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by: Cynthia Kros

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Eiselen and the Clash of Languages

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Introduction

The events of 1976 drew attention in no uncertain way to the contention surrounding the langauge issue, in this case the enforced use of Afrikaans as a partial medium of instruction. It was by no means a new struggle. The controversial language policies recommended by the Eiselen Report which was the foundation of Bantu Education, had even older antecedents. Language policies are a kind of code which, when deciphered can speak of underlying class struggles. For the purposes of this paper I concentrate on the person of Werner Eiselen and the language policies he enforced as Chief Inspector of Native Education in the Transvaal in the course of the 1930s.

Note on the Literature

Apartheid and Education edited by Peter Kallaway and published in 1984 did much to rehabilitate the study of the history of education by drawing on some of the vital insights of the revisionist historiography of the 1970s. The authors represented in the Kallaway volume portrayed education as an integral part of South Africa's political economy, rather than as a mere ideological reflection of state policies and practices.[1] The chapter by Collins and Christie on Bantu Education was illuminating but tended to be influenced detrimentally by the functionalist perspective of Harold Wolpe's "Capitalism and Cheap Labour Power in South Africa: From Segregation to Apartheid" which had appeared more than a decade earlier.[2] Collins and Christie presented the post-1948 "state" as providing an amended educational system to meet the needs of "capital accumulation", representing (despite theoretical caveats) both "the state" and "capital" as more or less anonymous and their relationship to one another as complementary and unproblematic.[3] The "needs of capital accumulation" are rather inadequately explored against a sketchy account of the quickening pace of industrialisation in the 1940s.

Since Collins and Christie's chapter was written, various scholars have attempted to suggest that "the state" was less powerful and less of a cohesive force than their instrumental portrayal had allowed. The debate about whether or not there was some sort of ideological hiatus in 1948, which Collins and Christie deny at the outset because they wish to challenge Liberal assumptions about the tragic break that was occasioned by apartheid, has been renewed.[4] Wolpe himself finds that there are some unanswered questions about the expansion that Bantu Education entailed because of the inadequacy of what he calls the "continuity thesis".[5] Collins and Christie may have been subscribing to this thesis because they focussed on "capital", visualising it as an amorphous aggregate in terms of Wolpe's own earlier formulation. In Race, Class and the

against the "capitalist monstrosities" of the day which were "(enslaving) the masses" and argued for the nationalisation of the gold and other key industries and banks.[12] He proclaimed that every "poorman" (armman) had the right to work and to a "white man's" wage, themes, which I will argue, were dear to Eiselen's heart. As a student in Germany in the early 1920s Eiselen was undoubtedly exposed to the effects of the post-war economic depression and popular disillusionment with the Weimar government, some of which was being expressed in the first stirrings of National Socialism.

Eiselen's overt concern with "the political" and his attacks on "big capital" need not overturn some of the fundamental insights relayed by radical or marxist analyists, but, it does suggest the need for considerable refinement of some of the cruder assertions that have been made. O'Meara's work on the relationship between a deliberately recreated Afrikaner nationalism and the drive for Afrikaner accumulation of capital in the 1930s is an invaluable antidote. In the context of O'Meara's analysis, Eiselen might be seen as one of the coterie of intellectuals who came from the 'platteland' in the Transvaal and who witnessed its comparatively rapid process of social differentiation.[13] This group of intellectuals, argues O'Meara, borrowing Gramsci's terminology, were 'organic intellectuals'. Horrified by the dislocation of their erstwhile communities, which had disgorged thousands of 'poor whites' into the cities, where the intellectuals themselves encountered them, they were impelled towards a "nostalgic affirmation of the disappearing organic character of Afrikaner society".[14] Following this general characterisation of O'Meara's, it would appear that Eiselen, far from being the "shadowy figure" of John Lazar's doctoral thesis [15] or the lone idealist of ZK Matthews' contemporary political analyses,[16] was a member of a substantial and clearly identifiable body of men who allied themselves with and helped shape the Afrikaner nationalism which triumphed in 1948.

John Sharp has apparently found O'Meara's analysis too austere and would like to add flesh and individualised detail, arguing that "the relevant particularities of the individuals" may help to explain the "roots" of 'ethnos' theory and the reasons for its dogged persistence. [17] It is extremely difficult to discern what manner of man Eiselen was. Authoritarian and dour as he surveys his audience, is how an official photographer has captured him at his investiture as Chancellor of the University of the North in the 1970s.[18] Yet his writings betray an ironic, almost humorous streak, as well as an apparently genuine appreciation of African culture. Eiselen as individual personality remains enigmatic.

Otto Eberhardt, Berlin missionary in the Lydenburg district and superintendent of 26 schools in the 1940s when Eiselen was Chief Inspector of Native Education in the Transvaal, recalls him as "very quiet", "not emotional", but well acquainted with "all our difficulties" especially the "lack of funds to erect school buildings." Eberhardt also recalls going to Pretoria to see

"Bantu culture". The BMS evidently rejected the NGK's ranking of "Bantu culture" as of "lesser value" than that of Europeans.[26] It appears that Eiselen may have made a mistake in 1926, siding with the NGK's devaluation of African culture, for which he was duly chastised and perhaps he recanted. There remained a curious ambivalence in his writing and public addresses, which will be explored below. A significant element in this contest between the NGK and BMS as represented by De Brucke, was the NGK's concern to quash the Industrial and Commercial Workers Union (ICU) which it thought to do by taking full control of African education. This remained a prominent strand in Eiselen's own thinking about the ICU and the alienated African intelligentsia, whose creation he presumed it to be.

Eiselen as academic

Adam Kuper has described Eiselen as one of the two "leading Afrikaner anthropologists".[27] Eiselen received his first degrees at Pretoria and Stellenbosch. In the 1920s he travelled to Germany to pursue studies in phonetics and anthropology, which culminated in the presentation of his PHD in 1924. In 1926 he was appointed senior lecturer at Stellenbosch to build up a department subsequently known as "Bantu Studies" and was promoted to professor in 1933. His programme at Stellensbosch, as Kuper remarks, was not restricted to German cultural and diffusionist ideas, but included British functionalist theory, of which Bronislaw Malinowski was the leading proponent.[28] The German and Dutch philosophical influences on apartheid ideology, especially as regards "volkish dogma" have already been quite extensively documented. But Kuper and Sharp argue that British functionalist anthropology did not seriously challenge the assumptions of what was to evolve into 'volkekunde'. Both shools were essentially ahistorical and focussed on the relationship between different cultures.[29] In an earlier paper I have begun a tentative argument to suggest that some of Eiselen's political opponents, notably ZK Matthews, trained in the Malinowskian school, developed ideas about culture that were remarkably similar to Eiselen's and perhaps Eiselen was able to work profitably on this area of consensus.[30]

Eiselen's published anthropological work is fraught with ambivalence as I have suggested above. (p.)In his work on the BaPedi there is an attempt to render their culture as worthy of preservation and Eiselen sighs after the past which is already vanishing before his eyes.[31] In an effort to explain ceremonial rituals to his readers he makes a favourable comparison with "our Germanic ancestors."[32] He also notes wryly that, beautiful as Pedi country may be to the observer, it is difficult agricultural land . "It is, of course, not entirely due to altruistic motives that this portion of the country has been left in possession of the natives, for the climate is by no means healthy and the rainfall is low and irregular."[33] However, he is scathing about their intellectual gifts. On analysing the speeches of BaPedi men, he finds beneath their surface eloquence, that "their thoughts are shallow and illogical."[34] In an article entitled "The Art of Divination as

Practised by the Bamasemola" (1932) the same ambivalence is apparent.[35] He makes every effort to take "the profession" of Divination seriously but cannot resist making an aside as to the credulity of the Diviner's clients and also makes jokes at the expense of his informant.

It is this ambivalence at the core of Eiselen's scholarly and political work that maddens and endlessly teases the researcher. But certain themes that were to be developed as Eiselen applied himself to the vision of what was to become Bantu Education emerge quite clearly in his early academic work. The chief is the "mediator" between his subjects and the gods and the chief's authority is virtually unquestioned.[36] Eiselen also believed that tribal practices such as initiation inaugurated the formation of "a stable social unit" that was capable of shielding its members from adversity.[37] He was to refer often to the need to find a "substitute" for tribal "discipline" that was being lost in the course of urbanisation.

Die Naturelle Vraagstuk

"Die Naturelle Vraagstuk", delivered at Stellenbosch in 1929, expresses some of Eiselen's fundamental political thoughts and exposes his scientific methodology. Eiselen adopts a self-consciously philosophical tone, carefully divorcing his text from contemporary political concerns, a position that becomes less credible as the speech progresses. His essential argument is that the "native" question might just as well be phrased "the white question". But what, at first glance may look like an ingenious rhetorical device to suggest academic impartiality, is actually an emphatic statement of his enduring belief that "native" and "white" (more specifically "poor white") predicaments were two sides of one coin.[38]

Eiselen begins by discrediting tests designed to measure the comparative mentalities of different races[39] and enters into a convoluted argument about the growth of European culture. The "German barbarians" were "ordained to be the bearers of a culture much greater and more powerful than that of Rome."[40] This seems to typify much of Eiselen's thinking, including the deep rooted ambivalence to which I have already referred. In an extended parallel he appears to suggest that the "Bantu" have great potential for development, within which is the implicit threat of the barbarians who will overthrow civilisation. Throughout, the speech reverberates with the refrain of the "barbarians" at the gate. Eiselen is not bent on proving the perpetual inferiority of the "Bantu", based on racially biased intelligence tests, but cultural differences are thoroughgoing and insuperable. He claims that the "Bantu" have their own "bestaanvorm"[41] and the implication is that their development as well as the safety of white civilisation will be enhanced if they are kept at a physical remove.

Eiselen's speech was made in the year of the "swart gevaar"

The clash of Languages

When the Eiselen commission was collecting information from the Transvaal in 1949, chief inspector of Native Education, GH Franz, who had served on the inspectorate in the 1930s, recalled how English had been the only real medium of instruction in mission schools in the 1920s. Franz refers to the "taalstryd" (langauge struggle) of the early 1930s in which nothing could be done to overcome the opposition of the "Transvaal Advisory Board" to introducing other languages as media of instruction until "Your chairman (Eiselen) became our chief inspector."[55]

Under Eiselen's chief inspectorate of Native Education in the Transvaal, mother tongue instruction was launched and equality in the use of the two official languages was also implemented. Both of these moves aroused considerable opposition. Political philosopher Fred Dallmayr has written that "politicians or public agents may seize upon it (language) as a means for the promotion of their aims and ambitions."[56] It is a proposition well worth examining, despite the form that this particular "clash of languages" took, which did not outwardly resemble the expressions of nationalist resistance to alien cultural domination with which Dallmayr illustrates his argument.

The sharp turn around that was accomplished by the provincial educational department between 1932 and 1936 on the issue of home language instruction, is striking. In 1931 the minutes of the fourteenth meeting of the Transvaal Advisory Board on Native Education (TABNE) record, as Franz indicated, that the Board was overwhelmingly against introducing home languages as the media of instruction.[57] GP Lestrade, from Pretoria University had submitted a proposal in 1930 to the Transvaal Board suggesting that home language be used as a medium of instruction up to and inclusive of the fourth standard, that it be a compulsory examination subject with a higher minumum pass requirement than other subjects and that it be the language of all other examinations. The Transvaal African Teachers' Association (TATA) had asked the Board "to desist from making any further recommendations" along these lines, arguing that the official language (English) had not been found wanting as a medium of instruction, that African languages were not sufficiently developed to meet the requirements of modern economic life and that, to employ them as pedagogical means, would "perpetuate tribalism."[58] In 1932 the TED stipulated that the question of home language was to be left in the hands of the superintendents "under the guidance" of the inspector of 'native schools' for the district.[59] However, in 1933 the TABNE was reconstituted and its African members were axed [60] and, in 1936 Eiselen was appointed first chief inspector of Native Education in the Transvaal.

The Transvaal had lagged behind other provinces in providing for the post of chief inspector of Native Education. The documents, read at face value, suggest that it was the logical resolution of a situation that had gradually become unruly and which required a

more cohesive direction and rationalisation.[61] Directors' Reports throughout the late 1920s and early 30s, consistently remark on rising pupil enrolment in African schools with very few additional teachers being appointed to meet the influx. They also observe that the Depression had entailed even greater stringencies in the provision for Native Education and in 1930, a litigation brought against the Province by African teachers for arrears in allowances was settled in their favour.[62] The Directors' Reports for the early part of the 1930s reflect a consistent "despondency"[63] about the state of Native Education and do indeed tend to reinforce the impression that the Welsh Report of 1935 delivered about its "intolerably chaotic situation."[64] In 1934 the Director's report suggests that the appointment of a chief inspector of Native Education might help to alleviate some of the problems and impose a greater uniformity on the schools.[65] Eiselen was apparently invited to take up the post and the fact that he was a highly skilled linguist can hardly have been gratuitous.

Lestrade's proposal had been the end result of the Education Department's interest in establishing instruction through home languages. The Director had appealed to the Department of Native Affairs and had been referred to the Union Advisory Board for Bantu Studies and Research which, in turn appointed a central orthography committee to work on the development of a uniform orthography for the Bantu Langauges. Lestrade and Eiselen were both members of this committee as were DDT Jabavu and Charles Loram, among others. By 1930 the committee felt that the orthography of Transvaal Sotho had been settled, putting Lestrade in a position to make his proposal.[66] It was temporarily obstructed but, once the Advisory Board's teeth had been drawn, it was easier to proceed even in the face of what the crusading Franz himself called "violent opposition on the part of (African) parents".[67]

Almost immediately after his appointment as chief inspector, Eiselen began to introduce African languages for study at teacher training institutions and as media of instruction. In September 1936 Eiselen was giving orders to missionary societies to co operate with the Department in the production of books in "native languages" and was recommending that the supervisors needed to serve as inspectors in cases where the official inspector was unable to speak the relevant African language. By the end of 1936 African languages counted as an examination subject in teacher training institutions.

According to the jaundiced view of Stephen Carter, the superintendent based at St Peter's school in Rosettenville, Eiselen was "a no Administrator"(sic).[68] Leaving aside Carter's own motives for the moment and supposing that this were the case, or at least reckoning with the fact that Eiselen had little of this kind of administrative experience, why then was he appointed? If it was for his linguistic abilities and expertise, as I have suggested above, then we need to ask a further question: why did the Transvaal Education Department attach such significance to the use of African languages as media of instruction in the classroom? And

then, secondly, why did Eiselen apply himself with such dedication? Why did he leave the comforts of academe in Stellensbosch to take up the reins in the harsh plains of the 'Great North'? Both questions have proved particularly difficult to answer because of the apparent lack of concrete empirical evidence. Carter and other correspondents of the Transvaal Advisory Board, believed that the provincial authorities were involved in a campaign to undermine English control and to Afrikanerise the inspectorate.[69] This might be viewed in the context of the general struggle to establish the status of Afrikaans (or in this case Afrikaans-speakers) as a way of loosening English speaking dominance, along the lines that O'Meara has argued. It should be noted that the TED was just as concerned to ensure that Afrikaans-speaking children were taught in their home language although their parents too were often inclined to prefer the use of English as it was a better qualification for future employment.

David Brown has pointed out, following Gramsci, that "every time the question of language surfaced...it meant that a series of other problems began to emerge...(that often had to do with the) formation and expansion of the ruling class."[70] So that what Carter and others observed may have have been an epiphenomenon; the surface manifestation of a deep struggle to recreate Afrikaner nationalism and to win allegiance for it from a constituency that had been shattered by Fusion.

O'Meara argues that by the 1930s the Afrikaner petty bourgoisie (including Afrikaner intellectuals) had been cut off from its old rural communities by the divisions created by the development of capitalism and their rapid disintegration as more and more white farmers were proletarianised and driven off the land. In the Transvaal the alienation of the petty bourgoisie was particularly acute. The process of proletarianisation was much swifter in that province, for reasons that O'Meara documents.[71] Furthermore, because the regional interests of Transvaal capitalist farmers appeared to lie with the new government created by Fusion, very few of them followed the lead of Malan's breakaway party. Whereas, for the majority of the petty bourgoisie, their advancement continued to be blocked by the English-speaking monopoly of the economy. "Promotion and advancement required both proficiency in a foreign language ...and virtual total acceptance of the structure of values dominant in the economy".[72] If we try to ascribe motives to Eiselen's decision to accept the post of chief inspector, it may be that one of them was an ambition to break into the state bureaucracy and embark on an upward career trajectory. The TED did seem to offer Afrikaans-speakers upward mobility and several of Eiselen's colleagues had followed the route from Stellenbosh to its upper echelons.[73] It has also been suggested that Eiselen was or became a member of the Broederbond in the mid 1930s.[74] O'Meara has argued that, because of the relative insignificance of the parliamentary Gesuiwerde National Party (the break-away group from Hertzog following Fusion) in the Transvaal the Broederbond evolved as the key policy co-ordinating body of northern Afrikaner nationalism.[75] The core of the elite Bond was petty bourgois and

"clash of languages" must also include the attempt to force teachers in African schools to give equal attention to the teaching of Afrikaans and, in areas where the white community was predominantly Afrikaans speaking, to enforce the use of Afrikaans as the official language. Franz dismissed reasons that were given to him for the continuing use of English as first official language, demanding to know what would happen if pupils went to work for Afrikaans employers.[83] Inspector de Jager, working in the Lydenburg District under Eiselen's jurisdiction, was particularly hated by mission superintendents[84] for his uncompromising insistence on the use of Afrikaans. In one ascerbic report of a school, he wrote that Afrikaans had to be treated as the first official language because "at least ... eighty per cent of the white inhabitants of this...town are Afrikaans speaking".[85] It was in this very district that the attempt to extend the period of labour service for labour-tenants on farms was to result in mass desertion. Even the provisions of the 1936 Native Trust and Land Act which barred Africans from white rural areas unless they were officially registered as "servants", "labour-tenants" or "squatters" were insufficient to remedy the perennial labour shortage on white farms. O'Meara has argued that the struggle to extract wage-labour by capitalist white farmers was particularly intense in the Transvaal because of the labour-tenant system which was better established there than anywhere else.[86] There seems little doubt that, at least some of Eiselen's inspectors were consciously using the Afrikaans language policy, not only to promote the prestige of the language, but to induce Africans to stay on the "platteland" to work out their contracts for white Afrikaner farmers (or other Afrikaans speaking employers in rural areas). Franz did not like to hear parents expressing the possibility that their children might leave to seek work on the Rand.[87]

Eiselen himself, as I have suggested above (see p.) was also sensitive to the rising tide of general African opposition and to the demands that were being made for the extension of education from African teachers and parents. The home language issue did provoke wide spread opposition, but it was not universal, as some of the responses to M'cwabeni's letter (and indeed part of M'Cwabeni's letter itself) indicate. Franz observed that many African teachers began to develop a "love"[88] for their African language and, as I will argue in the future, increasingly it became a strategy that reached out to meet some of the sentiments of nascent African nationalism.

The materialist explanations for what was going on under cover of "the clash of languages" offered above, afford us some useful glimpses and appear to explain a fundamental innovation in Transvaal Education Department practice. But they do not quite capture the elaborate nature of the enterprise, the commitment to "fixing" an orthography for example, nor do they do justice to Eiselen's sophisticated academic approach by reducing it to an expedient ideology. From his earliest days, Eiselen had been conversant with North Sotho. Both his parents were competent Sotho

linguists. Eiselen's 1924 Hamburg thesis, completed after he had studied under two distinguished European linguists with African specialisations, was on "Consonants in Bantu." This document illustrates his approach to the formalist minutae of language encouraged by his mentors. Eiselen's respect for the form of langauge and the retention of its spoken integrity, is evident too in his 1932 article on "Divination", in which he observes that the chants which accompanied the bone-throwing were often "cryptic in nature."[89] Yet he took singular care to record them as accurately as possible and had them double-checked by a mother tongue speaker. Professors Meinhof and Westermann, his erstwhile teachers, were both concerned to isolate the "typical characterstics" of the various "families of langauges" which they identified. For them, an examination of "tone and stress, internal vowel-change, the classification of nouns, the multiplicity of plural formations" and so on could explain what it was that differentiated one family from another and could also bring to light "the ancient relationship" that linked members of the same "family" together.[90]

Eiselen's inherited respect for the form of languages and their charactersitic elements was, in part, the product of a general intellectual movement that was concerned with the classification of langauges and the standardisation of their orthographies, which had its roots in European academies, probably consolidated by interbellum structuralism. Michel Foucault's work on the "historicity of knowledge" illuminates some aspects of this scholarly trend. Part of Foucault's Order of Things is an attempt to identify the rise of a "comparative grammar."[91] Foucault distinguishes earlier scholars, who had tried to understand the relationship between words and what they designated, or who had relentlessly hunted down semantic roots that were common to groups of languages, from modern linguists who became preoccupied with how words in particular languages were linked together. "From now on," Foucault writes, " there is (the quest for) an interior mechanism, the bearer of identity and difference, the sign of adjacency, the mark of kinship" [92] Languages, he argues, become defined according to their "internal architecture."

In attempting to locate the stigma of "kinship" and the cornerstones of the "internal architecture", chair of the central orthography committee, CM Doke and Lestrade came to figurative blows on the pages of Bantu Studies. Between 1930 and 1935, Lestrade took Doke ever more severely to task for the latter's conception of a "Bantu word." Lestrade held that Doke was right to adhere to the principle that the "particular genius of the Bantu people" which their languages reflected, ought not to be violated in the process of transcription.[93] But, implicit in Lestrade's critiques, was an accusation that Doke was doing just that. At one point Lestrade accuses Doke of doing "violence" to parts of speech by "wrench(ing)" them out of certain grammatical classes and thrusting them into new classes of his own.[94] Probing and eventually disinterring the fundamental principles of construction would reveal a coherent structure, a kind of "general framework", as Eiselen himself, quoting Lestrade, was wont to put it.[95]

The structuralist approach to the study of languages assigns them a corporeal dimension, expressed quite frequently it seems, in architectural and openly structural metaphor.(see above) It is almost as if they are made to occupy a definable physical space. Johannes Fabian's study of the "normative" development of indigenous languages in the Belgian Congo, shows missionaries encountering African languages and approaching them "as strange regions to be explored, as bounded systems to be monographically described as the possessions of territorially defined groups." [96] Before he turned academic, Westermann had been a missionary and the academic orthographers of the first part of the twentieth century in South Africa, including Eiselen, often worked on the basis of missionary studies, most notably those of Junod and Merensky. Patrick Harries has demonstrated that Junod often brushed over real linguistic differences to compose a more rational geographical area.[97] In the same way, Eiselen appears to betray his own scholarly fastidiousness by announcing with indecent haste that all Transvaal BaSotho may be treated as "Pedi."[98] Fabian shows how the concept of "one language for one social space"[99] evolved, which I would like to argue, with more historical verification, was replicated in the South Africa of the 1930s. Foucault's summation of the European developments in linguistic studies in the late ninteenth and early twentieth centuries has a striking resonance: "Each one (langauge) has an autonomous grammatical space" and "From now on, all langauges have an equal value; they simply have different internal structures."[100]

As indicated above, Doke and Lestrade assumed that African languages reflected a peculiar Bantu "genius" and this too seems to articulate a more general belief about the nature of language. Foucault describes post-classical linguists as subscribing to the idea that "language is...linked to...the minds of the people who have given rise to it, animate it and are recognisable in it..."[101] The linguists he describes believed that the structure of a language, once laid bare, would explain much about the inner mental processes of the people who had constructed it. In the thick of the "taalstryd" in the mid 1930s, Franz observed that "the study of the native languages reveals very interesting and instructive facts. Little by little it reveals more and more of the old and modern life...(it) offers a deeper insight into the psychology of the people."[102] A text on North Sotho terminology and orthography, published much later than the period under discussion here, acknowledges Eiselen explicitly for his encouragement (lit. "spurring on") and, I believe, bears the traces of his influence by pointing out to its white readers that "only by learning the Natives' language, to understand it and respect it, may we hope also to grasp his "lewensuitkyk" (worldview)".[103]

Conclusion

David Brown has observed that the study of sociolinguistics has taken place almost entirely outside the materialist school[104] and critics of Foucault's Order of Things have accused him of "linguistic idealism" which fails to account for the changes and discontinuties he charts.[105] The "clash of languages" under

discussion in this paper, does seem to have been thrown up by profound structural changes and class struggles that took certain very particular twists and turns in the Transvaal of the 1930s. But it is important to see how Eiselen's study of language and linguistics contributed to his vision of the ideal social order; how profoundly and subtly it served to justify the idea of total segregation and to represent it as the just 'order of things.'

1. P. Kallaway (ed) Apartheid and Education: The Education of Black South Africans (Johannesburg; Ravan, 1984)

2. Wolpe's paper appeared in Economy and Society (4) 1972.

3. P. Christie and C. Collins, "Bantu Education: Apartheid Ideology and Labour Reproduction" in Kallaway (ed) p. 181.

4. Collins and Christie, 1984 pp 160-162.

5. H. Wolpe, Race, Class and the Apartheid State (London; James Currey, 1987) p 6.

6. S. Dubow, "The idea of race in early twentieth century South Africa: Some preliminary thoughts." Paper presented to the African Studies Seminar, University of the Witwatersrand, April 1989.

7. S. Greenberg, Legitimating the Illegitimate: State, Markets and Resistance in South Africa (Berkeley/London; University of California Press, 1987) p.137.

8. S. Greenberg, Race and State in Capitalist Development (Johannesburg; Ravan/Yale, 1980) p.7.

9. ibid., p.26.

10. See J. Lazar, "Conformity and conflict: Afrikaner Nationalist Politics in South Africa 1948-1961"; D.Phil, Oxford,1987. D. O'Meara, Volkskapitalisme: Class, capital and ideology in the development of Afrikaner Nationalism 1934-1948 (Johannesburg; Ravan, 1983) D. Posel, "The meaning of Apartheid before 1948: conflicting interests and forces within the Afrikaner Nationalist alliance" Journal of Southern African Studies 14 (1) Sept. 1987.

11. Eiselen is remembered as being a member of The New Order in "Die Ossewabrandwag hereneringe van Prof PC Coetzee" (Potchefstroom, 1985) pp 19-20, Ossewabrandwag Argief, Potchefstroom University (PU vir CHO).

12. O. Pirow, "Nuwe Orde vir Suid Afrika soos uiteengesit deur Adv. O. Pirow" (Christelike Republikeinse SA Nasionaal-Sosialistiese Studiekring, Pretoria, undated) see especially pages 7 and 2, Ossewabrandwag Argief, PU vir CHO.

13. O'Meara, 1983 p.26.

14. ibid.,p. 54.

15. Lazar, 1987, p. 339.

16. ZK Matthews, "The Crisis in South Africa 1952-3" (Rough notes) SAIRR papers, AD 1699 Church of the Province (CPSA), University of the Witwatersrand)

17. J. Sharp, "The roots and development of volkekunde in South Africa" Journal of Southern African Studies (8) 1981/2, see pp 26 and 28.

18. Pamphlet issued by the University of the North titled "University of the North. Declaration of Independence. Investiture of First Chancellor " Sept. 25, 1970.

19. Otto Eberhardt, Berlin missionary and ex-superintendent. Interview with the author, Warmbaths, April 1990.

20. Informal information gleaned from librarian at the University of the North and in staff canteen - author plans follow-up interview.

21. As Commissioner General of the North Sotho. The rector of the University of the North suggested that he may have been senile. Interview with author, April 1990.

22. AH Murray, one of the members of the Eiselen commission of Enquiry into Native Education. Interview with the author, July 1990.

23. PC Mokgokong, rector of the University of the North. Interview with the author, April 1990. Informal interview, not yet for attribution.

24. Peter Delius has suggested this in informal conversation with the author.

25. See, for example, G. Brennecke, Bruder in Scatten: Bericht uber Sud Afrika (Berlin; Evangelische Verlagsamstalt, 1954). I am indebted to Hannah Schultze for introducing me to these ideas and for translations.

26. Eiselen's viewpoint is "corrected" in "De Brucke Zeitschrift fur Evangelische Mission in Sud Afrika" Jan. 1928, private copy of H.Schultze.

27. A. Kuper, "Anthropology and Apartheid" J. Lonsdale (ed) South Africa in Question (London; African Studies Centre, Cambridge/James Currey/Heinemann, 1988) p. 39.

28. ibid.,p.39.

29. ibid., p.35.

30. C. Kros, "ZK Matthews: The Needs of African Education" Perspectives in Education (forthcoming). Presented to History Workshop Conference Feb. 1990 in draft form.

31. W. Eiselen, "The Suto-Chuana Tribes Sub Group 11 The Bapedi (Transvaal Basotho)" A. Duggan-Cronin The Bantu Tribes of South Africa Volume Two, Section Two, 1931, p. 44.

32. ibid., p. 36.

33. ibid., p. 35.

34. ibid., p.44.

35. W. Eiselen, "The Art of Divination as Practised by the Bamesemola" Bantu Studies vol 1V No. 1, Mar. 1932, see in particular pp. 1, 7 and 29.

36. Eiselen, 1931, p. 36.

37. ibid., p. 41.

38. W. Eiselen, "Die Naturelle Vraagstuk" Paper delivered to Die Filosofiese Vereniging, University of Stellenbosch, May 1929, see pp. 10 and 14.

39. ibid., p. 4.

40. ibid., p.4.

41. ibid., p.5.

42. ibid., p. 10.

43. ibid., p.9.

44. ibid., p.9.

45. ibid.,p.9.

46. ibid., p.8.

47. ibid., p. 11: "Ek het probeer om die toneel reg te sit vir die volgende bedryf..."

48. ibid., p.12.

49. ibid., p.16.

50. ibid., p.14.

51. O'Meara 1983, p. 22.

52. O'Meara 1983, p. 22.

80. Greenberg, 1980. p.26 Uses the theoretical formulation to posit a priori conditions for changing form of ethnic domination - "dominant" workers demand protection.

81. M'Cwabeni Letter to the Editor Good Shepherd Sept. 1938, p.9.

82. Eiselen in Report of the Transvaal Education Department for the year ended Dec. 31st 1938, p. 77. (Government Printer, Pretoria, 1939) Government Publications, University of the Witwatersrand.

83. Franz in Report of the Transvaal Education Department for the Year Ended 31st December 1933, p. 119. (Government Printer 1934) Government Publications,University of the Witwatersrand.

84. See, for example, Massey to Secretary of Transvaal Education Department, July 10, 1939, Advisory Board, SAIRR AD 843 B37.15,CPSA, University of the Witwatersrand.

85..de Jager, Report of Inspection 8 and 21 March, 1939. Waterval Boven (Methodist Native) School. Advsory Board, SAIRR AD 843 B 37.15, CPSA, University of the Witwatersrand.

86. O'Meara 1983, p. 28-9.

87. Franz 1933 p. 119. Franz says that parents often express a preference for English because their children might go to Johannesburg, which he counters by saying that they might well end up working for Afrikaans employers.

88. Franz in Report of TED for the year ended 31st Dec 1933 p. 118 (Government Printer, Pretoria, 1934) Government Publications, University of the Witwatersrand.

89. Eiselen 1932 p 10.

90. See D. Westermann, The African Today and Tomorrow (London;published for the International Insititute of African Languages and Cultures by Oxford University Press, 1939) and G. Lestrade "Review of Bantu Linguistic Terminology" Bantu Studies vol x, 1936. pp. 126-9. (A review of Carl Meinhof's Die Enstehung Flektiender Sprechen) For specific use of these terms see Lestrade, p. 127.

91. M. Foucault, The Order of Things: An arcahaeology of the Human Sciences (New York; Random, 1973)

92. ibid., p. 236.

93. GP Lestrade Reviews CM Doke's Bantu Linguistic Terminology in Bantu Studies 10, 1936. p. 59.

94. ibid.,p.64.

95. Eiselen, 1931, p. 33.

96. J. Fabian, Language and Colonial Power: The appropriation of Swahili in the former Belgian Congo 1880 - 1938, (Cambrdige/London/New York; Cambridge University Press, 1986) p. 80.

97. P. Harries, "The anthropologist as historian and Liberal; HA Junod and the Thonga" Journal of Southern African Studies vol. 8 1982.

98. See the opening paragraph of Eiselen's 1931 article on the Pedi.

99. Fabian, 1986, p. 80.

100. Foucault, 1973, p.285.

101. ibid., p. 286.

102. Franz in Report of the Transvaal Education Department for the year ended 31st December.1933 p. 118 (Government Printer, Pretoria, 1934) Government Publications, University of the Witwatersrand.

103. D. Ziervogel, Noordsotho - Leerboek en n woordelys met oefeninge en vertaling (Pretoria; J.L. van Schaik, 1949) - see foreword.

104. Brown, 1988/9.

105. See for example, D. Couzens Hoy (ed) Foucault: A Critical Reader (Oxford/New York;Basil Blackwell, 1986) pp. 5 and 6.