortes (1949:x).

⁷² Radcliffe-Brown (1986:18).

⁷³ Radcliffe-Brown (1986:18). His lecture was printed in full in the *Cape Times*, 9 January 1924, and reprinted in *Anthropology Today* (1986).

fundamental principle of the family organisation, a principle as sacred to them as any of ours are to us" (1986:19). Radcliffe-Brown also explained the resentment to the introduction of education. It was because "it destroys the family life". The implications his empirical observations in turn had for social anthropology he made equally clear:

"Now it may be desirable or it may be undesirable, to change all this to destroy the family system of the natives and substitute something more like our own. On that matter the anthropologists have not to decide. But whatever policy may be adopted, in any instance a systematic and scientific knowledge of native life is necessary if it is to be carried out effectively and with the minimum of friction and disturbance. The first use of social anthropology ... in dealing with native problems, in that it will help us to foretell some at least of the indirect results that are likely to follow from any attempt to alter the institution and beliefs of an uncivilised people. And without such scientific knowledge it is impossible to know, or even guess, what those results will be. I would insist, therefore, that to foresee what will be the result of .. attempts to control or modify native custom, the missionary or the official must possess such a thorough knowledge of the people as is only to be obtained by systematic scientific study. Only when he possesses such knowledge is he justified in attempting to produce radical modifications in the life of the natives, for only then can he form any idea of what may be the remote and perhaps undesirable results of his activity." (1986 19)

When it came to witchcraft, he presented a rather foregone conclusion, irrespective of scientific procedures and principles: "We should all agree, I suppose, that it is desirable to get rid as quickly as possible of the native belief in witchcraft. But what methods are we to adopt?" (1986:20) Radcliffe-Brown left open what practical steps ought to be undertaken; he emphasised the cultural intransigency with which they would have to deal: "[The] belief in witchcraft is thus deeply rooted in the whole system of ideas of the native. To uproot it you have to dig over the whole of the native mind." (1986:20-21) To attain satisfactory results, Radcliffe-Brown argued that a thorough knowledge of native life and customs would be necessary.

But Radcliffe-Brown was also aware of the intransigence among certain whites when it came to understanding scientifically the 'native mind'. He ended his lecture with an attack on missionaries:

"The thesis that I put before you is this. That no missionary is competent to carry out his work to the ultimate satisfaction of either himself, if he is sincere, or of the country in which he labours, without that scientific knowledge of which I have been speaking. And it is therefore the urgent duty of missionary bodies, and of the general public also, to see that those who enter the mission field shall be given such training as is needed for their work. I am glad to say that many missionaries fully recognise this ... But there are others who do not recognise .. And there are even in South Africa and at this date missionaries . . . who look with disapproval on mission workers who attempt to study and to understand the customs and the minds of the natives amongst whom they have to work."⁷⁴

Given the political and economic reality of South Africa in the 1920s, it is not difficult to understand why Radcliffe-Brown was not successful in 'selling' his version of applied anthropology to a wider audience.

The South Africa of the 1920s was undergoing major changes and experiencing tremendous conflicts. The exclusion of blacks from political participation led to the emergence of

⁷⁴ Radcliffe-Brown (1986 12) Radcliffe-Brown repeatedly stressed the important role of social anthropology in his lectures and on various occasions, for example, in his speech on *The Methods of Ethnology and Social Anthropology* (1923), which was his presidential address to Section E of the South African Association for the Advancement of Science on 13 July 1923 (reprinted in Srinivas 1968 3-38)

organised black political resistance. The formation of black trade unions and strikes were the response to restrictive labour legislation, influx control and the political and economic marginalisation of the black population in the reserves. It was the black population, increasingly confined to the reserves and black townships, that was - admitting exceptions - the prime subject of anthropological research. Such research ignored the existence of black political organisations such as the long established African National Congress and trade unions and hence the political struggle of a not insignificant section of the black population for political and economic rights.

Undoubtedly Radcliffe-Brown was aware of the complexity of South Africa's society, the conflicts and problems, and he took a stand. As was common for white liberals in South Africa at that time, Radcliffe-Brown became engaged in welfare activities. He served as Vice-Chairman of the Cape Peninsula Native Welfare Society.⁷⁵ The mainstream liberal position in Britain as well as in South Africa at that time aimed to promote harmonious relations between 'advanced' and 'backward' races, between societies with 'higher' or 'lower' levels of 'civilisation'. In the context of applied anthropology, liberalism found expression in its emphasis on 'welfare of the native' on the one hand, and influencing or assisting, on the other hand, administrators to serve this purpose. And while the propagation of a benevolent segregation was part of the liberal credo, it ignored the economic basis of segregation.⁷⁶

5.1. Lugard, Malinowski and indirect rule: 'a genuine interest in the welfare of the natives'⁷⁷

In South Africa and in Britain social anthropologists had not fared well in achieving their aim to 'guide' the administrator in his work among the natives. One initiative taken to establish applied anthropology on a sounder basis was the founding of the International Institute of African Languages and Cultures in London in 1926. It became the key intellectual forum for the anthropological debate on research on Africa and 'practical anthropology'.

In January 1928 the Institute commenced with the publication of its journal *Africa*. Lord Lugard, elected as the first chairman of the Institute's executive council, articulated in the first issue of *Africa* the dual aims of the organisation: "In the first place the Institute will be a co-ordinating agency, a central bureau and a clearing-house for information." It intends to "undertake and assist in anthropological and linguistic investigations" in order to gain a better understanding of the African. At the same time the Institute attempted to relate the results of scientific research to the "solution of pressing questions that are the concern of all those who, as administrators, educators, health and welfare workers, and traders, who are working for the good of Africa." Lugard concluded that if the Institute "fulfils its aim it will be a connecting link between science and life. It is an entirely non-political body and is precluded by its

⁷⁵ The Cape Times (20 December 1922) reported on the first general meeting of the Native Welfare Society with Radcliffe-Brown presiding. "Professor Radcliffe-Brown said the Society had been established in order to promote the moral, mental and material welfare of the native people in South Africa, to give a lead in public opinion on the varied aspects of the native question ... and to secure co-operation and understanding between European and native peoples of South Africa." (quoted in Gordon 1990:42)

⁷⁶ For a detailed study on South African liberalism see Rich (1984)

⁷⁷ Malinowski (1939:901).

constitution from concerning itself with matters of policy and administration".⁷⁸ Lugard hoped that through the combination of scientific, missionary and administrative bodies carrying out work in Africa solutions would be forthcoming for the pressing problems in the colonies that threatened the colonial order.

Lugard's visions were institutionalised in British social anthropology via the professional influence of Malinowski, who regarded Lugard as "one of the greatest practical men and administrators of Africa".⁷⁹ His admiration for Lugard derived in part from his liking for the policy of indirect rule. "The political indirect rule," argued Malinowski, "which was the guiding principle of Lord Lugard's political and financial policy in Africa should be extended to all aspects of culture."⁸⁰ Hence the anthropology of culture and the politics of indirect rule came to constitute the framework in which 'practical anthropology' should operate. In his article *Practical Anthropology* (1929) under the sub-heading 'Scientific Control of Colonial Co-operation', Malinowski discussed the advantages and disadvantages of 'direct' and 'indirect rule' and concluded:

"My opinion, as that of all competent anthropologists, is that indirect or dependent rule is infinitely preferable. In fact, if we define dependent rule as the control of Natives through the medium of their own organization, it is clear that only dependent rule can succeed. The real difference between 'direct' and 'indirect or dependent rule' consists in the fact that direct rule assumes that you can create at one go an entirely new order, that you can transform Africans into semi-civilized pseudo-European citizens within a few years." (1929:23)

Malinowski warned of the consequences if "old systems of tradition, of morals or laws" were subverted and replaced by a "ready-made new morality and sense of right; the result invariably would be what might be called 'black bolshevism'".⁸¹ The advantage of indirect rule was in his opinion that it allowed a development of the native along indigenous lines. As Malinowski put it:

"Indirect control is the only way of developing economic life, the administration of justice by Native to Natives, the raising of morals and education on indigenous lines, and the development of truly African art, culture, and religion."⁸²

He further suggested that those "African people who may be of an advanced kind ... can be allowed to run on their own lines but they have to be first expurgated and then controlled" (1929:25). For the success of indirect rule, Malinowski argued,

"it is clear that full knowledge of indigenous culture in the special subjects indicated is indispensable ... the white man ... must know the organization, the ideas and the customs of those under his control." (1929:24)

⁷⁸ Lugard (1928 1-2) Lugard presented a list of mission societies, university departments and social scientists desiring to coordinate their work under the umbrella of the Institute. On Frederick Lugard's years as Governor of Nigeria (1914 to 1919) and his role in making indirect rule Britain's official colonial policy see Lackner (1973). For a critique of Lugard's and Malinowski's approach to indirect rule see Onoge (1979 46-48).

⁷⁹ Malinowski (1930 415). See also Hogbin's article (1970) on Malinowski's contribution to applied anthropology.

⁸⁰ Malinowski (1929 24).

⁸¹ Malinowski (1929 28).

⁸² Malinowski (1929 24). In 1939 he reaffirmed his praise for the policy of indirect rule: 'As a Pole born and bred, I may be allowed to say here that in my opinion the British colonial system is second to none in its capacity to learn from experience, its adaptability and tolerance, and above all, in its genuine interest in the welfare of the natives' (Malinowski 1939 901). See also Malinowski's chapter on indirect rule in *The Dynamics of Culture Change* (1946).

As the sole expert on culture of 'primitive society' the social anthropologist thus became indispensable for facilitating colonial rule. Malinowski had clear ideas on how anthropological research should proceed in order to be able to have an impact on the formulation and implementation of a native policy based on the development of the natives along their 'own lines':

"In fact, the real practice of a modern field worker should become to study the savage as he is, that is, influenced by European culture, and then eliminate those new influences and reconstruct the pre-European status. I think it will be much sounder ... if this process of elimination were not done in a mysterious manner ... but if in our field work we collected the full data as they now appear, presented then in this form, and made our reconstruction of the past above board, in the open."
(1929:28)

Additionally, the study of the 'native language' had to "go hand in hand with the study of culture" (1929:29). Malinowski's recommendations proved to be quite influential. His proposed procedure guided various social anthropologists in the field and can be found in the various monographs published by South African social anthropologists on 'Bantu cultures'. The 'pure form' of Mpondo, Lovedu, Zulu or Tswana culture was identified and reconstructed. This approach contributed not only to an emphasis on Bantu culture as separate and distinct from the European, but also to ascribing a distinct Bantu culture, i.e., Zulu, Xhosa, Tswana etc., to black individuals personifying such a collective identity.

The relationship between social anthropologists and administrators⁸³ in the first half of the twentieth century was in many ways analogous to that between the administrator and the missionary in the nineteenth century. Yet it can be observed that the role of the missionary and social anthropologist became increasingly marginalised with the increase of power in the hands of the administrator and the consolidation of the state apparatus. This does not imply that the work and achievements of missionaries and the scientific investigations of social anthropologists came to naught. The opposite was the case. Malinowski's suggestions for a development of the natives along their own lines met with an open ear among the apartheid supporters - and volkekundiges such as Werner Eiselen - since they were compatible with the basic philosophy behind South Africa's homeland policy in the 1950s. In one aspect Malinowski and volkekundiges differed: For Afrikaner volkekundiges the development of the natives along their own lines included efforts to modernise Bantu ethnic groups or *Bantoe volke*.⁸⁴

Another area occupying Malinowski's attention was native education, which was to become a central concern of apartheid ideologists. In 1934 Malinowski spent several months in South Africa and East Africa. He had been invited to a conference by the 'New Education Fellowship' under the patronage of the Union Government of South Africa. He delivered two papers which he later summarised in his article *Native Education and Culture Contact* (1936).⁸⁵ His presentation appeared to be quite balanced and at first glance a reader, with only a limited knowledge about the South African situation, would have most likely agreed

⁸³ Malinowski defined an administrator as a person, who "has to look after the interests of the natives. The administrator has to take the long-range view, on behalf not only of the natives, but even of the white community and of the world at large" (Malinowski 1930:423)

⁸⁴ See chapters VI and VII

⁸⁵ Malinowski held his speeches in Cape Town on 9 July 1934 and on 25 July 1934 in Johannesburg

with Malinowski. The informed reader, however, taking into account the politico-economic context of South Africa, would notice that Malinowski's views did not differ much from those held by Radcliffe-Brown. Malinowski began with the generally accepted fact that "the integral process of education in every society consists in the formation of mind, character and a sense of citizenship" (1936:480). But there were differences, he noted, in the course of this process in "highly differentiated societies" as opposed to societies at "the lowest levels of development" (1936:480). "The difficulties and dangers, however, increase immensely when education is given by a highly differentiated, industrially advanced culture, such as that of Europe, to peoples living in the simple tribal conditions of Africa." (1936:480) To mitigate these difficulties, the social anthropologist had a role to play along the lines Radcliffe-Brown had proposed.

"Yet schooling of unblushingly European type ... has been pressed upon native races all the world over by missionaries and enthusiastic educationists, by governments and by economic enterprise. And there, perhaps, is a topic on which the anthropologist has something to say" (1936:481) "To educate a primitive community out of its culture and to make it adopt integrally that of a much more highly differentiated society is a gigantic task."⁶⁶

But educating the black population to becoming an integral part of a common South African society was not Malinowski's concern. Confining his concern to the effect Western education had on 'primitive culture', he observed:

"[B]y imposing a new and extraneous type of schooling we not only give but we also take away. What we take away is their knowledge of their own tribal tradition, of their own moral values, and even of their own practical skills. This point has been brought out very well by Mrs A.W. Hoernlé, who shows how extraneous schooling inadequately imparted must lead to the disintegration of a primitive society, because it estranges a number of individuals from the traditions still controlling the rest of the tribe. How to obviate or at least to minimize this danger the anthropologist is called upon to advise. For, as Mrs Hoernlé insists, it is his duty 'to study native social organization as a living functioning whole'.⁶⁷

It is evident that Malinowski's outline on native education must be seen in the context of his functional-theoretical model of a 'living functional whole'. Malinowski was not unaware of the implications his views on native education had for South African society. He spoke frankly of the prevailing political and economic problems:

"[T]he white community in South Africa is not prepared to give a Native, however educated and intelligent, that place to which he is entitled by his training. Race prejudices, laws and attitudes connected with the colour-bar principle, strong antagonism against that social and personal intercourse which ultimately must lead to race mixture, exclude the educated Bantu, Negro, Hindu or Malay from taking his full share in the benefits which should go with accomplishment in the western education. The others, while realizing that the educated African may be useful as labourer, clerk or assistant, soon become aware that he also grows into a dangerous competitor." (1936:483-84)

⁶⁶ Malinowski (1936:482)

⁶⁷ Malinowski (1936:483). Agnes Winifred Hoernlé shall be dealt with later on. He was referring to Hoernlé's article in Africa on *An Outline of the Native Conception of Education in Africa* (1931). She dealt at length with initiation schools of the Bantu that she believed should be retained. Being aware of the changes taking place, she also suggested that 'we', the Europeans, should "help them to make the transition safely" (Hoernlé 1931:162). She concurred in Malinowski's functionalist theory, which she summarised at the beginning of her presentation: "We need to study native social organization as a living, functioning whole" (1931:145)

Malinowski even spoke of the 'double-mindedness' of Europeans: on the one hand, bringing Christianity to the native and expressing 'goodwill towards the African', on the other hand, excluding him from full citizenship. He warned of upcoming dangers: "[I]t is unquestionably dangerous to expend all our generosity in giving him [the black] a goodly measure of education, only to deprive him of the fruits thereof by the force of laws and political discrimination." Thus, the conclusion he drew for an action plan disfavoured the blacks. Taking the status quo of South Africa's segregationist policy as given, and describing the "sociological nature of education as a process of supply and demand" (1936:486), Malinowski argued in favour of a flexible, adaptable 'primitive education' which would at the same time restore the "African's cultural birthright" (1936:489). The realisation of such a project again required the expertise of social anthropologists. Malinowski formulated the central aim of native education:

"The Native has to receive schooling which will prepare him for his contacts and co-operation with the European section of society. He has to be taught subjects and skills which will make him as valuable as possible to his white employers and thus secure him the best possible economic and social situation. At the same time, this schooling should be carried out in a manner which would produce the minimum of disintegration and which would keep him still in harmony with his own group." (1936:494)

The 'harmony with his own group' was perceived as necessary to secure the survival of the 'primitive race'. Pride in primitive culture, as an exclusive sphere of the native, attained its positive meaning:

"This deep belief that only European ways of thinking, of clothing themselves, of playing games, of buying and selling goods, are right, and that all things African are of inferior quality, is one of the most destructive and undermining influences in Africa ... I have been able to observe . . . that the influence of the 'modernization' works against any attempt at re-establishing native authorities and enlisting their effective co-operation with European officials. Those who talk about 'segregation' and want to attach a positive meaning to that term must realize that unless some sort of political scope is given to the African he will not be satisfied with anything less than equal political rights with the white settlers." (1936:498)

Thus, Malinowski proposed a kind of benevolent segregation or apartness, whereby natives would be enabled to develop along their own lines, as an alternative to the segregationist policy of the 1930s in South Africa.⁸⁸ Hence, an education policy should, in Malinowski's view, teach the native to acquire his 'proper place' in - his own - society:

"In short, I believe that the European education given to the African ought to be directed so as to give him the maximum preparation for contact with the white community. He ought to have some knowledge of his rights and claims, as also of his duties and liabilities. It ought also to give him a clear idea from the outset of his own artificially imposed disabilities, so as not to develop in him the hope that through education he can become the white man's 'brother' and his economic and political equal. And with all this, such schooling as we give him should never militate against his respect for his own tribal dignity and racial characteristics. And this brings us to the question of how the

⁸⁸ In his book *The Dynamics of Culture Change* (1946,1951), Malinowski suggested that self-determination, the availability of sufficient land for the native, financial aid and cultural independence - the development of the natives along their own lines - were on the one hand a 'reasonable investment' for securing the status quo - white rule - and on the other hand advantageous to the native (Malinowski 1951 278,307)

slogan of 'educating the African on African lines' can be interpreted so as to give it some substance, rather than to make it a caricature of itself." (1936:504)

This is not the place to discuss in detail how 'education on African lines', as for example in the case of South Africa's Bantu education, was in fact implemented.⁸⁹ What is of relevance here is the fact that Malinowski and other social anthropologists sought to define and thus give meaning to the notion of development along African lines: "In short, anthropological field-work ought to study in every tribe the system of education. What modern anthropology has added to the older approach is the functional point of view." (1936:508) Malinowski warned that if these suggestions were not taken seriously, South Africa could face a catastrophe.

"The addition of European schooling, as part of our culture impact, raises the African above his own standard of living; it develops his ambitions and needs, economic, political and cultural. To pour all the money, energy and zeal into schooling and 'developing' without and wherewithal to satisfy the resulting claims, is the royal road to a social catastrophe." (1936:514)

It was not Malinowski or functionalist social anthropology, but rather the Smuts/Hertzog Government, and later the National Party, that undertook to develop a policy that would hold off this 'social catastrophe'. With ever increasing oppression they replaced the segregationist system an implemented the state-bureaucratic system of Apartheid.

6. Isaac Schapera

As has been mentioned, most South African social anthropologists of renown went to London to study under Malinowski. They returned to South Africa equipped with a method of field research and a functionalist theory of culture that they used both in the field and in their teachings at the newly established departments of Bantu Studies. One of these anthropologists was Isaac Schapera, a student of Radcliffe-Brown in Cape Town.⁹⁰

Schapera was born in Garies, a remote village in Namaqualand, on 23 June 1905, being the third son of a Jewish shopkeeper immigrant from Eastern Europe. A postgraduate scholarship enabled Schapera to attend the London School of Economics in 1926. There, together with Raymond Firth, Audrey Richards, Edward Evans-Pritchard, Gordon Brown and Lucy Mair, he studied under Seligman and Malinowski. After his doctorate, Schapera returned to South Africa to commence his field work. Between 1929 and 1935 Schapera did research in the Bechuanaland Protectorate which formed the basis of his numerous publications on the Tswana. During 1929, he held a one year post at the University of Witwatersrand during the absence of Agnes Winifred Hoernlé, who was senior lecturer and in charge of the department. Among his students were Max Gluckman, Hilda Kuper and Ellen Hellmann, as well as Eileen Krige, who was just then commencing her research on the Zulu. From Johannesburg Schapera went back to Cape Town and in 1935 he was offered the chair Radcliffe-Brown had

⁸⁹ See chapter VII on the Eiselen Commission and its concept of Bantu education.

⁹⁰ For biographical details on Schapera see Fortes (1975). Another less well-known Radcliffe-Brown student at Cape Town was P.A.W. Cook. As an educationist-anthropologist, he had considerable impact on what later was known as Bantu education. After taking his Master's degree in Cape Town, he obtained his doctorate at Columbia University Teachers College. Back in South Africa, he joined the public service. He served on the Bantu Education Commission, established in 1949, which drew up the blueprint for Bantu education (Gordon 1990 23).

inaugurated, a position he held until 1950.⁹¹ In that year he returned to the London School of Economics as professor, working together with Raymond Firth, who was head of the department. There he played an influential role in the post-war development of social anthropology and African studies in Britain and the Commonwealth. He served on the Colonial Social Science Research Council, was chairperson of the Association of Social Anthropologists from 1954 to 1958, and the President of the Royal Anthropological Institute from 1961 to 1963. In 1969 Schapera retired from his chair.

Schapera's teachings, writings and research made him the central figure in the co-ordination and promoting of anthropological research in South Africa. Before the enormous contributions he made to the discipline are presented, Schapera's views on the practical value of social anthropology for South Africa will be considered.

In 1939 Schapera's article on *Anthropology and the Native Problem* was published in the South African Journal of Science. There he outlined his view of the role social anthropology ought to play in the 'public life' of South Africa. "It is, in fact, so generally accepted nowadays that a knowledge of anthropology is indispensable in dealing with questions of race relations." (1939:89) Nevertheless, he conceded that anthropologists had not yet achieved enough. "[In] the sphere of practical affairs, and especially of Native policy, where the anthropologist may justly claim some authority, he has so far failed to render all the service that he could." (1939:89) He considered anthropological research more than a purely scientific endeavour; it was "an instrument for the promotion of human welfare" (1939:89). In his view, studying the respective forms of culture of the heterogeneous population of South Africa living altogether under a single administration was

"not only desirable but politically essential ... The future welfare of our country demands that we find some system in which all these peoples may live together peacefully, without that increasing unrest and ill-feeling ... It needs to be based upon a sympathetic and thorough understanding of each of the various cultures between which we have to establish harmonious relationships." (1939:89-90)

It is necessary to remember that Schapera wrote this article at a time when the basic laws of segregation were already in force. The black population had no voice in the affairs of the South African state and economy, yet a coherent administrative apparatus for the administration of the black majority was not in place. Since the passing of the Native Administration Act in 1927, the Department of Native Affairs was engaged in institutionalising tribal government in the reserves while the Ethnological Section of the Department of Native Affairs was entrusted with the task of mapping tribal areas and obtaining ethnographic material that would enable the Department to identify and draw tribal boundaries.⁹² Moreover, Schapera

⁹¹ His predecessor T.T. Barnard had no major impact on South African social anthropology. On Barnard's appointment in Cape Town, Schapera had lent him his notes on Radcliffe-Brown's lectures as he was on his way to Britain, and Barnard used them as the basis of his own lectures (Leach 1984:7). Schapera was succeeded by Monica Wilson, who was Professor of Social Anthropology at Cape Town University from 1952 to 1973.

⁹² Rogers (1933:250-252). Over the years, the Ethnological Section proceeded to survey 'all tribes of South Africa' and made their findings available by publishing them in the series 'Ethnological Publications' starting in 1930. Especially in the late 1940s and in the 1950s major works by Government ethnologists were published, as for example van Warmelo's five volumes on *Venda Law* (1948-1967); Paul-Lenert Breutz's *The Tribes of the Marico District* (1953) and *Tribes of*

agreed that "the action of Parliament in giving increased legal recognition to native law and custom under the Native Administration Act of 1927" called for fuller and more detailed research into native laws and customs as well as "some knowledge on the part of Native Commissioners of what it is they have to administer".³³ But the situation in South Africa, according to Schapera, was far from satisfactory.

"We can never hope to appreciate the difference between the Britisher and the Afrikaaner, the Native, the Indian and the Coloured man, nor can we succeed in our task of reconciling their often conflicting claims and aspirations, until we have studied fully the history, customs, beliefs and ideals of them all . It is here that the anthropologist can be of initial service His task is to study the different forms of social institution that exist, and interpret them in the light of the general laws of sociology and psychology." (1939:90)

Schapera criticised in his article the fact that anthropologists working in South Africa had confined themselves to the study of its 'Native peoples' and had failed to pay attention to the cultures of its other inhabitants, whether 'European, Indian or Coloured' "The idea that anthropology is essentially the study of primitive societies ... is being rapidly discarded" (1939:90) In spite of this claim to overcome the prevailing restrictions of social anthropological discourse, Schapera limited himself in his article to the study of the natives in order to show how "anthropology can assist in solving" the problems arising "from the relations between these Natives" and the "Europeans governing South Africa" (1939:91).

On the study of the native, Schapera differentiated between two anthropological approaches: one, in which the anthropologist concentrated on "what he regarded as the truly Native element of Bantu culture, and attempted as far as possible to reconstruct a picture of tribal life" (1939:91); and the other in which the anthropologist took into consideration the fact that the "traditional manners and customs of the Bantu no longer survive intact, but have been modified" (1939:91). Schapera argued in favour of the latter approach:

"Any attempt to overlook the presence of the European factor cannot but result in an erroneous and distorted impression of the Native as he now is His [The Native's] presence has affected the structure of our whole civilization, and upon his future welfare depends the future welfare of the country. We need to know, in our own interest at least .. what is happening to him . The anthropologist more than anyone else should be in a position to speak with authority upon the present-day life of the Native ... [The] modern field worker in South Africa studies the life of a Native tribe as it exists at the moment of his visit, and in doing so gives due prominence to elements taken over from the Europeans. He studies the activities, influence and personality of the missionary, the Native commissioner, the trader, and the labour recruiter, just as he studies those of the chief and the magician." (1939:91,92)

Schapera's plea for studying 'modern culture contact' and 'culture change' led the way to new avenues for anthropological investigation.³⁴ What was the role of the anthropologist in this case? Should he or she, as Malinowski suggested, "become the spokesman not only of the

Rustenburg and Pilansberg Districts (1953a), A C Myburgh's *The Tribes of Barberton District* (1949) and *Die Stamme van die Distrikt Carolina* (1956), and W D Hammond-Tooke's *The Tribes of Umata District* (1957)

³³ Schapera (1934 271)

³⁴ In 1938, a number of field workers trained in the functionalist school including Monica Wilson and Isaac Schapera felt the need to examine assumptions about culture change in their research Their collection of essays, *Methods of Study of Culture Contact in Africa*, with an introduction by Malinowski, recorded their reflections (Mar 1938/1965)

Native point of view, but also of Native interests and grievances”⁹⁵ On the criticism from South African colleagues, Schapera felt it necessary to respond to accusations made by ‘protagonists of greater liberalism in Native policy’ such as the historians Edgar H Brookes and William Miller Macmillan. Brookes had heavily criticised the anthropological school that regarded the tribal native as the only phenomenon worthy of study. According to Brookes, it had the negative effect of preventing reforms.⁹⁶ Macmillan had denigrated anthropology as being useless on the matters of policy because anthropologists were more concerned with embarking on the long quest of ‘understanding the native mind’ than addressing the urgent economic and political issues facing the black population.⁹⁷ In response to these accusations Schapera defined the limits of social anthropology:

“It is not the task of the anthropologist to provide a solution of the Native problem, nor to advocate which of several rival policies is the one that should be followed . . . The formulation of policy must be left in the last resort to those in whose hands lies the responsibility for administering the affairs of South Africa, and the grievances under which the Natives suffer are essentially the concern of the humanitarian and the social reformer ... I have made it clear, I hope, that he [the anthropologist] cannot and does not claim to provide a solution of the Native problem All that he can do is to furnish the exact information regarding Native life upon which policy must be based, no matter what other considerations are also involved, and he can further, if invited to do so, suggest along what lines action should be taken if certain results are desired.” (1939:95-96)

He then concluded with suggestions as to how social anthropology could be of help to the politician in South Africa. First, he established what had long been recognised, namely that a knowledge of at least certain aspects of native life was essential in matters of administration. He pointed out that several commissions on native law and customs since the mid-nineteenth century and since the founding of the Union to investigate problems of native land tenure, marriage customs, separatist churches, farm labour, etc. had been established. “I think”, he concluded, “that they would have succeeded more fully ... had their personnel included one or more trained anthropologists” (1939:96). Schapera noted the exemplary exception of the

⁹⁵ Schapera (1939 94) In his introduction to Lips’s book *The Savage Hits Back* (1937/1966) Malinowski wrote “Once more it is with real pleasure that one finds an anthropological work in which the writer is frankly the native’s spokesman, not only of the native point of view, but also of native interests and grievances I for one believe in the anthropologists being not only the interpreter of the native but also its champion” (1966 viii)

⁹⁶ Brookes (1934a 141)

⁹⁷ Macmillan was professor of history at the University of the Witwatersrand His opposition to the anthropological orientation in Bantu Studies was ineffectual On Macmillan’s opposition to the functionalist brand of social anthropology in South Africa and the practice of treating ‘Bantu culture’ as separate and not as an integral part of society, see Hugh Macmillan (1989), Macmillan’s autobiography (1975 214-219), Saunders (1988 47-75), and Macmillan (1930 8) The missionary and social anthropologist Erwin Smith, in his capacity as president of the Royal Anthropological Institute, rejected Macmillan’s criticism Smith’s presidential address titled *Anthropology and the Practical Man* (1934) was frequently referred to by Schapera Smith’s speech is a classical example of views held by social anthropologists in the 1930s He was an adherent of functionalism and like Malinowski explicitly pro-indirect rule In referring to Nigeria and British colonial policy in general, he argued that the policy of indirect rule was “the best to follow in carrying out the trusteeship which the mandatories undertook” (1934 xxii) He further argued “I wish these words of mine could reach those educated Africans who share a dislike of Indirect Rule and suspicion of the aims of Anthropology” (1934 xxxvi) He wished to convince them that indirect administration with its “policy of Parallel Institutions offers the greatest promise for a solution The policy implies that the two peoples living side by side and occupying continuous and adequate areas of land are to enjoy a large measure of self-government according to their traditional systems” (1934 xix) Smith’s suggestions were compatible with those of apartheid ideologists

Bechuanaland Protectorate Government which, in order to make a compilation of native law and customs, entrusted the task not to a 'miscellaneous commission' but to himself 'as a professional anthropologist'.⁹⁸ He also referred to other colonies, where administrators were seeking the advice of professional anthropologists. In this same spirit, Schapera continued, the government of South Africa founded an Ethnological Section⁹⁹ within the Department of Native Affairs,

"firstly, with a view to promoting scientific investigation and research into Bantu ethnology, sociology, philology, and anthropology, and secondly, in order that the Department might have at its disposal the services of an academically trained anthropologist conversant with the ethnological and linguistic side of Native Affairs, accurate information in regard to which, it was realised, was likely to prove of the greatest assistance in the smooth and harmonious administration of tribal affairs and in the prevention of friction".¹⁰⁰

Schapera welcomed the government's decision, but argued that the Ethnological Section was far too small, considering the diversity of South African Bantu peoples (1939:97) Hence, most research work had still to be done by anthropology departments at universities "That this was appreciated by the Government itself was seen in 1926, when a sum of £1,400 annually was allocated 'for the promotion and conduct of researches into Native life and languages'" (1939:97) To supervise and co-ordinate this research, an Advisory Committee on African Studies was appointed at that time, consisting mainly of representatives from universities. As a result there was a rapid increase in field work and in the number of scientific publications on native life.

However, due to the economic depression, Government withdrew these grants. The universities decided to continue their co-operation and set up an Inter-University Committee for African Studies. Funds for anthropological research, however, were not forthcoming.¹⁰¹ Schapera criticised Government's decision to spend large sums on maintaining a Bureau of Archaeology while cutting off funds for anthropology. The task, commented Schapera, "of

⁹⁸ The outcome of Schapera's research in Bechuanaland was *A Handbook of Tswana Law and Custom*, first published in 1938. In his introduction, Sir Charles Rey (formerly Resident Commissioner of Bechuanaland Protectorate), wrote "[This book] is intended as a guide to officers when dealing with matters concerning tribal administration" (Schapera 1970 viii). Schapera was entrusted with collecting 'ancient laws and customs' in order to facilitate the implementation of an administrative system that restored chiefly powers (Rey in Schapera 1970 xi). Schapera, in the preface to his first edition, stated he was "invited in 1934 by the Administration of the Protectorate [to write a book] for the information and guidance of Government officials and of the Tswana themselves [about] the traditional and modern laws and related customs of the Tswana tribes" (1970 xxvi). The book is an excellent example of what Schapera suggested could be the social anthropologist's contributions towards finding a solution to the Native question. Central to his work was a reconstruction of pre-modern Tswana law and custom which he considered should form the basis of an administrative system for the natives.

⁹⁹ In 1925 the Department of Native Affairs appointed the trained linguist Gérard Paul Lestrade (1897-1962) to the position of Government Ethnologist. He had studied at the University of Cape Town, Harvard University, and the School of Oriental and African Studies in London. After resigning from his post at the Department of Native Affairs, he was appointed Professor of Bantu Languages at the University of Pretoria and in 1935 he accepted the Chair in Bantu Languages at the University of Cape Town. As Government Ethnologist, Lestrade was succeeded by N J van Warmelo, a student of Carl Meinhof (Monnig 1964 37-38). He drew up the ethnic-linguistic map of South Africa's black population for the Department of Native Affairs (van Warmelo 1935, 1952). See also Map G.

¹⁰⁰ Schapera (1939 97). He quoted Howard Rogers's account on the Ethnological Section (1933 250-252).

¹⁰¹ When the government withdrew its grants, the International Institute of African Languages and Cultures in London made available grants for South African researchers (Schapera 1934 228).

collecting information about people who constitute a living administrative problem, and are not, as yet, merely dead relics of South Africa's ancient past" was far more important and urgent (1939:98). In his opinion, of even more grave concern was the fact that although anthropological departments of universities and the Inter-University Committee for African Studies had undertaken the task of training students in native administration and law, the Department of Native Affairs showed little interest in co-operating with professional anthropologists at the universities. "Thus, any University student who desires to specialise in subjects likely to fit him for service as highly specialised as Native administration has little advantage over those who enter the Service with Matriculation Certificates only, in fact he is penalised for the qualifications he has obtained since he loses three years' seniority by taking this training." (1939:101) Schapera found it somewhat ironic

"that in a country where at least six Universities and University Colleges have Departments of Bantu Studies, none of these Departments is actively engaged in preparing candidates for acceptance by the Native Affairs Department, although several young South Africans who have made a special study of Native life and language have found their qualifications a decided asset for admission into the Rhodesian and British Colonial Services ... of Southern Rhodesia, Bechuanaland Protectorate, Tanganyika and even Nigeria, but none, so far as I know, in the Union Native Affairs Department." (1939:102-103)

The reason why the Native Affairs Department officials were not interested in social anthropologists can be explained by the fact that they by and large rejected co-operation with academics from English-medium universities. It seems amazing, if not naive, that someone purporting to know South Africa as well as Schapera was not able to answer the question why the government funded archaeological research rather than anthropology. He observed that none of the social anthropology departments was actively engaged in preparing candidates for acceptance by the Native Affairs Department, although several of them found employment in the British Protectorates and colonies.

It seems logical then to deduce from this fact that the English universities served the interests of the British in the Protectorates and colonies under British rule, but not the interests of the Afrikaners in South Africa, who, in the process of their upliftment, attempted above all to undercut the domination of the English. The Department of Native Affairs increasingly offered employment to Afrikaners, thus limiting the influence of the English.¹⁰² The evident blindness of the English-speaking social anthropologists to the political reality of South Africa seems surprising.

In light of Schapera's views on the role of social anthropology in South Africa and his influence on anthropological research, the work of the Inter-University Committee on African Studies shall be examined, with special emphasis placed on his contribution to establishing a 'sound basis for ethnographical research' and to the 'scientific' construction of ethnic groups in the first half of the twentieth century - a conceptualisation that incorporated the categories already construed by the missionaries of the preceding century, as discussed in chapter II.

¹⁰² At the time Schapera wrote this article, the volkekundige Werner Eiselen, for example, was working as Chief Inspector for Native Education in the Transvaal. In the 1920s the Department of Native Affairs was dominated by English officials, many of whom were sons of missionaries and administrators (Dubow 1986:221). On their role in promoting segregation see Dubow (1986) and Rich (1980a).

6.1. Linguistic and cultural units: ethnographic research in South Africa - the Inter-University Committee

At the first meeting of the Inter-University Committee in 1932, two sub-committees were formed, one for linguistics and one for anthropology.¹⁰³

The sub-committee on linguistics, chaired by Professor Clement Martyn Doke,¹⁰⁴ presented a full report in January 1933, which was adopted by the Committee and published in *Bantu Studies* in March 1933. In this, Doke presented a first attempt in classifying the South African Bantu languages. He identified two language zones: the South-eastern and South-western. Within each zone he identified "'clusters' of languages, the main qualification of belonging to a cluster being a high degree of mutual intelligibility as well as an extreme sharing of grammatical, phonetical and lexicographical phenomena" (1933:4). The South-eastern zone, comprising all South African Bantu languages, fell into four clusters, the Nguni, the Sotho, the Venda and the Thonga (Tsonga). Within these clusters, the languages were again sub-divided into 'groups', which were "represented by the main literary forms" (1933:4). He identified the languages of the Nguni cluster as Xhosa,¹⁰⁵ Zulu and Swazi; those of the Sotho cluster as Northern Sotho (with Pedi being the most important 'dialect'), Southern Sotho (*Sesotho sa ha Moshoeshoe*), Tswana; and those of the Thonga cluster - whereby a unification of Thonga, Ronga and Tswa was thought feasible.¹⁰⁶

Doke based his classification of Bantu languages largely on the publications in the local vernaculars written by missionaries. Although various mission societies created one literary language to be applied throughout their respective mission-field - to supersede the numerous dialects - Doke stressed that dialectical unification was far from complete and further linguistic research was needed. Additionally, he recommended an orthographic revision of the Bantu languages.

The social anthropology sub-committee, chaired by Isaac Schapera, presented their findings in July 1934. The report titled *The Present State and Future Development of Ethnographical Research in South Africa* (1934) was presented by Schapera and published in *Bantu Studies* in

¹⁰³ With the coming of the Second World War, the Inter-University Committee discontinued its meetings and they were never resumed. In July 1933 a sub-committee on South African history was appointed. Its report, presented in August 1935 and printed in *Bantu Studies* (Vol. 9, No. 4, 1935), did not deal with the colonial history of South Africa, only with prehistory.

¹⁰⁴ Doke (1893-1980) entered scholarly research from a missionary background. From 1914 to 1921 he was a missionary for the South African Baptist Church in 'Lambaland' (Zambia) and proceeded from there to London to take a Diploma in Comparative Bantu at the School of Oriental Studies. He accepted a post as lecturer in Bantu Languages at the University of the Witwatersrand in 1923 and was appointed Professor of Bantu Languages there in 1931, later becoming head of the composite Department of Bantu Studies (including social anthropology and Native Law and Administration). In 1953 he retired. R.K. Herbert, one of the contributors to an issue of *African Studies* dedicated to D.M. Doke, wrote: "It is no exaggeration to claim that Clement Martyn Doke is the single most important figure in the history of Southern African linguistics." (Herbert 1993:2)

¹⁰⁵ Regarding the use of Xhosa Doke stated that "standard Xhosa is spoken by Ngqika, Gcaleka, Thembu, Ndlambe and perhaps Bomvana and Mpondomise, while dialectal differences are found in Mpondo, Xesibe and Baca" (Doke 1933:11).

¹⁰⁶ Doke (1933:10-25) For each of the existing written languages Doke added a bibliography consisting primarily of works published by missionaries (Doke 1933).

September 1934. The task of the sub-committee was

“to inquire into the published and unpublished information that is available with regard to the ethnography of South Africa; to ascertain what fieldwork is on hand ... and to map out further field research”.¹⁰⁷

Schapera divided his report into three parts. He first dealt with the history of ethnographical research in South Africa, acknowledging the contribution of missionaries. In the second part Schapera presented a seemingly ‘timeless’ ‘classification of the Native peoples’ with “a survey of each cultural unit” based on the “present state of our ethnographical knowledge” (1934:229). Finally, he addressed matters concerning the co-ordination of available knowledge, the training of researchers, the need for further field work, and questions of finance and publications. The goal was to identify outstanding needs and fill the gaps in regard to the creation of “a general ethnography of South Africa” (1934:221).

Schapera commenced the topic on ‘Cultural Divisions of the Bantu’ by defining his method of classifying ‘the Bantu’ into ‘cultural units’. First, he divided South Africa’s Bantu people into ‘provinces’ embracing inhabitants of ‘a continuous geographical area’. The ‘tribes’¹⁰⁸ in such an area had certain “fundamental characteristics in common”. At the same time he noted they also “differ in many important features from tribes belonging to another province”. He emphasised that the “classification is thus not only geographical but cultural” (1934:235). Within each province a number of ‘clusters’ of tribes existed. Schapera defined a cluster as a “group of tribes who resemble one another fairly closely in features of culture, and who are also often historically connected through descent from a common stock or through far-reaching influences upon one another” (1934:236). The ‘tribes’ of the south-central province fell into three such clusters, namely the Shona, Venda and Sotho; and those of the south-eastern province into two, the Nguni and Thonga. Schapera proceeded to sub-divide clusters into what he called ‘complexes’ of tribes, the dividing line being cultural and historical.

With regard to the term ethnic group, Schapera used it only once when categorising the ‘Native inhabitants of Africa south of the Zambezi and Kunene River’ as belonging to four different ‘ethnic groups’: Bushmen, Hottentots, Bergdama and Bantu (1934:299). In his effort to divorce the notion of culture from race, Schapera slipped in the term ethnic, but without explanation or definition. Additionally, he intended to free the idea of culture from the associations of race and found that culture, viewed as a dynamic process, offered an escape from the nineteenth century evolutionist assumptions as well as a means of insisting on difference.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁷ Schapera (1934:220). The sub-committee consisted of Dr. Werner Eiselen (Department of Bantu Studies, Stellenbosch), Winifred Hoernlé (Department of Bantu Studies, University of the Witwatersrand), Professor Gérard Paul Les-trade (Department of Bantu Studies, University of Pretoria), Dr. N.J. van Warmelo (Ethnological Section, Department of Native Affairs) and Dr. Isaac Schapera (School of African Life and Languages, University of Cape Town) as convenor.

¹⁰⁸ For a discussion on the use of the concept of tribe see Southall (1970), Fried (1975) and Mafeje (1971).

¹⁰⁹ Only in later years was the concept of ethnic group used synonymously with culture. In South Africa, the notion of culture in its modern anthropological sense came to be an essential principle in the ideology of segregation from the late 1920s onwards. In *The Colour Problems of South Africa*, Edgar Brookes argued that social anthropology “supplied the segregationists with a badly needed philosophy” (Brookes 1934a:145). It is therefore necessary to take a closer look at Schapera’s classification of ‘South Africa’s Native peoples’ in order to discover what kind of mind-set can produce the kind of scientific investigations that can be seized upon by segregationists to serve political ends.

After clarifying his method of classifying cultural units, Schapera listed the various clusters and complexes and referred to the ethnographic material available on each unit as follows:

1. The Venda cluster. For this group Schapera referred to the ethnographic monograph published by the social anthropologist Hugh Stuyt (1931), which gave 'a fairly comprehensive picture of Venda life as a whole'; research undertaken by Lestrade between 1927 and 1939 and van Warmelo (1932); and field work among the Lovedu, 'regarded as culturally akin to the Venda', by Jack and Eileen Krige, which was underway when Schapera wrote his report.¹¹⁰

2. The Sotho cluster. a) The North Sotho complex. Schapera opined that of 'the older' works the most important were those of Berlin Society missionaries, even though they had no 'anthropological knowledge'. Studies had been made on certain aspects such as initiation ceremonies, marriage, religious life, rainmaking, divination and totemism, but Schapera regretted that no monographs were available. Schapera quoted Eiselen in arguing for filling the gap in knowledge on the present conditions of the Bantu. "Hitherto," stated Eiselen,

"we have spoken exclusively of a tribal life which to some extent still persists, but of which a great deal now belongs to the past. The most serious gap in our knowledge is concerning the present-day conditions of the BaSotho, as farm servants on European occupied farms, as lessees of farms, as urban Natives, in tribal reserves, and on mission property. In other words, we find ourselves practically on *terra incognita* as far as concerns the adjustment of the BaSotho to the new conditions which have been created by mission activities and by symbiosis of White and Black."¹¹¹

In filling the gap Eiselen suggested that the field worker should first "give his full attention to the cultural institution of an isolated tribe ... [and then study] carefully the transformations undergone by these institutions under modern conditions" (1934:244).

b) The Tswana complex. Schapera considered most useful the contributions by the London Missionary Society missionaries J. Tom Brown,¹¹² William Charles Willoughby and A.J. Wookey, and the work of Solomon T. Plaatzje and Silas Molema, two 'Native writers' who "have described certain aspects of their own people's culture" (1934:244). He also mentioned that his own field work on the Tswana in Bechuanaland was being prepared for publication.¹¹³

c) The South Sotho complex. Schapera mentioned the works of the French missionary Casalis who had worked among and published on the Basotho, and various other specialised studies. He concluded: "The gaps in our knowledge are still very great. We have no general analysis of the social organisation as a whole, of political and economic life, and of religion and magic." (1934:247)

3. The Nguni cluster. a) The South-Nguni complex. According to Schapera this area was "better represented by monographic studies than any other group of South African Natives"

¹¹⁰ Schapera (1934:241) In 1943 Jack and Eileen Krige published their monograph on the Lovedu, *The Realm of a Rain-Queen*, with a preface by Jan Smuts. Between 1936 and 1938 both had held fellowships specifically designated for this field study from the International Institute of African Languages and Cultures.

¹¹¹ Quoted in Schapera (1934:243). On Eiselen's emphasis on 'the present-day native' see chapter VII.

¹¹² In 1926 Tom Brown published a monograph on the Tswana titled *Among the Bantu Nomads* (1926/1969) with an introduction by Radcliffe-Brown (1926/1969).

¹¹³ His monograph *A Handbook of Tswana Law and Custom* (1938/1970).

(1934:247). Travellers, missionaries and administrators had all written detailed accounts. The Report of the Cape Government Commission on Native Laws and Customs described native government and law at great length. The material was, wrote Schapera, "sufficiently comprehensive and detailed, taken as a whole, to provide the basis for the monograph which is still needed on the complex as a whole" (1934:248). Schapera deemed urgent an "authoritative cultural classification of the tribes of this complex" based on detailed research on particular tribes. He thus welcomed Monica Hunter's research on the Mpondo and her intention to publish a monograph.¹¹⁴

b) The North Nguni complex. Besides the vast amount of literature on the Zulu written by missionaries and amateurs, Schapera made special reference to the work of the missionary Callaway and his work on the Zulu religious system as "one of the great classics of South African ethnography" It was followed by a number of studies, the best known being the 1929 Zulu history by A.T. Bryant (1934:250). Eileen Krige had by then compiled an account on 'Zulu culture'.¹¹⁵

c) The Swazi complex. Of "this section we know very little," wrote Schapera. "Nowhere in the Nguni field is there more urgent necessity for intensive study by a really competent worker ... Miss Hilda Beemer, a pupil of Mrs. Hoernlé and Malinowski, is about to start on such an investigation."¹¹⁶

d) The Nguni offshoots. This group included the 'Transvaal Ndebele', the 'Ndebele of Southern Rhodesia', and the 'Tshangana'.¹¹⁷

4. The Thonga cluster. Schapera considered the most important source on the Thonga to be H.A. Junod's monumental work *The Life of a South African Tribe* (1913), which "describes in magnificent detail the culture of the group" (1934:253).

When one compares Doke's linguistic classification with Schapera's classification of cultural units, it becomes obvious that the cultural groups were made to coincide with the language-groups. The cultural and linguistics units formed the basis for social anthropological and linguistic studies at the universities. Likewise, the Government ethnologist van Warmelo - on behalf of the Department of Native Affairs - identified ethnic and tribal units as the basis for the demarcation of reserve boundaries and the reconstruction of a tribal system of government on which native administration was to rest.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁴ Schapera (1934:249) Her monograph on the Mpondo, *Reaction to Conquest*, was first published in 1936 with a foreword by Jan Smuts. The research was funded by the International Institute of African Languages and Cultures

¹¹⁵ In 1936 she published her Zulu monograph *The Social System of the Zulus*, based on secondary sources rather than field work, and written in the ethnographic present. Krige used informants in order to reconstruct a picture of what Zulu culture would have been like without disturbance by conquest and colonial rule

¹¹⁶ Schapera (1934:251-252) In 1947 Hilda Kuper (née Beemer) published her main material on the Swazi in two books, *An African Aristocracy* (1947/1980), dealing with 'traditional Swazi society', and *The Uniform of Colour* (1947), which analysed the influence of 'European civilisation on traditional society'. Her field work was also financed by the International Institute on African Languages and Cultures in London

¹¹⁷ At the meeting of the Inter-University Committee of African Studies in November 1936 it was decided that the 'Thonga' and 'Shangana' constituted one cultural unit or group (Schapera 1946: XV)

¹¹⁸ See van Warmelo (1935, 1946, 1952) For social anthropology, argued Hammond-Tooke, Warmelo's mapping of "the main outlines of South African Bantu classification" provided an indispensable base-line for all further research

Schapera's report on ethnographical research was adopted by the sub-committee on anthropology. The Committee also agreed to "sponsor the preparation and publication of a handbook of South African tribes" and entrusted Werner Eiselen and Isaac Schapera with the editorial work.¹¹⁹ The results were published in the book *The Bantu-Speaking Tribes of South Africa* in 1937, reflecting the then 'present state of South African ethnography'. As Schapera wrote in the preface,

"the greater part of the book is devoted to an account of the Bantu as they were before affected by the intrusion of Western Civilization ... It has rightly become the fashion in modern ethnography to study 'the changing Native', and not to concentrate upon his traditional culture. But the understanding of present-day Native life must rest largely upon a knowledge of the former culture, and the time is rapidly approaching when such knowledge will no longer be obtainable in the field."¹²⁰

Although Schapera - like Edwin Smith and other social anthropologists - repeatedly made references to the need for research on the "African-as-he-is in this perplexing period of transition", rather than studying the "African-as-he-was, or the African-as-he-might-possibly-have-been",¹²¹ the pre-modern Bantu and distinct Bantu cultural units remained a priority in his work.

To underline the plea for studying change Schapera outlined in his article *Contact between European and Native in South Africa* (1938/1965) a method for studying processes of culture change. Schapera considered the following elements essential for any field study of modern culture contacts and the study of the 'Native peoples' whose life had been transformed fundamentally since the political conquest of South Africa by Europeans:

1. Reconstructing the tribal culture so as to identify a 'zero-point' in history against which culture change can be measured: The first task of the ethnographer would be "to reconstruct as far as possible a picture of the old tribal culture as it was in the days before the Europeans came into the scene" in order to be able to trace "out the nature, direction and causes of the changes that have taken place" (1965:31). The researcher either would have material available to reconstruct the past or he or she could "fall back upon comparative data provided by written accounts of tribes of a similar culture" and of the same 'cultural group' (1965:32).
2. Establishing the history and nature of contact: Having studied the 'traditional culture of the tribe', it would be necessary to investigate the foreign agencies which "contributed materially towards its modification into its present state ... We must ... study carefully all the mechanisms by which Western civilization was introduced to and pressed upon the Natives." (1965:32)
3. Explaining the change: Having obtained information on the 'traditional Native culture' and 'its contact with European culture' and how the two cultures interacted, "we can now proceed to try to explain the changes that have taken place" (1965:34).

(Hammond-Tooke 1969:81) In these publications van Warmelo reaffirmed the classification presented by Doke and Schapera (van Warmelo 1946:43-66).

¹¹⁹ Schapera (1946:xiii) Eiselen ceased to work on the project after being appointed Chief Inspector of Native Education for the Transvaal Province

¹²⁰ Schapera (1946:xiv). The transformation of the 'old Bantu culture' is the theme of *Western Civilization and the Natives of South Africa* (1934a) edited by Schapera.

¹²¹ Smith (1934:xxx).

Unfortunately, Schapera did not proceed to apply his method to the complex reality of modern South Africa. Other South African social anthropologists also mentioned the study of social change as an important topic for research. Jack and Eileen Krige ended their monograph on the Lovedu with a chapter titled 'Culture Contact and Culture Change?' (1943/1947). Monica Hunter (Wilson) also prefaced her monograph on the Mpondo with remarks on change and concluded it with a chapter on culture change titled 'Tendencies'. In Schapera's *Handbook of Tswana Law and Custom* (1938/1970), based on the study of the Kgatla and Ngwato in Bechuanaland, we are given a reconstruction of the entire Tswana law and custom as being "valid for all the main Tswana tribes in the Protectorate"- and informed that the Tswana "have changed considerably owing to contact with Europeans", and that the tribes of Bechuanaland came to live in eight reserves under British rule.¹²²

Based on his study in the Kgatla and Ngwato Reserves, Schapera reconstructed Tswana law and custom. He concluded: "I feel justified, therefore, in claiming that wherever the book describes 'ancient' laws and customs, these may be taken as valid for all the main Tswana tribes in the Protectorate."¹²³

These masterpieces of anthropological research, with their detailed descriptions of the various aspects of culture, give the reader the impression that the 'Natives of South Africa' and Bechuanaland had preserved their pre-modern culture and lived it irrespective of European influence. These ethnographic monographs basically reconstruct what anthropologists defined as constituting a tribal culture. Their references to culture change were rather like after-thoughts, not an integral part of the authors' anthropological analysis.

In 1950, while the South African government was busy establishing and implementing its programme of separate development, Schapera held lectures in Britain, which were later published in his book *Government and Politics in Tribal Societies* (1956/1963). His presentation of 'systems of government in their traditional form' could well have served as a blueprint as well as a justification for South Africa's homeland-policy. This does not at all imply that Schapera was in favour of Apartheid, only that anthropological research necessary for the reconstruction of primordial Bantu ethnic groups was readily available.

7. Agnes Winifred and Alfred Hoernlé

The teaching and popularising of social anthropology at the University of the Witwatersrand¹²⁴ in Johannesburg in the 1920s and 1930s are largely associated with one person, Winifred Hoernlé.¹²⁵ Together with Radcliffe-Brown and Isaac Schapera, she was instrumental in establishing social anthropology in South Africa. Eileen Jensen (Krige) - her first successful student - and Jack Krige honoured Hoernlé by dedicating *The Realm of the Rain Queen* (1943/1947) to her as 'The Mother of Social Anthropology in South Africa'.

¹²² Schapera (1970:xiii). His book on Tswana law forms the basis of the so-called 'jural-school' of legal anthropology at the Afrikaans University in Pretoria (Bennett 1991:11-12).

¹²³ Schapera (1970:xi).

¹²⁴ In 1922 the College of Johannesburg became a full university.

¹²⁵ For biographical details and a list of her main publications see Carstens (1985:xi-xxv,153-154). See also Hellmann/Whyte (1955), Hilda Kuper (1984:193-196), Gluckman/Schapera (1960), Eileen Krige (1960), and Gordon (1987)

Agnes Winifred Tucker was born in Kimberley in 1885, but had moved with her parents to Johannesburg before the Anglo-Boer War began. Her father was Mayor of Johannesburg and from 1910 to 1929 Senator in Parliament. Her mother came from 1820 settler stock. In 1900 Winifred was sent to the Wesleyan High School in Grahamstown where she matriculated in 1902. The following year she enrolled at the South African College in Cape Town to read philosophy, classics and French, and took her honours there in philosophy in 1906. In 1908, she proceeded to Newnham College in Cambridge to study anthropology under Haddon and Rivers and psychology under C.S. Myers. One of her senior academic peers was Radcliffe-Brown, who had just returned from the Andaman Islands. In 1911, after completing her studies in Cambridge, Winifred Tucker went to Germany, where she became acquainted with the historical school of anthropology. She studied psychology under Wundt in Leipzig and experimental psychology in Bonn under the supervision of Oswald Külpe. She went from Germany to Paris to read sociology with Durkheim at the Sorbonne University.

On her return to South Africa in 1912 Winifred Tucker was awarded a scholarship enabling her to undertake three months' field work among the 'Hottentot' (Nama)¹²⁶ in the Northern Cape. In 1914, at the age of 28, she returned to England to marry R.F. Alfred Hoernlé. Together they moved to the United States of America, where Alfred Hoernlé had been offered a chair in philosophy and psychology at Harvard University.

In 1920 Winifred Hoernlé returned to South Africa - followed by her husband two years later when he accepted the Chair of Philosophy at the University of the Witwatersrand. Since Alfred Hoernlé was himself one of the most influential figures of white liberalism in South Africa, a short digression into his biographical data and academic work is merited.

Alfred Hoernlé was born in 1880 in Bonn in Germany.¹²⁷ His parents were of Swabian stock though the family had been British subjects for two generations, having been engaged in missionary and educational work in British India - the first Hoernlé had gone to India in 1838 under the auspices of the London Missionary Society. Alfred Hoernlé spent his early childhood in India and at the age of five was sent to Germany for his education. Since his parents anxiously wanted him to complete his education at an English university, expecting him to enter the Indian Civil Service, Hoernlé enrolled as an undergraduate at Balliol College in Oxford in 1898 specialising in philosophy. After graduation in 1905, his first teaching appointment was at St. Andrews University as lecturer in philosophy. In January 1908 he proceeded to Cape Town, where he took up his first professorship at the South African College in Cape Town.¹²⁸ In 1912 he returned to Britain to be the first occupant of a newly created Chair of Philosophy at the Armstrong College of the University of Durham. He moved from there, together with his wife Winifred, to Harvard University. The return of the Hoernlé's to South Africa coincided with Radcliffe-Brown's arrival in Cape Town. When her husband arrived to take the Chair of Philosophy at the University of Witwatersrand, Winifred Hoernlé had already become established in the white liberal academic community. In 1923

¹²⁶ Her first field work in north-western Namaqualand - the 'most inaccessible corner' of the Cape - aimed at reconstructing the 'old national life' of 'Hottentots' and thus searching for "the few pure Hottentots who to-day lead the life that we know traditionally to have been led by their ancestors" (quoted in Carstens 1985:23).

¹²⁷ For biographical details on Alfred Hoernlé see MacCrone (1945)

¹²⁸ In 1918 the College became a full university and was named the University of Cape Town.

she was appointed the Research Fellow and Lecturer of Ethnology at the University of Witwatersrand, a post which Dr. A.T. Bryant had held for three years. His appointment in 1920 had been the first step in establishing a full-fledged Department of Bantu Studies there. In 1926 Winifred Hoernlé's post was converted to a full-time lectureship in the Department of Bantu Studies, an appointment warmly welcomed by Radcliffe-Brown and Haddon. Like Radcliffe-Brown in Cape Town, Winifred Hoernlé played a prominent part in establishing vacation courses in social anthropology and Native Administration and working out a syllabus for a Diploma course in Bantu studies which was designed to meet the needs of civil servants and missionaries.¹²⁹

Apart from her work at the university, she participated in community welfare projects, becoming an active member of the Committee of the Johannesburg Child Welfare Society in 1932 as well as of the South African Institute of Race Relations.¹³⁰ In 1934 Winifred Hoernlé was promoted to Senior Lecturer. To devote herself to the care of her aged father and mother-in-law she gave up her university post in 1938.¹³¹ The sudden death in 1943 of Alfred Hoernlé was a great loss to her, but she continued her public work, becoming a member of the Executive of the Institute of Race Relations - her husband had been the President for ten years¹³² - and serving as its President from 1948 to 1950 and again from 1953 to 1954. In 1949 the University of the Witwatersrand conferred upon her the honorary degree of Doctorate of Laws in recognition not only of her pioneering work in social anthropology, but also, and in particular, to her 'distinguished service in the cause of social progress'. Winifred Hoernlé died on 17 March 1960.

While in South Africa Radcliffe-Brown and Winifred Hoernlé maintained a close academic relationship. They corresponded and discussed their research results and publications. Together they embarked on a research project on African kinship organisation and ritual. Winifred also greatly admired Malinowski's work, which she introduced to her students. During her leave in Britain in 1930 she seemed to have got to know Malinowski fairly well. With Hoernlé's international training and her personal association with both founders of what has come to be called the British School of Social Anthropology, it is hardly surprising that a number of distinguished anthropologists received their basic training from her. Among them were Eileen Jensen (Krige), Jack Krige, Max Gluckman, Ellen Hellmann, and Hilda (Beemer) Kuper. She introduced the ideas of function and structure as developed by Malinowski and Radcliffe-Brown to her students.

¹²⁹ The historian Macmillan opposed the ambitions of Hoernlé and other social anthropologists who increasingly gained control over Bantu Studies, especially once the discipline of history was excluded. He rejected the functionalist brand of social anthropology with its static view of culture. The battle between an anthropology-oriented or history-oriented Bantu studies was, wrote Macmillan, "about whether African people should be studied in the context of a common human history or be relegated to a special and inferior category" (Macmillan 1975: 216). Macmillan was increasingly isolated academically and politically by his liberal critics (Rich 1989: 204).

¹³⁰ The Institute of Race Relations, founded in 1929, supported an emphasis on anthropological research and Rheinallt Jones - at that time in control of the Institute - lectured part-time in Native Law and Administration at the University of the Witwatersrand (1927 to 1937) and worked closely with Winifred Hoernlé (Rich 1989: 204).

¹³¹ Hoernlé was succeeded by Audrey Richards and after she returned to Britain, by Hilda Kuper.

¹³² Alfred Hoernlé succeeded Howard Pim (1862-1934), a Quaker and pioneer of 'Native welfare', as president of the Institute on the latter's death in 1934.

7.1. The 'totality of culture' and 'total separation'

In 1933 Winifred Hoernlé delivered her presidential address to Section E of the South African Association for the Advancement of Science. Her topic was *New Aims and Methods in Social Anthropology*.¹³³ She suggested a modification of Malinowski's functionalism and Radcliffe-Brown's structural-functionalism, stressing the need for a 'revolutionary' synthesis of historical and functionalist methods.

"The revolution of which I have spoken consists in the rise and elaboration of an inductive, i.e., generalising, study of the functioning of living societies and cultures, as distinct from the historical method, which, in a variety of forms, has dominated Social Anthropology until quite recent times ... There is a conflict between the respective claims of the inductive and the historical methods ... More particularly the conflict ranges around the possibility of formulating general laws of culture - which the inductive school affirms, and the historical school denies ... But what [the Culture-History-School] asks for ... does not answer [the] special problem of understanding the functioning of a culture as a whole ... The special field where the historical and the functional methods touch, and even overlap, is culture-change ... To understand present-day changes, in order to guide them, is an urgent problem of practical human engineering, especially where a 'higher' culture impinges on a 'lower', where the white man with his aggressive European culture yet feels - it is, indeed, another element in his culture - that he is responsible for the weal and woe of the 'lower' cultures and their human bearers. To find 'laws' of culture-change is the most novel and the most important problem which has emerged over the Social Anthropologist's horizon, and its emergence is transforming his concept of the historical method and of the use of historical data." (1985:4)

She answered the hypothetical question, "Are there laws of culture?", in the affirmative, asserting that the basic principles are the maintenance of equilibrium and readjustment (1985:10). Hoernlé analogised culture to a steam-engine, which constitutes a functional system: "If we want to know why a culture is what it is, we must study it as a living whole, a going concern, which has both a definite structure and a corresponding definite way of functioning." (1985:13) 'Why' and 'what is this' were to be the questions of social anthropology. "This is exactly what modern Social Anthropology attempts to do when it seeks to understand cultures as 'going concerns', as living, working wholes." (1985:14) For Hoernlé this meant that the

"new interest in culture-change has led Social Anthropology to abandon the former limitation of its field to non-civilized cultures ... In principle, the Social Anthropologist's province is the totality of culture in the world ... he [the social anthropologist] ranges over the whole world and finds his instances of change impartially in New Guinea or in the United States, in Ireland or in South Africa." (1985:17)

She was referring here to Radcliffe-Brown's statement in 1931 that "the Sociologist (or Social Anthropologist) must study all cultures and by the same method".¹³⁴ While the concept of function and the idea of culture as a closed holistic system was a constant fact addressed by Hoernlé, she was making claims of universality for her theory. At the same time, she was aware that the reality of a changing world and a non-static South Africa would necessitate a more dynamic concept of system. 'Culture-change' was there, but she did not state how this

¹³³ Quotes from this speech are from the reprint in Carstens (1985:1-19).

¹³⁴ See Radcliffe-Brown's address to Section E of the British Association on *The Present Position of Anthropological Studies*, reprinted in Srinivas (1968:42-95).

affected the concept of functionality and the holistic model of the system. The politics of trusteeship directed by the 'higher' cultures for the 'lower' cultures was mentioned, as was the practical use of the new science "because of the value of its results for missionary, administrator, teacher" (1985:18). At this point Hoernlé - as Radcliffe-Brown, Malinowski and Schapera did earlier - restricted the role of the anthropologist:

"Here a word of warning is necessary. In some parts of Africa there is a great eagerness on the part of Administrators to get the help from Anthropology that it can give. The need for real knowledge is great, and the more Administrations appoint officers trained in Anthropology the better. It must, however, be clearly realised that theoretical Anthropology, Anthropology as a science, has nothing to do with the framing of politics or the working out of administrative details. The work of the Anthropologist is to study the functioning of cultural systems dispassionately. He can find out what results certain measures are producing in native society: it is no part of his task to say what measure should be put into operation. That depends on political and other considerations with which he has nothing to do." (1985:19)

At the same time - following the examples of her colleagues - she warned:

"It is time the people of South Africa and the Government of South Africa realised, with the rest of the world, that we need in the administration of native affairs men trained in the fundamental concepts of Scientific Anthropology, and that these men need behind them a band of research workers properly supported for the scientific study of all the manifold problems of culture-integration, culture-contact, and, above all, culture-change." (1985:19)

Just as the administrator envisaged his role as speaking of, for and to the native, Hoernlé saw the same role for the social anthropologist. That the blacks, the Coloureds and the Indians and especially political leaders of non-white organisations were capable of speaking for themselves does not appear as a topic for further consideration.

Winifred Hoernlé and her husband Alfred were influential in white liberal politics in the 1920s and 1930s. Both were engaged in the Institute of Race Relations and the University of the Witwatersrand. At a time of increasing pessimism among liberals about their ability to influence South African politics, Alfred Hoernlé re-examined liberal ideology in his Phelps-Stokes Lectures, delivered at the University in Cape Town in May 1939. The lectures were published in *South African Native Policy and the Liberal Spirit* (1945). Hoernlé articulated a liberal view that was strongly influenced by the English tradition of political pluralism, which in South Africa took on a cultural mantle that was later defined as ethnic pluralism. Hoernlé's lectures reveal a shift of emphasis in liberalism away from the individual towards social groups as liberty of the former was seen to rest on the liberty of the latter. In his very words:

"[T]he liberal spirit is concerned, not only with the quality of the lives of individuals in relation to their social group, but also with the power of a social group to maintain and develop its own distinctive group-life and its own culture." (1945:151)

He did not believe that the maxim of individual freedom could yet be applied to the natives, but rather that every attempt must be made to bring them beyond the stage of pre-modernity and into modern civilisation, and this was to be done in such a way that their cultural independence and dignity was not lost - they were not to become 'black-Europeans'. Above all he wanted to prevent a proletarianisation of the natives, for that would only lead to a class struggle between the races.

Alfred Hoernlé outlined three alternatives for a future pattern of race relations in South Africa: parallelism, assimilation and total separation.¹³⁵ A policy of parallel development based on the idea of *gelyksstelling* (equality), wrote Hoernlé, would most likely be rejected. Total assimilation “must be ruled out as utterly impracticable” too (1945:168). Hoernlé could only see separation as feasible, whereby he meant the “sundering or dissociation so complete as to destroy the very possibility of effective domination” (1945:168). Opposing the practice of segregation in South Africa - whereby the dominant group refuses ‘rights’ to the dominated groups - Hoernlé envisaged ‘total separation’ as a means of relieving the blacks of white domination, as he put it:

“Total separation envisages an organization of the warring sections into genuinely separate, self-contained, self-governing societies, each in principle homogenous within itself, which can then co-operate on a footing of mutual recognition of one another’s independence.”¹³⁶

Such a solution was only feasible, he argued, if “the territories assigned to each group allow of an adequate economic system for each group” (1945:172). While he associated segregation with domination, total separation would ideally secure liberty: “Total separation into distinct White and Black ‘areas of liberty’ must be considered a genuinely liberal ideal, if it means the breaking-up of the present caste-society which as a whole can never be a free society.” (1945:173) “For the Native peoples of the Union,” Hoernlé rounded up his argument, “it should be clear that there is *no escape from White domination by way of Parallelism or Assimilation, but only by way of Total Separation*”.¹³⁷

7.2. An alternative to apartheid: Christian trusteeship

In 1948, the year the Afrikaners resumed power, Winifred Hoernlé published an article *Alternatives to Apartheid* in the *Race Relations Journal*.¹³⁸ Her article affirmed by and large the liberal ideas her husband developed in the late 1930s. As an alternative to apartheid, Hoernlé formulated the notion of ‘Christian trusteeship’ to uplift the ‘Natives’ and integrate them into the South African State. Her suggestions are of particular interest not only in regard to their political implications, but also because they reveal the paradigm of her approach to social anthropology.

¹³⁵ Alfred Hoernlé insisted on the use of the word separation rather than segregation because “the latter suggests to all non-Europeans in South Africa a policy of repression in the interest of White domination” (Hoernlé 1945 158)

¹³⁶ Hoernlé (1945 169) Alfred Hoernlé related his expectations in his letter of 26 July 1937 to the leading segregationist in Natal, Heaton Nicholl “A few weeks ago I read an article of yours contributed to the South African supplement of the Daily Telegraph [6 July 1937]. I was very much interested in your presentation there of the case for trusteeship and especially in two of your phrases, viz. ‘Bantu Nation vrs Bantu Proletariat’ and ‘Paramountcy of Native interests in Native area’. Speaking for myself I am willing to back any policy which aims at the realisation of these objectives, and if that is the direction in which you and your colleagues on the [Native Affairs] Commission are working, more power to your elbow” (quoted in Marks 1989 235) Hoernlé also discussed Nicholls’s views on ‘Bantu nation’ versus ‘Bantu proletariat’ in his article on the future of the native peoples in South Africa (Hoernlé 1945a 117-118)

¹³⁷ Hoernlé (1945 13) Emphasis in the original For an analysis of Hoernlé’s liberal pluralism see Rich (1984 66-73,1976) and Legassick (1976) See also *Race and Reason* (1945a) containing a selection of papers and articles written by Hoernlé between 1927 and 1942

¹³⁸ She was then president of the Institute of Race Relations

To start with, Hoernlé argued that apartheid, as well as any alternatives to apartheid, must be judged on the basis of certain fundamental principles "to which we are committed as Christian democratic people", namely, that human beings have an "intrinsic value in themselves" and that they have "a right to develop" (1948:87). Hoernlé expounded further: "[T]here are certain fundamental principles of our western civilization which we are determined to uphold in South Africa." (1948:87) Such principles included the rule of law, equal opportunities for every individual, and the individual's right to freedom of conscience, freedom of expression, and a full and equal voice as a citizen. All these conditions ought to have been "cultural, and not conditions of race or colour. Race itself is not a sufficient group of differentiation." (1948:88)

Concerning the multi-racial and multicultural society of South Africa, Hoernlé spoke mainly of the concerns of the 'white man'. The white man's 'western civilisation' came in contact with pre-modern traditional societies. "The White races have established themselves in South Africa with their western civilization and they desire most fervently and legitimately to preserve and develop this civilization and furthermore to preserve their race integrity." (1948:89) She argued that any solution to the South African problem would have to reconcile the preservation of "race integrity" and the respect of "our fundamental principles". Hoernlé maintained that it would be

"the test of our capacity to respect our fundamental principles and to apply them to others who originally belonged to different cultural traditions but now are members of our society ... So far I can see there is nothing incompatible with the principles of our civilization ... and ... to keep our races pure so far as is possible ... but it is a right for all races." (1948:89-90)

Hoernlé proceeded to argue that races evolved in isolation, which implied no superiority of one race over another, but rather the opposite, i.e., 'mutual respect' and the "guarantee of respect for the fundamental [liberal democratic] principles of our civilization for all races" (1948:91). She argued that the family is basic to all races and believed that the maintenance of the human family is a human necessity. Yet she believed that although "we are members of one society we do not need to be members of the same family groups" (1948:91). She then discussed her husband's three alternatives to solving South Africa's race problems: separation, assimilation, and parallelism. Supporting her husband's arguments, she stated that

"total separation into sovereign states is entirely compatible with the fundamental principles of western civilization ... [It] would mean the formation of African areas in which African interests are paramount, in which Africans would have the independence ... a home of their own, an area of liberty" (1958:93).

However, in 1948, South Africa did not yet have such 'African homes'. They still had to be created. She referred to 'one type of apartheid' which envisaged such a development in South Africa in 100 years. "But it must be clearly understood," she concluded,

"that the Government apartheid policy is not one of sovereign independence and I think everyone would agree that the Non-European groups are by no means ready to take over such an independent state even if such a thing were feasible in Southern Africa" (1948:93).

Hoernlé rejected total assimilation since in "South Africa undoubtedly the White people are by no means prepared to contemplate total assimilation. Indeed it fills them with abhorrence if it is put before them" (1948:96). The third alternative, parallelism, she thought to be

“compatible, to a very large extent, with our principles” (1948:96). Explaining the principle of parallelism, she quoted her husband at length:

“The main principle is that the member of each group should, proud of their group, marry only among themselves, have their own schools, hospitals, churches, clubs, and other organizations for social and cultural purposes, their own doctors, lawyers, and other professionals, their own language and folkway; largely even their own shops and economic enterprises, their own circles of social intercourse, while at the same time enjoying the same political rights and sharing a common citizenship. Full parallelism would obviously require Natives to be represented by Natives, Asiatics by Asiatics, Whites by Whites.” (1948:96-97)

Hoernlé observed that parallelism, based on the principle of ‘separate but equal’, was generally accepted among whites and that it governed the relationship between the English-speaking and Afrikaans-speaking people in South Africa. However, Hoernlé noted that in regard to the black population whites adopted the principle of “separate but unequal” (1948:97).

Hoernlé suggested as a solution implementing the best of each of the alternatives. She summed up her blueprint in the phrase ‘Christian Trusteeship’.

“Trusteeship recognizes the backwardness of the non-White races and claims for the White man the position of trustee for them as his wards. It recognizes race differences and would foster different forms of human excellence ... but it demands, on a Christian basis, mutually agreed respect, and the recognition of the common humanity of all men ... and it recognizes that the trusteeship must end, that the wards will grow up ... Socially, it recognizes a wide use of parallel institutions and separate areas of residence, in the interest of the protection of racial integrity ... But this parallelism must be strictly on the basis of ‘separate but equal’ ... The idea of White domination, of a *Herrenvolk* must go. It is simply not true that all White men are better than all non-White men, but the White man, the chief bearer of western civilization has a right to protect that civilization and has a right to insist upon a differential access to control of the processes of that civilization.” (1948:98-99)

It strikes one as ironic, even tragic, depending on one’s point of reference, that the demand for ‘race integrity for all races’ - which was articulated by a number of the most renowned South African white liberals and social anthropologists - coincided with the basic principles of the ideology of separate development favoured by the Afrikaner National Party and the architects of apartheid. It also shows parallels to Kuyper’s ‘sovereignty in one’s own sphere’ and the *verzuiling* of Dutch society. Be that as it may, the philosophy of cultural difference and separation was integrated into the Christian-Nationalist programme. It legitimised the creation of ‘sovereign’ nation-states, the Bantustans.¹³⁹

¹³⁹ In September 1952, at a time of increasing black resistance to segregation and apartheid, a distinguished group of twenty-two white liberals - including Winifred Hoernlé, Ellen Hellmann, and Trevor Huddleston - living in Johannesburg, Cape Town and Durban issued a statement titled ‘Equal rights for all civilised people’. They called for ‘a revival of the liberal tradition’ of the nineteenth century Cape Colony in order to “attract the support of educated, politically conscious non-Europeans by offering them a reasonable status in our society”. This tradition “was based on a firm principle, namely, equal rights for all civilized people and equal opportunities for all men and women to become civilized”. The idea still prevailed among liberals that to exclude the non-civilised from political participation was justifiable. Recognising that black political leaders were increasingly becoming impatient and beginning to mobilise the black urban population on a large scale, they appealed “to all concerned to express themselves with restraint at this disturbing time and refrain from doing or saying anything that might aggravate the present unhappy situation”. The full text of the statement, published in *The Forum*, October 1952, is reprinted in *Karis/Carter* (1979:437-438).

8. Monica and Godfrey Wilson

Monia Hunter¹⁴⁰ was born in Lovedale in 1908 as the daughter of missionary parents. Being brought up in close contact with and trained at the University College of Fort Hare, she went on to Cambridge. In Cambridge she took a degree in anthropology and archaeology under Professor Hodson. Back in South Africa, she began her first field study from 1931 to 1933 in Pondoland and the Ciskei. In 1933 she returned to Cambridge, where she finalised her doctoral thesis on the Mpondo in 1934. During her stay in Britain she attended Malinowski's seminar at the London School of Economics, a seminar also attended by a number of fellows from different disciplines being trained by the International Institute of African Languages and Cultures (later renamed International African Institute) before they were sent to Africa. One of the fellows was Godfrey Baldwin Wilson (1908-1944), whom she married in 1935. He had originally read classics and philosophy at Oxford before developing an interest in social anthropology through his friendship with Monica Hunter. Between 1934 and 1938 both spent several months in the field undertaking a study of the Nyakyusa on the western border of then Tanganyika, with adjournments in London.¹⁴¹

In May 1938 Godfrey Wilson accepted the directorship of the newly founded Rhodes-Livingstone Institute of Central African Studies at Livingstone. Together with Monica Wilson, he became fully engaged in developing the first local institute of social research to be set up in British colonial Africa. Immediately after his appointment, Godfrey Wilson started the publication of the Rhodes-Livingstone Papers. The Institute soon attracted a number of researchers and evolved into a scholarly outpost of academic social anthropology, which was beginning to expand at British universities.¹⁴² One of the assistant anthropologists appointed at the Institute was the South African Max Gluckman.¹⁴³

Among the Institute's first publications was the booklet titled *The Study of Society* (1939), jointly written by Monica and Godfrey Wilson. Designed to help district officers working in the 'field' the Wilsons attempted to familiarise them with the methods of social anthropology. Godfrey Wilson also undertook a study of the municipal and industrial locations of the Copper Belt and Broken Hill,¹⁴⁴ and, together with Monica Wilson, worked on an outline of a theory of social change. Monica Wilson - after Godfrey Wilson's death whilst serving in the

¹⁴⁰ For biographical details on Monica Wilson (née Hunter) and a list of Monica and Godfrey Wilson's publications see Whisson/West (1975 207-210). See also Brokensha (1983) and Richards (1975).

¹⁴¹ The culmination of this field work was Wilson's *Good Company A Study of Nyakyusa Age-Villages* (1951).

¹⁴² See Brown (1973 196) and Werbner (1984 157-169).

¹⁴³ From 1939 to 1941 Max Gluckman was assistant anthropologist at the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute, from 1941 to 1942 Acting Director, and from 1942 to 1947 its Director. While in Northern Rhodesia (Zambia) he did field research on the Barotse (Brown 1973). Gluckman's successors as director were Elizabeth Colson and Clyde Mitchell. An extended discussion of Max Gluckman, who established the Manchester School of Social Anthropology in Britain, would be beyond the scope of this study. Gluckman was an outspoken critic of Malinowski and his view of history and the social field. See Gluckman (1963, 1964, 1968) and Macmillan (1995).

¹⁴⁴ Just three years after his appointment, at the close of April 1941, Godfrey Wilson turned in his resignation and left the Institute. After complaints that he had fraternised with blacks during his field work at Broken Hill - which led the authorities to withdraw his research permit - Wilson had increasingly come under attack by the trustees. In addition, the Institute was caught up in a controversy at the beginning of the war because Wilson was a conscientious objector (Brown 1973 191-192).

Social Change (1945). In 1944 Monica Wilson then accepted a lectureship in social anthropology at the University College of Fort Hare. At the time of her appointment, Professor Davidson Don Tengo Jabavu headed the Department of Bantu Studies. Upon his retirement in 1945, he was succeeded by Zachariah Keodirelang Matthews, a leading figure in the ANC and the first black South African who had studied social anthropology at the LSE under Malinowski and Raymond Firth.¹⁴⁵ From 1947 to 1951 Wilson held a chair at Rhodes University in Grahamstown. Her contribution to social anthropology was honoured when the University of Cape Town Chair of Social Anthropology - previously held by Isaac Schapera - was offered to her. She accepted and held this post from 1952 until her retirement in 1973.

Of all the South African social anthropologists, Monica Wilson is the most difficult to place, for in her publications can be found both an acceptance of the status quo and a fundamental critique of South African politics. This was symptomatic of many South African (liberal) academics who disliked the political regime yet desired to remain in South Africa, unlike others who chose to leave South Africa for political and personal reasons.¹⁴⁶ This fundamental ambiguity lying at the heart of the relationship between the social anthropologist and politician is well illustrated in Godfrey and Monica Wilson's works.

In the foreword to Monica (Hunter) Wilson's monograph *Reaction to Conquest Effects of Contact with Europeans on the Pondo of South Africa* (1936/1961) Jan Smuts explored the relationship between social anthropology and South African politics - more precisely, what a politician expects from a social anthropologist. Smuts mentioned that he first met Monica Hunter as a young student on her way to Cambridge from South Africa and that he had warned her "against a common failing of South Africans to be unduly preoccupied with the larger political aspects of our native problem, and urged her to get at the facts and cultivate a

¹⁴⁵ From 1936 to 1939 Matthews was a research fellow of the International Institute of African Languages and Cultures To honour Z. K. Matthews and his work, Monica Wilson edited and published his autobiography (Matthews 1983). In 1959, the year Fort Hare came under the auspices of the Department of Bantu Administration, Matthews resigned from his post as professor of social anthropology as Government brought the College under the control of the Department of Bantu Administration. The College was restricted to taking only Xhosa-speaking students. Matthews rejected ethnic universities' (Matthews 1957). Only Academic staff prepared to comply with the new regulations were hired. In 1960 the Minister of Bantu Education, W. A. Maree, announced the appointment of O. F. Raum as 'Professor of Ethnology', a post he held until 1968 (Bantu, Vol 7, No 3, 1960: 183). On Raum see de Jager (1971: vii-viii). Matthews worked in his legal practice and became one of the ANC's most influential leaders at that time. He advocated perceiving South Africa as a 'common society' (Matthews 1961). Matthews was born in 1901 and died in 1968. For Matthews's social anthropological publications see Matthews (1937, 1940) and for his various political speeches and statements see Karis/Carter (1979, 1977).

¹⁴⁶ On the role of white liberals from the 1920s to the 1960s, Violaine Junod, lecturer in Native Law and Administration at the University of Natal, offered the following explanation: "It is perfectly obvious that active participation in the inter-racial front is a serious, in fact dangerous, business. A white liberal who decides to join forces with non-whites and thus both strengthen and widen the front, must inevitably expose himself to the many punishments which the Government, under its large array of vindictive legislation, has the power to inflict: 'Naming' and/or banning under the Suppression of Communism Act, passport refusal and possibly the imposing of jail sentences" (Junod 1957: 25). Another aspect which makes the choice of a white person to get politically involved even more difficult "has to do with the very status of the white in South African society." By nature of his whiteness, a white person was in a privileged position, financially, socially, professionally and residentially. Political involvement therefore may mean having to "forfeit all or some of these privileges and possibly his job too" and so begins the painful process of ostracism from his own racial and, at times, social group" (Junod 1957: 26).

disinterested scientific outlook before forming large-scale conclusions. How well this advice has been followed is proved by this book." He highly recommended the book as "a fascinating account of a native tribe written by a social anthropologist, who has an understanding of the native mind" and "is able to view native life from within".¹⁴⁷ Although Monica Wilson had intended to write an ethnography on culture-contact and the Mpondo, as the title may suggest, she limited herself largely to the description of a bounded and timeless Mpondo culture written in the ethnographic present.

She began each chapter with a brief note on how Mpondo society had changed as a result of being incorporated into a capitalist economy and a modern state. Nevertheless, the bulk of each chapter consists in a static presentation of a primordial social whole, irreconcilable with processes of change. This ahistoricism, typical of the classic ethnographic monograph thus limited the description of the 'primitive and pre-literate society' to the functional or working relationships amongst the institutions, beliefs and rituals of society that may be considered to account for how it runs. These 'primitive societies' were assumed to be primordial. In a sense, primitive society could not 'move' that is, change historically, since to do so it would have to differ from what it was, and the principles of holism and functional integration of the social whole did not permit this. How then could Wilson accommodate the obvious reality of culture contact and change? How was functionalist theory applied in studying the Mpondo in 1930s South Africa? Monica Wilson did so by making functional studies of three distinct communities identified as 'working wholes': the Mpondo in the reserve, on the white farm and in town. Based on descriptions of these 'wholes', she deduced 'X', or the 'way the Mpondo once lived' was deduced.¹⁴⁸ She made no detailed analysis nor drew any conclusions about the interrelationship of black and white in modern South Africa.¹⁴⁹

It was during the years Monica and Godfrey Wilson lived in Zambia - then Northern Rhodesia - that they identified the political use of applied anthropology in their booklet *The Study of Society* (1939). In 1940 the journal *Africa* published Godfrey Wilson's article *Anthropology as a Public Service* (1940), which dealt with the history of the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute and the practical relevance of social anthropology in the colonial context. There he noted that "colonial governments in Africa have made occasional use of the services of trained social anthropologists", such as for example, Sir Hubert Young, the Governor of Northern Rhodesia, who founded in 1937 the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute of Central African Studies, the first institute for systematic sociological research in colonial Africa.¹⁵⁰ Once sufficiently funded, the Institute commenced its work in 1938. According to Wilson the purpose of the Institute was to contribute

"to the scientific efforts now being made in various quarters to examine the effect upon native African society of the impact of European civilization, by the formation in Africa itself of a center where

¹⁴⁷ Smuts (1961 viii)

¹⁴⁸ See Wilson's article (published under her maiden-name Hunter) on *Methods of Study of Culture Contact* (1934)

¹⁴⁹ Only much later did Monica Wilson criticise the absence of research on the black/white relationship

¹⁵⁰ Wilson (1940.43). According to Godfrey Wilson, the plan to establish the first institute for systematic sociological research in colonial Africa - as well as the outline for its support - came from Hubert Young, Governor of Northern Rhodesia, and was supported and signed by twelve other public men besides himself. The Institute was controlled by a board of trustees on which the governor of the colony held the presidency. Notably, no scientists sat on the board and the governor had a veto over all appointments (Brown 1973 186)

the problem of establishing permanent and satisfactory relations between natives and non-natives may form the subject of special study" (1940:43).

He proceeded to pose the rhetorical question, what is the "general contribution which social anthropology has to make to the conduct of public affairs?". His answer was brief. "It is the proper virtue of applied anthropology to be both useful and true, to combine practical relevance with scientific accuracy and detachment." (1940:45) Just as other social anthropologists had done before him, he set self-imposed limits: "The social anthropologist cannot, as a scientist, judge of good and evil, but only of objective fact and its implications." (1940 45) He asked himself:

"What ought we to do about African marriage, chieftainship, beer-drinking in town?" Faced with these questions the social anthropologist must, if he is honest, begin by disappointing his questioners. 'As a scientist I have no answer, for it all depends ultimately upon one's conception of human welfare, and that is a matter not of science but of opinion.' There is no scientific ideal of human welfare. the social anthropologist is entitled, as a man, to his own moral and political views. The conception of 'technical information', as Malinowski has recently pointed out is the key to the correct relationship between social scientists, on the one hand, and men of affairs, on the other. The scientists must make it their boast that both governments and oppositions can trust them equally because they say nothing that they cannot prove, because they are always pedestrian and never leave the facts." (1940.46-47)

Nevertheless, he maintained that the

"services of trained social anthropologists are essential to the effective development of Africa. This is true whatever the politics of the governments of Africa, but it is most obviously true in those territories where 'Indirect Rule' is applied. For 'Indirect Rule' demands respect for and deliberate utilization of African institutions. And no one can use to the best effect a material whose properties he only half understands." (1940 47)

The publication for which Godfrey and Monica Wilson became famous was *The Analysis of Social Change* (1945/1968). Reflecting on their ethnographic work, the Wilsons concluded that the emphasis on culture in the Malinowskian sense applied to processes of transition in Africa was unsatisfactory. With their 'concept of scale' they intended to provide a systematic alternative for the study of change. Although the book was hailed as a methodological breakthrough, it did not really influence concrete studies of African transition. Nonetheless, Monica Wilson, in the 1970s, still insisted on its validity.¹⁵¹ Although their approach was fruitful in theory, it basically presented nothing new except the reintroduction of an evolutionary dimension, namely, that the relationship of 'civilised' to 'native' - or 'primitive people' - had become embedded in a continuum. Their central thesis was that a "difference of scale is a fundamental difference between primitive and civilized society" (1968:24). 'Scale' meant the 'complexity' or the 'net of relations' of all people and all dimensions within a given society (1968.83-88). According to this definition, African tribes or societies were small in scale and European societies were large in scale, small-scale societies were 'primitive', while large-scale societies were 'civilised'. Between the two extremes were 'primitives' who were being 'rapidly civilised' (1968 2). Thus, changing from 'primitive' to 'civilised' society essentially became a question of scale, i.e., the extent of the complexity of social relations. The Wilsons' approach was essentially comparative: "In comparing the scale of societies .. we compare the relative

¹⁵¹ Wilson (1971 12)

size of groups with relations of similar intensity ... The intensity of relations in a given group is to be measured by the intensity of co-operation, and of intellectual and emotional communication, both contemporary and historical." (1968:25-26) About 'dysfunctionalities' they wrote:

"Our second proposition is that in so far as the characteristics of civilized society are not developing in proportion to one another, there is radical opposition and maladjustment. Incoherence between the correlates of scale is one of the manifestations of disequilibrium. The opposition between European and African is due partly to the fact that the range of material relations has increased without corresponding increase in religious inclusiveness." (1968:163-164)

And again they concluded, "Central Africa, like the rest of the world, is suffering also because the intensity of material relations between nations has increased without a corresponding extension of religious inclusiveness" (1968:164). In fact, religious exclusiveness and diversity had increased.¹⁵²

As professor of social anthropology in Cape Town, Monica Wilson published an article on *The Development of Anthropology* (1955). She began by reviewing the history of social anthropology in South Africa:

"Anthropological studies began in South Africa, as elsewhere, with the collection of material by missionaries and administrators who found it necessary to learn about the people they were teaching and ruling". (1955:6)

As anthropological classics she mentioned Callaway's *Religious System of the amaZulu* (1870) and Junod's *Life of a South African Tribe* (1913). With the professionalisation of social anthropology "systematic teaching and professional field work ... added greatly to our knowledge of the traditional societies" (1955:6). The collected material enabled comparisons between "societies relatively similar but differing in certain limited respects, for when we have full studies of a range of this sort we begin to understand the reasons for the differences between them" (1955:7). The main focus of anthropological research had thus not been the relation between white and black - domination and subordination - but the 'social variety', the "detailed diversities within the Sotho and Nguni groups, as it were the dialects of the Sotho and Nguni cultures" (1955:7). Monica Wilson identified some pitfalls of anthropological study, namely those studies which treated "African communities as if they were still isolated and wholly detached from world society" as well as those that ignored the roots of "living traditions of small-scale societies". It was misleading

"to think either in terms of an anthropological zoo, or of an undifferentiated world proletariat ... The real difficulty is that primitive and civilized communities do not fit together ... they do not form one coherent system, and contradiction, disharmony, conflict, are extremely difficult to analyse." (1955:8)

Wilson found those urban studies that took into account 'a modern, competitive economy' were still inadequate.¹⁵³ She identified the anthropologist's tasks as being: 1) to co-operate

¹⁵² The importance the Wilsons attached to religious experience was a particular trait of theirs which they often demonstrated at quite unexpected times. It is most easily explained by the fact that they were devout Christians

¹⁵³ Wilson (1955:8). Her interest in urban studies culminated in the publication of *Langa: A Study of Social Groups in an African Township* (1963), which examined life in a township outside Cape Town. She undertook the research jointly with the social anthropologist Archie Mafeje.

with other specialists, drawing on their knowledge and “helping them to formulate their questions in a manner in which they are relevant to the particular group they are studying”; 2) to emphasise comparison, “for the simple reason that primitive societies are many and civilized societies few”; and 3) to be “concerned with synthesis, with relating the different aspects of society to one another” (1955:9-10). In contrast to the study of ‘civilised societies’, where “the different aspects are relatively more independent” and specialist techniques are needed to study each one, Wilson argued that the study of primitive societies can ‘encompass all aspects’ since “law and religion and economics are so interlocked that [the anthropologist] cannot begin to understand one without the others” (1955:11).

Although Wilson believed that “the concern with practical problems in South Africa would give the anthropologist a strong sense of social reality”, the reader is left with the task of discerning what social reality is being referred to (1955:11). However, two realities that were utmostly present in her mind were, first, that these ‘primitive societies’ were fundamentally different from ‘civilised societies’ and that the two ‘do not fit together’, and second that ‘primitive societies’ differ among themselves. Both these points were crucial for politicians to justify the ideology of segregation based on separate citizenship, the ideology of apartheid - separate development - and the creation of ethnic homelands for South Africa’s black population. Wilson, however, left no doubt that she opposed Apartheid since it implied social engineering on the basis that the “African is to be civilized only in those respects that suit the European. His own choice in the matter is irrelevant”.¹⁵⁴

A year later Monica Wilson criticised the Government White Paper response to the Tomlinson Report in her article *The Point of View of an Anthropologist* (1956). Addressing the white’s fears of blacks becoming ‘westernised’, she was right in concluding: “If Africans are ‘Westernized’ they will no longer remain separate.”¹⁵⁵

In 1962 the Race Relations Journal published her presentation on *The Principle of Maintaining the Reserves for the African* (1962), a critique of the Apartheid system with special reference to the ‘reserves for Africans’. Her article confronted the arguments in favour of establishing and maintaining Native reserves. The arguments ran as follows: 1) Africans consider land to be communal land held in trust by the chiefs for their people. 2) The economically weak must be protected from selling their land to those who are economically stronger. 3) People sharing a common language and common customs should live together as a unit. They should be ruled by a hereditary chief and preserve a traditional form of ‘culture’. 4) In order to achieve political peace it was necessary to maintain reserves that ensured the separation of racial groups (1962:3-7). Wilson criticised all four arguments vehemently. Concerning the tribal system, she argued that it no longer existed, nor did ‘traditional chiefship’. “Contemporary chieftainship had become a bureaucracy in which the so-called chiefs are minor officials of the Bantu Affairs Department, not answerable to the people they administer.” (1962:5) The notion of communal land tenure “was once a valid one: during the last century and in the early years of this century further north, there was good reason for a government which had the interests of tribal communities at heart ... But the argument is no longer relevant” (1962:3). Change is inevitable: “Customs and ideas, values and languages are not something

¹⁵⁴ Wilson (1956:14).

¹⁵⁵ Wilson (1956:14)

fixed for good. The notion of the Transkei as a sort of zoo or nature reserve in which people can maintain traditional customs is one to be rejected absolutely." (1962:5) And the fact that reserves fostered migratory labour was the strongest argument against them (1962:6). Wilson conceded the existence of different cultures in South Africa, "but the growth of a culture is not served by trying to prevent people mixing with others" (1962:6). She asserted that "[n]o South African really wants to live in a separate White society, or in a separate Brown one; nor can partition ever be achieved on a basis which is acceptable".¹⁵⁶ (1962:7).

"The God-given opportunity and our real achievement lies in the close co-operation of Black and White, not in isolation and partition ... The idea that colour should be the basis for compulsory separation or legal differentiation between people must be totally rejected, and therefore also the principle of Reserves." (1962:8-9)

Wilson could not have criticised the Apartheid system more explicitly, yet she continued to teach social anthropology and to do field research based on an assumption that distinct 'primitive (traditional) Bantu cultures' are a reality in South Africa. In her foreword to David Welsh's book *The Roots of Segregation* (1973) Wilson wrote:

"But the questions raised are more fundamental than whether administration is most efficiently carried out by traditional chiefs or foreign magistrates, or how far traditional law should be recognized. The underlying issue is how a people once isolated and pre-literate may become part of the one world of today, sharing in economic and political power, without losing their sense of identity and dignity. The evidence suggests that it is very difficult for individuals to merge in the new society and retain their roots in a remembered past: full integration in the new society seems to turn on the participation and acceptance of groups."¹⁵⁷

In 1976 Monica Wilson, on the occasion of the opening of the Missionary Museum in King William's Town, addressed the accusations against missionaries as 'agents of conquest', 'tools of imperialism' and 'promoters of capitalism'. She maintained that any assessment of missions depended on how one interpreted the gospel. She admitted: "I am deeply convinced of the reality of the gospel ... I am a prejudiced observer: a believing Christian myself."¹⁵⁸ She pointed out that Christianity had paved the way to modern civilisation not only in South Africa.

"The first missionaries were indeed revolutionaries in traditional African societies ... They sought to 'change' the society. But one of the contradictions within the Christian church - perhaps within any religion or ideology - is that revolutionaries of one generation have repeatedly become conservatives of another, and one of the criticisms made of the church in South Africa is that it helps to maintain the status quo in a caste society ... For a Christian, social forms are continually under judgement; they must continually be modified." (1976:42)

She did not shy away from censuring the churches for supporting the system, and favoured proposals for political change coming from the Christian Institute and its leader, Beyers Naude. But there is no indication that she in any way discarded, as professor of social anthropology, the prevailing social anthropological theories and practice.

¹⁵⁶ Wilson (1962:7). Emphasis in the original.

¹⁵⁷ Wilson (1973:VII).

¹⁵⁸ Wilson (1976:40-41). This also explains her emphasis on religion.

9. Eileen and Jack Krige

Eileen (née Jensen) Krige¹⁵⁹ spent her childhood at Pietersburg in the north-eastern Transvaal before and during the First World War. In 1922 she came to Johannesburg to enrol for a four-year course combining an undergraduate degree with a teaching qualification. She completed her degree in three years and took a Master's degree in economics while teaching in Johannesburg. In her third year she attended an additional course in social anthropology taught by Winifred Hoernlé. She soon became committed to social anthropology, and completed her Honours degree in 1929 under the supervision of Isaac Schapera, who was then acting for Hoernlé during her absence. The year before, in November 1928, she had married Jack (Jacob Daniel) Krige, a nephew of Jan Smuts, who had studied law at Oxford and from 1925 to 1930 practised at the Johannesburg Bar. His contact with blacks in criminal cases involving proof of responsibility, provocation and extenuating circumstances persuaded him to attend Hoernlé's lectures in social anthropology. It was at this time that he met Eileen Jensen. The Kriges credit Hoernlé with opening their eyes to the importance of social anthropology

“as the basis of policies and national welfare ... and gave us a background, both of knowledge and ideals ... It is due to her that we devoted ourselves ... to social anthropology and to the ideal of putting it in the service of the practical problems of black and white in Africa.”¹⁶⁰

Together they undertook research among the Lovedu. Eileen had been acquainted with the Lovedu since 1926, when she had visited them privately with Jan Smuts's daughter, Cato, a fellow student at the university. In 1928 Hoernlé had offered Eileen the chance of doing some field work during the vacation. In 1930, when Eileen made a second research trip to the Lovedu, she was accompanied by Jack Krige.

Together they undertook two more tours - a month on each - to the Lovedu in 1930 and 1932. Jack Krige's growing interest in social anthropology led to his going, together with his wife, to Britain in 1935, where they attended the seminars and lectures of Malinowski and Firth. Jack Krige's decision to abandon law for social anthropology was taken in 1934, when he refused to be appointed Attorney-General of South-West Africa. In 1936 the Kriges were awarded a three-year International African Institute fellowship for field work among the Lovedu culminating in the monograph *The Realm of the Rain-Queen* (1943/1947) and a number of individual and joint articles.

Within the framework of holistic functionalism, their descriptions of institutions and customs rested on the assumption that “in the total complex of the culture all things are interconnected”.¹⁶¹ Jan Smuts, who had published a book under the title *Holism and Evolution* (1926), commented in his foreword to their Lovedu monograph:

“It [the book] paints the picture of a Native society in which the pattern or plan of the whole determines the character of all the main lines of detail. Religion, law, ethics, social institutions, all fit naturally and almost logically into the scheme as a whole - they appear to be products of the

¹⁵⁹ For biographical details on Eileen Krige and a bibliography of Eileen and Jack Krige's publications see Argyle/Preston-Whyte (1978) and M.G.M. (1959).

¹⁶⁰ Krige/Krige (1947:xv).

¹⁶¹ Krige/Krige (1947:241).

central pattern which has stamped its character on all the details ... The writers of this study have succeeded ... in showing the balance and harmony of the system as a whole." (1947:viii)

He observed that a society was being presented very different from 'our' own "but nevertheless coherent" (1947:xi). Yet he granted that in this "timeless society of the Native ... friction is liable to arise in the employment situation" (1947:xi). He foresaw that incongruities in the two cultures - black and white - might cause conflicts when brought into contact with each another. But the social reality which the Lovedu had already developed in response to culture-contact "[would] go far towards making the conclusions of social anthropology more acceptable to practical men and more useful to the administrator" (1947:xi). Jan Smuts was fascinated by the existence of a mysterious and exotic rain-queen, and went to the trouble of personally visiting her.

After finalising their monograph the Kriges went on to Grahamstown where Jack Krige was appointed Senior Lecturer and entrusted with founding a programme of Bantu studies at Rhodes University College. He taught both Anthropology and Native Law and in 1944 became Professor of Bantu Studies. From 1942 to 1944 Eileen Krige held a Sociology lectureship instituted at the College in the School of Social Sciences. After the war, they moved to Durban in 1946, where Jack Krige was appointed Professor of Social Anthropology and Head of the new Department of Bantu (later African) Studies at the University of Natal. Besides Anthropology, the department encompassed Bantu Languages (i.e. Zulu) and Native Administration (with a course in Native Law). The Department made provisions for separate classes for 'European' and 'non-European' students as well as full- and part-time students. In 1948 Eileen Krige was appointed Lecturer in Social Anthropology and subsequently, in 1953, Senior Lecturer. From 1960 on - Jack Krige had died in 1959 - she occupied the Chair of Social Anthropology in Durban until her retirement in 1970.

Apart from their ethnographic publications dealing with 'primitive society' within the context of descriptive ethnography and functionalism, Jack and Eileen Krige published little on contemporary political issues. As social anthropologists before him, Jack Krige reaffirmed the political relevance of social anthropology in the South African context.

On 16 August 1947 Jack Krige delivered a speech inaugurating the chair of Social Anthropology in Durban titled *The Anthropological Approach to the Study of Society* (1948). Krige began his speech by defining the scope and importance of social anthropology: "Primitive life is the primary field of Social Anthropology" (1948:96). Concerning the importance of social anthropology in the South African context, Krige argued that

"its title to recognition rests upon the more obvious consideration that a knowledge of our non-European populations is a prerequisite to the solution of our colour problems ... it should be superfluous to advance any justification for the application of science to the problems of guiding and governing our non-European peoples. But it is necessary to emphasise the immense province and the great importance of Social Anthropology in this sub-continent of Africa." (1948:96-97)

It was therefore the task of the social anthropologist to study the institutions, interests and values of Bantu cultures and include

"their responses to the impact of western civilisation ... this study has its applied aspects, since the knowledge acquired from investigating the functioning of native institutions is not irrelevant to problems of native administration ... Indeed in the South African context the interactions between

non-Europeans and their administrators are so all pervasive that everyone should have some of this [anthropological] training ... Legislators, native commissioners, employers, welfare workers, doctors, personnel managers, not to mention harassed housewives and circumspect city-fathers, should hold a certificate in South Anthropology" (1948:97).

These ambitious aims were not to be realised and in South Africa itself social anthropologists were increasingly politically marginalised. With the election defeat of Jan Smuts and the victory of the Afrikaner National Party in 1948 the English were deprived of their access to state power. With the implementation of apartheid the black population was subjected to increasingly suppressive political measures. Both aspects, the political marginalisation of the English and the oppression of the black population, had its effects on social anthropology and the relation between social anthropologists and the state.

With the government's publication of the Tomlinson Report and the recommendations for the socio-economic development of Bantu areas within the Union a number of academics at English-medium universities and organisations such as the ANC and the South African Institute of Race Relations voiced their criticism of the proposed legislative measures.¹⁶² In 1956 the Race Relations Journal published an article of the Kriges on the implications of the Tomlinson Report for the Lovedu.¹⁶³ After a summary of the historical background, they concluded:

"[I]t will be no easy task, if at all a possible one, to convince the Lovedu of the white man's concern for their welfare and to secure their willing cooperation in measures that may revolutionise their land holding, their methods of subsistence, their social structure and their way of life." (1956:13)

The Kriges distrusted the sincerity of the government and its intentions to rehabilitate the 'Native areas with a view to developing within them a social structure in keeping with the culture of the Native' as the Tomlinson Report recommended. The Kriges rather foresaw dramatic consequences for the social and economic structure of the Lovedu and Bantu in general:

"So little sociological insight is there in the recommendations of the Tomlinson Report, that so far from preserving Bantu social life, we can think of no more effective means (short of those adopted in the Russian Revolution) of breaking down and sweeping away the whole of the social order." (1956:21)

Their critique was convincing, as the consequences proved in fact to be disastrous for the Lovedu Reserve and its inhabitants. The Kriges reminded the officials of what should have been the ethical basis of their decisions: "The ethical justification of the separate development of the Bantu is the need to retain their basic social institutions in order that they may build up a sound new social order of their own." (1956:21) Nevertheless, they were trapped as social anthropologists within the reality of apartheid well under way and could only point out the pitfalls of the administrators' actions: "If, in addition, their religion disintegrates ... what basis, peculiar to the genius, ethos and institutions of the people, [would exist for the] enrichment of a Bantu culture...? We can see none." And wished for an alternative path:

¹⁶² See chapter VII on the Tomlinson Report.

¹⁶³ *The Tomlinson Report and the Lovedu* (1956). A second publication by Eileen Krige on *The Social and Political Structure of the Lovedu in the Setting of Social Change* (1975) is an unpublished report to the Human Science Research Council in Pretoria and was not available to the authoress at the time of writing.

"If there were some magnet to draw the people from the land, if the dispossessed could feel that they themselves had made the choice for some great ideal, if the historical background had been different, if the displacement were gradual and natural - it might be possible for some to envisage the development on its own lines of an indigenous Bantu culture. But to us it is inconceivable" (1956:20)

It is ironical that the Kriges came to realise that ethnic groups created in the context of Apartheid were incompatible with the notion of the social anthropologists' 'primitive ethnic groups'. The irony of the situation will become clearer when considered in contrast to and compared with notion of *volk* or *ethnos* of *Afrikaner volkekunde* dealt with in chapter VII.

10. Hilda Kuper

The family tree of South African social anthropologists is incomplete without Hilda Kuper (née Beemer), a remarkable woman. In her article, *Function, History, Biography Reflections on Fifty Years in the British Anthropological Tradition* (1984), Hilda Kuper presented her life history as a medium to discuss the British anthropological tradition in South Africa

She was born 1911 in Bulawayo (today Zimbabwe). Her parents were first generation immigrants from Europe: her father from Eastern Europe, her mother from Vienna. In 1927 she came to Johannesburg to study English, French and history at the University of the Witwatersrand "with absolutely no idea that I was going to be an anthropologist". (1984:193) Having heard about an interesting course in anthropology from friends, she decided to attend Winifred Hoernlé's lecture together with her friend from school, Max Gluckman. She described her generation of white students as being strongly influenced by ideas of western progress. At the same time, stated Hilda Kuper, "[s]everal of us were non-orthodox Jews struggling to achieve a nonethnocentric ethical perspective" (1984:194).

During Winifred Hoernlé's one year leave, she came to know Isaac Schapera. She found him not to be 'an inspiring lecturer, but he had wonderful material'. Despite Schapera's criticism of Malinowski, Hilda Kuper went to London to study under Malinowski for a doctoral thesis. A number of older students with their Ph D's were there when she arrived, including Raymond Firth, Meyer Fortes, Sjoerd Hofstra, Lucy Mair, Siegfried Nadel, Audrey Richards and Edward Evans-Pritchard. She became one of Malinowski's research assistants. In 1934 she applied to the International African Institute for a grant to do field work in Swaziland, which she received. For Hilda Kuper the start of her research proved to be of good timing. Malinowski was in South Africa the same year and he was able to meet Sobhuza, the paramount chief of the Swazi, for both attended the New Education Conference at the University of the Witwatersrand in July 1934.

Sobhuza had a positive attitude towards social anthropologists. According to Kuper, Sobhuza did not distrust anthropology as did the "educated Africans, more particularly detribalised Africans and men with little standing in tribal life".¹⁶⁴ She quoted Sobhuza's reasons

¹⁶⁴ White South African social anthropologists had occasionally mentioned that their work was disliked and rejected by 'educated Africans'. It seems rather naive of them to have believed that the latter would have favoured anthropological research. For to a great extent, anthropological research denied the fact that there was resistance to white domination, and South Africa's white social anthropologists neither questioned their privileged status nor their claim to be 'experts of Bantu culture'.

for his interest in social anthropology: "Anthropology makes possible comparison and selection of lines of further development. European culture is not all good, ours is often better . I do not want my people to be imitation Europeans, but to be respected for their own laws and customs."¹⁶⁵

Sobhuza personally invited Hilda Kuper and Malinowski to come to Swaziland. At the time of their first visit to Swaziland in October 1934 Sobhuza hoped to get support for his education scheme from social anthropologists, such as Winifred Hoernlé, Isaac Schapera, Hilda Kuper and Malinowski.¹⁶⁶

In 1933 Sobhuza had written a memorandum on native education criticising the education being provided by missionaries on the following grounds: a) "It causes the Swazi scholar to despise Swazi institutions and his indigenous culture; b) It causes him to become ill-fitted to his environment; c) It releases him from the wholesome restraints which the Swazi indigenous method of education inculcated, and does not set up any effective substitutes for them."¹⁶⁷ In order to prevent disintegration, Sobhuza proposed - supported by Pixley kaIsaka Seme,¹⁶⁸ a leading figure in the African National Congress, and the resident commissioner A.G. Marwick - an extension of national schools and a revival of the regimental system, the *ibhuto*. Missionaries and settlers, including Rheinallt Jones, as well as educated blacks unleashed a storm of protest. Sobhuza received active support from Marwick, who believed that "a modernized age-grade system more in touch with the conservative elements of native life" would protect the youth "from the objectionable form of hooliganism known as Amalyaita".¹⁶⁹ Sobhuza was able to win support from social anthropologists, and Winifred Hoernlé and Isaac Schapera finalised a memorandum for the Swaziland Administration on the 'Advisability and Possibility of Introducing the Ibutho System of the Swazi People into the Educational System' (1934).¹⁷⁰ The *ibutho* was eventually established on a trial basis at the Swazi National School. The curriculum included Swazi history, custom and law as well as Swazi ritual and ceremony. The project eventually failed, but those who passed through this regiment education in the 1930s later became part of the educated conservative Swazi ruling elite.¹⁷¹

Sobhuza had made arrangements for Hilda Kuper to stay at his mother's residence at Lomamba. A.G. Marwick drove her together with Malinowski to Lobamba, "which was the ritual

¹⁶⁵ Sobhuza quoted in H. Kuper (1980: 1)

¹⁶⁶ This incident is mentioned by Hugh Macmillan in his article on the Swazi (1989a)

¹⁶⁷ Macmillan (1989a: 301)

¹⁶⁸ Pixley Seme had been in the United States and had studied law in Oxford, returning to South Africa in 1910. During 1911 he began to rally support for the idea of a 'national native' organisation and he was influential in founding the South African Native National Congress in January 1912. From 1930 to 1937 he was president of the African National Congress. In 1912 he drafted a petition for the Swazi council, which was founded in connection with the SANNC. It was Seme's aim to foster unity of the 'natives' and to combat 'tribalism'. He viewed South Africa's 'tribes' not as isolated culture units, but as building blocks from which unity could be constructed. Therefore the SANNC also accommodated chiefs and paramount chiefs, the most renowned being appointed as honorary presidents of the organisation (Macmillan 1989a: 295)

¹⁶⁹ Marwick cited by Macmillan (1989a: 301)

¹⁷⁰ See Marwick (1966: 271-275) for an extract from the memorandum

¹⁷¹ Macmillan (1989a: 301-302). Subsequently, Sobhuza successfully revived the regimental system outside the schools and promoted the compilation of a national Swazi history. In 1952, the publication of Dirk Ziervogel's *A Grammar of Swazi* revived the official interest in the development of Swazi as an official language.

capital of the Swazi nation" (1984:200). Sobhuza also arranged visits for her in villages to enable her to study the Swazi culture. She took her task seriously, going as far as possible to identify with the Swazi, in other words, 'going native'. As she proudly put it: "And then one incredible night I dreamed in siSwazi." (1984:202) She was able to take part in the *umn-cwashi*, a ceremony revived by Sobhuza in 1935 for unmarried girls with a two year pledge of celibacy. Missionaries objected to the ceremony and even requested Marwick, although in vain, to have Kuper removed.¹⁷²

Hilda Kuper recollected that after four months in the field, she read an article written by the Afrikaner volkekundige P.J. Schoeman, about the Swazi rain ritual. His versions of the ritual differed from what she believed to be true and she showed the article to Sobhuza. Kuper wrote that having learnt about the article's content, "Sobhuza was so angry he told me he 'did not know what to do about anthropologists'. I replied that I would write a counter, pointing out things that I had witnessed with own eyes, and that he must add a paragraph testifying that this was the true version." (1984:202) She admitted that her anthropological colleagues in South Africa strongly criticised her for this, considering it a rejection of the common consensus that authority about cultural matters resides in the anthropologist not in the 'native'.

After finishing her field work in 1939 Hilda Kuper began to write her dissertation and completed the manuscript for her book *An African Aristocracy* (1947/1980) by 1941. Reporting on the process of writing her monograph on the Swazi, she recorded:

"Originally I intended to write a general monograph. I collected innumerable facts and fitted them into stereotyped headings - Economics, Politics, Religion, Magic, and so on. After a few months in the field, the 'pattern' of the culture slowly emerged for me. Unfortunately, I persevered in collecting all the usual material of an ethnographic account. Even after I left Swaziland I devoted some months to forcing these facts into the artificial chapters of a standard monograph. Finally, I decided to write on what appeared to me the essential orientation of Swazi life-rank."¹⁷³

Largely concerned with the social organisation of the Swazi ruling 'aristocracy', her book, as she described it, "deals exclusively with the traditional orientation".¹⁷⁴ Although she stated that she did not feel committed to functionalism, she felt obliged to accommodate the diversity of institutions and facts, and still 'make sense of the interaction as a whole' within a total society. This kept her from discarding the functionalist paradigm. In 1947 Hilda Kuper published *The Uniform of Colour* (1947), an analysis of the influence of 'Western civilization on the Swazi traditional society'. When she published a concise Swazi monograph in 1963, the editors made a point of noting that her analysis is in "keeping with her English training".¹⁷⁵

When Audrey Richards, who succeeded Winifred Hoernlé at the University of the Witwatersrand, returned to Britain in 1940 to do war-time work, Hilda Kuper was appointed to her position. Looking back on her years of teaching, Kuper stated: "My teaching was directed primarily against racism and prejudice." (1984:206) During the five years she taught in Johannesburg, she undertook urban research with some of her students in the black town-

¹⁷² Kuper (1984:202,1980:130-133).

¹⁷³ Kuper (1980:5).

¹⁷⁴ Kuper (1980:5).

¹⁷⁵ George and Louise Spindler in the foreword to Kuper (1963).

ships. Her anthropological career in Johannesburg ended when she left the country together with her husband.

Hilda Beemer had married the lawyer Leo Kuper in January 1935, while she was doing field work in Swaziland. During the Second World War Leo Kuper volunteered to serve in the South African Army and after his demobilisation did not return to legal practice, but at the age of 39 decided to become a sociologist. In 1947 the Kupers left for the United States and the University of North Carolina. Leo Kuper obtained his Master's degree in sociology in 1949 and then they returned for some months to South Africa for family reasons. They went from there to Birmingham, where Leo Kuper was given the opportunity to work as a sociologist. He obtained his doctorate in 1952. In that year the Kupers, with their two daughters, returned to South Africa where Leo Kuper was offered a chair of sociology at the University of Durban. At that time, the Kriges held the posts for anthropologists at the university, and there was no vacant position for Hilda Kuper. Thus unable to work at the university she developed an interest "in trying to understand the complexities of the heterogeneous Durban population" (1984:208). In retrospect Hilda Kuper described the situation in South Africa in 1952 as

"the time of 'the defiance of unjust laws' campaign, organized by the Indian National Congress and the African National Congress. That campaign was also the start of the Liberal Party, with which we identified ourselves fairly early ... All of us were involved more or less in political action, and the government reacted punitively ... One had to try to keep a balance, not to become too extreme, nor overafraid, nor overrational, and so on".¹⁷⁶

Leo Kuper's *Passive Resistance in South Africa* (1956) as well as *An African Bourgeoisie* (1965) - which won him the Herskovits Award of the African Studies Association - were banned by the South African government. In 1958 Max Gluckman arranged for Hilda Kuper to receive a fellowship to Manchester, where Gluckman had established the Manchester School for African Studies. The Kupers returned to South Africa at a time of heightening tensions, but were glad to leave again by October 1961 due to increasing political pressure. Leo Kuper became a professor in the Department of Sociology at the University of California, Los Angeles. He became an US American citizen in 1967, was appointed Director of the African Studies Centre at UCLA in 1968, resigning in 1973. Hilda Kuper had received a post in anthropology at the University of California in 1963. In 1966, a grant from the National Science Foundation enabled her to return to Swaziland, where she lived nearly a year in the home of one of Sobhuza's daughters, close to the capital. In September 1968 Swaziland became inde-

¹⁷⁶ Kuper (1984 207-208) The Liberal Party came into existence in the aftermath of the Defiance Campaign in 1953 and was dissolved in 1968 when multi-racial parties were forbidden. The Liberal Party members only comprised a small number of South Africans, essentially academics and intellectuals, colour not playing a role. Initially the Party committed itself to a policy of qualified franchise which was soon challenged by its white as well as black and Indian members. In 1955 the Party called for universal suffrage, the protection of individual rights, a gradual process of reform and was committed to non-violence. The Liberal Party ran into open criticism from white liberals because it had no answer to the question how to deal with the consequences of its universal franchise policy. Official relations between the Liberal Party and the ANC deteriorated when the Party declined an invitation to be a partner in the planning of the Congress of the People held on 5 December 1956. With an increasingly repressive legislation and the radicalisation of the ANC common ground for co-operation between white liberals and the ANC dwindled. The liberals became increasingly marginalised. See Kuper (1979) defending liberalism in South Africa and favouring an alliance with 'liberals' or moderates in the ANC (Kuper 1979). See Drechsel/Schmidt (1995:121-123,156-159) on the liberal policy of ethnic or group federalism.

pendent and the Kupers were invited as Sobhuza's personal guests to the celebrations. Two years later Sobhuza conferred on Hilda Kuper Swazi citizenship: "I felt very much at home in Swazi culture, and honoured at the recognition and acceptance." (1984:210)

In 1972 she was asked to write the official biography of Sobhuza. After some hesitation, she accepted the offer. Sobhuza defined the parameters of Hilda Kuper's task: "This is an official biography; it is not my story alone, it is the story of my country, of my people." (1984:210-211) The project was deemed a cabinet matter and Hilda Kuper had to work with an advisory committee composed of the King's Private Secretary, the Minister of Justice, and the first Swazi Ambassador to the United States. Every page had to be approved by the committee. The response of her academic colleagues to her work was mixed. Acknowledging that an official biography had inherent limitations, she responded that the main character of a biography is never an object for dissection, which she repeated in her lecture on *Biography as Interpretation* (1980a).

In fact, in her conclusion to her own autobiographical article, Hilda Kuper commented,

"I have become convinced that the interpretation of anthropological data cannot be objective, because of the element of uncertainty in human interaction ... In the past, I have described my approach as that of a functionalist-structuralist. I would no longer give myself any such limiting label ... I have become increasingly concerned with the need for an historical approach to both individual and social behavior ... Development is uneven, conflict inevitable but not necessarily predictable, and there is no single synthesis." (1984:212)

Judging by her publications, one can conclude, however, that Hilda Kuper maintained the scientific idealisation of a holistic ethnicity even in her hagiographic biography of the Swazi king.¹⁷⁷ And yet at the close of her anthropological career she adopted a relativistic approach.

¹⁷⁷ Kuper (1978).

Chapter VI

'n Volk staan op: the rise of Afrikaner ethnic consciousness

The aim of this chapter is to illustrate how the Afrikaners developed their own ethnic and nationalist mobilisation against the English South Africans as well as the blacks. Opposition to English domination was an important stimulus in the Afrikaner struggle for their own upliftment. At the same time their mobilisation in opposition to the blacks excluded the latter from the benefits of this upliftment.

The English-speaking whites needed no upliftment, but had to take measures that secured their dominance in politics and economy. What they feared most was that their privileged status could be jeopardised if on the one hand they extended democratic rights to the black majority, and on the other hand if Afrikaners were to dominate politics. Hence the English strove to keep the Afrikaners from taking a dominant position in state politics. It did not occur to the English to compete with blacks on equal terms. In the face of this challenge the Afrikaners undertook their own upliftment. To succeed they needed black labour to modernise themselves and to obtain an equal status with the English. Afrikaners stressed the need to treat blacks as 'equals', but different, which constituted the central philosophy underlying apartheid.

The complex set of relationships of competing interests between the Afrikaners and English, the English and blacks, and the Afrikaners and blacks ultimately motivated Afrikaners to create their own science of anthropology, *volkekunde*, that was expressly opposed to English social anthropology and in which a peculiar Afrikaner brand of volk and ethnic group was constructed (the topic of chapter VII). This chapter follows a historical line, beginning with the outcome of the Anglo-Boer War and the power relations that ensued.

1. The Anglo-Boer War aftermath

Between 1910 and the Second World War, the South African state enacted a flood of legislation in favour of the English while restricting the opportunities of the blacks, Indians, Coloureds and Boers. Although in varying degrees there was some effort made to uplift the Boers in the aftermath of the Anglo-Boer War and improve relations between the two white population groups, the state apparatus was dominated by the English. Furthermore, the economy was almost completely controlled by the British. In the labour market, the English-speaking workers were privileged and usually obtained better-paid jobs than either Boers or blacks. For the Boers the labour situation implied equation to blacks, leaving them embittered, and ultimately convinced that under English rule, this was not 'their' state.

Immediately after the war, the British commenced a reconstruction programme that attempted to reshape the old Boer republics along British lines. The British High Commissioner to South Africa, Sir Alfred Milner, had hoped to bridge the gap between rural Boers and urban British and intended to attract British immigrants to the agrarian sector. Success

cluded him, nor did he achieve what he wanted with his Anglicisation policy in education. The Education Ordinance of 1903 stipulated that English was to be the sole medium of instruction in all state schools and that Dutch was to be taught only as a foreign language. Everywhere there were signs that the ex-Republicans were neither adjusting nor co-operating whole-heartedly in achieving a new British South Africa. In response to Anglicisation, the Dutch Reformed Church established the *Christelike Nasionale Onderwys*' (CNO) schools in the Orange River Colony (Orange Free State) and Transvaal. These schools, largely financed by funds from the Netherlands, aimed at promoting the Dutch language and providing a Calvinist education. Thus, the political and cultural domination of the British resulted in a form of cultural revival among the Boers/Dutch-Afrikaners. Their desire to establish and develop their own language once again became a vital part of a growing Afrikaner political self-consciousness. This led to the emergence of the 'Second Language Movement' that once more divided the Dutch-Afrikaner over language issues.

In 1903 under the leadership of Jan Hofmeyr in the Cape the Taalbond (Language Union), which had been formed in 1890, was revived with the aim of promoting Dutch. Hofmeyr made a passionate appeal in favour of Dutch, stressing that Afrikaners should never forget their Dutch heritage and language. Supporters of the Taalbond labelled Afrikaans 'a kitchen language' (*kombuistaal*), not fit for spiritual use and lacking a literary tradition. This attitude was rejected by influential intellectuals such as Eugène Marais (1872-1936) - who owned the newspaper *Land en Volk* in the Transvaal - and Gustav Preller (1875-1943). Preller, editor of the Pretoria daily newspaper *Die Volkstem* (The People's Voice), responded to Hofmeyr in a series of articles arguing in favour of Afrikaans against Dutch: "Until Afrikaans becomes the generally written language we are taking it as our rule of action: to write and speak Afrikaans, to learn Dutch and to read both."² In his opinion, Afrikaans was the more appropriate language because it was rooted in the *volksiel* (national soul).

To promote Afrikaans the Afrikaanse Taalgenootskap (ATG) was founded on 13 December 1905 under the chairmanship of N. Hoogenhout, the son of C.P. Hoogenhout. Active members of the ATG were, inter alia, Gustav Preller, J.D. du Toit,³ and the theologian Daniel François Malan.⁴ Like the language movement towards the end of the last century, the ATG entwined *volk en taal* (volk and language). Language was perceived as a means to promote 'pure Afrikaner national consciousness'.⁵ Unlike the Taalbond in the Cape, the Afrikaanse Taalvereniging, founded in Cape Town in November 1906, favoured Afrikaans. In the same year, intellectuals at the University of Potchefstroom started the Afrikaanse Taalunie (Afrikaans Language Union).

Among other measures, the publishing of works in Afrikaans helped to secure the future of Afrikaans. Eugène Marais, Jan Celliers, Louis Leipoldt and J.D. du Toit (Totius) proved that Afrikaans could be a language of 'true artistic worth and beauty'.⁶ In 1908 *De Zuid-*

¹ Christian National Education. See Moodie (1980:69-71,105-106).

² Quoted in Hexham (1981:130).

³ Better known as Totius, the son of S.J. du Toit, who led the First Language Movement before the war.

⁴ See February (1991:87-90). Malan had studied theology in the Netherlands, where he observed Kuyper's implementation of the *verzuiling* of Dutch society. In 1905 he returned to South Africa.

⁵ The original text reads: "aankweking en ontwikkeling van 'n suiwer Afrikaanse nasionaliteitsgevoel" (quoted in February 1991:88)

⁶ See February (1991:116-118), Moodie (1980:42-48) and Haarhoff/van den Heever (1934).

Afrikaanse Akademie voor Taal, Letteren en Kunst (The South African Academy for Language, Literature and Arts) was established. Its primary aim was to develop Afrikaans as a written language and its Language Commission devised a standardised Afrikaans orthography.⁷ The success of this second language movement, argued Irving Hexham, was owed to being

“directly involved with politics from its inception ... [It] arose out of the defeat of the Boer republics and the attempt by the British authorities to anglicize Afrikaners. It was part of a general defensive reaction aimed at preserving Afrikaner values and traditions from destruction by a conquering power”⁸

By 1912 the Afrikaans language movement was already gaining momentum culminating in the early 1920s with Afrikaans replacing Dutch. Afrikaans and English became the two official languages of the Union.⁹

Although the political institutions on which Afrikaners had built their political ethnicity collapsed during the Anglo-Boer War, it took them less time than might have been expected to organise political opposition to British domination. In May 1904 several Boer/Dutch-Afrikaner representatives in the Transvaal met in Pretoria to establish the *Het Volk* party, under the leadership of Louis Botha, Jan Smuts and others. It was formally constituted on 28 January 1905. It soon gained supporters from Boers in all parts of the Transvaal and in the 1907 elections *Het Volk* beat the ‘Vote British’ Transvaal Progressive Party at the polls.¹⁰ The party had achieved its aim to unite the Afrikaner voters. Meanwhile, in the Orange River Colony, there were signs of political re-awakening. As a result of meetings in Brandfort in December 1904 and in Bloemfontein in July 1905, where Boers gathered to discuss how best to express their grievances against the post-war settlement, they founded the *Orangia Unie* in July 1905 under the leadership of James Barry Hertzog and Abraham Fischer. Since English-speakers were in a minority in the Orange River Colony and the Afrikaners rallied behind the *Orangia Unie*, the latter won the elections in 1907, gaining 30 out of 38 seats.¹¹ Abraham Fischer became Prime Minister and Hertzog became Attorney-General and Minister of Education. It was Hertzog who dominated the cabinet and made ethnic politics the cornerstone of the *Orangia Unie*.

The *Orangia Unie* had such a large electoral majority that the party did not need to win over English voters. The situation was different in the Transvaal. There, Botha formed a coa-

⁷ The first edition of their Afrikaans orthography, the *Afrikaanse Woordelys en Spelreels* (Afrikaans Word List and Spelling Rules) was published in 1917. With the founding of the *Nasionale Pers* in 1915 new newspapers appeared which in time published their lead articles in Afrikaans and replaced Dutch with Afrikaans.

⁸ Hexham (1981: 128).

⁹ On 8 May 1925 Afrikaans was declared one of the official languages of the Union. But it was not until 1933 that the Bible was published in Afrikaans.

¹⁰ The results of the Transvaal elections were as follows: *Het Volk* won with 37 seats, the Progressive Party had 21, the Nationals 6, the Labour Party 3, and Independent 2. Botha allocated four seats in the cabinet to his own colleagues and two to the Nationals (Hancock 1962: 228).

¹¹ As a result of agitation by *Het Volk* and *Orangia Unie* for self-government, Responsible Government was granted to the Transvaal and the Free State in 1906 and 1907, respectively. Both parties were outspoken supporters of racial segregation, rejecting a system of colour-blind qualified franchise as practised in the Cape. After Union the *Orangia Unie*, *Het Volk*, and the *Volksvereniging* in Natal were absorbed by the South African Party, over which Louis Botha was elected to preside (Davenport 1966: ix). In 1913 when Hertzog defected and formed the National Party, he was supported by the educated Afrikaners who over the years sought to mobilise Afrikaner workers and the rural poor for the Afrikaner cause.

lition government, and together with Smuts pursued a policy of reconciliation between the two white population groups. Their strategy was based on the assumption that Afrikaners had proved themselves to be strong and self-confident enough that it would be safe to co-operate with Britain and the English-speaking South Africans. Hertzog was critical of such a strategy and voices became louder suspecting Botha and Smuts of disloyalty to the Afrikaner cause.¹² Thus began a long duel between Hertzog and Smuts. According to Hancock, the popular mind identified Smuts as a compromiser and Hertzog as the "unflinching champion of Afrikaner rights".¹³

Despite Afrikaner political opposition, the control of the state and economy continued to be dominated by English-speaking South Africans and British for decades. Concerned about improving the status of the Afrikaners, a group of young men met in June 1918 in Johannesburg to form an organisation which they called Jong Suid Afrika (Young South Africa). In 1920, a framework was laid down and Fundamental Rules (*grondreëls*) of the society were adopted, thus ending an initial uncertainty about the confidentiality of the meetings.¹⁴ One of the rules obligated the members (*broeders*) to keep secret all that transpired at the meetings. Shortly thereafter the members decided to rename the organisation the Afrikaner Broederbond.

2. The Afrikaner Broederbond and its role in empowering the Afrikaners

In 1968 at the Afrikaner Broederbond jubilee celebrations a document was circulated giving an historical review of the Bond's development. As original motivation for its establishment the document stated:

"The Afrikaner Broederbond was born out of the needs [*uit die nood van*] of the Afrikaner volk."¹⁵

In other words, the Bond was primarily motivated to prevent economic and cultural impoverishment of the Afrikaner and to avert the threat of being swamped and absorbed by the English. It aimed at preventing the disappearance of the Afrikaner volk and at preserving it instead as a separate political, language, social, and cultural entity. According to the confidential initiation oath of the Broederbond it "was called into being in this country by God's hand and is destined, for as long as it pleases God, to remain in existence".¹⁶

Despite its traditionalist, mythical-religious and ethnic-nationalistic ideology, the Afrikaner Broederbond directed its energies pragmatically towards where the modern South African was going. It aimed at obtaining better paid jobs, privileges over the blacks, equality with the English in the labour market, and a greater share of the capital market. Their success in

¹² On Smuts' policy of conciliation see Hancock (1962:230-241)

¹³ Hancock (1962:243).

¹⁴ Serfontein (1979:33) The organisation started out with 37 members (Willkns/Strydom 1980:45) Ironically, the first person to address the new organisation was Jan Hofmeyr, then rector of the University of the Witwatersrand and later a leading 'liberal' in Smuts' cabinet (Serfontein 1979:33).

¹⁵ Quoted in Serfontein (1979:29) The most important publications dealing with the Broederbond and referred to in this chapter are written by E P du Plessis (1964), Pelzer (1979), Serfontein (1979), Willkns/Strydom (1980), Moodie (1980), O'Meara (1983), Bloomberg (1990) and Vachter (1965) On the cooperation between the Broederbond and the Nederduits Gereformeerde Kerk see Serfontein (1982:87-108)

¹⁶ Quoted in Serfontein (1982:251)

attaining all this depended on a gradual wringing of the state apparatus from the English. To achieve this in a systematic way, the Broederbond shunned the public eye and became in 1921 a secret society. Its action programme as laid down in paragraph 4 of its constitution was varied:

- a) The establishment of a healthy and progressive unanimity among all Afrikaners who strive for the welfare of the Afrikaner nation.
- b) The awakening of national self-consciousness among Afrikaners and the inspiration of love for the language, religion, traditions, country and people.
- c) The promotion of all the interests of the Afrikaner nation.¹⁷

According to the statutes, admission to this secret circle of privilege and influence was open only to Protestant, white, Afrikaner males of 25 years and older, who were of 'clean' character firm of principle, and regarded South Africa as their only fatherland.¹⁸ The Broederbond admitted to its circle only the crème of male Afrikaners: wealthy farmers, businessmen, theologians, teachers, professors, civil servants and politicians. The majority of the Afrikaners, the labourers and tenant farmers, whose interests were purported to be protected by the Bond were not represented directly in the inner circle. They were rather part of an extensive network of local cells and non-secret local youth, men, and women's groups. The organisational structure of the Broederbond was conceived of as a state within a State. The highest authority of the Bond were the 'Twelve Apostles' constituting the Executive Council (*Uitvoerende Raad*) elected by the annual congress of the Bond (*Algemene Raad*).¹⁹ The drafting of policy statements and the day-to-day operations were delegated to committees and the so-called *Staats-Departemente* (State Departments).²⁰

The Afrikaners were mobilised for the aims of the Broederbond with intensive nationalist propaganda and the formation of local cells. In the first decade of its existence the Afrikaner Broederbond members successfully penetrated every sector of Boer/Afrikaner society thus enabling it to get an octopus-like grip, first on Afrikaner nationalism, and in the following decades on the government structure itself.

In the 1920s the greatest achievements were made in the maintenance and promotion of the Afrikaans language - including mother-tongue education - in the schools, in public life, and in commerce. Language, religion, culture and education were the key areas. A religious *Weltanschauung*, a coherent ideology based on Christian-Nationalism was created. All those who played a decisive part in the construction of this Christian-Nationalism saw the Afrikaner volk (nation) as the primary social unit which served as the fruitful ground in which the individual rooted his identity. They imagined that God had given the individual nations and peoples characteristics that kept them different from one another and that it was God's will

¹⁷ Pelzer (1979:10). A.N. Pelzer, a member of the Broederbond, was professor of history at the University of Pretoria. In 1979, on behalf of the Bond's Executive Council (*Uitvoerende Raad*), Pelzer published a book on its fifty years of existence.

¹⁸ Clause 8 of the Bond's constitution translated into English by Brian du Toit (1976:134). With the change in South Africa since 1990 the Broederbond is considering altering its admission rules (The Star 13.11.1992).

¹⁹ Basically, these structures exist even today.

²⁰ These were, among others, Railways, Justice (Police), Social Welfare, Provincial Education, National Education, and Agriculture (B. du Toit 1976:140-141).

that these nations and peoples remained distinct. Thus, the development and defence of one's own culture fulfilled a duty towards God. In the words of the Broederbond H.G. Stoker:

"Mankind subjugates the earth, dominates nature, defends order, and so on, in the name of God [Thus] he created culture. In so doing he is bound by the laws of nature and by the cultural norms ... To dominate nature and thereby form it into culture is the glorious task, the calling which God gives to mankind as individuals and social being."²¹

Van Rooy rendered an even more concrete version of the same ideas in his talk in 1944 in Stellenbosch:

"So God created the Afrikaner People with a unique language, a unique philosophy, and their own history and tradition in order that they might fulfil a particular calling and destiny here in the southern corner of Africa."²²

The concrete aims of the Broederbond, however, were of a wordily nature. According to a statement by the Broederbond's chairman van Rooy, article 6 of the Bond's constitution dealt with political and economic aims, which

"all Broeders in their political action will strive for

1. Removal of everything which is in conflict with the full independence of South Africa
2. Termination of the inferiority of the Afrikaans-speakers and their language in the organisation of the State.
- 3 Segregation of all coloured races domiciled in South Africa with provision for their independent development under the trusteeship of whites
4. Stopping the exploitation of the natural resources and the population by *uslanders* (foreigners) including more intensive industrial development.
5. Rehabilitation of the farmers and ensuring a civilised living standard through work for all white *burgers* (citizens)
- 6 Nationalisation of credit and currency and planned co-ordination of economic politics
7. Afrikanerising of our public life and education in the Christian national sense with the development of all national groups left free in so far as this is not dangerous to the State"²³

The aims could not have been clearer. While the Broederbond operated secretly, it created a public front, a 'machine' for transmitting its ideas into every Afrikaner organisation, local community and home. In December 1929 the Federasie van Afrikaanse Kultuurverenigings²⁴ (FAK) was founded. In this way the secret Broederbond appeared in public as a cultural organisation.²⁵ A national cultural council, the Afrikaanse Nasionale Kultuurraad, was orga-

²¹ Quoted in Moodie (1980:66)

²² Quoted in Moodie (1980:110) J C van Rooy was a Gereformeerde Kerk leader and from 1932 to 1938 and 1942 to 1951 chairman of the Broederbond. During the second period of his chairmanship he was also chairman of the FAK, hence revealing the close links between the two organisations.

²³ Van Rooy's press statement quoted in Rand Daily Mail, 15 December 1944, and reprinted in Wilkuns/Strydom (1980:353,356). See also Serfontein (1979:74-75). Van Rooy released several press statements in reply to Smuts' attack on the Broederbond in 1944.

²⁴ Federasie van Afrikaanse Cultural Associations

²⁵ See O'Meara (1983:61-2)

nised to promote Afrikaner 'cultural' associations and thus consolidated the Broederbond's total grip on Afrikaner culture. By 1937 almost 300 cultural bodies were affiliated to the FAK.²⁶ Furthermore, the interests of the Afrikaner found a voice in the media firm called the *Nasionale Pers* (National Press), which was founded in December 1914. *Die Burger*, founded in 1915, became the most prominent Afrikaans newspaper, was pro-Hertzog and came under the influence of the Broederbond.

Even before the founding of the Broederbond there were mutual aid organisations for supporting poor whites, e.g., the *Helpmekaarvereniging* and a co-operative movement for Afrikaners. The investment and insurance companies Santam and Sanlam grew out of these organisations, appearing on the scene in 1918.²⁷ Sanlam's self-image was clearly expressed in the Chairman's report of 1921:

"Sanlam is an authentic institution of the Afrikaner volk ... As an Afrikaner you will naturally give preference to an Afrikaner institution ... If we want to become self-reliant then we must support our own institutions."²⁸

The accumulated capital in these businesses was used then for acquiring a part of English capital as well as funding the founding of new enterprises controlled by Afrikaners, who were usually Broederbonders or at least sympathisers. In 1924 the Broederbond Professor L.J. du Plessis raised the issue of creating an Afrikaner bank, but it was not until December 1928 that the Broederbond decided that a 'people's bank' should be established. In April 1934 the *Volkskas* (literally people's treasury) was founded in Pretoria by sixty Bond members.²⁹

To combat what Afrikaners considered 'Anglo-Jewish' capitalist power in South Africa, an *Ekonomiese Volkskongres* (Peoples' Economic Congress) was organised by the FAK and the Bond in October 1939. The theme '*n volk red homself* (A volk rescues itself) became the motto of the Afrikaner economic movement and its aim was to develop and implement a strategy to improve Afrikaners' economic status by promoting Afrikaner *volkskapitalisme*. The central message of this movement was articulated among others by Professor L.J. du Plessis in his opening address on 'The Purpose of our Economic Struggle' in which he pleaded for *volkskapitalisme*: "[T]he Afrikaanse volk must be mobilised to transform the existing capitalist system to such an extent that it conforms to our own ethnic nature [*volksaard*]"³⁰

In order to be successful, Sanlam's actuary and manager, M.S. Louw, recommended to the participants of the congress to "utilise the techniques of capitalism as they are applied in the ... gold-mining industry. A finance company should be started to function in industry and

²⁶ O'Meara (1983:61). On the FAK see also Pelzer (1979:119-137).

²⁷ Sanlam stands for Suid-Afrikaanse Lewensassuransie Maatskappy, Santam for Suid-Afrikaanse Nasionale Trust Maatskappy.

²⁸ Quoted in O'Meara (1983:98). An all encompassing economic-nationalist movement developed out of the *Helpmekaarvereniging* (Mutual Aid Society). "The *Helpmekaar* movement was the first to show what the Afrikaner could do if he stood together, if his strength was mustered ... The *Helpmekaar* gave rise to the mighty clarion call to the volk to try to conquer the last stronghold, the business world ... And out of the combined influence of the awakened nationalism, the *Helpmekaar* and the Cradock congress, each backed-up and interpreted by De Burger and the Nationalist Party, were born those symbols of victory in the Afrikaans business life of South Africa - Santam and Sanlam - with their fitting and illuminating motto, 'Born out of the *Volk* to serve the *Volk*.'" (le Roux quoted in O'Meara 1983:97-8)

²⁹ O'Meara (1983:102).

³⁰ Quoted (in Afrikaans) in du Plessis (1964:104). L.J. du Plessis was chairman of the Broederbond from September 1930 to August 1932. See Serfontein (1979:129) for a list of all chairmen of the Bond

commerce like the existing finance houses in Johannesburg.³¹ Louw wanted to mobilise the savings of Afrikaners in a central finance and investment company so as to strengthen the position of the Afrikaners in commerce and industry. To implement the decisions of the congress, its participants mandated the FAK to form an economic institute, the *Ekonomiese Instituut*. The congress participants also founded another organ, the *Reddingsdaadbond*, which was to be subordinate to the *Instituut*, with the task of promoting consumer co-operatives, technical training, and encouraging Afrikaners to organise commercial and industrial enterprises. Three years later in August 1942 the *Afrikaans Handelsinstituut* (AHI) was founded to co-ordinate the economic activities of Afrikaners. It became, like the FAK, a central institution of the *Broederbond*. It was dedicated specifically to the cause of Afrikaner business, both small and large.³²

The organisational success of the *Broederbond* can be attributed to a hard core of carefully selected members - 2811 in 183 cells in 1945 - and its methods of using directly controlled front organisations in the cultural, educational and economic spheres.³³ Despite all these efforts, the Afrikaners remained politically and economically disadvantaged and turned to the strategy of gaining state power. In a speech at the *Volkskongress* in 1939, the future prime minister Hendrik Verwoerd argued:

"What weapons can Afrikanerdom use in this great struggle? There is that of state power. If we can take possession of it, public credit could be used, inter alia, for the founding of industrial banks, and firmly to establish Afrikaner undertakings, particularly industry."³⁴

After the Second World War the new *Broederbond* strategy succeeded and the Afrikaner National Party won the 1948 elections.³⁵ The new government under Daniel François Malan

³¹ Quoted in du Plessis (1964 114) Translated by B Schmidt Commissioned by the FAK to do so, E P du Plessis (1964) wrote a report on the various economic activities of the FAK and the *Broederbond*

³² O'Meara (1983 134-148) The AHI conceived segregation and apartheid essentially in 'practical' terms in the sense that the black worker was perceived as an integral part of the economy and apartheid was seen as a means to regulate and improve the availability of cheap black labour as required by white business. On the AHI's conception of apartheid see Posel (1987 129-130) and O'Meara (1983 143-147,175)

³³ Serfontein (1979 47)

³⁴ Verwoerd's speech reprinted in du Plessis (1964 120-124) Translated by B Schmidt

³⁵ The National Party draft constitution issued in January 1941 contained already the Christian-Nationalist principles on which the party based its political, social, and economic agenda

1 "The Republic would be an independent sovereign state outside the Empire

2 It would be an Afrikaner-dominated *volk* state

3 Ideologically, the state would be Christian-Nationalist and recognise the sovereignty of God. All moral codes, such as liberalism, socialism and secularist doctrines, are forbidden

4 The state would be totalitarian. All media, and certain aspects of the means of production and distribution would be state-controlled

5 All British symbols would be effaced and replaced by Afrikaner symbols. The Head of State would become the President, the old Transvaal flag, the *Vierkleur*, would replace the Union Jack and the Union Flag, the national anthem would be 'Die Stem'

6 Considerable authority is vested in the President, who is elected for five years. He has the power to appoint and dismiss the Prime Minister and Cabinet, and is responsible to God alone

7 A corporate element is introduced into the machinery for electoral representation, in addition to the Parliament, there is a Community Council with advisory powers composed both of official nominees and elected spokesmen for various social institutions, spheres of activity, occupations and interest groupings

8 Non-whites are strictly segregated and encouraged to develop separately, although not in such a way as to disturb the availability of labour" (quoted in Bloomberg 1990 178-179) See also Furlong (1991 191-200)

set out to use the state power to implement the political and economic order laid down in the constitution of the Broederbond and transform the state to serve the interests of the Afrikaner volk. Those interests entailed the modernisation of the agricultural sector, which was dominated by Afrikaners, the securing of an appropriate portion of English industrial capital, the upliftment of Afrikaner workers, the realisation of the ethnic-nationalistic ideology as well as the creation of a 'socialist' welfare-state.³⁶ This state welfarism was aimed at uplifting the poor whites and retaining their party loyalty so to prevent any future return of the English to power. This was premised on denying the black majority access to political and economic resources and thereby propagating discriminatory policies.³⁷ The sociologist Louwrens Pretorius has best summarised the economic and political activities of the Broederbond:

"Acting in strict secrecy and through its front organisations such as the Federasie van Afrikaanse Kultuurverenigings, the Broederbond played a major role in establishing other Afrikaner organisations and directing and coordinating their activities ... The organisation's participation in policy processes has always been assured, because all the Nationalist heads of government, as well as the vast majority of cabinet members, have been members."³⁸

As has been mentioned above, the philosophy of the Broederbond had a powerful religious basis, that of Christian-Nationalism. Multiple streams of influence fed into this religious orientation, mostly European in inspiration. It is not intended to consider all these influences, but to concentrate on neo-Calvinism, around which the Afrikaner ideological discourse primarily centred. It was Kuyper's version of neo-Calvinism, which was adopted by the *Dopperkerk* in the last decades of the nineteenth century. Due to the defeat in the Anglo-Boer War and the marginalisation of the Boers in the years thereafter, a revival of neo-Calvinism took place in the 1930s as part of Afrikaner ethnic mobilisation under the Broederbond. The Kuyperian doctrine of common grace, which allowed for the individual's relationship to God to be mediated through the volk or nation, legitimated mobilisation on the basis of exclusivity.

Within the Broederbond, Kuyper's ideas had gained acceptance among intellectuals,³⁹ given that young Afrikaners were sent to study at Kuyper's Free University of Amsterdam in the Netherlands, Afrikaner churches retained close ties with the neo-Calvinists in the Netherlands, and Kuyper's ideas were taught at the Afrikaner theological colleges. In the South African context, in the struggle to reconcile the idea of segregation and separate development with the Christian gospel, Kuyper's theology, as it was stated and restated, became of utmost importance. Willem de Klerk wrote that it was, "a *deus ex machina* by which the basic con-

³⁶ One can therefore speak of Afrikaner socialism. Henry Kenney has argued that "capitalist development was used to promote what has been described as a kind of ethnic socialism" (Kenney 1991:183).

³⁷ Hertzog characterised his politics of race separation as 'segregation', in contrast to Smuts who preferred to speak of 'separation'. To distinguish himself from his political opponents, D F. Malan made use of the word 'apartheid' "[I] do not use the word segregation, because it has been interpreted as fencing off, but rather 'apartheid' which will give the various races the opportunity of uplifting themselves on the basis of what is their own." (quoted in Kenney 1980:85) In 1944 Malan had described his republican ideals as a striving for "the safety of the white race and of Christian civilisation by the honest maintenance of the principles of apartheid and guardianship" (quoted in Breitenbach 1974:533).

³⁸ Pretorius (1994:214-215).

³⁹ O'Meara (1983:69-70) and Furlong (1991 92-96). Examples of those who embraced South African Kuyperianism were H.G. Stoker in philosophy, J.A. du Plessis and L.J. du Plessis in political science, S.J. du Toit and his son J.D. du Toit (Totius) in theology, J. Chris Coetzee in education and A.J. van der Walt in history (Moodie 1980 61-62)

cept of the nation as a ordained, sacred entity, to be safeguarded at all costs as part of our Christian responsibility, could be vindicated".⁴⁰

3. The theological justification of separate development

As noted above, many Afrikaner students associated with the Gereformeerde Kerk or Dopperkerk went to the Netherlands to study at Kuyper's Free University in Amsterdam. Until 1957 all professors at Afrikaans universities - except for two at the Stellenbosch Theological Seminar - had attended the Free University.⁴¹ These theologians, on their return to South Africa, brought with them a political theology which provided the basis for reshaping South African society along ethnic lines. In fitting Kuyper's doctrine to the South African context, the politically active Afrikaner theologians modified his theology to justify segregation and apartheid.⁴² Hence, the Afrikaner churches played an overwhelming role in preparing the community to accept and vote for a socio-political programme that would revolutionise South Africa.

In the 1930s there was a growing feeling among Afrikaners that South Africa could be reconstructed and redeemed in terms of a newly-defined Afrikaner *lewens-en wereldbeskouing* (world-view). This was expressed in a secret circular to the Broederbond members of 1934 by its chairman Professor J.C. van Rooy. He set an ambitious goal for the Bond:

"The primary consideration is whether Afrikanerdom will reach its ultimate destiny of domination in South Africa. Brothers, the key to South Africa's problems is not whether one party or another shall obtain the whip-hand, but whether the Afrikaner Broederbond shall govern South Africa."⁴³

This theologising of Afrikaner politics had precedent in the late 1920s as academics of the Dopperkerk or Gereformeerde Kerk increasingly gained control over the administration of the Broederbond, turning it into a Christian-National organisation. As Irving Hexham put it:

"The Doppers made the Broederbond into a force to be reckoned with and used it to further their views and to propagate the myth of apartheid. They were able to dominate the organization while including many non-Doppers until the mid-1950s when Dr. Verwoerd and his supporters wrested it from Dopper control."⁴⁴

In August 1935 Afrikaner neo-Calvinists founded the Federasie van Kalvinistiese Studenteverenigings (Federation of Calvinistic Student Associations of South Africa). Two years later this Federation published the first part of the influential series *Koers in die Krisis* (Direction in the Crisis) in which the Kuyperian neo-Calvinism was applied to the South African situa-

⁴⁰ De Klerk (1988:257).

⁴¹ Only one of the six professors at the theological faculty at Pretoria between 1938 and 1952 did not study there. Until 1859 most students of the DRC studied in Utrecht and after 1907 at the Free University. Thus, from 1907 until 1952 only twelve students studied in Utrecht (Loubser 1987:34-35).

⁴² Already at an early stage, however, voices were raised against this development. In 1910 Johannes du Plessis, Professor of Theology at the Stellenbosch Seminar and editor of *Die Kerkbode*, spoke out against "the new, narrow and strict confessional direction of Dr. Kuyper" (quoted in Loubser 1987:35, quotations from Loubser's book *The Apartheid Bible* (1987) are in English and those of Botha (1986) translated from Afrikaans). Du Plessis' opposition to the infiltration of Kuyperian ideas into the Nederduits-Gereformeerde Kerk culminated in a heresy trial and dismissal from his academic post in 1928. On the struggle between Evangelicals and Calvinists in the Afrikaner churches see Moodie (1980:57-72).

⁴³ Quoted in Wilkins/Strydom (1980.2)

⁴⁴ Hexham (1981:190).

tion.⁴⁵ In his article on *Die Geskiedenis van die Calvinisme in Suid-Afrika*, the theologian J.V. Coetzee made a first reference to the interrelation between neo-Calvinism and the apartheid paradigm: "In the course of time South African Calvinism proclaimed the great commandment: no equality! It is important to note that the experienced wisdom of South African Calvinism was reflected in this." No equality meant: "Recognise the ordinances of God and do not try to make equal that which God had not made equal."⁴⁶

In another article in Koers, J.D. du Toit of the University of Potchefstroom dealt at length with the three basic principles of Calvinism: first, the Bible had to be the sole intellectual and normative standard; second, the Calvinist believed in the absolute sovereignty of God as reflected in the principle of 'sovereiniteit in eie kring'; and third, the true Calvinist distinguished particular grace from common grace.⁴⁷

The second and third parts of Koers in die Krisis followed in 1940 and 1941, lending the Christian-National ideal of the Afrikaner Broederbond its full Calvinistic attire.⁴⁸ In the second part of the Koers, the political scientist L.J. du Plessis, professor at the University of Potchefstroom and influential Broederbond policy-maker, argued that a 'unity' of reality and humanity in the transcendental creational purpose of God was to be acknowledged, but in its temporal appearance this unity became God-given 'diversity': "In its appearance humanity is manifested as differentiated in groups, of races and nations and of societies of different kinds, and also in unequal individuals."⁴⁹ This was an effort at reconciling biblical revelation, which taught the oneness of humanity, with experience, which taught the diversity of humanity. The two positions were reconciled by a claim, on the one hand, that the 'unity' of the human race was to be perceived as a recreation in the 'mystical body of Christ', - an invisible unity - and, on the other hand, that diversity had to be respected for practical purposes. In the South African situation the principle of diversity was assigned a central place in the construction of a theological framework.

In the third part of Koers in die Krisis (1941) the principle of diversity was clearly defined as "the principle of segregation which is through and through Calvinistic and had to be discovered in our situation".⁵⁰ The Afrikaner theologians had come to believe that God the Creator was also the Creator of nations, but had willed different colours for different nations, and different languages. Like every human being, every people was meant to be called to be

⁴⁵ Over the years, several dissertations at Afrikaans universities dealt with Kuypers' theology, as for example, that of the leading Afrikaner nationalist and influential Broederbonder, Andries Treurnicht. Treurnicht referred on various occasions to Kuypers' idea of *selfbeskikking in eie kring* (self-determination in one's own sphere) and applied it to the South African cultural context to mean the "protection and extension of a separate Afrikaner culture, based on the religion and traditions of the Boer nation" (quoted in Schutte 1987 402-403). In political terms he argued in favour of a policy that allowed each nation to fulfil its own vocation, sovereign in its own sphere of life (Treurnicht 1956). The important influence of Kuypers' doctrine on Afrikaner intellectuals is emphasised by the Afrikaner theologian J.A. Loubser (1987), by Andries Johannes Botha (1986), Dunbar Moodie (1980 52-72), Irving Hexham (1980, 1981 185-188), Gerrit Schutte (1987), Bloomberg (1990 4-30, 42-43) and Saul Dubow (1992 218-219, 1995 259-261).

⁴⁶ Coetzee (1935 59-60). Coetzee concluded "geen gelykstelling" sal moet toegepas word om die blanke hegemonie in Suid-Afrika nie in gevaar te stel nie, maar ook om die naturel nie te veronreg nie en om hom in sy eie aard te help ontwikkel" (Coetzee 1935 65).

⁴⁷ J.D. du Toit (1935 36-47). See also Botha (1986 192-194).

⁴⁸ Loubser (1987 34).

⁴⁹ Du Plessis's article on *Liberalistiese en Calvinistiese Naturelle-Politiek* (1940) quoted in Loubser (1987 36).

⁵⁰ Koers in die Krisis (1941 ix-x). See Loubser (1987 37).

itself. Everyone was called to preserve one's own.⁵¹ Thus, the way was open for equating political 'separation' with Kuyper's 'sovereignty in one's own sphere'.

A leading personality in the development of the theory on unity in diversity in South Africa was H.G. Stoker and L.J. du Plessis. Their views show influences of the Dutch neo-Calvinist philosopher Herman Dooyeweerd, who, together with D.H.T. Vollenhoven, revived the Dutch neo-Calvinist movement in the 1930s and founded their own school of Calvinist philosophy and social theory based on Kuyper's work. Kuyper's idea of 'sovereignty in one's own sphere' was developed further by Dooyeweerd who highlighted its normative character.⁵² Kuyper's 1869 pamphlet, *Uniformity, the Curse of Modern Life*,⁵³ also had a major impact on the formulation of the neo-Calvinist theology of apartheid. Kuyper emphasised diversity to the subordination of uniformity. He defended diversity against the grey uniformity of modern life and opposed the unifying tendencies of the nation-states in Europe. Slogans such as 'freedom, equality and brotherhood' were, according to Kuyper, aimed at eliminating diversity. Unity could grow only out of the diversity of peoples and generations and not the other way round. Drawing on the Scripture, he argued that even in heaven there was a diversity of spirits gathered before the throne of God. The National Party leader D.F. Malan, almost a century later, stated in the same spirit:

"Man should not forcibly seek to unify that which is not truly one. If there are people of good will who are one in mind and spirit, let them come together and confidently confess the faith of their hearts, provided they do not express a stronger unity than that which is truly common to them ... Let groups and circles form with full autonomy who know what they want, know what they confess, and for whom a unity in life exists, not a unity in name."⁵⁴

As has been mentioned, Kuyper opposed uniformity in the political system and proposed a 'con-federative system' in conformity with neo-Calvinist doctrine. He thus argued that the geographical division of constituencies as imposed through a uniform political system had to be altered in order to accommodate minorities. Each group had to have the right to finding the character and form most spiritually befitting its domestic and social life.⁵⁵ Kuyper's opposition to uniformity, as Loubser has argued,

"was to sound like music in the ears of Boers who at that time had already suffered a century of British rule ... In the 1940s the popularity of Kuyper's theology was to reach its climax in South Africa:

- a) The apartheid paradigm was then placed within a framework of principles.
- b) The people were seen as a sovereign sphere, normative in itself.
- c) The concept of creation ordinances gained popularity in exegetical arguments, with the 'principle of diversity' being seen as the most important of such creation ordinances.
- d) Nationalistic-tainted concepts such as national calling were now incorporated into a Kuyperian system of principles. It also served to stimulate the production of an idealised history.

⁵¹ Loubser (1987:37).

⁵² Botha (1986:181) For a summary of Kuyper's and Dooyeweerd's ideas see L.J. du Plessis (1941:136-146)

⁵³ Written in Dutch under the title *Eenvormigheid, de vloek van het modern Leven* (1869). Loubser summarized its content (1987:41-45).

⁵⁴ Quoted in Loubser (1987:44). This also constitutes the basis of his book on *Afrikaner Volkseenheid* (1959).

⁵⁵ Kuyper (1869:29). See Loubser (1987:44).

e) The whole system acquired the label 'Christian-National'.⁵⁶

Although the neo-Calvinist and Afrikaner nationalist tradition dominated the shaping of the *lewens-en wereldbeskouing* (world-view) of the Afrikaners, the German National-Socialist ideology of the Nazi era played its part too. The idea in Nazi ideology of a people as a unique organism and the concept of individual races as the basic units of the creation was compatible with ideas accepted in Afrikaner circles. The German influence was visible essentially in the works of three leading Afrikaner intellectuals, namely Dr. Nico J. Diederichs, Dr. Piet Meyer and Professor Geoffrey Cronjé. Diederichs had studied in Stellenbosch, Germany and the Netherlands, became a professor of political philosophy in Pretoria in 1936, and from 1938 to 1942 chaired the Broederbond. Diederichs' publication *Nasionalisme as Lewensbeskouing en sy Verhouding tot Internasionalisme*⁵⁷ (1936) dealt with nationalism as a *Weltanschauung* and formulated the central principles of what was soon to become the concept of apartheid or separate development. According to Diederichs, God ordained the division of nations (*volke*) each with its own specific calling. Service to the nation was thus service to God. The nation was the only true reality. Any attempt to obliterate national differences abrogated God's national plan, hence the rejection of notions of human equality. Willem de Klerk described it as the first sustained statement of theologised politics to come from an Afrikaner.⁵⁸

The writings of Cronjé, Professor of Sociology at the University of Pretoria, also provided a preliminary outline for the coming system.⁵⁹ Piet Meyer attempted to identify the racial characteristics of the Afrikaner with those of the Nazis' 'Aryan', welcomed the idea of national socialism, and combined it with Kuyperian neo-Calvinism. He expressed the feelings of an ever more radical and inward-growing circle of Afrikanerdom based on 'racial' and ethnic purity:

"To Afrikanerdom belong only those who by virtue of blood, soil, culture and tradition, belief, calling for an organic unitary society ... The Afrikaner national movement as bearer of the future national state of the Afrikaners is thus at the same time a people's institution by means of which a natural national leadership will be formed, the inwardly directed organic interaction of the nation can be assured and individually the national members (*volkslede*) can be disciplined by constructive service to the nation (*volksdiens*) as an organic whole. In the future Afrikaner national state (*volksstaat*) the undivided power granted by God rests with the Afrikaner state authority [*volksregering*]. This undivided state power, is limited in its exercise by the sovereignty in a particular sphere (*soewereiniteit in eie kring*) ordained by God in original creation; in the organic human entities such as the Church, the individual, the family, and the nation."⁶⁰

⁵⁶ Loubser (1987:47-47)

⁵⁷ Nationalism as a 'Weltanschauung' and its Relation to Internationalism. See Loubser (1987:49-50) and Moodie (1980:156-159). Diederichs was studying for his doctorate in philosophy at Leiden University in the Netherlands and did also graduate work in Munich, Cologne and Berlin. From 1951 to 1952 Diederichs was chairman of the Broederbond and from 1975 to 1978 the state president of South Africa. Afrikaners with close links to Germany founded the paramilitary ultra-nationalist movement, the Ossewabrandwag (Oxwagon Guard), with a secret military arm, the *stormjaers* (stormtroopers) modelled on the Nazi SS. For a detailed analysis on the impact of Nazi-ideology on the Afrikaner nationalist movement see Furlong (1991), Hagemann (1989) and Strydom (1990)

⁵⁸ De Klerk (1988:204). On Diederich's philosophy see Moodie (1980:155-159) and de Klerk (1988:203-205,213-214).

⁵⁹ For a discussion of Cronjé's publications see de Klerk (1988:215-221) and J M Coetzee (1991)

⁶⁰ Meyer (1942) quoted in de Klerk (1988:214-215). Meyer was addressing the Afrikaner Nasionale Studentebond (ANSB) during its national conference. In the 1930s Piet Meyer studied at the Free University of Amsterdam to do a

The theory of sovereignty in one's own sphere assumed a new content that was nationalist, ethnic and populist in nature. This was reinforced by the German mission theory, which was echoed by Afrikaner theologians and volkekundiges.⁶¹ By accommodating the mission theory and Kuyperian neo-Calvinism the Afrikaners gave the notion of volk a new meaning.

3.1. *Panta ta ethne* - the mission theory of Gustav Warneck and the science of *Völker*

During the nineteenth and early twentieth century, German missionary circles debated the question of *Einzelbekehrung* (individual conversion) and *Volkschristianisierung* (volk - national - Christianisation) that arose from a conflictual interpretation of Matthew 28:19, in which Christ instructed the disciples to go and teach *panta ta ethne*, all the nations, and baptise them. The question asked was: Does this refer to individuals, as the German Pietists argued, or to volke, peoples, ethnic groups and nations? Towards the turn of the last century the emphasis shifted towards the latter.

One of the strongest proponents of volk-Christianisation was Gustav Warneck (1834-1910), known as the father of academic missiology. In his monumental work *Evangelische Missionslehre* (1902), which became a guideline for German missions, he argued in favour of the translation of *ethne* as *Völker* and ethnic units.⁶² Warneck's exegesis of the phrase *panta ta ethne* dominated the German missiological scene. In the case of South Africa, he influenced Afrikaner theological thinking, particularly through Johannes du Plessis' popularisation of his views in his guide for young missionaries called *Wie sal Gaan? of die Sending in Teorie en Praktyk* (1932).⁶³ For volkekundiges such as Werner Eiselen it offered a welcome point of departure for constructing a theory of culture and ethnic groups.⁶⁴

It was Warneck's intention to prove that volk-Christianisation was biblically justifiable. He read into Matthew 28:19 a summary of the entire mission theory, namely the Christianisation (*matheteuein*) of heathens as *Völker* (*ethne*). He stressed *Völker* rather than individuals. Between the individual and volk stood the family. Using the typical nineteenth century scheme of concentric society-building, Warneck schematised the Old and New Testaments: the individual Abraham, his house or family, his volk Israel, transubstantiated into Jesus, the home community (*Hausgemeinde*), *Volkskirche* (volk-church). Warneck concluded that just as

doctorate in philosophy and education. He also visited Germany. From 1960 to 1970 Piet Meyer was chairman of the Broederbond and headed the state-controlled South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) for most of the 1960s and 1970s. On Meyer's attempts to combine national socialism and Kuyperian neo-Calvinism see Furlong (1991 93-96), Moodie (1980 162-164, 169-172) and de Klerk (1988 213-217). The organic nature of the volk was also stressed in Meyer's book, *Die Afrikaner* (1941:55-56).

⁶¹ The paradigms of Afrikaner volkekunde and social anthropology in South Africa are discussed in chapter V and chapter VII.

⁶² For a summary on Warneck's mission theory see Hoekendijk (1967 87-97).

⁶³ See Niederberger (1959.181-193), Bosch (1982,1983,1984), B du Toit (1984) and Brits (1994 93-93). Among Afrikaner theologians it became common to emphasise the existence of separate nations (*die bestaan van aparte volke*). See for example Groenewald, theology professor at the University of Potchefstroom, in *Regerdige Rasse-Apartheid* (1947 46-47).

⁶⁴ See for example Eiselen's article on *Dusse Sendingwerk in Suid-Afrika en die Bantoevolksee* (1957). On the relationship between missionaries and volkekundiges see B du Toit (1984).

the Israeli nations could be seen as an extension of Abrahams family, so could the Christianisation of nations and peoples be a consequence of the Christianisation of the family. He propounded the following method for the missionising of nations:

- a) Preaching had to be directed towards bringing the good news to an entire people or nation.
- b) Home congregation (*Hausgemeinden*) had to be constituted as the basis of a *Volk-skirche*.
- c) Missionising had to be directed towards the entirety of a volk, and not just to the lower strata of the volk, for the 'healthy' elements of a volk (i.e., the upper strata and especially the middle class) were necessary for building up the church.
- d) Participation and co-operation at all levels had to be organised nationally.
- e) A national feeling was to be nourished to keep the volk healthy.⁶⁵

This latter point meant that prudent cultivation of the individuality or peculiarity of a volk was legitimate so long as it was directed towards warding off the dissolution of a nationality into atomised units.

Volk-Christianisation and individual conversion were thus reconciled as two separate phases in the missionising task of converting heathen peoples through individuals. Warneck believed firmly in the pluralism of nations - *ta ethne*. He perceived the heathen world not as a homogeneous entity, but rather as a world dividable into various peoples. He wanted accordingly to achieve a "natural integration of the ethnographic notions of ethne in the religious realm".⁶⁶ He spoke of a nationalist creation of Christianisation and a folklorisation of missionary activity. As Warneck put it:

"These three things constitute for us the notion of volk-Christianisation: a) to encompass in the Christian church as large a circle of people as possible; b) to give the church of each people its own ethnic imprint; and c) to maintain a Christian influence on all aspects of the life of a people"⁶⁷

Practical implementation of this Christianisation programme meant:

1. Use of the volk language
2. Respect for and preservation of every natural form of community, especially the family as the basis of the volk community (child baptism)
3. Founding of Christian schools in order to reach the youth
4. Avoiding isolation of the Christians from the volk community: hence, a preference for baptising the individual without removing the Christian individuals from their volk community
5. Immediate participation of indigenous converts in the missionizing effort
6. Respect and cultivation of volk customs (no Europeanising)⁶⁸

The relationship between social anthropology, volkekunde (discussed in chapters V and VII) and this Christianisation programme becomes obvious when one deletes all references to Christianity: the paradigmatic basis of anthropological theory and practice and Christianisa-

⁶⁵ Hoekendijk (1967:89-90)

⁶⁶ Warneck quoted in Hoekendijk (1967:93). Translated by B. Schmidt.

⁶⁷ "Diese drei Dinge konstituieren für uns den Begriff der Volkschristianisierung: a) möglichst große Volkskreise in den christlichen Kirchenbereich bringen; b) die Kirche (soll) in jedem Volk ein volkstümliches Gepräge tragen; c) das gesamte Volksleben christlich beeinflussen." (Warneck quoted in Hoekendijk 1967:93-94) Translated by B. Schmidt.

⁶⁸ Hoekendijk (1967:94).

tion proved to be one and the same. Warneck observed that the "natural integration of ethnographic notions" in missionising was successful: "Everything that relates to the volk [ethnic] attitude of the mission practice hopefully carries the mark of a mission methodology closer to the nature of mankind."⁶⁹

The notion of volk, i.e. ethnicity, became a centre-piece in his teachings: "When Jesus commanded to go forth and christianise, *panta ta ethne*, he meant for them to make them Christians *on the basis of their own nature-given volk feeling*".⁷⁰ The notion of volk (ethnic group or nation) took on the meaning of 'nature', or 'natural' in Warneck's theory, and 'nature' in the nineteenth century meant above all the volk. The 'ethnic line' was increasingly emphasised and ever more refined so that the church came to stress the nation as a part of the natural order.⁷¹

Since the Romantic era, German sociology too tended towards regarding all social organisations as *Volksorgane*. The word *volk* - the people, the nation - took on mystical overtones, volk is quite untranslatable, because it designated both a sentiment and a body of convictions to which there was no exact, or even approximate, parallel elsewhere. In order to gain a fuller understanding of the relevance this concept had in South Africa it is necessary to consider briefly its meaning in the context of nineteenth century Germany.

The roots of the concept of volk and *Volkerpsychologie* lie in German text criticism of the 1850s developed by the classical philologists and theologians.⁷² This term *Psychologie* had its origins in hermeneutics, the canon of principles for text criticism. Used at first by the theologian Friedrich Daniel Schleiermacher (1768-1834), *Psychologie* was the study of inspiring spirits, i.e., how the writers of the gospel gave reliable expression to the Holy Spirit. In the course of the formation of the German Nation, the classical philologists discovered the cultures of nations, especially the hierarchy of cultures, with the ancient Greek and Roman cultures being assigned a superior status. These were compared with barbarian cultures. This paradigm was interwoven with theological speculations. Text critics began to refer to their work as *Psychologie* - of nations and cultures. For Greek scholars, *Psychologie* literally signified the study of the *Geist* (Afrikaans: *gees*), the sacred icon of Romanticism. Wilhelm von Humboldt (1767-1835), in the forefront of the German neo-humanist revival of classical education, propagated the scholarly study of the national *Geist* as *Volkerpsychologie*. For the classicists it meant the study of how ancient authors gave expression to the national (volk) spirit.⁷³

⁶⁹ Warneck quoted in Hoekendijk (1967 94) Translated by B Schmidt

⁷⁰ "Wenn Jesus befiehlt, *panta ta ethne* zu christianisieren, so sollen sie christlich gemacht werden *auf Grund ihrer volklichen Naturegenart*" (Warneck quoted in Hoekendijk 1967 94-95) Emphasis in the original. Translated by B Schmidt. Warneck made the middle class the 'healthy' core of the *Volkswesen* (Afrikaans: *volksiel*) (Hoekendijk 1967 107)

⁷¹ It coincided with the Anglican mission theory as promoted by Bishop Colenso (see chapter II) and others advocating the Christian mission ideal of an independent national church. The *Volkskirche* became the 'national church'. The idea was even more refined into a racial church (*Rassenkirche*). In Germany one equated race with volk, national with race and volk. Hence the 'national church' was translated into the 'native church'. But it was stressed that many of these 'native churches' were not mature enough to be declared independent (Hoekendijk 1967 121)

⁷² Whitman (1984 214) The meaning of the German notion of *Kultur* in the context of European history is most eloquently examined by Norbert Elias (1976)

⁷³ Whitman (1984 218) and Wallmann (1988 184-192) Together with Humboldt Schleiermacher was involved in founding Berlin University (1810). In Germany, in 1859, the *Zeitschrift für Volkerpsychologie und Sprachwissenschaften* was founded by the brothers Grimm, Moritz Lazarus and Heymann Steinthal and served as a forum for all those

Thus, this hermeneutic conception of *Psychologie* penetrated then the notion of the *Kultur* (culture) of the nation. A cultured nation was 'educated' (gebildet), therefore the progress of culture meant progress in the education (Bildung) of the nation. Cultured nations were contrasted with primitive nations. High-cultured nations were infused with the Geist of Genius. Hence, brilliant statesmen or inspired thinkers could only arise in high-cultured nations.

The classical philological conception of culture also permeated German scientific anthropology and was applied to the study of 'primitive cultures'. Within this paradigm, Wilhelm Wundt (1832-1920) developed his *Volkerpsychologie*. This psychology presupposed a distinction between primitive nations and cultured nations, between more and less 'educated' peoples. Primitive nations could be explained by means of natural science alone, but only philology could account for culture. Cultures appeared and progressed only with the appearance of brilliant individuals.⁷⁴ Nonetheless, to understand 'high culture', it was necessary to understand its forerunner, the 'primitive cultures'.

The interest in primitive societies led to the appearance of *Anthropologie*. The ethnologist Adolf Bastian (1826-1905) was the first to try to establish anthropology as the study of primitive life as an academic discipline in Germany.⁷⁵ The task of anthropology was to determine when and how man's *Geist* carried him up and out of the realm explicable by natural science alone into the realm in which the services of historians and philologists were needed. From this arose the distinction between *Naturvölker* and *Kulturvölker*.

Wundt asserted that *Volkerpsychologie* should be restricted only to *Naturvölker* and prehistory and not encompass *Kulturvölker*. Thus, applying paradigms of culture derived from studying ancient Greek culture to the study of 'Hottentots' never came into question. Nevertheless, Wundt admitted that the primitive cultures had something in common with the high cultures: They had the holistic *Geist* of the nation in an embryonic form. *Naturvölker* could be seen as non-individualistic singularities, as concentrated wholeness of a primitive kind. Metaphorically, they behaved unconsciously like collective individuals.⁷⁶

Gustav Warneck's concept of *volk* implied an 'ethnopathic' attitude legitimated by the biblical *ta ethne*. The community was put into the context of an 'ethnic whole'. As a result, the diversity was overlooked and condensed so that the fragments were constructed and melted into a whole, which was supposed to constitute a *volk*-organism. Under the umbrella term *Volkstum*, one could bring together all social structures. The reality had to be summarised and categorised: caste, polygyny, slavery, initiation, circumcision, etc., which all together counted as *volk*-customs. It was then possible to grasp a piece of 'nature' in sociolo-

interested in *Psychologie* and linguistics as well as for ethnologists concerned with the anthropology of *Naturvölker* (Stagl 1981: 28)

⁷⁴ Whitman (1984: 219-220). The following paragraphs are a summary of Whitman's article (1984) on German philology, psychology and anthropology in the nineteenth century

⁷⁵ See Stagl (1981: 28-32) and Bastian (1881) on the emergence of German *Volkerkunde*. On Adolf Bastian see Koeppling (1983)

⁷⁶ There was a difference in what *volk* meant in Germany and how the Afrikaners used it. Warneck developed his mission theory in relation to *Naturvölker*, the Afrikaners used *volk* in terms of *Kulturvolk*, for themselves as well as for blacks - Bantu -, even though it may not at first glance seem so. This is quite clear in the development of concepts of Afrikaner *volkekunde* in South African (see chapter VII). The English social anthropologists conceived of *volk* as *ethne* in the sense of *Naturvolk*, hence, their use of the term primitive culture. See chapter V

gical terms. The volk was hypostasised. Social reality coincided with *Volkstum*. Christianisation in this reality meant to work and preach in a way appropriate to the volk-ideal (*volks-gemäß*). *Volksgemäß* was universal. It included the concept of nation and volk as the entity fundamental to all human communities and all aspects of reality. Thus, mission work was to be tailored according to the object being missionised. Thereby, identifying Christianisation with Europeanising was to be avoided. It was exactly for this reason that the Anglo-Saxon mission method was criticised, for it equated Anglicisation with Christianisation.⁷⁷

This excursion into *Völkerpsychologie* and theology should suffice to demonstrate the parallels between Warneck's mission theory and the Afrikaners' modification of the notion of nation found in the Kuyperian theory of 'sovereignty in one's own sphere'. The Afrikaners applied the achievements of German *Völkerpsychologie* to *Völker* in general, especially to the study of the Afrikaner volk, as a means to justify its existence as a separate entity. Abel Coetzee stated in his article on *Die Afrikaner se Volkskunde* (1945) that South Africa had an academic discipline that dealt exclusively with "die aard van 'n volk" (the character of a volk). He argued that since volkskunde is a social science and not a history of the individual, its aim should be to study and explain the *volksgees* and *volksiel*.⁷⁸

How Afrikaners sought to justify their world-view on theological grounds and how Kuyper's neo-Calvinism came to be implanted in the ideology of apartheid is the subject of the next section.

3.2. Biblical proof of apartheid

Apartheid in 1948 was not fundamentally new but can be seen as a radicalisation of a series of laws enacted during the first half of the twentieth century under English dominance. If segregation be described as a 'pragmatic racial policy', then apartheid constituted a policy of segregation along ethnic lines. The Nederduits-Gereformeerde Kerk (NGK) set the tone for this radicalisation of politics directed against the blacks.

The Kuyperian Afrikaner theologians of the NGK were successful in constructing a religious justification for apartheid.⁷⁹ Biblical proofs were first supplied in support of apartheid in 1942 by W.J. van der Merwe in an article in the theological journal *Op die Horison*.⁸⁰ He listed the following scriptural passages which in his opinion provided full support for 'God-willed national separateness' and thus the apartheid paradigm: Joshua 23:12-13 (the prohibition on Israel to mix with other peoples); Acts 2 (feast of the Pentecost when the Gospel was heard by each in his own language); Acts 17:26 (God made every race or nation and it was not expected of heathen that they take over the Jewish culture after their conversion to Christianity); Revelation 7:9 (before the throne of the Lamb a great multitude of all nations, tribes,

⁷⁷ Hoekendijk (1967:137,146-147).

⁷⁸ Coetzee (1945:362-365). Coetzee did not differentiate between *Kulturvolker* (civilised peoples) and *Naturvolker* (primitive peoples) in the sense of Wundt. He spoke of *volksmense* as ethnic group and in the context of sovereignty in one's own sphere.

⁷⁹ For the use of scripture in Afrikaner theology to justify apartheid see Vorster (1983), Bax (1983), Kinghorn (1990 73-76), Botha (1986) and Loubser (1987:58-69,90-101).

⁸⁰ See Botha (1986:190-191).

peoples and tongues is gathered); Revelation 21:26 (And they shall bring the glory and honour of the nations into the heavenly Jerusalem). In the following years more passages were added.

A year after van der Merwe's article appeared, the Afrikaners found themselves in a new crisis. In 1943 due to wartime shortages the law assuring work for whites only was repealed. In the same year at a meeting of the Council of NG churches a decision was taken to rely on the biblical proofs for apartheid. The final report read:

"This meeting took note of the increasing agitation for equality of colour and race in our country, but wants to point out that according to the Bible God actually called nations into existence (Gen 11:1-9; Acts 2:6,8,11) each with its own language, history, Bible and Church, and that the salvation also for the native tribes in our country has to be sought in a sanctified self-respect and in a God-given national pride."⁸¹

Shortly before, in 1942, the NGK had sent deputations such as the Federal Missionary Council⁸² to Jan Smuts demanding that the government introduce legislation allowing inter alia separate schools and residential areas and disallowing 'mixed' marriages. Their demands amounted to the whole package of what later became known as apartheid laws.⁸³ In 1943 the Federal Council in an open letter to the NG member churches laid down the guidelines of the churches' apartheid policy:

"We confess anew our faith in the special calling God has for the Afrikaner volk. We believe that our volk must actualise a divine counsel (Godsgehalte), and we may not renounce our calling to retain a Christian white nation (volk) ... We believe that the first calling of the Church always remains to serve the spiritual interests of the people (volk) and to combat everything that would damage the cause and principles of Christ and the honour of God in the life of our people (volk). In the social sphere again, the Christian principle of the Brotherhood of man demands that the greatest affluence and the most miserable poverty may not exist side by side in the same country, but that all efforts should be bent - without delay - to mete out economic justice to all members of the people (volk)."⁸⁴

The biblical justification of apartheid found general acceptance at the Afrikaner Volkskongress at Bloemfontein in 1944 organised by the FAK. The congress was a gathering of the leading Afrikaner intellectuals, politicians and theologians as well as representatives of nearly 200 Afrikaner religious and cultural organisations. It was a crucial conference since "for the first time a reasoned and systematic exposition was given of that which was implied by 'apartheid'.⁸⁵ It was J.D. du Toit - son of the Kuyperian S.J. du Toit - who for the first time presented the 'Apartheid Bible' in his keynote address on *Die Godsdiensige Grondslag van ons*

⁸¹ Quoted in Loubser (1987:60)

⁸² The Federal Missionary Council (FMC) of the NGK was founded in April 1942. South African missionary activities by the various churches had been co-ordinated by the General Missionary Conference (GMC) founded in 1904. Once the NG churches had agreed on their own missionary policy, they instituted in 1936 the Christian Council of South Africa to supersede the GMC. Differences in opinion resulted in the withdrawal of the NGK and the founding of the Afrikaner dominated body FMC which explicitly adopted a rigid doctrine of segregation and later apartheid (Hofmeyr/Pillay 1994:231-235)

⁸³ Moodie (1980:242-243) and Loubser (1987:52)

⁸⁴ Letter of the Federal Council quoted in Serfontein (1982:268)

⁸⁵ Botha (1986:192). The debate at the congress and the resolutions were published and disseminated by the FAK (FAK 1944). Botha argued that the congress "was an important bridge for the further dissemination of typical Kuyperian theology from the circles of the Gereformeerde Kerk" (Botha 1986:192)

Rassebeleid (The Religious Basis of our Race Policy) (1944) to a large audience. In his presentation du Toit mixed biblical exegesis with a global conception of Afrikaner history and philosophy. He discussed the creation narrative and concluded that the principle of diversity was grounded in the creation ordinance. Hence, he argued, racial integration was not only foolish, but also sinful. Apartheid was thus justified, because God called for its implementation for the well-being of black and white alike. Hence, racial separation was not only an Afrikaner tradition, it represented the Will of God. Du Toit explained that in the providence of God's common grace, every nation had received a 'calling', as expressed in the Bible by Paul. This 'calling' du Toit interpreted as justification for the guardianship of whites over blacks.

The key passage in du Toit's speech - important for subsequent apartheid theology - referred to the story of Babel. He argued that "peoples had to preserve themselves over against a Babylonian spirit of unification".⁸⁶ He formulated two principles fundamental to the apartheid Bible: "Firstly, that which God has joined together no man should put asunder. This is the essence of our plea for the unity of people ... Secondly, we may not join together that which God has separated. In pluriformity the council of God is realised. The higher unity in Christ is of a spiritual nature. Therefore no equality [*gelykstelling*] and no miscegenation [*verbastering*]", because it was against the principle of God's order established at the time of the tower of Babel.⁸⁷ To underline his arguments du Toit cited Abraham Kuyper.

Du Toit's view was largely reaffirmed by Professor J.H. Kritzinger, who quoted extensively from the Bible in an article published in *Op die Horison* in 1947, making an interesting distinction between direct and indirect scriptural evidence for apartheid. Kritzinger made use of Kuyper's ideas in depicting the 'diversity of races' as a 'divine ordinance'. He concluded that firstly, Scripture teaches that God willed racial apartheid and that Christians may not make light of it. On the other hand, Scripture also teaches the unity and the brotherhood of all people and this entails an attitude of service towards one's fellow human being.⁸⁸

The influence of the Volkskongress in Johannesburg in July 1947 under the auspices of the NGK with more than 700 delegates, comprising leaders from every possible sphere of Afrikaner life, can hardly be underestimated. Of the 95 resolutions passed by the Volkskongress several dealt explicitly with the implementation of apartheid. Resolution 44, 47 and 48 stated as follows:

"(47) The Congress regards it as the ideal solution of the racial problems of South Africa that eventually the whites and non-whites be separated from each other, territorially, economically and politically ...

(48) White and non-whites should be enlightened about the significance of our racial problems, and especially about the aim that is being pursued by a policy of racial apartheid

(48a) The Congress expresses the conviction that the Church must take the lead to draft a definite racial policy for her people (volk) ...

(44) The Congress pronounces its conviction that by virtue of the principle of Christian trusteeship, the task and responsibility of the white race is (a) to render unto the non-white races the necessary

⁸⁶ Quoted in *Afrikaans in Botha* (1986:193). The full address is published in *Inspan*, December 1944. See Kinghorn (1993) on the Babel interpretation by Afrikaners.

⁸⁷ Quoted in *Afrikaans in Botha* (1986:193-194).

⁸⁸ Kritzinger (1947).

protection; (b) to give them the opportunity, under his leadership - in the material as well as the spiritual sphere - and with sufficient material support, to develop in such a manner that they eventually will be able to handle their own affairs independently and responsibly, and to work out their own destiny according to their national character (volksaard)."⁸⁹

In 1948 at the Cape Synod special attention was drawn to the issue of diversity of the 'human race' in the Bible. In its summary report the Synod stated that nothing in the Bible was in conflict with the policy of apartheid. With reference to Acts 17:26, "it is clear that the existence of different races and peoples had not only been *allowed* by God, but has expressly been *willed* and *ordained* by Him."⁹⁰ The paired concepts, diversity and unity (*eenheid en verskeidenheid*), a central theme in all these statements, formed the framework for the NGK's vision of apartheid. It reveals how Kuyperian political philosophy and theology - in a modified form - found acceptance among the two largest synods of the NGK in the same year in which D.F. Malan and his National Party came to power. The responsibility to implement the programme of the various bodies of the NGK was then in the hands of an Afrikaner dominated government. Once in power, the Afrikaners learned that economic reality proved to be far more unwieldy than theory.

In 1950 the Federal Missionary Council of the NGK held a congress in Bloemfontein on the *naturelle vraagstuk* (Native question). The congress completed the final blueprint for total apartheid in all spheres as an ideal of total segregation and publicised it. Prime Minister D.F. Malan heavily criticised the formulation of total apartheid on economic grounds. In parliament he rejected the plea for economic apartheid, saying that it was impractical and definitely not the policy of the National Party Government. The post-war economic boom made black labour even more indispensable. Hence blacks could not be totally excluded. The situation called for legislation based, on the one hand, on total segregation in the political and social sphere, and on the other hand, allowing a more flexible approach to segregation in the economic sphere to the extent required as to suit the white economic interests. With the implementation of the 'sex laws', the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act of 1949, the Population Registration Act and the Group Areas Act in 1950, the Afrikaner churches saw cornerstones of their theological mission become reality.⁹¹

In the 1950s previously accepted interpretations of the concepts of diversity and unity were revised. The emphasis came to fall on reconciling the mystical unity of humanity in Christ with the principle of diversity. Since all people were to be seen equal before God, unity could not be negated by diversity. Therefore, it was argued that unity in Christ did not destroy the natural diversity, but rather recreated and sanctified it. This was compatible with the political agenda of Verwoerdian apartheid in the 1960s for a confederation of independent 'Bantu nation-states' or a 'Commonwealth of nations', especially since South Africa had been voted out of the British Commonwealth in 1961. In this context one had to rethink the notion of

⁸⁹ Resolutions of the Volkskongress quoted in Serfontein (1982:268).

⁹⁰ Quoted in Loubser (1987:61). Emphasis in original. See also Botha (1986:202-203). Shortly after the National Party came to power in 1948, *Die Kerkbode*, the official journal of the NGK, noted with pride. "As a Church we have always worked purposefully for the separation of the races. In this regard apartheid can rightfully be called a church policy" (*Die Kerkbode* 22 September 1948, p 664-665, quoted in Villa-Vicencio 1983 59)

⁹¹ Botha (1986:211-213).

apartheid based on unity in diversity. It became unity as diversity. A commission of the NGK in the 1950s expressed the view that

“every nation and race will be able to perform the greatest service to God and the world if it keeps its own national attributes, received from God’s own hand ... Those who are culturally and spiritually advanced have a mission to leadership and protection of the less advanced ... The Natives must be led and formed towards independence so that eventually they will be equal to the Europeans, but each on his own territory and each serving God in his own fatherland.”⁹²

Within such a paradigm the concept of race was discarded and substituted by ethnic group and volk. Eventually the word race almost entirely disappeared from church documents, only to make way for the concepts of nation and the diversity of nations.

Apartheid as a policy of ‘unity as diversity’ became reality in South Africa as the Homeland policy was written into law. The intention was to establish a federation of independent states, for whites as well as for blacks. What was remarkable about this phenomenon was that as these ethnic nationalities took the form of ‘independent’ nation-states, it became obvious that South Africa required some degree of unity. This provoked a nationalist mobilisation of the blacks escaping their exclusion and marginalisation as ethnic ‘Bantu nations’ and fight for democratic rights in a common South African society.

In the late 1980s the South African government had to realise that their policies had failed and in 1990 President Frederik Willem de Klerk officially announced the end of Apartheid. Just before this political change took place, the NGK had decided that the biblical passages that had legitimated apartheid could be interpreted in a completely different way, namely, instead of exclusive ethnic diversity, they supported unified ethnic diversity, or ‘one nation many cultures’.⁹³

⁹² Quoted in Wilkins/Strydom (1980:288) In 1966 the NGK stated in a report adopted by the General Synod that “ethnic diversity is in agreement with God’s will” and it would be sinful to attempt unity (NGK 1966 7) Also at the NGK Cape Town General Synod in 1974 its members approved of separate development as explained in a booklet *Human Relations and the South African Scene in the Light of the Scripture* (translated from the Afrikaans version *Volk, Ras en Nasie*) It stated “A political system based on the autogenous or separate development of various population groups can be justified from the Bible.” (quoted in Serfontein 1982 231)

⁹³ Loubser (1987 105-121) The slogan ‘one nation many cultures’ gained popularity during the election rallies of the ANC in April 1994 and was used especially by Nelson Mandela

Chapter VII

The development of volkekunde

As has been discussed in chapter VI on the Afrikaner ethnic-nationalist mobilisation in the first half of the twentieth century, the Afrikaners not only achieved their breakthrough and upliftment against British dominance in religious, political and economic spheres, but also, as to be expected, in the realm of higher education and learning. The result was that the Afrikaners developed their own brand of anthropology to work out a concept of Bantu ethnic groups, different from that of the English social anthropologists. This concept was surprisingly directed against the 'primitiveness' of 'primitive societies'. The Afrikaners took over the paradigm of ethnic holism from British social anthropologists, but in recourse to Kuyper's neo-Calvinism and the German mission theories, German Bantuistic and *Volkerkunde* they set another accent. They stressed the concept of the nation, of a volk, combined with the Kuyperian notion of sovereignty in one's own sphere.

Colleges and universities - limited to the exclusive or predominant enrolment of white students - were thought were divided along language lines. The colleges, and later universities, of Cape Town, Johannesburg, Durban and Grahamstown became the centres of white English-speaking South Africans, while Stellenbosch, Potchefstroom, Bloemfontein and Pretoria had the most important Afrikaans-medium universities.¹

There were few scholarly meetings between the two laagers. In contrast to the English-speaking social anthropologists, the Afrikaners anthropologists named 'their' subject volkekunde, borrowing from the German *Volkerkunde*.² The volkekundiges had two emphases which were only secondary among the South African English social anthropologists. These were the Native question, the *naturellevraagstuk*, and the ethnogenesis of the Afrikanervolk and their peculiar Afrikaner problems, or *volkevraagstukke*, particularly in regard to the poor whites (*armblankes*).³ Thus, volkekunde was having to deal with two competing processes of ethnogenesis: that of the Afrikaners and that of the blacks.

¹ The college in Stellenbosch became a full university in 1918, Pretoria, in 1930, and Potchefstroom, in 1950

² For a critical examination of Afrikaner volkekunde see Gordon (1988), Sharp (1980 2-5, 1980a, 1981, 1989) and A Kuper (1988). See the article of Booyens (1989) and Booyens and van Rensburg (1980), two Afrikaner volkekundiges, responding to Sharp's criticism. The critique on the theory and practice of volkekundiges in South Africa presented by social anthropologists is justified, but one is left with the impression that social anthropologists remained untouched by political trends. One should keep in mind Isaac Schapera's complaint that social anthropologists were largely excluded from the Department of Native Affairs, as well as Godfrey Wilson's outline on the task of the Rhodes Livingstone-Institute. As Sharp concluded "One cannot forget that South African anthropologists - with few exceptions, worked from positions within the ruling class to interpret the 'ways-of-life' of various ethnic fragments of the people who are dominated" (Sharp 1981: 35).

³ In 1957, Julius Lewin, lecturer in Native Law and Administration at the Department of Bantu Studies at the University of the Witwatersrand, gave a rather partial explanation for the fact that social anthropologists did not take cognisance of the Afrikaners. He remarked "The ignorance of the English-speaking world about the Afrikaners is easy to understand. There is not a single book in the English language devoted to a description, let alone an analysis, of this unknown nationality" (Lewin 1957: 41). That revealed a lot about the relationship between the English-speaking and Afrikaners

From the beginning, the volkekundiges had more contact with universities in Germany than in the Netherlands. The mission theory developed by Gustav Warneck and the German Bantuistic with a joint emphasis on linguistics and ethnology (*Volkekunde*) influenced the development of South African volkekunde via students of a German missionary background at Afrikaans-medium colleges and universities who went to Germany to study Bantu philology and ethnology. The most renowned were Werner Eiselen and N.J. van Warmelo, who studied in the 1920s at the Hamburg Kolonialinstitut - the mecca of the African linguists - followed by J.A. Engelbrecht, Izak Christiaan van Eeden and Dirk Ziervogel in the 1930s.

Also Hendrik Verwoerd, who became Minister of Native Affairs in September 1950 and South Africa's Prime Minister from 1958 to 1966, had studied between 1925 and 1927 at the universities of Hamburg, Leipzig and Berlin, spending a term at each. Verwoerd had initially studied Theology at the University of Stellenbosch, but at the beginning of 1923 he abandoned Theology in order to do a doctorate in psychology. His studies in Germany in *Volkerpsychologie* brought him closer to the idea of volk and its specific interrelation with sociology, ethnology, Volkekunde and philology, and, in a broad sense, missiology. From 1932 to 1936 Verwoerd held the chair in sociology at the University of Stellenbosch, where the Departments of Sociology and Volkekunde co-operated especially on issues concerning solutions to the poor white problem and the Native question.⁴

The development of the Afrikaner volkekunde can be divided into two phases. The first was from its formation in the mid-1920s and continuing for about thirty years. This was the time when British social anthropology was at its height with its theory of functionalism for constructing and explaining primitive cultures and ethnic groups. The Afrikaner volkekundiges were disquieted with the presence of the blacks as competitors, especially on the labour market, and the Native question was their greatest concern. Because this was what preoccupied them, one hardly finds before the 1950s any detailed theoretical model or ethnographies by volkekundiges at Afrikaans-medium universities.

The second phase began in the 1950s with theorising about ethnic group and ethnos. Extensive field work and 'participant observation', the *sine qua non* of social anthropological research, did not play an important role. Volkekundiges, in their studies on the Bantu, relied to a great extent on material provided by social anthropologists and data collected by researchers working for the Ethnological Section of the Department of Native Affairs.

Since then, various publications have aimed at filling this gap. See especially Vernon February's book, *The Afrikaners of South Africa* (1991), Adam/Giliomee (1979) and de Klerk (1988).

⁴ For biographical details on Hendrik Verwoerd see Kenny (1980,1991 36-199) As chairperson of the Sociological Commission, Verwoerd attended the National Conference on the poor white problem (2-3 October 1934) and held a speech on 'Combating Poverty and Reorganising Welfare Work' (1934) The ravages of the Anglo-Boer War, the inability to compete with cheap black labour and the Depression served to push the number of poor, if not destitute, whites up from 106,000 in 1921 to 300,000 in 1933. These figures, mentioned in 'The Report of The Carnegie Commission of Inquiry into the Poor White Problem' (1932) implied that about every sixth person in a population of 1.8 million whites was poor. In 1936 it was calculated that the average per capita income of Afrikaners was approximately half that for other whites (Adam/Giliomee 1979 150,154)

1. Werner Eiselen and the beginnings of volkekunde in South Africa

Two academics, whose theories shaped volkekunde at Afrikaans universities and who also played a central role in formulating and implementing apartheid in a more practical sense than did the theologians (see chapter VI) were Werner Eiselen and Pieter Johannes Coertze. Each made key contributions in each of the two identified phases of development of volkekunde.

Eiselen conceptualised a political anthropology of apartheid during the first phase of Afrikaner upliftment and the transformation of South African society up to the implementation of apartheid in the 1950s and 1960s. Coertze conceptualised an ethnos theory and a theory of ethnic nationalism after 1960, when Apartheid had become a reality. First to be presented will be Eiselen, his biographical background and an analysis of his political anthropology.

Werner Willi Max Eiselen was born on 13 June 1899 at Botshabelo in the Transvaal, where his father, a German by birth, was stationed as a missionary of the Berlin Missionary Society. In 1916 Werner Eiselen matriculated at the Volkschool in Heidelberg in the Transvaal, and from 1917 to 1919 was a student at the Transvaal University College (now the University of Pretoria). He obtained a Bachelor degree there, majoring in classics and completing graduate work at the University of Stellenbosch in 1920. Subsequently he worked as a teacher for a year. In 1921 Eiselen went to Hamburg to study Bantu languages under Carl Meinhof.⁵ After his return to the Transvaal he taught at various secondary schools until 1926, when he was appointed senior lecturer at the University of Stellenbosch. In 1932 he was offered the chair in Volkekunde en Bantoetale, the first of its kind at an Afrikaans-medium university

As the only professor of volkekunde, he co-operated with the social anthropologists at English-medium universities. He was a member of the editorial board of the journal *Bantu Studies* and in the early 1930s, together with Pieter Coertze, was a member of the Inter-University Committee for African Studies. However, by the mid-1930s the volkekundiges and the social anthropologists went increasingly their separate ways. This division paralleled the increasing social and political polarisation between the English and Afrikaners.

Eiselen was a successful teacher. While Radcliffe-Brown attracted only five students beyond the first year and one Master's student (Isaac Schapera) at the University of Cape Town, Eiselen had 41 students in his first year and by the following year the number grew to 103. The influence of Volkekunde, as propounded by Eiselen, spread as his students left to labour in new fields. For example, his student F. Language, who had specialised in urban Bantu administration was offered a chair at the university in Bloemfontein. Another student was Pieter Coertze, whose work is discussed in detail below. P.J. Schoeman, also his student, took over Eiselen's chair upon his departure from Stellenbosch.⁶

Although Eiselen was no adherent of British social anthropology and the dominant functionalist school in general, and founded his own school, he insisted in his department on

⁵ For a personal account on his years at the Colonial Institute in Hamburg (1921-1924), where he obtained a doctorate degree in Bantustic, see Doke (1946 77-79)

⁶ Gordon (1988 539) In 1947 Schoeman resigned and another former student of Eiselen, A van Schalkwyk, an ordained DRC minister, was appointed, and in turn succeeded by one of Coertze's students, J P Bruwer, who resigned in 1962

balancing different approaches. He did in fact adopt some of the central principles of functionalism in so far as he believed that societies were organic wholes of which the parts were functionally interdependent. Thus any change in one part of the system had repercussions for other parts and, if significant, would affect the integrity of the whole. But he replaced the 'primitive society' paradigm of social anthropologists with the notion that societies were not superior or inferior to one another, but only different. Accordingly, he rejected as 'not proven' the assumption that blacks were mentally inferior.⁷

At Stellenbosch, the Native question formed an integral part of the volkekunde curriculum. In Eiselen's opinion the Native question was interrelated with two other issues: the problems of the poor whites, and the competition they would face from a colour-blind labour market that the English liberals were proposing.⁸ These issues were of personal concern to his students since they came predominantly from a poor white background or strongly sympathised with them. The Afrikaners also believed that when it came to natives, they knew with whom they were dealing, for almost "all of them grew up playing with black children and spoke a Bantu language fluently".⁹

Eiselen searched for a solution to the poor white problem, which at the same time would solve the Native problem. In this respect the interests of the volkekundiges differed radically from those of British social anthropologists. Within the frame of an humanistic credo, Eiselen propagated the right to roots for both the blacks and Afrikaners. This meant that each would be able to solve their problems through social and economic upliftment and solidarity within each group. This general solution to the Native question was based on separate development and apartheid, the basic contours of which he had formulated as early as in 1929. It was in his view a 'humane' answer to the Native question and the poor white problem.

The Native question was the topic of his address to the Filosofiese Vereniging (Philosophical Society) at the University of Stellenbosch on 7 May 1929, published under the title *Die Naturelle-Vraagstuk* (1929).¹⁰ Eiselen began his speech objecting to the use of the term Native question to mean the difficulties which arise because white and black must live side by side in South Africa. Seen objectively, he opined, the term White question would have been just as accurate, since it was an open question who was responsible for the race problems in South Africa - the Bantu or the European. Eiselen then sketched out the two existing systems of native administration: first, direct rule and social assimilation of the educated blacks, and second, "indirect rule and social segregation on a racial basis", the latter being preferred by the British. In South Africa the system of native administration was partly indirect, partly direct, thus attributing to the dissatisfaction of the blacks whose chiefs were ignored and traditional jurisdiction not recognised. Eiselen concluded that the policy as it stood

⁷ Eiselen (1929) quoted in Bantu (1960:453). Eiselen opposed the assumed 'mental disability' inherent in the term primitive.

⁸ Eloff (1972:4-5), Gordon (1988:540) and Kuper (1988:38). For an explanation as to why the Afrikaners distanced themselves from the English liberals: In their struggle for employment and higher wages in the mining sector, the poor whites were faced with mining magnates who preferred - as long as not prevented by the state - to employ blacks. Furthermore, as long as the state was dominated by the English, it gave preference to the interests of the English-speaking community and especially the English mining magnates. The English, but also, for example, Jan Smuts, preferred a colour-blind labour market in which the poor whites would be forced to compete against blacks.

⁹ Gordon (1988:537).

¹⁰ If not noted otherwise, Eiselen's speech is quoted from Bantu (1960:453-458).

"is calculated to promote assimilation between Native and European because of the extremely negative attitude adopted towards indigenous culture".¹¹ He asserted emphatically,

"[W]e have recognized Bantu culture neither as a government nor as a people, and because we measure the Natives with the yardstick of European culture, and then divided them on this basis into raw and civilized people, we are all, perhaps unconsciously, apostles of assimilation. Consequently, today, we no longer have only one Native Problem, but two: one in connection with the tribal Native, the other in connection with the (in the full sense of the word) 'detribalised' Native. The second problem is not only of a more urgent nature, but also far more difficult".¹²

He perceived black urbanisation as dangerous, for continued exposure to a foreign and European way of life would threaten the stability and harmony of Bantu society and culture. He refrained, however, from mentioning the colour-blind labour market as being responsible for the existence of poor whites - unqualified white labour - who could not compete with cheaper black labour. With regard to demands of the ANC and black trade unions he rejected them by arguing that they did not possess the confidence 'of their people' and stated "We can certainly not go wrong by emphatically pointing out to them that their first duty is not to become black Europeans, but by raising their people to a higher Bantu culture"¹³

Furthermore, he refused to differentiate between the 'urban Native' and the 'reserve Native' and argued in favour of reversing the trend towards assimilation and westernisation by emphasising the importance of Bantu community development along the lines of their "own cultural and social ideals": "Native policy", Eiselen stated, "must no longer regard the Bantu as merely part of our South African environment, but as people who are entitled to a form of existence of their own, which includes the freedom to develop their own culture" (1929:5) In practice, Eiselen favoured Hertzog's Native policy and legislation. It would bring the natives more land to develop the reserves "and they are encouraged to develop freely there within their own culture". Hertzog's solution, argued Eiselen, lay in separate development based on cultural difference, stressing the uniqueness of each culture and the capability of each culture for self-development. Eiselen described Hertzog as a person "who had fought for the continued existence of the Holland-Afrikaans element in South Africa, now wished to provide a place for a Bantu culture in this country" and who "upholds the system of differential development for Whites and Natives".¹⁴

A second publication by Eiselen in the same year dealt, strictly speaking, with an anthropological topic. It was his little monograph *Stamskole in Suid-Afrika 'n Ondersoek oor die Funk-sie daarvan in die Lewe van die Suid-Afrikaanse Stamme*¹⁵ (1929a), the first theoretical anthropological study published in Afrikaans. The first part described puberty rite practices,

¹¹ Quoted in Bantu (1960 454)

¹² Quoted in Bantu (1960 455)

¹³ Quoted in Bantu (1960 455) See also Eiselen (1929 10)

¹⁴ Quoted in Bantu (1960 455-456) This position reveals the difference between the volkekunde and British social anthropology, i.e., the problem of black ethnicity was considered in principle to be worthy of equal treatment as the problem of white Afrikaner ethnicity. Representatives of the British social anthropology would never have thought of placing the 'primitive societies' on the same plane as the British 'race'. At least there is no evidence to the best knowledge of the authoress to the contrary.

¹⁵ In English: Initiation-Schools in South Africa: A Study on its Function in the Life of South African Tribes. The quotations are from his English summary.

with detailed discussions, of the Bergdama, Venda, Pedi and Thembu. The second part dealt with the formation of tribal societies, as a prelude to the final part, in which Eiselen expounded his own theory of an intimate correlation between the economic life of a people and its social organisation. In his English summary Eiselen asserted that both "hunting and pastoral tribes can and often do evolve a tribal society of men, into which all boys are initiated after a course of training in the main occupation of the tribe. On the other hand, at the 'hoe' stage the labour of men becomes of less importance, so that tribal societies of men become superfluous and are supplanted by a variety of associations with voluntary membership".¹⁶

In his review of Eiselen's book, Schapera criticised it as "quite inadequate": "As the sub-title indicates, his book is meant to be a study of the function of 'tribal societies' ... and yet very little is actually said by him of the part these 'societies' do play in the organization of the tribe".¹⁷ This critique evidenced the difference between Eiselen's approach to the study of and theory of 'tribal societies' from the analogous theory in social anthropology, as propagated by Schapera and others. Eiselen was not particularly interested in static holistic 'primitive' or 'tribal' societies, when at all, however, in a different way.¹⁸

In 1936, the year Hertzog's Native Bills were passed by Parliament with a two-thirds majority, Eiselen left Stellenbosch to become the Chief Inspector of Native Education in the Transvaal, a post he held for eleven years. In 1948 he was offered a chair in Volkekunde at the University of Pretoria and a year later in September 1949 he was appointed the Secretary of Native Affairs, a position he held until 1960. As Secretary to Hendrik Verwoerd, who was appointed Minister of Native Affairs in October 1950, Eiselen imparted much of his knowledge on the Bantu to Verwoerd, who, at this early stage, was still quite ignorant of the 'Bantu way of life'. Ideologically, Verwoerd and Eiselen were on the same wavelength.¹⁹

1.1. National homes and separate freedoms

With the coming to power of the National Party in 1948 the word apartheid came into popular use, but a clear strategy for its implementation had yet to be formulated. Before then its advocates had to explain at various public meetings what apartheid meant. Some weeks before the election victory of the National Party, Eiselen was invited to speak at a meeting organised by the South African Institute of Race Relations on *The Meaning of Apartheid* (1948).²⁰ His argument rested remarkably consistently on the ideas he had expressed in 1929.

¹⁶ Eiselen (1929a 133-134)

¹⁷ Schapera (1930 141)

¹⁸ The study of the native at that time had to accommodate social change as manifested, for example, in 'associations with voluntary membership', a phenomenon that contradicted the concept of the primitive society of the social anthropologists

¹⁹ Kenney (1991 35-46) Since 1948 all successive ministers of Native (Bantu) Administration were Broederbonders E G Jansen (1948-1950), Hendrik Verwoerd (1950-1958), M C de Wet Nel, M C Botha, Connie Mulder, Pieter Koornhof (1978-1984) and Gerrit Viljoen (1984-1989) See Wilkns/Strydom (1980 196)

²⁰ His presentation was published in the *Race Relations Journal*, the journal of the South African Institute of Race Relations, together with a rejoinder by Hoernlé entitled *Alternatives to Apartheid* See chapter V The two alternatives mentioned by Hoernlé, parallelism and assimilation, were rejected by Eiselen (Eiselen 1948 70) Eiselen was much clearer and logical in his argumentation in search for a solution to the Native question than Hoernlé He indicated in no uncertain

Eiselen made it clear that the "history of race relations in South Africa is closely interwoven with the story of its economic development".²¹ He continued by stating that it had been an 'evil omen' for South Africa's future as "the early colonists [were] dependent upon manual labour of a subordinate race and .. import[ed] great numbers of slaves" (1948:69). The mistake was that the exploitation of natural resources with subordinated indigenous manpower was not congruent with the development of a "new national home". Therefore, he argued that the white had to face, without impunity, all the issues regarding the native and the Coloured "as a permanently subordinate class of men" (1948:70). Anyone who believed this was "acting from a mental fog". Eiselen formulated a non-racist vision of apartheid as the solution to South Africa's problems, stating that the positive aspect and ultimate goal of apartheid "should be seen clearly namely, the separation of White and Native into separate self-sufficient socio-economic units" (1948:80) He dismissed as prejudice the idea of the "cognitive inability" of the natives:

"By further comparison of our data we will be able to establish the complete absence of any positive correlation between intelligence on the one hand and any particular physical trait on the other. The commonplace assertion that Natives will require centuries of contact with western civilization before attaining intellectual parity with Europeans is scientifically untenable and furthermore disproved by successful careers of a number of individuals."²²

He continued:

"[W]ithin a homogeneous population the great majority of people will find their proper place in the social and economic structure of the country, normally that intelligence, personality and initiative rise to the top but that even for the poorly endowed class there is always a useful and necessary occupation ... This means that in the type of society that we are considering John Citizen can, under normal circumstances, lead the type of life which appeals to him and to participation in which he is entitled by reason of his natural talents." (1948:71-72)

Eiselen concluded that this generalisation could not apply for the specific historical South African situation: "This simple and straightforward scheme is not for South Africa with its multi-racial problems." (1948:71-72) The notion that "every able-bodied Native" should be a farmer was in his eyes ridiculous. He also questioned the common practice of migrant labour "That secondary industries should all be centralized and located in or near European towns, and that the Native manpower should be moved to suit the convenience of white capitalists is another entirely unwarranted assumption." (1948:78) He also opposed using the term native as a synonym for 'cheap labour', because one "must be over-optimistic to think that Native labour will always remain cheap" (1948:78). Already in 1948 he foresaw the future "It is very doubtful whether the prices of industry outside South Africa will permit the use of such labour as soon as our industries reach the competitive stages and thus affect their export market adversely." (1948:79) It would be a major task "to convince the whites that they should gradually adapt themselves to an economy not based on cheap labour" (1948:83).

terms that the solution of the liberals, upon closer examination, would have devastating consequences. Eiselen argued that the liberals "allowed themselves to be trapped into expressing approval which smacks very strongly of the domination complex" (Eiselen 1948:76)

²¹ Eiselen (1948:69) He could not have been clearer in pointing out the South African situation. The specific South African political economy is the determining factor in the construction of paradigms about culture, ethnicity, civilisation and primitiveness

²² Eiselen (1948:71-72) Eiselen had expressed almost the same idea in his article of 1929

Eiselen criticised vehemently the common argument of liberal politicians and of business that the "Native manpower is the greatest asset of the country". He hardly saw it as an 'asset', for "it rests on the precarious foundation of a system of domination, which may not be entirely inappropriate to-day but will become progressively so in the near future inasmuch as it defeats its own ends by the westernizing influence which it exercises on the Natives." (1948:73) He saw coming on the horizon the debacle of "the degeneration of the white man, whose rightful place in the economic structure of his society has been usurped by the Native" (1948:74). Therefore, a 'positive' apartheid, as he envisaged it, based on the equality of natives and Europeans as 'individual human beings', would have to retain the difference between the volke - peoples - so that these volke^e could keep their own identity and survive, thus constituting 'self-sufficient communities' (1948:74-75). Eiselen emphasised that exploitation and oppression could not be the rationale for the difference between the various communities, but rather the nationality or ethnicity of each population group.

Education, an area in which Eiselen had practical experience, would also be positively affected by apartheid, as he saw it. The successful development of the reserves "into self-sufficient socio-economic units", according to Eiselen, depended largely on the kind of education system adopted. Despite an "expansion of educational service for the Natives", he concluded that

"the schooling offered was divorced from the constructive aims of real life, that education culminating in the training of teachers and teachers only, that education offering the opium of literacy instead of preparation for a full life was something bound to defeat its deeper purpose. I ... feel that education ... must offer to the pupils full development to their optimum capacity in each and every direction. This freedom of education can however not be attained except within a self-sufficient community. Operating within our present system Native education lacks the inspiration offered by a worthy goal; it necessarily remains a form of preparation for life in a subordinate society."²¹

One could thus conclude that education for the blacks had to take place without any restrictions on the freedom or independence of blacks. One asks then, why did Apartheid prove to be so inhumane when it was originally intended to be to the advantage of the blacks? One has to look again at what Eiselen said in 1948: "One must ... clearly differentiate between the intrinsic value of a concept and its translation into practice." (1948:77) Continuing, he noted that "separation is not an unattainable ideal and the sacrifice involved for both White and non-White is not too high a price for deliverance from the evils of a caste society with its present bitter enmity ... Separation is a distant goal and can only be achieved by careful long-range planning, and its realization need not bring about economic dislocation." (1948:77-78,79)

The starting point on this long journey he saw in education: "It should be clear that the way of separation must be prepared by education in the broad sense of the word." (1948:80) He was aware that one could not keep the native away from the modern ways, and so it was necessary to introduce "a system of extensive education, giving a primary grounding in the essential subjects to all, giving industrial and agricultural training to many, and a high school and university education to the particularly gifted" (1948:82). In the native areas the "Local

²¹ Eiselen (1948:75). This criticism is directed against the gradual education to civilisation that the British liberals and social anthropologists as well propagated. Frankly, as he put it, the results were aimed at preparing the blacks for life in subordination.

and Regional Governments would ... naturally be completely in Native hands", but on condition: only "after the completion of their educative task by the initially appointed European administrators" (1948:82). Balancing control and self-determination were therefore at the core of a scheme of apartheid originally designed to secure the welfare of South Africa's black majority in a white dominated society.²⁴

The theory of differentiation and separation had its own unerring logic when it came to understanding the concerns of blacks. Eiselen knew that the 'majority of the educated Natives' favoured integration, and not the separation towards which apartheid was aimed. Eiselen blamed this orientation on the contemporary educational system: "This attitude [for integration] is largely determined by the fact that his [Native] training has given him a fair command of English." (1948:82) This, argued Eiselen, caused the blacks to automatically imagine that they were like the whites. Purporting to speak on behalf of the blacks Eiselen reaffirmed that the "Bantu too have pride of race and tradition", above all their own language (1948:83). Hence, all these factors were to be considered in developing a new educational system. In order for apartheid to function, Eiselen warned that stringent efforts and sacrifice would be necessary not only from the natives but also from the whites:

"The first step would be to stem the flood of Bantu families moving to the cities to a life of uncertainty and hardship by introducing an effective emigration control in respect of all the reserves. This salutary measure which might be regarded as negative in character must be accompanied by constructive reorganization of the existing reserves so that they become functionally self-sufficient units offering a form of life with all possibilities of full self-realization, which will attract the Bantu even more than the lure of the European city." (1948:84)

The whites in turn were to forego using cheap labour and depend instead on immigration from western Europe (1948:84). He also foresaw that once secondary industries were established in the Bantu reserves, then the 'unfair competition' arising from cheap black labour would be solved either through a 'gentleman's agreement' or again migrants from Europe. This is what Eiselen imagined in 1948. He was convinced that "the advantages of separation will outweigh the sacrifices demanded" (1948:85). The whites had two choices: either to "offer genuine trusteeship" or "choose to cling frantically to its master-people complex" (1948:85). He projected that twenty years would be needed for a successful implementation of his plan for radical separation:

"It should be apparent to all that the policy aiming at separation is the only one, unbiased and honest policy. It is sane because it recognizes the natural and not man-made differences existing between European and Native, it is unbiased because it advocates civilization in general and not the type of civilization which happens to be one's own and it is honest because it is constructive and encourages the Natives to seek development in a field where the European will naturally drop out as competitor ... The time has come for another momentous decision ... away from caste-society which is our undoing, and towards areas of liberty."²⁵

²⁴ Responsibility for the welfare and development of the native, ("die gevoel van verantwoordlikheid vir die naturel, sy welvaart en sy ontwikkelingsmoontlikhede") was a recurring theme in Eiselen's articles. See Eiselen's published speech held at the first SABRA Congress in February 1950 (Eiselen 1950a). In the 1920s and 1930s similar appeals by liberals as well as the government resulted in more stringent segregation of the black population

²⁵ Eiselen (1948:85-86). This too belonged to the Afrikaners' theory of apartheid: exclusion as a precondition for the freedom of those excluded.

Separation and apartheid would constitute evil "if it [be] interpreted as permanent separation between White and non-White on the basis of frivolous allegations of unalterable superiority and inferiority respectively and if the intention [be] to maintain the master-servant relationship as a permanent order".²⁶

Irrespective of how one evaluates Eiselen's apartheid theory, it is important to note that he held the actual society of his day for a 'caste society' with a 'master-people complex'. His analysis was based on the political economic realities he experienced as a political administrator and as a volkekundige, who was well acquainted with the paradigm of social anthropology - the study of 'primitive society'. For Eiselen, to believe natives constituted primitive societies was no longer acceptable. Accordingly, he aimed at constructing a new, other perspective in which black and white were treated as quasi-equals, but separate, as volke and striving to be self-sufficient communities.

He suggested that twenty years of hard work would be needed to overcome the results of the past wrong politics vis-à-vis blacks. During this time he wanted that the white had to dominate as 'welfare administrator' and then withdraw once success was attained. This was also emphasised in his address to the Witwatersrand People's Forum on 8 October 1948 where Eiselen posed and answered the question, *Is Separation Practicable?*, which is also the heading of his article published in 1950. He stressed the urgency to "proceed to the natives' freedom of development through separation, a freedom which in integration we cannot give ... separation only is free from all technique of domination" (1950:17-18). Taking blacks along the road to freedom was part of what he believed to be an obligation of Afrikaners towards blacks as trustees (*voogdyskap*), arising out of the Afrikaners' own upliftment experience under English domination and their image as a 'white' African tribe.²⁷

1.2. *Aparte ontwikkeling*, German missionary theory and Bantu education

In 1958 Eiselen lectured on the German missionaries and their influence on the development of the Bantu. An interesting comparison with an earlier article of his from 1934 on the influence of Christianity on blacks can be made. Again Eiselen showed himself to be much more logically consistent and addressed processes of transformation taking place with greater clarity than was done by representatives of South African social anthropology. Additionally, he related the ethnogenesis of the Afrikaners to the process of constructing Bantu ethnic groups.

In his article *Christianity and the Religious Life of the Bantu* (1934) Eiselen analysed how Christianity had induced social change in tribal society, aimed at persuading the Bantu to "abandon their *belief* in ancestor-gods for the *belief* in Christ" (1934:67). He identified pre-modern tribal solidarity as "one of the outstanding features of native life and that the political and the religious activities of the tribe cannot be separated, since its ruler is also the priest" (1934:67). He further observed that tribes were held together by strong feelings of "collective responsibility": "To these tribes with the communistic outlook came the missionaries to win individual souls for Christ." (1934:68) To answer the question of what was the outcome of decades of campaigning for Christianity, he highlighted the fact that "there is no important

²⁶ Bantu (1960:470-471) quoting Eiselen's speech on 'Thoughts on Apartheid' held at the beginning of 1949.

²⁷ From the point of view of the blacks this obligation meant their exclusion from the fruits of Afrikaner upliftment.

tribe without its resident missionary" (1934:65). The mission bodies, asserted Eiselen, had accomplished fundamental changes:

"To seven Bantu peoples of South Africa they have given the Bible in their own language, and they have begun to build up a literature in several of these languages. Where they have been instrumental in breaking up small tribes they are now helping the Bantu to build up greater units by giving them written languages; for a written language is the most important element in the building of a people and cultures."²⁸

These seven mission fields formed the basis for the identification and construction of language and cultural units as volk or ethnic groups, as distinct and bounded ethnic groups within the boundaries of one state, modern South Africa.

For Eiselen and other volkekundiges the example of the creation of one Afrikanervolk from people of different origins served as a blueprint for the creation of ethnic groups and ethnic distinctiveness among South Africa's black and white population. A central issue in the 'invention' of Afrikaner nationalism in the last decades of the nineteenth century and from 1902 to 1924 was the creation of an Afrikaans literary culture as an important terrain for the elaboration of a nationalist ideology. *Taal en self-respek*, (language and self-respect), were inseparable, since

"language unity is the natural outcome of national unity, the necessary precondition for a national culture. In a situation where there are a variety of dialects, language unity can only be achieved when one of these dialects becomes hegemonic [hegemonie oor die ander verkry]".²⁹

The creation of standardised Bantu languages, like that of Afrikaans, was thus taken as an expression of national unity, an achievement that Afrikaners sought for themselves and others. Just as Afrikaners fought for their language and culture against the might of English culture, so they believed in the right of the Bantu to fight for their own language and culture. In this way, according to Afrikaner logic, the *Bantoevolke*, or ethnic groups, and the Afrikaners were equal, i.e., entitled to the same right of national unity, and each had the right to achieve this separately. The logic was compelling.

The important role of missionaries in bringing about change in Bantu culture and laying the foundation for scientific linguistic research was again the topic of Eiselen's speech on 'German Missionary Work in South Africa and Bantu National Traits', delivered in October 1958.³⁰ In respect to the achievements of German missionaries, Eiselen mentioned four aspects, which were of great importance to linguists and volkekundiges:

a) "German missionaries became good Bantu linguists - as indeed other foreign missionaries also did - who ... took an interest in their [Bantu] habits and customs, acquired a good knowledge of Bantu character and mentality (in other words, of Bantu national traits) and learned to respect what was good therein and to appreciate their value as starting points for Bantu development."

²⁸ Eiselen (1934:82). Eiselen saw a need for 'a purely Bantu church' and argued that one of the great "mistakes made in Christianizing the Bantu was the transplanting of particular churches with their particular doctrines into Africa" (1934:81).

²⁹ Pienaar (1926:142). See also Hofmeyr (1987:105).

³⁰ Extracts of his speech delivered to the Afrikaans-German Cultural Union were reprinted in English in the journal *Bantu* (1960:450-451) and the full address is published in *Afrikaans in the Journal of Racial Affairs* (Eiselen 1957).

b) "Valuable books on the language and national characteristics of the Bantu were written ... This fieldwork ... stimulated the comparative study of Bantu philology and ethnology in Germany itself, culminating in the great works of Meinhof and Westermann."

c) "A further consequence of this was when Germany acquired its own colonies, it applied the methods of the German missionary societies in its colonial administration. Officials were required to become Native linguists. The Colonial Institute was created at Hamburg."

d) "The most important result, however, was the nature of the educational work done by the German missionary societies in South Africa itself. It was based on the mother tongue as medium and was directed towards serving the cause of development within one's own community."³¹

The identification of 'national traits', the factors that united those within one mission field, the changes Christianity brought about in black culture, especially in regard to education in the mother-tongue, were all aspects, which formed part of Warneck's mission-theory. They are compatible with the theory of apartheid and Eiselen's conceptualisation of Bantu education discussed below. It was surely no coincidence that extracts of Eiselen's speech on the role of German missionaries were reprinted in an article on Eiselen's career under the title *An Architect of Apartheid - Dr. W.W.M. Eiselen* in *Bantu*,³² the journal of the Department of Bantu Administration and Development. Also implicit in Eiselen's conclusions was the doctrine of cultural adaptation put forth in 1931 by the linguist and Government Ethnologist, Gérard P. Lestrade, who believed that one should "take out of the Bantu past what was good, and even what was merely neutral, and together with what is good of European culture for the Bantu, build up a Bantu future".³³

Shortly after the National Party Government assumed power, Eiselen was invited by the Dutch Reformed Church to address a gathering at the Stofberg Training School for black teachers at which he dealt with the problems of Bantu education.³⁴ Comparing the then existing native educational system with the 'old-time tribal schools', Eiselen was convinced that the old system was superior to the new in the sense that it "confirmed the solidarity of the community and emphasized the principles of community service and mutual social obligations in an effective manner". The European-oriented schools failed to have such effects and were thus "not regarded by Bantu parents as a functional part of the community's existence". The result of such an education was "that Bantu children were alienated from their own culture through being taught strange subjects in a foreign tongue".³⁵

Eiselen saw as a pre-condition for a "purposeful and comprehensive education programme" the creation of "a community within which the Natives would find the opportunity of developing their inherent cultural capacity in the full", because "the task of trusteeship, if honestly interpreted, includes the obligation to guide the Natives to self-realisation on a higher level of culture".³⁶ To achieve these goals he put forth three proposals:

³¹ *Bantu* (1960:451).

³² *Bantu* (1960:450-477).

³³ Quoted in Dubow (1987:85) and Schapera (1934a:x).

³⁴ Extracts of his speech are reprinted in the journal *Bantu* (1960:459-460) and quoted here.

³⁵ *Bantu* (1960:459).

³⁶ Eiselen quoted in *Bantu* (1960:460).

1. The task of linking Bantu education with the traditional rulers of the Bantu should be done only by the state since it alone possessed the necessary authority to do so.
 2. Constructive educational work could only be properly carried out in the Bantu Areas where the emphasis on achievement and development created by European competition did not exist.
 3. The full development of Bantu cultural capacity called for the creation of an urban economy and of industries in the Native Areas, where ample manpower was available.
- "This all implies that fruitful community education is only possible under a system of separating the races. The storm of criticism directed against the idea of Apartheid is therefore completely unjustified and is based on a deliberate distortion of a policy which wishes to promote the development of self-supporting Native communities into a negative policy generated by racial prejudice."³⁷

Similar to Malinowski's suggestion in his article, *Native Education and Culture Contact* (1936), that "anthropological field-work ought to study in every tribe the system of education" in order to give substance to the principle of "educating the African on African lines", Eiselen asserted: "Education out of a primitive condition to a higher cultural level must be functionally linked with community life."³⁸

Shortly before his appointment in September 1949 as Secretary of Native Affairs, Eiselen was appointed chairman of the Native Education Commission. The Commission consisted of government officials, academics and university professors with expertise in Bantu studies (i.e. volkekunde and social anthropology), sociology and missionary science. The terms of reference of the Commission were as follows:

- a) "The formulation of the principles and aims of education for Natives as an independent race, in which their past and present, their inherent racial qualities, their distinctive characteristics and aptitude, and their need under ever-changing social conditions are taken into consideration."³⁹
- b) Proposals for modifying the educational system.
- c) The organisation and administration of Native education.
- d) Financial aspects of education.
- e) Other aspects of 'Native education' related to the proceedings (para.1).

The Commission's report consisted of three sections and a number of appendices. The first section described 'the traditional culture of the South African Bantu tribes' and the present state of affairs, followed by an historical review of the development of the Native education system. In the second section the Commission presented a critical analysis of the facts before it, highlighting the inadequacies of the existing educational system. The third section contained a plan for implementing Bantu education and its expected 'positive' ramifications. The Commission in section three drew the following conclusion about the logical aims of

³⁷ Eiselen quoted in Bantu (1960 460)

³⁸ Malinowski (1936 505,508) and Eiselen quoted in Bantu (1960 460)

³⁹ Paragraph 1 of the Report of the Commission on Native Education 1949-1951 (Eiselen Commission) (1951) Unless otherwise mentioned the quotations are from this report. See also SABRA (1952 5-23) for a summary, Bantu (1960 461), P. Nutt's justification of Bantu education published in the Journal of Racial Affairs (1955), and Eiselen, who viewed Bantu education as the "most successful experiment in promoting Bantu self-help" (Eiselen 1959 10-11)

Bantu education: a) "From the viewpoint of the whole society the aim of Bantu education is the development of a modern progressive culture, with social institutions which will be in harmony with one another and with the evolving conditions of life to be met in South Africa";⁴⁰ and b) from the viewpoint of the individual the aim must be to develop the child for his future work and adaptation to surroundings (para.765). With regard to the individual and society, the Commission argued that in order to "harmonise the individual and social viewpoints ... it is essential to consider the language of the pupils, their home conditions, their social and mental environment, their cultural traits and their future position and work in South Africa." (para.765) Thus the educational practice had to recognise "that it has to deal with a Bantu child, i.e., a child trained and conditioned in Bantu culture, endowed with a knowledge of a Bantu language and imbued with values, interests and behaviour patterns learned at the knee of a Bantu mother" (para.773). In order to achieve these stipulated aims the Commission suggested the principles which ought to direct the future course of Bantu education:

- "Education must be broadly conceived so that it can be organized effectively to provide not only adequate schools with a definite Christian character, but also adequate social institutions to harmonise with such schools of Christian orientation;"
- education should be controlled by a Union Government department;
- "education must be co-ordinated with a definite and carefully planned policy for the development of Bantu societies" and should pay attention to the economic development;
- emphasis must be placed on the "education of the mass of Bantu to enable them to co-operate in the evolution of new social patterns and institutions";
- literature of 'functional value' should be produced;
- schools must be linked with existing 'Bantu social institutions';
- the mother-tongue should be used as the medium of instruction;
- 'Bantu personnel' should be employed "to make the schools as Bantu in spirit as possible, as well as to provide employment";
- "Bantu parents should as far as practicable have a share in the control and life of the schools";
- "the schools should provide for the maximum development of the Bantu individual, mentally, morally and spiritually" (para.766).

As the Commission summarised, its aim was to achieve an

"education ... broadly conceived as a vital social service concerned not only with the intellectual, moral and emotional development of the individual but also with the socio-economic development of the Bantu as a people. Education, as one of a number of social services, must be integrated organically with all other State efforts designed to raise the level of Bantu life."⁴¹

The political implications of Bantu education were more clearly elucidated by Hendrik Verwoerd in his parliamentary speech of 7 June 1954. The logical conclusion of separate education, as he saw it, was separate freedoms and separate political rights:

"It is the policy of my department that education should have its roots in the Native areas and in the Native environment and Native community. There Bantu education must be able to give itself

⁴⁰ Paragraph 765 of the Commission's report. See also SABRA (1952:13).

⁴¹ Paragraph 1051. See also Bantu (1960:461).

complete expression and there it will have to perform its real service. The Bantu must be guided to serve his community in all respects. There is no place for him in the European community above the level of certain forms of labour. Within his own community, however, all doors are open. For this reason it is of no avail for him to receive a training which has as its aim absorption in the European community while he cannot and will not be absorbed here"⁴²

The implementation of such a separate education for the black population was rejected by organisations such as the ANC and the Cape African Teachers' Association (CATA). The resolution passed at the conference of the CATA in Cape Town in 1952 opposed "the imposition of special 'Native' syllabuses and vernacular media of instruction", because it was "designed to limit the scope of African education in order to produce intellectually underdeveloped beings, with no hope of ever aspiring to, and claiming, opportunities and rights equal to those enjoyed by Europeans."⁴³

For Eiselen education was only one in a whole series of measures designed to ensure a "harmonious multi-community development".⁴⁴ In January 1950 he outlined 'The Development of the Native Reserves' at the annual conference of the South African Institute of Race Relations; in November 1949 he addressed an audience at the University of Pretoria on 'The Necessity of Industrial Development for the Native Population'; he travelled throughout the country expounding the Bantu Authorities Act of 1951, restoring the power of chiefs in 'Bantu society' and stressing the need for traditional leaders "to adapt themselves to present-day demands and circumstances";⁴⁵ he revealed his 'Plan to Rationalise South Africa's Native Labour' to the Annual Congress of the South African Federated Chamber of Industries in Pretoria on 26 September 1950; and in January 1955 at a SABRA symposium Eiselen defended his doctrine that natives ought to be restricted from entering the Western Cape and

⁴² Verwoerd's speech printed in full length in Pelzer (1966 82-83) The "basis of the provision and organization of education in the Bantu community should where possible be the tribal organization" (Verwoerd quoted in Pelzer 1966 82) Hendrik Verwoerd, then Minister of Native Affairs, endorsed in his speech on Bantu education in Parliament on 7 June 1954 the proposals made by the Eiselen Commission On the role of educational institutions in society Verwoerd stated that the "school is not a unit standing on its own but it is merely one part of a greater unit all the development services for the Bantu should form an organic whole" (Verwoerd in Pelzer 1966 82,84) With the promulgation of the Bantu Education Act on 1 January 1954 the central control of Bantu education was taken over by the Department of Native Affairs from the provinces and an under-secretary appointed as the head of the Bantu Education section (Verwoerd quoted in Pelzer 1966 68) On the administrative structure and staff of the Department of Native Affairs see the Tomlinson Report (1955 168-177)

⁴³ Sihlali (1956 47) On the rejection of Bantu education by blacks see Matthews (1957), Kallaway (1984) and Karis/Carter (1977 29-35)

⁴⁴ This is the title of Eiselen's renowned article (1959) on the Government's policy of separate development From the 1950s onwards South Africa's politicians used the term 'community', such as the 'Indian community', 'Coloured community', 'white community', etc Its usage implied that each community was to be treated as an organic whole For a discussion on the idea of 'community' and its practical implications in South Africa see Thornton/Ramphela (1989) It is also of interest to note that in his book *Government and Politics in Tribal Societies* (1963) Schapera refrained from using the term tribe or primitive society in his final chapter and replaced it with the term 'political community' He stated "I use the term for want of something more suitable" (Schapera 1963 203) Each "separate political community" with its distinct social composition", wrote Schapera, claimed exclusive rights to a given territory and managed its affairs independent from external control (Schapera 1963 203) The 'South African communities', each represented as having "uniformity of both language and custom" (Schapera 1963 205), were precisely those enshrined in the apartheid legislation See also Mafeje (1971)

⁴⁵ Eiselen quoted in Bantu (1960 461)

should be refrained from moving beyond the 'Eiselen line'.⁴⁶ In June 1960 Werner Eiselen resigned from his post as Secretary of the Department of Bantu Administration and Development. He was honoured as a 'great exponent of autogenous development' and as 'architect of Apartheid'.⁴⁷

As in the case of Eiselen, the contribution of Pieter Johannes Coertze to the development of the theory and practice of Afrikaner volkekunde reveals how strong the influence of volkekunde was on shaping South Africa's apartheid policy. As mentioned above, once apartheid was implemented, Coertze developed a theory of volkekunde that incorporated not only Eiselen's approach to the study of South African society, but elaborated it further. His academic career shall be presented in the following section. Then the Tomlinson Report shall be dealt with, which incorporated key principles of the political anthropology of volkekunde formulated by Coertze.

2. Pieter Coertze's contribution to volkekunde and Afrikaner politics

While Werner Eiselen exchanged his academic post for a post in government administration, Pieter Johannes Coertze, a student of Eiselen, decided to pursue an academic career and shaped volkekunde like no other Afrikaner academic until his retirement in 1972.

Pieter Coertze was born in 1907 on a farm in Klerkskraal in the district of Potchefstroom.⁴⁸ The family had suffered heavily during the Anglo-Boer War, after which they participated in continued resistance to British domination. His brothers took part in the Boer rebellion in 1914 and the Rand revolt in 1922. Against this background Pieter Coertze developed a strong commitment to the Afrikaner cause - '*n Volksverbondenheid*.

Many years later, as Afrikaners had gained control of state power, Coertze was asked to comment on the relationship between the English and the Afrikaners. Just as the English had dominated the Boers he then demanded that they in turn accept a subordinate role:

"Due to Providence I as a member of the Afrikanervolk together with members of other population groups in South Africa live in our common fatherland South Africa. Together with them I and my own volk-compatriots must grow towards a greater Afrikanervolk . Any white person that regards South Africa as his own fatherland ... I shall and must accept as being fellow-Afrikaners. I am however the heir and bearer of Afrikaner traditions for which heavy sacrifices have been made I am pledged to my ancestors and to the future great Afrikanervolk that I must never be false in my friendship or to the Christian principles and national ideals which form the foundations of the Afrikanervolk. This is the only way I, as an individually, and together with others, can help to consolidate a powerful Afrikaner volk based on correct and healthy foundation."⁴⁹

⁴⁶ Eiselen envisaged the Western Cape as a *Lebensraum* for the Coloureds and whites. See Eiselen (1955), Bantu (1960 474-475) and Snitcher (1957)

⁴⁷ See the journal Bantu, August 1960, which is dedicated to Werner Eiselen

⁴⁸ See Eloff (1972) for biographical details on Pieter Coertze

⁴⁹ "Die Voorsienigheid het dit so besuk dat ek as lid van die Afrikanervolk saam met lede andere bevolkingsgroepe Suid Afrika as ons gemeenskaplike Vaderland bewoon. Saam met hulle moet ek en my eie volksgenote groei tot 'n Groter Afrikanervolk. Enige Blanke persoon wat Suid-Afrika as sy enigste vaderland beskou en aanvaar sal en moet ek as my mede-Afrikaners aanvaar. Ek is egter die erfgenaam en draer van Afrikanertradisies waarvoor swaar offers gebring is. Ek is dit teenoor my voorgeslag en teenoor die toekomstige Groter Afrikanervolk verskuldig dat ek in my vriendskap nooit

His passionate commitment to the Afrikaner cause and his anti-English sentiments deeply imprinted his brand of volkekunde and reflected the views held by Afrikaner intellectuals at that time. Needless to say, all leading volkekundiges were educated and trained at Afrikaans-medium schools and universities and were active in organisations that defended Afrikaner interests. Coertze is such a case *par excellence*.

In 1925 he matriculated at the Voortrekker Highschool in Boksburg and went to Stellenbosch to study volkekunde. After receiving his Bachelor of Arts in volkekunde in 1928, he obtained in 1930 a Masters degree in Bantoetale (Bantu Languages) with his thesis on the Swazi language titled 'Eerste beginsels van 'n Swazi klang- en vormleer'. He returned to volkekunde after the Bantu Languages library had been destroyed by fire in 1933. He then obtained his doctorate in volkekunde in 1933 with a thesis on the 'Huweliksleuting by die Bantoestamme van Suidelike Afrika'.⁵⁰ Having lectured since 1929 at the University of Stellenbosch, Coertze was promoted in 1936 to senior lecturer. He remained in Stellenbosch during the Depression and the Second World War.

From 1946 to 1948 he laid the foundation for a department of volkekunde and Bantu languages at the University of South Africa (UNISA) in Pretoria. In 1949 Coertze moved to the Vrystaatse Universiteit in Bloemfontein where he was appointed professor and founded a new department of Volkekunde en Bantoetale. In 1950 he was offered the chair in Volkekunde at the University of Pretoria. Upon his resignation in 1972 he was succeeded by his son R.D. Coertze.

As has been mentioned above, volkekunde was initially centred at Stellenbosch. In the early 1950s it then shifted to Pretoria.⁵¹ Located at the hub of Afrikaner power, Coertze set about building a dynasty. In terms of their impact on South African politics, the Afrikaner volkekundiges completely overshadowed English social anthropologists. Volkekundiges achieved what social anthropologists for decades impatiently strove for, namely having a direct impact on formulating South Africa's Native policy.⁵²

The first two black university colleges, Turfloop and Zululand, established by the National Party Government, both had volkekundiges as their first rectors. In 1964 Coertze became a member of the council of the University College of Zululand.⁵³ Although volkekundiges, as opposed to social anthropologists, monopolised teaching posts at black university colleges, they had yet to produce a black volkekundige. The first generation of black anthropologists, including Z.K. Matthews, Absolon Vilikazi, Herriet Sibisi, Archie Mafeje, Bernard Magubane

ontrou mag wees en mag word aan die Christelike beginsels en volksideale wat die grondslae van die Afrikanervolk vorm nie. Dit is die enigste waarop ek, as enkeling, en saam met ander kan help om 'n sterk Afrikanervolk op regte en gesonde fondamente te bestendig. Mag die Here my hierin behulpsaam wees." (Coertze quoted in Afrikaans by G.J. Potgieter 1957:145) Translated by B. Schmidt.

⁵⁰ In English: *Marriage Customs among Bantu Tribes in Southern Africa*.

⁵¹ Gordon (1988:540).

⁵² Young volkekundiges were employed by the Afrikaans and black universities, museums and the government, in the latter case notably the Department of Native Affairs - renamed in 1958 Bantu Administration and Development, in 1978 Department of Plural Relations and Development and from 1978 to 1984 named Department of Co-operation and Development - and the South African Defence Force. Volkekundiges like Pieter Koornhof and Herman O. Monnig obtained appointments as research officers in the Department of Bantu Administration, A.O. Jackson, C.V. Bothma and A.C. Myburgh worked for the Ethnological Section.

⁵³ Eloff (1972:13) and Gordon (1988:542).

and C.W. Manona, were attracted to and influenced by social anthropology and not by volkekunde.⁵⁴

During the Apartheid era and before, practically all the professors of volkekunde were prominent members of Afrikaner political, cultural and academic organisations such as SABRA (South African Bureau of Racial Affairs), FAK (Federasie van Afrikaanse Kultuurverenigings) and the Afrikaner Broederbond.⁵⁵

Coertze's contribution to volkekunde and politics were threefold: first of all, finding a solution to the Native problem; second, as mentioned above, inculcating the ideals of Afrikaner ethnic-nationalism in his students; and, third, formulating an ethnos theory, which became orthodox doctrine among volkekundiges.

At Stellenbosh, native administration and the Native question formed integral components of the volkekunde curriculum. Eiselen, as mentioned above, had on various occasions suggested solutions to the Native problem. Dissatisfied with the then existing Native policy, Afrikaners began to draw up their own plans for South Africa's Native policy. Afrikaner political discussions on the issue were first and foremost co-ordinated by the FAK and the three Afrikaner churches. Coertze was part of these discussions.

In 1943, Coertze, together with his Bantoekunde colleagues van Eeden and Language, published a 47-page booklet titled *Die Oplossing van die Naturelle vraagstuk in Suid-Afrika. Wenke Ooreenkomstig die Afrikanerstandpunt van Apartheid*.⁵⁶ The authors presented two possible solutions to the Native question: "a) restoring the ancient [oorspronklike] tribal system, and b) the gradual separation between whites and blacks in all aspects of life - with total apartheid, both in daily life and territorially, as the final ideal." (1943:11) They opposed the first option, the restoration of the ancient tribal order. Hence they also rejected 'primitive religious views' and suggested that they be replaced by a Christian ethic to eliminate 'unhealthy' elements in the *volkseie* of the *Bantoevolke*. So the task of the Christian mission was "to preach the Native the Christian Gospel clear and pure and by doing so bringing him a new life-philosophy, which will, once accepted bring about a new way of life" (1943:31). They rejected foreign missionaries who were not sympathetic to the Afrikaners. They favoured the restoration and modernisation of the tribal system, bolstering the power of chiefs in order to consolidate their *tuisland* (homeland) for the purpose of segregation. "[S]egregation was to be gradually realised, depending on the pace of development of the natives' organic unity" (1943:14):

"We believe that the separation of the Natives from the whites will lead them to live their own happy lives in their own national homes and in national unity. Once fully adapted they will interact on new friendly terms, and will co-operate willingly in the advancement of common interests." (1943:45)

⁵⁴ Under apartheid most of the renown black social anthropologists left the country for political reasons. In 1968 the government refused to allow Archie Mafeje to take up a senior lectureship at the University of Cape Town.

⁵⁵ SABRA (1949:3-4), Gordon (1988:539,545-548) and Sharp (1981:29).

⁵⁶ In English: *The Solution to the Native Question. Hints in Accordance with the Afrikaner Viewpoint of Apartheid* (Quotations from this booklet translated by B. Schmidt). This pamphlet reproduced a series of articles which had been published in the periodical *Wapenskou* between 1942 and 1943, the official journal of the Afrikaanse Nasionale Studentebond (ANSB). After a breakdown in co-operation between liberals and Afrikaners in the joint student body of the National Union of South African Students (NUSAS), founded in 1924, the ANSB was started in 1932.

The authors heavily criticised the demand for equality and assimilation (*gebykstelling en assimilasie*) in a common society as expressed by "foreign liberalistic and negrophilistic oriented people who were obsessed with philanthropic views" (1943:7-8). Only total apartheid could guard against "miscegenation of the whites and loss of their volk character" (1943:15). The authors of this exposition of apartheid left no doubt that the policy of apartheid was an instrument that structured the South African polity in such a way that it fostered and concealed Afrikaner hegemony.

This proposal was well received by Afrikaners and led to Coertze's invitation to the FAK Congress in 1944, at which he was appointed to chair the FAK's Commission on Racial Questions.⁵⁷ The conference was a gathering of the leading Afrikaner intellectuals and politicians as well as representatives of the churches and cultural organisations. It was a crucial conference since "for the first time a reasoned and systematic exposition was given of that which was implied by 'apartheid'".⁵⁸ One of the resolutions of the Congress dealing with the 'racial question' stated:

"It ought to be of concern to both, the white and non-white population, that each of the non-white volke is given the opportunity to develop along their own lines, in their own areas, so that they eventually will be in a position to administer their own affairs."⁵⁹

This resolution echoed Coertze's, van Eeden's and Language's proposals for a solution to South Africa's 'racial problems'.

Coertze's ideas presented at the FAK Congress were taken over by others including Geoff Cronjé, Professor of Sociology at the University of Pretoria.⁶⁰ Like Nico Diederichs, Cronjé had studied in the 1930s in Germany. Upon his return to South Africa, Cronjé worked together with Piet J. Meyer assiduously on the details of an all-inclusive policy of apartheid or separate development. Cronjé's book *'n Tuiste vir die Nageslag: Die blywende oplossing van Suid-Afrika se Rassevraagstukke* (1945)⁶¹ was a preliminary blueprint for the coming system. It examined the logic of all the aspects of the new concept.

When the FAK Congress appointed a commission, the *Kommissie vir Rassevraagstukke*, operating within FAK's *Instituut vir Volkswelstand* (Institute for Volk Welfare), to develop detailed guidelines, Coertze became the commission's chairperson in 1945. From 1943 to 1946 he was also a member of a committee on racial policy of the Federal Mission Council of

⁵⁷ It has been mentioned above that the FAK was the public front of the secret Afrikaner Broederbond

⁵⁸ Loubser (1987:56)

⁵⁹ "Dat dit in belang beide van die blanke en nie-blanke bevolking word, sodat die nie-blanke volksgroepe elf die gellenheid sal kry om, na sy eie aard, in sy eie gebied, te ontwikkel en uiteindelik volle beheer oor sy eie sake daar te kan verkry" (FAK 1944:22) Translated by B. Schmidt. See also Groenewald (1947) on the resolutions of the Volkskongress and the Church Volkskongress in July 1947 in Johannesburg, both justifying apartheid on religious grounds. Theologians and volkekundiges alike repeatedly stressed the fact that "die eenheid is uit God, maar ook die verskeidenheid" (the unity of mankind is of God, but also the difference) (Groenewald 1947:45). See also chapter VI.

⁶⁰ Cronjé addressed the congress after J. D. du Toit on the question of miscegenation.

⁶¹ In English: *A Home for Prosperity: The Permanent Solution of South Africa's Racial Problem*. See also Cronjé's book on *Regverdig Rasse-Apartheid* (Justified Race-Apartheid) (1947), which he co-authored with leading theologian-Broeders, William Nicol and Professor E. P. Groenewald. See also Cronjé and Venter's sociological study on the Afrikaner patriarchal family (1958). On the philosophy of Diederichs, Meyer and Cronjé see Sparks (1991:147-182), de Klerk (1988:203-222), Willms/Strydom (1980:193-196), Moodie (1980:154-159), J. M. Coetzee (1991) and Furlong (1991:225-230).

the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerke as well as a member of the committee on the same topic of the Hervormde Kerk. He was one of the organisers of the church congress on the Native question that took place in Bloemfontein in 1950. The participants called for the total separation of the 'races'.⁶² In his paper on the economic aspect of the Native question Coertze at the congress warned of the *samegroeiing* (growing together) of black and white in the economy which would eventually lead to a *samegroeiing* in daily life and to miscegenation.⁶³

In the course of 1947, the idea of creating an organisation that would deal with the problems and future of South Africa's racial affairs - providing an alternative to the liberal Institute of Race Relations - became increasingly widespread among Afrikaner intellectuals. As the result of a joint effort of Afrikaner academics, clergy and politicians, the South African Bureau of Racial Affairs (SABRA) was founded on 23 September 1948. Despite its Broederbond inspired origins and the obvious connections to the National Party leadership, its members insisted that SABRA be totally independent of political organisations and parties.⁶⁴ In his first presidential address of 1950, the Stellenbosch historian Professor Thom explained the purpose and principles of the new organisation:

"SABRA is an organisation which wants to concentrate on unbiased scientific study and especially research. It wants to collect facts by empirical examination ... It wants to help clear the road to the future. But at the same time it wants to emphasise [that there is] overwhelming evidence that the policy of equality and complete integration is neither in the interests of the whites or the Coloured and that SABRA has come to the definite conclusion that the future and welfare of the racial groups in South Africa will only be achieved by way of separate development"⁶⁵

In the first edition (1949) of the SABRA journal, *Tydskrif vir Rasse-Aangeleenthede* (Journal of Racial Affairs) the editors wrote that the formation of SABRA was due to the initiative of academics at the University of Stellenbosch, "especially of the Department of Bantoekunde" (1949:3). Among the nineteen founding members were Werner Eiselen, then professor in Pretoria and N.J. Olivier, Professor B.I.C. van Eeden, and Dr. A. van Schalkwyk of the Department of Bantoekunde in Stellenbosch.⁶⁶

⁶¹ Ryan (1990 36) See chapter VI

⁶² Eloff (1972 7)

⁶³ In 1968, as chairman of the Broederbond, Piet Meyer stressed that the policy of separate development as well as the SABRA was the Broederbond's branchchild "the Broederbond formed SABRA to investigate this policy scientifically and to propagate it" (Meyer quoted in Wilkuns/Strydom 1980 198) SABRA had had a predecessor The conference of the Rasseverhoudingsbond van Afrikaners in Pretoria on 19 and 20 June 1935 with M D C de Wet Nel as its secretary had led to the formation of the Afrikanerbond vir Rassestudie It was influential in popularizing the ethnic conception of culture and extending it into the sphere of race relations as a 1936 statement of the organization revealed "Die Afrikaner erken die feit dat daar 'n eeue-oue Bantu-kultuur bestaan en derhalwe wil hy dat die naturel gelei word deur kennis en verheerliking van God to herskepping van sy eie beskawing, waarin sy eie kultuur, sy eie eienskappe kan beskik en die volmaaktheid kan ontwikkel in die lig van Gods woord" (quoted in Rich 1976 240) Eiselen and Alfred Hoernlé were among those who attended the conference

⁶⁴ SABRA (1950 5) Translation by B Schmidt

⁶⁵ The other members were C B Brink (NGK), Dr Nico Diederichs, Dr T E Donges, Prof G B A Gerdener (Theological Seminar, Stellenbosch), Dr C G Hall, Dr E G Jansen, W A Malherbe (NGK), M D C de Wet Nel, Dr William Nicol (Administrator Transvaal), Hugh Solomon (Johannesburg), C F Stallard, Prof H B Thom (historian at the University of Stellenbosch), Prof J C van Rooy (University of Potchefstroom), J H Viljoen (Vryburg) and H O'K. Webber (Johannesburg) The first executive committee consisted of van Eeden, Thom, Eiselen, Diederichs, de Wet Nel,

In the 1950s Coertze assumed various tasks within SABRA: He became consulting editor of its journal and later honorary member of SABRA. For volkekundiges the Journal of Racial Affairs was an important forum to demonstrate the practical feasibility of apartheid based on territorial separation and the autogenous development of volke and ethnic groups.⁶⁷ Members of SABRA aimed at supporting apartheid based on scientific findings and investigating how far democratic principles could be imposed on blacks in order to counteract the argument that Afrikaners were oppressors. They intended to convince the public that apartheid was ethically correct and not racist and oppressive. One of SABRA's most successful lobbying initiatives was a government commission of inquiry into the socio-economic development of the native reserves with a view to developing them into 'independent homelands'

This government commission for the Socio-Economic Development of Bantu Areas, known as the Tomlinson Commission, was appointed in 1950. Volkekundiges such as Coertze and Bruwer presented lengthy memoranda to the Commission. The final report reflected and reproduced the suggestions of Coertze's proposal for a future homeland-policy, which was also in line with SABRA's philosophy.⁶⁸ The Commission's analysis of the situation of the natives in South Africa was adopted the notion of culture contact and culture change which Coertze had expounded in his memoranda as the key scientific legitimating premise.⁶⁹

2.1. Modernising Bantu culture - the Tomlinson Report

As mentioned above, in November 1950 the South African Government appointed a commission, officially titled 'The Commission for the Socio-Economic Development of the Bantu Areas within the Union of South Africa'. The Commission⁷⁰ was entrusted

"to conduct an exhaustive enquiry into and to report on a comprehensive scheme for the rehabilitation of the Native Areas with a view to developing within them a social structure in keeping with the culture of the Native and based on effective socio-economic planning".⁷¹

Olivier and van Schalkwyk Dr Albert Hertzog, Prof A Malan, the volkekundige Dr F L Language, and C Prinsloo were coopted as members of the executive committee (SABRA 1949 3-4)

⁶⁷ See for example Olivier (1954), Eiselen (1955), E F Potgieter (1957), Bruwer (1958) and Bruwer/Olivier (1964) In 1956 SABRA had over 3,000 individual members as well as some 222 affiliated organisations, mostly Dutch Reformed Church congregations, municipalities and Afrikaner cultural organisations See Lazar (1993) and Karis/Carter (1977 302-307) on the role of SABRA in elaborating the apartheid ideology

⁶⁸ The recommendations of the Tomlinson Report matched SABRA's vision of "a long-term policy to build a future for Blacks in their own reserves" (Posel 1991 71) The Commission included a number of prominent SABRA figures such as M D C de Wet Nel and Tomlinson, its chairperson (Lazar 1993 372-373, Posel 1991 240) It was de Wet Nel, then Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, who introduced the Promotion of Bantu Self-Government Act in the House of Assembly in May 1959

⁶⁹ Tomlinson Report (1955 9-13) See also Gordon (1988 546)

⁷⁰ The Commission consisted of academics, farmers and NP government officials FR Tomlinson (chairperson), then professor of agricultural economics at the University of Pretoria, M D C de Wet Nel (MP), C W Prinsloo and C B Young of the Department of Native Affairs, J H J van Rensburg, G J Badenhorst, Prof C H Badenhorst, Prof J H R Bisschop, J H Moolman, and F H Botha (the Commission's secretary) Eiselen wrote the foreword of and signed the Tomlinson Report in his capacity as Secretary of Native Affairs

⁷¹ All quotations, unless otherwise stated, are taken from the 'Summary of the Report of the Commission for the Socio-Economic Development of the Bantu Areas within the Union of South Africa' (Tomlinson Commission) (1955) The

It was directed, in other words, to develop a scheme that would allow the modernisation of South Africa's black majority not as South Africans but as Bantu. Compared to previous government commissions, the Tomlinson Commission was not entrusted with the task of seeking a solution to the Native question, but was to make suggestions for the implementation of a given political solution, viz. apartheid (105-106). The aim was to make recommendations for

"the establishment of separate communities in their own, separate territories where each will have the fullest opportunity for self-expression and development." (105)

Two themes were cardinal to this remarkable exercise of theoretical social engineering: the creation of the Bantu as culturally different in order to justify separate development based on separate citizenship; and the socio-economic development of the 'Native Areas' in order to legitimise territorial separation based on the modernisation and transformation of the reserves into 'national homes' of the Bantu. On the basis of this separateness the Tomlinson Report intended to outline a 'development plan' that would deny South Africa's black majority the right to a common South African citizenship. The Commission aimed at making the study as comprehensive as possible, since "the Commission soon realised that the problems relative to the development of the Bantu Areas, could only be thoroughly analysed and studied in the light of the wider economic, social and political framework of the Union of South Africa" (xviii). The Bantu people of these new Bantu Areas were therefore not placed in pre-modern fictional isolation, as did the social anthropologists in their ethnographic monographs, but in the context of modern South Africa.

In five years the Tomlinson Commission produced a mammoth report of seventeen volumes, totaling 3,755 pages. In March 1956 a summary of the report was published by the government. During its investigation the Commission visited various 'Bantu Areas', received 250 written submissions from individuals and institutions, and oral evidence from 322 'Europeans' and 106 'Bantu', while they were assisted by experts from various government departments and universities (xviii). The summary of the report was divided into five parts: '1. A broad perspective; 2. The Bantu Areas; 3. The development of Bantu Areas; 4. The execution of development proposals; and 5. Recommendations and possible implications'.

To lend a scholarly scientific basis for the notion of separate development, the Commission constructed its whole scheme in terms of a plurality of Bantu cultures. In order to specify what was meant by Bantu cultures the report opened up with the question: "Who are the Bantu?". In this first section the Commission made extensive use of data provided by historians such as George McCall Theal and the ethnographic and linguistic research of university scholars. The language and terminology used by volkekundiges were readily borrowed and thus provided the intended 'development scheme' with a scientific basis.

The report explained that the Bantu had migrated from their 'northern homes' southwards and came to 'inhabit the whole area' of sub-Saharan Africa. They possessed 200 related languages and dialects and were organised into a large number of tribes (1). The term 'Bantu', as the report stated, "which has come into general use to denote this particular population group in Africa derives from a word or stem meaning 'people'" (1). The terms savage, kafir, or

native, which had been used interchangeably to name an inferior race in commission reports such as the South African Native Commission (1905) and the Native Economic Commission (1932), were discarded.

The Commission wanted to signal a break with the past by rejecting labels attached by colonialism and in their stead enshrine "a name seemingly capable of unifying scientific accuracy with the authenticity of self-expression".⁷² The term Bantu was seen as a name 'they', the black population, ascribe to themselves. The 'South African Bantu' were then described in terms of 'general cultural characteristics' and 'their language differences'. The four linguistic divisions, the Nguni, Sotho, Venda and Shangaan-Tsonga were said to constitute the 'indigenous racial groups of South Africa', which were of 'heterogeneous origin' and 'embrace various sub-groups' (1).

After comparing these different groups, the report identified the common characteristics of the 'culture of the South African Bantu'. This section referred exclusively to the Bantu before their contact with Europeans in terms of common cultural characteristics such as the tribal institution, the social system, economic activities, religious concepts and beliefs, education and political structure.⁷³

According to the report, the "all-embracing traditional unit in the social organisation is the tribe, based upon a central group or nucleus of families descended from a common ancestor or ancestors ... The binding factor upon which the survival of the tribe as a unit depends is the chief." (2) Further common characteristics of Bantu culture were family relationships based on the patrilineal system; the household as the important social unit; marriage arrangements such as lobola; polygyny; personal and legal standing derived from differences in age, sex and rank, an economic system based on cultivation and stock-keeping, ancestral worship, magic and witchcraft, and education in tribal or initiation schools. Commenting on education and training, the Commission held that they

"are integrated with the whole cultural system. In the main the young learn their place and their task in life from the older members of their own generation. In the tribal or initiation schools [the] principal subjects dealt with, are the position and duties of the pupil in the social hierarchy (citizenship), sex instruction and the acquisition of the necessary skills such as hunting and warfare for boys, and hoe-cultivation for girls." (3-4)

The chapter on the 'Bantu background' concluded with a summary of the central characteristics of the Bantu system of government as constructed by government legislation, such as the Bantu Authorities Act of 1951: "The Bantu system of government derives its authority from the chief-in-council ... The whole tribe is like a pyramid directed towards the chief who is at the apex of the political structure, the law, defence, economic development and, last but not least, the religious life of the community." (4) The report then proceeded to present a history of contact between Europeans and Bantu, its process and its results. It was demonstrated that from the outset both Europeans and Bantu were originally immigrants and thus the right to occupy land derived from the manner of acquisition during the process of contact. In regard to the course of the process of contact between the two peoples, the Commission based its

⁷² Ashforth (1990: 158)

⁷³ The description of Bantu culture resembled to a large extent the summary of the comparative 'general ethnography' on the *Bantu-Speaking Tribes of South Africa* edited by Schapera (1946)

further argumentation on theories of culture change formulated by anthropologists, sociologists, and historians. The three possible results of culture contact were seen to be:

“One organism is superseded by the stronger without leaving any perceptible influence behind it, or is absorbed by the stronger without altering the culture of the absorbent people in any way worth mentioning, or, after a process of adaptation and coalescence, a new organism arises from the original elements which then vanish in the new unity.” (9)

If the process of contact led to integration then cultural assimilation would be followed by economic assimilation, thereafter social assimilation accompanied by political assimilation and finally biological assimilation. The result would then be social and political equality. It was this very situation which South Africa’s white minority feared most. As the Report put it: due to the “numerical preponderance of the Bantu”, the “concession of equal rights to the Bantu is regarded as endangering the existence of the European and his civilisation” (9). The Commission therefore had to develop a strategy that stopped the seemingly inevitable process of integration through deliberate action. It was thus the task of the Tomlinson Commission to reveal how the culture contact between Bantu and Europeans could be directed to halt the process of integration.⁷⁴

Before presenting concrete suggestions on how to halt this process of integration, the Commission described in depth the nature of the process of contact between the Bantu and the European up to that time. This process of contact was seen to be dominated by the fact that with the arrival of the ‘white man’: “He brought his civilisation and his cultural possessions along with him ... [The] cultural transference mainly proceeded from the higher European to the lower Bantu culture and not in the reverse direction.” (8) The Europeans, the Commission argued, constituted a “national organism with a form of Western Civilisation as its vital basis” (13). As a consequence of its ‘higher cultural content’ it had “not been influenced to any important extent by the culture of the Bantu” (13). But it had “integrated the Bantu in its vital activities ... and has become dependent for its existence on the services and co-operation of a large number of Bantu individuals who are culturally and racially alien to it” (13). The result of this contact, therefore, led to “changes in the organic-cultural life of the various Bantu national organisms and of individuals belonging to these organisms” (14). Alterations occurred in the ‘Bantu material culture’, its ‘economic life’, its ‘social life’, its ‘religious and aesthetic life’, its ‘political self-expression’, and its ‘psychological attitudes’ (14). In the course of the contact process four main phases were identified:

- The first phase was characterised by sporadic contacts between the European pioneers, hunters and travellers with the Bantu, but did not bring about the “intrusion of the Europeans’ cultural possession into the Bantu sphere of life” (11).
- In the second or ‘wide contact’ phase, a measure of disintegration “within the living-sphere of the Bantu”, brought about by wars “among various Bantu tribes”, “facilitated and hastened the intrusion of European influence (borne by the missionary, the trader, the official and the settler) into that living sphere” (12).
- In the ‘third or urbanisation phase’, due to the “intrusion of the European into the living-sphere of the Bantu”, the Bantu obtained European cultural possessions by leaving the

⁷⁴ The following section on Coertze’s ethnos theory it will show that he further elaborated and dogmatised the culture-contact theory contained in the Tomlinson Report.

'Bantu Areas' and seeking work in the 'European Areas' Because the European refused to admit the Bantu into his own sphere of life, "the Bantu becomes a mere dependent 'squatter' in the European living area" (12)

- The 'fourth or reaction phase' was characterised by the response of the Bantu to rejection from the 'European sphere' From this frustration three reactions arose a) 'attempts at intrusion', b) 'nationalistic movements', and c) 'escapism', i e , a passing phase, which ultimately confronted its adherents with the choice to join a) or b) The first reaction aimed at the acceptance of the 'Bantu' in the 'European sphere of life', the "nationalistic reaction has as its purpose, the creation of a living-space for the Bantu as opposed to the European and the ultimate aim is the elimination of the European sphere of life" (12)

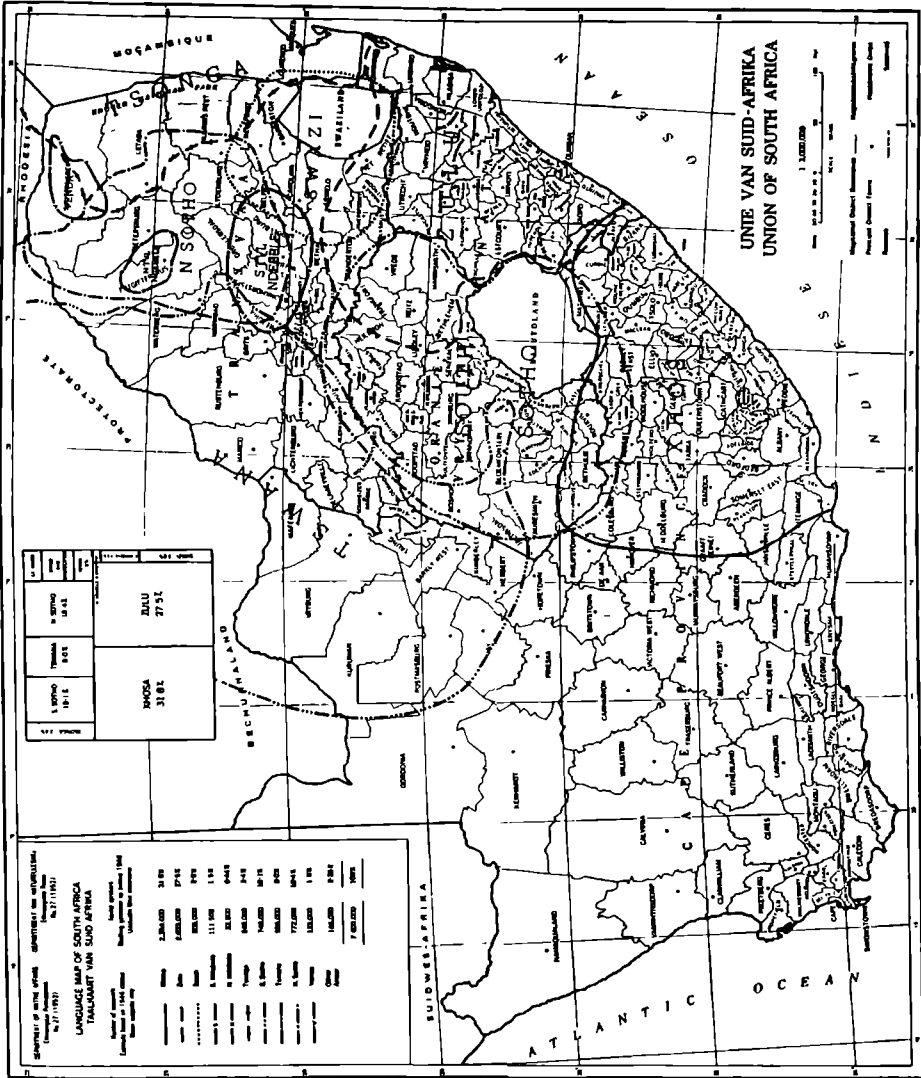
Since according to the Commission the Bantu was not to be further absorbed in the living-sphere of the Europeans, the nationalistic aspirations of the Bantu had to be directed by the whites in such a way, that they would develop "positively *alongside of*, and not *in opposition to*, the European sphere of life" (13) This implied that the state had to facilitate the development of separate spheres of life along the lines intrinsic to each culture and nation Separate development, argued the Commission, would bring the 'Bantu communities'

"(i) their own, unalienable territory, (ii) the creation of opportunities for individual and communal development, (iii) the opportunity to take charge of their own affairs, and (iv) full opportunity for economic development *inter alia* in the direction of - (a) greater economic diversification, (b) creation of an entrepreneurial class, (c) opportunities for entering the professions and semi skilled and skilled employment, (d) the provision of extensive social services and security, and (e) the building up of a sound social order" (106)

The Commission thus viewed separate development as having advantages for both the Bantu and the Europeans "The policy of separate development is the only means by which the Europeans can ensure their future unfettered existence, by which increasing race tensions and clashes can be avoided and by means of which the Europeans will be able fully to meet their responsibilities as guardians of the Bantu population" (196)

As a solution to the development of the Bantu within their own sphere, the Report suggested the rehabilitation of the 'Bantu Areas' The Commission recognised that the conditions in the reserves were inadequate The background and nature of the social problems in the reserves were described as follows "The traditional Bantu community is a social organism in which the mutual dependence of members of the community is strongly evident Social care and welfare measures go along with general duties and responsibilities within the bonds of the household, family and tribe" The European influences affected the "old basis of culture and tradition" "The most important factors are reducible to the process of acculturation encouraged by contact with the western form of culture and especially the influence of western models in economic life The results of this process express themselves in the disintegration of the traditional pattern of tribal and family life, and the growth of individual tendencies" (62) Since there is a general lack of development in the Bantu Areas any sound economic existence is made difficult and "stands in the way of social growth and evolution" (62)

If the idea of separate development were to become a reality, the Commission had to demonstrate the possibility of developing the existing reserves into 'national homes' At the time the Report was written, South Africa's black population was entitled to live "scattered over about 260 unconnected localities" About 58 per cent of the population of these areas



Map G. Language map of South Africa 1952 (van Warmelo)

"find themselves for shorter or longer periods in the European sector" (180). Taking into consideration the 'general ethnic bonds' as well as linguistic differences, the Commission recommended the "consolidation of the Bantu Areas into 7 blocks which can be systematically constructed around the seven 'historico-logical nuclei' or 'heartlands' serving as guiding lines" (181). The 'traditional nuclei' or 'cultural-historical cores' were:

- A. a Tswana block;
- B. a Venda-Tsonga block;
- C. a Pedi block;
- D. a Swazi block;
- E. a Zulu block;
- F. a south-eastern Nguni block (the Nguni of Natal, Transkei and Ciskei); and
- G. a South-Sotho block.⁷⁵

These language units and 'traditional nuclei' coincided with Schapera's, Doke's, and van Warmelo's classification of Bantu languages and cultures.⁷⁶ The Tomlinson Commission was not interested in their pre-modern state as primitive societies, but how these Bantu cultures could be modernised in order to accommodate the black majority as ethnic groups in the modern state South Africa. The Commission offered a solution to the question of how the black majority could be accommodated within a modern state and at the same time be excluded from state power: creating 'Bantustans'.

For "a healthy administrative development" of Bantu homelands the Commission recommended the institutionalisation of tribal authorities as laid down by the Bantu Authorities Act of 1951, the basic principle of which, the Commission stated, "is to give the force of law to traditional tribal institutions and customs and to develop higher, purely Bantu, authorities on lines analogous to these institutions and customs" (68). Thereby, Bantu would assume "responsibility for their own local administration, that is in municipalities, town councils, village boards, etc. ... They can eventually carry the functions of government in accordance with a system similar to the present provincial system" (211). The nationalistic aspirations of the black population mentioned above could therefore be redirected as nationalistic aspirations of the Xhosa for a Xhosa homeland, of the Zulu for a Zulu homeland, etc.

The Commission emphasised that there was a 'need for speedy action', since the 'Bantu Areas' were continually deteriorating, resulting in an influx of Bantu into white urban areas. For the rehabilitation of the 'Bantu Areas' the Commission suggested a comprehensive development programme that would provide a sound economy in these areas.

The Government welcomed the Tomlinson Commission's Report for its unequivocal support of apartheid and separate development, and legislated in 1959 the Promotion of Bantu Self-Government Act of 1959. It resulted in the creation of eight homelands or 'national units', later officially designated as 'national states'. Its implementation would not have been as convincing without the existence of a plan such as proposed in the Tomlinson Report. The Bantu Self-Government Act of 1959 stated:

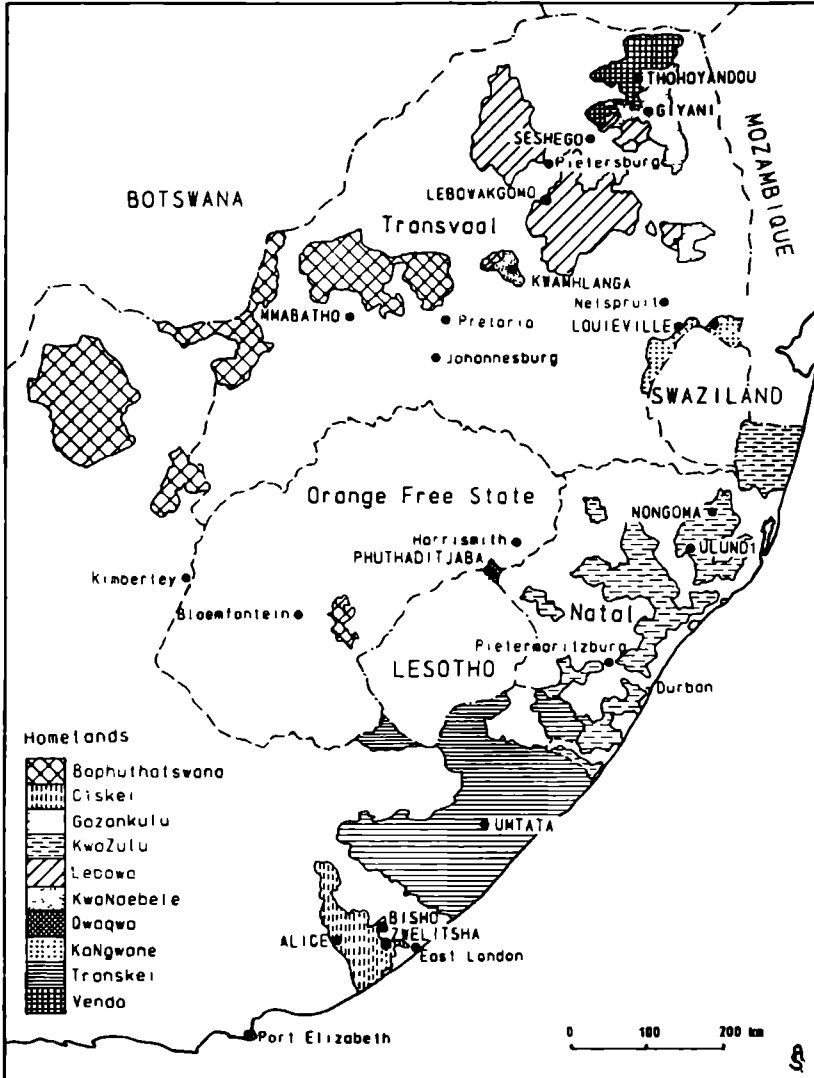
"Whereas the Bantu people of the Union of South Africa do not constitute a homogenous people, but form separate national units on the basis of language and culture: And whereas it is desirable for

⁷⁵ Tomlinson Report (1955:181).

⁷⁶ See chapter V and van Warmelo's map (Map G) of the Bantu language groups.

the welfare and progress of the said peoples to afford recognition to the various national units and to provide for their gradual development within their own areas to self-governing units on the basis of Bantu systems of government."

The Act identified the creation of eight 'national units' as envisaged in the Tomlinson Report, later adding two more, Ciskei and KwaNdebele.



Map H. South Africa's previous ethnic homelands

Although the recommendations of the Tomlinson Commission were largely accepted by the Government, in fact no serious steps were undertaken for a development of the economy in these 'Bantu Areas' as suggested in the Tomlinson Report.⁷⁷

Heedless of the rejection of the Tomlinson Report from black quarters,⁷⁸ Eiselen, in his function as Secretary of the Department of Bantu Administration and Development, continued to envisage a 'harmonious multi-community development', a phrase he chose as title for an article he published in 1959 in defence of separate development. The arguments in favour of a common society, in which black and white would enjoy equal status, were rejected by Eiselen on the grounds that South Africa "is not a racially homogenous country like Great Britain or Germany or France", but consists of "different communities living within the boundaries of a single modern State, each having its own social ideals and levels of economic and cultural development".⁷⁹ Essentially, Eiselen promoted his own version of 'sphere sovereignty'. Yet instead of allowing multi-racial competition and full political rights for blacks within a common society - a fundamental principle in democratic societies - he argued in favour of "separate communities, with full rights within your own community and second grade rights where you enter the spheres belonging to others" (1959:4). Hence, the government ascribed to the black population, subdivided into ethnic groups, territories where they were ascribed certain political rights. "All the Bantu", wrote Eiselen,

"have their permanent homes in the reserves and their entry into other areas and into the urban centres is merely of temporary nature and for economic reasons. In other words they are admitted as work-seekers, not as settlers. If that were not the basic principle it would make no sense to reserve certain parts of the country ... for the Bantu and at the same time to give them free access to all the other parts." (1959:3)

Eiselen was convinced that separate development was the only means to secure, on the one hand, the prosperity of the white section of society and, on the other hand, secure the modernisation of the black section. Eiselen argued that to succeed in modernising the Bantu would be "essential to promote in the Bantu areas ... [a] transition from primitive pastoralism and mono-culture of maize to a diversified modern economy."⁸⁰

2.2. Coertze's post-1950 theory of volkekunde

In the 1950s, at the time the members of the Tomlinson Commission were undertaking their investigation, the topic of culture change was at its height among social and cultural anthropologists. Herskovits's studies on culture change and acculturation and his generalisations on

⁷⁷ In 1956 the Government tabled a White Paper on the Tomlinson Report announcing its acceptance of the Commission's recommendation.

⁷⁸ For a rejection of the Tomlinson Report see Molteno (1956), Thompson (1956), Wilson (1956), Ngubane (1956), Hellmann (1957), Mathews/M'Timkulu (1957) and Houghton (1957). In October 1956 representatives of black organisations met in Bloemfontein under the auspices of the Inter-denominational African Ministers' Federation to consider the Tomlinson Report. The gathering unanimously rejected the report and passed a resolution in favour of a common society (Bloemfontein Charter 1957).

⁷⁹ Eiselen (1959:1).

⁸⁰ Eiselen (1959:10). For a rejection of Eiselen's justification of apartheid see Nelson Mandela's article, *Verwoerd's Tribalism*, of May 1959, reprinted in Johns/Davis (1991:60-68).

acculturation processes were held in high esteem by Coertze and other volkekundiges.⁸¹ It was argued that just as a dominating group can enforce upon another group its culture thus leading to assimilation, two cultures could mingle and interact, while at the same time retaining their separate identity (acculturation). If interaction meant that two cultures had the choice to adopt or reject cultural traits from each other then the process of integration could be influenced or stopped through deliberate action.

For their own political purposes the Afrikaners needed a theory of culture contact and change that would be able to offer practical solutions and secure Afrikaner exclusiveness and domination. Culture contact and the process of culture change had to be directed in such a way that the modernisation of and changes in black cultures would not be followed by economic, social as well as biological assimilation.

Volkekundiges undertook the effort of formulating such a scientifically based legitimating device. First, the processes of acculturation had to be studied systematically. In his article on acculturation Coertze listed five main factors influencing the process of *samegroeiing* (integration): 1) the manner of contact; 2) differences in numerical strength between the ethnoses involved; 3) differences in levels of civilisation; 4) capacity to adopt the culture of another ethnoses; and 5) racial differences. The first four criteria he took over from *A Memorandum for the Study of Acculturation* written in 1936 by Redfield, Linton and Herskovits.⁸² The fifth factor was Coertze's own addition.

It was important for Coertze especially in the South African situation to prognosticate processes of change (*kultuurverandering*) and how the direction of this process could be influenced.⁸³ Coertze first divided cultures into two broad categories: the cultural situation of *natuurvolke*, which he termed *gebonde kultuur* or *gebonde etniee* (bounded culture or ethnoses) as opposed to the *kultuurvolke* with a free ethnoses (*vrye etniee*).⁸⁴ Individuals from bounded or closed cultures faced great problems when confronted with a *vrye kultuurordening* (free cultural order), because in a bounded society individuals lacked self-discipline, having no need for it in a tight social-organic entity, while in a free society individuals were able to act independently. Since South Africa was in Coertze's view faced with a situation of contact between an 'open ethnoses' and several numerically stronger 'bounded ethnoses', apartheid was justifi-

⁸¹ Herskovits' *Man and His Works* (1948) and *Acculturation The Study of Culture Contact* (1938) and Ruth Benedict's *Pattern of Culture* (1935) were standard texts at Afrikaans universities (Coertze 1977, Booyens 1989 435) See especially the chapter 'Outline for the Study of Acculturation' which is reprinted in Herskovits (1938 131-136) The culture theory of Ruth Benedict, a student of Franz Boas, with her differentiation between 'apollinic' and 'dionysic' cultures, equally found favour in the eyes of volkekundiges As has been mentioned, Boas had studied in Leipzig under Wundt See Coertze (1978,1977) and Myburgh (1981)

In contrast to the social anthropologists, the volkekundiges until today do not have a strong tradition in fieldwork and the publication of monographs. Rather than extended fieldwork or 'participant observation', the use of reports and publications from social anthropologists, government departments and commissions as well as checklists developed by the Ethnological Section of the Department of Native Affairs in the 1950s for collecting basic data were favoured B.A. Pauw's research on the Xhosa (1975,1975a) and Monnig's monography on the Pedi (1978) were exceptions See R.D. Coertze's article on *Prioriteitssterre vir Volkekundige Navorsing* (1985) (Priority Areas for Anthropological Research)

⁸² Coertze (1968 16) This memorandum is also reprinted in Herskovits (1938 131-136) See also Coertze (1971a), in which he repeated his views on culture change and related it to his ethnoses theory

⁸³ Eloff (1972 10-11)

⁸⁴ This was a literal adoption of the dichotomy between *Natuurvolker* and *Kultuurvolker* from the theory of Wundt, but extended by the concepts of 'closeness' and 'openness'

able as the only way to preserve the former. The open ethnoses would respect the bounded ethnoses and guide the acculturation of the latter in such a way that its members gradually developed into an open ethnics⁸⁵

The Bantu ethnic groups (*Bantoe etniese*) in South Africa, which, according to Coertze, were undergoing a process of change from *kulturele gebondenheid* to *kulturele vryheid*, he classified into the following groups:

1. the Nguni, subdivided into the Xhosa, Zulu and Swazi, each forming a *volkseenheid*, an ethnic group;
2. the Sotho, divided into the North-Sotho, South-Sotho and Tswana;
3. the Venda; and
4. the Shangana-Tsonga.⁸⁶

These groups formed language and cultural units.⁸⁷ The emergence of ethnic groups or volke, explained Coertze, was due to a historical process, whereby, as in the case of the Zulu, a number of 'tribes' of heterogeneous origin grew together into a larger ethnic unity (*etniese eenheid*). The cultural, political and military domination by the small Zulu tribe prepared the ground for the emergence of a separate Zulu ethnic group with a separate polity. "The 'Zulus' regard themselves as constituting a separate ethnic entity and are recognized as such by other ethnic groups." The strengthening of such a volk unity within one polity and its politicisation was the basis of nation-building and state formation.⁸⁸ Assuming the role of temporary trusteeship, the Afrikaner ethnoses made an offer of nationhood to the Bantu ethnoses; it offered them a national homeland and state, thought to be the most cherished possession of an ethnoses.⁸⁹ Coertze believed culture to be a general human product, and that humanity was divided by its many cultures. Thus, culture could be encountered only in its plural form. As Coertze put it: "There are as many cultures as there are volke."⁹⁰ He argued that the volk, its

⁸⁵ Coertze (1968 22,9) The distinction between 'closed' and 'free' cultures was also discussed in detail in his article *Volke en Kulture onder Gebondenheid en Vryheid (Peoples and Cultures - bound and free)* (1971b)

⁸⁶ Coertze (1972 134-135)

⁸⁷ Also his classification was in line with Doke's classification of Bantu languages and Schapera's classification of cultural units. See chapter V

⁸⁸ "Die 'Zoeloes' ag hulleself as vormende 'n afsonderlike etniese entiteit en word ook as sodanig deur ander etniese geken. Verdere samesnoering en uitbouing van hierdie groot verskeidenheid samehoerende stamme binne een volkseenheid en een staats- of polisverband is 'n proses van polisering (staatsvorming) wat alreeds deur die vormende kragte van die geskiedenis en die bindende kragte van die tradisie dargestel is" (Coertze 1972 142) Translated by B. Schmidt. Indeed, in South Africa, wrote Robert Thornton, "it is often the history of ethnological publications, rather than the real history of South African people, that has had most influence in the shaping of political boundaries" (Thornton 1988 23)

⁸⁹ Parallel to the establishment of South Africa's ethnic homelands for the black population, volkekundiges, whether at universities or as government ethnologists, were fanatically determined to extend the 'eie', the 'own' and 'self', the *geist* of Afrikanerdom to others, with the exception that they would not pass on the religious calling by which they were deemed to rule South Africa. As a volkekundige committed to the Afrikaner cause, Coertze stated "It is necessary for us to take all measures to ensure the diversity and the separate development of different ethnic groups in the future. All factors which may still exist to foster a growing-together and an integration into a greater unity in this country must be systematically removed, otherwise we shall not avoid a process of fusion. The Whites still have a great calling in South Africa. There are a manifold of underdeveloped people of different ethnic groups in the country who are dependent on the help and guidance of the Whites. But we can only give this if we see to it ourselves that we do not descend into the sewer of integration" (Coertze 1968 33-34, in English in Sharp 1981 16). On Coertze's version of the ethnogenesis of the Afrikanervolk see Coertze (1974,1979)

⁹⁰ "Soveel volke wat daar is, soveel kulture bestaan dar" (Coertze 1977 61). See also Coertze (1971b 155)

'logos', and its 'ethos' were interrelated and coincided. To this he added that the existence of the volk was not merely human-made, but due to the existence of an absolute and eternal ethos:

"Once a volk has made its appearance it is extremely difficult to destroy it ... [because] the Almighty allows volk to continue to exist as his creations."⁹¹

Coertze published his programmatic statements in the introductory textbook *Inleiding tot die Algemene Volkekunde* (1959/1977).⁹² The key concept of volkekunde and unit of study lay in the ethnos, defined as a unit formed by the relationship between a volk and its culture (1977:1). Volk and culture developed over time into a 'social-organic whole', the structures and existential activities becoming culturally determined. Cohesive factors included genetic unity, resulting from volk-endogamy, and psychic unity among its members. An individual born into a particular volk acquired by socialisation a *volksge kondisioneerde persoonlikheid* (a volk-personality) (1977:63). Therefore, the most important influence on an individual's behaviour would be his ethnos membership.⁹³

Coertze referred to the German social anthropologist Wilhelm Mühlmann (1938,1964).⁹⁴ Coertze's ethnos concept conformed with the ethnos-theory of Mühlmann, who had relied on Sergej M. Shirokogoroff's definition of ethnos.⁹⁵ Ethnos theory postulated that humankind was divided into volke (nations, peoples) and that each volk had its own particular culture, which might change but would always remain authentic to the group in question.

These statements suffice to reveal the essence of volkekunde during the Apartheid-era. It provided an intellectual formula for *volkeverhoudinge* (inter-volk relationships) and the elaboration of South Africa's policy of ethnic differentiation. The volkekundiges hypothesised social relations in the abstract relation of ethnos and volk, which the politicians of Apartheid

⁹¹ Coertze (1977:64). See also Coertze (1966:10). J.H. Coertze, Professor of Volkekunde at the University of Potchefstroom and Broederbond, reaffirmed Coertze's idea of volk as God-given. Referring to Abraham Kuyper, he stated in an article in the Calvinist journal *Woord en Daad* of the Gereformeerde Kerk: "Met die erkenning dat God ook die Skepper en Instandhouer van volke is en elke volk onder 'n roeping staan, word terselfdertyd bely dat elke volk ondergeskik is en diensbaar moet wees aan die Koninkryk van Jesus Christus ... Die nasionale verskeidenhede is ondergeskik aan die geestelike eenheid in Christus; die historiese volke is nie gelyk te stel met die volk van God nie." (Coertze 1975:4) He also emphasised that it was the task of the church to bring the word of God to the volke - *panta ta ethne* (Coertze 1975:4). Whereas he argued that racial discrimination was a sin against God, separate development was not and should be implemented (Coertze 1975:7). Booyens (1989:438-447) discussed the differences between the ethnos theories of Coertze and J.H. Coertze.

⁹² In 1981 a second introductory textbook was published by the volkekundiges, this time in Afrikaans and English. It claimed to present a theory of culture for anthropology in general. The book was titled *Anthropology for Southern Africa and Volkekunde vir Suid-Afrika* (edited by Myburgh). Practically, however, a fusion of volkekunde and social anthropology was not in sight. In 1978 an exclusive association of Afrikaner volkekundiges, publishing its own journal, *Die Suid-Afrikaanse Tydskrif vir Etnologie*, was formed (Sharp/Kotzé 1985:3). See Pauw (1980) who aimed at reconciling the differences between social anthropology and volkekunde in South Africa.

⁹³ See Sharp (1981:19).

⁹⁴ Coertze (1971:60). Up until after the Second World War Mühlmann equated ethnos and volk. In the 1980s he introduced the term 'demos' and focused on the increasing politicisation of the ethnos as nation and nationalism. See Müller (1989) discussing the modifications in Mühlmann's definition of ethnos and volk.

⁹⁵ This also applies to J.H. Coertze (1978:135-237). Mühlmann's definition of ethnos: "The most important characteristic of an ethnos is the consciousness of belonging together on the grounds of belief in a common origin, and this consciousness comes, naturally, to the fore when a people must assert itself in contact with other peoples." (Mühlmann 1938:229). Translated by B. Schmidt. See also Mühlmann (1964:57) and Shirokogoroff (1935).

concretised after 1948 by establishing Bantu homelands. In this respect, Coertze had a 'lighter' task than Eiselen, who had laid the groundwork for the realisation of apartheid politics. Coertze merely theoretised about the fruits that Eiselen's work bore.

Concluding remarks

This thesis is about 'creating order: culture as politics', as exemplified by the creation of ethnic groups in South Africa. The introduction set out the aims of this study: namely, applying Said's theory to South Africa's history in order to uncover the phenomenon of the disguising of colonial power - and the power of the modern state - by an apparent separation of culture from politics. This final chapter aims at outlining in turn, regarding the representation of culture, the forces that generated the process of creating an ethnic order in such a way that the cultures of the colonised peoples were to appear not only as holistic, beautiful and harmonious entities, but were seen also as 'weightless' and capable of being 'set free' and apart from the political domain.

The reconstruction of the process of creating order in South Africa revealed that the actors playing a major role in the creation of this ethnic order were the missionaries, and in the context of the modern South African state the social anthropologists and the volkekundiges who served as cultural agents. There is sufficient empirical evidence to show that these cultural agents were fully aware that their theories and cultural representations served political ends. They themselves articulated in the various instances their political aims and interests, which were indeed part of a scholarly and scientifically constructed politics of culture and society of the colonial periphery. In this sense one can speak of culture as politics.

Chapters V and VII examined the difference between 'British' and South African social anthropology on the one hand and Afrikaner volkekunde on the other hand. The difference lay in the 'theoretical speculations' and the cultural representations of the respective cultural agents in regard to 'creating an ethnic order'. Thus, there arose, in terms of Said's paradigm, two kinds of separations between cultural representation and politics. The differences in the representation of the Other as suggested by volkekundiges and social anthropologists reflected contrasting political aims in the process of creating and ethnic order. In order to understand these differences it is necessary to take into account the structures of modernity in England, Netherlands, and South Africa that formed the socio-political background of these cultural agents. This can be done by setting these cultural agents in an 'ideal-typical'¹ sketch of the history of 'creating order' in South Africa - presented in chapters I to IV.

The first chapter of this thesis outlined the beginnings of colonialism, starting with the founding of a Dutch outpost at the Cape of Good Hope in 1652 that led to the spread of Dutch settlements and the steady integration of the Cape into the world economy. In the seven-

¹ I make use of Max Weber's concept of ideal type when referring to concepts such as modern, pre-modern, bureaucratic or modern state. Weber suggested that in order "to give precise meaning to these terms, it is necessary for the sociologist to formulate pure ideal types of the corresponding forms of action which in each case involve the highest possible degree of logical integration by virtue of their complete adequacy on the level of meaning. But precisely because this is true, it is probably seldom if ever that a real phenomenon can be found which corresponds exactly to one of these ideally constructed pure types." (Weber 1978:20)

teenth century Amsterdam emerged as the centre of merchant capitalism. At that time merchant capitalism developed hand in hand with the Dutch Calvinist *Weltanschauung* favouring freedom of conscience and individualism especially in regard to individual property rights. Both merchant capitalism and individualisation contributed to the emergence of a federalist oligarchic-democratic state that enjoyed a renaissance in science, art and literature, known as the 'Golden Age'.

At their colonial outposts in South Africa as well as the East and West Indies, the Dutch coexisted with the indigenous population as far as the latter did not infringe on Dutch commercial interests. When threatened, however, the Dutch had the resources and technology to claim a superior status in the overseas territories. Dutch administrators and settlers abroad did not express a pronounced sense of mission with the purpose of inducing cultural transformation among the colonised; even missionary activities among the indigenous people were not of priority. In regard to the representation of colonial politics, the transformation of indigenous culture and creating a new order, the Dutch abroad were rather uninterested or indifferent.

From the perspective of the centre Amsterdam the burghers and Boers at the Cape Colony were perceived as inhabitants of a distant province in the periphery and hence regarded as economically and culturally under-developed. The Cape burghers developed a tense and partly hostile relationship towards the colonial power. While the Dutch East India Company had its commercial interests in mind and intended to minimise the costs of maintaining its Cape outpost, the burghers and Boers increasingly rejected restrictions and regulations imposed on them by the Company. They began to pursue their own interests by expanding their farming activities and driving the indigenous population, the Khoi and San, off the best land. While they decimated and forced back their competitors, they at the same time aimed at incorporating these people as labourers in their agrarian and pastoral economy. Due to the shortage of servile labour, slaves were imported.

Until 1800, neither on the side of the whites nor on the side of the Khoi or slaves, can a clearly defined strategy of 'creating order: culture as politics' be identified. The creation of an order along ethnic lines emerged in a very rudimentary form, more on the side of the Cape burghers and Boers than the Khoi or the slaves. The relationship imposed by the Boers in their interactions with the Khoi was characterised by a paternalistic master-servant relationship. Over the years the social order of master and servant came to coincide with a religious differentiation between Christian - being white - and Heathen - being Khoi, slaves or offspring of Boer-Khoi/slave unions, even if the latter had been baptised.

Once the British gained control over the Cape in the early nineteenth century, a radical transformation took place (chapter II). New economic modes of production and a new colonial bureaucracy replaced the pre-industrial order in the Cape Colony and gave way to the implementation of a new order. In this new phase mission societies appeared along with colonial officials and entrepreneurs. The mission society of the late seventeenth and eighteenth century was a child of the transformations induced by early industrial capitalism in Britain and social transformations in Europe in general.² Opposed to the established state church in Britain, mission agencies became important vehicles of what came to be known as the non-conformist religious movement. Just as British colonial expansion led to a spread of economic

² See for example Adelman (1984), Gilbert (1976), Bebb (1935:13-15), Warner (1967) and Ross (1986 35-38,53-76)

and political interests to other parts of the world so was this process accompanied by a spread of Christianity. Establishing a network of stations in the colonial periphery, mission agents - a term used synonymously for missionaries - of numerous denominations came to exercise an important role as cultural agents.

The modernisation introduced by British colonialism at the Cape meant that the English settlers - and partly also the Boers - underwent a process of change similar to that in England. In one central aspect, however, the process of modernisation at the Cape differed from that in Britain. Instead of striving for overall political integration of all inhabitants of the Cape, the settlers increasingly excluded the black population as an internal periphery within the colonial state. In this context the Christian mission agencies were of cardinal importance. It can be argued that the missionaries stayed well within the limits of the process of colonisation and modernisation in the colony. Their activities in bringing Christian civilisation to the heathens were compatible with this process. In other words, within the framework of colonial 'trusteeship' the missionary played a central role in 'modernising in exclusion' the black population. This meant that they shaped them in a way that they could fulfil the functions expected of them in an exploitative system of industrial colonial production. Such a process entailed an ethnicisation of blacks intended to marginalise blacks politically and economically.

It is useful to distinguish between an early phase of creating order along ethnic lines among the blacks, in which the missionaries were the crucial cultural agents, and a second phase, the state-bureaucratic 'creating ethnic order' phase, which came to dominate developments after 1900. The formation of the South African State in 1910 brought about a new order with a unified and yet divided administrative system aimed at drawing clear lines 1) separating black and white - native and European. and 2) separating people along ethnic lines. In this phase social anthropology and Afrikaner volkekunde were institutionalised at South Africa's universities. Backed by the weight of scholarly objectivity, both were crucial in sustaining the constructing of different types of ethnic groups.

Let us turn to the first phase. During the nineteenth century a gradual dissolution of autonomous or quasi-autonomous indigenous cultures took place through subjugation of the black population and incorporation into a colonial labour market. The black population had the option to either voluntarily acquiesce or resist. Where there was resistance, it could not be sustained over time, thus opening the way to an involuntary incorporation - through annexation - of the black population into the colonial system.

The colonised not only came in direct contact with the colonial administrator who was in charge of consolidating the colonial order, but also with the missionary, who penetrated black communities not yet or already under colonial rule. The missionary's activity was of importance in the sense that it was aimed at instilling European Christian values and norms into the black population. This was the essence of their 'Christian civilising mission': to make out of the raw 'uncivilised native' a disciplined and 'civilised native'. Their cultural task became an important aspect of the colonial policy of maintaining 'trusteeship'. The ideals of civilisation and Christianity were intertwined with commerce. It would have been against the intention of establishing a colonial order to inculcate blacks with the notion of commerce and individuality that would have enabled them to act independently within the new economic order. Instead the missionary played a decisive role in preaching and enforcing a Christian

work ethic and skills needed to serve as exploitable labour in a European dominated colonial economy.

The fact which most forcefully underlines the missionary's crucial role as a cultural agent, and in many ways as a mediator between the coloniser and the colonised, was the construction for the black population of a new written languages, thus transforming oral language into a written code. This new literary instrument to which the mission-educated had unique and privileged access came to be used by converts, teachers and clergy in the newly established educational institutions, Sunday schools and churches to preach the gospel, to write down 'their' people's histories, customs and fables. Once a written language was codified with a standard grammar, it expanded from missionary centres over the network of mission stations and schools whereby distinct language zones came into being. Hence, the creation of written languages such as Xhosa, Zulu, Sotho and Tswana came to stand for various social entities, which, taken together, were perceived by missionaries as a single mission field, namely that of the black population sharing a common culture. Such a reinforcing process of transformation by the mission-educated was exemplified by the case of Tiyo Soga (chapter II).

For emerging new social entities to receive political recognition they had to be sanctioned by the colonial power. Since the colonial government had destroyed the sovereign power of chiefs in their respective chiefdoms, an administrative system for new socio-political entities had to be constructed that allowed a high degree of control over the black population. It necessitated the demarcation of manageable administrative units. The black population was relegated to native reserves and new political structures were created that transcended and invalidated the boundaries of old chiefdoms and the political alliance between people and chiefs. The common experience of people that went hand in hand with the implementation of such a new order, new settlement patterns, new patterns of mobility, communication and interaction in these new regional administrative entities, the reserves, facilitated the use and acceptance of a common language.

In the colonial context, a common language, such as Xhosa or Zulu, soon came to signify a common origin in the sense of belonging to a socially defined entity, which in turn was assigned a territorial definition such as the Zulu of Zululand, the Xhosa of the Transkei, the Sotho of Basutoland and the Tswana of Bechuanaland. These new entities became an integral part of the new colonial order. Both the creation at mission stations of written Bantu languages for missionising and making literature in Xhosa, Zulu, Tswana and Sotho available and the colonial government's expulsion of the black population into the reserves thus reinforced the separateness and apartness of European and native (Bantu) culture. In this way the interplay between the missionaries and the British colonial power shaped the process of ethnogenesis among the black population.

This first phase in the process of creating order based on colour and ethnic (language) differences resulted in various new ethnic (language) groups in the reserves. Economically, none of these newly demarcated reserves could survive on its own. This was intentional. Any attempt of the black population, occasionally with the help of individual missionaries, to achieve economic self-reliance and independence was curtailed. Blacks in the reserves were limited to economic activities on the lowest level of subsistence farming. Such a scheme and its respective form of social organisation in the reserves appeared functional within the con-

text of the colonial order. In other words, the black population was deliberately held on a level that was associated with pre-modernity and primitiveness.³

South Africa's history is unique in the sense that not only the black population was colonised but the Cape Dutch-Afrikaners and Boers also came to feel the pressures of British domination. In a more indirect manner the British colonial power and mission agencies attempted to pursue a peripherisation of the Boers. But the latter resisted. Their method of mobilising opposition to British rule is of interest. Resistance was directed towards England as the centre of modernity and their mobilisation aimed at political and economic recognition and equality. The strategy, seeking to achieve recognition within a political and cultural framework dominated by the British, was specific to the periphery. Irrespective of the support they received from the Netherlands, which itself was undergoing a process of modernisation, yet lagging behind England, the Dutch-Afrikaners mobilised increasingly along ethnic lines (chapter III).

As has been shown in chapter I, the burghers and Boers of German, Dutch and French origin initially did not identify themselves as an ethnic group to be mobilised readily for political purposes. This changed as the British occupied the Cape and increasingly peripherised the Boers. By doing so the British induced among the Boers a group consciousness and awareness of their peripheral position. As has been shown in chapter III, throughout the nineteenth century Dutch-Afrikaners or Boers were not united in their response to British domination. Two strategies can be discerned. First, Dutch-Afrikaners and Boers demanded political participation and were incorporated into the government structures at the Cape. This was possible as long as they accepted British political and economic domination. Second, those who refused to become British subjects migrated beyond the borders of the Colony and founded their own Boer republics.

The situation changed in the second half of the nineteenth century as new immigrants came from the Netherlands and Dutch-Afrikaners underwent academic training in the Netherlands and began working for the Dutch Reformed Church in the Cape and Boer republics in educational institutions, and in the publishing sector. They acquired a position as cultural agents. They began to elaborate notions of a distinct Dutch Afrikaner ethnic consciousness especially through the medium of literature. They aimed at emancipating the Boers from their peripherisation so that they too could have the benefits of modernisation.

In their mobilisation the Dutch-Afrikaners constructed an ethnicity that differed from the ethnic order missionaries and colonial officials induced on the blacks. First of all, it was induced by the Afrikaners themselves in response to British rule. Secondly, the promoters of ethnicity borrowed ideas from the Dutch in the Netherlands. They sought to adapt Abraham Kuyper's neo-Calvinist notion of the 'sovereignty in one's own sphere' to their situation in

³ An explanation of the 'pre-modern' trusteeship civilisation process is needed if false conclusions are to be avoided. Early industrial-capitalist modernity was brought to southern Africa by the English colonial power. The colonial subjugation of the indigenous population and destruction of their cultures were part of the colonial process of modernisation. But the process also included the ethnogenesis of pre-modern cultures. One should therefore not draw the conclusion, as the notion 'pre-modern' might suggest, that pre-modernity generated in the last century had nothing to do with modernity. To the contrary, this ethnic pre-modernity was a product of nineteenth century modernity in the periphery. Hence, 'education for civilisation' had as its aim to prepare and functionalise people of this constructed 'pre-modern modernity' as subordinates and as a labour force in the colonial periphery. At no time did the colonial power nor the nonconformist mission agencies attempt to grant the colonised an equal status with the modern coloniser.

southern Africa. While Kuyper's theory of sphere sovereignty gained popularity in Dutch politics in the late nineteenth century due to the increasing differentiation, modernisation and democratisation of Dutch society, the Afrikaner cultural agents did not apply it to the South African society as a whole. Instead they used it as a paradigm for perpetuating their exclusiveness in the colonial periphery.

Given the social stratification at the Cape, the Afrikaners mobilised against the privileged British settlers, the missionaries, and the Colony's government. At the same time the Afrikaners found common ground with the British whites in their rejection of an upliftment of the colonised, the blacks. What differences the whites did have among themselves was a matter of difference in approach. The cultural agents among the Boers or Dutch-Afrikaners in the process of their intensive ethnic mobilisation sought to exclude and discipline the blacks, but at the same time modernise and use them as labour in order to secure their own upliftment. In other words, they aimed at modernising the old master-servant relationship. The English cultural agents were far more engaged in radically peripherising the blacks strictly as a labour force of primitive ethnic groups, constructing a form of representation authorised to speak on their behalf and thereby shaping the identity of the inferior native as distinct from the cultural representation for the European in the colonial context. Thus the most crucial difference in the relationship between Boers and blacks and the English and blacks was that the Afrikaners needed the blacks for their own upliftment, while the English did not.⁴ The latter held the upper hand and intended to secure their position by all available means.

The complexity of processes of ethnogenesis in South Africa is striking. Besides the process of ethnogenesis enforced by the coloniser against the colonised, cultural agents among the English and Dutch-Afrikaners opposed each other, insofar as that the former engaged in creating order with the intention of marginalising the Boers and Dutch-Afrikaners while the latter in turn were engaged in an upliftment mobilisation; together both intended to create an order, yet on different terms, that marginalised the blacks. Until the 1930s the Boers or Afrikaners had shown no interest in an ethnogenesis of the blacks that went beyond the patriarchal order of master and servant.

A decisive turning point in South African history was the discovery of diamonds and gold and the emergence of an industrial mining sector and the participation of increasing numbers of people, black and white, in the industrial labour market. After the Anglo-Boer War South Africa emerged as a player to be reckoned with in world politics. This newly acquired position in the circle of industrial nations was reaffirmed as South Africa actively participated in the First World War, and in the person of Jan Smuts, who was a member of the British War Cabinet and held an important position in the League of Nations.

The early years of economic transformation of southern Africa were followed by the formation of the Union of South Africa in 1910. As in Europe and North America, in South Africa industrial capitalism entered a more developed phase. Developed industrial nations emerged as modern democratic states with an increasingly elaborate welfare system. As the South African commission reports between 1903 and 1933 reveal (chapter IV), the concerns for the 'well-being' of the black population were decisive in defining and constructing the European and the native. The state's welfare programmes, with all their positive incentives for

⁴ In order to avoid misunderstanding: Of course the English needed the blacks as an exploitable labour force, but not for their upliftment since they were the dominant power.

the whites and negative effects for the blacks, consolidated a political order which secured the privileged status of whites and a subordinate position for blacks, Coloureds and Indians.

In this process of consolidating an exclusive claim by South Africa's white population to State power, the dynamic of industrialisation brought to the fore a major problem, viz., the economic integration of black and white labour. The problem was twofold and was identified as the poor white problem and the Native question. Socio-political restructuring during the post-war years after the Anglo-Boer War and further industrialisation had resulted in the impoverishment and the uprooting of Boers as well of the already marginalised blacks. Blacks appeared as highly mobile competitors along with unskilled white workers on the labour market. The competition between the two led to immense political conflicts. Initially the mining industry was not prepared to guarantee the unskilled white labourers a privileged status over black labourers. A solution was found through the intervention of the state.

The South African state intervened as a regulating force by establishing a state-monopolistic system. By doing so it created a rigid order, controlling both labour and capital. This new state-bureaucratic order of production and labour was based on systematic exploitation of black labour. Qualitatively of a different kind and yet in continuity with the created order in the nineteenth century, the black population was ethnicised, albeit this time the process of creating an ethnic order was state-bureaucratically and scientifically controlled and regulated.

With the formation of the Union of South Africa a solution of the Native question was sought through enhancing the Department of Native Affairs as a central institution of state-bureaucracy authorised to speak for, to and of the native; it gained the status of a state within a State. During the first two and a half decades of the twentieth century government representatives created a new ethnic order on 'pragmatic' grounds in accordance with political and economic considerations even without the help of missionaries or social scientists. Central to this new ethnic order was the creation of the European and the native as fundamentally different social entities in order to justify the denial of common political citizenship. Political separation reaffirmed the territorial separation of the black population in the reserves, which were essentially a product of creating order in the nineteenth century. Within the boundaries of the 'unified' South African state these reserves and their population were administered separately by the Department of Native Affairs. This centralisation of administrative control was accompanied by the legislative imposition of uniform ethnic categorisation. Thus it provided the basis for a uniform political status of blacks - natives - as opposed to whites - Europeans. The reserves were coined as natural home-lands of the black population, as outlined for example by Jan Smuts in 1917. Qualifications for residency in a specific reserve as homeland were reaffirmed as central features of the newly imposed order. Hence, for example the Urban Areas Act legislated that any black person in a white area who became 'redundant' could be referred back to her or his home in one of the demarcated reserves.⁵ This meant that a black person was not removed just to any reserve demarcated for South Africa's black population, but to the reserve from which he or she had 'originally' come. In this context, language and origin received a meaning that was compatible with the new order enforced by the South African State.

⁵ How migrant labour reinforced ethnic group consciousness has not been dealt with in this thesis. Various studies and publications deal with this topic. See for example Ranger (1989), Harries (1994), Moodie (1992,1994:180-210), Guy/Thabane (1988,1991), Bonner (1993) and Beinart (1987).

It was in this context of the Native Affairs Department's segregationist and ethnogenetic practice as well as the enduring tensions between the English and Afrikaners, that modern anthropology as 'British' social anthropology and as volkekunde was institutionalised at South Africa's English and Afrikaans-medium universities. The theory and practice of social anthropology have been dealt with in chapter V and of volkekunde in chapter VII. It is possible to identify similarities and differences in their approach to the study of culture and society and each of their contributions to the creation of an apartheid order.

Due to the availability of numerous publications by social anthropologists and volkekundiges it is possible to reconstruct the development of social anthropology and volkekunde in South Africa and relate it to the overall process of 'creating ethnic order: culture as politics' in South Africa. The publications by social anthropologists summarised in chapter V reveal which topics and arguments were of concern to South Africa's white community and to social anthropologists and volkekundiges in particular at any given point in time. It also reveals how social categories were given scientific meanings.

The theoretical assumptions which the social anthropologists made were: 1) 'Bantu culture' was fundamentally different from European culture in the sense that it was a manifestation of 'primitive' or 'traditional' society. 2) Each Bantu culture or ethnic group was in itself unique. In the context of South Africa, where European culture dominated politics and economy, and as social anthropologists on various occasions stated, it ought to prevail - as argued for example in Hoernlé's article on *Alternatives to Apartheid* (1948) (chapter V) - the theory and practice of social anthropology reinforced a specific politics towards the black population: a kind of 'primitive' - or 'traditional' - politics based on a presumption of the primitiveness and uniqueness of Bantu cultures. As Adam Kuper stated, ethnographic research of social anthropologists was based on "the belief that 'traditional' and 'tribal' institutions remain viable, and command respect".⁶ The notion of the primordial nature of Bantu culture helped to justify the categorising of any black person along ethnic lines.⁷

South Africa's social anthropologists have of course repeatedly stated that their scientific research had nothing to do with politics, and compared to volkekundiges who were actively engaged in formulating and implementing apartheid legislation, social anthropologists were indeed denied the kind of political access and status that the volkekundiges enjoyed. As mentioned in chapter V, Bronislaw Malinowski not only provided a theoretical framework for the study of the colonised - the native. He was also far more outspoken than his South African colleagues concerning the political order he envisaged for Africa and the contribution social anthropology could make in realising it: He supported indirect rule, a system that recognised the primitive nature of African society - the field of study of the social anthropologist - and at the same time secured European domination. In this sense social anthropologists claimed for themselves a key role in shaping the discourse of culture as politics.

⁶ Kuper (1987:1).

⁷ The effects of such ethnic classification is eloquently expressed by the Johannesburg journalist Nat Nakasa in 1966: "I am supposed to be a Pondo, but I don't even know the language of that tribe. I was brought up in a Zulu-speaking home, by mother being a Zulu. Yet I can no longer think in Zulu because that language cannot cope with the demands of the day ... I have never owned an assegai or any of those magnificent shields. Neither do I propose to be in tribal war when I go to the United States this year for my scholarship. I am just not a tribesman, whether I like it or not. I am, inescapably, a part of the city slums, the factory machines and our beloved shebeens." (quoted in Welsh 1971:209)

If social anthropology, as Radcliffe-Brown maintained, was of “immense practical importance” and if the “great problem on which the welfare of South Africa depend[ed] was that of finding some social and political system in which the natives and the whites may live together without conflict” then the construction of primitive Bantu ethnic cultures can be interpreted as the social anthropologists’ contribution to solving South Africa’s problems⁸

As has been indicated in chapter VII, the volkekundiges as opposed to the social anthropologists did not focus exclusively on the black population, but had as well as a primary concern about their own Afrikaner volk. The black population was of interest in as far as it hampered or facilitated Afrikaner upliftment. On the one hand Afrikaner ethnic mobilisation was directed against the British or English while on the other hand against the black population but differed from that of the English against the blacks. In order to gain control of the state the Afrikaners had to outnumber the English, whereas in order to master their own economic upliftment the Afrikaners were aware of the important role the black population played in such a process. Economic growth from which Afrikaners hoped to benefit was only possible with a much stronger incorporation of the black population as labour than in the past. But for a black person to fulfil his role in securing Afrikaner economic upliftment it would have been of little use to incorporate a black person in his so-called primitive or traditional form. This was the point where volkekunde’s contribution to ‘culture as politics’ differed from that of social anthropologists. Social anthropologists positivised primitive Bantu culture whereas volkekunde positivised the modernisation of Bantu ethnic groups (*Bantoevolke*). Nevertheless, both anthropological schools held in common the view that the Bantu or black person was not part of a common South African society and culture.

Chapter VI addressed the underlying political forces that resulted in the establishment of two anthropological schools in South Africa which coincided with the ethnic cleavage between the English and Afrikaners. In a summary it can be stated that during the first half of this century, the English did not intend to offer the Afrikaners an equal status in society. In their eyes, the majority of Afrikaners, the poor whites, were inferior and termed ‘white kafirs’. With the Act of Union and against their convictions, Afrikaners had to accept that the Cape Province retained its colour-blind franchise system. On the labour market the Afrikaners were faced with employers in the mining sector who were reluctant to implement a colour bar that would have privileged the Afrikaners. Although these measures - sharply criticised by the Afrikaners - may appear as if the English favoured blacks, they certainly were not aimed at preventing exclusion and exploitation of the blacks. They were part of South Africa’s segregationist legislation, which over the years proved no less effectual in peripherising the black population than Apartheid.

Afrikaner politicians and cultural agents sought to justify an Afrikaner upliftment on ethnic and religious grounds (chapter VI). The threat that their upliftment-mobilisation posed and the intensity with which they went about their task became obvious in light of the fact that the Afrikaners felt the need to found a secret society, the Afrikaner Broederbond, in order to achieve their goal. A homogenisation of the Afrikaners with the English and the upwardly mobile blacks was not on the agenda. The contrary was the case.

⁸ Radcliffe-Brown (1922:38).

Chapter VII confirms the argument that volkekunde aimed at forcing modernity on the black, but of a special kind. Modernisation of the black population - just as that of the Afrikaners - was guided by the principle of 'sphere sovereignty'.⁹ Hence the central characteristic of any black person was his or her belonging to an ethnic group or volk (nation) with its right to political autonomy. It was the ethnos theory formulated by Pieter Coertze that became the orthodoxy of Afrikaner volkekunde. The politics of Apartheid and South Africa's homeland politics were especially for volkekundiges in line with their idea of transforming - modernising - the Bantu along their own ethnic lines.

It has been mentioned in chapter V that social anthropologists repeatedly addressed, but had great difficulties in concretising, the issue of social change. Why was this the case? One could argue that the social anthropologists in seeking to study the equilibrium of a 'perfect primitive society' and with their paradigm of holistic functional structuralism not only had problems in analysing social change, but in practice did not envisage it for 'their' primitive ethnic groups. Such an argument is reaffirmed by social anthropologists who accused Afrikaners and volkekundiges of being responsible for the transformation and destruction of the Bantu cultures with the implementation of Apartheid.¹⁰

When one examines the theory and practice of social anthropology and volkekunde in the context of the tensions within the South African society in the first half of this century, one is confronted with certain inconsistencies. It has been mentioned that the Department of Native Affairs more or less ignored social anthropology, the social anthropologists and their research, to such an extent that Schapera complained (chapter V) and that the South African Department of Native Affairs had not engaged any social anthropologists. If it were argued that the practice of the Department of Native Affairs and volkekunde were geared towards Afrikaner upliftment and exclusion of the blacks, then the refusal to employ social anthropologists would mean that the theories of the social anthropologists on primitive ethnic groups was not compatible with Afrikaner upliftment and Afrikaner intentions to exclude the blacks. Indeed it could be said that the social anthropology of primitiveness was dysfunctional for the upliftment of Afrikaners. One can then argue in favour of the opposite, namely, that the primitive ethnic groups and the theories of social anthropology were compatible with the aims of the English, which were to prevent the Afrikaner upliftment. These arguments do reveal how cultural agents with opposing political interests constructed marginalised ethnic groups of various types. Thus, one cannot deny that there is evidence to show how 'culture as politics' had a different meaning for both schools of anthropology.

One could explain the aims of the social anthropologists and volkekundiges in terms of the asymmetrical relationship between the centre and the periphery. The Afrikaners wanted to free themselves from the periphery. As part of this process, the Afrikaner volkekundiges constructed black volke, radically separated from one another, but opposed the preservation of

⁹ Reflecting on Afrikaner contentions, Max Gluckman wrote that Bantu cultures were excellent in its own right, "not only appropriate for its bearers, but indeed something they should cling to and fight for, as Afrikaners fought for their language and culture against the might of English culture, supported as it was in South Africa by the manifestations of that culture in Britain" (Gluckman 1975 21-22) In other words, just as the Afrikaners fought for their own upliftment and modernisation, so it was thought that the Xhosa, Zulu, Tswana, etc., should do the same.

¹⁰ Obviously, one could argue that they would have done this because of and in opposition to the inhumane Apartheid system. Such accusations should be understood against the socio-political background of the social anthropologists

primitive ethnicities in the modern era. In 1945 Eiselen wrote in an article on *Die Inboorlinge van Suid-Afrika en die Ontwikkeling van die Afrikaanse Kultuur* (The Natives in South Africa and the Development of Afrikaner Culture):

"In the ethnographic monograph increasingly more emphasis is put on the study of change brought about through the influence of Europeans. Recently many anthropologists have come to realise how fundamental these changes are and thus deemed necessary to make a shift from the 'tracing of traditional culture' to the study of 'present developments of culture change'."¹¹

It is in this context that one has to evaluate the Afrikaner's system of Apartheid that excluded the blacks much more radically and exploited them more intensely than the English would have dreamed, without, however, blurring the differences between Afrikaners and the English.

The theory and practice of social anthropologists, be it Malinowski's support for indirect rule, or Schapera's contribution to the creation of a separate Tswana administrative system as suggested in his *Handbook of Tswana Law and Custom* (1938/1970), and the support of social anthropologists for administrative structures that reinforced 'traditional' and 'tribal' institutions, allow the conclusion that they did not envisage the accommodation of the black population as equals with full political participation in a common society. This paradigm lost its significance with the English losing political power after the Second World War.

In 1948 the Afrikaners' National Party won the elections. This enabled them to politically implement their economic upliftment against the English. In this new context the solution to the old problem of the Native question had to be found. For the Afrikaners' success in the economic upliftment, the blacks had to be even more radically excluded, although they were at the same time integrated to a much larger extent than ever before in the dynamic post-war industrial development.¹²

Two documents presented in chapter VII, which were cardinal to the theory and practice of volkekunde and to finding a solution to the native question, are Werner Eiselen's article on *The Meaning of Apartheid* (1948) and the Tomlinson Report (1955). Both reflected the complex situation of the post- Second World War years. The Department of Native (Bantu) Affairs with Werner Eiselen as its Secretary became the key organ for a 'modern' solution to the Native question that meant a transformation and even more radical exclusion of the blacks. In transforming the blacks the Department became the brain-trust of the trusteeship over blacks and of 'Bantu education'. Once again the process of exclusion was based on the ethnicisation of blacks, yet far more intensive than that in the first half of the century. It can be observed that in regard to this new ethnicisation process social anthropology had no major impact, while volkekunde came to preoccupy itself with the theoretical aspects of this new

¹¹ Eiselen (1945:261) "In volkekundige monografie word steeds meer ruimte afgestaan vir die bespreking van veranderings wat onder Europese invloed plaasgevind het, en in die jongste tyd het baie volkekundiges reeds tot die oortuiging gekom dat dit, weens die ingrypende aard van hierdie veranderings, nou noodsaaklik geword het om navorsing te verskuif van die 'opsporing van tradisionele kultuur' na 'waarneming van huidige kultuurvorming'." (1945:261) Translated by B. Schmidt Eiselen used the word 'volkekunde' in this article to refer to both schools of anthropology in South Africa, but especially to social anthropology. He welcomed the shift in social anthropology in the 1940s to the issue of social change. I therefore translated 'volkekunde' in this quote as 'anthropology'.

¹² That the political and economic exclusion of the black majority was not sustainable as revealed in the anti-Apartheid struggle

ethnisation. The blueprint of Afrikaner politics in the Apartheid era was formulated in the Tomlinson Report. It reflected the thoughts of Werner Eiselen, who had elaborated in great detail the political philosophy of volkekunde. This new Afrikaner political philosophy had borrowed once again from Abraham Kuyper's neo-Calvinist social theory of 'sovereignty in one's own sphere'. Applied to the South African context, it provided the black ethnic groups theoretically with a constitutional status of autonomy, recognising each ethnic group as a sovereign nation state.

The solution to the Native question that the Afrikaner and especially the Broederbond sought to realise after 1948 was fashioned according to the principle of 'verzuiling' of Dutch society. In the Netherlands each pillar ('zuil') symbolised in itself the structural differentiation of modern Dutch society. Much more intensively than in the last century and the early twentieth century, the Afrikaner politicians, philosophers, social scientists and theologians, in the Afrikaner Broederbond and its affiliated organisations, brought to fruition a South African version of Kuyper's model of sphere sovereignty (chapter VI). The entire South African society was divided into autonomous spheres. There were supraordinate spheres and subordinate spheres. In other words, the Kuyper concept of sphere sovereignty - analogous to the Dutch model - was modified into a concept of multiple ethnic 'zuilen' that were not of equal status, but constituted a hierarchical order. Therein lay the most significant difference with the 'verzuiling' in Dutch society. The creation of own spheres of black ethnic groups was seen as a means to secure the existence of an exploitable black underclass. Nevertheless in this context their ethnicity took on a completely new modern nationalistic notion. The result was devastating for the blacks. With the Promotion of Self-Government Act of 1959 the legal framework for transforming the native reserves into 'nation-tyates' for South Africa's eight black ethnic groups was passed by Parliament. In implementing such a new order politicians could rely on the disciplines of volkekunde and theology. Volkekunde and Bantu linguistics authorised the identification of Bantu ethnic groups, which provided the Tomlinson Commission a justification for identifying 'historical nuclei' or homelands for each group; theological precepts helped specify the nature of divine ordination of volk and nation. For the creation of homelands based on national autonomy and state sovereignty theories of primitive ethnicity were completely out of place. What is of interest is how this peculiarly South African political modernisation process was treated in the theory and practice of social anthropology and volkekunde.

Assuming that the 'primitive societies' of the social anthropologists had in fact objectively existed in South Africa, one could argue that the social anthropologists would have rediscovered their object of research: i.e. primordial and self-contained holistic Bantu cultures, in these newly created Bantu nation states - similar to the Sotho of Lesotho, the Swazi of Swaziland, and the Tswana of Botswana. Social anthropologists reacted, however, with criticism. Some rejected these ethnic homelands as 'zoos' (Monica Wilson). Others complained of the total loss of Bantu culture and primitive ethnicity (Jack and Eileen Krige). This criticism was brought forward exactly at the time of Apartheid, when the paradigm of social anthropology seemed to have been fulfilled. It reveals how irrelevant the science of social anthropology had proved to be when only those ethnicities which came forward were reflected in the Afrikaner volkekunde theories of culture and culture contact. This is not to say that the volkekunde

further developed a more adequate theory of ethnicity. The volkekundiges absorbed only those theories which served their interests and the reality of Apartheid.

Social anthropology began to disintegrate. Several social anthropologists withdrew from public debates and confined themselves to their university departments, while others left South Africa. Volkekunde on the contrary won increasing popularity and upswing in theory construction. The volkekundiges borrowed from the German ethno-sociology of Wilhelm E. Mühlmann, from the US American cultural anthropology of Melville J. Herskovits and Ruth Benedict. In the South African context Pieter Coertze and his colleagues wove these threads into an ethnos theory and developed it further. This theoretical approach was brought together with the South African version of Kuyper's theory of 'sovereignty of one's own sphere'.

In the 1950s onward social anthropology found itself in a phase of theoretical dissonance. Either one followed the functionalist approach of 'primitive cultures' - ethnic groups - of Radcliffe-Brown and Malinowski, or one propagated the dissolution of social anthropology and a reorientation towards sociology. During the Apartheid years social anthropologists struggled to redefine their role in the academic community in particular and in South African society in general. Their attitudes were determined mostly by a negative attitude towards the Afrikaner-dominated government and the theory and practice of the Afrikaner volkekunde.¹³ As Gerhard Maré (1992) stated in the preface of his book on politics and ethnicity in South Africa, scholars critical of the South African government relegated ethnicity to the "status of apartheid manipulation". They associated Afrikaner volkekundiges with the politics and science of ethnic groups on which the Apartheid system was based. Under such circumstances a close co-operation between social anthropologists and volkekundiges was unthinkable.

As the Apartheid state began to decline, the South African social anthropologist John Sharp, in his article *Ethnic Group and Nation. The Apartheid Vision of South Africa*, softened the accusations put forward against Afrikaners by stating that

"Apartheid displayed many continuities with the earlier policy of segregation, and the process of dividing the Africans conceptionally and practically, into discrete groups had begun long before, in the colonial period".¹⁴

Unfortunately Sharp did not make any reference to the role which social anthropology played in conceptualising and creating an apartheid order. If, as Sharp argued, Apartheid displayed continuities with earlier developments, it would be useful to discuss the question what role the theory and practice of British and South African social anthropologists played in the process of creating ethnic order in the sense of creating an apartheid order as well as providing a scientific framework for 'social anthropology as apartheid'.

The social anthropologist Martin West, among others, suggested a reorientation for social anthropology. In his inaugural lecture in May 1979 at the University of Cape Town, West pronounced a critical break-away from social anthropology by stating:

"While some romantics may still search for as yet (anthropologically) undiscovered rural communities that are as isolated as possible ... I would see the future of social anthropology as firmly rooted in

¹³ See Sharp (1980,1981), Booyens/van Rensburg (1980), Sharp/Kotzé (1985) B.A. Pauw has argued in his article on South African anthropology that in spite of divergent approaches there were enough "theoretical meeting points and common interests" for the two anthropological schools to merge (1980 331)

¹⁴ Sharp (1989,90)

the modern, changing world, and as trying to come to grips with changing peasant communities, with migration, urbanization, industrialisation, and so on."¹⁵

He opted for a sociological orientation of social anthropology. If social anthropology were not prepared to face new challenges West foresaw that this would lead justifiably to the view of anthropology as an antiquarian and arcane pursuit of little relevance to the modern world.¹⁶ Also his colleague John Sharp was sceptical about the future of social anthropology and volkekunde in South Africa, arguing that

"it may well be that both social anthropology and 'volkekunde' will disappear as autonomous disciplines at South African universities ... to be incorporated into sociology and African history".¹⁷

Social anthropologists from the University of Cape Town, in a book titled *South African Keywords. The Uses and Abuses of Political Concepts* presented a critical reflection of social anthropology in South Africa also suggesting a sociological orientation. Robert Thornton argued relatively optimistically in his contribution to this book that many anthropologists

"now feel that we have come to the end of an age ... we have now entered an intellectual age that can dispense with some of the ideas on which the oppressive weight of the modern state rests."¹⁸

At this point it is useful to return to Said's thesis of the congruence of representation and politics, which formed the basis of 'creating order: culture as politics' examined in this thesis. As Said discussed in his book *Culture and Imperialism*, during the phase of colonial rule there emerged a literary representation of colonial politics. It was characterised by a separation of representation and politics. Such a separation can also be observed in anthropology during the nineteenth century¹⁹ and during the twentieth century in social anthropology and volkekunde. The very theory and politics of Apartheid confirm convincingly Said's dictum that the spheres of cultural representation and politics "are not only connected but ultimately the same".²⁰ This holds true not only for the Afrikaner volkekunde and the Apartheid system, but even more firmly so for social anthropologists. Since they had lost the basis of their political domination after 1948, the relationship between representations and politics faded. The result was that the cultural representation of the 'primitive ethnic groups' appeared as

"an isolated cultural sphere, believed to be freely and unconditionally available to weightless theoretical speculation and investigation".²¹

All that is left for an academic discipline that suffers from a dearth of empirical data is room for weightless fictional speculation and research. Martin West drew the consequences and thereby proposed a sociological orientation of social anthropology in the sense that social anthropology is going to have to be seen to be making a contribution to the understanding of South Africa's divided society. Robert Thornton, however, was more specific and pointed to another direction. He referred to a new orientation of South African anthropology based on

¹⁵ West (1979:9).

¹⁶ West (1979:10).

¹⁷ Sharp (1981:18).

¹⁸ Thornton (1989:23).

¹⁹ This is reaffirmed for example by George Stocking (1987) in his detailed reconstruction of the disciplines of anthropology and ethnology in the nineteenth century.

²⁰ Said (1993:67).

²¹ Said (1993:66).

the proposition that culture and ethnicity as a resource are inseparable from politics. He suggested that if

“we think of culture as a resource ... then we must include our own ideas *about* culture as part of the resources that culture provides”.²¹

The ‘creating ethnic order’ heritage of the past two hundred and fifty years has brought about a highly multi-ethnic and multi-cultural society in South Africa. To meet the new challenges, social anthropologists and volkekundiges will have to make an endeavour to go new and unconventional ways. The critical analysis presented here relates the activities of cultural agents, such as the social anthropologist and volkekundige, to the historical and political context of South Africa. The aim is to contribute to a reorientation of anthropological research which faces up to the cultural and ethnic challenges that the present and future South Africa presents. Additionally, the analysis focuses on the relationship between culture and politics in the sense that culture is no longer separated from politics, but an integral part of politics as revealed by Nelson Mandela’s vision of South Africa as being a ‘rainbow nation’ and as constituting ‘one nation - many cultures’.

²¹ Thornton (1989:24).

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Het scheppen van orde: cultuur als politiek in het 19e en 20e eeuwse Zuid-Afrika

Samenvatting

Edward Said heeft zich in zijn publikaties op een niet eerder vertoonde manier bezig gehouden met de vraag hoe het moderne imperialisme de cultuur van gekoloniseerde volkeren heeft beïnvloed, maar ook met de vraag welke gevolgen dit had voor de cultuur van de kolonisator en diens wetenschap, esthetika en literatuur in het bijzonder. Hij stelt dat wij niet alleen in een wereld leven van waren maar ook van voorstellingen. Voorstellingen zijn de elementaire bouwstenen van cultuur.

In veel van de recente theorie staat het probleem van de voorstelling centraal maar zelden wordt dat in een volledige politieke context geplaatst. In plaats daarvan hebben we aan de ene kant een geïsoleerde kulturele sfeer, waarvan verondersteld wordt dat we er ongelimiteerd en vrijblijvend theoretisch over kunnen spekuleren en het tot voorwerp van onderzoek kunnen maken, en aan de andere kant een politieke sfeer waar zich de werkelijke strijd tussen belangengroepen zou afspelen. Said stelt dat voor diegenen die zich bezighouden met de studie van cultuur slechts één sfeer belangrijk is en geaccepteerd wordt dat beide sferen gescheiden zijn, terwijl in werkelijkheid de beide sferen niet alleen met elkaar verbonden zijn, maar zelfs volledig samenvallen.

Said had de "schone letteren" in gedachten, met name het genre van de roman. Zijn benadering kan echter zonder twijfel toegepast worden op het werk van de antropologen en op het genre van de etnografische monografie. In het algemeen zijn etnografische studies geen "schone" representatie van de gekoloniseerde samenleving; ze ontleen hun bestaan namelijk aan het koloniale imperium zelf. Toch is er geen enkele aanwijzing in de etnografische literatuur dat het schrijven over "vreemde" culturen beschouwd zou kunnen worden als een representatie van de koloniale politiek die een esthetisch-wetenschappelijke vorm aannam of dat er een samenzwering zou hebben kunnen bestaan tussen antropologen en etnografen en koloniale politici. In plaats van het ophelderen van deze relatie spraken de wetenschappers over "vreemde" culturen als ware het "gewichtloze" entiteiten of fiktieve "sociale gehelen" - eenvoudig, harmonieus en van een unieke schoonheid. Presentaties en voorstellingen nemen de vorm aan van a-politieke beelden en de scheiding tussen politiek en wetenschap wordt volledig. Gebaseerd op Said's theorie probeert dit boek de vraag te beantwoorden waar de koloniale politiek blijft in deze "prachtige" etnografische studies van vreemde culturen en de harmonieuze theorieën van de antropologen. Als Said gelijk heeft kan het antwoord gevonden worden in de etnografische en antropologische verslaggeving; namelijk in de presentaties en representaties en in de logika van de theorieën over deze vreemde culturen. Dit boek maakt een dergelijke analyse door zich bezig te houden met het proces van het scheppen van een etnische orde in Zuid-Afrika.

Hoofdstuk 1 van dit proefschrift begint met de Nederlandse kolonisatie van de Kaap in 1652. De Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie was niet bijzonder geïnteresseerd in het scheppen van een nieuwe orde in het gebied. In de loop der tijd raakten de Europese kolonisten (de

burgers of Boeren van Nederlandse maar ook van Duitse en Franse oorsprong) geïsoleerd van Holland. Ze begonnen hun eigen leven te leiden alsof ze in een afgelegen Hollandse provincie woonden. Dit hoofdstuk houdt zich verder bezig met de interactie tussen de Nederlanders en de Khoi en de San in de Kaapkolonie.

Hoofdstuk 2 onderzoekt het proces van kolonisering en de vestiging van een nieuwe politieke orde aan de Kaap onder de Britten vanaf 1806, met speciale nadruk op de activiteiten van de verschillende Christelijke zendingsgenootschappen. Voor de Boeren betekende de Engelse bezetting en de komst van de zendelingen een schok die hen uit hun geïsoleerd, patriarchaal sociaal bestaan haalde. Voor de Zwarten betekende het een konfrontatie met de blanke nieuwkomers met al hun vernietigingskracht, die zich richtte tegen de prekoloniale cultuur en bestaanswijzen.

Het leeuwendeel van dit hoofdstuk wordt gevormd door een beschrijving van het proces van de zogenaamde etnogenese, teweeg gebracht door de zendelingen die leefden en werkten onder de zwarte bevolking. Dit wordt geïllustreerd door het creëren van de Xhosa, Zulu, Sotho en Tswana cultuur eenheden binnen de koloniale staat. Nieuwe afzonderlijke zwarte gemeenschappen ontstonden, geschreven Bantu talen werden gekreërd, de Bijbel werd vertaald en religieuze en edukatieve materialen werden gedrukt. Dit hoofdstuk onderzoekt in detail hoe de "beschavingsmissie" van de zendelingen structureel verband hield met de politiek van "voogdijschap" van de koloniale machthebbers over de zwarten.

Zoals besproken in hoofdstuk 3 voelden de Boeren zich eveneens gekoloniseerd door Engeland. De politiek van de Britse koloniale machthebbers richtte zich vanzelfsprekend op Engeland, zodat de Boeren zich in hun verzet tegen Engeland en hun strijd om politieke autonomie naar Nederland wendden. Om zich te onttrekken aan de druk van de Britse koloniale macht, trok een deel van de Boeren over de grens van de Kaapkolonie, een beweging die bekend zou worden onder de naam de Grote Trek. Dit resulteerde in de vorming van twee autonome Boeren Republieken, Transvaal en de Oranje Vrijstaat.

De mobilisatie van de Boeren bleek succesvol te zijn door de steun van de theologen, onderwijzers en andere intellectuelen als culturele agenten, die uit Nederland kwamen of Boeren die in Nederland gestudeerd hadden. Vandaar dat in dit hoofdstuk een aantal typische aspecten van de Nederlandse geschiedenis worden besproken, zoals de relatie tussen kerk en staat, de opkomst van politieke partijen en vooral de rol van de theoloog en politikus Abraham Kuyper.

Degenen die een belangrijk invloed hadden op de vorming van het Afrikaner etnische bewustzijn vonden in Kuypers neo-calvinisme - ondermeer onderwezen aan de Vrije Universiteit van Amsterdam opgericht door Kuyper - en in zijn anti-revolutionaire ideeën over "sovereiniteit in eigen kring" een raamwerk voor het artikuleren van hun eigen politieke aspiraties.

Met het ontdekken van goud en diamanten in de Boeren republieken in de tweede helft van de negentiende eeuw onderging de economie een intensieve industrialisering. Teneinde bezit te krijgen van de minerale bodemschatten annexeerde Engeland beide republieken hetgeen leidde tot de Eerste en Tweede Anglo-Boeren oorlogen. Deze oorlogen betekenden zowel een

konflikt tussen de twee groepen blanken van Europese origine als een konflikt tussen twee verschillende vormen van moderniteit en twee wereldbeelden (*Weltanschauungen*).

Met de vorming van de Zuidafrikaanse Unie in 1910, in de kontekst van de moderne staat en het industriële kapitalisme, onstond er een nieuwe fase en een nieuwe maatschappelijke orde. Dit wordt behandeld in hoofdstuk 4. In het begin probeerden de Engelssprekende blanken om voor hun belangen op te komen ten opzichte van de militair verslagen Boeren, hetgeen betekende dat de gemiddelde Boer op de arbeidsmarkt moest gaan concurreren met de zwarten. Deze nieuwe arbeidssituatie leidde tot konflikten tussen de staat, de industriëlen, en tussen blanke en zwarte arbeiders, waarbij de zwarte arbeiders in toenemende mate gemarginaliseerd werden. In de kontekst van de moderne staatsvorming speelde de zendelingen niet langer de rol van culturele agenten die de etnogenese van zwarten probeerden te bewerkstelligen. De nieuwe culturele agenten werden nu de overheidsambtenaren die werkten voor het Departement van Naturellesake (Department of Native Affairs) die de taak kregen om de zogeheten "Native question" ("naturellevraagstuk") op de arbeidsmarkt op te lossen. Oorspronkelijk was etnogenese niet het expliciete doel van het Departement. De administratieve uitsluiting van alle zwarten als "natives" ("naturelle") van een gemeenschappelijk burgerschap was de hoogste prioriteit. Desalniettemin was de administratieve basis gelegd voor een rekonstruktie van zwarte etnische groepen binnen de moderne staat door een nieuw type van culturele agenten, de sociaal antropologen en de "volkekundiges". In 1921 werd de eerste leerstoel voor sociale antropologie ingesteld in Kaapstad. In hun academische activiteiten ontdekten de sociaal-antropologen, als nieuwe culturele agenten de "oertypische", harmonieuze, geïsoleerde, "primitieve" kulturen en etnische groepen, waar de zendelingen als culturele agenten van de vorige eeuw al de velden van de etnogenese hadden geploegd en waar in deze eeuw de ambtenaren van het Departement van Naturellesake bezig waren om de zwarten zowel politiek als territoriaal buiten te sluiten.

Hoofdstuk 5 gaat over de opkomst van de Britse sociale antropologie en de ontdekking en etnografische esthetisering van "primitieve" kulturen en gemeenschappen in Zuid-Afrika. De bijdragen van Bronislaw Malinowski en Alfred Reginald Radcliffe Brown, de grondleggers van de moderne sociale antropologie worden besproken in detail, omdat ze niet alleen gewerkt of verbleven hebben in Zuid-Afrika, maar ook de grondslag hebben gelegd voor de antropologische theorie en praktijk in deze eeuw. Zij hadden een belangrijke invloed op het werk van Zuidafrikaanse sociaal-antropologen zoals Isaac Schapera, Agnes Winifred Hoernlé, Monica en Godfrey Wilson, Eileen en Jack Krige en Hilda Kuper. Biografische details en publikaties van Zuidafrikaanse sociaal-antropologen worden gepresenteerd om te illustreren hoe hun antropologische theorie en praktijk werden gevormd door hun Zuidafrikaanse ervaringen. Er wordt ook getoond hoe zij voeding gaven aan het beeld van de inheemse en van de Bantoe kultuur vanuit het idee van anderszijn en verschil, afgezet tegen de "Europeaan" en de Europese kultuur. Zo wordt aangetoond dat de theorie en praktijk van de Zuidafrikaanse sociaal-antropologen "cultuur als politiek" belichaamden.

De discipline van "volkekunde" werd bewust ontwikkeld als tegenhanger van de sociale antropologie van de Britse en Engelssprekende blanke Zuid Afrikanen. Zij werd vertegenwoordigd

door een ander soort type van cultureel agent. Het oprichten van twee antropologische scholen weerspiegelde de etnische kloof binnen de Zuidafrikaanse blanke bevolking. De theorie en praktijk van de Afrikaanse "volkekunde" en de "volkekundiges" waren nauw verbonden met de respons van de kant van de Afrikaners op de Britse dominantie. Ze waren onlosmakelijk verbonden met de Afrikaner etnische mobilisering vanaf de twintiger jaren die resulteerde in de verkiezingsoverwinning van de Afrikaners in 1948 en in de institutionalisering van de Apartheidsstaat. Hoofdstuk 6 concentreert zich derhalve op de Afrikaner respons ten opzichte van de Britse overheersing in de kontekst van de moderne staat van Zuid-Afrika sinds 1910.

Omdat de Britten de Staat bleven domineren hadden de Afrikaners het gevoel dat het niet hun staat was. Omdat ze zich gediskrimineerd en onderdrukt voelden, richtten de Afrikaners zich op hun eigen economische en politieke emancipatie. De Afrikaner Broederbond nam de taak op zich om - als geheim genootschap - op te komen voor de de belangen van de Afrikaners in politiek, economisch en maatschappelijk opzicht. In hun antwoord op de Engelse dominantie formuleerden de Afrikaners een "verzets" ideologie die in hoge mate gerechtvaardigd werd door de theologie. Zij inkorporeerden essentiële elementen van de theologie van Kuyper en van zijn staatstheorie over "sovereiniteit in eigen kring" - die hij ontwikkelde in de tweede helft van de laatste eeuw in Nederland. Ook opgenomen werd de zendingstheorie van "panta ta ethne" uitgewerkt door de Duitse theoloog Gustav Warneck aan het einde van de vorige eeuw.

Hoofdstuk 7 behandelt de theorie en praktijk van de "volkekundiges" Werner Eiselen en Pieter Johannes Coertze. In tegenstelling tot de sociaal-antropologen, waren de "volkekundiges" als culturele agenten minder geïnteresseerd in de theorie van pre-moderne "primitieve" samenlevingen en culturen, maar meer in hoe de zwarten als "vreemde" volken en etnische groepen zouden kunnen worden geplaatst in bepaalde gebiedsdelen binnen Zuid-Afrika, waar ze recht zouden krijgen op ontwikkeling van hun eigen nationale identiteit. Dat betekende dat de "volkekundiges" pleitten voor uitsluiting van deze "vreemde" culturen in het grondgebied van Zuid-Afrika, niet omdat men ze zag als "primitieve" etnische groepen maar omdat men ze zag als in zich zelf besloten nationale groepen die geïntegreerd moesten worden in een modern, quasi-federalistisch (confederaal) Zuid-Afrika.

Scheiding betekende voor de Afrikaners iets anders dan voor de Engelsen. De Engelsen hadden een voorkeur voor de fictie van pre-moderne etniciteit binnen het moderne Zuid-Afrika. De Afrikaners hadden een andere realiteit voor ogen: die van gelijkwaardige soevereine culturen en volkeren, die op termijn in staat zouden zijn om waarlijk in de modernisering te delen, maar binnen territoriaal gebonden "onafhankelijke" politieke eenheden. Het staatsbureaucratische systeem dat er op gericht was om dit concept tot uitvoering te brengen werd Apartheid genoemd.

As gevolg daarvan waren de Afrikaners moderner georiënteerd dan de Engelsen in het oplossen van het "naturelevraagstuk" ("Native question"). Zolang de Afrikaners nog bezig waren met hun eigen economische emancipatie moesten de zwarten tijdelijk worden uitgeschakeld als concurrenten. Aan de andere kant hadden de zwarten in wezen hetzelfde recht op modernisering als de Afrikaners, maar met een verschil. De zwarten moesten hun status behouden als goedkope arbeidskrachten en als bewoners van de zogeheten onafhankelijke

etnische thuislanden. Robert Thornton heeft beargumenteerd dat Apartheid als ideologie en als administratieve praktijk een van de meest virulente variëteiten van het modernisme was.

Desalniettemin wordt aangetoond dat "volkekunde" zijn eigen versie van esthetisering schiep, in dit geval van de "Bantoe Naties". Opnieuw bewijzen de theorie en politiek van de Apartheid overtuigend de stelling van Said dat de sferen van culturele representatie en politiek niet alleen sterk verbonden zijn maar eigenlijk samenvallen. Dit is niet alleen waar voor de Afrikaanse "volkekunde" en het Apartheidssysteem, maar zelfs sterker voor de sociaal-antropologen.

Met het toenemende verzet van de gemoderniseerde en geetniseerde zwarten, vooral vanaf de zeventiger jaren, kwam ook de sociale antropologie in een crisis. De Zuidafrikaanse sociaal-antropoloog Martin West trok de konsekventies en stelde daarbij een sociologische oriëntatie van de sociale antropologie voor in de zin dat de sociale antropologie een bijdrage zou moeten leveren tot het begrijpen van Zuid-Afrika's verdeelde samenleving. Robert Thornton was meer specifiek en wees een andere richting aan. Hij refereerde aan een nieuwe oriëntatie van de Zuidafrikaanse antropologie gebaseerd op de veronderstelling dat cultuur en etniciteit als resource niet te scheiden zijn van politiek. Hij suggereerde dat als we cultuur als een resource zien dit betekent dat we onze eigen ideeën over cultuur moeten zien als onderdeel van de resources die cultuur aan ons verschaft.

Een bijna twee honderd jaar oude erfenis van het "scheppen van etnische orde" heeft een hogelijk multi-etnische en multi-kulturele samenleving in Zuid-Afrika tot stand gebracht. Om de nieuwe uitdagingen in Zuid-Afrika te kunnen aangaan zullen sociaal-antropologen en "volkekundiges" de moed moeten hebben om nieuwe en onkonventionele wegen in te slaan.

De analyse die hier gepresenteerd wordt verbindt de activiteiten van kulturele agenten zoals sociaal-antropologen en "volkekundiges" met de historische en politieke kontekst van Zuid-Afrika met het doel om bij te dragen aan een heroriëntatie die zich serieus kan gaan bezighouden met het aanvaarden van de uitdagingen van het huidige en toekomstige Zuid-Afrika. De analyse richt zich verder op de relatie tussen cultuur en politiek in de zin dat cultuur niet langer gescheiden is van politiek maar er een integraal onderdeel van uitmaakt. Nelson Mandela's visie op Zuid-Afrika als een "regenboognatie" en "één natie - vele kulturen" laat de intrinsieke relatie zien tussen cultuur en politiek.

Curriculum Vitae

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Part of her childhood, from 1966 to 1971, she spent in Shiloh (Eastern Cape), South Africa. After having been trained as a nurse in Germany, she studied at the Institute of Ethnology and Africa Studies at the Johannes Gutenberg-University in Mainz, Germany, graduating with a Masters of Social Sciences degree in July 1990.

In 1991 she published her thesis titled *Zimbabwe: Die Entstehung einer Nation* (Saarbrücken: Breitenbach). She published various articles on Zimbabwe and South Africa, participated in a two-year research project (1991 and 1992) on the transformation process in South Africa and co-published a book titled *Südafrika - Chancen für eine pluralistische Gesellschaftsordnung: Geschichte und Perspektiven* (Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1995).

It has become popular to describe post-apartheid South Africa and its people as a "Rainbow" Nation, symbolising South Africa's multi-cultural society. By presenting South Africa's history of these many cultures, the myth that the cultural sphere can exist isolated from politics is discarded. It is shown how missionaries, government officials and antropologists – social antropologists and Afrikaner volkekundiges – acted as cultural agents in the process of creating different cultures in South Africa. Culture is revealed as a integral part of politics.

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