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Title: They Wanted Dancing and not Merely the Lambeth Walk: A Reasessment of the 1940s School Disturbances with Particular Reference to Lovedale.

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They Wanted Dancing and not merely the Lambeth Walk: A Reassessment of the 1940s School Disturbances with particular reference to Lovedale.

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Introduction:

The number of so-called disturbances in African educational institutions escalated dramatically in the decade between the mid 1930s and 1946. 'Disturbance' was a euphemism that covered a wide range of incidents from class boycotts to arson, fairly frequently being so serious as to cause the authorities to call in the police to restore order. The 'disturbance' that sent the deepest shock waves reverberating through the Liberal mission network[1] was that at Lovedale on Wednesday, August 7, 1946. It is also the best documented. The principal, Robert Shepherd, compiled and collated a mass of information in an apparent attempt to justify his course of action. In reading his account of the riot at Lovedale, it is as well to make allowances for sensationalism and his sense of moral outrage.

Nevertheless it is evident that on that night in August 1946, between one hundred and two hundred male students attacked school buildings and the dwellings of some members of staff, causing 220 pounds worth of damage. The police arrived and fired shots into the air sending the insurrectionaries fleeing to nearby Black Hill, where they spent the night before surrendering to the police the next morning.[2] One hundred and fifty seven of them were marched off to jail in Alice, leaving 185 male and 275 female students behind at Lovedale. The trial of students involved in the riot began on Friday and, on Saturday about 80 male students disobeyed an order and marched into Alice to visit their fellow students. On Sunday the church service was boycotted by the men and the women became 'noisy', ringing the school bell several times. Later they threw stones on roofs and at some of the staff. The students handed a letter to the principal informing him that there would be a boycott of classes until certain conditions pertaining to the treatment of the rioters were met. Lovedale was temporarily closed. One hundred and fifty two of the students were convicted and seventy five of those who had gone to Alice and two of the girls were excluded from further attendance. Judging from the evidence we have, some found it impossible to gain entry to any other educational institution. According to the newspapers on the day after the mutiny '...the main cause of the riot was a complaint about the students' sugar ration.[3]

Those who have written on the school disturbances in the 1940s since the contemporary newspaper reports, have tended to treat

them as a bench-mark of the rising political consciousness supposed to be one of the distinguishing features of this period.[4] The school disturbances have become one identifiable element in the crucible of militant mass-based politics represented by the emergence of the African National Congress (ANC) Youth League in 1944. The birth of a new assertive and less elitist species of political opposition is commonly ascribed to the social consequences of industrialisation and the intensification of proletarianisation spurred on by the Second World War and the rapid deterioration of 'reserves' in the rural areas. The assumption underlying the spotlighting of the 1940s often appears to be that the new politics was the progenitor of contemporary opposition politics; that it spawned its analysis of society, its symbols and its strategies. Yet, the school disturbances are usually only very loosely associated with a rather ill-defined militancy in the wider society. This paper argues for a much closer alignment between the kind of political analyses and strategies for action that were being developed within the walls of institutions such as Lovedale, and those that were being formulated in the hurly burly of mass-based organisational politics beyond. It also questions the assumptions about the purely urban content of the school riots and boycotts of the 1940s. Finally, it queries the rather romantic assumptions that there were certain kinds of symbolic continuity between the school politics of the 1940s and the uprisings and boycotts of the 1970s. It is the hope of the author that by dismantling romantic assumptions and probing the specific nature of school disturbances in the 1940s, a clearer picture of African schooling under late segregation will emerge, which will provide some crucial clues to a more precise apprehension of the ideological origins and initial success, from the state's point of view, of Bantu Education.

Was there a 'repertoire' of protest?

Hyslop's work on the school disturbances of the 1940s is the most challenging and creative in the field.[5] He provides a useful corrective to what he calls the 'golden age myth' of the mission school, arguing that by the 1940s the resources of even the most elite of the mission schools were stretched to breaking point. Since the coffers of the South African Native Trust Fund were empty, there was little help forthcoming from that quarter.[6] In the 1940s, Secretary for Native Affairs, Douglas Smit, turned down many requests for basic building materials on behalf of the Trust Fund, such as corrugated iron sheeting for school roofs. When St Matthews Mission School in Kimberley, which had had its buildings destroyed in a fire in 1943, appealed for some supplementary funds to assist rebuilding, Smit gave what appears to have been a standard answer:

> I am afraid that it will not be possible to assist the Mission from this year's South African Native Trust Fund funds as these are practically exhausted. In fact the excesses of expenditure over revenue on the Education vote of the South African Native Trust for the current year amount

> to more than 500 000 pounds which my Department is experiencing the greatest difficulty in meeting.[7]

The desperate financial straits of Native Education were responsible for an increasingly uncomfortable material environment in mission schools, exacerbated by war-time shortages. Protest over the quality and quantity of food was not without real foundation, as Hyslop suggests. The commission appointed to investigate the school disturbances established that food was the most prominent immediate cause.

Hyslop's major argument, however, is that the complaints about and boycotts of food were elements in a 'repertoire' of protest, which was to serve as a model for later generations of dissatisfied students. Food served as a focus for what was essentially political resentment against the inequities of segregation and it ignited powerful responses in a general political climate that was highly volatile. 'The issue of food...often emerged as one which embodied the unjust relations of a racist society. A host of issues relating to questions of authority, power and politics condensed around, and were symbolised by the issue of food'.[8] The concept of 'repertoire' conjures a vivid image of continuities transmitted along cultural and generational networks, which apparently continued to pulse right into the uprisings of the 1970s. But Hyslop, does little to reveal the workings of the transmission mechanism. 'Repertoire', as he acknowledges, also carries a restrictive connotation - as a learned set of stock pieces. It seems fair enough to say that the defiance of the student rioters who retreated to Black Hill behind Lovedale in 1946, had become the stuff of legend within a year. But to go on to assert that future generations of students took over the Black Hill renegades' methods and adopted their symbolic expressions is not borne out by the extant evidence.[9] This ought not to be read merely as an egotistical disciplinary defence of historical particularity. As will be argued below, to lay too much stress on continuity is to fall into the trap set by Robert Shepherd, the principal of Lovedale, who justified his draconian actions with reference to the precedent he himself had constructed in his interpretation of the Lovedale riot of 1920.

Hyslop refers to authoritarian power relations, but does not really scrutinise them or offer an explanation for the apparent intensification of authoritarianism in the 1940s. Shepherd's merciless pursuit of alleged offenders was apparently not unique in this period. In some other cases, it was not simply that students readily resorted to boycotting meals as a way of expressing resentment, but that the authorities tended to react to such boycotts with uncommon anger and to punish boycotters with a vindictiveness which did not seem commensurate with the offence. The relentless persecution of ANC Secretary-General James Calata's daughter, Noluthando (Mary), is a case in point.[10] Whether Noluthando was punished so severely for allegedly inciting the younger girls to refuse their food (which was never proved) because of her father's position in the ANC,

or because what she was alleged to have done shocked the sensibilities of the authorities who found such conduct intolerable in a girl, cannot be established from the documentary record. But her career, like that of many of the Lovedale students implicated in the 1946 riot, was deliberately destroyed by the authorities at St Matthews and her father, driven to despair by their intransigence, asked if they expected that he should 'kill her'?[11]

The number of serious disturbances in African educational institutions and particularly the riot at Lovedale, prompted members of the committee which had investigated the Lovedale occurrence to press for a government appointed commission of enquiry.[12] The Report of the commission published in 1947 illuminates some contemporary understandings of the educational turmoil and provides a useful starting point for an analysis.

The final report of the commission had undergone several drafts in the process of which some of the more radical phrases had been deleted. But it was little wonder that the Orange Free State's representatives on the Union Advisory Board on Native Education found even the final version 'tendentious'[13]. It proclaimed several times in different ways that 'for African education to be rightly understood, the social background (had) to be filled in'.[14] Many of the witnesses who gave evidence to the commission were inclined to attribute the cause of the disturbances in African educational institutions to the atmosphere of 'international unrest' and to the long shadows cast by the United Nations' Organisations's debates on the rights of Indians in South Africa and the 'South West African question'. But the commission itself retained a sort of scepticism. It was the 'political situation' within South Africa itself that it held accountable for the disturbances, arguing that they predated the international turmoil of the 1940s. The commission located the 1936 legislation, especially the Trust and Land Act, as pivotal to the 'process of disillusionment' and the 'sad' deterioration of Africans' economic position' which had 'solidified and deepened African resentment against the European'.[15] It noted that Africans who wanted to go back to the land found their way 'barred' and were forced to occupy squalid and insanitary housing in the towns.[16] In the urban areas opportunities for advancement were extremely limited. They felt particularly 'let down' when missionaries showed themselves to be no different from other 'Europeans' by discriminating against African teachers or by failing to treat their African 'pupils with affection or respect.[17]

The commission understood that there were links with wider African experiences of dispossession and suffering, but was puzzled by the ferocity of some of the students' responses to apparently minor problems within certain educational institutions. 'What possible relation can there be between violence and bad cooking or shortage of sugar?'it expostulated at one point.[18] This is precisely the problem that Hyslop seeks to resolve by explaining food grievances at a symbolic level. The commission provided a causative link between poor food and

violence by drawing on British psychology, notably the work of John Dollard, author of a book entitled Frustration and Aggression (London 1944), which argued that under strict restraint or harsh punitive discipline, adolescents' pent up frustration could swiftly be transformed into aggression.[19] The Report vacillated on the vexed question of what the age-group of the students was who were predominantly involved in the disturbances, observing that, in many cases, the determination of the ages of the participants was complicated by the 'multilateral' character of institutions which allowed for an age range of 14 to 25. In the Lovedale case, there is evidence that most of the leading participants were of an age that could be considered post-adolescent.(Above eighteen years old.) However, not only does the commission tend to treat individual participants as disgruntled adolescents because the parameters of a convenient psychological theory can accommodate them as such, it also abstracts and generalises 'the African' as adolescent and occasionally even as infantile. For example 'he' is characterised as 'emergent' with his 'head and shoulders' in the modern world.[20] Early on in the Report, the disturbances are described as a 'symptom of the African's growing pains'.[21]

The Report, reflecting as it does, the approaches of a diverse group of authors and their informants, is a curious mix of fairly profound political and economic analysis, and popular theories about how adolescents react under stress and the problems of modern urban youth. Its recommendations, some of which were made by the principal of Fort Hare, Alexander Kerr, include introducing character-building and 'sexual hygiene' programmes into schools and providing outlets for adolescent exuberance such as recreational evenings supervised by the school.[22] One of the commission's central concerns was that: 'Little is being taught of the culture of the modern civilisation to these young people, thousands of whom will have to adapt themselves to the new social order.'[23]

There are several points to be drawn out from the commission's Report which bear further investigation. Its periodisation is striking - it pinpoints the discriminatory rural legislation of 1936 as the root cause of the school disturbances, rather than the processes of urbanisation and secondary industrialisation and the false hopes raised by the democratic ideology of the Second World War, which later writers (and some contemporaries) have sketched in as the mandatory backdrop for school riots of the 1940s. The Report remarks on the visibility of the 'rural' boys,[24] particularly those from the Transkei, in school disturbances, which ran counter to widely held assumptions about the 'bumptious' city lad being at the heart of the trouble.[25] In a questionnaire circulated by the commission as part of its preliminary investigation, most respondents could not adequately distinguish between the behaviour of rural and urban students,[26] despite their apparent prejudice against the latter.

The commission also comments on African perceptions of the missionaries' association with, or failure to detach themselves sufficiently from the dominant order of segregation. Hyslop is

eloquent on the material impoverishment of African education in this period, but provides very little detail on the ideological content of mission education, some of which is reflected in the Report itself. Great care should be exercised in combing out this ideology, which may turn out to blend with one strand of segregationist ideology, but which ought not necessarily to be reduced to its old reproductionist persona. Some of the most prominent missionaries, A.W. Wilkie, Shepherd's predecessor for example, did take great care to distance themselves from particular aspects of segregation as it was legislated by the government and sought to ameliorate what they recognised as its harsh consequences.[27] Nevertheless, the tone of the Report is sometimes patronising and as has been noted above, its effect is often to infantilise Africans, presupposing them to be on a lower rung of social and cultural development than 'Europeans'. Cultural education and supervised lesuire time are suggested as means for Africans' social ascent and necessary adaption (my emphasis) to the dominant culture.

In his exploratory paper on Potlako (Kitchener) Leballo, one of the ringleaders of the Lovedale riot, who corresponded voluminously, but fruitlessly with Shepherd, Bolnick pays more detailed attention to the ideological aspect of missionary education than does Hyslop. Bolnick classifies the mission educators as 'paternalistic liberals' and thus provides a glimpse into the reasons for the ferocity of the clash between the authorities and many of the students at Lovedale.[28]

Those who were the targets of the 1946 attack certainly did not judge it to have been the work of frustrated adolescents. Head of the Boarding House, J.W. McQuarrie was adamant that 'it was not any rash outburst or outbreak of adolescence which took place in my home. It was a murderous attempt to take human life.'[29] According to Shepherd, Macquarrie's windows were shattered, 'the bombardment of stones being particularly heavy where the occupants were visible.'[30] Boarding House Master, G. McGillivray commented that this riot was different from others in that it seems to have been directed against members of families.' He was probably offended by having been described as a 'hopeless cook',[31] and he, Macquarrie and Shepherd may all have been overreacting. According to Shepherd, Mcgillivray had 'stones flying over his head' as he worked in the Boarding Master's office.[32] But there was more than an element of truth in their observations of the violent intentions of the rioters. As has been mentioned above, extensive damage was done to school buildings, and there were instances of attempted arson. At least one of the ringleaders, Ebenezer Malie,[33], whom ex-Lovedale teacher Makalima vividly recalls as a 'long, hosepipe sort of a person',[34] had a loaded revolver which he threatened to use and which had come into his possession as part of a premeditated conspiracy.

Leballo, who had few qualms about betraying his fellows in order to convince Shepherd of his own innocence, for which reason we should be wary of his hyperbole, claimed that the high shool students had been determined to kill their principal, Mr Benyon,

and that the girls had asked them to 'murder ... the Lady Superintendent.'[35] Both these members of staff had stones pelted at their living quarters, although the 'Lady Superintendent' was not in her room at the time. Also, one of the witnesses to the committee of enquiry cast doubt on the seriousness of the assault on Benyon's house, commenting that the sweetpea beds next to the broken window had not been trampled.[36] Shepherd claimed that his own quarters had also been attacked. His vain determination to win Shepherd's trust by exaggerating the crimes of his school-fellows aside, Leballo's estimation of the hatred that many of the rioters professed for particular members of Lovedale's staff was probably accurate. Almost every piece on the 1946 riot, from the contemporary articles in the local press onwards, gives a colourful account of the wild and terrifying night of August 7, but fails to explain why the students were driven to such lengths or why they should have selected particular individuals as targets of their wrath.

The 'Invincible Board'.

It seems clear that what happened on that night was not a sudden flare up, but part of a process set in motion long before, propelled by Shepherd's apparently paranoid determination to repress any signs of insolence. He had victimised the Form V class the year before, preventing all but one of the matriculants from being accepted by the University of Fort Hare. At the close of 1945, seventeen students in the Form V class had been found guilty of 'objectionable conduct' and the decision had been made not to allow them to return if they failed their senior certificate examinations. The victimisation of these Form V students was vividly recalled the following year.[37] Fourteen of the seventeen failed and one did not get a matriculation exemption. The names of the seventeen had been passed over to Fort Hare. Shepherd wrote: 'the only one eligible to enter Fort Hare because of the half yearly report received from us, had his bursary withdrawn by the Transkeian Territories General Council'.[38] Shepherd took this punitive action because of the senior class' creation of 'The Board'. As White explains, this was an idea borrowed from a scene in one of their prescribed setbooks, Charles Dickens' Oliver Twist, in which the young Oliver is commanded to bow to the Board and seeing no board, only a table bows to that.[39] Perhaps some of the allusions were not lost on Shepherd, since the scene is set in a workhouse. Dickens describes the members of the Board with biting irony as 'sage, deep, philosophical men'[40], which the senior pupils evidently decided to adopt for themselves without the irony, but nonetheless with a spirited sense of humour. In 1945 a harmless piece of school satire appeared in the school magazine entitled 'The Invincible Board'. It extolled the sporting and recreational prowess of the senior class in the high school and was seized upon by Shepherd as evidence of the students' subversive intentions.[41] At one level this could be regarded as absurd hysteria but Shepherd did have some reason to read more sinister meaning into the apparently light-hearted war-cry:

The Board is here, the Board is there, the Board

> is ubiquitous. Blessed be the future of the Board and futile be the ceaseless attempts to dissolve the 'Invincible Board'. Long live the Board![12]

with which author, form V student Louis Mtshizana, now a respected attorney in Sterkspruit Transkei, concluded the article. 'The Board' represented an alternative source of authority and an explicit rejection of the SRC and prefect structures. The senior students had refused to participate in the election of the SRC and had made a council of their own - the Invincible Board. The students' objection to the SRC was that prefects nominated by the staff were represented alongside members elected by the student body. In the 1946 riot the windows of the Prefects' Room were also 'badly shattered'.[13] There had evidently been an accumulation of bad feeling towards the prefects, fuelled by their preferential treatment by the institution. One of the students' complaints was that the prefects were served better food.[14]

A member of the Form V class wrote early in the following year that the Board was 'constantly insulting the authorities' and that the chairman Magadla, had called a meeting with the object of visiting and making contact with nearby Healdtown.[15] Perhaps Shepherd's apprehension about the subversive intentions of these students was not without foundation.

A letter from Shepherd had gone out to parents at the end of October 1945, informing them of the existence of the Board and associating it with 'rowdiness in church', 'abusive' graffiti and warning of the anticipated failure rate. On December 3 of 1945, Shepherd discovered what he fastidiously referred to as:

> a long typewritten effusion pinned on one of our noticeboards, signed by one of the Form V students. It was in large measure a political document, demanding freedom for African youth and condemning the strict discipline of Lovedale and complaining about conditions of food etc.[16]

The 'effusion' was a powerfully worded polemic that described the administration of Lovedale as 'degenerate' and called the institution '...a place of oppression, of tyranny and dictatorship', besides complaining of the 'poor diet'. 'I am ready to enter gaol,' professes its author, 'what I want to see is the comfort of my race which has long suffered.'

Shepherd had begun to anticipate a riot, as he explained to the officer in charge of the police station at Alice in December 1945 and he had reviewed the events of 1920 to prepare himself, constructing a close paralell: 'In similar after-war circumstances a riot took place in Lovedale in 1920,' he wrote to the police, requesting a patrol as a precautionary measure.[17] In 1920 buildings had been smashed, the grain-store had been burned down, the electric power house attacked and the acting principal had been pelted by stones. Shepherd was determined to follow the lead of the 1920 authorities in expelling 'strikers'

and seeking criminal convictions for those who damaged property. But, the idea of a riot was not new to Shepherd even in December of 1945 and it was not stirred by the anatagonistic polemic or satirical boastings of The Board alone.

In May 1945 he had writted to the principal of St Matthews:

> There are those who predict that the end of the war will see great labour and other troubles in Great Britain: much more may we expect such things in South Africa...African teachers, particularly graduates are claiming exactly the same treatment and to have the same customs as Europeans who are their fellow teachers...African teachers feel salaries are too low...[48]

Shepherd was aware of the effects of racial discrimination on his own staff and suspected that it could have explosive consequences. Perhaps, because he could not confront members of the African staff, without a grave scandal that could have tarnished his reputation, he focused his ire on the hapless students. A confrontation with the teachers might have revealed some of Shepherd's own discriminatory practices, such as the segregated seating of staff during church services, which Makalima used to take great delight in upsetting to Shepherd's predictable and ill-concealed anger.[49] So succesful was Shepherd at deflecting attention away from the grievances of African teachers at Lovedale that subseqent analysts have largely overlooked the teachers or believed that they were relatively unimportant in fomenting and supporting the riot.[50]

The Report of the commission of enquiry into the disturbances points to the pessimism of many African graduates who reputedly no longer bothered to apply for promotion posts. In the Lovedale report, ex-Lovedale teacher, Kwinana suggests that African teachers used the subjects of history and civics to explore questions of racial injustice with their students[51] and head of the high school, Benyon and teacher Lediga claimed that African teachers aired their 'grievances in the presence of students'.[52] Shepherd himself thought that at least one African teacher was extremely culpable, but interestingly enough, despite a string of abusive insinuations, refused to name the guilty party.[53] Perhaps it was Makalima who recalls that he was:

> called to book ...by Shepherd because no doubt in their minds they thought the strike had been provoked by me. At that time, anyone who spoke his mind, especially about the situation in South Africa, was strongly suspected of being a communist and that was the time that I was very unpopular among the authorities and among some of the black staff who obviously had been put on the alert to watch for any signs of subversive activity on my part or on students who frequented my place.[54]

A Moral Governor.

Bolnick, while locating Shepherd in the conservative liberal camp, argues that it is also important to understand the impact of Shepherd's own personality shaped by an adverse childhood, on the institution. Shepherd's christianity was a harsh and demanding doctrine : 'I personally don't want a God who is only full of 'forgiveness, gentless, tolerance. I want a moral Governor on the throne of the universe', he wrote. Often he conveyed the sense that he considered himself to be this God's representative on earth, which certainly embittered many of his students and some of his colleagues.[55] Shepherd's abrasive personality and his determination to punish the perpetrators of The Board and later of the riot contrasted with the gentler and more reflective attitude of his predecessor, A.W. Wilkie, quite markedly on occasions. Wilkie wrote from retirement to Shepherd:

> What infinite patience one needs in these days with our Bantu brethren. Recent legislation has cut them to the heart. I sometimes wonder now on reflection whether I really made sufficient allowance for the deep injury which they felt done to their people by the whole trend of that legislation. I could set over against that the fact that administratively there have been spectacular advances in the last few years. But it must be terribly hard for even the best of them to take a 'balanced view' when by the law of the land they are deprived of one privilege after another and in economic matters not even recognised as employees - just 'things'...[56]

Wilkie clearly distanced himself from the 'law of the land' which he found repugnant and he may have handled the confrontation that developed between Lovedale authorities and the students more compassionately than did Shepherd. But Wilkie was also a central architect of the carefully conceived educational policy which Shepherd had inherited and which may have played a principal part in alienating the students from Lovedale. White provides a fairly detailed account of the evolution of this policy, showing how it was illuminated by the debates over candidates for the post of principal in 1930. It is interesting to note that C.T. Loram, who was a member of the Governing Council, favoured Edgar Brookes, although Brookes did not belong to the Church of Scotland, for what Loram called 'the spearhead position.'[57] Brookes, who had lately forsaken a Hertzogian segregationist position, was developing ideas about African education which argued that it should be harmonised with, although not totally subservient to the needs of particular physical and social environments. Brookes claimed that the scales had dropped from his eyes after a visit to the United States of America in 1927 and cited his tour of Tuskegee, the famous industrial and normal school in Alabama, as having been particularly revelatory. After Loram's support of Brookes' canditature had been unsuccessful, he backed J.W.C.

Dougal who was head of the Jeanes School in Kenya, but who turned down the post.

Finally A.W. Wilkie, who had spent a great deal of time in a Scottish mission on the Gold Coast and had been an advisor to the British government on black-white co operation, was appointed although he was close to retirement age. Wilkie had been, as White points out, one of the driving forces behind the Le Zoute Missionary Conference that had been held in Belgium in 1926, from which some important and lasting educational principles were derived. Significantly, the conference had concluded that teacher training was the most important aspect of African education because it was through teachers that one could inculcate educational philosophy.[58] The American connection also surfaces in Wilkie's curriculum vitae, as it did in those of the other candidates for the post. He had served on the American based Phelps-Stokes Commission which had visited the Gold Coast in 1920 to survey educational facilities for Africans, under the direction of Thomas Jesse Jones, famous for his advocacy of 'the four essentials of education' for Africans. (Health training, recreation, agriculture and handicraft work.) Brookes had praised Jesse Jones for:

> building on the educational experience of men like General Armstrong, the founder of Hampton and Booker T. Washington, the founder of Tuskegee,...(he) has transferred to the African soil the theories most successfully worked out among the American Negro community.[59]

Here it should be noted that Lovedale principals, Govan, Stewart, Henderson and Wilkie himself had all made extensive tours of both Hampton (where Booker T. Washington was schooled) and Tuskegee[60] and we must attempt to piece together their vision of these two institutions, considerably clouded it appears, by the rhetoric of industrial education.[61]

According to Anderson, far from being havens of self-improvement for blacks in the segregationist south as they are generally supposed to have been, Hampton and Tuskegee were places of drudgery, with more than a passing resemblance to Oliver Twist's workhouse.[62] Academically they made a virtue of mediocrity and what they called industrial training was often little more than repetitive, physically exhausting manual labour. They were not institutions for industrial training at all, Anderson argues. Their fundamental objective was to inculcate future teachers with the dignity of labour ethos that they were to pass on to their students. Hampton and Tuskegee were designed to domesticate an elite that would have to trade political rights for a share in the material spoils of Reconstruction in post civil war America.[63]

There are undoubtedly some elements of this programme which made their way into Lovedale's curriculum, although how far it actually resembled Hampton and Tuskegee, which had been such a font of inspiration for its principals, requires intensive investigation.[64] The commission of enquiry into the general

school disturbances did observe that they were probably partly brought on by 'the nervous strain' of 'long terms, crowded syllabuses and long school days.'[65] Loram himself was of the opinion that 'the mass of Africans should be prepared for 'homesteading' on the 'reserves' and for 'subordinate positions where the Natives come into contact with the whites'.[66]

The evidence that the woodwork teacher, John Lediga, gave in a somewhat circumlocutious way to the committee of enquiry, is highly suggestive.[67] He told the committee that Lovedale was behind limiting the wages of some of its African vocational graduates and that it exploited its own journeymen. The Carpentry department was one of the targets of attempted arson in the riot, as was one of the large printing machines and a toolshed used by the (teacher) Training School. Ronald White from the Printing Department suggested to the committee that the printing students followed a rather arduous programme from 6.45 a.m. onwards and noted that some students complained: 'we are not here to make a profit for Lovedale.' He observed that 'there seems to be amongst the African people a resentment against manual work.' Eight out of the ten printing apprentices were apparently involved in the riot.[68]

Furthermore, Benyon said in his evidence to the committee that when he had taken over the high school at the beginning of the year: 'I revised and simplified the courses offered in the high school' and complained: 'it is now brought up as a grievance.'[69] He also pointed out that all boys in forms one to three were obliged to do manual labour. Boys on the academic trajectory, had to do manual work and apprentices in the training programmes had to work on academic studies early in the morning or on a couple of evenings a week.[70]

In her evidence to the committee of enquiry, wife of Z.K. Frieda Matthews, speaking on behalf of the Non-European University Women's Association, described the girls as '(doing) a lot of drudgery' principally scrubbing their dormitories. Matthews was of the opinion that they should be relieved of their scrubbing brushes: 'I feel there is too much hard work placed on the girls which interferes with their studies.'[71] But the 'Lady Superintendent', Moore-Anderson, in her subsequent testimony, countered Matthews' opinion: 'In the present economic condition of the people it is most necessary they should do this duty themselves.'[72]

Ideological Struggle.

In the 1940s the hegemony of the mission institutions was being contested in a way that had not happened before. This is one of Hyslop's major contentions and is one which allows him to elude the stifling formulae of reductionist analysis and to propose novel theories about the origins of Bantu Education as a new 'hegemonic discourse'.[73] But his evocation of hegemony, suggestive as it is, remains rather schematic. It is the hierarchical structures and their subsequent modification that are highlighted, rather than the array of 'sub-cultures' as

contestation, which he raises so promisingly at the beginning of his PHD dissertation.

There appears to have been some sort of ongoing struggle over the dominant cultural values which were being foisted on pupils. The struggle over what was acceptable conduct was representative of a more fundamental struggle between the white and some of the black teachers, who were trying to prepare pupils for their subordinate role in segregated society, and the students who bitterly resented it, of which we get but tantalising glimpses. It is reminiscent of the phenomenon the Comaroffs describe and what they characterise as: '...an ideological struggle; for it necessarily involves an effort to control the cultural terms in which the world is ordered, and within it, power legitimised.'[74] When the Comaroffs write of:'..gestures that sullenly and silently contest the forms of an existing hegemony',[75] they use the very vocabulary of the Report of Enquiry into the school disturbances. The Report asserts: '... in (some institutions) the committee sensed a feeling of repression and lack of sympathy: in at least one, signs of unhealthy discipline were manifest in the slouching movements of some of the students, their unpunctuality, their discourtesy, bordering on sulleness (my emphasis).[76]

It was often what Couzens has called 'the moralising of leisure time' that the students appear to have opposed. The 'rowdiness at church' which Shepherd mentioned in his 1945 letter to parents puts one in mind of the trouble caused at Fort Hare when the students at Beda Hall were forbidden to play tennis on Sundays. The enforced observation of the sabbath led to an explosive confrontation between A.B. Xuma, President-General of the ANC and the obdurate principal of Fort Hare, Alexander Kerr.[77] Mcgillivray's comment on students' grievances as he saw them: 'They wanted dancing and not merely the Lambeth Walk',[78] is indicative of students'intentions to sabotage or invert the very morality around which their leisure time and spiritual instruction was supposed to be structured.[79] The Lambeth Walk was a comical line dance which obviated the need for pairing off in couples. Since mention of it recurs often, dancing was obviously regarded as a central and deeply worrying feature of the 'adolescent' revolt. (See above p.5) The questionnaire that went out as part of the general report of enquiry into the school disturbances asked respondents:

> '24 (a) what is your attitude towards dancing?
> (b) If it is prohibited are there any substitute activities?'[80]

This couplet is replete with intimations of how dangerous an activity dancing was held to be by many authorities. It was associated with displays of sexuality and a release of sexual feeling, enmeshed in older theories about the overpowering sexual urges of adolescent Africans, which had to be kept in check to prevent the notorious intellectual arrest at puberty.[81] The questionnaire referred to above also asked respondents if their institutions offered 'meaningful and frank instruction in sexual

hygiene' and on 'how gentlemen should behave toward women'.[82]

Analysts have neglected to point out that many of Lovedale's teachers subsequently used the riot as an excuse to root out pupils who had transgressed boundaries of what they considered to constitute acceptable etiquette, which are difficult to translate precisely from this distance in time. David Serake, a student in third year building was marked out at the end of 1946 with the simple unqualified admission that 'Mr Abel does not want him'.[83] There were two other identical cases. A twenty-two year old student and an eighteen year old in the third year building class were not 'wanted' by Mr Linstrom and there were similar cases in the carpentry courses.

Comments on girl students are more revealing of what was considered to be inappropriate behaviour. The girls, generally those in their later teens, took no active part in the riot, but rang bells after the church service on the subsequent Sunday and led the proposed boycott of classes on the Monday. Moore-Anderson called them 'excitable' and claimed that they had rung the bells to 'embarass the authorities'.[84] Some girls (and the language itself is suggestive of a perception that the girls were engaged in unseemly behaviour) were accused of acting as 'links' between the men and the 'girls'. Vuyiswa Mdiya, in the Training school, is described as 'an aggressive woman' and Henriette Patuleni was given a black mark for 'clowning before everyone' and being 'unhelpful'. The comments next to the miscreants' names in the class registers read like a catalogue of behaviour that was considered 'unladylike'.[85] Several girls were described as 'troublemakers' and Agnes Mokete in Form III earned the single, damning epithet: 'dreadful'. Fifteen 'girls' were judged 'unhelpful' or possessed of an 'unsatisfactory attitude' in all.

The teachers took a deliberate decision to exclude those students whom they considered would be inappropriate models for the younger generation of Africans.[86] For them the students' exuberance revived that old European phatasmagoria of the African mentality, with its powerful interlocked images of unchecked sexuality and savagery. Its verisimilitude was achieved by the endless contemporary observations about the break-down of the African family and its descent into immorality. Benyon, after giving an account of his rather esoteric rules about what outer clothing could be worn in classrooms, told the committee of enquiry into the riot at Lovedale: 'We insist on certain standards of conduct' and added a little later: 'I feel they want us out and to control their own future and direct their own progress'.[87]

'The Real Cause of the Riot'?

If there was a sudden breakthrough in the students' consciousness that inaugurated a fierce ideological struggle, fierce enough to send Shepherd and those in equivalent positions into a panic, why should it have happened in this period and how much did it have to do with the individual personalities of the authorities in

charge of mission institutions? In 1949 Shepherd articulated an argument for racial segregation, that was to some extent conditional on Africans' cultural and administrative evolution, but also had overtones of separate development ideology:

> I think we have to accept a certain amount of separateness at this stage, so as to give the African the opportunity to do things for himself and in his own environment. It may well be that when he has developed and is more on the European level in administration and cultural experience the necessity for separateness will pass away, though one is doubtful of this and doubtful of it's being basically wrong. It is noteworthy that the Episcopal Church in Scotland is separate from the Church of England, with a prayer book having its own features ...the genius and history of the Episcopal Church seems to demand separateness and special provisions. So it may be with the African people.[88]

It was this very attitude that V.M. Kwinana, who had taught at Lovedale, tried to capture in his testimony before the committee of enquiry: '(The missionaries) seem to have identified themselves with the outside world in their attitude towards the students.'

Perhaps the students did not make the subtle distinctions that academics now demand between the attitudes of the ruling class beyond their school and those of many of the white teachers and wardens within it. D.D.T. Jabavu told the committee investigating the Lovedale disturbance, that the students identified 'the European staff in the institution as part of the Government machinery'.[89] Contemporaries were anxious to establish how the students had come to learn of the outside world and how they had become acquainted with radical left wing criticisms of it. The committee of enquiry questioned its witnesses thoroughly on the infiltration of Lovedale by newspapers, journals and inflammatory pamphlets. Subsequently, because the decade of the 1940s has loomed so large in the narrative of the intensification of the class struggle, and because it was one of the apartheid state's disingenuous strategies to blame expressions of discontent on subversive literature, analysts have not taken contemporary speculation about the influence of radical reading matter on students very seriously.[90] Either we are left to imagine that the students knew of and understood wider political issues without any form of systematic mediation, or that they were rather naive and lacked the political savvy of their successors.[91] Many of the witnesses to the committee believed that the plethora of literature which made its way into Lovedale's dormitories, did have a role to play in informing students of what was happening in the outside world and in inflaming their own opinions. Z.K. Matthews was one of those who subscribed to this view and he particularly mentioned 'recent raids on communist offices by the Police ... It is evident that they (the students) sympathise with these movements which they regard as voicing the cause of the African people'.[92] Matthews

was certain that 'the students (took) a keen interest in the political situation'.[93] Jabavu too thought that the influence of communism, particularly of the kind represented in New Africa was strong.[94]

Other witnesses also cited examples of incendiary literature. A teacher in the Training school, one B. Mdledle, quotes from a Bulletin written in Xhosa, purporting to have come from the All African Convention, setting the 'Lovedale trouble' beside the coterminous 'strike in Johannesburg' and the 'adjournment of the Native Representative Council' and ascribing them all to 'the servile position in which we are'.[95] The most intriguing exemplar of inflammatory literature is that mentioned by Marjorie Shingler, Shepherd's secretary, who maintains: 'Just at the time of the riot, the African Mine Workers' strike had been called and inflammatory strike Bulletins were coming to Lovedale calling on all Africans to strike in sympathy'.[96] Tangible evidence that such 'strike Bulletins' reached Lovedale would radically alter the whole way in which the 'Lovedale trouble' and its authors have been viewed by historians of education.

The question of the extent of the influence exercised by contemporary political literature is one that must be pursued much further. However, one does not have to enlist the aid of complex theory to discover how students received their basic information and antagonistic opinions about the wider world of segregation. Drawing a clear distinction between the world in which he had been a student and that of the 1940s, D.D.T. Jabavu told the committee of enquiry:

> The real cause (of the riot) is that all present day students grow up in homes, rural and urban, where the principal staple of conversation is the colour bar, unjust wages, lack of faith in the white man generally, and the whole gamut of anti-Native legislation and ill-treatment by public officers...

But we are still left with the question of why the 'principal staple of conversation' in the students' homes had become the injustices of segregation? What had happened since the days of Jabavu's studenthood in the early years of the present century, when 'we worshipped the school authorities',[97] which were certainly not unmarred by discriminatory attitudes and practices to so dent 'faith in the white man'? There is a range of persuasive material reasons: the very persistence of segregation which served to disillusion the African petite bourgeoisie from which most students came; the acts of legislation in the 1920s, 1930s and 1940s that had crystallised the 'colour bar', and the expectations aroused by the Second World War, forcefully expressed by Makalima:

> After all, the rewards for participation in the First World War had been ridiculous - bicycles for officers and heavy coats and nothing else. The cry went round that

this time they should not have gone up for nothing.[98]

But these explanations do not quite suffice to explain, for example, the growing antipathy to supervised leisure time activities or the political incisiveness and vocabulary of the 'effusion' that Shepherd found pinned to the noticeboard in 1945. The conclusion to the Report into the disturbance at Lovedale, which was probably penned by the chair of the committee, Douglas Smit, ex-Secretary for Native Affairs and now a member of the Native Affairs Commission, tried to chart some of the political changes of significance to the school riot:

> '...it should be emphasised that there is a growing (African) middle class...which is becoming of great political significance and which has its most active expression in demands for the abolition of laws specially affecting Africans and for increased representation on public bodies in the Legislature. Their views are represented by the Native Representative Council, by organisations of considerable influence and by a number of newspapers and political pamphlets and bulletins.[99]

The historiographical significance of the 1940s has dwarfed its human subjects. Most writers have treated the participants in the riot as if their profiles cannot be recovered and those Black Hill insurgents will never be unmasked. (This is a literal as well as figurative allusion for some of them did wear masks, which also suggests premeditation.) But there is fairly extensive data which requires analysis. Bolnick has expressed astonishment that Potlako Leballo's story should have lain mute all these years in the Cory Library in Grahamstown. But there are many more stories, several rendered much more poignant than Leballo's by their comparative lack of guile. One of the parents of a Lovedale student, Ida Mbuli, for example, writes to Shepherd: '..can you please let me know where Victor Mbuli is. Has he gone home or is he in jail?'[100] There is also the pathetic note of Ephraim Nxazonke, who appears to have had nothing to with the riot but who was expelled because he had tagged along behind his older brother Bennett, who was one of the ringleaders: 'Sir, I am in a difficult here. I am staying at home without education. I ask you sir to re admit me...I can't get work.'[101] Characteristically, Shepherd responded to the Nxazonkes' mother's repeated pleas for 'forgiveness', especially on behalf of her younger son who was only fourteen, by asserting that :'...the things done against this Institution by your sons were too grievous to be lightly passed over.'[102]

Incidentally, Shepherd's determination to withold forgiveness in the spirit of his 'moral Governor of the universe', went far beyond excluding students from readmission to Lovedale. Bennett Nxazonke found himself, like Leballo, barred from other educational institutions because Shepherd refused to give them testimonials. Eventually Nxazonke found work for which, presumably a testimonial was not required, with the South African

police in East London.

It can be established without doubt that the leaders of and active participants in the riot belonged to the upper age limit and to the upper forms of the high school, or were apprentices in one of the vocational divisions, or were Training school students.

In the high school, of the Form lV class Alfred Dwesi, Rosebery Nqxiki, Michael Smale and Ethne Nombe were singled out as 'ringleaders'.[103] The men were in their early twenties and Ethne was eighteen. Some form lll girls were named as 'troublemakers' with no explicit connection made other than by this implication, to the riot or subsequent boycott. One boy in form three was singled out as a ring-leader - Basimane Mothobi, but he was twenty years old. (Even in the lower forms of the high school, the average age appears to have been about eighteen.) Victor Kadalie, son of the Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union's (ICU) Clements Kadalie, was described as having 'been in the thick of it'. He was only in form ll but was eighteen. Of the form 1 students only Amelia Shai is singled out as having 'played a leading part in week-end disturbances'. She was seventeen. Other students named for their association with the riot in the form 1 and standard six classes were characterised as followers, like Sydney Mbekeni, a fourteen year old who 'went round with the mob.'

In the Building Course ten students were named for having gone to Alice and one was convicted for his participation in the riot and in the Carpentry Course fifteen were singled out, mostly for having marched to Alice, including Brian Campbell who had painted swastikas. In Printing and Binding two were convicted, which was almost half the class. There were only about fifty male students in the Industrial school altogether. Many of the statistics have yet to be disentangled but on the basis of the figures of boarders who were excluded for their alleged part in the riot or associated events, it may be observed that the highest percentage of male students came from the Industrial school (26% of males in this division), followed by the Training school (15% of males in this division). The Training school produced some of the most prominent ring-leaders however: Malie, Leballo and Nxazonke. A slightly lower percentage came from the high school. The extreme imbalance of the male-female ratio in the Industrial school skews the overall demography of the riot a little. But, although many 'girls' were reported for 'insubordination', very few were punished. The highest percentage of women students considered for exclusion was from the high school, but amounts to less than one per cent.[104]

Some of the students implicated in 1946 were the sons of parents who had been involved in the 1920 riot, for example, Baker and Giqwa, the latter being the author of the 'effusion', which supported Shepherd's case for the cyclical view of school riots. Others had relatives who were powerful politicians such as Victor Kadalie and Monde Jordan.[105] There were also some ex-servicemen, including Ebenezer Malie and Leballo, despite Shepherd's denials,

who must have found the discipline of a school, exacerbated by its racist overtones, difficult to tolerate. Malie was twenty-four years old and Leballo twenty-six.[106] Furthermore, a significant number of the ring-leaders were Sotho speaking, from Basotholand or Bechuanaland.[107] Roseberry Bokwe, treasurer of the Ciskeian African Parents' Association, explained that the Handbook had given notice that the teaching of Sesotho and Tswana was to be dropped, not ostensibly for any sinister purpose, but because the number of pupils taking those languages was too small. Bokwe suggested that the impression created among Sotho speaking students that 'they were to be eliminated from Lovedale' was erroneous.[108]

But, Leballo points out that, after the riot about twenty Cape students, including Monde Jordan were readmitted, despite having been deeply implicated, wheras Sotho speaking students were permanently excluded.[109] As Makalima explains this co-incides with legislation of 1947 which excluded students from the Protectorates from South African educational institutions. Makalima's explanation for the number of Sotho speaking students in the leadership of the riot of 1946, was that they were all housed together in 'Dormitory C'.[110]

Nevertheless, some of the Lovedale authorities certainly seem to have exhibited a prejudice against Sotho speaking students, trying to confirm the ethnic identity of those, such as the Zulu speaking Gumede, who had remained loyal to the SRC.[111] They became thematically obsessed with the idea that the Sotho speaking students had played a substantial part in the riot despite comprising a tiny minority of the student body. Bolnick argues that the Sotho speaking students played such a vociferous role in the school protest because Basotholand was not yet fully capitalised and had maintained a fairly resilient pre-capitalist economy. This provided those students with a powerful base, which they were fighting to protect from further erosion.[112] This is a fascinating argument which bears further investigation, especially in relation to the observations that the general commission of enquiry made on the surprising visibility of rural boys in school disturbances (see above). The Sotho speaking student on whom we have some leads, besides Leballo, is the one who brandished a loaded revolver, Ebenezer Malie. Malie was the son of a migrant mine-worker from Mafeteng, Basotholand. Robert Malie, father of Ebenezer, gives his address as Robinson, Randfontein.[113] Had the Malie family been newly exposed to the indignities of capitalism and what kind of rural base had they managed to preserve? Was Malie's father involved in the African Mine Workers Union and the strike, which happened a week after the riot at Lovedale?[114] Although the committee of enquiry was probably searching too hard for evidence of a grand conspiracy, it is notable that one of its conclusions was that some students had brought back the militant 'atmosphere' that was settling over the Reef during the winter school vacation.[115]

It may prove difficult to trace the Malies now. But what has begun to emerge is that at least some of the leading students were plugged into broader networks. Nxazonke, Jordan and Malie

all admitted to being members of students' home district associations and to having attended meetings of these associations within the last six months before the riot at Eardley (? illegible in the document), Mount Frere and Mafeteng respectively.[116] The questionnaire that was sent out to all students to determine who the participants in the riot had been, asked them to state whether or not they belonged to such associations, to name the relevant officials and to mention the last date they had attended a meeting. Evidently the compilers of the questionnaire did not think that the associations were simply organisations designed to co ordinate social work in the districts, as some of the witnesses to the committee of enquiry maintained. Seth Mokitimi, housemaster and chaplain at Healdtown Mission Institution and a member of the committee of enquiry, baldly stated that the associations were 'now in the position of being used for political purposes.'[117]

Jackson T. Arosi, the gardening teacher at Lovedale Training School, said: 'I think this thing was arranged during the July holidays at their homes through the students' associations.' Shepherd himself concurred: 'I think, and in this some of our African staff agree, some of the District Associations are being used by subversive influences. There was a meeting at Queenstown in June and it is noteworthy that one of our worst ring-leaders is a Queenstown man, Nxazonke.'[118]

It may prove possible to track down these associations and to learn something more of their nature. It seems highly likely that they provided their members with some sort of political education as well as contact with an older generation of educated and politicised Africans, for instance the older Jordan, who was named as an office bearer in the Mount Frere association. So that the students did not learn of the events and the legislation of the 1940s, through a process of osmosis or even by a gratuitous perusal of newspapers and radical journals such as those Z.K. Matthews mentioned to the committee of enquiry, including The Guardian, The Torch and the communist New Africa. The general report on the disturbances investigated the student associations and maintained that their importance lay in the forum they provided for students from different educational institutions to meet each other and compare notes.[119]

Students maintained links, sometimes very well-defined structural ones, with their homes. Where those were in rural areas they would have been exposed to the growing anger and disillusionment that centred on the Land Act's failure to recover land at a satisfactory pace. Added to this were the material losses caused or threatened by aspects of the government's rural rehabilitation schemes, notably those contained in Douglas Smit's 'New Era of Reclamation' which he unveiled in 1945.[120] An important aspect of the 'New Era' was what was euphemistically called 'control of grazing', but which Smit's audiences immediately recognised as more thorough, government co-erced stock limitation. 'This spoils everything,' declared Ciskeian Councillor Phooko to Smit's consternation. The Ciskeian General Council did not spare his feelings in criticising the government for buying land for

African settlement in remote areas and for taking inadequate measures to relieve growing congestion in the 'reserves'. It requested that the government 'hold up the matter'.[121] Smit and Shepherd belonged to the same cultural and political milieu and certainly there is evidence that Smit identified his overall political objectives with those of Shepherd.[122] Perhaps the students' perceptions of the school authorities as part of the 'Government machinery' was not that fanciful. (See above.)

What needs to be ascertained is the extent of the overlap between councillors and others who were stubbornly resisting Smit's 'New Era' and bodies such as the 150 parents from the Ciskei, Eastern Province and the Transkei who met to discuss and pass a resolution on the Lovedale disturbance, under the guidance of D.D.T. Jabavu and Calata;[123] or with the Executive committee of the United Cape African Teachers Association (CATA) which expressed sympathy for students and their reaction to 'intolerable affairs'. CATA dismissed food rations as a real cause of the riot and ascribed it to deteriorating relations with the school authorities, especially the relentless Shepherd.[124] The committee also complained that Smit had been appointed to lead the investigation into the riot and bluntly stated: 'We Africans regard this Department (Native Affairs) as the symbol of our oppression...(it) shows how little the Lovedale Governing Council respects the sentiments of the African people'. A.C.Jordan was one of the co-authors of this document and Shepherd lost no opportunities in rebuking him for his critical stance.[125]

Government meddling in and failure to address the real problems in rural areas was personified by Smit who was a personal friend of Shepherd. It is argued that it was this, coupled with the affectations of 'European' cultural superiority which students encountered at Lovedale, and their perception of Africans being forced to accept a subordinate position in society indefinitely that made for an explosive combination. Differential housing and salaries offered to the African teachers and the fact that the unpopular Benyon's post had initially been advertised for 'Europeans' reinforced their suspicions that Africans would not be allowed equal access to material benefits, social status or occupational mobility.[126]

Peter Delius' recent work demonstrates how misleading it may be to separate urban and rural politics in a political economy in which migrant labour is one of the dominant features.[127] Delius' conclusions challenge hackneyed ideas that radicalisation and militancy were the axiomatic products of urbanisation and proletarianisation. It is possible that families such as the Malies were 'brokers' similar to those whom Delius has uncovered in the Pedi context, between those who were aggrieved by state policy in the rural areas and urban based political organisations. The work of Delius on the Pedi migrant association, Sebatakgomo, its prototypes and their link to urban politics may provide a useful road-map to understanding at least one strand of student politics that erupted in the Lovedale riot of 1946. Z.K. Matthews observed:

> We get students in this Institution who travel from remote areas and have experienced racial prejudices, and the experiences they have before they come here make them bitter.[128]

Conclusion:

Hyslop is right about the food grievances being only a pretext for deeper political resentment. In the case of Lovedale, it was a pretext manufactured more in the aftermath of the riot than in its making. The transcript of the interview with Ivan Bokwe, chair of the quisling SRC, shows how painful Bokwe found it to admit that, at a meeting which preceded the riot by a few days, the high school and Training School students had voiced complaints that went beyond getting sufficient food, especially sugar. Shepherd presses him with: 'Are these the only complaints?' and then again: 'And it was only on this sugar matter?' 'Did they make any threats?' 'Did you report to Mr Mcgillivray that they were complaining about the food?' Macquarrie followed with an even closer interrogation: 'The two houses which seem to have suffered most are Mr Benyon's and mine. Have you any idea why we should get the most?' After two pages in the transcript, Bokwe finally says: 'I do not know why but some stood up and said the two principals of the high school and the Training School are bullying and that they have no respect for the senior students.' He then reverts to: 'I can't remember' and concludes on a pathetic note:. 'I was absolutely unknowing.'[129]

It was only Henry Johnson of the SRC members, who explicitly linked the anger over the food with a recent fee rise to 17 pounds, compared with an institutional average of 10 pounds, and talked about how Malie, 'the hero of the hour' at the meeting referred to above, had threatened to dissolve the SRC.[130]

In the end, it is not so much the political tradition of continuity which strikes one, but the sense that so much has been lost, despite the comprehensive documentation of this episode in history, lost and forgotten. Hyslop writes that the uprisings of the 1970s, despite the similarity of their outer shells - the external action and the foci chosen for popular mobilisation - were more articulate and overtly political than those of the 1940s.[131] But the truth is that the political content of the Lovedale riot has been neutralised. Effectively Shepherd's account of the riot as an inevitable consequence of the war-years has been accepted, as if it really were a cyclical repetition of what had happened in 1920, without its own particular impetus and its own rich cast of actors. Later generations of students believe that the 'Black Hill generation <u>was</u> only concerned about food - that they lacked the political sophistication of their successors and that growing vegetables took the white heat out of Lovedale students' anger.[132]

ENDNOTES:

1. The phrase 'liberal mission network' in this context is meant to embrace the major mission educational institutions as well as civil servants such as ex-Secretary for Native Affairs, Douglas Smit, who it is argued in the course of the paper, was part of this camp. Smit chaired the committee of enquiry into the disturbance at Lovedale at the request of its governing council.

2. Ex-Lovedale teacher R.G.S. Makalima claims that the police divided the students in an entirely arbitrary manner, forcing some to take to Black Hill. Interview with the author, Alice, October 1991.

3. The Rand Daily Mail 8/8/1946.

4. Here I refer mainly to Hyslop, for example: J.Hyslop,'Social Conflicts over African Education in South Africa from the 1940s to 1976.' (PHD thesis, University of the Witwatersrand, 1990), 100 where Hyslop refers to a 'rising tide of militancy'. But also to J.Bolnick, 'Double Cross: Potlako Leballo and the 1946 riots at Lovedale Missionary Institution.' (Paper presented to the African Studies Seminar, Wits, 1990.) Also to T.R.H.White, 'Lovedale 1930-1955: The story of a missionary institution in its social, educational and political context.' (MA thesis, Rhodes University, 1987), 109 where White refers to 'the post war malaise'.

5. J. Hyslop,'Food, Authority and Politics: Student Riots in South African Schools 1945-1976,' Africa Perspective: New Series, 1,3 and 4 (June 1987).

6. Since the 1920s the Native Development Account (earmarked for education and welfare) had been merged into the South African Native Trust Fund. The central state distributed this money to the Provinces.

7. SNA to St Matthews Mission School, Kimberley, 7 December 1944, NTS, A637/302, Central Archives, Pretoria. Also see SNA to the Native Commissioner, Bushbuckridge, 10 October 1944, NTS, A627/302, Central Archives, Pretoria.

8. J.Hyslop, 'Food, Authority and Politics: Student Riots in South African Schools 1945-1976'. in S.Clingman(ed) Regions and Repertoires: Topics in South African Politics and Culture,(Ravan:Johannesburg,1991), 93.

9. E. Lesoro, lecturer in the Department of African Languages at Rhodes University, interview with author, Grahamstown, January 1991. Lesoro was at Lovedale from 1947 onwards and he recalled the 'Black Hill heroes'.

10. See the correspondence between Calata and his lawyer and the warden of St Matthews Mission Institution, April - July 1945, Calata Papers, A1729/D1, Church of the Province Archive,(CPSA) University of the Witwatersrand.

11. Calata to the Warden of St Matthews, 31 May 1945, Calata Papers A1729/D1, Church of the Province Archives (CPSA), University of the Witwatersrand. It is interesting to observe how often school authorities were engaged in battles with parents who were office bearers in the ANC or teachers' associations.

12. Report of the commission of enquiry into disturbances at African Educational Institutions, 1947 (hereafter referred to as 'Report of the commission') ,Union Advisory Board on Native Education Papers, AD 1759, CPSA, University of the Witwatersrand. The members of the commission were: D.Mck Malcolm (chair),D.D.T. Jabavu, Ray E.Philips, H.R.Storey and K.R.Crossman (secretary). The commission visited 33 institutions and took evidence from teaching and other staff, as well as from chiefs and chief inspectors of Native Education, including W.W.M.Eiselen. The members of the committee that investigated the disturbance at Lovedale were: D.L.Smit (chair),A.H.Stander(Chief inspector of Native Education, Cape) and S.M.Mokitimi(Housemaster of Healdtown Mission Institution.)

13. 'Notule sesde Vergadering Unie-Adviserende Raad vir Naturelle-Onderwys. Rapport van Kommissie van Ondersoek na Onluste by Naturelle Onderwys Inrigtings.'12 August 1948, Union Advisory Board on Native Education Papers, AD1759, CPSA, University of the Witwatersrand.

14. Report of the commission, Union Advisory Board on Native Education Papers, AD1760, CPSA, University of the Witwatersrand, Introduction.

15. Report of the commission, Union Advisory Board on Native Education Papers, AD1760,CPSA, University of the Witwatersrand, 2.

16. Ibid.,2.

17. Report of the commission, Union Advisory Board on Native Education Papers, AD1760, CPSA, University of the Witwatersrand,8: missionaries often failed to shake hands with Africans and,13, African teaching staff were provided with inferior housing and salaries.

18. Report of the commission, Advisory Board on Native Education Papers, AD1760, CPSA, University of the Witwatersrand,69.

19. The report also referred to rebellions at the prestigious institutions of Winchester, Harrow and Eton in England, to support its argument about universal adolescent behaviour.

20. Report of the commission, Union Advisory Board on Native Education Papers, AD1760, CPSA, University of the Witwatersrand,70. Here it is explicitly stated that the African is 'emerging from a primitive society.'

21. Report of the commission, Union Advisory Board on Native Education Papers, AD1760, CPSA, University of the Witwatersrand, 4.

22. Report of the commission, Union Advisory Board on Native Education Papers, AD1760, CPSA, University of the Witwatersrand, 19-20. See Couzens' work on how 'culture and entertainment were...used as auxiliary forces in the context of 'defusing Native passions' in a slightly earlier period - but many of the same individuals were involved eg. Ray Philips. T. Couzens, 'Moralising leisure time: the transatlantic connection and black Johannesburg 1918 -1936', in S. Marks and R. Rathbone (eds), Industrialisation and Social Change in South Africa: African class formation, culture and consciousness 1870-1930 (Johannesburg:Ravan Press,1982),314-338.

23. Report of the commission, Union Advisory Board on Native Education Papers, AD1760, CPSA, University of the Witwatersrand, 98.

24. Report of the commission, Union Advisory Board on Native Education Papers, AD1760, CPSA, University of the Witwatersrand, 57-8.

25. Report of the commission, Union Advisory Board on Native Education Papers, AD1760, CPSA, University of the Witwatersrand,58. The word 'bumptious' is used by a 'well known' African witness.

26. These points are clearly revealed in the questionnaire and responses to it. The questionnaire asks: 'Is there any difference in the reaction of urban and rural students to the ordinary routine discipline?'Report of the commission, Union Advisory Board on Native Education Papers, AD1760, CPSA, University of the Witwatersrand, 2. Of the 45 institutions who responded to this question, 12 observed no differences, 17 claimed that rural students were 'more amenable to discipline', 4 said that urban students could be more troublesome at first, but soon settled down. Other answers were in the vein of the last mentioned.

27. See Couzens,1982, who follows Martin Legassick in presenting this form of liberalism as a 'social doctrine' that proposed political and economic liberalism as an amelioration of certain aspects of oppression.

28. J.Bolnick,1990,4.

29. Lovedale Papers, MS 16453,(A), Cory Library, Rhodes University(RU).

30. R.Shepherd,'The Riot at Lovedale,' Outlook, 8, 1946.

31. Leballo to ? ,19 October 1946, Lovedale Papers, MS16453, Cory Library, Rhodes University.

32. Outlook, 1946.

33. His name is probably more accurately transcribed as 'Madiba'or 'Madiya', but it is recorded in the documents as 'Malie'.

34. Interview with R.G.S. Makalima, ex-teacher at Lovedale in 1946, with the author, Alice, October 1981. The 'hosepipe' analogy vividly conveys the impression of a person without visible joints. Makalima is sceptical of whether or not Malie had a gun, but there is documentary evidence to suggest that he had borrowed one from one of his school-fellows' parents. Leballo mentions it in his correspondence with Shepherd after the riot, but there is also a letter written by Basimane Mathobi who lent his father's gun to Malie. See Mothobi to Malie, 28 August 1946, Lovedale Papers, MS 16453, Cory Library,RU.

35. Leballo, 19 October 1946, Lovedale Papers, MS16453, Cory,RU.

36. This was the chaplain of Lovedale, Kilgour.

37. See evidence presented by ZK Matthews in Report of Proceedings of Inquiry Held at Lovedale into the Causes of Certain Disturbances that took place at the Lovedale Institution on the night of 7 August 1946 (hereafter referred to as the 'Report of Proceedings'), Smit Papers, 35/46, 1820 Settlers' Memorial Museum (Memorial Museum), Grahamstown.

38. R.Shepherd, Lovedale Papers, MS16453, B10, Cory.

39. T.R.H.White, 1987,105.

40. C.Dickens, Oliver Twist (London and Glasgow:Collins,1966),28.

41. The article covered various sporting events eg a rugby match, debates and the matric social.

42. This article is reproduced in the Report of Proceedings, Smit Papers, 35/46, Memorial Museum, Grahamstown. See below.

43. Outlook, 1946.

44. Lovedale Papers, MS16453 (P), Cory,RU.

45. Statement written by Attwell, 4 February 1946, Lovedale Papers MS 16453, B(2), Cory,RU.

46. Lovedale Papers, MS16453, B(2), Cory,RU.

47. Shepherd to Officer in command of SAP, Alice, Lovedale Papers MS16453, B(2), Cory,RU.

48. Shepherd to St Matthews, May 1945, Shepherd Papers, PR3682, Cory,RU.

49. Makalima to author, October 1991.

50. See evidence given by Lovedale African staff to committee of enquiry, Report of Proceedings, Smit Papers, 35/46, Memorial Museum, Grahamstown.

51. Report of Proceedings, Smit Papers 35/46, Memorial Museum, Grahamstown,26.

52. Report of Proceedings, Smit Papers 35/46,Grahamstown,59.

53.Shepherd's testimony included in the Report of Proceedings, Smit Papers 35/46, Memorial Museum, Grahamstown, 71. Shepherd talks of a certain African teacher who was 'an avowed atheist and communist'. Benyon's testimony mentions teacher Matshikize for not coming to prayers and Makalima for practising 'passive resistance', 81.

54. Fascimile transmission to the author from R.G.S. Makalima, 26 November 1991.

55. Shepherd to Hobart Houghton, 14 February 1945, Shepherd Papers, PR3682, Cory,RU.

56. Wilkie to Shepherd, 1946, Lovedale Papers, MS 16453 (D), Cory RU.

57. Loram to Chalmers quoted in White, 1987,15.

58. White, 1987,38.

59. E.Brookes, Native Education in South Africa,(Pretoria; Van Schaik, 1930),33.

60. White, 1987, 37 and 39.

61. See the arguments presented by J.D.Anderson in The Education of Blacks in the South, 1860-1935 (University of North Carolina Press: Chapel Hill and London, 1988), especially chapter two.

62. Anderson, 1988, especially chapter two.

63. This remark is based on Booker T.Washington's so-called 'Atlanta Compromise Address' of 1895 in which: 'Washington offered to trade black acquiescence in disenfranchisement and some measure of segregation, at least for the time being, in return for white promises to allow blacks to share in the academic and educational growth that Northern investment would bring'. B.T.Washington, Up From Slavery. L.Harlan (ed) (Penguin:New York, 1986.), xii.

64. Chapter 3 of White's MA thesis (1987) is very useful on this aspect. He provides a thorough survey of the various vocational courses offered at Lovedale and discusses the so-called De Villiers Commission on Technical and Vocational Education (1948).Note the distinction White makes between manual and industrial labour.

65. Report of the commission, Union Advisory Board on Native Education Papers, AD 1759, CPSA, University of the Witwatersrand, 1947,57.

66. Loram to Malherbe, 12 February,1936, Malherbe Papers, KCM57030 183 69/9/1, Killie Campbell Africana Library, University of Natal.

67. Report of Proceedings, Smit Papers 35/46, Memorial Museum, Grahamstown.

68. Report of Proceedings of Enquiry, 35/6, Memorial Museum.

69. Ibid.,

70. White, 1987,64.

71. Ibid.,

72. M.A. Moore-Anderson in Report of Proceedings, Smit Papers 35/46, Memorial Museum, Grahamstown.

73. Hyslop,1990, 84 and 98, also 108 and 112. See ch.1 for a lucid discussion on the treatment of sub-cultures in the international education literature.

74. J.Comaroff and J.Comaroff, Of Revelation and Revolution: Christianity, Colonialism and Consciousness in South Africa. Vol 1. (University of Chicago Press: Chicago, London, 1991) 24. See the Comaroff's interesting disinctions between 'hegmony' and 'ideology ', especially 24-5.

75. Comaroff and Comaroff, 1991, 31.

76. Report of the commission, Union Advisory Board on Native Education Papers, AD1760, CPSA, University of the Witwatersrand,48.

77. For the clash between Kerr and Xuma see Xuma to Kerr, 6/11/1942 ABX 421106b, and Kerr to Xuma 12/11/1942, Xuma Papers, ABX 421112b, CPSA, University of the Witwatersrand.

78. Ibid.,

79. Also see students' complaints about no longer being allowed to go to the 'bioscope', Report of Proceedings, Smit Papers, 23/46, Memorial Museum, Grahamstown.

80. Report of Proceedings, Smit Papers 35/46, Memorial Museum, Grahamstown.

81. See C.T.Loram, The Education of the South African Native. (Longmans, Green and Co Ltd: London, New York, Toronto, 1927) in which he addresses current views on African sexuality and cites a survey he carried out in which, of 32 missionary teachers, more than half said that they believed in 'arrested development' in

Africans, 212.

82. Report of the commission, Union Advisory Board on Native Education Papers AD1760,CPSA, UNiversity of the Witwatersrand,20.

83. Lovedale Papers, MS16453, A(5), Cory,RU.

84. Moore-Anderson in the Report of Proceedings,Smit Papers 35/46, Memorial Museum, Grahamstown, 54.

85. All these remarks and following contained in Lovedale Papers, MS16453 (A)6, Cory,RU.

86. See for example, Moore-Anderson to Shepherd: '...I have never wanted back any whom we felt to have shown themselves unsatisfacotry under ordinary conditions...'14 Feb, 1947. Lovedale Papers, MS 16453, A(6), Cory Library, RU.

87. Benyon in the Report of Proceedings, Smit Papers 35/46, Memorial Museum, Grahamstown,82.

88. Shepherd to Haile, 12 December 1949, Shepherd Papers, PR3682, Cory,RU.

89. Jabavu in the Report of Proceedings, Smit Papers 35/46, Memorial Museum, Grahamstown,4.

90. See Bolnick,1990, for example, 15.

91. The latter point appears to be one that Hyslop subscribes to.

92. Matthews in the Report of Proceedings, Smit Papers 35/46, Memorial Museum, Grahamstown, 18.

93.ibid.,

94. Jabavu in the Report of Proceedings, Smit Papers 35/46, Memorial Museum, Grahamstown, 7.

95. Mdledle in the Report of Proceedings, Smit Papers 35/46, Memorial Museum, Grahamstown, 28.

96. Shingler in the Report of Proceedings, Smit Papers 35/46, Memorial Museum, Grahamstown, 62.

97. Jabavu in the Report of Proceedings, Smit Papers 35/46, Memorial Museum, Grahamstown,4.

98. Makalima to author 26 November 1991.

99. Conclusion to the Report of Proceedings, Smit Papers 38/46, Memorial Museum, Grahamstown, 16.

100. Mbuli to Shepherd, 15 August, 1946, Lovedale Papers, MS 16453, A(6), Cory, RU.

101. Nxazonke to Shepherd, 1 February 1947, Lovedale Papers, MS 16453, A(6), Cory, RU.

102. Shepherd to Mrs Nxazonke 13 February 1947, Lovedale Papers, MS16453 Cory,RU.

103. This information comes from records contained in the Lovedale Papers, MS16453 (A)3, Cory,RU. The ages of the form V class are listed, but there are no remarks.

104. All these figures are in documents in the Lovedale Papers MS16453, Cory,RU - they appear very comprehensive but require considerable skill in the end to decipher.

105. Archibald C. Jordan - Born in the district of Tsolo, Transkei - lecturer at Fort Hare from 1945. Had played an important part in the O.F.S. African Teachers' Association as a teacher in that province. When he came back to the Cape he joined the Cape African Teachers' Association. He was associated with the work of the All African Convention and was a supporter of the Non-European Unity Movement. Author of novel 'Ingqumbo Yeminyana' (1940). Drum January, 1952 and see Carter-Karis Papers, Reel 11A, XJ9: 91/1 and 91/2. A.C.Jordan asked Shepherd to use royalties from 'Ingqumbo' published by Lovedale Press to pay Monde's fees.

106. See correspondence Basner to Shepherd and Shepherd to Basner, January 1947 on the question of ex-servicemen, Lovedale Papers, MS 16453, A(6),Cory,RU.

107. I calculate that at the most, 14% of the male student body was either Tswana or SeSotho speaking. 9 out of the 11 students from Bechuanaland were convicted. Shepherd to Jowett, October 8 1946. Lovedale Papers MS 16453 (O), Cory,RU.

108. Bokwe was also a member of Lovedale Governing Council. He made these remarks at a meeting of the executive 20 August 1946, Lovedale Papers MS 16543 A (1), Cory, RU.

109. Leballo to Shepherd, 15 February 1947, Lovedale Papers MS16453 (A) 6, Cory,RU.

110. Interview with the author, Alice, October, 1991.

111. Report of Proceedings, Smit Papers 23/46, Memorial Museum, Grahamstown.

112. J.Bolnick, 1990, especially, 11,13 and 14.

113. Lovedale Missionary Institution, Fee Certificate, Lovedale Papers, MS1643, A(1), Cory,RU.

114. Leballo also came from the Basotholand Protectorate, Bolnick,1990, 11.

115. Conclusion to the Report of Proceedings, Smit Papers 38/46, Memorial Museum, Grahamstown, 16.

116. Questionnaires, Lovedale Papers, MS 16453, A(2),Cory,RU.

117. Report of Proceedings,Smit Papers 35/46, Memorial Museum, Grahamstown.

118. Ibid.,

119. Report of the commission, Union Advisory Board on Native Education Papers, CPSA, University of the Witwatersrand,100.

120. 'A New Era of Reclamation: Statement of Policy made by Mr D.L. Smit, Secretary for Native Affairs, at a Special Session of the Ciskeian General Council At KingWilliamstown' 8 January 1945, (hereafter referred to as 'New Era') Smit Papers, 2/45, Memorial Museum, Grahamstown.

121. New Era, Smit Papers 2/45, Memorial Museum, Grahamstown.

122. For a fuller argument see C.Kros, 'Illuminating the Black Box: Interpreting Native Education Policy in South Africa in the 1940s', Paper presented to the EPU/Education Research Seminar, 1991. Also see Smit to Shepherd, November 9, 1949, Shepherd Papers, PR 3682, Cory, RU.

123. The Cape Mercury, 5/10/1946.

124. Statement Issued by the Executive committee of the United Cape African Teachers Association, Lovedale Papers, MS 16453, I(ii), Cory,RU.

125. Statement issued by the Executive Committee of the United CATA, 3. See Shepherd to Jordan, 21 January 1948, in which Shepherd accuses Jordan of 'traduc(ing) (him) in public', Lovedale Papers MS 16453 A (7), Cory, RU. Hyslop (1990) draws attention to the feelings of the 'wider society' on the riot, 119-120 and so does White (1987), 128, in which he points out that Govan Mbeki went to Lovedale as part of a deputation of the Transkei Organised Bodies, to negotiate over the excluded students.

126. Evidence from Lediga and Bokwe in the Report of Proceedings is that students knew of and discussed such differentials. Smit Papers 35/46, Memorial Museum, Grahamstown, 23 and 60.

127. P.Delius, 'Sebatakgomo; migrant organization, the ANC and the Sekhukhuneland Revolt.' The Journal of Southern African Studies, vol 15, no 4, October 1989, 581-615. Also see P.Delius, 'Dikgomo di Ile (The cattle have gone): The changing context of resistance in Sekhukhuneland 1950-1986.' (Paper presented to the History Workshop, Wits, 1990.)

128. Report of Proceedings, Smit Papers 35/46, Memorial Museum, Grahamstown.

129. Report of Proceedings, Smit Papers 23/46, Memorial Museum, Grahamstown.

130. Ibid.,

131. Hyslop,1991, 87 and also see Hyslop (1990), 72, in which he describes the 1970's youth sub-culture as having a 'greater transformative potential' than earlier student resistance to education systems.

132. This emerged in the interview referred to above with Lesoro and also with Zweliyanyikima Vena, archivist in the Cory Library, Rhodes University, who was at Lovedale in the 1950s and who was expelled for opposing Bantu Education. A similar theme emerged in an interview conducted with ex-teacher at Lovedale, Ruth White, July 1991. Even Makalima writes to the author that had the riot occurred today it would not even have made the back page of the newspapers, Makalima to author, 26 November 1991.