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Mining, social change and literature: an analysis of South African literature with particular reference to the mining novel, 1870-1920

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FOOTNOTES

Section II

1. For a discussion of this ideological category, its genesis and effects, see Bozzoli, op.cit.
2. Olive Schreiner, An English-South African view of the Situation, (n.d.), pp.37-39
3. Bozzoli, op.cit., p.
4. Quoted in Abel Coetzee, Die Opkoms van die Afrikaanse Kultuurgedagte aan die Rand 1886-1936, (n.d.), p.64-65
5. Quoted in Brian Roberts, Kimberley Turbulent City, (1976) p.58
6. D.J. Belgrave, Luck at the Diamond Fields, (n.d.) Preface
7. DNVA, April 15, 1871
8. See, for example, the opinions of Brian Roberts, op.cit., W. Morrell op.cit., and H.M. Scheffler, Die Kulturele Lewe van die Diamantdelwers te Kimberley van 1870-1890, M.A. Thesis, University of Pretoria (1976)
9. Lord Lynne's Wife, "The Wrong Boat or Dropped Among the Diamonds", in Temple Bar A London Magazine for Town and Country Readers, Vol XXXIII, Nov., 1871. pp.348-384
10. B.J. Belgrave, op.cit., p.5
11. W.T. Eady, IDB or the Adventures of Solomon Davis, (1887). p.61
12. B.V. Street, The Savage in Literature Representations of 'Primitive' societies in English fiction 1858-1920, (1975), p.38
13. Miss Humphreys, The Milners on the River Diggings A Story of South African Life, (1891) pp.338-339
14. Ibid., p.221
15. Ibid., p.226
16. Ibid., p.282
17. Ibid., p.54
18. Anna de Bremont, The Gentleman Digger, (1899), p.62
19. Ibid., p.32
20. A. de Bremont, "The Curse of the Canteen" in The Ragged Edge Stories of South Africa, (1895), p.148
21. A. de Bremont, (1899), op.cit., pp.49, 51 -52.
22. Ibid., p.208
23. J. Forrest, "South Africa's Favourite Novelists" in African Monthly Vol.1, No.1, Dec, 1906, p.72. For other comments on de Bremont see, Eric Rosenthal, "Johannesburg in Literature", Rand Daily Mail Supplement, Sept, 22, 1936, and J.P.L. Snyman, op.cit. p.41
24. Christopher Caudwell, "English poets: The Period of Primitive Accumulation", in Marxists on Literature, op.cit., pp.95-96

25. The comparison was made by S.G. Liebson, "The South Africa of Fiction" in The State, Vol. 7, Feb.1912, p.137

26. P. Fitzpatrick, "The Outspan" in The Outspan, (1897) p.7

27. Ibid., p.40

28. Ibid., p.3

29. Ibid., pp.96-97

30. Ibid., p.76

31. Ibid., pp.10-11 It is interesting to note that this figure of the hermit makes frequent appearances in South African literature, particularly in the works of Glanville and Mitford.

32. Ibid., p.12

33. D.J. Belgrave, op.cit., Preface

34. Ibid., p.156

35. Ibid., p.159

36. W. Westrup, The River of Dreams, (1913), p.42

37. Ibid., pp.31, 188

38. G. Griffiths, Knaves of Diamonds Being Tales of Mine and Veld, (1899), p.132. Griffiths' use of the 'Hottentot' is a traditional one in South African literature. The 'Hottentot' is frequently used in the role of leading his white overlords to hidden treasure.

39. Information from W. Morrell, op.cit

40. Douglas Blackburn, Richard Hartley, Prospector....(1905), p.18

41. Ibid., p.195

42. Compare, for example Blackburn's work with someone like Glanville's adventure/romance tales that are invariably of a highly fantastic nature. It is also interesting to note that one of the many popular beliefs that Blackburn appears to be working with in Richard Hartley is that of Herbert Rhodes, Cecil's brother, who involved himself extensively in gunrunning. In the novel, it is constantly-stressed that Hartley resembles Rhodes.

43. Ibid., p.328

44. Forrest, op.cit., p.73

45. Frank Danby, Pigs in Clover (1903)

46. Particularly apposite here would be Edgar Wallace's creation of King Kong.

47. Anonymous, "Mr. Boyle's Book on the Cape", in The Cape Quarterly Review, May 1873, p.289

48. Ibid.

49. Anthony Trollope, South Africa, (1879), p.317

50. Roland Barthes, Mythologies (1976) pp.65-66

51. Jules Verne, The Vanished Diamond A Tale of South Africa, (1888), p.10

52. Quoted in B.V. Street, op.cit., p.22

53. Jules Verne, op.cit. p.177

54. University of Witwatersrand, Library, Department of Historical and Literary Papers (UWL) A539: SI Sarah Gertrude Millin Papers 1891-1895, Scrapbook containing reviews of her work. Review of The Dark River, in Land and Water, 11.3.1920

55. Information drawn from Martin Ruben, Sarah Gertrude Millin A South African Life, (1977)

56. The feeling was fairly vividly put in some notes that Millin made for a speech in which she described her childhood. 'My earliest recollection. Few white men in iron shanties, natives, thousands, in mud and reed huts.
UWL, A539:M1. Millin Papers 1903-1968. Collection of Manuscripts. The Colour Question

57. For a discussion, see Chapter Two of this thesis.

58. UWL, A539:S1 Millin Papers 1903-1968,Scrapbook of reviews, Rand Daily Mail 16.7.1920

59. See for example S.G. Liebson, "The South Africa of Fiction" in The State, Vol.7. Feb.1912, p.135-139

60. Ibid., p.135

61. UWL, A539:M3, Millin Papers 1903-1968. Collection of press clippings. A series of articles on "The Johannesburg Girl". "The Johanesburg Girl, On Money" in the Sunday Post, 2.3.1913

62. UWL, A539:M3 Millin papers, 1903-1968. Collection of manuscripts. The River Digger. Compare this with a similar story A Feeder on Husks, UWL, A539:P2. Millin Papers. Collection of press clippings Sunday Times 15.8.1908

63. Quoted in Martin Rubin op.cit., p.69

FOOTNOTES

Section III

1. Eddie Koch, "The Development of a Police Force on the Witwatersrand 1886-1906", in Africa Perspective, No.8, July 1978, pp.69-70

2. Douglas Blackburn and W. Waithman Secret Service in South Africa, (1911) p.339

3. Charles van Onselen, Randlords and Rotgut, Offprint from the History workshop (1976)

4. Anna de Bremont, "The Curse of the Canteen", in The Ragged Edge, op.cit., pp.189-190

5. Anna de Bremont op.cit., (1899) p.ix

6. Ibid.

7. Ibid., p.218

8. In 1872 one was required to keep an 'intelligible register' of one's diamond transactions. Failure to do so carried a fine three times the value of the diamond not registered. By 1880 this fine had escalated to £1000 or ten years'imprisonment.

9. Douglas Blackburn and W. Waithman (1911) op.cit., p.361

10. The only instance of which I am aware is William Westrup's The Toll (1914.)

11. Blackburn and Waithman, (1911), op.cit., p.322

12. Ibid.

13. Ibid., p.323

14. Some of these novels include the ones mentioned in this section and others like L. Vescelius Sheldon's two novels, Yankee Girls in Zululand (1899) and IDB, (1888). See also the numerous writers like Louis Cohen, Dr.Matthews, Paton and Angove, who deal with IDB in their works on Kimberley.

15. DN, April, 29, 1882

16. W.T. Eady, IDB or the Adventures of Solomon Davis (1887), p.231

17. G. Griffiths, op.cit., p.193

18. Anna de Bremont, "Diamond Trumps", in The Ragged Edge, op.cit., pp. 239-40

19. Quoted in Isabel Hofmeyr et al. Hamlet through a Haze of Halcohol Entertainment in white English Johannesburg 1910-1913, Unpublished Honours dissertation, (1976), p.50

20. For a further discussion of Black, see Ibid., Appendix III

21. Stephen Black, "Snobbery in Art" in The South African Bookman, No.1. Aug,1910, p.5

22. Ibid.

23. Stephen Black, The Golden Calf, (1925) pp.147-148

24. This argument is frequently used by other novelists and commentators, see, for example, Cynthia Stockley, Pink Gods and Blue Demons, (n.d.) and J.R. Couper, Mixed Humanity, (n.d.)

25. Stephen Black, (1925) op.cit., pp.66-67

26. Douglas Blackburn and W. Waithman (1911), op.cit. p.322

27. J.R. Couper, Mixed Humanity, (n.d.) p.55

28. Ibid, p.159

29. "The Literature of Pugilism", in The Cambridge History of English Literature The Nineteenth Century (1916), p.230. The information on boxing is drawn from this article.

30. The full title of Egan's work was Boxiana; or, Sketches of Ancient and Modern Pugilism, from the Days of the renowned Broughton and Slack, to the Championship of Crib.

31. The Star July 26, 1889.

32. The Star, Aug.3, 1889

33. Ibid.

34. The Star, July 26, 1889

35. Ibid.

36. J.R. Couper, op.cit., p.393

37. Ibid., p.391

38. Ibid., p.388

39. Ibid., p.398

40. UWL, A83. Jack Norris Scrapbook, 1891-1895, Newspaper cuttings undated.

41. State Archives, Pretoria (SA), Ly85. The Preller Collection. Samuel Cronwright-Schreiner, "Some Vital Facts about Kimberley and Johannesburg for Working-men and Friends of the Native", in Pamphlet No.35 of the South African Conciliation Committee n.d. p.2

42. F.R. Statham, The Record of my Life, (1901), pp.196-197

43. Ibid., p.191

44. F.R. Statham, South Africa as it is, (1897), pp.196-197

45. F.R. Statham, Mr. Magnus, (1896), p.240, 27

46. Ibid., p.56

47. Ibid., p.20

48. Ibid., p.128
49. Ibid., p.19
50. Ibid., pp.26, 27, 135
51. Ibid., p.131
52. Ibid., p.129
53. Ibid., p.55
54. Ibid., p.66 Emphasis original
55. Ibid., pp.17,18
56. Ibid.
57. Ibid., p.56
58. Compare for example Statham's views on Imperialism with Olive Schreiner's
59. F.R. Statham, op.cit., (1896), p.171
60. Ibid., p.265
61. Ibid.
62. Douglas Blackburn, Leaven (1908), pp.282,308,324
63. Ibid., pp.11-12
64. Ibid., p.102
65. See for example his discussion of flogging in his other novels Richard Hartley Prospector... and Love Muti
66. Douglas Blackburn, (1908), pp.125,137
67. See his discussion on Native Labour Agents in Secret Service in S.A.
68. Douglas Blackburn (1908), p.285
69. Ibid., pp.285-286
70. Ibid., p.277
71. Ibid., p.212

FOOTNOTES

Section IV

1. Abel Coetzee, op.cit., p.134
2. Ibid., p.59
3. Ibid., p.335
4. Information drawn from Ampie Coetzee, Poësie and Politiek, (1976) J. Kannemeyer, Afrikaanse Letterkunde en Beweging voor 1900 (1975), R. Antonissen, "Die Afrikaanse Letterkunde in die Twintigste Eeu" in Perspektief en Profiel, ed. P.J. Nienaber (1969), and R. Davenport, South Africa A Modern History (1977)
5. W. de Klerk, The Puritans in Africa, (1976), pp.96-97
6. For an extensive discussion of this 'progressive' opposition see C.T. Gordon, The Growth of Boer Opposition 1890-1895 (1970)
7. Dan O'Meara, op.cit., p.179
8. See for example Antonissen's statement in talking of Afrikaans literature up to and including the 1940's. 'Een ding is nou nietemin definitief iets van die verlede; die standlose homogeniteit van die eertydse Afrikanernasie en die streng handhawing van die tradisionele norme van volkseenheid'. p.87 (My emphasis). It is also interesting to note that this noticeable rift within Afrikaans literature should have emerged during the thirties and forties, a period in which class conflict within Afrikaner society was most pronounced.
9. For a further discussion of this trend, see R. Antonissen, op.cit., pp.54-55, and Ampie Coetzee, op.cit., pp.25 ff.
10. Ampie Coetzee, op.cit. pp.21-34, passim.
11. The most notable of the symbols in this popular iconography was that of Hoggenheimer and the portrayal of current capitalists as gross and kitsch.
12. Melt Brink, Nasionale en Afrikaanse Gedigte in Kaaps-Hollands Bundel A, (1916), "Wat is een Jingoe?", p.139
13. Ibid., p.86
14. Ibid., pp.5-6
15. Ibid., p.138
16. Melt Brink, Grappige Stories en Andere Versies in Kaaps-Hollands, (1903), p.42
17. Melt Brink, Bundel B, (1918), pp.16-17
18. Melt Brink, (1916), op.cit. pp56-58

19. Ibid., pp.29-35

20. M.S.B. Kritzinger, "Eugene Marais as Digter" in Versamelde Gedigte van Eugene Marais, (1941), p.viii

21. Ampie Coetzee et al, op.cit., pp.3-4

22. Rob Antonissen, op.cit., p.37

23. Malvern van Wyk Smith, op.cit., p.221

24. Ibid.

25. Dan O'Meara, op.cit., p.169, emphasis original.

26. Abel Coetzee, op.cit., p.344

27. Dan O'Meara, op.cit., p.172

28. Lub's works include Donker Johannesburg, (1910), In en om die Goudstad, (1912), Het Zwarte Gevaar, (1913), Eenvoudige Mense. (1908) en Oom Frikkie (1913)

29. Jacob Lub, Dark Johannesburg, (1912), p.57

30. J.D. du Toit, (Totius), Trekkerswee, n.d.p.50

31. Ibid., p.52

32. Ibid., pp.82-83

33. It is interesting to note that Cost was subsequently to become an official ideologue of the Nationalist Party.

34. Leon Mare, Die Nuwejaarsfees en ander Verhale, (1927)

35. Leon Mare, "Wrange Vrugte", ibid, pp.213-220

36. Leon Mare, "Die Houtryer", ibid., p.94

37. de Klerk, op.cit., p.110

38. Quoted in Jon Lewis, "Solly Sachs and the Garment Workers' Union," in Eddie Webster, op.cit., p.183

39. Ibid.

40. John Mawbey, "Afrikaner Women of the Garment Union during the Thirties and Forties", in Eddie Webster, op.cit., p.196

41. For a fuller discussion of the effects of mining see the work of F. Johnstone, C. van Onselen, R. Davies, M. Legassick, S. Moroney, D. O'Meara, S. Trapido and H. Wolpe.

42. For extensive discussions of the sociology of compounds, see Charles van Onselen, Chibaro, 1976, F. Johnstone, Class, Race and Gold, (1976) and Sean Moroney, "Mine Workers on the Witwatersrand 1901-1912", in E. Webster, op.cit., pp.32-46

43. R.R.R. Dhlomo, "The Death of Masaba", reprinted in English in Africa, March 1975, Vol.12, No.1. pp.14-15

44. Sean Moroney, op.cit., p.38

45. R.R.R. Dhlomo, op.cit., pp.15-16

46. "The Song of the Mine Workers", in The Penguin Book of South African Verse, ed. Jack Cope and Uys Krige, (1968), p.296

47. B.W. Vilikazi, "On the Gold Mines", in J. Cope and U. Krige, ibid., p.303

48. Kelwyn Sole, "Class, Continuity and Change in Black South African Literature, 1948-1960", paper given at the History Workshop, (1978), mimeo

49. For a further discussion of the complex and often invidious position that the African petty bourgeois occupied see Shula Marks, "The Ambiguities of Dependence: John L. Dube of Natal" in Journal of Southern African Studies, Vol. 1. No.2. April 1975, pp.162-180. In the article she snows how black leaders were often forced into a role of part-resistance, part-collaboration in order to further their aims.

50. See A. Gerard, Four African Literatures, (1971) and Kelwyn Sole, op.cit.

51. A. Gerard, op.cit., p.37

52. See, for example, I.W. Citashe's poem in Isigidimi

53. See, for example, their poems in The Making of a Servant and other Poems, (1974)

54. The best known examples of this are Plaatje's and Mofolo's long waits to have their novels published.

55. Kelwyn Sole, op.cit., p.8

56. A. Gerard, op.cit., p.69

57. R.R.R. Dhlomo, An African Tragedy, (n.d.) p.3

58. Ibid., p.5

59. David Coplan, "The African Performer and the Johannesburg Entertainment Industry: The Struggle for African Culture on the Witwatersrand", paper given at the History Workshop, (1978), mimeo, p.2.

60. Ibid., p.5

CHAPTER TWO : ATTITUDES TO AFRICANS

Introduction

An analysis of the attitudes and depictions of Africans within South African literature constitutes an exceedingly complex one, since these attitudes were coloured by a multiplicity of influences, conditions and social structures. Some of the factors would include the class position of the author, dominant ideologies, the class position of the African(s) being depicted, the sector of the economy these people occupied, changing social conditions, working class responses, current theories of ethnography and popular anthropology and racial attitudes in the metropolis. Any one or all of these factors could combine to influence the way in which certain strata of white society perceived Africans and other colonised peoples and the strategies through which these perceptions were transported into their literature.

In attempting to analyse prevalent attitudes to Africans in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, one is faced with the task of attempting to disentangle these various conditioning social forces, which invariably overlapped and interweaved. This overlapping in turn was also complicated by the complexity of the historical and social intricacies of the period, which was one of often rapid change, conflict and dislocation.

Firstly, the revolutionary impact of mining capital had ushered in a period of conquest and violent, often bloody, class conflict. These changes were met by a variety of popular responses which included religious activism, labour militancy and political 'agitation'. As Bonner has said

> Wartime industrialisation, post-war inflation, increased pressure on rural subsistence, and accelerated labour migrancy together disrupted African society and brought a new surge of popular action aimed at accommodating and chanelling the dislocation of change. (1)

Furthermore, the impact of white conquest in general, and mining in particular, had served to create new patterns of stratification within black society, the most notable of which was the growing number of educated and professional Africans who came to constitute a distinct class or 'elite'. This group constantly strove for social advancement and political expression, which they did via an array of political organisations, the most notable being the South African Native National Council, later to become the African National Congress.

This African petty bourgeoisie came to be almost universally despised by the white-dominated polity, for their aspirations and political activism, albeit severely circumscribed, came to represent a fundamental threat to the caste-like dispensation of colonial society. Marks' description of this African petty bourgeoisie in Natal, can be taken as fairly generally applicable to all four colonies.

> There was a tendency in Natal to see every educated African as a dangerous Ethiopian, ready to drive the white man into the sea. As long as the Zulu accepted their inferior position, whites had felt an ambivalent mixture of contempt for the 'docile native' and fear for the 'uncontrollable savage', who might suddenly and unpredictably rise against them. But as soon as anyone began to question the basis of the caste-system, he was felt to be a threat far outside of the proportion to the actual danger he represented. (2)

The majority of whites tended to react to these various strands of political and social resistance with a degree of alarm, which meant that they tended to run these distinct social processes into a polyglot whole. In keeping with this awareness, many novelists added their voices to the discussion around these subjects and often reacted with similar alarm. This tendency is nowhere more apparent than in G. Heaton Nicholls' novel Bayete! which deals with Ethiopianism, labour militancy, and the 'black peril', which combine to form a 'tale of warning to white South Africans'. (3)

Consequently, in dealing with white responses and attitudes to Africans and African resistance, it becomes necessary to try and untwine these

various strandr of political and social action, and the fictive responses to them. In dealing with these various strands, I have chosen to analyse four arbitrarily chosen themes: the working class, the educated Africans, 'miscegenation' and Ethiopianism.

1. Attitudes to the Working Class

In terms of dominant mining ideology, as Bozzoli has shown, (4) workers inhabited an ideological space on the periphery of society. They also formed part of a largely undifferentiated mass that included the whole of the colonised world. This predominantly 'savage' world, which surrounded the 'civilised' mining centres, served to define the 'frontiers' of existence and reality which encapsulated everything white, mining and British. Beyond these frontiers of existence, the world remained a nothingness inhabited by vaguely perceived people whose only function and being was to provide labour for the mines.

Any differentiating characteristics that this vast 'periphery' had, were imputed to them on the basis of their responses to proletarianisation and their subsequent performance in the labour market. Needless to say, these characteristics were invariably negative, including as they did supposed traits of 'savagery', 'barbarism', laziness and stupidity. The latter two were particularly often applied to subsistence farmers, or those who still had access to land and could consequently resist temporarily the forces of proletarianisation. In terms of dominant ideology, these people on their lands did not work, but merely idled their time away whilst their wives slaved for them. To counteract these traits of idleness and sloth, the panacea was of course 'real work' - work on the mines - that most dignified form of labour which could both 'civilise' and 'educate'.

In addition to these general characteristics, Africans also came to be categorised in certain racial stereotypes, a designation again contingent upon their behaviour in the labour market. So, for example,

in Kimberley, the Sothos who provided the major part of the work force in that mining centre came to be seen favourably as a clean, healthy and well-behaved 'race'. In contradistinction, groups like the Griquas and Korannas who provided little labour for the mines came to be seen as dirty, lying, cunning, stupid and lazy. Afrikaners often attracted similar categorisation, and along with any other groups who were, because of various factors in their economies and societies, able to withstand the forces of proletarianisation longer, were seen to be a generally reprehensible and despicable 'race'. The characteristics were also presumed to be hereditary and innate, and applied to the entire 'race'.

Furthermore, within literature, these 'racial' characteristics and stereotypes were given an ethnographical and anthropological veneer as many writers incorporated into their works supposed scientific and scholarly assumptions of popular anthropology. Haggard, for example, frequently sprinkled his work with learned footnotes referring to 'native custom', 'psychology' and physical appearance. The vogue and currency of his pseudo-anthropology is also apparent from the ease with which writers turned their hands from novel writing to non-fiction producing apparently learned and informed works. A good example of this trend is Buchan's The African Colony aimed at students of South Africa. Furthermore, this anthropological vogue stimulated its own particular genre - the ethnographic novel. (5)

These particular attitudes were also bolstered by the racial attitudes and assumption of metropolitan society, where armchair anthropology enjoyed widespread popularity. (6) This amateur and often conjectural 'science' contributed further towards the creation of racial stereotypes, which came to be classified in terms of a social Darwinist evolutionary theory. Consequently the 'Bushman', 'Hottentot' and 'Zulu' were frequently invoked as data to illustrate 'higher and lower stages of development'. These particular assumptions in turn were widely incorporated into colonial literature and hence gained widespread validity. (7)

So widespread, in fact, that all these ideological stereotypes came to be encapsulated in a series of shorthand codes which come to stand for entire nations whose every member was supposed to conform to these stereotypes. This tendency of hopelessly oversimplified stereotypes is, of course, a common one in popular literature of any kind. Orwell, for example, has shown that the portrayal of foreigners in popular English boys' fiction conforms to a type of insect thesis whereby any nation can be classified according to certain traits and objects which surround them.

> The assumption all along is not only that foreigners are comics who are put there for us to laugh at, but that they can be classified in much the same way as insects... It is the thing you recognise him by, like the Frenchman's beard or the Italian's barrel-organ. In (boys' papers) it occasionally happens that, when a setting of a story is in a foreign country, some attempt is made to describe the natives as individual human beings, but as a rule it is assumed that foreigners of any one race are all alike and will conform more or less to the following patterns. (8)

Orwell then goes on to list these patterns. The Frenchman is 'excitable, wears boards, gesticulates wildly'; the Spaniard and Mexican are 'sinister, treacherous'; the Chinese is also 'sinister, treacherous', 'wears pigtail' and so on. Similarly too, one could draw up a schema for the way in which South African 'racial types' come to be portrayed in literature. The list would go something like this:

Zulu : Brave, but bloodthirsty, carries knobkerrie
Boers : Dirty, lazy, cunning, smelly
Half-castes: innately depraved, always drunk
Bushmen and Hottentots: fox-like, on lower rungs of evolutionary scale
Basuto : generally clean, well-behaved and good diamond workers

and so on. These racial assumptions and stereotypes, compounded of dominant ideology in South Africa, and popular anthropology 'at home' came to constitute the prevalent way in which Africans, particularly of the working class, came to be seen. And it was popular literature which always reflects dominant ideas so transparently, that came to be one of the major propagating mechanisms of this ideology.

However, not all Africans came to be seen in these particular 'racial terms', and we now turn to the African petty bourgeoisie, structurally distinct from the rank and file, and in literature having a different portrayal accorded to them.

2. Attitudes to the Educated African

Given the extent to which the African petty bourgeoisie was both feared and mistrusted by white society, it is not surprising to find that the figure of the educated African, or to use the terminology of the time - 'Christianised or missionised Kafir' - should emerge as one of the most frequently discussed and most often ridiculed and despised. The impact of this class can be gauged on one level by his predominance as a stock figure of South African fiction, studied by nearly every white writer of the time like Scully, Black, Slater, Cripps, Gouldsbury, Gibbon, Mitford and Buchan to mention but a few. The dominant mode of portrayal of the representatives of this educated elite, tended to be based on a stereotype and ridicule. But within this general framework, one can observe a number of variants.

In the first of these, the educated African is represented as the man between two worlds, inhabiting a no man's land, rejected by and alienated from both white society 'above' and black society 'below'. The cause for this alienation is invariably his education, often obtained overseas. For to white society, an African educated overseas represented a visible and powerful symbol of the extent to which the African petty bourgeoisie had deviated from the 'natural' status quo of serfdom and servitude. Ever since Tiyo Soga first received an education overseas, a path followed subsequently by many others, the figure of an African going overseas, to be exposed to all manner of 'undesirable' ideas, was bound to provoke both the ire and fear of the settler society. This fear of the overseas influence was to become most pronounced in connection with 'Ethiopianism'. (9)

Possibly one of the most sympathetic portrayals of this 'man of two worlds' came from Perceval Gibbon in his novel, Margaret Harding. The protagonist, Kamis, having been educated in England, returns to South Africa and is rejected by both his people and by the majority of irascible and petty colonists, represented as a group of senile and decaying people in a tuberculosis sanatorium in the Karroo. Yet, amongst this group of pettifoggers and alcoholics, Kamis finds a friend and ally in the person of Margaret Harding, the 'enlightened' woman from Europe. However, their friendship is subject to the imaginary calumny of 'miscegenation', on the part of the inmates of the sanatorium, the Afrikaners in the vicinity, and certain Africans as well.

The degrees of sympathy inherent in Gibbon's view becomes apparent from the open-ended structure of the novel, with Margaret returning to England, and Kamis, absolved of a charge of sedition, going on to attempt to help with an outbreak of smallpox. However, Gibbon's attempts at a sympathetic portrayal of the position of the educated elite did not meet with the approval of his fellow writers, and Francis Carey Slater criticised the book.

> In "Margaret Harding" Mr. Gibbon tackles the problem of "Black and White" in South Africa. This is a difficult and thorny question which has given pause to many besides Mr. Gibbon. He has selected an extreme and improbable case whereon to base his brief. He argues ably and eloquently; but with a perverseness due to an imperfect understanding of South African character, and a limited sympathy with regard to one section of the people he writes about. The result, so far as the main question is concerned, is therefore nugatory. (10)

Slater then continues to berate Gibbon for his satirisation of the colonists.

> When we charged Mr. Gibbon with a lack of sympathy towards one section of the people of this country, we referred to the Colonial or South African of British extraction. The book before us is an uncompromising attack upon this poor unfortunate fellow...Mr. Gibbon paints the Colonial as a dull and brainless yokel.

> whose stock topic of conversation is the Kafir, who is also the chief object of his cruelty, hatred and contempt. We venture to think that this picture is not only uncharitable, but unjust. (11)

Slater then levels the predictable accusation against Gibbon of 'not knowing the native and his character', a knowledge, Slater feels, that would have come had Gibbon been born and bred in South Africa or had stayed here longer.

In contrast to Gibbon's 'exceptional' portrayal, one can turn for a more 'normal' characterisation of the educated elite to Slater's own work. In one of his short stories, "The Dictionary" published in The Sunburnt South in 1908, Slater creates out of his mission-educated protagonist, Moses Mpondo, a ridiculous buffoon, pretentiously vaunting his meagre store of knowledge.

> Moses was a fine specimen of a healthy young native: tall, strongly built, and one of the innumerable disciples of Beau Brummel. He wore a soft felt hat around which a pink silk scarf was cunningly wound - its tassels flaunting gaily over his left ear. His trousers were of a light check material, tight at the knees, and so wide at the ankles as almost to conceal his brightly polished, high-heeled boots. A starched shirt, a stand-up collar, an amazing red tie, and a tightly-fitting coat served to complete his personal adornments. (11)

In addition to this slightly farcical outfit, Moses

> had been a devout student of the English dictionary. Long sonorous words were as dear to him as fine phrases are said to be to a lover. The meaning of these alarming words was to Moses quite a secondary consideration; so long as he could pronounce them trippingly off the tongue who would dare to question his erudition? (12)

In addition to caricaturing Moses, Slater does the same to an evening of a literary society at a mission station. Slater uses the incident to satirise the often verbose and Victorian rhetoric of early African writers. The method of satirisation is based on contempt and paternalism

designed to produce a portrait of unctuous and ridiculous characters.

> The roll of membership was then called; after which the chairman indicated that he would receive apologies or excuses upon behalf of absent members. First one member arose, and fingering his tall white collar said blandly: 'Mr. Sheerman, I rise to give the reason of Timotheus Tutuma, he has the acute agony in his interior!' Then another member arose, and, scratching his head, said bashfully:
> 'Mr. Sheerman, I rise to give the reason of Mr. Obediah Masingata, he's mending his trousers!' (13)

Moses' contribution to the proceedings is as follows

> 'Mister Sheerman, my rez-itation is entitled, "Leetle Geem" '. He then cleared his throat, and raising his hand in a theatrical manner, began:
> 'The cawtage was a thatch-ed waan,
> The outside cold and meen,
> Yet every-theeng witheen that cawt
> Was wandress neet and cleen! ' (14)

Moses ultimately forsakes his world of learning for a 'red' woman, whom he marries, casting off his former academic pretension to become a farm worker, with his wife working in the kitchen.

The second and more radical variant of the portrayal of the representatives of the African petty bourgeoisie is that of the educated man 'turning savage'. This figure also involves an overseas educated African who, on returning to South Africa,'regresses' to his 'savage' customs, the underlying assumption being that he should never have been educated in the first instance. The prototype of this figure emerges in Gouldsbury's The Tree of Bitter Fruit. This novel deals with Mkonto, an overseas educant, who on returning to Rhodesia, finds himself pinioned between a District Commissioner whose authority he does not accept, and an African population that reject him. He rapidly 'degenerates' to become once more a'primitive savage'. Snyman, in an approving tone, summarises Gouldsbury's intentions: 'he shows that the native cannot win through on his own, even if he had the advantages of education and European culture, however attractive they may be to the native himself, cannot profit the African.' (15)

The third and final portrayal that must be mentioned here, is that which sprang from the 'liberal' quarters of South African society. This section of white society constantly pleaded for the incorporation of the petty bourgeoisie, as a method for diverting conflict. It was felt that if these 'exceptional' Africans could be extended certain limited rights, their political grievances could be assuaged. These white liberals, or 'friends of the natives' were consequently well-disposed towards the petty bourgeoisie. Most notable of the literary works that arose as part of this ideological trend is William Scully's Daniel Vananda, which sets the pattern for later liberal writers who dealt with the plight of the educated African. (16)

3. Miscegenation and 'Half-Castes'

No other subject had been surrounded with so much hypocrisy, chicanery and moral judgements than that of intermarriage or 'miscegenation'. In terms of dominant and official ideology, it has always been regarded as an heretical instance of crossing the class and 'colour' line, an act that was portrayed as undermining the very cornerstones of the white dominated polity. This ideology has in turn spilt over to affect the perceptions of 'half-castes', 'hybrids', 'bastaard Hottentots' or 'coloureds', who have come to constitute such a central image in South African literature. These official assumptions also generally go hand in hand with a tacit acceptance that 'miscegenation' is extremely rare, an attitude one critic has summed up as follows

> White South Africans generally believe that intermarriage has always been a rarity, except perhaps for the first couple of generations after van Riebeeck and confined thereafter largely to sailors and other foreigners unaware of the 'South African way of life'. (17)

Of course, in order for a population of two million 'coloureds' to have arisen, 'miscegenation' has in fact been anything but a rarity. And the reasons for its appearance are not hard to find. Apart from the natural affection between partners, one could expect to find frequent intermarriage in a colony where white men outnumbered white women.

However, these obvious facts very easily tend to be overlooked, as the discussion of 'miscegenation' comes to be clouded in myths, fantasies, misconceptions and sanctimoniousness.

One of the few commentators who attempted to debunk this sanctimoniousness was Sol Plaatje in his pamphlets "The Mote and The Beam. An Epic of Sex-Relationship 'Twixt Black and British South Africa". (18)

He begins the discussion by talking of 'twentieth Century Pharisees', those people who 'descant upon the moral decadence of the South African Natives'. He then mentions the instance of a colonial girl who expressed outraged moral indignation at the incidence of intermarriage overseas, saying that this would then make South African blacks 'discontented'. Plaatje then hits at the colonial consciousness of South African whites who 'think the whole world is within the boundaries of Transvaal, wherein, they presume, their domination is unquestioned'.

> Grown wealthy on the proceeds of ill-requited black labour, by profiteering on wool and other commodities, also the product of black-sweated labour, white South Africans now cast aspersions on their-fellow-whites in other lands, and boast of visionary virtues "in the Transvaal where", the same writers said, (with a pen whose facility seemed to have been untrammelled by such trifles as facts) "black and white unions are prohibited". (19)

The article proceeds then to list the widespread incidence of 'miscegenation' throughout the Transvaal. The 'coloured' children from such relationships are to be found 'in the streets in urban centres, around the water-furrows in the rural areas, and carried on washer-women's backs, all over the Transvaal'. (20) He then poses the pertinent question 'where do mulattoes come from?' and points to the obvious fact that white men have been in fact 'flooding the country with illegitimate half-castes'. This situation is tacitly aided by legislation which, although it prohibits co-habitation between white women and black men does not outlaw the reverse of a black woman and white man. These unions as Plaatje shows, inevitably work to the disadvantage of the black woman as white men frequently deserted them. In addition

the article also points out that it is often these self-same men who show the most hypocrisy. On the one hand they will keep a concubine, whilst on the other they will vehemently support movements to preclude blacks from political and economic opportunities. Finally the article deals with the question of the 'black peril' which as Plaatje points out should rightly be called the white peril, since the initiative for these relationships between white housewives and their servants comes from the former. Plaatje also adds another layer of complexity to his discussion by pointing to the political implications of the hue and cry surrounding 'black peril' scares. The net result of this public outcry was stronger calls for segregation, and Lord Harcourt the Colonial Secretary used 'black peril' scares as a method of justifying the 1913 Land Act. Finally, Plaatje puts his analysis in historical perspective by comparing pre-imperial African societies to the position under white conquest.

> The Natives had little or no insanity; they had neither cancer or syphilis and no venereal disease because they had no prostitutes. It differed entirely from that of the Christian dispensation, but it was seraphic compared with the diabolical white man's law of Transvaal which prevents men from marrying their wives and forced them - sometimes against their wish - to make harlots of good mothers, adulteresses of potential housewives and bastards of children born of true parental love. And the white race - capable of enacting and enforcing such a law - the white race which, by the aid of regular and irregular alliances with black women - have become progenitors of the three-quarter million mulattoes in South Africa - a race that had introduced lung sickness and venereal disease into South Africa, should have been the last to talk of racial purity. (21)

It has been necessary to deal with Plaatje's discussion at some length for it provides an alternative emphasis to the dominant orthodoxy, by pointing to the complexity and political implications of sexual relationships between black and white in South Africa. But Plaatje's voice often tended to be one in the wilderness, and for every word he produced about 'miscegenation', he was countered by a thousand from the ruling class of white society who reproduced dominant ideas on the issue. Not the least of this hue and cry came from novelists who



Anna Howarth



Perceval Gibbon

dealt extensively with the theme. Indicative of the tone and content of a lot of this writing is the novel of Frances Bancroft, Of Like Passion which in the words of the author was written 'in the cause, and for the guarding and protection of the Daughters of Great Britain - the white womanhood of our colonies...' (22)

Bancroft was joined by many other women, both before and after her, who were to deal with 'miscegenation' in similar tones of outraged indignation, for in these intermarriages, ruling class women perceived a distinct class, race and sex threat to their position within colonial society. Indeed one of the earliest novels dealing with the 'half-caste', Jan: An Afrikaner came from a woman, Anna Howarth. In order to make sense of this peculiarly white woman's response to 'miscegenation', it is necessary to look briefly at their position in colonial society, and the way in which this affected the character and structure of their fiction.

Generally speaking, European women in the colonies comprised only a small fraction of the white minority, which depended for the continuation of its privileged position on the subjugation and extraction of labour from indigenous societies by military strength. To white women, as a minority within a minority, their most profitable method of survival lay in marriage and the reproduction of their class. Consequently, they clung to the nuclear family as their salvation, whilst also identifying strongly with the large 'colonial' family, which could ensure the reproduction of their particular society. As part of this colonial 'family', women too shared the spoils of colonisation and imperial conquest, and hence often became its most vehement upholders.

In this position, white ruling class women tended to regard black women with the gravest suspicion and reacted with great alarm to 'miscegenation' in any form. Whether 'their' white men raped, assaulted, married or co-habited with black women, it all hit generally at the 'racial purity' of the colonial 'family' and specifically at the insecure position of the ruling class women.

As Rowbotham has said

> Because (the white women's) own superiority was insecure they have turned on the native woman with a bitterness in which sexual and racial jealousy combine...The appearance of of mulatto children, taught to despise their own mothers, was the ironic testament of the white women's rival... (23)

Against this threat to their position, imperial women formed a large number of associations designed to promote and extend their particular interests. These imperial organisations for women were prolific and included bodies like the South African Colonisation Society, British Women's Emigration Association, British Women's Association, Federation of British Women, Daughters of Empire and the Associated Women's Organisation of the Transvaal which amongst other things, approached the Transvaal authorities to counter the 'social curse of the black peril'. (24)

These organisations were given to expressing themselves volubly in the local press (25) and constantly pleaded for the 'British' woman's racial purity and sexual sanctity. In order to achieve this goal, they constantly called for increased emigration to the colonies, which they hoped would lead to more British families who could in turn ensure white superiority and racial exclusivity, by obviating the necessity of white men marrying 'natives', be they Afrikaans or African.

The women's popular fiction of the period often tends to reproduce transparently this particular women's ideology, and in much of this literature, the family becomes the core of the story, dictating point of view narrative pace, characterisation and so on. (26) In sanctifying the nuclear family, South African women were acting in accordance with their counterparts in Victorian England. In a world where marriage was the only source of survival, and 'womanliness' the only marketable commodity, Victorian women's fiction dwelt obsessively on sexual attractiveness, marriage and the family. As one commentator has said

> In Victorian fiction, almost the whole of human life could be in a sense contained in the family, for the part of life which lay beyond the confines of the

> family was usually considered to be incompatible with a moral view of human relations. 'Goodness' required a home, a wife, children and servants. It needed a door shut against temptation, corruption and threat...the sources (of protection and fulfilment) (were) financial security, property, spouse and children. (27)

Add to this a v ment sanctification of 'racial purity', British exclusiveness and the colonial 'family', and one has a fair idea of the majority of white women's popular literature during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century in South Africa.

In their response to 'miscegenation', women writers mediated the threat that 'miscegenation' presented to them, by viewing it from the stance of the nuclear and colonial family. Black women, therefore, fall outside the legitimacy of these institutions, while their sexual relations with white men could be upbraided in strident and outraged tones. Take for example a work by Mrs. Carey-Hobson, The Farm in the Karroo, published in 1883. The book is a travelogue and deals with a company of three British 'gentlemen' doing a tour of the Cape Colony. One of their ports of call is a canteen of which the author makes the following comment. 'But how disgraceful were the scenes which met their eyes! Men, black, white and brown - drinking, smoking and swearing, sitting and lying around in dreadful confusion, while the Hottentot women, more horrible even than the men, were dancing and singing and shouting.' (28) We are left in no doubt as to the sexual relationship between the white men and the 'hottentot' women and it is this factor which prompts the tone of outraged moral indignation of the passage.

Anna Howarth devoted a whole book to the subject of 'miscegenation' entitled Jan: An Afrikander. In this book, Jan Vermaak, through the vagaries of the inheritance plot is found to be heir to a fortune in England. Jan, however, is of 'mixed blood', and has a dark and murky past, having killed one of his rivals in love, a certain van der Riet. Reginald Carson, Jan's cousin and harbinger of 'civilised' British values, takes Jan back to England and his fortune. But 'back

home', Jan, because of the 'debilities of his kafir blood', is incapable of conducting himself in a 'civilised' way and nearly kills his ex-fiancee in one of his many outbursts of passion. Under the guidance of Carson, Jan returns to South Africa to give himself up for the murder of van der Riet, and, in what is considered an heroic act, commits suicide.

The novel hinges around the interconnecting motifs of family and race and Jan is portrayed as enjoying the benefits of the former, and the debilities of the latter. All his heinous character traits - violence passion and dishonesty - are seen as results of 'Kafir blood'. The savage in him is seen as congenital and hence an insoluble problem. It is eventually his 'civilised' English properties of duty and honour brought to the fore, by virtue of his being brought into the Carson family, that lead to his confession and suicide.

The voices of women like Howarth, Bancroft and Carey-Hobson were later to be joined by that of Sarah Gertrude Millin, whose work on the 'coloureds' - God's Stepchildren - has probably been the most widely read and acclaimed book on the subject. (29)

In the work, Millin attempts to document historically the affects of 'miscegenation' over a century, by following five generations of one family. The progenitor of this line is Andrew Flood, the missionary who married a local woman. By creating a fictive history of his descendants, Millin attempts to make her statement on the position of 'coloureds', who are seen as a group between two worlds spurning black society 'below', but being spurned by white society 'above'.

However, the work itself emerges as the very opposite of a history, for ultimately Millin resorts to an ahistorical and vitalist explanation in terms of which 'coloureds' are seen as 'innately degenerate'. And it is significant that the metaphor most frequently used to explain their social position is that of disease or lunacy, a hereditary taint that makes their position both transhistorical and irredeemable. Furthermore, this ahistorical view of the 'coloureds' is supported by the sterile and cyclical view of history that informs the work.

In terms of this view, 'coloureds' are 'eternally' forced to expiate the sins of their fathers which are hereditarily visited on their heads. Consequently the novel ends with Barry Lindell, who to all intents and purposes, has integrated into and internalised the values of white society, repudiating his wife and child, in a fit of remorse to go and do missionary work where Flood once worked.

It is interesting and instructive at this point to compare the views of people like Bancroft, Carey-Hobson, Howarth and Millin with those of Olive Schreiner, whose views on feminism and marriage enabled her to assess the position somewhat more clearly. From this perspective, 'miscegenation' and 'half-castes' represented no threat to her and she discusses these issues in a far more 'objective' light. In an article, 'The Problem of Slavery' (30), she turns her attention to the question of 'half-castes' and poses the question, 'as to whether (the half-caste's) anti-sociality is inherent and the direct result of the mixture of bloods, or is an accident, dependent on external and changeable conditions'. (31) She then sets out the dominant attitudes towards the 'half-castes'.

> We are compelled in the first place, to study the vulgar verdict, which rough, ungeneralised human experience has recorded, and to see in how far any other evidence we can obtain sustains or opposes it. The universality and unanimity of the popular verdict on the Half-caste is remarkable. The Half-caste, it is asserted in every country where he is known, whether it be in America, Asia or Africa, and whether his ancestors be English and Negroid, Spanish and Indian, or Boer and Hottentot - the Half-caste is by nature anti-social. It is always asserted that he possesses the vices of both parent races and the virtues of neither; that he is born especially with a tendency to be a liar, cowardly, licentious, and without self-respect. (32)

She then rejects this 'racial' and genetic explanation in favour of a more social one.

> Reviewing thus, the popular verdict on the Half-Caste it must be granted that there do exist in his external conditions causes more than adequate to account for his low development in social feeling; and this, apart entirely from any necessary or congenital anti-social trait. (33)

She continues

> yet, until science has been able to demonstrate that not social conditions, but a congenital defect, has made the Half-caste what we find him, the balanced and impartial mind, in answer to the popular accusation against him of congenital anti-sociality, can bring in only one verdict, that of - Not Proven. (34)

These formulations may not sound overtly radical, but in an age when the 'half-caste' was universally characterised as 'innately depraved' and was made an object of 'scientific' study on a par with the 'hybrid', mule and zebra, these ideas must have been innovatory and 'progressive'. Furthermore, one must bear in mind Schreiner's position as a woman, and when one compares her ideas with her counterparts, who reacted with alarm and horror to all 'half-castes', one can gauge the extent to which her ideas did in some measure question dominant ideology on this issue.

Another writer who attempts to deal with the position of 'miscegenation' socially was Perceval Gibbon in his novel, Souls in Bondage, in which he tries to analyse the contradictory dynamic of race and class in South Africa. As the centre of the novel he uses Cecilia du Plessis, a 'coloured' who finds herself out of step with her kith and kin, because of her missionary education, the ideological premises of which she has incontrovertibly internalised. She consequently aspires 'upwards' towards white Christian values and lives in a spirit of virtue, sobriety and moral correctness. In terms of her aspirations she is much tempted to accept an offer of marriage from a failed white lawyer, Thwaites. But working against her class aspirations are the dynamics of race and she consequently defers his offer of marriage, feeling that as a 'coloured' she would prejudice Thwaites' career and prospects, which are ironically non-existent.

This decision of hers has been prepared for in the novel, as Gibbon attempts to elucidate the leavening effects of a racial ideology that obscures the class distinctions within any community. As a background to this racial ideology, Gibbon has created a segregated geography for

his book comprising white, African and 'coloured' living areas and locations.

> ...at the spruit the (white) town ended. The well-kept road dipped into it and dies, and was reincarnated upon the other side as a track, a trodden and rutted path. Half a mile along it lay the location...on the bare earth between the town and the location dwelt yet another community, whose status and rank were matters rather of construction than of acknowledged precedent ...these were the "off-coloured", the half-castes, the outcome of white supremacy in a black country. (35)

Cecilia eventually marries a working class 'coloured', and in an act, symbolic of her leavening at the hands of a racist society, is beaten to death.

Finally, in concluding this section, mention must be made of Blackburn's contribution to the 'miscegenation' saga - a novel entitled Love Muti. Published in 1915, this work is possibly one of the most interesting because the most explicit, dealing with black-white sex relations in South Africa. And in it Blackburn attempts to delve into the sexual fantasies of colonial psychology - fantasies that he part parodies and part falls victim to himself.

As a background to this theme, Blackburn sets out a sociology of sex in the colonies, where white men far outnumber white women. In terms of this ratio, white women come to be deified as virginal statues on pedestals.

> The average colonial girl did not appeal to him. He found her too regal and vapid - the natural result in which the men largely outnumbered the women and passively conceded absolute supremacy to them. (36)

However, implicit in these Victorian attitudes towards women hide the inevitable double standards. White women are untouchable, but black women, or Victorian prostitutes for that matter, become the repositories for the actual and ideological fantasies, projections and myths of white male sexuality.

Just such a repository in the novel is Letty Bandusa, a 'coloured' and highly educated woman working as a housemaid in the house of a sugar plantation owner in Natal. Positively oozing sexuality from every pore, she attracts violent reactions from all quarters. The majority of white women react to her rampant sexuality, which they perceive to be a positive threat. But, the newly arrived Englishman Charles Rabson, happily falls victim to her atavistic charm. And for every love philtre and charm she dispenses, Rabson becomes a more than willing victim, and eventually marries her to the horror of Natal colonial society.

4. Ethiopianism

No single word was more likely to bring out the fears and tensions in white colonial society, than whispers of 'Ethiopianism', a word that would bring out a rash of hysteria and rumours of fake scares - a reaction often unrealistically out of proportion to the threat that 'Ethiopianism' posed.

The term itself, 'Ethiopianism', is one that has been fairly loosely used to apply to all manner of independent and secessionist African religious movements, and was at times used as a synonym for African nationalism. According to Shepperson, the term more precisely encompasses two areas - namely African religious sects seceding from non-conformist white churches to join American Negro churches and secondly 'new types of churches of an apocalyptic character', which find their genesis in the 'missionary efforts of American groups, both white and black'. (37)

The history of Ethiopianism goes back to the seventeeth century when the St. James version of the bible translated Africans as Ethiopians. As a religious movement it started amongst American slaves who based their brand of radical Christianity on a biblical exegesis relating to Ethiopian references. The movement was transplanted to Africa and became particularly strong in Southern Africa during the closing years of the nineteenth century and the first two decades of the

twentieth. This Ethiopian movement is generally recognised as starting with Mokone and Dwane's secession from the Wesleyan church to form the Ethiopian church in 1893, a body that subsequently joined the American Methodist Episcopal Church (AME) in 1896. Other important landmarks in the development of the religo-political movement include the visit of Bishop Turner in 1898, and Joseph Booth's visit and formation of the African Church Union. Accompanying these events was a large-scale popular support of the secessionist movement, its number rising from 2 800 to 10 000 in the early 1890's. (38)

The origin and social genesis of Ethiopianism is a complex affair, to which many critics have turned their attention. (39) Briefly, the origins are seen as lying in an interacting set of social forces which involved large-scale dislocation of African societies; popular protest; changing class formation and stratification, particularly in the rise of the African petty bourgeoisie, and its response to repressive 'native policy'; patterns of colonisation and American influence. One of the most important features is the role that the African petty bourgeoisie played in the religio-political movement, for it was largely this group that directed and led the movement. Within the context of South African society, this educated elite functioned within a white dominated polity, where ideals of segregation and the 'colour-bar' were progressively blocking the aspirations of social advancement and mobility, that the petty bourgeoisie harboured. In addition, within the missionary institutions, they faced a white elitism that generally precluded any possibility of advancement for Africans.

Reacting against these constraints, many Africans educated within these churches broke away to form their own independent and orthodox churches which gave them a tenuous powerbase, the chance of accumulating capital from their followers and American sources, and the opportunity to found educational institutions. The involvement of the educated elite in the Ethiopian movement hence arises out of reciprocal responses between colonists, segregationism, and the aspirations of the educated Africans.

> Ethiopianism of the truest type appears mainly in those parts of Africa in which there have been fairly large European or European-influenced ruling classes, effective colour bars, and - because of missionaries and administrative exigencies - groups of "educated" Africans. (40)

If the movement's leadership came from the ranks of the petty bourgeoisie, then its followers were drawn from the ranks of peasants, subsistence farmers and lumpenproletariat and marginal elements within the urban economy. The character and extent of the support for Ethiopianism, as Rich has shown, arose largely as a response to growing landlessness amongst Africans that was becoming prevalent by the turn of the century. This landlessness, in turn, had been prompted by the development and modernisation of white agriculture, and the imperative of the mining economy to seek out large supplies of cheap labour, factors which united in consigning ever increasing numbers of African to ever decreasing land areas or reserves, a position that was legally ratified in the 1913 Land Act.

In these circumstances, Ethiopianism, with its possibilities of moral and educational regeneration of traditional African communities and its slogan of Africa for the Africans, found many willing participants. And it is these conditions of growing landlessness, that too, accounted for the ready acceptance of American Ethiopian thinking, that had arisen in a similar society of segregationism and landlessness. The patterns that Ethiopianism were to assume varied. At times it tended to be tribal in character amd at other stages it adopted a transtribal, nationalistic character, an ideology appropriate to its populist support base. This nationalistic ideology was to be supported by the links that subsequently grew up between the religious movement and the SANNC on its formation in 1912, an alliance that could be expected, given the petty bourgeoisie orientation of the leadership of both the SANNC and the Ethiopian movement.

It is necessary to stress the complexity of the Ethiopian movement before looking at the white response to it, since white reaction

tended to simplify the movement whilst regarding it with a mixture of suspicion, mistrust and misunderstanding often bordering on hysteria. This attitude has been succinctly outlined by Shepperson

> Before 1920, the tendency of European observers was not to subdivide (the movement) into two basic streams of independent African churches, but if they bothered at all to classify them, to lump them all together as 'Ethiopian'. Whether orthodox or unorthodox, they were all elements of 'Ethiopianism', a pan-African conspiracy, a threat to white supremacy in Africa, which to many witnesses, seemed part of a deeply laid plan in which Negroes from the New World were heavily involved ...The historian, therefore, looking back at the 'Ethiopianism' of this period, may not find it difficult to believe that, if independent African churches and ministers played any seditious role at this time, it is largely because scared Europeans, in spite of themselves had put such ideas into their minds. (41)

The European response in South Africa,too,was largely of this exaggerated character. And although there were a number of insurrectionary events that had their foundation in the religious movement (42), white reaction invariably tended to be overstated.

The nature of white response, our main concern here, was tied up with the structure of colonial society and the character of Ethiopianism. One fear that would appear to have been the most prevalent, was the allegation that the movement was a 'secret society' or a type of 'free masonry'. This fear of secrecy, probably reflected more than anything else, the apprehension about the populist support base of the movement. As Hughes has pointed out, the fissiparous tendencies of the movement alarmed white overseers, for it meant that it could not be contained within the white scheme of things, as to a certain extent the ANC, as a formal political organisation, could be. (43) Populist support was ever an unknown quantity to white society.

In addition, Ethiopianism in many ways appears to have been hitting at the very heart of all existing political schemes within South Africa. On the one hand it ostensibly rejected assimilationist models, whilst on the other it challenged separatism on its own terms. This latter fear often found expression in complaints that Ethiopianism was weaning away hitherto faithful chiefs and was hence undermining

the legitimacy of 'tribal' structures that provided the cornerstones of indirect rule. (44)

The literature of the period that dealt with Ethiopianism obviously grew out of these attitudes of fear and mistrust, and the writers who turned their attention to the phenomenon - Mitford, Gouldsbury, Nicholls and Buchan - had a rich store of rumour, myth and legend on which they could draw. In transforming and exploiting these rumours and fears into fiction, they often perpetuated and expanded them. Yet their works not only express their apprehensions, but also become symptomatic of the tensions within white society, reflecting fear of the African petty bourgeoisie and at times an even greater fear of populist struggle.

Possibly the most notable feature of works dealing with Ethiopianism is their aura and atmosphere of mystery, a trait which mediates the fear and mistrust that white observers expressed about the loose organisation of the movement which seemed to defy conceptualisation. Writers could in turn then make great fictive capital out of this suspicion, fear and secrecy. Mitford, for example, opens his novel The White Hand and the Black in an atmosphere of an ominous and foreboding storm.

> (The night) was oppressive and boding; and even its usual voices, of bird and beast and insect life, seemed hushed in an awe of something impending. The broad moon glared drearily down, ghastly athwart a filmy haze; and ever and anon a heavy boom seemed to shake the earth while huge, plume-like masses of cloud rose higher and higher above the cliffs and ridges...(45)

He adds somewhat gratuitously, 'when the storm broke it would be an appalling one'. Into this atmosphere, he introduces a life and death struggle between a black and a white man and with a mixture of clipped sentence, understatement and sonorous tone, he hints darkly at a social darwinist struggle to come.

> It was a life and death struggle. The white man could not, by every known law of self preservation, let any

> witness get away from this place a living witness.
> The dark man, by the same intuition realised the fact
> ...Neither spoke...(46)

This fight whilst actually intended to introduce a sub-plot - the main plot dealing with the Bambata Rebellion and its supposed links with Ethiopianism - sets the tone for the remainder of the novel, which takes place in the semi-gloom, in dark, mysterious and 'evil-smelling' huts, relieved by occasional daylight, which, needless to say, surrounds the activities of the white protagonists who are a native commissioner, a landed settler and their entourage of women.

Buchan, in his novel Prester John, too employs similar scare/suspense techniques by introducing into the provincial normality of a Scottish village the weird rites of John Laputa, the Ethiopian protagonist. The denouement of the novel, consistent with its romance structure is also to take place in equally mysterious surroundings of Laputa's cave. Similarly in G. Heaton Nicholl's contribution to the Ethiopian saga, Bayete! we encounter Lobengula's son alias Bishop Nelson announcing himself as Mwana Lesa to his people under 'a black pall which hung across heaven's enquiring eye'. (47)

This often heavy-handed treatment of ominous mystery extends to inform most aspects of the books, particularly characterisation, for at all costs one's Ethiopian protagonist had to be a threatening engima. He had to be mysterious, urbane and highly educated, yet at the same time savage and tyrannical whilst being capable of single-handedly inciting large sections of African society to revolt. To furnish this amalgam of traits, the authors did not have to look for a ready-made set of attitudes from which they could mould their Ethiopian leaders. In fact they merely had to delve in the store of class-based myths concerning the educated African, for there they could discover a wealth of material on which to work. To the majority of white South Africans, the petty bourgeoisie represented a threatening anomaly, and by grafting these perceptions on to the Ethiopian protagonist, writers could with one blow, discredit the leadership of the religio-political movement, the petty bourgeoisie as a whole and

the entire Ethiopian movement.

Mitford in his novel, takes possibly the hardest line on his Ethiopian leader Job Magwegwe, an 'educated Fingo, hailing from the Cape Colony where he had been trained as a missionary'. (48) He soon forsakes the Cape because, 'those of his own colour openly scoffed at him. What could he teach them, they asked... The white could teach a black...things, but a black man could not teach a black man anything'. (49) Magwegwe then hives off to Natal where, 'living on the fat of the land, (he preached) a visionary deliverance from imaginary evils to those attuned to listen.' (50) He thrives in this post because 'being a plausible and smooth-tongue rogue (he) soon found himself in clover, in the official capacity of an accredited emissary of the "Ethiopian Church", whose mission it was to instil into the native mind the high-sounding doctrine of "Africa for the natives" '. (51) In his attempt to discredit Magwegwe, Mitford attempts to create as repulsive a portrait as possible by juxtaposing him to the 'heathen' 'uneducated' and 'natural' African.

> He had taken off his black coat and waistcoat, mainly with the object of preserving them from grease. Indeed had he followed his own inclination it is far from certain that he would not have taken off everything else. It was a disgusting spectacle, this fat, smug black preacher, sitting there in his shirt, his white choker all away, tearing the steaming bones like a dog, his face and hands smeared with grease; a revolting sight, immeasurably more so than that of the ring of unclothed savages who were his entertainer and fellow feasters. (52)

In preaching to his fellow feasters, Magwegwe, espouses a doctrine of syncretic and radical Christianity, along with Exeter Hall liberalism and messianic messages.

Welded to this fear of the political threat of the petty bourgeoisie, was the fear of the 'overseas connection' stressed by Nicholls, Gouldsbury and Buchan, whose heroes are all educated in either America or Scotland. In addition, to this overseas connection, the Ethiopian leaders are always portrayed as 'instigators', that most consoling way of understanding history and social discontent. As

instigators, these men are always seen as dextrous propagandists who with their moving oratory manage to persuade hitherto 'contented' people to revolt. Nicholls' novel provides a good example

> Nelson plunged into a description of the natives evicted from their homes harrowed their feelings by such tales of misery and suffering, that the natives forgetting their bloodthirsty raids of a few years ago, gnashed their teeth, and swore to do all he bade them. Truly, there is not power so eloquent as the human voice; words fail to convey the subtle magic of tone, the thrilling music, the simple words which grip the soul and bring a cry of joy from listener's lips. Native chiefs who had just come from the sunshine of their own kraals, where the Whites were rarely seen, where they had their own native councils and much of the management of their own affairs, were as fervent in their hatred as those who had suffered. It was not until he had worked them into a state bordering on frenzy, until they spat on the wooden floor at every mention of the Whites, that Nelson finally touched on the purpose of the meeting. (53)

Magwegwe, in similar vein, sways the 'innocent and contented' by playing on their 'imaginary' grievances.

> The vast assemblage, held spellbound, the preacher arrayed as one who preaches the gospel of peace, instead swaying this multitude of dark savages with the gospel of revolt, and war and all the ruthless atrocity which such represents. (54)

Gouldsbury expresses a similar fear about the Ethiopian mission in God's Cutpost. He says the movement is a

> ...society which will in time have to be reckoned with in the African policy. Not so much in themselves, since they can boast a certain civilisation which will, let us hope, debar them from graver excesses, but from the effects that their teachings can and do exert upon the minds of ignorant and fanatical savages. (55)

By using the concept of 'instigator', the writers could with a deft sleight of hand consign away fears about the Ethiopian movement, political grievances and popular protest. These social movements in the hands of the novelists become chimerical organisations based on the activity of one man inciting 'ignorant and fanatical savages'

on the grounds of 'imaginary grievances'. Hence the instigator theory would wish away the social basis of discontent and resistance, by stressing in its stead, the individual impetus of insurrection. Furthermore, if the revolt were instigated by one man, it would disappear on the death of that man, a structure that emerges in both Buchan's and Nicholls' work.

If this weren't enough to lay the fears of Ethiopianism to rest, Mitford also introduces the structure of Magwegwe acting out of self-interested motives. Also, his 'part-civilisation', Mitford feels will, when the cards are down, make him cling to white society. Thornhill, the white settler protagonist in the novel sets this belief out as follows.

> You see, when these chaps get partly civilised, although it deteriorates them as savages, it has often the effect of making them all unconsciously cling to the white man. Now this one is a Fingo and his traditions would make all that way. He no more wants to set up a universal black power than you or I do; he knows where he...would come under it. At present he's paid to preach it, but I'm perfectly certain he no more believes it possible than you or I do either. (56)

Another strategy that these writers used to discredit Ethiopianism, was to attempt to lay the 'blame' for its genesis at the doorstep of the missionaries - an ironic contradiction given the extent to which missionary bodies themselves opposed the religious movement. Missionaries and the white elitist structures of their institutions were no doubt in some sense responsible for breakaway and secessions. But the novelists tended to blame the missionaries in so far as they preached and practised racial equality - a perception that emerges as a direct inversion of the actual situation. It was precisely because missionaries did <u>not</u> practise and permit mobility and advancement in their churches that breakaway bodies evolved. Ethiopianism, for example, was not particularly strong in the Catholic missions in Natal that permitted a measure of advancement. Similarly too, as Shepperson has pointed out, the religious movement did not appear strongly in colonies like the Belgian Congo that also allowed for a limited degree

of social mobility.

Taken in its totality, this fictive portrayal could incorporate into itself a wide spectrum of meaning and insinuation that ultimately stretches well beyond the bounds of Ethiopianism alone. It reflects fear of an urban proletariat, fears of populist struggles, fear of the African petty bourgeoisie, fear of missionary teaching of supposed racial equality allied to a fear of overseas connections be they Exeter Hall Liberals or American thinkers. All these fears become subsumed under the banner of Ethiopianism which, with its African rhetoric, presented the biggest threat of all - expulsion of whites from the African continent. The novels dealing with this conglomerate threat are, of course, not slow to point to remedies. Mitford puts it with his usual frankness by expressing a desire to dispose of 'these swines' by hanging the whole Ethiopian church and giving their 'infernal mischievous emissaries, a hundred apiece with the cat and then disband the whole rotten organisation'. (57)

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