



the eastern cape
historical legacies & new challenges
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ADDRESS TO CONFERENCE ON THE EASTERN CAPE

By

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It is an honour and a great pleasure to have been invited to address this important conference. I would like to congratulate Fort Hare, Rhodes and St Anthony's College Oxford for mounting such an ambitious interdisciplinary gathering, and for eliciting so many fine papers. But my delight at being here is also more personal. I am not quite a son of the soil. I was born in Vryburg, now in North-West Province. But from the age of four until the end of matric I lived in the Eastern Cape – my childhood and my schooling were spent in Nqamakwe, Alice, Umtata, and Grahamstown. And whenever I now return to this region, I realise just how deeply inscribed in my unconscious, lodged in my neural channels is the sense of place, this place. The Eastern Cape's rolling, folded hills, scored by deep river gorges, and stippled with aloe, acacia and euphorbia remains the landscape most familiar, most natural, most credible to me.

This conference invites us to consider historical legacies and contemporary challenges. The first historical theme I want to identify is both obvious and fundamentally important. It is the uneasy, edgy, indeterminate and complex identity of the Eastern Cape as borderland, as frontier. This liminal identity begins with physical geography and climate. Offshore, the cold-water flows and wind systems of the Benguela current meet the warmer waters of the Mozambique current – it is one of the reasons for its reputation as the Wild Coast. Consequently, the Eastern Cape straddles two rainfall zones: winter rainfall tapers out grudgingly somewhere west of the Fish River; to its east, rains come in the spring and summer, with increasingly reliable rainfall levels as the Transkei nudges towards the sub-tropical east coast. And because of this transition, this blurred divide between different patterns of precipitation, the region as a whole is subject to climatic unpredictability.

This physical divide had profound implications for the human geography and history of the region. Hunters and herders – Bushman and Khoi – had long traversed the more arid territory of the Karroo and southwest coastal reaches; and from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, Xhosa clans had begun to test the westerly limits of the 50 mm annual rainfall zone, running their herds, sowing their crops, establishing larger scale polities and denser settlement. Hunters, herders and mixed farmers traded, fought, and inter-married. The extent of their interaction can be traced in linguistic borrowings and in the genetic make-up and pigmentation of some Xhosa clans. Subsequently, these patterns of contact were disrupted and overlaid by others: by the pressures of trekboers in the eighteenth century on Khoisan peoples and then by competition over water, grazing land and cattle between boer and Xhosa. Finally, of course, British settlers and troops unleashed forces – cultural, economic and military – that shattered Xhosa society west of the Kei river.

These overlapping population movements still resonate in placenames. Think of the rivers that drop from escarpment to coast, flowing either in full spate or dried to a trickle during the year's seasons, and almost all ending in an anticlimactic, bland, sandy embrace of the Indian Ocean. From west to east: Gamtoos, Swartkops, Sundays, Bushmans, Little Fish and Great Fish, Baviaans, Koonap, Thyume, Klipplaat,

Keiskamma, Buffalo, Kei, Mbashe – Khoi, Dutch, British, Khoi, Xhosa, English, Dutch, Xhosa – it is a gazetteer of flux and ethnic overlap. Or think of the immediate hinterland of this conference: the land between the Fish and Kei, hemmed in by the Winterberg and Amatolas. Once its inhabitants would have regarded it simply as part of *iXhoseni*, where the Xhosa lived, but it was known successively as the Neutral Zone, the Ceded Territory, Queen Adelaide Province, British Kaffraria (divided into Crown Reserve, Ngqika district and Ndlambe district, and less convincingly named as Yorkshire, Middlesex, Cambridgeshire and Bedfordshire counties!) the Border, the Ciskeian Territories, and the Ciskei republic. This is the cartography of conquest, to be sure, but also a chronicle of compromise, accommodation and resistance.

The Eastern Cape then was “a perverse, erratic climatic divide” (Mostert 1992: 945/6), a borderland of settlement by successive waves of peoples and life-styles, and a military marchland for over a century. It was also an economic frontier, a frontier of labour and commodities, a platform of missionary endeavour, and an arena of cultural contestation. I will enlarge on some of these in a moment. But there is another way in which the metaphor of marginality is used – to express economic or developmental sidelining of the region. Etienne Nel writes of the “marginal or peripheral status of the province”; its economy dominated by two industrial cores with the rest of the province “a marginal hinterland”. (1999: 67, 86) It hardly needs emphasising how profoundly marginality in this sense – the contemporary realities of poverty, male absenteeism, underemployment and instability – are part of the historical legacy.

C W de Kiewiet was dismissive of the Eastern Cape frontier. “It was not a romantic frontier like the American West or heroic like the North-west of India.” It is an oddly unimaginative comment, and untypical, by a very fine historian. In de Kiewiet’s defence, he did not have access to the studies of the frontier wars by McLennan, Peires, Mostert and Stapleton. Romantic may not be the first adjective prompted by their books, but violent, dramatic and tragic are essential and accurate terms. Without attempting anything like a summary here, a few comments may convey something of the escalation and intensification of military conflict during the nineteenth century, as the British imperial presence brought “superior organisation, command, drive and firepower” to bear (Mostert 1992: 390).

The short, savage war of 1811 was the first in which the destruction of Xhosa crops, homesteads and herds – scorched earth with a vengeance - was a key strategic component. The war of 1834/5 “was the first true guerrilla war in terms the twentieth century [came] to understand” (Mostert 1992: 751), in which the invader’s superior technology foundered and flailed against skilful use of terrain and tactics by the indigenous defenders. In 1846, the War of the Axe (or the War of the Boundary, as the Xhosa more accurately called it) was marked by new levels of popular vehemence and violence, on both sides. The settlers, smarting at their inability to drive home victory in 1835, wanted to win the war, confiscate Xhosa land, expel the Xhosas from conquered territory, and make it available instead for speculation and use by settlers. (Keegan 1996: 215)

This mounting crescendo of killing and conquest reached its conclusion in a war which began in December 1850 and persisted viciously and inconclusively for 32 months. This was Mlanjeni's War, or the eighth frontier war, described by Jeff Peires as "the longest, hardest and ugliest war ever fought over one hundred years of bloodshed on the Cape Colony's eastern frontier" (1989: 12) Noel Mostert reminds us that it was the second longest war in South African history – and "the biggest single conflict between black men and white men south of the Sahara during the nineteenth century" (1992: 1077). The Xhosa lost more combatants than the Zulu suffered a quarter of a century later; but their defeat was deeper, more disabling, more terminal than any shift in the military balance of power. It helped precipitate the cattle killing of 1856, and thus achieved the terminal dislocation of Xhosa society on this side of the Kei River.

The weight of British arms tilted the balance of power on the frontier, but the imperial presence came in mufti as well as in uniform. For too long the 1820 Settlers were the scholarly preserve of antiquarians and genealogists. In recent years Clifton Crais, Tim Keegan, Alan Lester and others have reconceptualised the role and reach of English-speaking colonists on the eastern frontier. They have demonstrated how trading circuits developed in the 1820s "undermined Xhosa self-sufficiency, eroded chiefly prerogatives, and reoriented economic activity to new patterns of production and consumption" (Keegan 1996: 131). They have shown how the settler elite domesticated a landscape, shaped a new social order, controlled the local state and created "an identity constructed around notions of racialised class, gender and nationhood" (Lester 2001: 48).

In the last couple of decades, the "centre of gravity of South African historical research" has shifted from the mineral revolution to earlier periods (Keegan 1996: vii). There has been an impressive body of work on slavery and post-slavery; there is an energetic historiography around the convulsions in African societies in the early decades of the nineteenth century; and the history of the eastern cape colony has been equally dynamic. Monographs by scholars like Newton-King, Peires and Crais have provided innovative analyses; and their work is reflected in important syntheses by Mostert, Peires and Lester. Overall, says Martin Legassick, the new work on the eastern frontier "makes a powerful case that important foundations of modern South Africa's racial order were laid in the nineteenth-century Cape, and preceded the mineral revolution." (Legassick 1993: 366)

There are other strong themes in the history of the Eastern Cape. A linked cluster of topics includes the missionary presence, the nature of Cape liberalism, the emergence of a new literate black intelligentsia, and the strength in the Eastern Cape of African nationalism and a lineage of militancy. The salience of the missionary presence in the Eastern Cape scarcely needs demonstrating; and nor does the role of missionaries as agents of social and political change. Missionaries saw their task in spiritual terms, as the capture of souls; but their impact in the secular realm was to dissolve, erode and displace indigenous political, social and economic systems. The encounter between Xhosa and Christianity involved what the Comaroffs called "a long battle for the possession of salient signs and symbols, a bitter, drawn-out contest of conscience and

consciousness.” (Comaroff & Comaroff 1992: 4) It was “a battle over the very shape of everyday life.” (Keegan 1996: 133)

But even while indigenous capacities were drained and old allegiances weakened, the dialectics of the encounter generated quite new capacities and created new possibilities of solidarity and leadership. André Odendaal (in *Vukani Bantu* but with greater detail and precision in his unpublished PHD) has demonstrated how social, cultural and intellectual developments within the Eastern Cape’s African societies fostered a self-conscious and self-confident elite. It was also an elite that established fragile but fascinating links with various popular constituencies, across ethnic and urban/rural divides.

More work needs to be done on the nineteenth and twentieth century intelligentsia, its networks, attitudes and consciousness. Many of you will recall this comment by Noni Jabavu:

All my elders were part of the net of people linked by professions, business, blood, and for many of them Lovedale was the *Alma Mater*, the cradle where they shared a social and political background inherited from earlier generations of Bokwes, Jabavus, Makiwanes and others ... It had been an all-embracing net when I was growing up.

It suggests to me that there is scope for the kind of collective biography that has been so effective in other societies. It is an opportunity not grasped in Catherine Higgs’ respectful and solid biography of Noni’s father, D D T Jabavu.

Another well-established strand of Eastern Cape history is the region’s role as the “cradle of African nationalism”. Much of this – like Donovan Williams’ pioneering article, work by Peter Walshe, Gail Gerhart, Leo Kuper on the Defiance Campaign, is essentially empirical; more recent surveys by Frederickse, Meli, et al may politely be described as official history. What we don’t yet have is work on African nationalism in South Africa that draws critically upon the important theoretical advances by Smith, Gellner, Hobsbawm, Nairn, Anderson and others.

Their work pays specific attention to the ways in which nationalist identity is constructed, highlighting the centrality of cultural innovation, of creative imaginative ideological labour. And with virtual unanimity all the major historians of nationalism have stressed the active historical role of intellectuals. Nairn noted the need of the intelligentsia to build cross-class coalitions in opposition to external domination: “The new middle-class intellectuals had to invite the masses into history; and the invitation card had to be written in a language they understood.”

Nairn uses “language” metaphorically; but the question of what language is available to nationalists is crucial to Benedict Anderson. He insisted that “the intelligentsia’s vanguard role derived from their bilingual literacy, or rather literacy and bilingualism.” (Anderson 116) He continues:

Yet there is a characteristic feature of the emerging nationalist intelligentsia in the colonies... Almost invariably they were very young, and attached a complex political significance to their youth ... Youth meant, above all, the *first* generation in any significant numbers to have acquired a European education, marking them off linguistically and culturally from their parents’ generation, as well from the vast bulk of their colonized agnates ... In the colonies, then, by ‘Youth’ we mean ‘Schooled Youth’, at least at the start. (Anderson 118-19)

This suggests so much about the role of the mission school network and about Fort Hare – and about the emergence of the ANC Youth League – that I will focus for the rest of my address on this topic. Let me begin by revisiting high schools under mission control in the thirty years or so before Bantu Education was introduced in 1953, and particularly those boarding schools that took students through to the Senior Certificate. Until the 1940s, these institutions were overwhelmingly concentrated in the Eastern Cape. Indeed, the cluster of Healdtown, Lovedale, St Matthews and Fort Hare “comprised the greatest concentration of well-educated black students in Southern Africa” (Sampson 1999: 18) and east of the Kei River Blythswood, Clarkebury and St Johns were further important centres.

They were boarding schools. Attending them was not a daily engagement during class hours, shuttling between homestead and schoolroom and learning from each. It was a long term immersion in a rigorously planned and regulated environment, a submission to its criteria and a decisive and a rupture with life outside the school. In a real sense, the journey to boarding school was one to a different society. Lovedale, for example, struck one observer as “the image in little of an organised community, with the recognizable elements of a simple society: church, schools, hospital, industries and farm.” (Kerr 1968: 9)

It was a closed society, set off from the unschooled by its architecture, its regimen, rules and routines. As Pierre Bourdieu has pointed out, closed or total institutions like boarding schools set great store “on the seemingly most insignificant details of *dress, bearing, physical and verbal manners.*” (1977: 94) Those who ran the boarding schools were well aware that it was this closed or total character of the institutions that allowed them to create the desired subject – the educated native, loyal, orderly, rational, respectable and respectful of rank. The Warden of St Matthew’s College fretted in 1931:

When our students come back after a long holiday, or even after a month’s holiday in the middle of the year, we see a great change in their attitude ... we find that when they come

back from their holidays that they have suffered so many pinpricks ... that I say, without hesitation, that it takes us some weeks to restore that nice tone which we have been accustomed to ... We teach them manners. (Quoted in Cobley 1990: 65)

The boarding school closed its students off from the outside world, but opened them up to the flow of discipline and routine. In 1927 the Governor of Healdtown wrote to a colleague:

Will you kindly enforce the following rules: No girl to leave the Boarding Department except for school purposes. They must not pass the middle gate in the Avenue until the clock has struck a quarter past eight [there follow a number of similar guides to movement and the time of day] ... Girls may be allowed to go to Stuart's shop between four and five on Thursday afternoon and at no other time... All girls talking any language except English must be reported to the Governor. All shouting and screaming must be rigidly suppressed. No permission is to be given to visit the Location except under very special circumstances. No locationers are to be allowed on the premises for any purpose.¹

The students (write John and Jean Comaroff) were “enclosed in the rhythms and rituals of quotidian European life for every waking and sleeping hour”, internalizing “a whole manner of being in time and space, one that would indeed make them ‘strangers’ in many respects to their own kind.” (1992b)² They were writing about the Tswana students at Tiger Kloof – but the analysis is equally apt for the flagship Eastern Cape institutions.

Four decades after he left school, Joseph Coko reflected: “Honestly speaking, I think Healdtown has left a mark on me which shall go with me to my grave.” When he returned home for the July holidays in his first year, his family thought so too. “Granny said ‘This *Nxukhwebe* has changed you my boy ... you are now a new boy.’” (Moyer 1973: 86) When Ellen Kuzwayo first entered boarding school (she wrote later) “the new life just swallowed me up ... There was the adjustment to the routine of classes, scheduled meals and study times ... I was quite overwhelmed by this new and foreign atmosphere.” (1985: 79-80) Subsequently, she attended Lovedale, and her memories are equally telling:

Lovedale Institution had established traditions, values and practices of its own, and a unique atmosphere ... The surroundings and amenities ... reflected the ideals of the college. The dormitories, the dining-room, the classrooms – all were well equipped and orderly. Being a student in this college influenced your outlook, values and way of life. (1985: 92)

Boarding school students in the interwar years were recruited for the most part from a distinct social stratum “composed of the most successful land-owning farmers and the most highly educated ministers, teachers,

clerks, interpreters and their spouses.” (Cobley 1990: 64) Their enclosure “in the rhythms and rituals of quotidian European life for every waking and sleeping hour”, their internalisation of “a whole manner of being in time and space”, could “indeed make them ‘strangers’ in many respects to their own kind” (Comaroff & Comaroff 1992b). Wycliff Tsotsi writes vividly of the train journey to Lovedale, of ragged urchins begging along the track, and how some “uppish students” told the hungry children “to put an end to their disgraceful behaviour” (Tsotsi n.d: 100-01) Z K Matthews, poignantly, recalled “being taught to live in two worlds”, of “reaching new horizons every year, and every one of them took me further and further away from my family’s past.” (1981: 15-16) This sense of social distance and dislocation in the consciousness of the schooled elite is a frequent motif in autobiographies, and merits closer examination.

And yet – as those same autobiographies and histories make clear – the alumni of Healdtown or Lovedale or similar schools often reconnected with other social groupings through political activism and leadership. This process, the radicalisation of boarding school students, was rooted in what one might think of as a counter-curriculum, a deepening awareness of social and political realities in the larger society. Z K Matthews describes this process very precisely. Alongside “the pleasures and satisfactions” of learning and the camaraderie of school life came “the discoveries, slowly accumulating at the same time, of what it meant to be black in a white man’s world” (1981: 45) Such discoveries were all too frequent for students returning home to harshly policed locations or to a rural landscape of poverty.

The counter-curriculum could surface, too, in the prescribed syllabus. A politicising experience for many students was their encounter with South African history in the form of racially biased textbooks. Several autobiographies attest to the shock of being on the receiving end of the colonizer’s view of the past, especially when this was implacably opposed by versions of the past which the students had heard from their elders. The counter-curriculum operated even within an ultra-respectable family such as the Jabavus. Noni Jabavu recalled being taken as a child outside Fort Beaufort to see the physical traces of the stockade that had housed confiscated Xhosa cattle in a mid-nineteenth century war. She also went to visit the aged Chief Maqoma: “Men of his lineage were walking archives. They could quote chapter and verse ... giving the reasons why the English disappointed the Xhosa” (1963: 26, 37).

The counter-curriculum, then, fed into the consciousness of boarding school students in their later lives. But in the 1930s and 1940s, it also fed into the crisis which seized the elite mission schools. Jonathon Hyslop has shown that the crisis was partly financial, partly a collapse of authority. In Anne Mager’s close reading of the 1946 protests at Lovedale, she concurs: the mission schools were at an impasse. The continuous disruptions “indicated their inability to retain the respect of the very elite they had partly fashioned.” (1999: 209) The spate of strikes and riots in the Eastern Cape’s flagship schools was of course part of a larger moment, the upsurge in militancy during the war years, and the more radical content of African nationalism.

The links could sometimes be very direct. B V Jordan was a student at Lovedale in 1949, just across the Thyume River from Fort Hare, and he recalls how members of the Youth League “regularly visited our dormitories to initiate us into the intricacies and complexities of African nationalism” (1986: 53) – the political emissaries included Robert Sobukwe, Duma Nokwe and Godfrey Pitje, all students at Fort Hare.

Ten years ago, I grumbled that Fort Hare cried out for a history to supersede the existing treatments: Alexander Kerr’s informative but guarded memoir, and Seboni’s top-down institutional history. Well, today there is a larger body of scholarship on Fort Hare, starting with the valuable review by Sean Morrow and Khayaletu Gxabalashé of the University’s own archives and collections. Newer work includes the Jabavu biography; some studies of particular episodes; and two larger scale works. Donovan Williams, a member of the History Department at Fort Hare in the 1950s has written a dense, semi-autobiographical account of those years, covering both the internal politics of the institution and its deteriorating relations with the National Party government. Daniel Massey has written a Masters thesis, covering student activism from the 1930s to the SASO protests in 1973, and based largely on an extensive programme of interviews. It is an ambitious and engaging work, and one which I think reveals both the strength and some of the pitfalls of oral evidence.

There is much more that needs to be done. We need a close-meshed, critical account of each of the three decades from about 1930 to 1959. I will make some remarks today only about the 1930s at Fort. The college during these years was very small – from under 150 students in 1930 to a peak of just under 500 in the 1950s – but its historical significance is quite disproportionate to its size. This is not simply because of the roll of famous alumni from this period; but also because of its key role as a laboratory and testing-ground for the black petty bourgeoisie. The 1930s saw a burgeoning sense of African identity, and a more forceful assertion of African grievances and demands. These were articulated by members of a black intelligentsia more numerous, less submissive and structurally distinct from their predecessors.

While the numbers of educated professionals grew quite rapidly in the interwar years, they were acutely aware of economic, social and political forms of exclusion. Their parents had sought through education to win full citizenship in the modern state. “Yet the terms in which this state was being formed were already ensuring their politico-economic exclusion, and making a mockery of the generalised liberal promises of mission morality.” (Comaroff & Comaroff 1992c: 30) One key response was a re-evaluation and reshaping of the resources and symbols of traditional African culture. African intellectuals in the 1930s sought to affirm their African identities. Theirs, argues Alan Cobley, was “essentially an effort to bring their social origins and their aspirations into harmony with their ‘African-ness’” (1990: 230).

The Fort Hare residences were natural seed-beds in which these ideas could germinate and grow. In 1935 and 1936, the abolition of the Cape franchise and the invasion of Abyssinia stirred intense feelings. Phyllis Ntantala recalls passionate exchanges “during leisure time, or in the reading room and CU, or on the lawn”

(interview, 1993). Paul Mosaka led a protest against the employment by Fort Hare of white women as domestic workers while there were so many unemployed Africans in Alice. A. C. Jordan wrote a poem in Xhosa denouncing the invasion of Abyssinia. Students staged a successful protest against a segregated entrance at Alice post office, and with some staff members “broke down an attempted segregation of seating arrangements” at a Lovedale athletics meeting.

Govan Mbeki, while a student at Fort Hare, first encountered Marxist texts, in the form of titles from the Little Lenin Library (lent to him by Max Yergan). He bought socialist pamphlets during his summers in Johannesburg, and was sent others by Johnny Gomas. Mbeki also wrote a play, began a novel, and spent long hours working on verse translations. In all three cases, he wrote in Xhosa. He loved the English romantic poets – but he and his circle also developed a fervent appreciation of S E K Mqhayi. Phyllis Ntantala, when I asked about the enthusiasm of her generation of Fort Hare students for Xhosa epic poetry suggested that Mbeki and others were engaged in a broader project of cultural reclamation. They “were beginning to question some of the myths on which they had been fed, and beginning to see the old people in the villages to find out what happened this year and that, and around this, and so on” (interview, 1993).

Latin poetry – and the Little Lenin Library. Wordsworth on Westminster Bridge – and Mqhayi on his hill outside Berlin. These were just some of the elements of the intellectual heritage of Fort Hare in the mid-1930s as experienced by Govan Mbeki and his generation. The new nationalist discourse – premised on action by Africans, for Africans, rather than in deferential alliance with white liberals – was a response by intellectuals whose politics had been shaped not only in mission institutions but also in reaction against them. Mbeki is representative of a new strain in Fort Hare student politics; which in turn mirrored and fed into the ideological labours of those who sought to reconcile their education, their frustration, and their awareness of themselves as young Africans.

Chairman and colleagues: you may feel I have lost sight of the larger topic of the Eastern Cape with the attention I have paid to education, the boarding schools in their turbulent twilight years, and Fort Hare in the 1930s. But I am unrepentant. It is, after all, an appropriate focus for a conference co-sponsored by the University of Fort Hare; and one taking place in East London, where the new Fort Hare campus will create the first urban historically African university in this country.

More than this. Faced with the drastic, dispiriting and complex legacies of the Eastern Cape there is an urgent, daunting and compelling challenge for higher education. How should Fort Hare, Rhodes and UPE respond to the developmental needs of this province? Let me be very clear. The question makes intellectual, moral and political demands of these institutions. If the Eastern Cape’s social order is scarred by “disempowerment, discrimination and confinement”, if its economy is plagued by “uncertainty, labour instability, declining migrant remittances” (Nel 1999: 67, 91), and if all levels of the local state inherited

“rampant fraud, theft, overpayments, destruction ... of vital records, absenteeism and idleness” (Southall 2001: 8) then there are no simple, convenient, painless developmental answers.

But answers have to be sought. And they can – must – be sought through committed academic enquiry. *Engagé* or committed scholarship is not about having the right political credentials. It is about the unflinching, hard slog of analysis and argument. Academics can bring to bear on the problems what my neighbour David Cannadine calls the “intense, original, brain-hurting, time-consuming labour” of research. This applies to students, too. In the 1950s, Fort Hare and Lovedale students were engaged in “legendary ‘bush meetings’” of political debate and mobilisation – but they also travelled by bus and by bicycle to rural areas, to assist with self-help projects and the fight against rehabilitation. (Williams 2001: 55, 89) It is not a glib enquiry if one asks what might be the appropriate equivalent activities half a century later.

Fort Hare has an historical legacy of quite remarkable nature. But it cannot rest on its struggle laurels. It must also identify the impact of the apartheid years, and count the pedagogic, curricular, intellectual and institutional cost of these years if it is to transcend them. There is a challenge too for universities in the more affluent parts of this country to forge constructive academic links with the Eastern Cape – and, perhaps especially, for international delegates at this conference to find ways of cementing academic, intellectual and collegial links with this province and its institutions of learning.

Fort Hare admitted its first students in 1916. By a quirk of history, so did SOAS. Both were founded as elements of the imperial cultural project. Both have outgrown their founding briefs. Both of them – and all the other universities represented by the delegates here today – have a role to play in transcending the past, grappling with present, and shaping the future.

Notes

¹ Healdtown Archives, Cory Library, MS 15,523 folder 2: J. Watkinson to Miss Boden

² I am deeply indebted to John and Jean Comaroff for sight of early manuscript versions of three chapters from the keenly awaited Volume III of *Of Revelation and Revolution*.

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