Coercive agency in mission education at Lovedale Missionary Institution[1]

Graham A Duncan

Department of Church History and Church Polity

University of Pretoria

Abstract

Any society and its institutions are coercive. While acknowledging the invaluable contribution made by mission education towards the development of black South Africans, Lovedale Missionary Institution exemplifies the concept of a "total institution" susceptible to the problems of power relations. Those who studied there internalized its ethos. Coercive agency encouraged adaptation to missionary ideology. However, many Lovedale students rejected the mores of the religion and education they received as they challenged and resisted the effects of the coercive agency of internalization. Institutionalisation is, by nature, resistant to change as can be seen in the policies of the respective Principals of the Institution. Consequently, black people were alienated by a process of "exclusion". The values of justice, love and peace are appropriate tools for a new model of education in South Africa.

1.   INTRODUCTION

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

> (Shah 1968:198-9)

Idris Shah's concept of coercive agencies is an apposite concept for the study of institutionalisation which originated in mission stations and was "perfected" in mission institutions such as Lovedale where, through the entire educational

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[1] This article is based on the author's DTh thesis, Coercive Agency: James Henderson's Lovedale, 1906-1930.

programme, and especially in the area of character formation, students were "moulded" in such a way that the effect was difficult to reverse.

2.   THE BEGINNINGS OF LOVEDALE

Missionary work in the Eastern Cape began with the arrival of Reverend Joseph Williams and Rev John Brownlee of the London Missionary Society (LMS) in 1820. While Williams settled at Fort Beaufort, Brownlee moved on to establish the Tyumie Mission on the Gwali River. In 1821, Reverend W R Thomson and J Bennie, missionaries sent by the Glasgow Missionary Society (GMS), joined Brownlee. From its inception, education was offered with Bennie taking charge of this aspect of the work. "In February 1822, three months after his arrival, he had forty pupils in attendance, and in the following month between fifty and sixty" (GMS Report 1822:29, in Shepherd 1940:56). The process did not proceed unimpeded however, for those who submitted to missionary education were subjected to harassment by those who were opposed to change: "So early as 1830, a Native declared that as the schools increased the country was taken from them" (Shepherd 1940:59). From an early stage in the development of the missionary enterprise, the issue of land was evident.

The arrival of Rev John Ross in 1823, marked another significant event in the growth of the fledgling institution for Ross arrived with a printing press which was to become influential in altering the Xhosa way of life in a way no one had contemplated hitherto. Bennie wrote a letter to Dr John Love (Secretary of the Glasgow Missionary Society) commenting on the arrival of the press: "through your instrumentality a new era has commenced in the history of the Kaffer nation" (GMS Report 1824:27, in Shepherd 1940:63). It was at this early stage that Thomson perceived a need for the training of black preachers and successfully approached the Directors of the GMS for assistance.

This, along with other reasons, such as requests from local chiefs, caused the missionaries to consider establishing another mission station and expand their sphere of influence, and so a second station was opened nearby on the River Incehra. This station was soon to be named in memory of Dr Love who died in 1825. Within a few years the kernel of the work for Lovedale would eventually become famous was established – the "Evangelistic, academic, industrial, agricultural and medical work they engaged in and sought to promote among the Bantu" (Shepherd 1940:65). From its inception, educational work was to be both academic and practical. The process of the transformation of the mind was not just confined to evangelical conversion. It even extended to how:

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

> (GMS Report 1827:16, in Shepherd 1940:67)

The impression given here is that this was an almost imperceptible process
which was initiated by black people themselves. There is no hint of overt
coercion being employed to achieve this idyllic scenario but what is clear is
that acceptability was the standard which seemed to influence a change of
behaviour. Yet, Shepherd (1940:67) agrees that "It is possible … to blame
those early pioneers for trying to reproduce among the Bantu of South Africa
the social habits of Scotland" which would indicate a degree of intentionality;
however, he does not extend his critique to their motivation being convinced
of their "concern in practical affairs" and "interest in the material advancement
of their converts" (Shepherd 1940:67-68). The ideological purpose, though not
explicitly declared, certainly was effective in transforming the lives of those
who came into contact with the "civilising" mission. The effectiveness of their
work is evident from the request from Lord Charles Somerset, Governor of the
Cape, to inculcate civilised standards and education among black people.
This "Old Lovedale" was destroyed in the war of dispossession, 1834-35.
Thus far, the scene was set for the development of mission education at
Lovedale as coercive agency.

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

From early in the "thirties the missionaries had been feeling the need of
a centre at which promising Bantu could be trained as teachers and catechists
and at which also their own children could receive suitable education. In 1837
the matter was brought to a head because of their conviction that so long as a

people could not read very little could be expected of them (Shepherd 1940:88).

The incumbent missionaries had discerned a definite need for a qualified person to organise an educational establishment or seminary who had skills beyond their own. This was the result of the perceived inadequacy of oral methods of teaching. As far as their own children were concerned, the missionaries saw their children's role as becoming their successors in the work of mission (Shepherd 1940:89). A proposal was sent to the GMS which was agreed to in 1839. The new seminary was to be sited at Lovedale and agricultural work was to be an integral part of the missionary outreach from the beginning. The work then began of finding an appropriate person to establish the seminary and that person was the Rev William Govan.

3.   LOVEDALE UNDER WILLIAM GOVAN (1841-1870)

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

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

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

Lovedale had an outreach to the wider community by drawing in people from many walks of life as converts and sending out teachers and pastors to extend the mission. It consisted of a "distinct set of social complexes" (Berger 1963:87) which were all part of the totality of the institution of church and school which were, in time, to be developed into a far more complex

institution. This institution was organised on the basis of a certain understanding of discipline through which human conduct was patterned or reconstructed and was encapsulated in rules and regulations. The discipline of the establishment was based on an acceptance of nineteenth century evangelical Victorian ideals which were taken for granted as necessary for the remaking of black minds and lives. This was considered part of the humanising process resulting from relating to others in a particular environment which is separate from the wider community. The flexibility and pliability of human beings can be demonstrated by their adaptability to new ways of functioning and the concepts of time and space are useful in viewing the effects of this process.

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

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

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

Power over residents at Lovedale was demonstrated by missionaries in the organisation of time, space and dress as a means to ensure conformity and adaptation to and adoption of their values. It was effective coercion as Lovedalians internalised its value system. Control of knowledge was instrumental in this process and so education became vital in the transformation of symbolic universes as well as the legitimation of the tradition. Laing's address at the opening of Lovedale served this purpose as "[h]e first defended the missionary movement as a whole from the charge of being too visionary …. And he then proceeded to explain and vindicate the

principles of the proposed Seminary" (Shepherd 1940:96). But legitimation operates at a level below the surface of consciousness (Ashley 1980:35-6). And the use of the English language functioned as a prime means of legitimation from the beginnings of Lovedale (Shepherd 1940:96). Mission education's use of the medium of English was the means of promoting Protestant values and consequently developing a middle class of landed peasants. This promoted the government's plans which is the reason Sir George Grey (Governor of the Cape) was prepared to support the introduction and maintenance of industrial education programmes financially.

The scope of social control was effectively demonstrated in the challenge to Govan's authority by Stewart and the FMC. This threat came from a deviant and not at all subtle perception of the reality which was Lovedale and challenged the supremacy of Govan's system. Power lay in the hands of the Foreign Mission Committee of the Free Church of Scotland (FMC) and Govan's authority was seriously compromised and undermined in the process of the evaluation of differing approaches to education at the Institution. Although the FMC apparently attempted to resolve the issue by the process of therapy whereby the two views could be harmonised, the actual result was nihilation which resulted in the disempowering of Govan whose philosophy denied the validity of that offered by Duff and Stewart. The superiority of their view facilitated Govan's demise. The "negative legitimation" of Govan's position proceeded by limiting his previous role, that is the establishment of an Education Board and Financial Board and by the introduction of the "deviant" educational principles proposed by Duff and Stewart. Govan was forced then either to toe the line or resign. He took the honourable course and resigned.

Although Lovedale was a total institution in Govan's time, it was so in embryo only. It conformed to the definition by being a place where residents were cut off, to greater or lesser extent from the outside world while they were being remade in the missionary's image; it constituted an alternative world which aimed at transforming individuals as the achievement of a specific goal. This was the coercive agency. The total nature is enhanced by their novel interpretation of time and space, by means of implementing timetables and ordering the layout of buildings and the use of land. This comprehensive control of people's lives was ordered to facilitate surveillance and regimentation as a means of control and coercion. Lovedale, under Govan, began to demonstrate the traits of institutionalisation in its coercive guise. Not all of these characteristics were overt but they were effective nonetheless. While Govan and Stewart came to grief on the principles on which the institution was to be run, there was considerable continuity in the methods

adopted and Govan certainly laid a firm foundation on which Stewart was to build Lovedale as a coercive agency.

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

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

4.   LOVEDALE UNDER JAMES STEWART (1870-1905)

James Stewart's period as Principal of Lovedale Institution was, by any standards, a remarkable achievement in terms of the growth and development of Lovedale in numbers of students and programmes offered. However, there was another side to his achievement, that of the development of Lovedale as a centre of coercive agency:

> The response of Africans to missionary attitudes throughout this period was … generally positive and co-operative, though capable of being critical and independent where basic aims were felt to be in conflict. Distrust increased only as the ambivalent and inherent contradictions in missionary attitudes were revealed by events and as those Africans who had accepted missionary teaching found themselves to be, after all, isolated and powerless.

(Brock 1974:436)

Brock's analysis is perceptive up to a point. However, she underestimates the power that blacks possessed for they certainly did not accept that they had to remain permanently disempowered, as they strove to reject the effects of coercive agency through education, the media and the formation of African Initiated Churches (AICs).

In his development of the campus in the organisation of both time and space, Stewart saw to the externals of coercive agency as the demarcation of boundaries, spatial and temporal, which regulated the life of students and, to a lesser extent, staff in order to achieve his goals. This marked the totality of the

process of institutionalisation on the campus. All this was, however, subordinated to the task of internalisation through the programme of character formation by the development of an exacting code of discipline and the promotion of an ethic of industry with the ultimate aim of leading students to conversion of their lives in their totality. Consequently Lovedale, and similar institutions pursued their work with "a deep sense of commitment and … missionary zeal" (Elias 1999). Hence, the effects of the Gospel could be discerned in practical ways, the goal being religious and not primarily educational. All of this derived from the ideological perspective of mid-Victorian Britain with its firm commitment to colonial and imperial expansion and the Protestant work ethic.

Fundamental to this approach was the need to destroy the influence of traditional lifestyle and impose "a strong desire to adopt western habits" as the result of "expediency rather than [purely] religious need" (Hutchinson 1957:160-161). Here we noted the influence of secular motives related to power over against the power of the Gospel. An example from an earlier generation demonstrates this:

> Missionary stations are the most efficient agents which can be employed to promote the internal strength of our colonies, and the cheapest and best military posts a government can employ (Philip 1828, II:227 in Hutchinson 1957:161), their work being "justified to secular interests by its practical results".

> (Hutchinson 1957:161)

The most positive aspect of the work of Lovedale was interpreted as failure by Stewart. It is epitomised by resistance to coercive agency. Having taught students to think for themselves and take control of their own affairs, perhaps unwittingly, Stewart had to bear the consequences of his work which resulted in challenges to his entire educational philosophy, his dignity and his personal authority. In a very real sense his work itself laid the foundation for its own repudiation as products of Lovedale discovered their true identity as the result of the positive teachings of Christianity which led to the growth of a spirit of unity, solidarity and positive nationalism. It is ironic that the individualistic thrust of mission education should produce such a communitarian result! Not bound by the ideological baggage of Western Europe, perhaps Lovedale students discerned the true spirit of the Gospel behind the façade of entrapment for among the missionaries there "was certainly no understanding of the social consequences that would flow from Christian teaching as it became more effective" (Hutchinson 1957:162).

The missionaries' insistence on the use of English both furthered their cause and, at the same time, enabled their former students to reject it:

> Resistance in the Eastern Cape was complemented by excellent missionary schooling which enabled the oppressed to put forward a refined political argument in English thus breaking new ground in black political thinking internationally.
>
> (Krog 1998:33)

Stewart had been a charismatic leader and this impacted on the totality of the institutionalisation at Lovedale as he was "the creator and administrator of a very self-sufficient kingdom which was known and respected in many parts of the world as the result of the propaganda and missionary exploits of the famous missionary statesman" (Burchell 1979:24). However, as with many such leaders, "there was little power-sharing" (Brock 1974:65):

> Even with a loyal and conscientious staff, however, it is obvious that the running of this complex enterprise depended considerably on the energy of one man – James Stewart. His personality dominated Lovedale for 38 years. By nature authoritarian, he controlled every aspect of Lovedale's life. For the most part he had the indefatigable zest and enthusiasm which enabled him not only to govern and legislate for Lovedale but also to participate in innumerable public activities which in themselves brought Lovedale into prominence and gave it unique standing in the colony and in missionary circles. It was only towards the end of his life … that Stewart's control slipped and his authority degenerated to autocracy at times" [i e through ill-health].
>
> (Brock 1974:64)

So, all was not well prior to Stewart's death. Henderson (NLS 7801, to Smith, 4 June 1906) commented on the lack of cohesion among the staff which was natural for "small inbred communities are particularly susceptible to conflict and missionary institutions are no exception" (Brock 1974:66). Stewart "stifled individuality in teaching. His emphasis on unity of method meant that experimentation was discouraged" (Burchell 1979:48). This was coercive agency with one focus and aim. Innovative teachers like Theal and Stormont were encouraged to maintain the institution's uniformity of method for: "Our strength and security as an institution as an educational missionary force lies in our unity and solidity of action" (UCT SP D65/48 13[a], in Burchell 1979:48). Here is another confirmation of the result of total institutionalisation. Sadly,

James Stewart was a captive of his own background. It was even sadder that loss of control became the dominant issue in the later years of his career as he became unable to cope with challenges to his authority. Perhaps he was just too old and set in his ways to change. Yet, there was an enduring quality about his work at Lovedale which would pave the way for his successor, James Henderson, and which would provide the foundation for his own work as Principal.

5.   LOVEDALE UNDER JAMES HENDERSON (1906-1930)

Henderson was Principal of Lovedale for twenty-four years and initiated much of its phenomenal growth during this period. Though he was at pains to emphasise the continuity of his work with that of both of his predecessors in order to maintain the reality of a total institution, he engaged in a number of innovative ventures. However, in terms of developing the coercive agency of Lovedale Institution, he was at one with Govan and Stewart. Henderson's own personal experience of conversion enabled him to place conversion as the goal of education using evangelism as the means. Education and evangelism worked together in his scheme in the formation of character which was vital to the success of the philosophy of Lovedale in its mission for the upliftment of black people. Its aim was to transform the inner mind; hence the ubiquity of moral education in all that transpired at Lovedale. Character formation manifested itself throughout the curriculum and indeed insinuated itself into every aspect of the Institution's life. The imposition of discipline was the current which galvanised the forces of coercive agency and industrial education, along with manual labour, contributed to this aim with its requisite demand for conformity and maintenance of the status quo. Working together was helpful in developing an *esprit de corps* which made labouring more tolerable. Even the physical space of the Institution and the use of time reflected their co-option as tools of the internalisation of Lovedale's ethos as a total institution. The successful inculcation of "moral earnestness" was vital to the missionary work of those who graduated from Lovedale. In order for teachers, evangelists, catechists and ministers as well as artisans and labourers to promote Lovedale's missionary values they had to have them fully developed in themselves. The missionaries used the principle that converts are often the most efficient promoters of their teachers' value systems. These very values were internalised through constant exposure to the total institutionalisation of Lovedale demonstrated in every aspect of its life.

Concurrent with what was going on at Lovedale, Henderson was actively involved in a number of educational initiatives in the Cape Colony,

both defending and promoting Lovedale's particular contribution to South African education. His liberal ideals in politics were often identical with those of Cape liberalism, but Henderson was not a slave to any political creed. The Christian religious motive always predominated in his thinking, speaking and actions. Politically he sought to effect rapprochement between the growing population of middle class blacks and white liberals on the basis that they shared similar interests and ideals. This political commitment aligned to his Christian faith caused him to work towards defusing racial tension in his educational approach.

His commitment to industrial education was related not only to providing labour for the expanding industrial sector but also to trying to halt the drift of young South Africans away from their native land to be educated, to restrict the influence of the African Initiated Churches, and to provide a relevant education for those who would be needed to service a segregated South African society.

Henderson brought Stewart's vision for a centre of higher learning to fruition through his participation in the preparations for the opening of the South African Native College in 1916. But to an extent Stewart's policy had failed to achieve its educational ends for it remained too centred on academic education despite his wishes and avowed aims and it was impervious to external influences at the close of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth.

The system developed by Henderson involved new schemes in domestic science, lay education (the training of evangelists and Bible women), printing and publishing, high school education, female education, early education in the vernacular and his reorganisation of the administration all contributed to a streamlining of the coercive agency at Lovedale.

Despite the success of Lovedale as an educational centre and its appearance as a well-organised institution with clear line management and public image which made it the envy of many other institutions, all was not well within its confines. In a number of areas of its common life there was strife of one kind or another. Much of it was suppressed in "hidden transcripts" as in staff relations which only surfaced on occasion. The attitude of some staff members to their assumed responsibilities also reveals a lack of cohesion of purpose in the Institution.

It was the students, however, who took the lead in bringing problems at Lovedale into the public domain. They were at the receiving end of the coercive agency imposed by the Institution and it was they who bore the brunt of all that was lacking in a truly corporate or communal life. They demonstrated their concerns and frustrations through their approach to sports,

their attitude to food as a symptom of wider concerns both within and beyond the Institution and through fear of disease.

Coercive agency proved unable to deal with threats to its hegemony. It existed in the face of threats to its inbuilt power over others. The predominant problem seemed to be the fear that students would gain the upper hand in the Institution and dominate its traditions and possibly transform them. There is also the possibility that once students began to have a voice in the running of an institution, they would want more and more power. From its inception, students at Lovedale were debarred from any part in the running of the institution even in matters which affected them directly, such is the power of coercive agency. The preparation in character formation inculcated the norms of obedience and discipline, among other things, so students internalised these values and were unwilling or unable to breach them for the most part.

It was former students for the large part who took initiatives in resistance to the status quo in church life through secessions from the control exercised by missionaries in missions, mission education and in church. They were also active in resistance to the political status quo of encroaching segregation through the formation of political and para-political organisations such as the African National Congress (ANC) and Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union (ICU). Others, also including former students, sought to communicate their resistance to mission education through their literary abilities and here they had to engage with the resistance of mission press editors as determined to maintain their status quo as were their educational colleagues.

Henderson's successors continued in the tradition which was well established by its first three principals. Arthur Wilkie (1932-1942) promoted coercive agency with a benevolent and diplomatic face while RHW Shepherd (1942-1955) desensitised and brutalised it.

Lovedale Missionary Institution conforms to the definition of a coercive agency both in its internalised and externalised forms as students both while at Lovedale and after they left came to resist the mores of their *alma mater* while others became shining examples of what could be achieved with quiescent candidates.

6. A FUTURE FOR COERCIVE AGENCY?

While acknowledging the invaluable contribution of mission education to the development of black South Africans in particular, it is clear from this study that Lovedale Missionary Institution was indeed a "total institution" as susceptible to the problems of power relations as any institution, secular or religious. Those who studied there internalised its spirit in a manner that

could not be simply discarded on leaving the institution for it had become part of their identity. At Lovedale, the character of the Other or the subaltern (cf Spivak 1985:120-130, referring to Gramsci in Thompson 2000:198),for example one who is marginalised in any society, in this case the black student, was negatively deconstructed and then reconstructed according to the ideological ideals of western Christian civilisation and European colonialism, and although Lovedale students, in many cases, came to reject the mores of the education and religion they imbibed during their term of education, they still displayed symptoms of its effects in their later lives and work. This, however, was not an irreversible process for:

> close attention to the contents of an individual's consciousness and seeing it in a social context, it is possible to work with people to uncover and make conscious the discourses of power and roots of socio-political oppression as they manifest themselves in people's consciousness. This can enhance their understanding and empower a capacity for social, as well as, personal change.

> (Banton et al 1985, in Pattison 1997:231)

This is indeed good news for the poor. However, in South Africa, the poor need access to the riches of educational opportunity. Otherwise, the exercise will be in vain. Further, the educational curriculum needs to be revised in such away that it reflects the current needs of society and is directed towards the development of authentic persons and not clones of any religious or political party. The decision to remove Biblical Studies from the curriculum and replace it with Life Skills, as if these are mutually exclusive, is not particularly helpful or insightful in a nation which is still predominantly Christian and which has provided the moral principles on which South African society is founded. The temptation into which some have already fallen, due to a lack of clarity concerning moral education in particular, is to promote denominational or particular faith-oriented schools which militate against inclusiveness in society and denies learners of the opportunity to learn with and about those whose faith perspective is different form their own. Consequently, new forms of institutionalisation emerge which are no more liberating than those they seek to replace. The last state becomes worse than the first because many of the early mission schools were non-racial non-denominational in ethos!

One of the main features of institutionalisation is its enduring ethos which is resistant to change as we have seen in the degree of continuity between the Principals of the Institution who so impressed their personalities on the institution and their charges that Lovedale became intimately identified

with its Principals. Even between Govan and Stewart who disagreed strongly on the underlying principles of policy, there was a great degree of similarity and continuity in the manner that policy was implemented. This was certainly true of the policies of Stewart and Henderson, although Henderson was open to innovation and not afraid to implement it.

Any society is by nature coercive and institutions in society are no exception. From its inception, the mission at Lovedale was closely associated with colonial society and its coercive policy was related to freeing its students and adherents from the imagined strictures of traditional society through the imposition of the norms of western society as Good News thus hindering their authentic human development. Colonial oppression led to the internalisation of the ideology of the oppressor with whom the missionaries were often identified. Resistance became a consequence of as well as a reaction to coercive agency. In the case of the formation of African Initiated Churches, it is doubtful if this novel expression of Christian faith would have arisen in the manner in which it did had it not been for the coercive agency of the mission institutions and their inability to acculturate their message to the African context.

Character formation aimed to transform the inner mind of the students and it manifested itself as a ubiquitous although not always identifiable presence. It was an aspect of the continuity which was essential to maintain the reality of total institutionalisation through the process of "routinisation." This was the result of "the colonisation of their conscience" through, among other means, an emphasis on character formation, although it was, to an extent balanced by "their consciousness of colonisation" (Comaroff & Comaroff 1991:4) which was the source of resistance, both subversive and overt. It may be a tribute to mission education although it is more likely that it was despite it that, as well as producing black European clones, it also paradoxically, formed conscientised, critical and self-critical individuals such as those who were prepared to resist the different forms of social control which were imposed on them, through whatever channels were open to them both within and beyond the Institution in terms of both time and space. The Black Consciousness Movement of the twentieth century had its progenitors in a much earlier period. It is also a tribute to those who challenged the system that they often managed to do so in a subversive manner without betraying their true intentions in order to safeguard themselves from a system which had made and defined their identity and which tolerated no deviants.

This was not clearly apparent during William Govan's tenure as Principal of Lovedale, primarily because the institution was at an early stage of its development and the process of institutionalisation was at an embryonic

stage. Govan espoused a single-minded ideological policy, which was also followed by Stewart and Henderson, of evangelism focussed on the conversion of individuals. In Govan's case it was by means of the education of an elite, limited in number but potentially a potent force in church and society. Character building was fundamental to this process. This was developed during Stewart's time as Principal by fostering the habits of "discipline and industry" through attending to "the moral and spiritual welfare of the students" (Lennox 1903:15) by means of conversion. This process was disruptive of continuity with their former lifestyle. Stewart favoured reaching a greater number of young black souls by providing a more general education than Govan.

Henderson followed his predecessors in promoting the coercive agency at Lovedale. Evangelism, with education as its helpmate, was instrumental in fostering character formation which was perfected in Henderson's regime. The status quo was maintained by strict discipline and a developed programme of industrial education. Henderson espoused the current liberalism of the day though in his own case as an expression of practical faith. During Henderson's time resistance grew to new heights at Lovedale as blacks became aware of their powerlessness to effect meaningful change in society and engaged in acts of rebellion of various kinds. It was also, in part at least, a direct result of the educational process which enabled young black people to question and think through the implications of the education they had received and the Christian faith or lack of it they had developed. That former Lovedale students were involved in resistance initiatives after leaving the Institution bears witness to their ability to challenge the long-term effects of the coercive agency of internalisation.

In sum, coercive agency was successful in missionary perspective to the degree that it effectively encouraged and produced adaptation to missionary ideology. It was, however, a failure in terms of educational philosophy by restricting opportunities for free thought and subsequent free development as "every institution can be an alibi, an instrument of alienation from our freedom" (Berger 1963:145). Coercive agency was self-defeating in missionary perspective except for its unplanned and unexpected development of resistance which demonstrated its ability to produce critical thinking products despite its avowed aims and methods. Its universalising tendency is evident in that: "The soundness of these [Lovedale] methods has been confirmed by their adoption in other similar institutions" (Lennox 1903:31). In addition, other institutions suffered from many of the same problems of resistance such as is evidenced in food disputes and sports activities. Also, many of the products of other institutions were involved in political and literary

activities after having attended mission institutions. From a pan-African perspective, the universality of the coercive agency is attested by Some (1999:4):

> The purpose of these schools was clear: to continue the work of European colonisation on the African continent by converting natives to Christianity and the ways of the west while they were still young, susceptible, and easy to persuade. This was not a localised programme in West Africa but a widespread practice spanning the entire African continent.
>
> School, to us, was a place where we learned to reject whatever native culture we had acquired as children and to fill its place with Western ideas and practices. This foreign culture was presented as high culture par excellence, the acquisition of which constituted a blessing. Going to school was thus a radical act involving the sacrifice of one's indigenous self.

It involved the process of exclusion from the past, present and future; from previous traditional life leading in many instances to rejection by family and former friends, from the community of origin through separation in time and space as well as by enclosure in an institutional setting, and from future acceptance in western society.

7. COERCIVE AGENCY AS "EXCLUSION" AND "EMBRACE"

As we have seen the coercive agency of mission education led to and fostered the alienation of blacks from their traditional lifestyles. It also excluded them from the Western European lifestyle they aspired to and created dislocated individuals and groups many of whom had been rejected by their communities of origin. Coercive agency was tantamount to exclusion through violence where:

> Violence includes all actions and everything that restrict, damage or destroy [sic] the integrity of things, living beings or people, or of cultural or social entities through superior power (Haring 1997:266) …. the "violation of personhood."
>
> (Brown, quoted in Desjardins 1997:99, in Punt 1999:263 note 2)

It originated in European colonialism and was constituted by oppression, destruction of traditional cultures and the imposition of Christian religion arising out of a need to impose its own self-identity (Volf 1996:17). This identity was forged in the European Enlightenment which:

(i) gave increasing recognition to human agency, sui generis, in shaping the world, (ii) regarded social beings and associations as man-made rather than divine, and (iii) ascribed to "improving" institutions, most notably schools, the task of elevating persons from a state of nature to one of moral self-regulation and civility.

(Comaroff 1996:22)

This approach utilised the techniques of rational thought and social control to achieve its purpose among black people. Volf (1996:17, quoting Derrida 1982:82ff) comments on Europe's self-identity as totalitarian which would explain its need to dominate every situation in which it interested and involved itself and remake it in its own image through a variety of forms of exclusion.

The most blatant approach was *elimination* which in the eastern Cape took the form of the nineteenth century wars of dispossession, the national cattle-killing disaster of 1856-7 and the systematic destruction of culture:

We accept that when colonisation sets in it devours the indigenous culture and leaves behind a bastardised culture that may thrive at the pace and rate allowed it by the dominant culture. But nevertheless we also have to realise that the basic tenets of our culture have succeeded to a great extent to withstand (*sic*) the process of bastardization.

(Le Cordeur 1985:5; cf Comaroff & Comaroff 1991)

So although the process was not totally successful, as the basic principles of culture have an enduring quality, it was extremely significant in its effects.

Another response was the policy of *assimilation* which militated against the authenticity of the person or group assimilated where the culture and context and person/community of the Other is denigrated by being relegated to "a false distorted and reduced mode of being" (Taylor 1994b:25, in Volf 1996:19):

This is in part due to the colonial equation of Westernisation with civilisation, and the expectation that Africans who converted should reject African traditional religious practices – particularly those associated with ancestor cult.

(Venter 1998:433)

This is confirmed by Venter's (1998:433) conviction that:

> Assimilation is … implicit in the lack of attention to cultural diversity …. This is in part due to the colonial equation of Westernisation with civilisation, and the expectation that Africans who converted should reject African traditional religious practices – particularly those associated with ancestor cult.

The consequent loss of identity was often achieved by allowing those who were different to experience a degree of material security such as comes from being inducted into a profession such as teaching or ministry. Contrary to this attitude, Kritzinger (1995:375, quoting Taylor 1991:159) suggests that the "valuation of difference, which leads to a sustained encounter and knowledge of the other, entails, then, a praxis of resistance against anything that disempowers the other."

Domination arises from the designation of people as inferior antagonistic beings who can be exploited:

> The ingroup is dominant, the outgroup dependent. The problem is that human beings are sinners and positions of power tend to be abused. In fact, the hermeneutics of suspicion suggests that the entire model of benign dominance is a legitimation of elite group interests, even though it may have been internalised as salutary by the dependent.
>
> (Nurnberger 1999:53)

Domination in our study expresses itself in segregation policies which benefited those who exercise power.

Abandonment was reserved for those who chose to remain outside the orbit of missionary influence, ie. the unconverted ("red-blanket Africans" Ntantala 1992:34; cf "abantu ababomvu or amaqaba" [Edgar 2000:2]) who refused to compromise themselves and their traditional lifestyle: "this was another world, a world of people stubbornly refusing to be touched by the new influences of school and church. This was a world of traditional ceremonies, of rites of passage for both boys and girls" (Ntantala 1992:34). But this only for as long as they could before being forced into the labour market for the benefit of the colonisers: "they [Europeans] would prepare the illiterate majority for unskilled labour in the industrial economy of late 19th century South Africa" (Comaroff 1996:39):

> A new culture, a new amalgam of the old and the new was emerging; a culture that is the dynamic reality through which people express their desire to make their life worth living. For had they not all, school and non-school people, been drawn into the economy of the West?

> (Ntantala 1992:38)

Further, those who simply were not required were excluded through abandonment by being removed from sight and concern physically as well as mentally or emotionally. This was even true in traditional societies facing the encroachment of western civilisation where there "were initiation schools for boys, hidden away" (Ntantala 1992:34).

In addition to assimilation, Kaplan (1986:167) lists the responses of "toleration, translation, … christianisation, acculturation and incorporation." Of these, only acculturation and incorporation adopt relatively positive attitudes to African culture as they attempt to preserve and promote the integrity of " the traditional social structure" (Kaplan 1986:178, 179). *Toleration* was a temporary response to cultural practices which, it was hoped would in time disappear. *Translation* maintained the necessity of Christian expressions though in an African mode. *Christianisation* involved the reconstruction of African custom in a Christian guise. These processes all served, in one way or another, to subvert African social organisation and mission education was implicated as coercive agency in all of these responses to the black population of South Africa.

All of these expressions of exclusion portray those who are different as the Other. In the case of Lovedale this referred to blacks where: "The undeniable progress of inclusion fed on the persistent practice of exclusion" (Volf 1996:60) which was preparation for a life based on segregation. There was a clear contradiction between wanting to train teachers and ministers and disallowing them access to middle-class professional society as equals for "while students were learning to devalue African "tradition" they remained outsiders looking in on white, Eurocentric culture" (Comaroff 1996:50). This paradox inherent in the mission education system had:

> always been held out as a means – the sole means – of personal and collective empowerment and advancement; yet, on the other, it has regularly yielded a harvest of frustration and unfulfilled hopes, for the society to which it was supposed to give entry was never open in the first place.

> (Comaroff 1996:53)

This paradoxical situation is expressed as "barbarity within civilisation, evil among the good, crime against the other right within the walls of the self" (Volf 1996:60; cf De Kock 1996) which is internalised where there is little perception or concern about the wrong being perpetrated because the Other has been designated as an inferior being. This led the oppressors, in our case the missionaries, to refuse to accept what they chose not to know as they simultaneously chose to know what suited them as in the case of the perception that black Africans had no belief system prior to the arrival of Christianity. To the discerning eye, it might have been clear that the life of black people was lived in its entirety within the realm of the sacred. But the denial of such a religious worldview which challenged the enlightenment separation of secular and sacred enabled the missionaries to justify their aggressive evangelistic outreach. Yet, there was an alternative for:

> Christianity in Africa could have been different if the missionary message had been embedded in the holistic world-view of African peoples. It could have had a real relevance to the many other aspects of their lives. African Christians are even today longing for a holistic Christianity such as this.
>
> (Dierks 1983:50, in Donaldson 1992:69)

The same critique could be offered of the colonisers' attitude to land "ownership" where to: "achieve such 'hegemonic centrality' we add conquest to conquest and possession to possession; we colonise the life-space of others and drive them out; we penetrate in order to exclude, and we exclude in order to control – if possible everything, alone" (Volf 1996:78-9).

The effectiveness of colonisation and its allies in mission and commerce, was the result of the choices which were made concerning justice and injustice, truth and falsity and the will to include or exclude. These choices were all susceptible to evil results and evil was pervasive as it touched even those who were at the receiving end of its effects as they reacted negatively to any form of domination or exclusion be it institutional, communal or personal though this in itself may not necessarily be evil or involve the perpetration of evil deeds. This evil often masqueraded as good as its effects became the norms of societal organisation for: "Evil is capable not only of creating an illusion of well-being, but of shaping reality in such a way that the lie about "well-being" appears as plain verity. Much of the power of evil lies in the perverse truth it tells about the warped well-being it creates" (Volf 1996:89).

In a very real sense the problem of evil must be dealt with amongst the oppressed as well as the oppressor. While there is no doubt concerning the

far greater guilt of the oppressor, their culpability is often unacknowledged under cover of "self-deceiving moral smugness" (Volf 1996:58) which claims that were it not for their efforts entire populations would still be immersed in barbaric savagery as it concurrently benefits from the labours of its own greed and acquisitiveness. And when it is acknowledged it was often rationalised as being "for their own good" and denied for being as materially beneficial to themselves as it clearly was. As far as the oppressed are concerned, they too are not sinless for they have also committed sin by succumbing to making a negative, yet perhaps very human, response to evil (hatred, bitterness, resentment and self-denigration) even if it has been committed in the name of necessity in order to secure liberation, for liberation comes from confession, from "the suppression of guilt and from an obtuse belief in destiny," from "the armour of insensibility and defiance in which we had encased ourselves" (Moltmann 1987:43, in Volf 1996:120).

Therefore, the oppressed too are in a state of alienation from one another and God. Their repentance is vital for "as a rule, the kingdom of God enters the world through the back door of servants' shacks, not through the main gate of the masters' mansions" (Volf 1996:114). This is why it is important to break the cycle where "social arrangements condition social agents and social agents fashion social arrangements" (Volf 1996:22) because social agents are moulded (cf Henderson's nickname "the Moulder") in order to perpetuate an existing, or a particular, kind of social arrangement. Hence those being prepared for ministry or teaching at Lovedale were being prepared to be clones of the missionaries' value system. They would subsequently (hopefully) pass on these values to following generations.

The parallel with this study is apposite as in coercive agency a new "tribal" identity emerged as the result of some kind of choice, free or otherwise. In our case this new identity was forged in the "Lovedale product" but it was fluid and not static. One could be at one and the same time a Lovedale student and a dissenting Lovedale student which indicates that total allegiance was not guaranteed within a "total institution." Lovedale sought to emasculate tribal identity by refusing to "accommodate individuals and groups with diverse identities living together" (Volf 1996:20) except in some vernacular worship services, as a minor concession to prior identity and perhaps as a means of reducing the possibility of resistance. Its concentration on "social arrangements" was to the detriment of: "fostering the kind of social arrangements capable of envisioning and creating just, truthful and peaceful societies, and on shaping a cultural climate in which such agents will thrive" (Volf 1996:21).

In one sense this could be interpreted as coercive agency under another name but with a more benevolent nature. However, had Lovedale consciously planned to adopt this approach to preparing ministers, evangelists and teachers, it may have produced less resistance which was the only route open for those who were determined to create such a society somewhat more free of an externally imposed social control. One problem remains in that it is difficult for products of social constraint to break away from what has become their total internalised experience of coercion. Consequently, these agents tend to perpetuate existing, or particular kinds of, social constructs.

As a result of this we should rather concentrate on "fostering the kind of social arrangements capable of envisioning and creating just, truthful and peaceful societies, and on shaping a cultural climate in which such agents will thrive" (Volf 1996:21). While it is natural to want to express solidarity with the victims of oppression, there has to be a way for them to embrace their enemies in order that they can be open to the possibility of becoming integrated, whole persons and communities. This may be achieved through "the theme of divine self-donation for the enemies and their reception into the eternal communion of God" (Volf 1996:23) and this should enable us to do the same as a response to the self-offering love of Christ whose "hope is the promise of the cross, grounded in the resurrection of the Crucified" (Volf 1996:23).

Their repentance paves the way for forgiveness which constitutes "the boundary between exclusion and embrace" (1996:125). It provides a serious challenge to all to embrace those who are different regardless of whether they are the oppressor or the oppressed though, as it has been argued, perhaps the greater responsibility lies with the oppressed as they are more *aware* of oppression and its pernicious effects and have more to forgive. This is part of our divine calling in the movement towards reconciliation which is the aim and arrival point of mission as God gathers all who have participated in his divine work of reconciling the entire creation to Godself which arises out of the conviction that:

> supported by a Christian faith which believes in God's option for the oppressed and violated and God's compassion and love for life, I cannot but express a vision for the present transformed into the future. The transformation from what is today considered power (often identical with coercive, oppressive, destructive power) to a power that is life affirming, and life enhancing, often points to the masking of unequal power relationships. Poor and rich always represent an irreconcilable contradiction, as does diversity based on oppression and lack of care. But black and white, men and women, old and young, represent a potentially reconcilable diversity

> …. The great rift is between care and carelessness, justice and injustice, mercy and mercilessness, compassion and indifference …. What divides is not difference, but sin, oppression and injustice.
>
> (Zaru 2000:10)

The current task is therefore, to work towards the eradication of all that is evil and devalues human existence of which forgiveness is but a part. Forgiveness involves a sacrifice of the right to justice in terms of revenge and restitution and therefore also involves the suffering of being in limbo without a joyful conclusion of reconciliation. An avenue needs to be opened up for the oppressor to experience forgiveness and to himself repent and experience the mutuality of reconciliation. This is made possible by God's prior action:

> when we were God's enemies, we were reconciled to him through the death of his Son, how much more, now that we have been reconciled, shall we be saved by his life! But that is not all: we also exult in God through our Lord Jesus, through whom we have now been granted reconciliation.
>
> (Rm 5:10-11, Revised English Bible)

We need to appropriate that reconciliation through the opportunity provided by Jesus on the cross. This is to expect a great deal, even from Christians who are also fallible human beings. Yet, the cross creates the space in which we have room to manoeuvre with regard to the Other: "We who have been embraced by the outstretched arms of the crucified God open our arms even for the enemies – to make space in ourselves for them and invite them in – so that together we may rejoice in the eternal embrace of the triune God" (Volf 1996:131).

Our growth towards complete and authentic humanity would then be dependent on our acceptance of one another. This might seem to be rather too simplistic and to underestimate the degree of suffering which has been experienced and damage done by proceeding to a solution which tidies up the loose ends of unexpressed negative emotions, unhealed wounds and ineradicable memories without considering the ongoing inability to forget beyond forgiveness.

This requires a consideration of the concept of memory which involves a dialectic between forgetfulness and remembrance. It is clearly impossible to reconstitute the past, yet we have the facility to select what is to be remembered and retain it *in memoriam*. And then there is a need to decide how to employ what is remembered, be it for good or bad. This is also true for

what can be "forgotten." The loss of memory concerning the destruction and denigration of traditional culture has been to the detriment of black African cultural development:

> Without memory we have no past, our identity itself is lost, for the "past is also our present" [Mbiti]. The theological problem which has arisen from the missionary tie-up between Christianity and "civilisation" (that is European culture), consists therefore in this, that it threatened to deny African Christians their own past and sought instead to give them a past which could not in any real sense become fully theirs.
>
> (Bediako 1992:237)

Hence the struggle to "re-member" in whatever ways possible the roots of identity and being. The imposition of a western form of education was implicated in this process of destruction as:

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

As far as missionaries were concerned, black people were in need of rescue from their barbaric state of nature by means of the insinuation of ideas of moral self-regulation (i e civilisation) into their lifestyle. Traditional education was a communal activity as opposed to the individualistic approach of western educational methods. It was also a life-long process. There was little compatibility between western and African forms of education for the western system "subordinated and relegated to a peripheral role the African educational systems and the existing political, economic, and social orders" (Mugomba & Nyaggah 1980:1, in Saayman 1991:37):

> Because the intimate link between education and life which characterised traditional education was severed, mission education was introduced into African life as something alien. It could therefore of necessity not grow into an inherent dimension of African culture, but had to establish itself as a conqueror, by triumphing over traditional education.
>
> (Saayman 1991:37)

This all had the aim of developing in blacks a "forgetfulness" of their pre-colonial past. It is interesting to note that African methods have subsequently been recognised as those which produce the greatest degree of retention of what is learned, that is by seeing and doing: "African education generally took place by means of observation, imitation and explanation. Of the three, the first two took priority to the extent that explanation was only sparingly provided" (Saayman 1991:32).

And it was these very methods which were replaced with an emphasis on explanation which was not conducive to memory retention compared with, for example, oral story-telling. Writing of a more tragic context Todorov (1996:9) comments: "Life was defeated in the fight against death, but memory is victorious in its fight against the void" for the restoration of repressed memory means that such memories can be recovered, dealt with and reintegrated into the personal and communal identity. However, there are two possible responses to "dealing with" repressed memory. A "literal" remembrance involves treating a memory as something or someone to be condemned which perpetuates itself into the ongoing present. It remains as effective as when it was first perpetrated and condemns the one who remembers to a living hell maintained in the present and future characterised by resentment and bitterness. But, if the same person makes an example of the memory and its effects and generalises these as a model of response for the present and future it becomes a positive, liberating experience and enables her having experienced the forces of injustice to struggle against their effects in the present as she is freed to make authentic contact with the Other (Todorov 1996:14) as: "[j]ustice is born in effect from the generalisation of the particular offence, and that is why it is incarnated in impersonal law, applied by an impartial judge, and implemented by juries who have no knowledge of either the offender or the offended" (Todorov 1996:15).

This is the point concerning the sacrifice of the personal right to revenge and restitution as "justice exacts a price, and it is no happenstance that justice is not applied by those who have undergone the offence: it is "dis-individuation," if you like, that allows the accession of the law" (Todorov 1996:15). It does not eradicate the effects of the past as the work of mourning is essential in order to achieve acceptance of the self and the Other. This would result in placing the past in "the service of the present, just as memory – and forgetfulness – should be put to the service of justice" (Todorov 1996:26). That part of the response to coercive agency at Lovedale was resistance in a variety of forms as a means of reasserting the merit of African culture as having a timeless, though not changeless, validity: "African resistance to colonial conquest and colonisation both ratified the integrity of

pre-colonial politics and structures and provided a link between them and the nationalist challenge to colonial rule" (Cooper 1994:1520).

But it also provided an opportunity to subvert the imposed teachings of missionaries as representatives of the dominant colonial order which:

> opened the possibilities for blacks to begin to forge new identities which transcended, but did not necessarily displace, older and more ethnically based definitions of self. Sprinkled in the records of the revolt are indications of the power of memory in the construction of a colonial order. These memories concerned the remembrances of times when the land belonged to different peoples with different practices, memories of a time where a mother's branding at the hands of a colonist had no place. For the independent Xhosa and the servile population on white farms the demand was to "Restore … the country of which our fathers were despoiled" by avaricious colonists, and it was the collective consciousness of the prospects of further expropriations and the descent into debt peonage, fears that proved to be well-founded, that accounted for the great extent of resistance among otherwise disparate groups.

> (Crais 1992:52)

These were people who "knew that memory was the greatest weapon in the struggle against power" (1992:219). This was not an unnatural process for black people because Christianity, and other faiths such as their own, is based in a common cult of memory: "In a predominantly religious setting, privileging memory should be natural. Christianity and traditional religion thrive on keeping memory alive …. In this way, the culture of resistance, hard work and communal solidarity will be preserved with the aid of memory" (Chitando 1998:44).

Ultimately, memory serves not only the present but acts as both a caution and an encouragement for our descendants. Ntantala (1992:ix) expresses this thought in terms of an ongoing commitment to a comprehensive view of time: "to understand the present, we have to know the past, as it was in the past that the seeds of the future were sown …. One needs to know the roots from which … people have sprung":

> The collective memory of triumph against racial and colonial oppression, in which the church played her part, must be kept alive. Against induced amnesia Christianity "will have to become, especially for the young, an agency of consciousness-raising and political liberation" [Ela 1986:103] …. 'Memories, both dangerous and liberating' [Balcombe {sic} 1998b:20] have to be passed on to future generations."

> (Chitando 1998:42)

This requires a move towards acceptance of our enemies and is probably the most difficult stage in reconciliation. Volf (1996:131) refers to it as: "*a certain kind of forgetting* …. It is a forgetting that assumes that the matters of 'truth' and justice" have been named, judged and (hopefully) transformed, that victims are safe and their wounds healed, a forgetting that can therefore ultimately take place *only together with* the creation of "all things new."

The idea that forgetting brings reconciliation needs to be further interrogated for if victims can forget, how do we deal with the monuments which oppressors erect to ensure that these remain memorials of oppression and domination?:

> The genre of memory must be allowed to flow where it will, giving expression to bitterness and anger as well as life and hope. It is at the same time important to recognise that the "politics of memory" can be abused by politicians to fuel the fires of hatred …. This makes it important to look forward, rather than backwards, towards restoration in the nation's repertoire of story telling. Memory as justice and not least as healing is at the same time about victims working through their anger and hatred, as a means of rising above their suffering – of getting on with life with dignity.
>
> (Villa-Vicencio 1999:49)

Such memorials may be re-appropriated within the context of a new dispensation, eg. Mandela's cell on Robben Island, once a symbol of despair, may now be interpreted as a symbol of triumph over injustice. However, it may be interpreted that this is simply replacing one set of ideological symbols with another. Destroying the monuments of the former oppressor can assist in the destruction of memories which are too painful to bear or which are too offensive to remain with. However, this discounts the value these monuments possess for those who erected and still maintain them. Notwithstanding the foregoing, it is rather too simplistic to assume that keeping memories alive will protect us from their perpetration again in the future for history denies the truth of this false assumption. What to remember and what to forget ultimately needs to be decided by the oppressed. This may be done on the basis of what is important to remember and to forget if that is at all possible or necessary in every case or situation.

However, re-membering also involves the process of re-experiencing and this is harmful to present experience if it has not dealt satisfactorily with past events and their potentially long- term effects and prevents our redemption:

> The memory of the wrong suffered is also a source of my own nonredemption. As long as it is remembered, the past is not just the past; it remains an aspect of the present. A remembered wound is an experienced wound …. Since memories shape present identities, neither I nor the other can be redeemed without the redemption of our remembered past.

> (Volf 1996:133)

Ultimately this is God's work as in the creation of "all things new" (Rv 21:5) where "The past will be no more remembered nor will it ever come to mind" (Is 65:17). In any event in human experience it is impossible to remember all things, even negative experiences some of which we repress because we are unable to face them or their consequences, or even simply forget. We do not need to remember all the negative experiences of life in order to grow. There are times when God enables growth towards reconciliation through forgetting (Gn 41:51) and remembering (cf Gn 42:21-3; 44:27ff). This is "a paradoxical memorial to forgetting …. still interspersed with indispensable remembering" (Volf 1996:139). This involves God forgetting human sin, removing it from us and taking it and its consequences upon Godself in the role of the Lamb of God (Rv 22:1-4; Jn 1:29).

This enables "embrace" to occur as an act of love, that is self-giving love based in concern for and openness to the Other (who is now the oppressor). This is Nurnberger's (1999:54) "unconditional suffering acceptance of the unacceptable" which enables a movement from my own stance to the place where the Other stands and is therefore vulnerable. This assumes that the Other reciprocates and is equally willing to become as vulnerable but not absorbed, both maintaining their identities which have been transformed through the encounter. This involves obedience to the dominical command "Love your enemies; do good to those who hate you …" (Lk 6:27ff). This also involves the risk of rejection and of further oppression, especially if the going towards the enemy is interpreted as weakness as was certainly the case with the treatment black people received at the hands of colonialists and imperialists, including missionaries, before, during and following the period of this study. Weakness is also an appropriate Christian position from which to approach the Other as enemy or oppressor (2 Cor 12:7-10; 4:7-12). This movement towards those who have caused great pain requires a degree of maturity which may have developed as the result, in mission education, of the process of character formation. Recognition of the Other was rather one-sided as black people struggled for reciprocal recognition in all areas of life on equal terms with white people, thus preventing meaningful reconciliation. This

is reminiscent of Bosch's (1979:40-57) description of "Christ's Ambassadors" based on 2 Corinthians 5:18-6:10 and his "Servants for Christ's sake" (1979:58-74) based on 2 Corinthians 7:8-13. We might consider this in terms of Nouwen's (1994:92) concept of "hospitality and community" where hospitality "asks for the creation of an empty space where the guest can find his own soul." Authentic hospitality enables people to "see that their own wounds must be understood not as sources of despair and bitterness, but as signs that they have to travel on in obedience to the calling wounds of their own wounds" (Nouwen 1994:92) which are "integral to our human condition" (Nouwen 1994:93). As a result we are confronted with the realisation that "they are mortal and broken, but also that with the recognition of this condition, liberation starts" (Nouwen 1994:93). Through such a common search (Nouwen 1994:93-4):

> Hospitality becomes community as it creates a unity based on the shared confession of our basic brokenness and on a shared hope. This hope in turn leads us far beyond the boundaries of human togetherness to Him who calls his people away from the land of slavery to the land of freedom …. Community arises where the sharing of pain takes place, not as a stifling form of self-complaint, but as a recognition of God's saving promises.

This hospitality is constituted by an openness which can only come from a high level of maturity.

8.   COERCIVE AGENCY IN MISSIOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE

While Lovedale Institution was unique, it was also a typical mission institution in many respects and suffered from the same results of coercive agency as were evident in other similar institutions. We have seen how, in terms of the organisation of time and space, for example, Lovedale shared many common features with Tigerkloof Institution in particular. The same may be said of its eastern Cape neighbours, St Matthews (Anglican) and Healdtown (Methodist) and its sister institution at Blythswood. Problems arising out of sports activities were also common to other institutions.

The effect of coercive agency in terms of resistance in the "spiritual" realm are clear from the formation of African Initiated Churches in the denominational traditions which sponsored missionary institutions. The formation of Tile's Tembu National Church, Napo's African Church and Mokone and Dwane's Ethiopian Church by those reared in the Anglican and Methodist traditions predated the formation of the Presbyterian Church of

Africa by Mzimba, a Presbyterian and a product of Lovedale, in 1898. These, despite many internal problems, laid the groundwork for the creative development for the African Initiated Church movement which has far surpassed the main-line churches in terms of numbers and creativity in areas such as worship, dress and organisation as well as their remarkable ability to relate to and meet the needs of the marginalised. Certainly, they demonstrated the trait of maturity of character in their struggle, life and work in the manner exemplified in Romans 5:3b-5: "suffering is a source of endurance, endurance of approval, and approval of hope" which is the lifeblood of mission.

This is related to the role of evangelisation in black society where, initially, the Gospel was accepted fairly uncritically, largely as the result of the benefits it offered. Evangelism is certainly an integral part of mission as we have noted at Lovedale. Apart from explicit evangelical work, the motive of conversion infused the entire curriculum of the Institution. However, it was linked to the work of social welfare in the community though various forms of community involvement and outreach. Lovedale manifested such an "attractive" lifestyle that many were drawn to it possibly not always for the best of reasons, but nevertheless they did accept its ethos and both adopted and adapted it.

In terms of resistance, explicit examples come from the food disputes which plagued mission institutions. Both before and after 1920, when Henderson had to deal with a serious incident ostensibly arising out of problems of food, other institutions experienced similar problems. These were recurrent as can be seen from the incidents which occurred after the Second World War, especially at Lovedale in 1946. It was in these instances that Lovedale students learned to adapt what they had learned, with a view to making them conformists, and employ it in order that they could attempt to re-order the society in which they lived. It was this very spirit which led the products of Lovedale and other institutions to form the South African Native National Congress in 1912, and it was their successors, including the present State President (Gevisser 1999:25), who came to the forefront of the struggle for freedom from apartheid later in the twentieth century.

Coercive agency enabled "subversive subservience" to become explicit where exclusion motivated students, both during their student days and in later life, to work towards their own inclusion in a new society. It had the implicit capacity to facilitate changing things for the better when its assumptions were interrogated; but it also aided a questioning of accepted tradition. Having been subjected to years of Christian education, preaching

and teaching, perhaps it was not surprising that Lovedale students would perceive the political potential of scripture:

> I have come that they might have life, and may have it in all its fullness (Jn10:10).

> There is no such thing as Jew or Greek, slave and freeman, male and female; for you are all one person in Jesus Christ (Gl 3:28).

> … there are many different organs, but one body …. those parts of the body which seem to be more frail than others are indispensable (1 Cor 12:20, 22).

So it is evident that coercive agency is a valid concept for missiological concern in the respect that all colonial mission institutions functioned as coercive agencies in terms of the dynamics operating within them and that this agency had both positive and negative effects. It is laudable that it produced generations of Christians who extended the mission of the Kingdom of God and who have benefited from the positive aspects of mission education as it extended through the country and provided the basis for a national educational system. In missiological terms, it is necessary to arrive at an ambivalent conclusion with regard to coercive agency as a valid dimension of mission education. Although mission schools and colleges functioned as total institutions on the praxis (cf Groome 1982:xvii note 1) of coercive agency, the response and reaction of the students who were the objects of mission could not be predicted by any means. This was due to the fact of the ecumenical nature of mission schools in South Africa in general and at Lovedale in particular. That Lovedale and other institutions provided a non-denominational form of education demonstrated that the divisions imported from abroad did not completely control the South African context. That it fostered "mission in unity" from its inception indicated that it was well ahead of its time in relation to its European counterparts. It is noteworthy that Henderson and many of his contemporaries, as the result of their ecumenical commitment, were deeply involved in the work of the General Missionary Conference of South Africa.

Inherent in the movement towards the liberation of peoples is the danger of the replacement of one form of enslavement with another under the guise of Christian mission. This is the challenge when mission from one context and culture infiltrates another, that it brings with it its own cultural assumptions and implants them as normative, having no recognition of or regard for the fact that culture is an all pervasive influence and that there is no such thing as a culture free zone, particularly in mission. Christian mission in the form of coercive agency denied the integrity of the context in which it

sought to further its aims and vision. Conversion, where it occurred was not in reality primarily to Christ but to the ethos of the dominant culture which imposed itself on traditional cultures and societies. It is cause for sadness that missionaries were either unaware of or resistant to the idea that their distinctive form of Christianity was not tainted by exposure to and complicit in and with the development of western culture. Christian mission frequently denied the context in which it sought to embed itself and promote its objectives as it uncritically rejected the contexts where it attempted to further its aims. The fact that western Christian culture was dominant in the process obscured the priority of Christ and the Gospel in spite of the unquestionably strong commitment of missionaries to both Christ and his Gospel.

Inculturation was an accomplished fact to the degree that throughout the nineteenth century, its human agents were local lay people who communicated using their own languages, albeit in their written form as another aspect of coercive agency. To this extent, missionaries had handed over control of the process of mission – a courageous, risky, yet necessary part of the process of mission if it was to advance the gospel be it of Christ or of western civilisation. Yet, these local agents of mission had been well schooled in institutions of coercive agency. Nor did the missionaries themselves isolate themselves in their secure domains. They did not avoid social issues and were vociferous in their critique of political, economic and social policies which would undermine their black brothers and sisters, not being aware of their own complicity. Though they, including James Henderson, eschewed direct involvement in politics, they engaged their contemporaries in many contemporary issues, especially through the pages of the Christian Express and its successor South African Outlook. However, in pursuit of justice, they did not always bring their liberal views to practical expression which raises the question of commitment, hence raising the matter of exclusion from a life of fulfilment. While missionaries often took the side of the oppressed, they normally did it from the comfort of their place in white society with all its ideological implications. Coercive agency prevented both black and white from "being with" one another and limited missionaries to the role of speaking on "behalf" of their black sisters and brothers, even to the extent of suppressing local views as we have seen in the degree of approbation which was extended to those who differed from missionaries' ideas and the degree of censorship which existed at Lovedale Press and at other church presses. Any view "from below" in the persons of educated blacks not in accord with missionary perspective was rejected. Hence, the repudiation of oppression and marginalisation by black people who saw little to trust in their missionary mentors.

The challenge for mission in the face of the powerful influence of coercive agency is to minimise its negative effects related to unquestioning conformity and develop the capability in persons to question the status quo and promote creative alternatives through the exercise of freedom of expression. It is to place the Christian mission within each particular society and culture in such a way that it is "true" and sensitive both to the essence of Christianity and the receiving culture. This would negate the condescending attitudes whose results led in the past to the emergence of a class of black person which was dislocated from both its traditional roots and from the society it had been led to have aspirations of joining.

In terms of pursuing the ultimate aim of salvation for all, it is clear that this is not the preserve of one section of society but God's will for all. The missionaries accepted this as their mission – to promote the fullness of life which God offers through the various means at their disposal. Hence their promotion of mission through education, medicine, agriculture, communication, theological education for ordained and lay ministry, communication through the written word, industrial training and spiritual formation. In its temporal promotion mission was holistic, comprehensive and contributed to the development of people to the fullest possible extent of their potential intellectually, physically, socially and spiritually, both in a personal and communal sense (cf Luke 2:52). In the process it challenged all that contributes to the dehumanisation and degradation of peoples. That it could do this was the result of its belief in the future glory which impels us to work towards the goal of salvation in Christ.

Lovedale exemplifies the problem and potential of coercive agency in mission education based in missionary institutions because they were largely based on the same principles and promoted the same aims and objectives as we have seen in the work of the Heads of Institutions Committee. Hence, our study of coercive agency has clear implications for rewriting mission history. In terms of sources from this period, local sources are largely suppressed although it might be truer to say that they have not yet reached the level of acceptance, which will accord them the credit they deserve, perhaps with the exception of Maluleke (1995). Reference has been made to the suppression of local voices writing both in English and in vernacular languages and while this is clearly a fertile area of research, this study has sought to examine the concept from the perspective of the missionaries who promoted mission education as still a valid source for a critique of its effects. It is possible to elicit the voice of the oppressed by a reading "between the lines" of missionaries' documents and investigating the voice of the marginalised where possible by means of employing a "hermeneutic of suspicion." By

operating with such a tool we can no longer remain satisfied with an uncritical reading of missionary records and sources. We cannot deny their value either for often they provide the only available sources. However, they can be interpreted by means of the concept of coercive agency based on historical-theological-social science insights and methods. What is being proposed is a radical interpretation of these sources which challenges their hagiographical hegemony, established by those in power in mission institutions, and which interrogates their assumptions. This may reveal a soft underside which can be penetrated to reveal its true nature. Though blacks are largely absent from Henderson's writings, they are actually everywhere present though invisible to the naked eye. An understanding of the missionaries' ideological perspective can enable us to peel away false and/or facile assumptions and conclusions and enable us to reach quite different conclusions. This has led in our study to a situation in which James Henderson, a great man and churchman by any standards, stands "condemned" or revealed in truth out of his own mouth.

Hence the theme of coercive agency in missiological perspective is related to the religio-cultural setting of its time. Yet it also has a contemporary relevance as institutions of whatever nature are an integral part of any society. Those approaches to research in mission history which have hitherto been considered objective must be subjected to closer scrutiny in order to reveal their strong subjective bias.

It is interesting to note that it was during Henderson's time at Lovedale that local churches began to be established as part of the response to coercive agency both within mission institutions and missions themselves, thus challenging the hegemony of western domination in the church, a matter which is still of concern in the English-speaking churches today. A critical investigation such as this reveals that the black agents, often nameless, were not ungrateful demons who sought to undermine the mission but were products of a system that, paradoxically, itself enabled them to challenge the very system which offered them the educational opportunity. They were not the failures while the conformists provided the success stories. It may well be the other way round, though we would argue that all have, in their various ways, contributed to the development of the mission (cf 1 Cor 12:12ff), and as they pursued their respective careers and vocations they all contributed to the growth of the Kingdom of God. Coercive agency provides us with a new concept with which to reinterpret mission history. The manner in which culture was challenged, assimilated, rejected reveals its value as a theological source, such was the impact it made on missionaries, whatever their particular response to it.

9.   CONCLUSION

In Africa, the encounters of the past are very much of the present. Africa still faces the problems of building networks and institutions capable of permitting wide dialogue and common action among people with diverse pasts, of struggling against and engaging with the structures of power in the world today (Cooper 1994:1545).

What Cooper says about the African continent in general can be said to be true of South Africa and even of the life of educational institutions as dynamic centres where open and free discussions can be initiated among those who will, in time, become leaders in society and nation, rather than the approach based on imposed information and explanation:

> The "subversive [communal] memory" of the past, alive in African oral tradition kept the African students from accepting this [mission] school version of their history as "true." I think that this situation was probably at least partly responsible for the fact that ZK [Matthews] did not want a wholesale adoption of Western curricula. African education should rather be "the reconstruction of our experience in the light of the past experience of our fathers, our neighbours, other races and of mankind everywhere."

> (White 1993:199)

"In contemporary terms, one could argue that he was calling for a non-schismatic or non-sectarian Africanisation of African education" (Saayman 1997:529).

This would fit in well with the needs of the current situation characterised by a commitment to outcomes-based education[2], which is presently marked by continual uncertainty and disorganisation, in a context which is no longer dominated by the Christian faith, but which needs to take account of the holistic religious lifestyle of the black African, and indeed every African, in its broadest perspective. It is inclusive in the widest sense in that it aims to extend the offer of an education suited both to the needs of the individual and society, rather than the exclusive education offered to a relatively limited constituency, by any standard, by mission Christianity. It remains to be seen whether sufficient resources will be devoted to this laudable project and whether the present uncertainty concerning how this will be achieved in terms of established curricula and appropriately trained staff will be remedied.

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[2] A term which might be synonymous with conversion in missionary parlance.

One danger that may arise is the adoption of a restrictive approach to outcomes based education which sees it only as a means of providing specific training for specific employment needs in the country. Education then has the potential to be relegated to a function of the economy of the nation rather than a means of individuals fulfilling their potential regardless of any predetermined outcome. There must always be a place in society for education for its own sake. Whether or not it is a current priority, every society needs its creative spirits – actors, dramatists, songwriters, authors, poets, dancers, musicians and artists – who can articulate our deepest instincts and yearnings in both literary and non-literary forms.

However, taking account of this, it is necessary to remember that the missionaries adopted an inclusive approach in the sense of imposing no doctrinaire religious entry qualification and were free from sectarianism, particularly at Lovedale, preferring to concentrate on the conversion of people to Christian, rather than denominational, faith. What is particularly praiseworthy about their approach is their commitment, which was not bound by any denominational or sectarian bias but by "their desire to excel in whatever they undertook" (Sanneh 1987:337). What was innovative about mission institutions was that a: "continuous flow of people passed through the institution, lived for some years in a Christian environment, and then went out to towns and villages outside, often to occupy positions of relative influence. It was a new way … of spreading the gospel" (Hinchliffe 1968:89).

However, for the future, it is necessary to alter the focus away from the institution with all the tendencies of coercive agency towards an approach where "the people, the leaders and the flock predominate" (Oosthuizen 1993:68). Writing in the context of approaches to oral history, Oosthuizen (1993:69) issues a challenge that "greater emphasis should be put on the *people in action*" in an attempt to recover the authentic voice of the people, period and context. Such an approach would help to balance the one-sided nature of available sources, though certainly not replace them. The use of oral sources should not be considered a second rate substitute for written primary sources because both are susceptible to "corruption" both in production and transmission. Researchers need to be scrupulous in their use of both types of sources since there are substantial guidelines available for the treatment of sources, written and oral.

For the present and future there may be a long-term place for community educational centres, based physically in the community, identifying with and taking account of its problems and successes and using each as springboards for its education programmes integrating these with the wider context, both societal and educational. This would prepare young people for

their place in society by developing their potential to its full extent through interactive programmes, exposing them through participation in all the varied aspects of the educational process so that it takes account of "the longing of black South Africans for control of their own destiny" (Saayman 1991:41). It is noteworthy that, during the period of our study there was no avenue open to students at Lovedale to express their views on matters that intimately affected their daily lives and future. Despite being considered a progressive institution, the greatest involvement open to students was as informers on their colleagues. This actively militated against both liberation and reconciliation within a Christian community.

It is necessary to capitalise on the strengths of the mission institution like Lovedale and preserve what was of value in the educational process for: "[I]n certain directions it has done for the native what no other institution has done, or even attempted. It has awakened hopes and kindled ambitions in the soul of the native, many of which must necessarily die out, but some of which will certainly come to fruition" (Du Plessis 1911:365).

Negatively, coercive agency at Lovedale Missionary Institution was both oppressive and repressive; it inhibited creative development, produced clones and promoted Christianity as the only civilisation thus discounting centuries of authentic social and cultural expression which had served indigenous people well for so long. Christian mission took little account of the faith systems it encountered and, in many cases did not even progress to the stage of an awareness of their existence. The institution grew in such a coercive fashion that it seemed to develop a quasi-human life of its own, almost independent of human agency. In order to make an assessment of such an institution it is necessary to comprehend the nature of institutionalisation, ideology, hegemony and power so that their negative effects can be minimised and their positive value maximised.

With particular regard to ideology, Verkuyl (1987:391) asserts that ideologies should be judged on the basis of God's promises and expectations for the "evaluation of ideologies is one of the missiologist's most basic tasks, one which he [sic] has scarcely begun to undertake." This requires some comprehension of the context in which faiths other than our own exist and operate. It also necessitates a consideration of the effect of ideologies in terms of their "Manichean" allegorical and dualistic (JanMohamed 1985) effect: "proper-improper, true-false, healthy-sick, and authentic-inauthentic being" (JanMohamed 1985:392), as well as the absent-present dimension. Ultimately, Christians are required to evaluate such ideologies by the standards of the Kingdom perspective for: "Mission is … the communication of the good news about the universal and coming reign of the true and living

God" (Bosch 1995:58). This is so notwithstanding the fact that the *missio Dei* has a political dimension of which the *missio politica oecumenica* is an integral part (cf Saayman 1991). With regard to the relationship of mission and colonialism, we can agree with Verkuyl (1987:396) "the lesson to be learned is a shaming one in many respects." The same is true of the negative effects of coercive agency in relation to education in South Africa during the colonial and imperial eras. A liberation theology perspective may be a helpful corrective to a study of coercive agency for while any institutionalised context may appear to be perpetually durable, it is inevitably secular, in the sense of being temporary:

> While contemporary history is primary in liberation theology, future and past are not ignored. Present history is seen as being dynamised by God's eschatological promises whose fulfilment lies in the future, but whose effect is felt even now. "The commitment to the creation of a just society and, ultimately, to a new man [sic], presupposes confidence in the future" [Gutierrez 1964:213]. This future hope does not devalue the contemporary struggle for human liberation. The liberation theologians have been very critical of the way in which the biblical promises for the future have been privatised, individualised, and deprived of any critical historical potential for the present. However, they are also aware of the dangers of identifying any present action or ideology with the totality of God's coming Kingdom. While they maintain the absolute importance of committed Christian action in the present and see the liberation struggle as the concrete project of God's salvation now, they also maintain that there is a radical discontinuity between the present and God's ultimate future purposes. Thus it can be said that the importance of history and historical commitment in particular situations is absolute, while no one ideology, social programme or social order is absolutised.
>
> (Pattison 1997:37)

Liberation theology can thus be a means of liberating the black mind from the oppression of coercive agency which imposed internalisation of its values through the process of character formation and in other less covert ways. The development of an open approach to character formation based on a religious, as opposed to specifically Christian philosophy, may be one of the requirements of a national education system which will mean that the Church will become solely responsible for the inculcation of a specific Christian ethic, although Christianity has much to contribute to the development of such a religious ethic. However, education is only liberating if it frees learners to make their own life decisions and gives them the ability to implement them.

But for this to happen there must be the social organisation to provide support in addition to political and economic stability.

This is particularly true in the sensitive case of discipline. Mission education imposed a hierarchical and authoritarian approach to discipline and deviation from the norm resulted in exclusion of various forms so as not to contaminate other learners. This was very different from African traditional forms of discipline where counsel (education) was given in order to produce mature members of society and where sanction was reserved for the utterly recalcitrant. It operated on the basis of subsidiarity where both parties, the educator and the learner, possessed authority though of a different kind; the one having the right to educate, for example, and the other to be educated. This will ensure both freedom and communal responsibility and will work towards the empowerment of individuals in community. The development of personal identity is fundamental to this exercise but personal identity can only be formed in relation to others who are also searching for autonomy and therefore, co-operation within a community of equals is vital for the formation of values or, as the missionaries would have it, character, and this is best achieved through religious formation in the family and church community. All who have any knowledge, experience or interest in education will readily admit, education cannot take place in a context devoid of discipline. Lack of discipline, often described as licentiousness, is a sure route to failure both academically and socially. This raises the question of what kind of discipline? Perhaps the best and only sound way forward is to inculcate a strong sense of self-discipline in learners through the development of a *regula* or set of regulations which can be discussed and mutually agreed between the members of each educational unit at all levels, for example class, year group or entire school roll, where the emphasis is on encouraging individuals and groups to understand the reasons and need for discipline and to take responsibility for the formulation and maintenance of codes of good practice. However, the need for formal discipline may be dissipated if it is accepted that everyone involved in the educational process, learners and teachers, have something of value to share and to learn. Learners can no longer be regarded as empty vessels waiting to be filled by experts though experts are certainly vital to the process. There is often a fine line between self-expression and precocity. Christian faith has much to offer such an approach, especially with its focus on the needs of the Other and the service of others through the achievement of freedom which is not for the good of the individual but rather for the sake of others. This is indeed "the glorious freedom of the children of God" (Rm 8:21) which leads to individual and communal fulfillment. The integration which is achieved in such an approach to education arises out of a

combination of the integration of self, the self within community, and both of these with the environment. It also has an ethical-spiritual dimension.

Following a critique of the missionary impact during the period of study under consideration, it becomes necessary to investigate God's will arising out of our considered reflection on the experience of black people who were the subjects of the missionary enterprise and the implications for future missionary excursions in the belief that Godself is still working out an eternal purpose of liberative reconciliation.

Coercive agency produced conformists who adequately and even successfully serviced teaching, ministry, trades, hospitals, industry, colonial and local administration and peasant farming. It promoted black people as responsible, responsive beings capable of handling their own affairs and those of the nation too. But it also unwittingly and, often unexpectedly, produced resisters (agents of "subversive subservience" De Kock 1996:105-140) who were perhaps more creative and innovative in their responses to coercive agency through their radical interpretation of the liberating Christian education they received, though they were, at the time, portrayed as evil, ungrateful and obstructive on the one hand, and as helpless and powerless on the other. In the long term it was they – academics, ministers, teachers, nurses, writers and politicians as well as the many conscientised unnamed black people - who demonstrated both the failure and success of coercive agency.

Institutionalised mission education, emphasised conformity and was divisive in its attitude towards traditional society. It was based in what Freire (1970:57ff) described as the "banking method" of education which simply deposits information into empty receptacles who are expected to assimilate it uncritically. This leads to a layering of levels of education where mission education overlaid and suppressed the traditional approach to education.

Community-based education, on the other hand, has the potential to be far less coercive due to its participatory, communal and inclusive nature which allows for diversity of approach and content. But, in terms of the past it has to take serious account of the issue of forming and maintaining a "collective religious memory" (Dandala 1999:61). This can be achieved by means of providing some kind of educational and ritual framework in which the truths "of oppression and liberation" can be adequately expressed; by according culture, as a prime expression of a value system of suffering in a process of life skills or life-orientation, a prime place in national education; and by promoting unity in diversity as a focus of a common humanity (Dandala 1999:61-2). This is of fundamental importance for building the character not only of the nation but of the individuals who compose it since: "[w]here common memory is lacking,

where men [sic] do not share in the same past there can be no real community, and where community is to be formed common memory must be created" (Niebuhr 1974:84, in Groome 1980:19).

Further, education, to be liberating, must liberate all concerned. A new culture must emerge where both learners and educators are free to do their work conscientiously and productively. An alternative philosophy of education cannot be content to shift authority from teachers to learners otherwise education will simply fall prey to a different form of captivity than either that experienced under mission education or apartheid. A *laissez faire* approach to education tends to create individuals who cannot easily adapt themselves to society, and if all choose to pursue their own aims and objectives regardless of the needs of contemporary society, chaos will ensue. However, there needs to be a definite opportunity within the educational system for the development of creative thinkers who, with skilled guidance and supervision, will advance learning for its own sake.

In the new South Africa community based education is vitally important for the process of nation building, and in this process education can play a pivotal role:

> In its most authentic sense, the idea of a *people's education* becomes a nation-building exercise in a sociology of values, in which socio-cultural and socio-economic domination is overcome, and the ideal of a non-racial democratic society regulates the educational processes.
>
> (McGurk 1990:41, in Saayman 1991:41-2)

This necessitates a reassessment of current educational strategies as the present outcomes- based education does not accommodate all the aspirations and needs of the current situation since it aims at short to medium term goals, eg. a medical degree and appropriate practical experience. This may produce a good clinical doctor, but if that doctor is devoid of a sound medical ethic as a basis for practice his/her work and the welfare of his patients might be seriously jeopardised. Perhaps an *ad fontes* approach might yield more productive results if, for example, we consider some of the implications of Plato and Aristotle's educational philosophy:

> Is knowledge promoted by guiding the self-discovery of the learner from present experience, or is it attained by awakening the dormant potential of the person for what is already known [?]. Plato took the latter view, arguing that knowledge is already in the soul as sight is in the eye [Plato, *Republic* VII:316-317, in Groome 1980:17, n.3].

> The inner spark only needs to be fanned and guided to be brought
> to conscious possession. On the other hand, Aristotle argued that
> "nothing is ever in the mind that was not first in the senses." Since
> the senses gather their data from the outside and take it inward, for
> Aristotle the knowing process has its origin in sense experience and
> not, as Plato claimed, by the awakening of what was already within
> us. Paradoxically, both positions are true, and educational activity
> must reflect the truth in each of them.
>
> (Groome 1980:6 cf; Groome 1991:38-46)

This means that it is possible to reverse the process of mission education by stripping ideologies away and attempting to draw out what contributes to the development of human potential. It is worthy of note that Aristotle draws a parallel between memory and imagination in relation to spiritual development. This is critical for the development of creativity in the individual (Groome 1991:46) and in the wider community. The African Renaissance has such a spiritual dimension. Dandala (1999:60) suggests that there is a need for "an inner African Renaissance" which might well be akin to the development of a new form of internalisation which is based in the specific African context relevant to the African community. If we accept the truth of this assertion, then we must accept the truth that mission education suppressed the traditions of African education common to the pre-colonial period. This heritage is still latent and awaiting the drawing out or leading out process. This potential process can make a specific contribution to a renewed approach to education as it seeks to uncover the layers of teaching based in a western Christian ideological worldview imposed by mission education and to bring to the fore or to the surface what is inherent in the African personality and African Christian personality, which is also now part of the traditional world view of many black people as can be discerned in the African Initiated Church movement, as well as in the mainstream Christian, tradition.

Central to Aristotle's educational schema was the purpose of education which was to make good citizens who would engage in constructive nation building:

> The citizen should be moulded to suit the form of government under
> which he lives …. And since the whole city has one end, it is
> manifest that education should be one and the same for all, and
> that it should be public, and not private … when every one looks
> after his own children separately, and gives them separate
> instruction of the sort which he thinks best; the training in things
> which are of common interest should be the same for all. Neither
> must we suppose that any one of the citizens belongs to himself, for

> they all belong to the state, and are each of them a part of the state,
> and the care of each part is inseparable from the care of the whole.
>
> (Aristotle, *Politics* in *The Basic works of Aristotle*
> [Book VIII, Ch I, 1-30], p 1305, in Groome 1980:19)

Community is fundamental to Aristotles system of education so schools are a vital part of the process because they are in themselves micro-societies where the skills for citizenship are imparted by those who are already citizens. It is also interesting that Aristotle is speaking of the democratic ideal which is, to a degree, comparable with that of South Africa. Further, education is a matter of public concern, not personal preference or wealth, which is fundamental to democratic society. Education, in this view would be equivalent to consciousness raising, in the sense of re-membering the roots of identity and being, and political liberation. It also proceeds from a distinct ideological perspective in that it emerges from the particular political context and whatever the context the one who sponsors the system, determines the nature of the education provided as we have seen in mission education. But then, all education has an ideological foundation since it aims to produce an ideal society.

Freedom from coercive agency can be achieved by drawing out from young people what has been suppressed through generations by mission education because of the nature of what "was within them", that is the barbaric, primitive, evil and unconverted nature which was how the nature of black people prior to their arrival was perceived by missionaries. This character had been internalised in their opinion by nature and nurture. While the positive value of subsequent mission education resulting from the "intercultural dynamic" (Saayman 1991:39) cannot be denied, for its positive as well as its negative values had also been internalised, its aims and objectives can be evaluated critically in order to determine what is of current value in the educational process. Whereas mission education in the past led to the alienation of people from their communities of origin "mostly without providing them with the tools to integrate the culture change in ways compatible with their own culture" (Saayman 1991:40), there should now be a serious attempt to integrate all cultures and faiths in the full development of human potential. In this task Christianity has an important role to play in terms of its valuable contribution in the past and especially contemporaneously with regard to the promotion of reconciliation in the nation through the active development of: "a peace between people from different cultural spaces gathered in one place who understand each other's languages and share in each other's goods" (Volf 1996:306).

This is a process whereby a new form of coercive agency is internalised. It is marked by the elements of justice, peace, faithfulness and love which produce harmony in society, the divine *shalom* which operates contrary to the effects of a negative hegemony, power and ideology such as that challenged by the prophet Micah where the "urban-scientific-military-industrial establishment had usurped the well-being of the little people" (Brueggemann, Parks & Groome 1986:7). It forms a new inclusive form of institutionalisation or society which prefigures the Kingdom of God in whose coming we are all called to participate:

> The Lord has told you mortals what is good,
> and what it is that the Lord requires of you:
> only to act justly, to love loyalty,
> to walk humbly with your God (Micah 6:8),

This employs all embracing values of the Kingdom of God, which is the ultimate aim of our journeying towards God.

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