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Reformatories and industrial schools in South Africa: a study in class, colour and gender, 1882-1939

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themselves, supervised this instruction, but when the institution was taken over by the colonial government, a schoolmaster was appointed. In order to control the large number of boys crammed into the schoolroom, he used a monitorial system.[39] While this might have been an effective method for controlling large numbers of untutored boys, it did not significantly advance their education.

As in all other similar establishments - prisons, compounds or boarding schools - it was perhaps inevitable that the boys would respond by creating a distinctive sub-culture. It was a sub-culture brought into being by the integrating effects of institutional life and mediated by the boys' experiences outside the reformatory. Through it they established their own, autonomous spheres of authority in which they attempted to reject the authority of the state and sought to assert their right to control their own lives. This sub-culture allowed a degree of cohesion and solidarity which could be contained but not always controlled. The other side of this was a violence amongst one another, an aspect of the sub-culture which can only be understood in terms of the brutalising effects of institutional life and by reference to the alternatives open to them.[40]

Hierarchies of age and strength amongst the boys replicated the hierarchical structure of authority in the reformatory. Initiation into the 'under-life' of the reformatory could be through homosexual rape, while younger boys were soon drafted into service, sexual and otherwise, for older boys. Masturbation and homosexuality were common,[41] while fagging, a common boarding

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39 C.A.D., C.O. 6451, ref. 172/91; C.A.D., C.O. 6521, ref. 384/95; C.A.D., C.O. 6533, no page ref.

40 See P. Corrigan, Schooling the Smash Street Kids (London 1979) and D. Pinnock, The Brotherhoods: Street Gangs and State Control in Cape Town (Cape Town 1984); E. Goffman, Asylums: Essays on the Social Situation of Mental Patients and other Inmates (London 1961).

41 C.A.D., C.O. 6521, ref. 89/92.

school phenomenon, also appears to have been in practice, as is indicated by this warder's report:

> On Saturday afternoon last, after play, I fell in the stable party for the purpose of milking, bedding down the animals, etc. The Boy Mposwana whose duty it was to feed the pigs, did not do so, but sent a little one to do it, whilst he played marbles....[42]

The time and place that boys were most powerless and vulnerable was at night, in the dormitories, after lock-up. Locked in and largely shorn of all external control, they seem to have used this opportunity to weld hierarchies of authority and plan various forms of opposition, including the most powerful response - attempts at escape.

In 1891 the first schoolmaster at Porter, Herbert Armitage, drawing on his knowledge of Dr Barnardo's home for Destitute Boys in Stepney, London, located the origins of unruliness in the reformatory: 'I believe', he observed, 'that all the serious offences that have been committed here have had their rise in the dormitories'.[43] To 'remedy the evil', in order to 'raise the tone amongst the boys and make them a credit to the institution',[44] Armitage recommended a series of privileges and rewards to supplement punishments. Stripes and badges should reward good conduct: these would carry extra privileges and power. Forfeiture of these privileges could be used as punishment for bad conduct. The boys could be graded hierarchically, the 'good conduct boys' acting as local authority and 'spies' for the Superintendent in the dormitories at night. Armitage also recommended simpler prayer services than the recital of catechisms, more time and equipment for recreation, larger

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42 C.A.D., C.O. 6504, ref. 279/94.

43 C.A.D., C.O. 6483, ref. 238/93.

44 C.A.D., C.O. 6451, ref. 31/91.

playgrounds and a prize-giving ceremony. His report was forwarded to the Secretary of the Law Department, John J. Graham, who rejected almost all his suggestions, probably on the grounds of their cost to the state, except for those involving the division of boys through privilege and punishment. Graham, who had gained his formative experience in the courts of the Eastern Districts, rose to become Secretary of the Law Department in 1882, a post he held for more than twenty years. He introduced far-reaching changes in the prison-service, such as those concerning the separation of black and white prisoners at all levels. He felt particularly strongly about this, 'whether regarded from the moral or economical point of view'.[45] With reference to Porter, he argued that the future management of the reformatory, if there was to be any material change, should be in the separation of black and white. This, he felt, should be effected not only as regards sleeping arrangements, but also as regards education.[46] Accordingly, a ward for white boys was completed at the end of 1892 and at the end of 1894 it was noted that 'still further classification seems to be necessary'.[47]

During the 1880s and 1890s, the provision of housing, poor relief and formal schooling in Cape Town was increasingly administered on a racially differential basis. In 1891 the Superintendent General of Education, Langham Dale, affirmed a particular direction for black education:

> In a few institutions handicrafts have been taught and general industrial habits have been created and cultivated for many years. What the Department wants is to make all the principal Day-schools places of manual instruction, as well as of book instruction. It is not expected that all the boys will become expert tradesmen; but it is something to train them to use the

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45 C.A.D., H.A. Annexures, 383, ref. 401, Report on the Management and Discipline of Convict Stations for the year 1894, Minute by the Secretary to the Law Department, 17 Sept. 1895.

46 C.A.D., C.O. 6451, ref. 32/91.

47 C.A.D., H.A. 292, no page ref.

> spade and the hoe, the plane a[illegible]he saw, the mason's trowel and the plumb line.[48]

This trend began to be reflected in the workings of Porter Reformatory from the early to mid-1890s. White boys were channelled into industrial training and blacks into manual labour: 'gardening, milking, tending cows, working with horses...and general farm labour'.[49] White boys were also granted extra privileges. From 1893 they could remain in the dining room up to 8.00 p.m. (instead of being locked up at 6.00 p.m. as the black boys continued to be) and were allowed to play games such as draughts and dominoes. A small library of books was made available to them. Whether any of these were read is highly doubtful, as they were selected by the Superintendent whose notion of what would be appropriate reading was derived from the British context. Amongst the books, for a group of mainly Afrikaans-speaking boys, were Dr Barnardo's Child's Treasury, Little Folks, Boys' Own Annual, Chatterbox, Child's Companion, The Prince, Sunshine, Children's Own Magazine and Christian Friend.[50]

The segregation of boys in Porter Reformatory began as an attempt to control and weaken the informal culture cutting across colour lines that had begun to appear in the institution. That classification unconsciously became interpreted as a means of segregating boys along racial lines reflected broader social policy in the Cape Colony during the 1890s. Very likely it related to the way in which colonial officials reinterpreted imperialist ideas relating to the poor in a colonial context.[51] It was possibly also a reflection of the changing ideology of a ruling class that increasingly took its lead from the developing

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48 South African Library(S.A.L.), Cape of Good Hope Publications, Report of the Superintendent General of Education for 1891, p. 12.

49 C.A.D., C.O. 6504, ref. 198/94.

50 Ibid., ref. 330/94.

51 Bundy, 'Poor Whiteism'.

racial division of labour in the mining industry in Kimberley and on the Witwatersrand.

Classification was based not only on race, but also on age and conduct. To this end, an exhaustive examination of Porter was undertaken at the beginning of 1895 by the Inspector of Prisons. Structural alterations to the building were recommended and two additional dormitories were buit to separate the 'incorrigibles' from the newest and youngest arrivals. For reformatory authorities this was a victory; for at least the younger boys it meant some form of protection. The introduction of a system of privileges and rewards was similarly double-edged. It divided, protected and rewarded boys who conformed to the rules of the reformatory; it gave the smaller, younger boys, who consciously aimed at good conduct marks, some bargaining power over bullies in the dormitories.[52] It was a bargaining power, however, that could easily be subverted and undermined. Rewards for good conduct were at the same time a privilege and a potential punishment, at once carrot and stick. Whenever a privilege was conceded - such as attendance at the monthly Magic Lantern slide shows, football on Sunday afternoons, puddings for Sunday lunch, wearing a distinctive stripe-less dress on Sundays which would become the boy's property on his release, or monthly outings to the beach with the Superintendent - it was understood that it could be withdrawn for bad behaviour.[53]

By the end of 1896 the Superintendent was singing the praises of classification according to conduct. 'Classification', he exulted, 'strict discipline and supervision, both by day and night, works wonders. Boys of the most pronounced physical types, who were considered as completely incorrigible, have...become...decent characters'.[54] By 1909 the dormitories had been classified according to age, conduct and colour. The

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52 C.A.D., C.O. 6504, ref. 146/94.

53 C.A.D., C.O. 6465, refs. 98/92, 104/92; C.A.D., C.O. 6504, ref. 139/94.

54 C.A.D., H.A. 292, no page ref.

eight dormitories were divided as follows: No. 1, coloured, 9-12 years; no. 2, coloured, 15-16 years; no. 3, coloured, incorrigible; no. 4, coloured, 12-15 years; no. 5, coloured, good conduct boys; no. 6, European, 13-16 years; no. 7, European, 9-13 years; no. 8, coloured, smaller, good conduct boys.[55] In order to assess the efficacy of his strategy, all convict stations were circularised to discover whether any of their convicts had served a period in the reformatory. Perhaps it was too early to tell in 1895 and 1896, but both years produced evidence of recidivism. It was later estimated that of all the boys released between 1882 and 1896, there was a 14.4 per cent rate of recidivism.[56] These figures, small and imprecise though they might be, nonetheless begin to cast some light on the role of the reformatory in reproducing rather than stemming delinquency.[57]

IV

A close and changing relationship existed between the reformatory and the labour market of the Western Cape during this period. Boys were apprenticed to local Cape farmers and dignitiaries on a regular basis. The reformatory does not seem to have been a major source of labour: no more than 800 a year passed through its doors. Nevertheless, the steady trickle of apprentices swelled during periods of labour shortage in the Cape. Numbers were at their highest, for example, during the farm labour shortage of the mid-1890s. Again, during the South African War (1899 - 1902), when many adult workers were drawn into military

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55 van Wyk, 'Gevangeniswese', p. 552.

56 Ibid., p.555; Department of Justice Annual Report for 1911; see also Transvaal Leader, 11 April 1911, for a report on recidivism at Porter Reformatory.

57 Cf. M. Foucault, Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison (London 1977).

service, numbers in the reformatory expanded and contracted according to the demands made on the institution.[58]

Apprenticeship was a key index of the role the reformatory played in training and disciplining boys for farm labour. The extension of apprenticeship was explicitly linked to employers' demands for indentured labour.[59] The practice of apprenticeship in the reformatory built on and modified modes of forcible apprenticeship in existence since the beginning of the century in the Cape Colony. In 1879 legislative provision had been made for the apprenticeship of juvenile offenders during their detention at the reformatory provided that prior parental consent had been obtained. In practice, those boys whose parents could not be traced and whose consent was unobtainable were singled out for indenture. Since in many cases parents lived in remote rural districts or had died or had difficulty in communicating with their children, it was a relatively easy matter for the state to take possession of these youths and apprentice them during their term of sentence at the reformatory. In other cases, if the state judged parents to be of dissolute or degenerate character, generally a synonym for the labouring poor, they lost their claim to their son.

A contract of apprenticeship does appear to have been signed by the 'Master', i.e. the employer, who was accountable only to the local magistrate of Wynberg. It stipulated the length of apprenticeship - generally two years - and the 'Master's' responsibilities. These included instructing the apprentice in a calling or trade, providing for his education and religious instruction, clothing, lodging and food. The employer had to pay a certain sum to the Superintendent as wages for the boy, until termination of the contract, when the youth was returned to the

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58 See W. Nasson, 'Black Society in the Cape Colony and the South African War 1899 - 1902, A Social History', Ph.D., University of Cambridge, 1983.

59 C.A.D., Department of Justice Annual Report for Porter Reformatory for 1911, vol. 56.

reformatory. Clearly this was part of the process of accustoming inmates to wage-labour on the farms.

No record was kept of the boys either during or after their apprenticeship. No provision was made for inspection of the conditions under which they laboured.[60] The reason for this was given by John Graham in 1891. He admitted that some of the clauses, such as those dealing with education and religious instruction, were unenforceable.[61] Proper inspection would have exposed the fact that they were not enforced, and such exposure would have conflicted with employers' interests in the labour of the boys. There is thus no evidence of the working conditions of the apprentices, but it is clear that reformatory boys did not relish the prospect of being apprenticed for almost half their sentence. Superintendent Johnston reported as early as 1885 that '...the little boys do not respond very cheerily....They get attached to their comrades in the institution. Most of them have just left farming work and they certainly know that they are better treated (in the reformatory)'.[62] If treatment in the reformatory was preferable to treatment on farms, some indication of the arduous work enforced on boys is provided. Of the older boys Johnston also indicated that there was a 'general objection....If left to themselves, I believe not one boy would go....excepting perhaps in the case of relations where they are claimed'.[63] A few boys did use the opportunity to leave the reformatory to join family or friends.[64] Damon Jonker, for

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60 C.A.D., C.C.P., 1/2/2/1/33, Report of Select Committee on Porter Reformatory, 1885.

61 C.A.D., C.O. 6451, Notes made by Secretary, 29 June 1891.

62 C.A.D., C.C.P. 1/2/2/1/33, Report of Select Committee, p. 12.

63 Ibid.

64 C.A.D., C.O. 6485, ref. 17093; C.C.P. 1/2/2/1/33: Johnston's evidence ran as follows, 'frequently if a lad has a friend he gets him out by having him apprenticed'.

example, who was due for discharge in 1893, asked to be apprenticed on a farm where his brother had been apprenticed.

It was not unusual for boys to abscond from their employers. Anthonie Klerck, apprenticed to the liberal Cape M.P., John X. Merriman, absconded after three years.[65] Another apprentice, Stephanus Jonker, fled the farm for the reformatory, stating that he had been severely beaten by both his 'master' and his sons.[66] It is not clear whether such boys were returned to the original employer, re-apprenticed to another or kept at the reformatory for the remainder of their sentence. There was certainly no guarantee that they would be dealt with sympathetically, and absconding apprentices took a considerable risk.

There is little information about the lives of boys once they left Porter. Some found their way back into prison as adults; others, defined as destitute by the state, were drafted into farm labour. A few sought employment in the environs of the reformatory. It is about these that we have most information. It seems that they chose this option for a variety of reasons: to maintain friendships forged during the period of incarceration or to use this as a time for negotiating re-entry into the wider world. When boys were discharged, the marks of the outcast were removed and new symbols of incorporation were introduced. They were given 1 - 5 shillings (depending on their conduct inside), a suit of discharge clothing made at the reformatory and their fare to the railway station nearest to their ultimate destination.

V

By the end of the century, as the Cape increasingly 'became a commercial partner for an industrial hinterland',[67] the focus on juvenile crime also shifted northwards. In 1900 provision was made in Porter for the detention of juvenile offenders from the Orange River Colony and the Transvaal, but this was clearly

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65 C.A.D., C.O. 6533, ref. 105/96.

66 C.A.D., C.O. 6485, ref. 36/93.

67 Mabin, 'Making of Colonial Capitalism', p. 248.

merely an interim measure until the Rand had developed its own thrust in penal policy and its own network of penal institutions.

New explanations and methods of rehabilitation began to be discussed. Through the new Director of Prisons and architect of the Union government's penal legislation, Jacob de Villiers Roos, positivist criminology entered the field.(See Chapter Three) A growing body of first voluntary and then professional social workers and educationists popularised British and American psycho-pathological models of delinquency.(See Chapters Four and Six) Some of these began to filter through to Porter. After the South African War(1899-1902), greater interest was bestowed on the social environment and especially the family background of the offender. Hitherto, Description Registers had simply recorded details about the crime and the sentence, the occupations of parents and their ability to maintain the offender; they now, elicited reports of the 'environment of the offender previous to the conviction', the traceability of the crime 'to any known cause', the character and condition in life of the parents and whether the parents had a criminal record themselves.[68] Knowledge about the offender began to assume a new status. Much more intimate information regarding the family and social background of the inmate was required.[69] This was to be used by a new stratum of voluntary and then professional social workers to attempt to achieve a scientific understanding and solution to juvenile delinquency. Principles of classification also began to assume greater signficance. The recommendations of the 1909 Inquiry into Porter stressed the need for re-organisation of Porter 'upon the same basis as similar modern institutions elsewhere and introducing higher reformative principles'.[70] Accordingly, it also made recommendations for the further classification of boys according to the nature of the crime committed and control over boys after discharge.

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68 C.A.D., C.O. 2736, no page ref.

69 Ibid.

70 C.A.D., C.O. 1883.

Crucially, however, the patterns established in Porter were incorporated into the new framework. Apprenticeship was retained as a major aspect of reformatory life and the state's hand was strengthened even further over the boys in that it was now given the power to apprentice boys after expiration of sentence without having to obtain the consent of parents or guardians. The de facto situation was thus endorsed. Secondly, whereas segregation had been introduced within the institution of Porter as far as accommodation and education were concerned, separate institutions were now to be built for 'Europeans, Africans and Coloureds'.

Conclusion

This chapter has explored the origins and nature of the reformatory in Cape colonial society between 1882 and 1910. Born in a period of economic transition, its concern was with the reproduction of a labouring population precipitated by colonial conquest. Unlike the prison and compound, which gained their distinctive character from the way in which they were articulated to an emerging industrial capitalist society, the reformatory was shaped by the imperatives of merchant capital and commercial agriculture. Although based on the English model, local social realities quickly began to mould the particular nature of the reformatory in the Cape Colony. Firstly, classification for the purposes of control came to mean segregation in a colonial context. Secondly, the needs of commercial agriuclture meant that in Porter there was a much greater stress on the apprenticing of inmates than there was in the internal operations of the British reformatory.

CHAPTER TWO

COMPULSORY SCHOOLING, HOSTELS AND INDUSTRIAL SCHOOLS ON THE WITWATERSRAND, 1886-1910: CONDITIONS OF EMERGENCE

If the origins of the reformatory in South Africa lie in the social consequences of colonial conquest and the transition from merchant to industrial capitalism, the early history of industrial education is associated with the differential impact of a changing agrarian economy during the nineteenth century on an African peasantry and low-skilled Europeans. By the mid-nineteenth century a class of indigenous mission-educated black peasant producers who could supply raw materials for the British merchants and constitute a growing consumer market for their goods had emerged in the Cape Colony. Industrial education departments were attached to many mission schools in both the Cape Colony and Natal as early as the mid-nineteenth century. At its best, industrial education envisaged tra ıing in both commercial agricultural methods as well as skilled trades such as carpentry and blacksmithing. At its most frequent and worst, it embraced little more than gardening and manual education.[1]

The link between the teaching of industrial 'arts' and any specific occupations entered into by its recipients was, however, tenuous. Remarakably few Africans, despite the amounts spent on industrial education, entered the artisan class. The reasons for this lay in the difficult access to, and slender rewards of skilled trades.[2] Job preference was not dictated by school

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1 N. Etherington, Preachers, Peasants and Politics in South East Africa 1835-1880: African Christian Communities in Natal, Pondoland and Zululand (London 1978), 126-127, 166; R. Hunt Davis Jr., '1855-1863: A Dividing Point in the Early Development of African Education in South Africa', in The Societies of Southern Africa in the 19th and 20th Centuries, vol. 5 (University of London: Institute of Commonwealth Studies, 1973-4), pp. 6-11.

2 Etherington, Preachers, Peasants and Politics, pp. 126-127.

curricula, but by colonial labour market conditions. Nonetheless, influential members of the kholwa community, throughout the later nineteenth century, called for state-controlled schools providing a practical, industrial education, by which was meant commercial rather than theological and academic instruction.[3]

The expansion of commercial agriculture, as well as the spread of railway and other construction work between 1860 and 1890 contributed also to growing social differentiation and the dispossession of significant numbers of Europeans in the Cape Colony and Transvaal.[4] Colin Bundy has convincingly demonstrated that while white poverty was not a new phenomenon in the 1890s, 'there was a major shift in ruling-class perceptions of the nature of poverty that was analagous to ideological developments in metropolitan Britain, and partly derived from them; and that in the colonial context these altered perceptions tended to be expressed in racial terms'.[5] The rediscovery of poverty in England in the 1880s was accompanied by changing interpretations of the causes and solutions to impoverishment. Whereas previously poverty was seen as a product of moral failure, it was now attributed to the physical and economic environment, and solvable by social policy.

These trends were reflected in the approach taken by the 'shapers of a poor white discourse',[6] the Dutch Reformed Church and the Colonial Government to schooling. From the 1890s, industrial education was explored in the hope that it would

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3 Ibid., p. 166.

4 C. Bundy, 'Vagabond Hollanders and Runaway Englishmen: White Poverty in the Cape Before Poor Whiteism', in W. Beinart, P. Delius and S. Trapido (eds.), Putting a Plough to the Ground: Accumulation and Dispossession in Rural South Africa 1850 - 1930 (Johannesburg 1986), pp. 100-128.

5 Ibid., p. 119.

6 Ibid., p. 121.

alleviate white poverty, particularly in the rural areas.[7] In 1893 the Cape Government established so-called 'poor schools' in which manual instruction would take precedence over cultural subjects, and urged that a start be made with the establishment of industrial schools. A school was subsequently established in Cape Town in 1894, and another at Uitenhage in 1895, the latter by the Dutch Reformed Church. By 1902 there were nine industrial schools in the Cape Colony.[8] Industrial schooling also had its urban and industrial precedents before the South African War(1899-1902). On the Rand, a demonstration-march by Johannesburg's white unemployed on 14 August 1897 concentrated the mind of the Kruger government on the question of relief to the indigent. One of the consequences of the march was that the state gave its approval, in principle, to a scheme for an industrial school which would train some of Johannesburg's Afrikaner youth.[9]

Thus the history of industrial education and schools in South Africa begins in the nineteenth century not with 'delinquents' but with mission education, an African peasantry, and impoverished whites. By the 1890s it was increasingly posed as an appropriate form of schooling for 'poor whites' in both rural and urban areas. Only after the South African War (1899-1902) did industrial schools which were 'more or less like

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7 E. Malherbe, Education and the Poor White (Carnegie 1932); M. Martinius, A Study of the Development of Rural Education (European) in the Cape Colony (Grahamstown 1932); M. McKerron, A History of Education in South Africa (Pretoria 1934), ch. 4, p. 105.

8 M. Martinius, A Sketch of the Development of Rural Education (European) in the Cape Colony 1652-1910 (Grahamstown 1922), p. 91.

9 See C. van Onselen, 'The Main Reef Road into the Working Class: Proletarianisation, Unemployment and Class Consciousness amongst Johannesburg's Afrikaner Poor, 1890-1914', Studies, vol 2: New Nineveh, p. 130.

reformatories'[10] develop. Conceived during the period of reconstruction under Milner which followed the war, these industrial schools were spawned by the Transvaal Het Volk government of Boer generals, Transvaal farmers and 'well-educated professionals drawn from the older and more developed south'[11] headed by Louis Botha and Jan Christiaan Smuts. Their clientele now became not just the children of the white 'indigent', but those who were destitute, neglected and 'likely to fall into crime' by reason of their association with criminals and prostitutes. These industrial schools had a distinctly penal function and often, in practice, became 'a half way house between the school and the reformatory'.[12] In the depression year of 1907, one was established at Standerton, and a second at Emmasdale near Heidelberg in 1909. At first co-educational, Standerton was, after 1909, confined to girls and Heidelberg to boys. Both were in the Transvaal and for children from Johannesburg.

The conditions responsible for the subtle transformation of these schools were the mining revolution on the Witwatersrand, and the establishment, after the South African War, of a new, modern state. During the first two decades of the twentieth century, educational reconstruction in South Africa was but one aspect of a wider attempt by the state and private philanthropy to create a network of institutions capable of containing some of the social effects of industrialisation. Social dislocation wrought by the development of gold mining and the South African War respectively threw into sharp relief the question of reproduction and control of the non-migrant, European, urban working class. Social, educational and penal institutions were

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10 E. Malherbe, Education in South Africa, vol. II (Cape Town 1977), p. 164.

11 C. van Onselen, 'The Main Reef Road' in Studies, vol. 2, p. 113.

12 H. Simons, 'Crime and Punishment with reference to the Native Population of South Africa', M.A., University of South Africa, 1931, p. 146.

created whose task it was to transform older, pre-industrial attitudes and values, absorb and mute rising social and cultural conflicts, and morally re-educate criminal youth, while at the same time creating the broad conditions for a modern education system.

Industrial schools were, in the aftermath of the South African War (1899-1902) and in the context of the growth of unemployed urban proletarians, also part of a direct attempt by the state to change the class position of 'poor whites'. Unskilled whites were, at this time, denied work by the mining industry, as a consequence of being considered 'too expensive', and were considered a danger by other sectors within the governing classes. One response by the state to their social condition was, as Davies has shown, to attempt to re-allocate them through education and training to supervisory places within the racial division of labour.[13] Initiatives to establish such intitutions were mooted and begun particularly during periods of heightened political and economic crisis. Before 1924, these were between 1906 and 1909, 1912 and 1914, in 1916 and again between 1920-22. Industrial schools were an attempt to encourage and equip 'poor whites' to participate in the capitalist labour market, rather than remain marginal to it. Ironically, the labour market was being re-organised during this period in a manner which would nullify the intended benefits of such education and training. Restructuring of the racial division of labour involved a process of de-skilling/restricting white employment to supervisory places which effectively placed wage-earners and their skills in an extremely tenuous and insecure position.[14]

The articulation of industrial schools into a wider penal and educational system which included schools, orphanages, refuges, homes and hostels; their differentiation from provincial trades, technical, agricultural and housecraft schools after 1910, and

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13 R. Davies, Capital, State and White Labour in South Africa 1900-1960: An Historical Materialist Analysis of Class Formation and Class Relations (Brighton 1979), pp. 97-143.

14 Ibid., p. 69.

their establishment on a racial basis, was of-a-piece with the wider elaboration and establishment of South African society on a segregated basis.[15] Significantly, some of the same men who articulated segregationism as a suitable 'native policy' for South Africa as a whole as much as for Johannesburg as a city, were among the first to advocate segregation in education: men like Howard Pim (accountant, Johannesburg town councillor, social worker, and noted 'friend of the native'), Lionel Curtis (Town Clerk of Johannesburg during the War), Richard Feetham(Town Clerk of Johannesburg's first Town Council in 1903 and Member of the Legislative Assembly in 1907; see Chapter Four), and Philip Kerr, all of whom formed part of Lord Alfred Milner's Transvaal administration after the war. These men all sat on the highly influential Transvaal Indigency Commission (1906-1908), which explored means for resolving poverty amongst Europeans. In the same year that this Commission began to explore measures for 'reclaiming' children of the rural and urban unskilled and unemployed, and two years before the introduction of free and compulsory schooling for white children in the Transvaal, one of their close compatriots and a leading mine magnate on the Witwatersrand, Lionel Phillips, wrote that 'it is wise to consider whether its direction (education for blacks) should not rather be systematically controlled than that he(sic) should be allowed to develop along his own lines'.[16]

Like all segregationist thinking, educational policy and strategy viewed it 'as settled that the white race will insist upon ruling, and will never consent to be ruled by the natives,

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15 M. Legassick, 'British Hegemony and the Origins of Segregation, 1901-1914', in Institute of Commonwealth Studies, Collected Seminar Papers, University of London, Feb. 1974; P. Rich, 'The Agrarian Counter-Revolution in the Transvaal and the Origins of Segregation, 1902-1914', in P. Bonner (ed.) Working Papers in Southern African Studies: Papers presented at the African Studies Institute Seminar (Johannesburg 1977); M. Cross, 'The Foundations of A Segregated Schooling System in the Transvaal, 1900-1924', History of Education, 16, 4 , pp. 259-274.

16 L. Philips, Transvaal Problems: Some Notes on Current Politics (London 1905), p.129.

the amount of influence that they will be allowed to exercise must always be limited'.[17] The new system of education was assimilated to this wider policy. One of the first ordinances passed by the imperial administration in the Transvaal after the War provided for free primary schooling under state control 'for children both of whose parents are of European descent'.[18] In 1907 the new Afrikaner Het Volk government introduced compulsory schooling for children between the ages of seven and fourteen for the first time. In both the above instances, separate provision was made for black children. While schools for 'coloured' children became a state administrative undertaking, they were to be conducted separately from those for whites. Missionary societies remained the dominant force in the schooling of blacks, however, until the 1950s. The role of the state in African schooling was expanded during the first decade of the twentieth century by providing for a greater measure of control and supervision through the appointment of a Superintendent of Native Education in 1904. The South African Native Affairs Commission of 1903-1905 specifically rejected proposals for the introduction of compulsory schooling and a system of secular, as opposed to religious, instruction.[19] Equally, social welfare provisions, such as those made for the white urban proletariat, were disregarded for the black proletariat on the basis that they would be provided for in the reserves.

The separations imposed on youth must be related to the as much to re-organisation of the labour market and segregationist solutions produced during this period as to the social forms of

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17 Ibid., p. 130.

18 Republished in Transvaal Education Department (T.E.D Archive, Pretoria), Transvaal Education Department, Centenary Publication 1876-1976 (Pretoria 1976).

19 South African Native Affairs Commission Report, 1903-1905 (Cape Town 1905), p. 71. The same was not true, however, in the construction of reformatories.

organisation that emerged in industrialising Johannesburg.[20] Here, another dimension is added to the conventional interpretation which views the conflict between English and Afrikaans speakers during this period as paramount, by considering some of the colour and class dimensions of youth policy, and the profound impact of the development of segregated structures in the socialisation and schooling of black and white youth for twentieth century South Africa.[21] For even as the state encouraged reconciliation of Boer and Briton after the South African War through free and compulsory schooling, so it also sought control over, and social and ideological transformations of black and white working class youth. Through looking at three separate, but linked, aspects of social policy for white youth, this chapter will trace the emergence of and cast some light on the way in which educational and penal institutions including industrial schools and reformatories were transformed under the impact of industrial capitalism.

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20 On the relationship between the development of the mining industry and segregated social structures, see S. Marks and S. Trapido, 'Lord Milner and the South African State', History Workshop Journal, 8, Autumn, 1979, pp. 50-82; S. Marks and R. Rathbone (eds.), Industrialisation and Social Change in South Africa: African Class Formation, Culture and Consciousness 1870 - 1930 (London 1982); M. Legassick, 'South Africa: Capital Accumulation and Violence', Economy and Society, 3, 1974, pp. 253-91; F. Johnstone, Class Race and Gold: A Study of Class Relations and Racial Discrimination in South Africa (London 1976); C. van Onselen, Studies in the Social and Economic History of the Witwatersrand 1886-1914 (Johannesburg 1982), vol. 1, New Babylon.

For local studies in the same area as this chapter, see M. Cross, 'Capital, State, Missionaries, and the Foundations of a Segregated Schooling System on the Witwatersrand, 1900-1924', M.Ed., University of the Witwatersrand, 1985; R. Krut, 'Working Class "Youth" and "Delinquency" in Johannesburg, 1890-1913' unpublished paper, n.d., pp 1-6.

21 E. Malherbe, Education in South Africa (Johannesburg 1925), vol. 1, 1652-1922; B. Rose (ed.), Education in Southern Africa (Johannesburg 1976).

Gold was discovered along the Witwatersrand in 1886. The city of Johannesburg grew momentously fast. Within 10 years of its founding, the town was 100,000 strong. In 1904, the population of Johannesburg included 83,363 whites, 7,326 'coloureds', 5,348 'Asiatics' and 59,605 Africans.[22] By 1914, Johannesburg was a city of over a quarter of a million inhabitants. A marked feature of this population in the first decade and a half, up to the South African War, was the 'overwhelmingly male-dominated' nature of the town.[23] In 1897 only 12 per cent of the Witwatersrand's European mine employees were married and living with their families. By 1902 this percentage was still relatively small at 20%. Ten years later, fewer than 50% of these workers had their families resident with them.[24] For those who did not have recourse to the support that the family could provide, the boarding-house and compound culture of prostitution and drink provided succour and release from a conflict-ridden working existence.[25]

While skilled workmen and artisans found homes in the working-class suburbs of Jeppe, Troyeville, Belgravia and Fordsburg, the 'labouring' and 'dangerous' poor were concentrated in the areas running east to west along the line of the Reef, in Vrededorp, Fordsburg, Ferreirastown, Burghersdorp, Marshallstown, City and Suburban, and Jeppestown. Here a lower-class culture cutting across racial lines had begun to develop: black and white lived side by side, relaxed together, and frequently engaged in joint, often illicit enterprises involving, for example, liquor selling and prostitution. While the non-racialism of this heterogeneity should not be exaggerated or romanticised, its

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22 N. Kagan, 'African Settlement in the Johannesburg Area, 1903-1923', M.A., University of the Witwatersrand, 1978, p. 15.

23 Van Onselen, Studies, vol. 1, pp. 2 & 5.

24 Ibid., p. 31.

25 Ibid., p. 5.

social and political implications of this culture did much to shape social policy towards the children of the white proletariat.

Among those blacks living in these multi-racial areas were Africans seeking to obtain the cash income necessary to pay the money taxes imposed on them and who had found work in non-mining enterprises. By 1896 they comprised 14 195 out of a total African population of 42 533 on the Rand. They were employed in various kinds of industries such as brick making, washing, timber works and saw mills, engineering works and iron foundries, as well as domestic and commercial service work. A fair number were also involved in brewing, building, gasworks, the manufacture of mineral water, flour mills, carriage and wagon-building, harness and saddle-making, printing and stone-cutting.[26] The small numbers of black women who had come to the Rand either to find work or to join husbands or lovers, were excluded from the labour market.[27] Men dominated domestic labour in these early years. Even black male juveniles from the North Eastern Transvaal had begun to enter domestic service on the Rand as a result of agricultural reverses in the area between 1902 and 1908.[28] As a consequence black women were drawn to liquor selling, the 'most pervasive source of income among women'[29] in the married quarters among black mine workers, and presumably also in the town itself. In order to counter-act the alleged evil effects of town-life on women, and to prepare young African women from the mine locations for domestic work, the Church of England Mission began the St Agnes Native Girls' Industrial School in

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26 N. Kagan, 'African Settlement in the Johannesburg Area, 1903-1923', M.A., University of the Witwatersrand, 1978, p. 14

27 K. Eales, 'Good Girls, Jezebels and Domestic Service: Johannesburg, 1912', unpublished paper, University of the Witwatersrand, p.6

28 van Onselen, 'Witches of Suburbia', in Studies, vol. 2, New Nineveh, p. 17.

29 Ibid., p. 8

1908.[30] It was not, however, successful in attracting many girls, partly because it proved too expensive.

Of the whites living here were those proletarianised as a consequence of the growing commercialisation of agriculture stimulated by the proclamation of the goldfields. Some had sought a livelihood in the interstices of the new urban society as transport riders, cab drivers, or brick makers. By the late 1890s, left unemployed as a result of their enterprises being undermined by the more powerful interests in the city and state, they grew in number as the rural diasters of rinderpest, drought, and locusts between 1896 and 1898 forced many more off the land.[31] Many others hailed from beyond the borders of the Transvaal. The first pickings of the unstable 'flesh markets' of Johannesburg were made by 'coloured' women from South Africa's coastal regions. Between 1895 and 1899, as the status of the goldfields became more permanent, they were joined by scores of Russo-American pimps and prostitutes from New York City.[32]

Children accompanied both groups of new arrivals, and were born out of fresh liaisons, some colour-blind, forged in the city. In 1896 The Star newspaper, for example, was horrified to find that, in the slums, 'children, white, copper-coloured and black play like rats....Children, all colours, crawl about in a semi-nude state'.[33] As the recession which started in late 1895 deepened into a full-scale depression between 1896 and 1898, it was not likely that many of these children would make their way to school. Although some schools on the Rand were subsidy-earning, they were not yet free and compulsory. Indeed, in 1898, the Inspector of Education for the Witwatersrand declared that

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30 van Onselen, 'Witches of Suburbia', Studies, vol. 2, New Nineveh, p. 16; D. Gaitskell, 'Female Mission Initiatives: Black and White Women in Three Witwatersrand Churches, 1903-1939', Ph.D., University of London, 1981.

31 Van Onselen, Studies, vol. 1, p. 8.

32 C. van Onselen, 'Prostitutes and Proletarians, 1886-1914', in Studies, pp. 103-163.

33 The Star, 3 Sept. 1896.

'on different parts of the Goldfields live a population who, for the most part, consist of the destitute and are too poor to contribute anything to the education of their children'.[34] While many did not attend school at all, others did, but for short or interrupted spells, either to augment family income, or as a result of family movement from area to area in search of work. The net result was that 'about 60%' left school 'without a knowledge of more than is prescribed in standard two'.[35]

Not many white parents, themselves unskilled and uneducated and who required their children's labour, saw the value of schooling when the immediate returns of work were greater than those of a few hours each day behind a desk learning the 3Rs and little else besides. The instability of parental employment and family cycles of poverty often necessitated the employment of children outside the family. Young white girls and boys were a visible part of the Johannesburg labour force from the early 1890s. At first newspaper vending was one of the most popular sources of employment for boys 'of all sorts and sizes, ranging from the youngster of 5 or 6 to the grey-headed old man...and their colour and nationality are as diverse as the community they serve'.[36] Messenger work, particularly in post offices, was another favoured field of work for boys, while women and girls worked as laundrywomen, milliners' and dressmakers' assistants, clerks, bookbinders, and counterhands.

Several schools did spring up during this period reflecting the heterogeneous, multi-racial character of early Johannesburg. St. Cyprians, begun by the Anglican Rev. J.T. Darragh in 1890 in the working class areas west of the Brickfields and Burghersdorp, was attended by 'coloureds, Indians, Bantu and Europeans who all sat side by side at the same desks and received instruction from

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34 The Star, 3 Sept. 1896.

35 Pretoria, Transvaal Archives Depot (henceforward T.A.D), Zuid Afrikaansche Republiek Education Department, Annual Report for the Year ending 1898.

36 The Star, 6 May 1891.

the same teacher'.[37] Similarly, a school started a year earlier at the Undenominational Gospel Hall in Commissioner Street by one William Goch was comprised of thirty four European chldren and sixty eight 'Afrikaansche of Gekleurde Kinderen'(Afrikaans or 'coloured' children).[38]

In the last two years before the South African War the Kruger government had begun to make more determined efforts to accommodate the increased numbers of children in Johannesburg in the schools of the Zuid Afrikaansche Republiek (Z.A.R.). Subsidies to schools were increased, inspection reports carried out more regularly, and plans made for the training of teachers. For mining capital and Milner in the Cape, these changes, like the Kruger government's other efforts to improve its administration 'to accomodate the mine owners' steadily escalating demands for a new order which could more effectively nurture the growth of industrial capitalism',[39] were inadequate. It needed a more full-blown re-vamping of the system; one which would not just remedy defects of the existing system, but would transform it into a system of mass schooling for whites. The South African War was about to produce a victory for those in South Africa holding this vision.

The aftermath of the South African War, despite the Imperial Ordinance providing for free, primary schooling for Europeans, did not bring immediate change. Older non-school-going habits of the poor were accentuated as refugees returned to the city without work, as men were thrown out of employment during the periodic slumps in the mining industry, and as independent enterprises suffered their death blows. In numerous instances

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37 E. Behr, 'Three Centuries of Coloured Education in the Cape and Transvaal, 1652-1952', Ph.D., Potchefstroomse Universiteit vir CHO, 1952, p. 275. Behr's references pointed to the archives of the Rand Central School Board, which promise to be a rich source. This researcher was refused access by the Transvaal Education Department.

38 Ibid., p. 56.

39 van Onselen, Studies., vol. 1, New Babylon, p. 13.

'poor white', Afrikaner families now began to disintegrate completely, or maintained themselves only with the greatest of effort. Younger children often became the sole breadwinners of single-parent families, while the daughters of the new proletariat now entered various forms of menial work in the casual labour market, or began to join the ranks of the Cape and foreign-born prostitutes. Following an official campaign to deport so-called 'foreign-born' pimps and prostitutes between 1907 and 1908, and the corresponding decline of the inner-city red light district, these girls now worked individually, and from their homes in Fordsburg and Vrededorp.[40]

Numerous voluntary, relief and charitable agencies emerged to deal with the effects of war and social dislocation on whites. In the depression year of 1907 the social worker, H.E. Norman, provided the Transvaal Indigency Commission with a number of case-histories of boys left destitute by the changing fortunes of their families.[41] One boy of fifteen, earning £4 in an effort to improve his earning capacity, was a member of a family of three supported only by a mother who washed clothes. The eldest, a girl of seventeen, was working at a linen draper's shop for a small wage, while the youngest, a girl of thirteen, was working for a typist. Another youth, seventeen years old, hailed from one of the farming districts outside Johannesburg. His siblings had been deserted by the father; the mother had sent the boy out to work. He was found by one of Norman's co-workers 'sitting in the gutter of Commissioner Street eating a piece of bread'. Another, a telegraph messenger, supporting a mother and two brothers, made Norman a list of seventeen families, consisting of 101 persons all told. 'Not one of the families', attested Norman, 'had enough to live on, and in no instance is the distress due to unwillingness to work'. Rather, it was a result,

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40 van Onselen, 'Prostitutes and Proletarians, 1886-1914' Studies, vol. 1, New Bablyon, pp. 143-162.

41 Transvaal Indigency Commission, 1906-08 (Pretoria 1908), T.G. 11-1908, hereafter referred to as T.I.C, H.E. Norman, 'Minutes of Evidence', p. 90.



FIGURE 4

'A Typical Group of Poor Dutch Children, Vrededorp, 1908'



FIGURE 5

'Some of the Very Poorest with Mrs Lotter, social worker'

in part to the postwar depression, at its height in 1907.

Although free and compulsory schooling was in the process of being introduced, there were still many of school-going age from the inner-city areas who foreswore the discipline of the school. C.H. Acheson, Inspector of Johannesburg and Rand schools in 1907, estimated that from six to seven thousand children of school-going age were unaccommodated in schools.[42] The District Surgeon for Fordsburg, Dr. T.B. Gilchrist, noted that in Vrededorp alone 'fully 25% of the boys do not attend school'.[43] This was the area of 'greatest difficulty'. The Rand Aid Association, a charitable and relief agency established in this period, corroborated this evidence, submitting that in Fordsburg numbers of boys were 'running about...not being educated at all'.[44] Those who attended, did so sporadically, and few went beyond the eighth year of schooling. In practice, according to the Principal of Vrededorp Government School, school life for many meant only two or three years' attendance.[45]

By 1907, children were already noticeably part of a social-criminal network. Convictions of youth to the local prison revealed that a large proportion of white boys were convicted for selling liquor illicitly to blacks.[46] Out of 243 convictions of juvenile offenders in 1906, 159 were convicted for various forms of theft and contraventions of the liquor law. The remainder, involving mainly black boys, involved contraventions of pass laws, municipal regulations, 'vagrancy' and assaults - a range of offences for which white boys were statutorily not liable, and which related to control over African labour. White girls, by

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42 T.I.C., C. Acheson, Acting Inspector, Johannesburg and Rand Schools, p. 232.

43 T.I.C., T.B. Gilchrist, p. 240

44 T.I.C., Rand Aid Association, p. 9.

45 T.I.C., F.W. Mills, Principal, Vrededorp Government School, p. 379.

46 T.I.C., L.L. Playford, Chief Magistrate, Johannesburg, p. 341.

contrast, were convicted for prostitution. The chief magistrate, in his evidence to the Transvaal Indigency Commission, cited a case of '5 small lads' who were suffering from syphilis. They had, they told him, 'contracted the disease from a very young girl who had been living in the neighbourhood of Vrededorp and had been soliciting youngsters generally'.[47]

It was not only the fact that boys eight to fourteen years old 'went along in gangs', played truant, and generally carried on 'some sort of wild life', nor that young girls were abandoning the duty of female virtue that caused alarm. It was pre-eminently, it seems, the existence of clearly developed gangs, cutting across colour lines, that created anxiety. Many of the boys involved in these participated only marginally in the usual structures of childhood and were generally independent of adult control. More significantly, they included both black and white boys. The chief magistrate of the Witwatersrand, L. Playford, provided evidence that would probably have been disturbing to the ears of a Transvaal government intent on smashing Johannesburg's vice merchants: 'It is quite clear', he said, 'that small native boys in the town are fraternising with European youngsters and looking upon themselves as youthful Dick Turpins and doing all sorts of horrible things'.[48] The attack against the vice rings of Johannesburg was just beginning, and here were boys likely to follow in the very footsteps the state was trying to erase.

The social crime and networks in which children engaged grew directly out of the forms of social organisation and class practice among sectors of the proletarianised which 'that legion of middle-class moral brokers who took it upon themselves to spread the imperial gospel of the family'[49] wished to control.

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47 T.I.C., p. 341; also see 'Prostitutes and Proletarians, 1886-1914' in van Onselen, Studies, passim.

48 T.I.C., p. 340.

49 I. Hofmeyr, 'Building a Nation from Words: Afrikaans Language, Literature and Ethnic Identity, 1902-1924', in S. Marks and S. Trapido (eds.), The Politics of Race, Class and

spread the imperial gospel of the family'[49] wished to control. The co-habitation of black and white, their joint participation in a range of illicit activities - and the socialisation of children in these class-cultural practices - were perceived as a real threat. As one historian of the period has argued in more general terms:

> Underlying the 'humanitarian' ideological form of some...of these reports was a recurring expression of concern at the detrimental effects which the 'poor whites' were having (or might potentially have had) on the power bloc's continuing struggle to maintain its domination over the social formation....Firstly, there was concern that the social mode of existence of the poor whites and the various forms of class practice derived therefrom treatened to undermine particular structures through which social control was exerted over the African dominated classes, and secondly there was the concern that 'poor whiteism' was a factor detracting from the capacity of the power bloc to organise the supportive and allied classes which it needed to maintain its dominance.[50]

A great stimulus to social engineering in the post-war administration was also the prevention of open class conflict.[51] Within ten years of the sinking of the first shafts, industrial conflict in the mines between skilled white, largely foreign labour and mining capital broke out when the first strike was organised in 1897 to prevent the Chamber of Mines from reducing wages. In the midst of the 1906-08 depression, in 1907, they struck again when the Chamber proposed permitting African and indentured Chinese workers to perform skilled work. This strike was broken by using unemployed Afrikaans-speaking workers as

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49 I. Hofmeyr, 'Building a Nation from Words: Afrikaans Language, Literature and Ethnic Identity, 1902-1924', in S. Marks and S. Trapido (eds.), The Politics of Race, Class and Nationalism in Twentieth Century South Africa (London & New York 1987), p. 100; see also A. Davin, 'Imperialism and Motherhood', History Workshop, Issue 5, Spring 1978, pp. 9-58.

50 R. Davies, Capital, State and White Labour in South Africa, 1900 - 1960: An Historical Materialist Analysis of Class Formation and Class Relations (Brighton 1979), p. 78.

51 van Onselen, Studies, vol. 1, p. 28.

impact of militance by white miners and unskilled men on African men could not be ignored. Stabilising the white working class family through adequate housing, schooling and welfare thus became a major focus for the 'architects of reconstruction'.

Members of the emerging middle class on the Rand chose to interpret the developments amongst the children of the poor as signs of the breakdown of discipline and control in the family. Gilchrist argued that parents kept their children at home 'on the slightest provocation'.[52] The Rev. D. Theron, of the Dutch Reformed Church at Fordsburg, felt this this accounted for increasing numbers of children 'sinking into degradation in Johannesburg'.[53] Similarly, the Inspector of Schools for Pretoria was of the opinion that the 'too great liberty allowed to children by their parents fosters dislike to(sic) the restraint of discipline'.[54]

If the undisciplined family, lacking in patriarchal authority was seen as the cause of boys attending schools irregularly and preferring to 'go about in gangs', the consequence was their recruitment into the 'dangerous classes', instead of to steady, sober labour. The solution was clearly the restoration of patriarchal authority through the state. To subvert the potential threat of the consequences of a large pool of white unemployed, it was considered essential that their children be taught a trade as well as 'habits of industry' and discipline, neither of which was being instilled by the family. 'Getting hold of the children'[55] through compulsory schooling became the rallying cry; it was proposed as a major method of getting to the roots of white unemployment and poverty. If the children of the unskilled could be 'rescued' from their families and surroundings, submitted to the discipline of the school, taught a trade, and

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52 T.I.C., T.B. Gilchrist, p. 240.

53 T.I.C., Rev. D. Theron, p. 55.

54 T.I.C., Mr. Herbert S. Cooke, Inspector of Schools, Pretoria, p. 100.

55 T.I.C. Report, passim.

trained to be 'responsible citizens', it was believed, the difficulties posed by them would disappear. They would be captured for the state.

'Getting hold of the children' thus implied far more than simply getting them off the streets and into schools. It implied, firstly, the punishment of parents and families who facilitated the entry of children into the ranks of the 'criminal classes'. By removing them from a labour team antagonistic to its interests, the state could begin to re-shape elements of white working and lower class culture and ideology. Increasingly, this white working class family was also removed from direct social intercourse with blacks and concentrated in exclusively white suburbs. At about the same time that state control was being extended to white schooling, between 1906 and 1908, the first attempts were being made to move Africans out of the inner city to townships on the perimeters of Johannesburg. Secondly, it implied an assault on the social networks and street culture of youth. Absorption into school placed white youth in gangs on a fundamentally different footing from that of their black counterparts. Their class experience was henceforth to be shaped by the culture and curriculum of the school and white working class family restructured by the state, rather than by the street and the gang.

The introduction of state-controlled, compulsory schooling in 1907 in the Transvaal was thus one of the long-term strategies by which the white working class was to be skilled and ideologically incorporated. Jan Christiaan Smuts, Minister of Education, no doubt speaking generally about the role of schooling in muting social and cultural conflicts of all kinds - between Afrikaans-speaker and English-speaker, as well as that between capital and labour -expressed the purpose of white schooling as follows when he introduced the new Education Bill in 1907: 'We should try to make a race with the same platform, and to have our children sitting on the same school benches and so, through education,

sitting on the same school benches and so, through education, adopt a unifying force and a unifying influence'.[56]

The establishment of industrial schools was another aspect of this general policy to constitute and stabilise the white working class family. These schools, along with two 'rescue homes' established by 1904 at Irene and Norwood for 'fallen women', were aimed more directly at the descendants of prostitutes and the 'merchants of vice', and the off-spring of 'undisciplined' families. As such, they were a long-term attempt to control crime and commercial sex in Johannesburg and to 'rescue' the white working class family from degradation through re-skilling and socialisation.

In the next five years many of the recommendations of the Transvaal Indigency Commission became law. Two years after Responsible Government was granted to the Transvaal in 1907, the Transvaal Criminal Law Amendment Act no. 38 of 1909 delineated the main features f a new juvenile penology. Its essential clauses were incorporated into and expanded by the Union Prisons and Reformatories Act (1911). The Children's Protection Act (1913) elaborated but confirmed that a white child under the age of sixteen qualified for the industrial school at Standerton or Heidelberg if his/her parents were found to have no settled home, had been charged with a criminal offence, or could be claimed to be living in circumstances deleterious to the morality of the child. In addition, if a youth had been charged with a criminal offence, had 'habitually refused to attend or deserted from schools', was living with a prostitute or 'any reputed criminal' or was found begging or trading in the streets, then magistrates, social workers and school boards were authorised to commit him/her to an industrial school. Once sent there, they were under the supervision of a state-appointed Board of Management until they reached the age of twenty-one.

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56 Debates of Transvaal Legislative Assembly, J. Smuts, Second Reading of Education Bill, 25 June 1907, p. 346.

Compulsory and industrial schools were a long-term strategy for the capture of the children of the white working class and unskilled lower-classes respectively. It could not be the only one for dealing with the alarming post-war increase in juvenile crime. More specific strategies were necessary for dealing with juvenile offenders. In the meantime, however, working boys in danger of falling foul of the law and being past the age of compulsory attendance at primary schools had to be diverted from unskilled work and crime. More directly 'preventive' social work during this period set important precedents in overall youth policy. Here, both leading figures in the mining industry as well as the upper echelons of the Anglican church pioneered intermediary forms of intervention: the Witwatersrand Lads' Clubs, fore-runners of places of detention;, and hostels for white youth.

The Working Lads' Institute, as it was first called, emanated from concern in the Anglican Church that something needed to be done 'for boys who were at work and had not anybody in particular to look after them or help them spend healthy and sane evenings'.[57] The Archdeacon for Johannesburg, Michael Furse, used his connections in London with one Drew Roberts, a Christian Socialist, to secure the services of a man experienced in work with boys' clubs. At first the Government School in Market Street was used as a venue, but when Harry ('Skipper') Norman arrived in Johannesburg in 1905, new premises were found in an unoccupied warehouse. Work began by inviting all white post office messengers to participate in its evening recreations. As work progressed, finance began to pour in from the mining companies. First the trustees of Alfred Beit, a financier whose fortune was made on the Kimberley diamond mines, gave a portion of the money he left for charitable bequests in Johannesburg to

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57 University of the Witatersrand(U.W.), Johannesburg, Church of the Province of South Africa (C.P.S.A.), Bishop Carter Scrapbook, 1903-1913, Transvaal Leader, n.d., p. 74.

the institute, and then Lionel Phillips used his influence with the Village Main Reef Gold Company to lease a property near the centre of the city. In 1907 the new premises of the Working Lads' Institute were officially opened. Dignitiaries of Johannesburg society including the Archdeacon Furse, Mr. and Mrs. Lionel Phillips, and the Rev. J.T. Darragh, rector of St. Mary's Church who ran one of the multi-racial schools in Johannesburg, and Harry Norman, were all present.[58] Some two hundred boys between twelve and eighteen years, were in the audience, mingling with members of the Transvaal Legislative Assembly, Church of England Men's Society, and other philanthropists associated with the mining industry.

A key figure in the running of the institute was Harry Norman. Before examining the purposes, activities, and effects of the institute, it will be useful to examine Norman's experience and ideas. Norman was born in London in 1879; his parents had just returned from Brooklyn; his father was financially broken. The young Norman started schooling in 1885 but, because of the family's straitened circumstances, went out to work shortly after his thirteenth birthday in 1892. His first job was as an 'office boy in a stock-broker's office'. Here he frequently worked until midnight: 'Sometimes I lost the train home and caught the first in the morning after 4 o'clock, and I can remember falling asleep as I walked from the railway station to my home, slipping into the gutter and then crying as I sat on the curb, because I should never have the chance of going to school again or even catch sight of a university'. When his father died, Norman moved on and became an 'unauthorised clerk in the London Stock Exchange'. During this period he struck up a friendship with the Rev. Drew Roberts, with whom he 'talked philosophy until I sailed for South Africa', and under whose auspices he started a boys' club in Lewisham, London, which he ran for twelve months. His club tapped boys working on the London, Chatham, and Dover railways,

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58 U.W., C.P.S.A., Norman Papers, Letter to Richard Feetham, 24 Apr. 1956. Information on Norman's activities in succeeding paragraphs is drawn from this source.

boys working as postmen and telegraph messengers and who were eventually to become skilled workmen.

Boys' clubs proliferated in many of the larger towns of England throughout the last forty years of the nineteenth century. While some grew out of and were adjunts to youth movements like the Young Men's Christian Association, the Boys' Club Movement itself grew rapidly in the 1880s and 1890s in the East End of London, supported particularly by public school men. Boys' clubs varied greatly in character. In general, though, they had a threefold aim: recreational, educational and religious. Many, calling themselves 'Youths' Institutes' were concerned with working boys' need for recreation after a hard day's work.[59] John Springhall, in his study of British youth movements between 1883 and 1940, has argued that the majority of denominational lads' clubs and brigades established in the 1890s were called into being 'to solve differing problems of social adjustment in late Victorian England'. They were, he argues, 'a mass leisure outlet for the young working class adolescent controlled by the largely middle class adult'.[60] Michael Blanch has added that clubs were part of a massive attempt to transform popular ways of life and modes of belief. They were to act to direct working-class leisure into 'respectable channels'. They had either a religious or military bias, or both. They also operated, and this is significant in terms of this study, to 'promote loyalty from sub-group to local institution, thus to society and nation; the loyalty they demanded from their members was but one strand in a complicated web of national identity, and the connection of the one to the other was achieved in various

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59 A. Young and E. Ashton, British Social Work in the Nineteenth Century (London 1956), pp. 246-52: B. Simon, Education and the Labour Movement 1870-1920 (London 1965), pp. 60-71.

60 J. Springhall, Youth, Empire and Society: British Youth Movements, 1883-1940 (London 1977), pp. 37 and 125.

ways by different movements'.[61] Both his personal experience as a youth and as an organiser of one of these boys' clubs gave Norman the knowledge that was to equip him for similar work in Johannesburg.

Norman's emigration from England to South Africa in 1905 was a direct product of his relationship with Drew Roberts and his work in boys' clubs. He was quickly and eagerly received into white, English-speaking Johannesburg. Through Rev. Darragh of the Church of England Men's Society he found companionship; through Frank Stokes of the Johannesburg Public Library he found employment for himself as a librarian; through Evelyn Waller at the Corner House he got recommendations to mine managers in his search for employment for the boys' club members; and through all these contacts he met Howard Pim and other 'prominent members of the legal profession' who provided 'invaluable help...to every aspect of the boy's club and delinquency work'.

In 1909, to Norman's immense surprise, after some four years' dedicated and selfless work, 'out of the blue' came an invitation to dinner at Michael Furse's house in plush Parktown. Here 'I found myself completely overpowered by a party of leading citizens and mining magnates'. After the dinner he learned that he had been invited there for the purpose of receiving an offer of full-time employment by a committee to be formed under the title of the Witwatersrand Lads' Club. The committee consisted of a member of the Legislative Council, the white Labour Party, the mining industry, Howard Pim and Furse, now Bishop of Pretoria. It would guarantee funds for at least three years.

As a result, the first residential hostel, of which Norman became superintendent, was opened for destitute and delinquent boys. By 1910 three clubs had been established: one in Melville, another in the centre of Fordsburg, while the other continued in the old venue. Together with his mother and sister, Norman ran

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61 M. Blanch, 'Imperialism, Nationalism and Organised Youth', in J. Clarke, C. Critcher and R. Johnson (eds.), Working Class Culture: Studies in History and Theory (Birmingham 1979), p. 105.

the club in Melville for seven years. During this time he began to visit the 'juvenile adult' prisoners in the 'Fort', the Johannesburg prison, and to show an interest in the fate of boys after prison. A few he took to his club-cum-home.

Norman's work expanded until, in 1916, he was approached by the secretary of justice, Jacob de Villiers Roos, to become the first paid probation officer in South Africa. As Norman remembered:

> Mr de Villiers Roos had sent for me and said that the Minister had had his attention drawn to the fact that I and the Lads' Hostel Movement on occasion made very outspoken criticisms of what his Department did or did not do; it was suggested that what I was now doing...should be performed in future under the auspices of the Department of Justice - that that part of which was purely hostel work should be left in the hands of the Hostels Committee and that which was clearly work amongst delinquents should be performed by me in the character of the probation officer attached to the Prisons Department.[62]

For the next fourteen years Norman acted as probation officer for the Rand, during which time he played a considerable part in initiating the Union of South Africa Hostels Act of 1920. He had in the meantime also become an active member of that nexus of voluntary social and charitable agencies dealing with delinquency on the Rand.[63] These included the South African Prisoners' Aid Association, Mental Hygiene Society, Childrens' Aid Society, Juvenile Affairs Board, and Public Relief Board.

Norman's ideas and work in the Lads' Club were clearly shaped by the ideology of muscular Christianity that found expression in the Christian youth movements of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. He himself described the major influence on him as being the Christian Socialism of Drew Roberts and the work of Bishop Furse. In the last two decades of the nineteenth century, Christian Socialists in England were the most articulate

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62 U.W., C.P.S.A., Norman Papers, Correspondence to Richard Feetham, 1956.

63 These are dealt with at greater length in succeeding chapters.

spokespeople of class reconciliation through leisure. Through the recreational ambiance of clubs they sought to improve relationships between classes by reasserting community over class values.[64] They emphasised the unity of interest of employer and employee, as opposed to independent political action. Not all its adherents were as self-consciously aware of the goals of the movement as were the leaders. Norman, it seems, saw himself as a Christian giving practical expression to his acceptance of Christian teaching, as 'ameliorating the lot of the underprivileged sectors of humanity' through social work. In common with Christian Socialists, however, he objected to independent political action by the 'underprivileged sectors of humanity', arguing that 'men and women find outlets and happiness in the practical application of Christian teaching. But where this skilled knowledge has not been taught or acquired, men and women continue to labour under political schools of thought'. He thus saw his work in the institute as 'reclamation of lads drifting into delinquency', fuelling forces of crime, disorder and other forms of 'anti-social' behaviour.[65] Objectively, there was another reality into which the institutes fed. Translated into South African realities, and directed solely at white boys, this kind of social work unconsciously helped in the creation of segregated and discriminatory welfare structures, as well as the constitution of 'white' subjects, at a time when the labour market itself was becoming increasingly segregated.

From the first 25 boys attracted to the institute, numbers grew until there were 120 boys at a rate of 6d per month in January 1907 - 'telegraph boys, office boys, junior clerks, lads of all ages from 12 - 19', 'very few of whom could read or write

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64 H. Cunningham, Leisure in the Industrial Revolution, c. 1780-1990 (London 1980), pp. 120-22;. Simon, Studies in the History of Education, 1780-1870 (London 1960), pp. 60-71.

65 U.W., C.P.S.A., Norman Papers, Correspondence with Richard Feetham, 24 April 1956.

properly'.[66] The work of the institute was directed at the 'more respectable class of boy' who, once recruited, invited others. These boys the Witwatersrand Lads' Club intended to pick off the streets and develop into 'good workers and good citizens' by providing some form of skills training, forms of recreation, and 'a steady moral and social influence'.[67]

The curriculum replicated the forms of elementary schooling in late nineteenth and early twentieth century England.[68] Reading, writing and shorthand were taught in the classroom; boys were exercised in drill in the gymnasium; they were formed into cricket and football teams on the playground and in the music room they were instructed in the 'art of the drum' by Major Squib of the Transvaal Scottish. In addition, games such as chess, draughts, table tennis, and quoits were provided, as was a reading room. Norman himself not infrequently marched boys through town 'playing old Scottish airs and other familiar tunes'.[69] In this way the paramilitary nature of organised youth movements was integrated into the club's educational and recreational activities. As they did in England, so the institute and clubs in Johannesburg attempted to instill into boys what Robert Baden-Powell called 'the public school spirit, which makes a boy play up and play the game for his side: something of what we call esprit de corps...patriotism',[70] and to socialise boys into being disciplined and orderly citizens. Whether they succeeded in doing so or not is unclear. What is suggested, though, is that the clubs helped to re-constitute the

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66 U.W., C.P.S.A., Bishop Carter Scrapbook, Newspaper clip, n.d., circa 1907.

67 U.W., C.P.S.A., Norman Papers, Witwatersrand Lads' Club, Prospectus, 1909.

68 Simon, Studies, passim.

69 U.W., C.P.S.A., Bishop Carter Scrapbook, Newsclip from Transvaal Leader, n.d.

70 Robert Baden-Powell, cited in Springhall, Youth, p. 122.

Norman's interest in juveniles awaiting trial or incarcerated in prison reflected the broader social concern about the treatment of juvenile offenders. It was a concern that expressed itself in the call for adequate classification of prisoners and the demand for special treatment of juveniles. The question of separating juvenile from adult prisoners was first raised in 1904 through the report of the Johannesburg Prison Commission which noted that 'the time has now arrived when the Transvaal should have a reformatory of its own'.[72] The Commission revealed that the prison housed not only babes-in-arms too young to be separated from women who had been imprisoned but also juveniles awaiting trial or convicted of theft, murder or assault. Sometimes the latter were thrown into cells with other men, but it was more common to commit them to cells designed for solitary confinement. These were used by the prison authorities to separate violent prisoners, lunatics, prisoners suffering from infectious diseases, and juveniles from other prisoners. In these circumstances, it was not always possible to keep juveniles apart from the others. The Commission considered their ultimate separation imperative in view of the 'evil effects' that flowed from their mixing with older prisoners. In the first place, there was concern that more experienced prisoners ill-treated and corrupted younger boys, both through 'immoral practices' and through training them in criminal behaviour. In the second, a humanitarian interest was expressed about the effects of confining boys in 'dark and airless cells' together with prisoners deranged in some form or another. Concern applied equally to black and white boys.[73]

Practically, the means for punishing juveniles before 1910 consisted of a variety of ad hoc measures. Boys convicted of sentences running less than six months were either sentenced to be whipped by the magistrate, or sent to the local gaol or to

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72 Transvaal Colony: Report of the Commission to Enquire into the Johannesburg Prison 1904-1905, p. xxxi.

73 Ibid.

Porter Reformatory at Tokai near Cape Town if the sentence exceeded six months and provided the boys were under the age of sixteen. This applied to boys irrespective of whether they were white or black. Caning, however, was not considered punishment enough for some of the offences committed by the boys, provision in the gaol for juveniles was deemed unsatisfactory, and the procedure to get boys into Porter, which was always too full to accommodate extra boys from the Rand, found to be too cumbersome.[74]

In the course of the inquiries of the Transvaal Indigency Commission two years later, existing measures for dealing with indigent white youth and juvenile offenders were reviewed and found inadequate to deal with the notable and marked increase in crime among juveniles. Both the chief magistrate of the Witwatersrand and the criminal magistrate drew attention, in particular, to the increase of crime among 'native' youth. Two-thirds of all male juvenile offenders detained in gaol between 1905 and 1908 were 'natives'.[75] In addition, considerable disquiet was again expressed about the number of 'native' children in gangs. The year 1908 was, indeed, the year of greatest activity amongst the Amalaita, gangs of young black men and women, mainly domestic servants in Johannesburg's eastern and southern suburbs, involved in petty crime.[76] It was also the year when the cumulative impact of the depression of 1906-1908 on wages and attempts to restructure the domestic labour market by recruiting more white domestic servants was most strongly felt.

The institutional solution to juvenile crime, especially for black youth, was the reformatory. It arose alongside the pass laws at the point of entry of African youth into the urban,

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74 T.I.C., 11-1908, Evidence of Lieut. Col. C. O'Brien: Acting Commissioner of Police, pp. 62-63; Walter Slade Bateman: Acting Director of Prisons, pp. 121-125; L. Playford: Chief Magistrate, Witwatersrand, pp. 340-342

75 T.I.C., L. Playford, p. 340

76 See van Onselen, 'Witches of Suburbia', Studies, vol. 2, New Nineveh, pp. 54-60.

capitalist labour market. Both to repress crime and at the same time to correct and chastise juvenile offenders, plans were made as early as 1907 to build a separate section for black boys at the new prison being built at Diepkloof by the Transvaal government. The Transvaal Indigency Commission recommended other measures such as a juvenile court to prevent interference and mockery of court procedure by friends at trials, apprenticeship for as many juveniles as possible not convicted of serious crimes and the greater use of religious and charitable institutions for young offenders. The reformatory was to house those between the ages of twelve and sixteen. In addition, the commissioners, shocked at the 'close juxtaposition' of white and black boys in Porter Reformatory, insisted on the 'proper segregation of white from black and "coloured" offenders, of the older youths from boys younger than fifteen, and of the vicious from those who are merely rebellious'.[77]

The Prisons and Reformatories Act(1911) made provision for the building of reformatories which were to be age-, sex-, and race-specific. They were to be administered by the newly formed Department of Prisons. Diepkloof, situated on the Rand, was designed for 'native juveniles and juvenile adults'. Houtpoort Reformatory, at Heidelberg just outside Johannesburg, was created for white juveniles, and the Breakwater for white 'juvenile adults'. Porter Reformatory became an institution for 'coloured juveniles and juvenile adults'. Africans previously held here were removed to Fort Glamorgan in the Eastern Cape in 1917, explicitly to minimise contacts between 'coloureds' and Africans. Eshowe Reformatory was built in Zululand, also as a 'native and Indian male reformatory', while Estcourt was established as a reformatory for girls. This was the only reformatory where no racial distinctions were made. There had been talk of founding a reformatory for 'native and coloured' girls in Pretoria, but this does not seem to have materialised. Thus there were to be two

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77 Ibid.

reformatories for white boys, three for African and one for 'coloureds'. Only one female reformatory was provided for.
By 1911, then, the formative phase in the creation of new social institutions for the discipline and social control of working-class youth on the Witwatersrand had come to a close.

Conclusion

This chapter has tried to demonstrate that the birth of the race- and class-differentiated system of educational and penal institutions on the Witwatersrand was intimately related to the broader, segregationist state policy produced in the heart of industrialising South Africa at the turn of the century. State policies, the efforts of voluntary social agencies and institutions were consciously directed at white youth in such a way as to reinforce and stabilise a white working class that saw its interests as fundamentally counterposed to those of blacks. The first step taken was the introduction of free, compulsory schools for Europeans. In conception they had a broader compass than industrial schools and hostels, which were geared to children of the unskilled, unemployed and criminal classes.

The establishment of these schools was in no small way related to the development of a marginalised proletarian class culture spawned by early industrial capitalism. This culture cut across racial boundaries and in so doing implicitly challenged the authority of a white state. White youth within this class culture were to be 'rescued' not only from unemployment and crime, but also from the threatening spectre of alliances with blacks which this class affiliation implied. Industrial schools, boys' clubs and hostels, in particular, were founded to re-educate, and 'moralise the leisure time'[78] of white youth in

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78 A phrase taken from T. Couzens, '"Moralizing Leisure Time": The Transatlantic Connection and Black Johannesburg, 1918-1936', in Marks and Rathbone (eds.), Industrialisation and Social Change (London 1982).

danger of swelling the ranks of the unemployed and criminal. The continued need to contain unacceptable elements within the working class was found in the re-organisation of the reformatory which, ironically, became the first form of compulsory schooling for black youth in twentieth century South Africa.[79]

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79 As it was for black youth in the United States. See M. Katz, The Irony of Early School Reform: Educational Innovation in Mid-Nineteenth Century Massachusetts (Cambridge Mass. 1968), p. 187.

CHAPTER THREE

CONSTRUCTING AND MANAGING JUVENILE CRIMINALITY: THE CRIMINOLOGY AND PENOLOGY OF JACOB DE VILLIERS ROOS, 1909-1911

The two previous chapters have suggested that the reformatory emerged in a society in transition from merchant to industrial capitalism. Under the impact of industrial capitalism a range of new social alternatives began to be explored to deal with the social consequences of the dislocation and dispossession of people brought in the wake of the establishment of mining's dominance in the region. One of the central concerns of the mining industry was cheap, efficient control of a migrant black labour force, and the stabilisation of the white working class. Through the South African Native Affairs Co… ission(1903-1905) and the Transvaal Indigency Commission(1905-1907), men whose interests did not lie far from those of the mining industry, began to elaborate a territorial and political segregationist policy for the maintenance of white supremacy, and in terms of which social, educational and welfare measures were detailed. Institutions like industrial schools and hostels emerged to train and stabilise the unskilled white working class through education and training. The reformatory became the main institution for the control of black juveniles and recalcitrant whites.

The mining industry retained its dominance over the South African economy and society until 1922, shaping social policy in lasting ways. The new state that came into being after Union in 1910 under Generals Louis Botha and Jan Christiaan Smuts rapidly adjusted itself to the mining industry and proceeded to fashion South African society along the lines begun by the Milner Reconstructionist government, and in ways that now embodied the interests of this new alliance of 'gold and maize'.[1] In the twelve years before 1922, controls over African labour through

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1 S. Trapido, 'South Africa in a Comparative Study of Industrialisation', Journal of Development Studies, 7, 3 1971, pp. 309-320.

segregationist measures were tightened, and the main lines of institutionalised social segregation established.[2] While the Mines and Works Act(1911) provided the legislative basis for the exploitation colour bar, the Native Labour Regulation Act(1911) provided a battery of controls over migrant labour and the foundations of a 'spartan fabric of welfare measures' to maintain the African workforce in a condition fit only for labour.[3] The assumption governing wages and social policy was that welfare needs would be met by the already-declining subsistence economy.

Rigorous enforcement of coercive controls over African labour and mobility required the development of appropiate institutions for punishment of offenders of the law and their re-integration into the labour force as disciplined and obedient workers. Similarly, penal provision had to be made for the vastly-increased numbers of the lumpen-proletarians within the white labouring classes criminalised by the new social and legal order. To repress and prevent criminality for the long-term, provision also had to be made for the growing number of juvenile offenders and potential juvenile criminals evident in the urban centres among the poor. In short, along with the administrative and judicial apparatuses of the state, the South African prison system needed to be re-vamped in order to police proletarians and criminals in the urban areas more effectively. It was for this task that Jacob de Villiers Roos was enlisted in 1907. It is mainly with his practical and ideological interventions, themselves representative of the ways in which the new state and new social classes began to forge a segregationist class state, that this chapter will be concerned.[4]

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2 J. Cell, The Highest Stage of White Supremacy: The Origins of Segregation in South Africa and the American South (Cambridge 1982), p. 216.

3 A. Stadler, The Political Economy of Modern South Africa (Johannesburg 1988), p. 39.

4 See L. Chisholm, 'Crime, Class and Nationalism: The Criminology of Jacob de Villiers Roos 1869-1918', Social Dynamics, 13, 2, 1987, pp. 46-59.

Roos's entire professional and social history equipped him for the role he was to play as penal reformer for the new state. As a university-educated Cape Afrikaner from an established family, and part of a group of professionals including J. C. Smuts, who had sought reform of the Kruger state before the South African War(1899-1902), his sympathies tended towards alliance and compromise with British imperialism. As a journalist for first Land en Volk and then The Star between 1889 and 1893 he formed part of a small Afrikaner opposition to the Kruger Government. During the middle and latter part of the 1890s he developed his professional and legal skills and reputation. In 1894 he worked as a civil servant in the Cape Parliament when the Labour Commission conducted its enquiries in the Eastern Cape. He then moved back to the Transvaal where he became a lawyer and partner of Transvaal-based Dutch-Afrikaner 'progressives' in the late 1890s. During the Anglo-Boer War he was both a Reuters correspondent and co-author with J. Smuts of a classic Afrikaner nationalist text, Een Eeuw van Onrecht.

Throughout his early career, he moved in circles through which he forged friendships with men who were to form the basis of the Het Volk party in 1907. Both his experience as a civil servant and his political and ideological affiliations with Het Volk marked him out for a career in Government.[5] On 1 December 1908, at the age of 39 and at Smuts's invitation, Roos became

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5 See W. de Kock, Jacob de Villiers Roos 1869 - 1940: Lewenskets van 'n veelsydige Afrikaner (Pretoria 1982); T. Davenport, The Afrikaner Bond: The History of a South African Political Party 1880-1911 (Cape Town 1966); L. Chisholm, 'Crime, Class and Nationalism: The Criminology of Jacob de Villiers Roos, 1869 - 1918', Social Dynamics, 13, 2, 1987, pp. 46 - 59; C. Gordon, The Growth of Boer Opposition to Kruger 1890-1895 (Cape Town 1970); I. Hexham, 'Afrikaner Nationalism 1902-1914', in P. Warwick (ed.), The South African War: The Anglo-Boer War 1899-1902 (London 1980), pp. 386-404; C.van Onselen, 'Crime and Total Institutions in the Making of Modern South Africa: the Life of Nongoloza Mathebula 1867 - 1948', History Workshop Journal, 19, Spring, 1985, pp. 62-82.

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