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REFORMATORIES AND INDUSTRIAL SCHOOLS IN SOUTH AFRICA: A STUDY IN CLASS, COLOUR AND GENDER, 1882-1939

Linda Chisholm

A dissertation submitted to the Faculty of Arts, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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ABSTRACT

REFORMATORIES AND INDUSTRIAL SCHOOLS IN SOUTH AFRICA: A STUDY IN CLASS, COLOUR AND GENDER, 1882-1939

Linda Chisholm, Ph.D., University of the Witwatersrand, 1989.

This dissertation explores the establishment of reformatories and industrial schools in South Africa between 1882 and 1939. It focuses on the political and economic context of their emergence; the social and ideological construction of delinquency and the 'child in need of care'; the relationship of the class, colour and gender divisions in the reformatory and industrial school system to the wider racial and sexual division of labour in a colonial order, and the implications and significance of the transfer of these institutions from the Department of Prisons to the Department of Education in 1917 and 1934 respectively.

Thematically, the study is divided into three parts. Part One comprising chapters one, two, three, four, five and six situates the reformatory and industrial school in their political and economic, social and ideological context. Beginning with the origins of the reformatory in the nineteenth century Cape Colony, it then shifts focus to the Witwatersrand where the industrial revolution re-shaped and brought into being new social forces and institutions to deal with children defined as delinquent or 'in need of care'. It also examines the place of the reformatory and industrial school in relation to the wider system of legal sanctions and welfare methods established during this period for the white and black working classes by a segregationist state.

Part Two comprising chapters seven, eight, nine and ten contrasts and compares social practices in the institutions in terms of class, colour and gender between 1911 and 1934. Included here is a consideration of the different methods of discipline and control, conditions, education and training, and system of apprenticeship provided for black and white, male and female inmates. Responses of inmates to institutionalisation are explored in the final chapter of this section.

The third section comprises chapters eleven (a) and (b) and chapter twelve. These chapters expand on themes developed in earlier sections for the period 1934-1939. Shifts in criminological thinking and changing strategies towards juvenile delinquency in the nineteen thirties are considered in chapters eleven a) and b). The final chapter examines the nature and significance of the changes brought about particularly by Alan Paton in the African reformatory, Diepkloof, between 1934 and 1939.

The conclusion provides an overview of the main arguments of each section.

I declare that this dissertation is my own, unaided work. It is being submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted before for any degree or examination in any other University.

17th day of August, 1989.

For my parents

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INTRODUCTION

While comparatively weak until 1976, South African educational historiography was greatly strengthened by the student revolt of that year. Before this, it was dominated by studies which were not only Eurocentric, but also methodologically 'descriptive and empiricist in conception'.[1] Whereas Afrikaans-speaking historians concentrated on producing histories of education which depicted the struggle by Afrikaans-speakers for a Christian National Education, English historians sought to document the development of European education in ways which, as the doyen of these historians E.G. Malherbe noted, perceived the main struggle as one between 'the two white races to effect a fair adjustment of the educational system to their respective national demands'.[2] The history of administrative changes in European education around questions of language, central or local control and the progressive establishment of different branches of education (technical, vocational and tertiary) constituted the substance of this history.

After the accession to power of the National Party in 1948 and the introduction of Bantu Education in 1953, greater attention was paid to African education by writers concerned to document the process and effects of this system.[3] By the early

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1 P. Kallaway, 'Introduction' in Peter Kallaway (ed.), Apartheid and Education: A History of the Education of Black South Africans (Johannesburg 1984); see also M. Cross, 'A Historical Review of Education in South Africa: Towards an Assessment', Comparative Education, 22, 3, 1986, pp. 185-200; P. Enslin, 'Is the Dominant Tradition in Studies of Education in South Africa a Liberal One?', Perspectives in Education, 8, 3, July 1985, pp. 27-53; M. Cross, 'Reply to Enslin', Perspectives in Education, 8, 3, July 1985.

2 E.G. Malherbe, Education in South Africa, Vol. 1: 1652-1922, (Cape Town & Johannesburg 1925), p. 1X.

3 M. Horrell, African Education: Some Origins and Development until 1953 (Johannesburg 1963); M. Horrell, A Decade of Bantu Education (Johannesburg 1964); M. Horrell, Bantu

1970s the dominant approach, however, was still one which reflected the relatively unchallenged confidence of white supremacy and the construction of a system of education divided into four units, respectively: White, Indian, Coloured and African education.[4] These categories were taken as given; the present construction of schooling along these four lines was read back into history. The history of education in South Africa thus ideologically reflected the divisions that were in fact a historical and political construct. In so doing it obscured the historicity of this development, contradictions in it, the process of its creation, and the links between the different segments.

The 1976 uprising stimulated a deluge of books not only on the revolt itself, but also on the history of schooling for blacks.[5] The starting point of almost all of this work was the view that the history of education could not be presented as an independent field of enquiry, divorced from the wider political, social and economic context within which policies are formulated.[6] It drew much of its conceptual strength and vitality from the historical work of the rising school of critical political economists and social historians which had emerged

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Education to 1968 (Johannesburg 1968); M. Horrell, The Education of the Coloured Community in South Africa 1652-1970 (Johannesburg 1970); B. Rose and R. Tunmer (eds.), Documents in South African Education (Johannesburg 1974).

4 See for example, A. Behr and R. MacMillan, Education in South Africa (Pretoria 1966 and 1970) ; B. Rose, Education in Southern Africa (Johannesburg 1970).

5 See for example, J. Kane-Berman, Soweto: Black Revolt White Reaction (Johannesburg 1978); F. Troup, Forbidden Pastures: Education under Apartheid (London 1976/7); A. Brookes and J. Brickhill, Whirlwind Before the Storm (London 1980); F. Molteno, 'The Uprisings of June 16th: A Review of the Literature' in Social Dynamics, 5, 1, 1979, pp. 54-85; P. Kallaway (ed.), Apartheid and Education: The Education of Black South Africans (Johannesburg 1984).

6 See P. Kallaway (ed.), Apartheid, p. 5.

since the early 1970s.[7] It was also receptive to new currents in the sociology of education which attempted to uncover the roots of the relationship between schooling and social and economic inequality in capitalist societies.[8]

Unlike their predecessors, historians of education have recently been writing within a tradition not only critical of state policy in education, but also as part of a wider resurgence of opposition to the apartheid state in the post-1976 years. As Cross has pointed out, the main contribution of this new history of education was to redress the balance between white and black by a focus on the history of education for blacks. This was also its main weakness as it too, despite the new tools of historical materialism, continued to ignore the links and the relationships between the different racial compartments of education.[9] In addition, little serious attempt was made to pose and integrate questions about the role of education in structuring the intricate interrelationship of gender, race and class. Although social historians and sociologists have tried more generally to examine the way gender oppression has varied from class to class and between races in South African history,[10] few of these

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7 S. Marks, 'Towards a People's History of South Africa? Recent Developments in the Historiography of South Africa' in R. Samuel (ed.), Peoples History and Socialist Theory (London 1981), pp 297-308.

8 In particular these included L. Althusser, 'Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses' in B. Cosin (ed.), Education: Structure and Society (Harmondsworth 1972) and H. Bowles and S. Gintis, Schooling in Capitalist America (London 1976); R. Dale et al, Schooling and Capitalism (London 1976); various publications of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, University of Birmingham.

9 M. Cross, 'An Historical Review of Education in South Africa', Comparative Education, 22, 3, 1986, pp. 185-200.

10 See for example B. Bozzoli, 'Marxism, Feminism and South African Studies', Journal of Southern African Studies, 9, 2, April 1983, pp. 139-171; see also Journal of Southern African Studies, 10, 1, October 1983, Special Issue on Women, and Cherryl Walker (ed.), Gender in South African History (Johannesburg 1989).

insights were developed by educationists. Until the appearance of Cherryl Walker's edited collection, Gender in South African History in 1989, only J. Cock and D. Gaitskell had begun to explore the relationship between education and gender relations in a class and racially-divided society.[11] Both have concentrated on the ideology of domesticity fostered by mission schools, and the way this reinforced the subordinate position of African women in the transition to an increasingly industrialised and urbanised society. This study will extend their work by attempting to probe the differential impact of ideologies of femininity and domesticity on black and white girls at the lower echelons of a racially structured society.

As well as being located within the new school of historians of education, this investigation is also an attempt to examine the history of education in a manner that does not reproduce its existing racial and gender divisions methodologically. The assumption of this investigation is that the transformation of schooling in South Africa relies not only on changes within the system of schooling developed for blacks, but to the system as a whole. This, in turn, will rely on substantial political and economic change. The mode of academic analysis and historical investigation seeks to embody these assumptions.

The methodological implications of these considerations are twofold. On the one hand, the study of educational change should not be separated from its wider political and economic determinants. On the other, it should attempt to demonstrate the 'single dynamic'[12] shaping the system as a whole, as well as the

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11 J. Cock, Maids and Madams: A Study in the Politics of Exploitation (Johannesburg 1980), Chapter 8; D. Gaitskell, 'Upward All and Play the Game: The Girl Wayfarers' Association in the Transvaal 1925-1975', in P. Kallaway (ed.), Apartheid; see also S. Marks, Not Either an Experimental Doll, (Durban 1987).

12 M. Cross, 'An Historical Review', p. 197.

visible and invisible 'unequal relation of co-existence'[13] of the different racial segments. As Nasson has written:

> For in childhood settings there occurs a fusing of power and privilege on the one hand, with the subordination and deprivation on the other, which closely prefigures divided adult experience. Schooling reproduces patterns of class and racial identity as well as working skills and life opportunities. Thus, the most radical differences in childrens' learning experiences are tied as closely to social class as they are to race. As a universal system of domination, injury, constraint, and social recognition, class inequality is,..., always confronted first in the shaping experience of childhood.[14]

This dissertation is thus centrally concerned with the ways in which the 'shaping experience of childhood (and adolescence)', in a particular setting - the reformatory and industrial school- have been 'tied to social class and race', as well as to gender, and how they have 'reproduced patterns of class, racial (and gender:L.C.) identity as well as working skills and life opportunities'.

The location of these schools at the intersection of a nexus of social, political and other forces means that these institutions lend themselves to the kind of social historical analysis suggested by Nasson and Cross. Despite their extremely marginal status within the overall system of schooling in South Africa, they stand at the interface of schooling for rich and poor in South Africa. Both sets of institutions were designed for the discipline of children of sections of the labouring poor, the one for black and one for whites only.

As systems they also provide an opportunity to probe the impact of wider social policy on the black and white working classes; an historical comparison of their operation will cast

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13 B. Nasson, 'Perspectives on Education in South Africa' in S. Burman and P. Reynolds (eds.), Growing up in a Divided Society: The Contexts of Childhood in South Africa (Johannesburg 1986), p. 94

14 B. Nasson, 'Perspectives', p. 95.

light on this policy, as much as on the institutions themselves. Broadly, this policy was expressed in the administration of industrial schools and reformatories. In 1917 industrial schools, and in 1934 reformatories were transferred to the Union Education Department. Different strategies towards the white and black working classes were expressed by the mode of intervention adopted by these different departments. The substance of these differences can be explored through an examination of the contrast between the different kinds of approaches employed, and the institutional realities created for black and white boys and girls.

At times, the relationship between class, colour and gender will be approached unevenly; in particular, treatment of questions of gender will, on the whole, be less even-handed than that of colour. This itself is a reflection of the available evidence which concentrates overwhelmingly not only on whites, but on the male population, whether white or black, of reformatories and industrial schools. The unequal distribution of sources on blacks and on girls and young women in industrial schools and reformatories is in turn an index of the place they occupied in the consciousness of state and welfare officials. Despite the incompleteness of the evidence and in order not to repeat yet again the process of marginalisation of women and girls in these institutions, it was decided to retain questions of gender as a central focus.

It is necessary to differentiate the industrial schools from vocational schooling in general. From 1911 a number of industrial and housecraft schools were founded for 'poor whites'. Not all of these were designed for pre-delinquent and delinquent children. This dissertation is specifically concerned with those to which children were committed under the Children's Protection Act of 1913.

The industrial schools that are the focus of this dissertation evolved in the context of economic depression, impoverishment and hardship. The first industrial schools were

developed by the Dutch Reformed Church in the 1890s to combat the 'poor whiteism' created by drought, locusts and rinderpest. In 1909, in the wake of the depression of 1906-08, some of these were transformed into schools which, in the words of E.G. Malherbe, were 'more or less like reformatories' catering for destitute and neglected children 'likely to fall into crime'.[15] The first of these industrial schools, which had a distinctly penal function, were situated at Standerton(for girls) and at Emmasdale, Heidelberg(for boys). Five more were planned in different parts of the Union at the start of 1913 in terms of the Children's Protection Act of that year. An economic recession ensured that by 1915 only four were in existence, those at Paarl, George, Standerton, Emmasdale at Heidelberg. Shortly thereafter, Dewetsdorp was established and in 1925 Kingwilliamstown was added. The inmates of these schools differed from those at Standerton and Heidelberg in that they were less likely to have been considered in danger of falling into crime and more likely to have received schooling up to standar six. By 1934 there were 7 industrial schools administered in terms of the Children's Protection Act: four for boys at Emmasdale, George, Dewetsdorp and Kingwilliamstown respectively, and three for girls at Standerton, Paarl and Tempe.

Reformatories were likewise a distinct part of the educational system as a whole. They were, however, established not only for the children of the needy whites, but for the children of both black and white recently-proletarianised wage labourers in small towns, on farms and in the cities. The first, mixed reformatory was founded in the Western Cape in 1882 for boys only. After Union, in 1911, the boys were segregated into reformatories for whites, 'coloureds' and Africans. One reformatory was built for girls; unlike the male reformatories, it was not racially segregated until 1934. Although this may have been partly due to the small numbers of white girls sent to the

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15 E.G. Malherbe, Education, vol. 1, p. 164.

reformatory, this study will also explore the issue in terms of prevailing ideas which linked crime, sexuality, race and 'degeneracy'. For while the number and place of girls in this system underscores their wider, social marginality, the ideas and processes structuring their lives were central to the making of a racial state. By 1934 there were five reformatories for boys and two for girls; two reformatories existed for African males at Fort Glamorgan (East London) and Diepkloof (Johannesburg); one for 'coloured' boys at Porter (Cape Town); two for white boys at Houtpoort (Heidelberg) and Tokai (Cape Town); one for white girls at Durbanville (Cape Town), and one for girls of all races at Eshowe (Natal).[16]

This thesis is thus the presentation of 'an exogamic aspect of ourselves, a broken mirror that reflects our image at the outer limit of experience...where we can read a culture differently but as clearly as in the accumulated mass of normal events'.[17] Its focus is correspondingly not only that of the 'social world of the...inmate, as this world is subjectively experienced by him'.[18] It is, much more, 'the history of the

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16 In 1911, white boys were sent either to Houtpoort in the Transvaal or to the Breakwater Reformatory in the Western Cape. After the Report of the Select Committee Inquiry into Porter Reformatory in 1921, white boys at the Breakwater were moved to the Tokai Reformatory. See Report of the Select Committee of Inquiry into the Porter Reformatory, S.C. 14-21. Fort Glamorgan was founded in 1917 to separate African and 'coloured' boys at Porter. The girls' reformatory was first located at Pretoria, until it was moved to Fort Durnford, Estcourt, on the 24th July 1914.

17 M. Perrot, 'Delinquency and the Penitentiary System in Nineteenth Century France' in R. Forster and O. Ranum (eds.), Deviants and the Abandoned in French Society: Selections from the Annales (Baltimore and London 1978), p. 213.

18 E. Goffman, Asylums: Essays on the Social Situation of Mental Patients and Other Inmates (Harmondsworth 1961).

prison from the inside out',[19] the place of the reformatory and industrial school in the social system. Yet, while they can be seen as a microcosm, these institutions cannot be approached as simply reflecting what existed outside their walls. Contradictions within them, between stated intentions and outcomes, will continuously be explored. So, too, will responses and resistance, and the different forms these took in the different types of institutions.

Recent social history, with its emphasis on the working class, the poor and marginalised, those who have been 'hidden from history',[20] has also informed and enriched this study. But whereas historians of education have of late been at pains to situate their histories within the larger canvas sketched by social and other historians, the latter have paid scant attention to working class schooling (of which reformatories and industrial schools are a part) in their interpretations of the wider transformation of South African society in the twentieth century.

Amongst historians of twentieth century South Africa, the most useful work for this thesis has been that by R. Davies, S. Marks and S. Trapido, and C. van Onselen. S. Marks and S. Trapido first drew attention to the relationship between the establishment of a modern state and transformation of the education system during the post-1902 Reconstruction period. The reform of the educational system was essential, they argued, if the stabilisation as well as the reproduction of the white working class was to be achieved.[21] R. Davies showed how the state intervened in educational and training institutions in the first three decades of the twentieth century to socialise 'poor

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19 P. O'Brien, The Promise of Punishment: Prisons in Nineteenth Century France (Princeton 1982), p. 9.

20 S. Rowbotham, Hidden from History: 300 Years of Women's Oppression and the Fight against it (London 1973).

21 S. Marks and S. Trapido, 'Lord Milner and the South African State', History Workshop Journal, 1979, p. 62.

whites' to compete for manual, labouring and other places in the labour market.[22] C. van Onselen's work on the role of prisons and compounds has by contrast brought into focus how the black migrant working class was initially controlled and disciplined, and how these controls were challenged.[23] Together, these works have provided the main theoretical focus on the differing ideological and repressive means by which the white and black working class were respectively reproduced in twentieth century South Africa, and the role of educational and penal institutions in helping to realise this. For in the early twentieth century, in the aftermath of the South African War(1899-1902), a modern system of free and compulsory schooling was created to incorporate the white working class politically and socially into the new society. Included in this system were institutions for the maintenance and discipline of children of the 'dangerous classes' and the punishment of those who refused incorporation.

If they have not paid serious attention to the early schooling and discipline of the poor, labouring and working classes, social historians in more recent times have been stimulated by the role played by youth and gangs in the social upheavals of 1984 - 1986 to study the social conditions, organisation and consciousness of black (largely male)youth outside of institutions. Bonner, Delius, Hyslop and La Hausse have focused on youth in the new urban environment in the decades before and after the Second World War.[24] These were

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

23 C. van Onselen, Chibaro: African Mine Labour in Southern Rhodesia 1900-1933 (Johannesburg 1976); C. van Onselen, 'Crime and Total Institutions in the Making of Modern South Africa: The Life of Nongoloza Mathebula, 1867-1948' in History Workshop Journal, 19, Spring 1985, pp. 62-82.

24 P. Bonner, 'Family, Crime and Political Consciousness on the East Rand, 1939-1955', in Journal of Southern African Studies, 14, 3, April 1988, pp. 393-420; J. Hyslop, 'The Concepts

often, but not in every case, the social strata from which recruits to the black reformatories were drawn. Don Pinnock,[25] in work conducted slightly earlier than these, has shown that Porter reformatory in the Western Cape was an active recruiting ground for gangs in the Western Cape in the 1930s and after. Whether this was so for the other reformatories is unclear. More research is needed here. His work suggests that both industrial school and reformatory inmates brought with them into the institutions cultural patterns and consciousnesses which were highly complex responses to the changing social conditions in which they were located. How the institutions attempted to reshape these is part of the concern of this thesis. Very little of the literature dealing with youth who were likely to come before the law before the Second World War has considered the state's responses to them in any detail.[26] Not a single account exists which specifically outlines the development of reformatories as a strategy to deal with youth defined as delinquent, or their internal regimes, or their specific nature as part of the educational and social apparatus of South Africa.

If social historians have paid little attention to state response to juvenile crime, and the schooling, reproduction and disciplining of the children of rural and urban workers, as well as conflicts and contradictions in this system, criminologists have done little more. The great majority of criminological and penological work in South Africa over the past 35 years is based on pro-state consensus models and approaches. They concentrate

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of Reporduction and Resistance: The Transition from Missionary Schooling to Bantu Education' in Perspectives in Education, 9, 2, September 1987, pp. 3-23; P. La Hausse, 'Mayihlome! Towards and Understanding of Amalaita Gangs in Durban, c. 1900 - 1930', University of the Witwatersrand, African Studies Institute Seminar Paper, April 1987; P. Delius, 'Sebatakgomo: Migrant Organisation and the Sekhukhuniland Revolt', mimeo 1988.

25 D. Pinnock, The Brotherhoods (Johannesburg 1984).

26 An exception is J. Hyslop, 'Concepts'.

overwhelmingly on the administrative history of prisons.[27] Similar to the history of education, those that have paid attention to children's institutions and reformatories have written from a standpoint internal to the policy-making process itself.[28] With few exceptions, they also share the Eurocentrism of educational historiography.[29] The dominant approach accepts the 'naturalness' of the institutions, and the assumption that these children in reality constitute a special category of 'problem' and 'anti-social' children.[30] Psychological and

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27 See, for example, W. Erasmus, 'Die Vestiging en Ontwikkeling van die Kriminologie in Suid Afrika met spesiale verwysing na die Pentiensiere Inligting tussen 1910 - 1961,' MA, UNISA, 1985; H.J. Venter, Die Geskiedenis van die Suid Afrikaanse Gevangenisstelsel 1652-1958 (Cape Town 1959); M. van Wyk, ''n Historiese-kritiese beskouing van die onwikkeling van die penologie met spesifieke verwysing na Suid Afrika', M.A., UNISA, 1957; M. van Wyk, 'Die ontwikkeling van die gevangeniswese in die Kaapkolonie vanaf 1806 tot en met Unifikasie 1910', D. Litt and D. Phil, UNISA, 1964; see also V. C. Fox, 'Prisons and Penal Reform in South Africa 1938-1948 including a section on Juvenile Delinquency and a number of important English and American publications', University of Cape Town, 1949.

28 P. Kallaway, Apartheid, p. 4; see, for example, J. Rossouw, 'Die Ontstaan en Ontwikkeling van Kinderwetskole in Suid Afrika tot 1983', 1986.

29 Exceptions are J. Grobler, 'Juvenile Delinquency in South Africa', D. Phil, UCT, 1942; and from a different perspective, W. Kieser, 'Bantoejeugmisdaad aan die Rand en die behandeling daarvan deur die Diepkloofverbeteringskool', M.Ed, Potchefstroom Universiteit vir CHO, 1953.

30 See for example, E. Briers, 'Die Aaanpassingsprobleme van 'n groep dogters in 'n verbeteringskool', M.A. UNISA, 1955; M. Brown, 'Die sosio-ekonomiese agtergrond van sorgbehoenwende blanke kinders in inrigtings in die Westelike Kaapprovinsie', M.A., Stellenbosch, 1948; W. Kaldenberg, 'Acquisition and extinction of the anti-social habits of two hundred pupils at Constantia Reformatory', M.A., UCT, 1951; M. Volbrecht, 'The Identification of Dagga Smokers in a reformatory through the use of personality questionnaries and life history data', M.A., UNISA, 1977; M. Botha, 'An Investigation of the Relationship between the Psychological needs, values and elements of personal adjustment of a group of male juvenile delinquents in a

structural-functionalist approaches predominate. The historicity of the institutions, or the social and historical construction of the category of 'delinquent' remain largely unquestioned. Old assumptions about the relationship between female sexuality and female crime also continue to lurk in the shadows. Although a critical criminology is gradually emerging, little of its work, apart from that by van Zyl Smit, is historical.[31]

Within the greater body of criminological literature, H.J. Simons' 1931 UNISA M.A. thesis on 'Crime and Punishment with reference to the Native Population in South Africa' stands out as a careful attempt to document the character and reasons for differential patterns of crime between white and black in South Africa. 'With regard to the problem of Native crime', he wrote, 'it is but, to a great extent, the effect of the failure to solve the larger question in its many ramifications, such as the land, economic, social and educational'.[32] Midgley's Children on Trial[33] is also an important source on the mechanisms by which juvenile offenders have been processed into these institutions. He provides a useful overview of the division between welfare and criminal procedures used by South African courts in the operation of its juvenile justice. His concern is mainly with the legal categories defining and dividing children, rather than with the

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reformatory and its usefulness in a dimensional framework for a differential rehabilitation programme', M.Ed, U.C.T., 1982.

31 D. Davis and M. Slabbert (eds.), Crime and Power in South Africa: Critical Studies in Criminology (Cape Town 1985); D. van Zyl Smit, 'Public Policy and the Punishment of Crime in a Divided Society: A Historical Perspective on the Southern African Penal System', in Crime and Social Justice, 21-22, Special Double Issue 1984, pp 146-163.

32 H.J. Simons, 'Crime and Punishment with reference to the Native Population of South Africa', M.A., UNISA, 1931, Preface.

33 J. Midgley, Children on Trial (Cape Town 1975); see also D. Pinnock Brotherhoods; D. Davis and M. Slabbert (eds.), Crime and Power in South Africa: Critical Studies in Criminology (Johannesburg 1985).

institutions themselves. Both Simons and Midgley are concerned with the social and historical nature of crime and punishment in South Africa. Neither, however, touches on the history of institutions for the criminalised.

The educational literature that has dealt with these institutions is itself extraordinarily thin. Here contributions have been made by E.G. Malherbe (1925 and 1977), M.E. McKerron (1934)[34] and E.G. Pells (1938).[35] Malherbe (1925) explains the transfer of industrial schools from the Department of Justice to the Department of Education in 1917 as being the product of the harmful association of prisons and crime with the care for poor children and industrial training. He notes, in the first volume of Education in South Africa, the vastly expanded scope of such provision in the 1920s, involving provision for more than 12,000 children in 1922 in 'other than higher education'. He also mentions the role of Child Welfare Societies in such work. In 1977, in vol. 2 of the same work, he continues to regret the stigma that persisted in being attached to these schools. Both because of their association with the 'destitute, defective and the delinquent' and with manual work which was generally seen to be the 'province of blacks', these industrial schools, he argues, 'were never seriously applied to the well-to-do'.[36] He explains their emergence as being the product of 'poverty, depressions, wars and epidemics'.[37] His final assessment is that:

> Though the Church baptized it and the Prisons nursed it for a time, it was begotten in shame. Placed later on the doorstep of the provincial education departments,

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34 M.E. McKerron, A History of Education in South Africa 1652 - 1932 (Pretoria 1934).

35 E.G. Pells, The Story of Education in South Africa (Johannesburg 1938).

36 E.G. Malherbe, Education, vol. 2, p. 165.

37 E.G. Malherbe, Education, vol. 2, p. 164.

> this foundling was never happy. In fact, it was the Cinderella of the school system.[38]

M.E. McKerron attributed the growth of industrial schools to 'important economic changes' in South Africa.[39] She argues that 'the whole history of this branch of education is closely connected with the general economic development of the country',[40] and in particular with the discovery of diamonds and gold in the latter half of the nineteenth century. Her concern is mainly with the development of a system of vocational education for whites, the efficient co-ordination and rationalization of its component parts and the desirability of making them the 'instrument of a liberal education'.[41] She. too, is concerned that the stigma attached to the industrial schools should be shed.

That industrial schools were associated with crime, crime with poverty, and poverty amongst whites with degradation to the status of blacks in South Africa, marked these institutions and the children in them in a particular way:

> The fact that in South Africa most of the skilled and semi-skilled work in the various industries, such as building, clothes-making, cabinet-making, furniture-making, leather-work and the hundred and one branches of industry is performed by the Cape Coloureds, has attached a stigma to industrial education for white children. Industrial schools carried with them from the first the connotation of poor whites.[42]

The taboo surrounding children from these schools appears to have arisen, then, not so much from their connection with vocational schooling as their affiliation with black people.

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38 E.G. Malherbe, Education, vol. 2, p. 165.

39 M. E. McKerron, History, p. 103.

40 M. E. McKerron, History, p. 104

41 M.E. McKerron, History, p. 118.

42 E.C. Pells, Story, p. 100.

Historians of South African education have been ambivalent about industrial schools. On the one hand they have sought their recognition and integration into the formal system of schooling; on the other, they have shunned these schools, in their writing placing the same prohibitions on the subject as were placed on the children whom ill-fortune deposited in these schools. They have been embarrassed at the existence of a class not conforming to acceptable white middle class norms. To its white historians, sharing the assumptions of the dominant social order about the hierarchical ordering of the races, the history of industrial schools has been a shameful history, both as a form of working class schooling for whites, and as a form of schooling which has reflected the close association at certain levels of white with black. For them, industrial schools have been a blight on the overall edifice of education for white supremacy. Thus it has been hidden from history.

If the history of industrial schools has been largely hidden, then the history of reformatories has been suppressed. When it is written, only the early chapters of the tale are told. The origins of the reformatory are presented as being the logical consequence of the progressive process of classifying and segregating children from adults. Thus M. van Wyk, in his UNISA Ph.D.,[43] has shown how the first reformatory, Porter reformatory, founded in 1882, began as an attempt to segregate juvenile offenders from adult convicts in prisons.

Alan Paton, in his autobiographical and literary work,[44] has depicted his years as Principal of Diepkloof Reformatory (1934-1948) as a battle against various evils: firstly, against the legacy of the reformatory's long connection with the Prisons Department, secondly as a battle against the society that

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43 M. van Wyk, 'Gevangeniswese'.

44 A. Paton, Diepkloof: Reflections of Diepkloof Reformatory (Cape Town 1987); A. Paton and K. Shah, Sponono: A Play in Three Acts (Cape Town 1965); A. Paton, Debbie, Go Home; A. Paton, Towards the Mountain: An Autobiography (Cape Town 1981).

produced juvenile offenders and thirdly as an ongoing struggle to ensure that 'good' triumphed over 'evil' in the minds and morals of the incarcerated. His experiments in transforming Diepkloof African Reformatory from a prison to a school, universally seen as epitomising the liberal spirit in education, are described in his work. Paton resigned as Principal on the accession of the National Party to power in 1948. The same year saw the publication of his book, Cry the Beloved Country. He was succeeded by W.J. Kieser who in 1952 wrote an M.Ed thesis for Potchefstroom University, Bantoejeugmisdaad aan die Rand en die behandeling daarvoor deur die Diepkloofverbeteringskool, Johannesburg (Native Juvenile Delinquency and its Treatment at the Diepkloof Reformatory, Johannesburg). The causes of delinquency are, for him, multi-variate, but in essence socio-pathological; the purposes of the reformatory regime are to rid the inmates of their abnormalities, to condition them to become useful members of society subordinated to whites, and to teach them 'to stay Bantu and be proud of being Bantu'.[45] His approach had a long history; his successors in criminological writing would not depart far from these theoretical and methodological pressupositions. Both Paton and Kieser's work, however, can be seen more as primary than secondary material. The history of reformatories as a system is unwritten; the history of industrial schools, as has been shown, has been barely touched.

Different approaches exist in writing the history of such institutions.[46] This study owes much to the work of Erving

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45 W. W. J. Kieser, 'Bantoejeugmisdaad', p. 116.

46 P. Tyor and J. Zanaildin, 'Asylum and Society: An Approach to Institutional Change', Journal of Social History, X111, 1, 1979, pp. 23-48; M. Ignatieff, 'Total Institutions and the Working Classes: A Review Essay', History Workshop Journal, Issue 15, Spring 1983, pp. 167-173; B. Simon, 'The History of Education' in W. Tibble (ed.), The Study of Education (London 1966), pp. 91-130; P. O'Brien, 'Crime and Punishment as Historical Problem', Journal of Social History, 11, 4, Summer 1978, pp. 508-521.

Goffman on 'total institutions' in characterising the relationships between staff and inmates in such institutions.[47] It has also drawn on Michel Foucault's insights into 'the microphysics of power' within institutions, the relationship between power and knowledge, and processes of objectification through 'comparison, differentiation, hierarchization, homogenization, exclusion'.[48] Here selective use is made of his concepts. This selectivity is made on the basis of a recognition of the strengths and weaknesses of his work for historians.[49] Foucault wishes to dispense, for example, with the notion of power as repressive, preferring instead to see it as productive of subjectivities, and as exercised rather than possessed. The approach taken here echoes that which criticises this notion of power as 'dissolving the link between power and oppression and desire and liberation, and therefore the political content of the concepts themselves'[50] and 'more or less eliminates the central dialectic of opposed forces that still underlies modern society'.[51] In this thesis a concept of power as both repressive and productive of subjectivities is used.

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47 E. Goffman, Asylums: Essays on the Social Situation of Mental Patients and other Inmates (Harmondsworth 1961).

48 M. Foucault, 'The Means of Correct Training' in P. Rabinow (ed.), The Foucault Reader (New York 1984, 1986, 1987), p. 195; M. Foucault, Discipline and Punish (London 1977); see also recent Foucault-ian applications such as, D. Garland and P. Young (eds.), The Power to Punish: Contemporary Penality and Social Analysis (London 1983).

49 See, for example, J. Weeks, 'Foucault for Historians', in History Workshop Journal, Issue 14, Autumn 1982, pp 106-120; and M. Poster, 'Foucault and History', Social Research, 49, 1982, pp. 116-143.

50 P. Dews, 'Power and Subjectivity in Foucault', New Left Review, 144, March-April 1984, p. 93.

51 E. Said, 'Criticism between Culture and System', The World, The Text and the Critic (London 1983), p. 221.

An attempt is made here to analyse penal policy in two main ways. First, imprisonment is seen broadly as a 'coercive instrument of state power...the primary sanction in the process by which the ordinary labour force for paid employment was created.'[52] Second, there is a recognition of the way in which theories accompanying the development of penal policy, in relation to youth in particular, developed new forms of penal representation.[53] As Garland and Young have expressed it:

> It is necessary to introduce a radical distinction between the operational realm of sanctions, institutions and physical practices and the public realm of representations, significations and symbolic practices.[54]

It is only at the second level of penal representation that the link between criminalisation and the building of an exclusive white South African 'nation' in the first few decades after Union can be understood.[55] Penal policy and criminology can be seen as operating as a metaphor for wider social policies, at the same time that they are constitutive of class, racial and gendered social identities.

While this process was, in the first place, both political and economic, it was also ideological in the sense that criminalisation included mechanisms of inclusion and exclusion of different classes and sectors of the population. The primary

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52 D. Williams, 'The Role of the Prisons in Tanzania: An Historical Perspective,' Crime and Social Justice, Summer 1980, pp. 167-173.

53 D. Pick, 'The Faces of Anarchy: Lombroso and the Politics of Criminal Science in post-Unification Italy', History Workshop Journal, 21, Spring 1986, pp. 61-86

54 D. Garland and P. Young, 'Towards a Social Analysis of Penality', in D. Garland and P. Young (eds.), The Power to Punish: Contemporary Penality and Social Analysis (London 1983), p. 18

55 C. Sumner, 'Introduction: Crime, Justice and Underdevelopment: Beyond Modernisation Theory', in C. Sumner (ed.), Crime, Justice and Underdevelopment (London 1982)

means for exclusion was, firstly, ommission from the discourse of criminality and, secondly, objectification through categorisation, classification and institutional segregation. While blacks were at first by and large omitted from the discourse of criminality, they constituted its silent centre. Girls, whether black or white, hardly featured, rendered invisible by the practitioners of welfare as much as by the historical record. Criminalised whites, on the other hand, were categorised in ways which displaced and symbolically classed them alongside blacks, thus contradictorily locating them inside, but on the margins of white society. The explanation for this must be sought not in the discourse itself but in the objective social conflicts and antagonisms which formed the foundation for the establishment of a racially exclusive democracy in South Africa in the first few decades of the twentieth century.

Foucault's work has been particularly useful in developing a theoretical understanding of the term 'rehabilitation'. The classic Marxist approach to 'rehabilitation' is exemplified by David Williams[56] who has argued that it can be understood in terms of the way in which 'ideology mystifies the social relations of capitalist exploitation'.[57] The tendency is thus to maintain faith in the theory of reformation despite evidence to the contrary, as is provided in recidivism. For Foucault, reform of the prison/reformatory is as old as the prison itself and should be understood not only in terms of the role of the prison in policing crime, but also in its role of producing the legitimation for intervention in other more central parts of the social system. These institutions produce a population which is isolated, examined, classified, segregated and excluded. This knowledge provides the power for intervening in the name of

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56 D. Williams, 'Prisons'.

57 D. Williams, 'Prisons', p. 34.

programmes of reform in wider civil society.[58] It also constitutes subjects as 'delinquents', or 'problem children'; in short, it is the process of 'stigmatisation' that lies at the centre of the process of institutionalisation as delinquents as well as at the centre of guilt about them. 'Stigmatisation' is an intrinsic and necessary part of the operation of these institutions since it also forms part of the means of policing the wider society.

This explains to some extent why there have been so few reformatories relative to the number of children convicted. Reformatories acted as symbols of punishment and exclusion. The process was performed through the operation of reform where rehabilitation is understood as diverse means of classification. It also helps to explain, at a theoretical level, why and how reformatories came to occupy a minor but powerful place within the repertoire of sanctions available for black and white youth.

There are two central concerns in this thesis: firstly, the representation of crime and secondly, the operation of the institutions as they affected the lives of their charges in determinate ways. The 'representations' took place in concrete historical circumstances. How crime and delinquency was defined/produced; how it was stigmatised, which groups rallied to its examination and sought the reform of institutions in South Africa and why, can only be determined by concrete historical investigation and recognition of the reality of these categories outside discourse itself. How the 'intentions' of administrators were contradicted by the actual operation of the institutions was also shaped by specific social and historical circumstances.

Ideologically, the role of reformatories and industrial schools was conceived to be the rehabilitation of juvenile offenders. In practice they also operated to punish and repress. They thus had a dual, ideological and punitive, role. At

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58 M. Foucault, Discipline and Punish (London 1977); P. Young, 'Punishment and Social Organisation' in Z. Bankowski and G. Mungham (eds.), Essays in Law and Society (London 1980).

different times, socialisation through 'repression' was more dominant than socialisation through 'ideology'. Examining the relationship between the two casts light on the changing strategies of rehabilitation that were employed. At first, methods were primarily coercive, directed mainly at the body; after 1917 (in the case of industrial schools) and 1934 (in the case of reformatories) strategies were directed at the mind of the offender. In the earlier periods there were also attempts to work on the 'mind', albeit less developed; in the latter period, punitive methods remained in use as well. From applying authority externally, it was increasingly attempted to locate authority within civil society and the individual psyche. There was thus a move from discipline through coercion to discipline through both social regulation and individual self-discipline. These methods themselves will be situated and examined contextually and historically in relation to class, colour and gender.

The thesis is divided into three parts. Part One (Chapters One to Six) establishes the social and ideological origins of the reformatory and industrial school. The section opens with the establishment of the first reformatory as a branch of the penal system and closes with its transfer to the Union Education Department. This was also a period which saw profound changes in the economic and social life of southern Africa: the transition, in the Cape Colony, from merchant to industrial capitalism; the forging, in the crucible of the Rand, of a capitalist, racially-structured state with an educational, welfare and penal infrastructure to deal with an urban and rural proletariat divided, not least, by race; the emergence, sometimes but not always under the aegis of the state, of new social forces, disciplines and approaches to crime, the poor and the children of the poor and the consolidation of a range of sanctions to deal with them when they came before the law.

Having shown how both the state and members of civil society, in particular child welfare societies, acted to create a system

of social reproduction for the white working class and a system of coercive controls over the black working class on the Witwatersrand in the first two decades of the twentieth century, Chapter Five shows what this meant in concrete terms for juveniles who fell into the hands of the law in the next two decades. It demonstrates the different sanctions employed by the state vis a vis black and white - on a spectrum ranging from incarceration in the prison, reformatory and industrial school, to the development of probation services and provision of mothers' pensions to apprenticeship, caning, fines and repatriation to the rural areas. This is explained in terms of wider state strategy and policy towards the black and white working class in urban areas: the way maintenance of a migrant labour system and Stallardite doctrine dictated social policy towards blacks and concern for the stabilisation of the white working class dictated social policy towards them.

In the process of the establishment of this wider social system, and informing it, the 'delinquent' and 'child in need of care' were classified in ways which constituted them not only as mental defects, but also as racial degenerates if white and as primitives if black. The testing movement in South Africa, harnessed to Social Darwinist ideas provided, at key moments of social and economic stress, the tools for classifying, segregating and excluding children so defined. Thus those who, by chance having been caught stealing bread, for example, would become outcasts for life.

Part Two (Chapters Seven to Ten) deals with the institutional attempts to control, discipline and train inmates between 1911 and 1934. By Union the future of this system was assured. Now it also took on the race-and gender-divided form which it has maintained to the present day. In this section, different aspects of the industrial school and reformatory regime between 1911 and 1934 are compared with that of Porter Reformatory as it developed before 1911. Despite claims to the contrary, the institutions shared much of the means by which a 'microphysics of

power' was established at Porter. The relationship between class, colour and gender within the reformatory system and between the reformatory and industrial school system is probed to cast light on the wider society, the contradiction between goals and institutional realities, and the context of 'rehabilitation' created for children during this period in penal and educational institutions. In practice many of these institutions were linked, through their system of apprenticeship, with forced labour practices on white commercial farms and domestic labour in white homes. The aim of training boys for a trade in both reformatories and industrial schools was hardly realised; indeed, during the 1920s white labour resisted being undercut by not only unskilled black labour but also unskilled youth from industrial schools.

Inmates were by no means passive victims of institutional aims and controls. Indeed, a variety of responses ranging from accommodation to rebellion occurred. Here a clearly gender-divided pattern of response seems to have operated, contradicting assumptions about the innate nature of girls. How different types of response, including escape, arson and riot were related to the nature of the institutions will be explored.

Part Three (Chapters Eleven and Twelve) charts the shifts in ideology and practice in the reformatory between 1934 and 1939 following on the impact of the Depression, the transformation by the state of the society in the interests of industrialisation and the state's 'civilised labour policy' on social relations. In 1934 reformatories were taken over by the liberal Union Education Department under J.H. Hofmeyr. A period of innovation and experimentation was embarked upon as new Principals were appointed and given a free hand to turn reformatories into schools. Amongst these were Alan Paton, who became Principal of Diepkloof Reformatory, the African reformatory on the Witwatersrand. The changes brought about in Porter Reformatory and Diepkloof in this period signified the temporary social hegemony of a liberal intelligentsia ideologically close to the

political solutions offered by the relatively new manufacturing sector towards the black urban proletariat. For a brief period, these reformatories, and especially Diepkloof, were laboratories for liberalism. The signficance and limitations of this experiment are suggested in the final chapter. The advent of the National Party to power in 1948 closes this particular chapter of the history of state strategies towards those variously described as juvenile 'delinquents', 'deviants' and 'in need of care'. By 1939, its main features had been cast, even though the outbreak of war was definitive in setting in motion the process of derailing the liberal experiment.

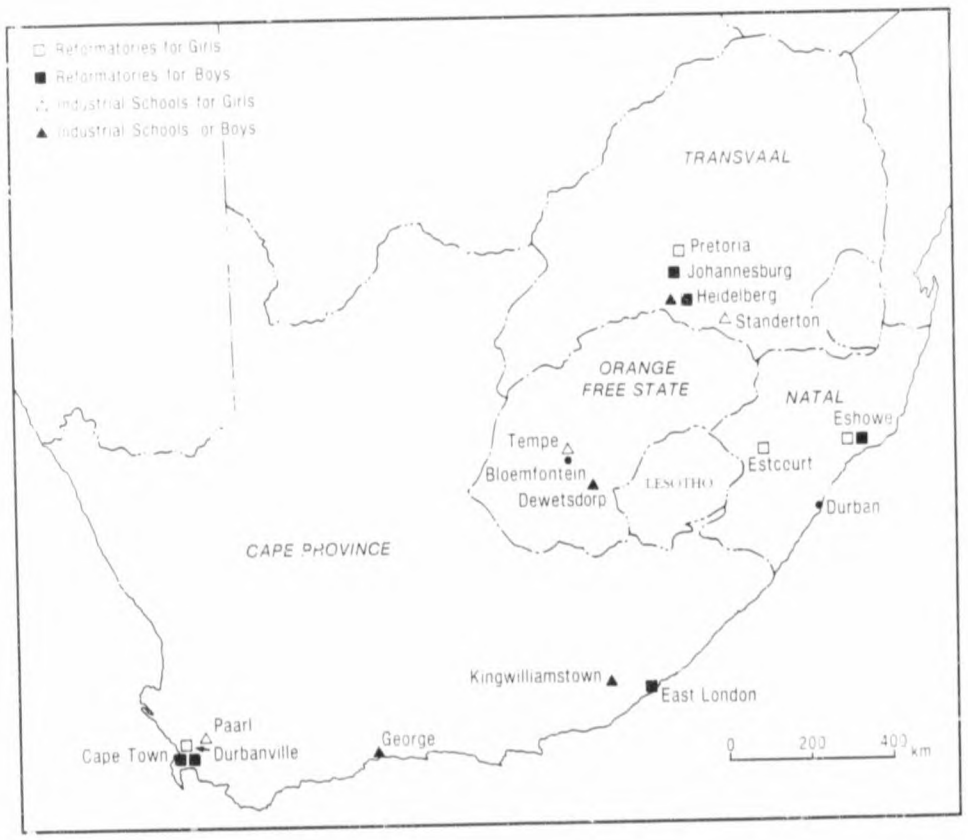


Figure 1

MAP SHOWING LOCATION OF REFORMATORIES AND INDUSTRIAL SCHOOLS IN SOUTH AFRICA, 1882-1932

The reformatories marked here were founded at different times. A girls' reformatory was started in Pretoria in 1911, but was closed in 1914. Black and white girls were then sent to Fort Durnford Reformatory at Estcourt until 1926, when they were moved to Eshowe. Until 1926, Eshowe had been a boys' reformatory. After 1934, white girls were sent to the Durbanville Institute for Girls instead of to Eshowe. White boys were sent to Porter Reformatory, Tokai, from 1882 to 1911, then to the Breakwater Reformatory, also in Cape Town, or to Houtpoort in the Transvaal. In 1921 the Breakwater Reformatory was closed and boys were moved to a European Section of the Tokai Reformatory.

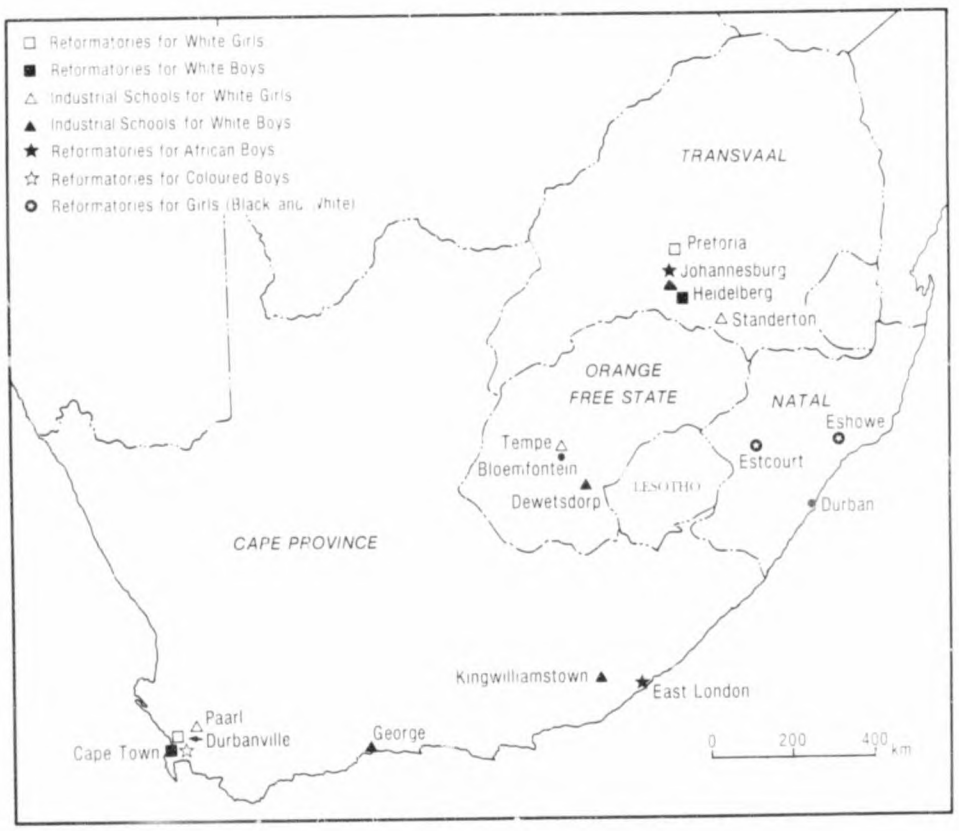


Figure 2

MAP SHOWING REFORMATORIES AND INDUSTRIAL SCHOOLS BY COLOUR AND GENDER

African boys were sent first to Porter Reformatory and then, after 1911, to Diepkloof on the Witwatersrand, or to Fort Glamorgan, East London if they were from the Cape Province, or Eshowe is they were from Natal. 'Coloured' boys were sent to Porter Reformatory from 1882, while Indian boys were received in all of the black reformatories.

Standerton and Emmasdale Industrial Schools were founded in 1909. In 1911 the previously co-educational Standerton Industrial School was reserved for girls only, while Emmasdale was retained for boys. Between 1913 and 1925, five more such industrial schools were established for white children committed under the Children's Protection Act (1913). These were at Kingwilliamstown (male), George (male), Dewetsdorp (male), Paarl (older female) and Tempe (younger female).

CHAPTER ONE

THE ORIGINS OF THE REFORMATORY IN THE CAPE COLONY, 1882 - 1910

During the past decade a considerable literature has emerged examining the birth of the prison and asylum. Based primarily on the European and American experience, this has investigated the economic, social and intellectual roots of such institutions, their repressive internal characteristics, techniques and ideologies of punishment and their relationship to the wider society.[1] To a large extent debate has revolved around the relationship between their hidden 'internal' character and their public 'external' character, while the ways in which the imprisoned have responded to the new controls has constituted an important ancillary theme.[2] From these studies it would appear that, in Europe, the process of criminalizing newly-formed

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1 D. Rothman, The Discovery of the Asylum, Social Order and Disorder in the New Republic (Boston and Toronto 1971); M. Foucault, Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison (London 1977); M. Ignatieff, A Just Measure of Pain: The Penitentiary in the Industrial Revolution 1750 - 1850 (London 1978); P. O'Brien, The Promise of Punishment (Princeton 1982); D. Hay, P. Linebaugh, E.P. Thompson, J. G. Rule and C. Winslow, Albion's Fatal Tree: Crime and Society in Eighteenth Century England (London 1975); M. Fitzgerald, G. McLennan and J. Pawson (eds.), Crime and Society: Readings in History and Theory (London 1981); D. Melossi and M. Pavarini, The Prison and the Factory: Origins of the Penitentiary System (London 1981); E. Goffman, Asylums: Essays on the Social Situation of Mental patients and other Inmates (London 1961), S. Humphries, Hooligans or Rebels: An Oral History of Working Class Childhood and Youth 1889 - 1939 (Oxford 1981); M. Crowther, The Workhouse System 1834 - 1929: The History of an English Social Institution (London 1981). See also C. Sumner (ed.), Crime, Justice and Underdevelopment (London 1982); D.Williams, 'The Role of Prisons in Tanzania: An Historical Perspective', Crime and Social Justice, Summer 1980 and M. Vaughan, 'Idioms of Madness: Zomba Lunatic Asylum, Nyasaland, in the colonial period', Journal of Southern African Studies, 1X, 2 April 1983, pp. 218-38.

2 P. Tyor and J. Zanaildin, 'Asylum and Society: An Approach to Institutional Change', Journal of Social History, X111, 1, 1979, pp. 23 - 48.

proletarians and the emergence of new forms of punishment took place over three centuries.1 The workhouse, prison and similar institutions were the products of new economic and social relationships forged during the process of transition from feudalism to capitalism. These new institutions constituted an attempt to blunt the impact of a radically counterposed popular culture which combined forms of the old peasant way of life with new methods of resistance called into being by changed conditions. They also sought, through habituating inmates to work, to inculcate new values. By the late eighteenth century, their basic forms had been established. In the United States, the institutionalisation of criminals, the insane and the delinquent was similarly confirmed as a method for rehabilitation by the 1870s.

In South Africa the development of two sociologically-related institutions, the prison and the compound, show significant divergences from the pattern sketched above. To a large extent this is attributable to South Africa's relatively late industrialisation, fuelled by the discovery of diamonds in 1867 and gold in 1886. Not only was South Africa a relatively late industrial starter, but its form of industrialisation was very different from that of the metropole. Unlike the United Kingdom, where industrial capitalism was initially largely based on textiles, industrial capitalism in South Africa was founded on primary extractive industries. It relied not so much on a labour force entirely dispossessed from the land and with a large female and juvenile component, but on a labour force partially separated from the land and almost entirely male and adult. Its industrial revolution was built on workers differentiated by colour, gender and age from that of the European and American pattern. In the burgeoning industrial centres of Kimberley and the Witwatersrand, this predominantly black, migrant proletariat was housed, regimented and controlled in an institutions showing marked similarities to the prison: the compound. The prison itself supplemented the compound, since a large majority of the Rand's black male workers passed through it at one point or another

during their sojourn there: attempts by the gold mining industry to restrict the movement of this labour included the introduction of pass laws, under which many were convicted. Thus the population of both compounds and prisons consisted not of criminals in any ordinary sense, but of a new labouring population criminalised by laws and controlled in new institutions.[3]

The first reformatory in South Africa, Porter Reformatory, was founded in 1882; not in the industrial heartland of the Northern Cape or Witwatersrand, but in the commercial and agricultural hinterland of the Cape Colony. This was no accident. It emerged in a region where colonial conquest and attendant processes of dispossession and proletarianisation had already been under way for several generations. In the Western Cape, in particular, a labouring population had been created by the disruption of colonial conquest by the beginning of the nineteenth century. The reproduction of this working class had become a matter of serious concern to merchant capital and local agricultural interests some time before the advent of industrial capitalism. In this sense the origins of the reformatory were different from that of the prison and compound. Its establishment, and formative period, however, also coincided with

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3 C. van Onselen, Chibaro: African Mine Labour in Southern Rhodesia 1900 - 1933 (Johannesburg 1976); C. van Onselen, 'The Regiment of the Hills - Umkosi Wezintaba: The Witwatersrand's lumpenproletarian army, 1890 - 1920', in Studies in the Social and Economic History of the Witwatersrand 1886-1914, II: New Nineveh (Johannesburg 1982), pp.171-202; R. Turrell, 'Capital, Class and Monopoly: the Kimberley Diamond Fields 1871 -1880', Ph.D., University of London, 1982, ch. 7; M. Legassick, 'Gold, Agriculture and Secondary Industry in South Africa, 1885 - 1970: From Periphery to Sub-Metropole as a Forced Labour System', in R. Palmer and N. Parsons (eds.), The Roots of Rural Poverty in Central and Southern Africa (London 1977), pp. 175-201; D. van Zyl Smit, 'Public Policy and the Punishment of Crime in a Divided Society: A Historical Perspective on the Southern African Penal System', Crime and Social Justice, 21-22, Special Double Issue, 1984; 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.

the emergence of industrial capitalism in South Africa. It thus emerged in the interstices of the transition from merchant to industrial capitalism, effectively straddling two distinct phases in South African history. It is the argument of this chapter that although Porter Reformatory was on based on the British model, it was rapidly transformed in the local context to take on a rather different character. Whilst its growing segregationist practice mediated local colonial social policy, the emphasis on apprenticeship in the curriculum of the reformatory was in large part designed to meet the needs of commercial agriculture in the Western Cape.

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The historical moment of the emergence of the reformatory in the Cape Colony was that of a dramatic 'spatial shift' in the core of the regional economy of Southern Africa.[4] This shift from the south-western Cape to the north was prefigured in the boom years of the 1870s by intensified rural production and the discovery of diamonds in Griqualand West in 1867. Investment in sheep farming and an increasing concentration on ostrich-farming led to the growth of colonial trade and the strengthening of merchant capital in Cape Town and Port Elizabeth. Kimberley was propelled into pre-eminence in the colonial economy in the latter years of the boom by the diversion of capital from Cape Town to its diamond diggings. It rapidly became the centre of large-scale industrialised production in the Colony. Here new forms of labour control were developed. The social and spatial separation of black from white workers, and the development of the closed compound system after 1884 for the tighter control of workers and

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4 A. Mabin, 'The Making of Colonial Capitalism: Intensification and Expansion in the Economic Geography of the Cape Colony, South Africa 1854 - 1899', Ph.D., Simon Fraser, 1984, p. 284; see also V. Bickford-Smith, 'The Economic and Demographic Growth of Cape Town: 1880-1910', Paper presented at South African Historical Association Conference, Cape Town, January 1984.

prevention of illegal diamond buying characterised the response of employers to heightened labour tensions on the mines.[5]

The pattern of economic development in the Cape, following the northward redirection of capital, was highly uneven. On the one hand, Cape Town's increasing involvement in a wider capitalist revolution was reflected in its population which doubled between 1865 and 1891.[6] These numbers were considerably augmented by the dispossession of Xhosa-speakers in the frontier wars of 1877-1879 and their entry to the wage-labour market of the Western Cape. All the same, the Cape's manufacturing capacity remained limited, and the mineral discoveries on the Witwatersrand in 1886 caused a further efflux of capital to the goldfields: the Cape concentrated on conducting the commercial and carrying trade of the north rather than developing its own industry. Investment in existing manufactures, which included confectioneries, breweries, match factories, steam mills and leather factories, remained low.[7] Commercial agriculture continued to be the major, albeit struggling, enterprise of the south-western and eastern regions. First thrown into insolvency by the recession of the early 1880s, many farmers suffered a further setback in the early 1890s as wool prices fell. To their chagrin, diamond, gold and railway employers were also recruiting from their sources of labour, and by the middle 1890s the demands of Cape farmers for the control and adequate distribution of labour became urgent.

A key by-product of the transition to industrial capitalism was the institutionalisation of juvenile offenders in the Cape Colony. Before the reformatory was established in 1882, there had been no special institutional provision for the confinement of juvenile offenders in the Colony. Generally, if convicted of

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5 R. Turrell, 'Kimberley: Labour and Compounds, 1871-1888' in S. Marks and R. Rathbone (eds.), Industrialisation and Social Change in South Africa: African Class Formation, Culture and Consciousness 1870-1930 (London 1982), pp. 45-77.

6 Mabin, 'Making of Colonial Capitalism', Appendix.

7 Mabin, 'Growth of Colonial Capitalism', ch. 6.

pilfering or stock-theft, juveniles were whipped or fined; in rare cases they were incarcerated with adult prisoners.[8] In the mid-1850s, colonial officials could confidently declare that 'juvenile delinquency...in this Colony, as a class of crime may be said not to exist'.[9] Thirty years later its prevalence had necessitated the construction of a reformatory.

By this stage, the structural changes in Cape economy and society had brought into being a new class of impoverished whites and proletarianised blacks in the smaller towns of the Eastern Cape, where vagrancy, begging and crime had become the shared fate of white and black, juvenile and adult.[10] The Western Cape, and in particular Cape Town, witnessed similar developments. In the first case, the recession of the late 1870s and the accelerated conquest of African societies hastened the entry of large numbers of unemployed and recently proletarianised people into Cape Town. After 1879 several thousand 'rebel' Xhosa-speaking men, women and children were brought to the Western Cape as convicts or to be indentured. Once free, they occupied the present-day industrial and residential areas of Woodstock and Salt River from which they were removed to Cape Town's sixth district during the 1890s.[11] District Six, one of the areas of most rapid growth during this period, was also the home of domestic servants, unskilled labourers, casual workers at the docks and the unemployed. In addition, District Six was also

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8 A. Hattersley, The Convict Crisis and the Growth of Unity: Resistance to Transportation in South Africa and Australia, 1848-53 (Pietermaritzburg, 1965), chapters 2 and 3.

9 M. van Wyk, 'Gevangeniswese', p. 371.

10 C. Bundy, 'Vagabond Hollanders and Runaway Englishmen: White Poverty in the Cape before Poor Whiteism', Carnegie Conference Paper no. 247, Second Carnegie Inquiry into Poverty in South Africa, University of Cape Town, 1984, p. 10.

11 B.H. Kinkead-Weekes, 'A History of Vagrancy in Cape Town', Carnegie Conference Paper no. 11, ibid.; Christopher Saunders, 'Segregation in Cape Town: the Creation of Ndabeni,' Centre for African Studies, University of Cape Town, Africa Seminar: Collected Papers, 1, 1978, p. 44.

gradually filled with farm workers leaving the country during the 1880s and 1890s.[12]

Amongst these were considerable numbers of children. In the first half of the century, the most important means of controlling juvenile labour was apprenticeship. A proclamation in 1812 had empowered farmers to apprentice children reared on their farms for ten years, from the age of eight. In 1819 the power of apprenticeship was extended to cover orphans and deserted children. Ordinance 50 (1828), in stipulating that children could no longer be apprenticed without parental consent, merely reformed and did not abolish child apprenticeship. In 1841 the first Masters and Servants Act extended the period of indenture until those apprenticed reached the age of twenty one. However, from the middle of the nineteenth century, as growing numbers left the countryside, the institution of apprenticeship appears to have exercised less control over the children's futures.

Nor was there any compulsory schooling for either white or black children in the Cape Colony before 1905. What schooling there was for the popular classes was mainly provided by missionary societies. Evidence submitted to the Labour Commission of 1894 suggests, moreover, that access to mission schooling was enjoyed by the more settled labouring communities rather than by those thrust onto the labour market during the 1880s and 1890s.[13] It is thus not surprising that by 1910 a large proportion of Porter Reformatory's inmates were drawn from the District Six community.

Few of the social developments accompanying the movement of people to the towns were welcomed by the Cape Colony's merchant bourgeoisie. Increasingly rich and self-assured, this governing class set about fashioning new forms of control for the poor.[14]

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12 Bickford-Smith, 'Growth of Cape Town', p. 12.

13 Evidence submitted to Labour Commission, 1893, vols. 11 and 111, G.3-1894.

14 Bundy, 'Poor Whiteism', for elaboration.

William Porter, Attorney-General of the Cape Colony and member of the Legislative Council, was one of these.[15] Along with English social reformers and philanthropists, he strongly believed that character was shaped by environmental influences rather than being an innate attribute.[16] Placed within the correct disciplinary context, he believed, delinquents could be exposed to different, more positive influences than those which had been responsible for their conviction or which were exercised over them by adult criminals with whom they were incarcerated. Through a reformatory, based on the English model developed in the mid-nineteenth century, the state could intervene to restructure social attitudes.

Porter's bequest of £20,000 provided the means to achieve these goals. His will stipulated that the reformatories to be established should be based on similar English institutions. In its daily routine Porter Reformatory was indeed modelled almost precisely on that of Redhill and Parkhurst, reformatories established to train convicted youths in agricultural work 'suitable for colonial life'.[17] Work and schooling were separated by meal times and bells; lights out, when inmates were locked into dormitories for the night, was shortly after nightfall; warders mounted guard over juveniles, imparting a penal rather than educational and reformative character to the institutions. School work was elementary. There was a basic form of grading and classification of 'hard core' youths from newcomers, and a

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15 Born at Artikelly, near Newtownlimavady, Co. Derry, on 15 Set. 1805 into a Nonconformist family, William Porter was appointed Attorney-General of the Cape of Good Hope in 1839 and held office until 31 August 1865. In conjunction with this office, he was a member of the Legislative Council and held a seat in both Houses of Parliament. He left the Cape in 1876 and died in Ireland in 1880.

16 See 'On Infant Schools', where Porter elaborates on his ideas about education for the poor, The Porter Speeches: speeches delivered by the Hon. William Porter during the years 1839 - 45 inclusive (Cape Town 1886); see also Cape Times, 27 June 1891.

17 A. Scholes, Education for Empire Settlement: A Study of Juvenile Migration (London 1932).



Hon. WILLIAM PORTER, Esq

FIGURE 3

rudimentary system of rewards for good conduct governed aspects of the programme. These reformatories facilitated the transportation and emigration of 'undesirables' from England. The fate of youths living and working in nada under these circumstances has been well documented by Joy Parr.[18] A few children so disposed of were sent to the Cape Colony, but partly as a result of ill-treatment and partly because they mixed with black farm workers and thus antagonised their employers, the practice was discontinued at the Cape not long thereafter.[19] At Porter Reformatory, apprenticeship was an integral part of the operation of the institution. Through it juvenile convict labour became a source of domestic and agricultural labour for local dignitaries and farmers.

The establishment of a reformatory was seen by its administrators as having a dual purpose. First, it was felt that juvenile offenders should be removed from 'degrading surroundings, fraught with many temptations' where, 'if left to their fate they would in all probability become Hooligans and later on would (go) amongst the criminal classes'.[20] Secondly, it was argued that by separating juveniles from adult criminals they could be 'brought within the ranks of wage-earners and become a valuable asset to the Colony'.[21] It was to their re-formation as 'truthful, honest and to an extent trustworthy servants and mechanics'[22] that their guardians looked. As such, the liberal Parliamentarian and later Prime Minister, Gordon Sprigg, felt

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18 J. Parr, Labouring Children: British Immigration Apprentices to Canada 1869 - 1924 (London 1980).

19 R. Reynolds, 'Convict and Reformatory Labour in Natal', M.A., University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg, n.d., p. 83; Scholes, Empire Settlement, and Parr, Labouring Children.

20 Cape Archives Depot (hereafter C.A.D.), Colonial Office (C.O.) vol. 1966, Folio 233 (Documents in this series hereafter referred to in the form C.O. 1966).

21 Ibid.

22 C.A.D., House of Assembly (H.A.) 203, ref. 386, Report of Board of Porter Reformatory for 1882.

that 'little material advantage is to be gained by anything beyond industrial training. And the government is of opinion that this should be accepted as an axiom in the future management of the reformatory'.[23] Significantly, however, the Act of 1879 which provided for the establishment and management of reformatories for youthful offenders empowered the resident magistrate of the district within which the reformatory was situated to 'bind any such inmate as apprentice to any useful calling or occupation as he may think fit, in the same manner in which destitute children are now authorised to be bound by the law of this colony'.

In this context it is noteworthy, too, that Porter Reformatory had as its immediate aim the inculcation of the discipline of work into a generation that was unlikely to receive much schooling. This purpose, as expressed by the Management Board comprising lawyers, merchants and a representative from the Church, was to break down 'wild and reckless' habits and to build up values considered appropriate for an emergent working or labouring class: obedience and willingness to work, honesty and cleanliness. Its constituency, as revealed in the reformatory's Description Registers for the period between 1894 and 1897, was the urban and rural labouring poor.[24] Juveniles were drawn not only from the urban environs of Cape Town and Kimberley but also from the rural towns and districts of Graaff Reinet, King Williamstown, Queenstown and Victoria West, towns whose population had grown considerably during the 1860s and 1870s. Over the years many of the smaller villages in the Cape also contributed a number of inmates. Apart from a tiny fraction which was school-going, all the boys detained in the reformatory had previously been employed as messengers, attendants, shepherds, domestic servants or labourers.[25]

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23 C.A.D., C.O. 6451; C.A.D., Cape Colony Publications (C.C.P.), 1/2/2/1/33, Appendix C.

24 C.A.D., C.O. 6971, Description Register of Juvenile Offenders, no page ref.

25 Ibid.

Not all the youths convicted of crimes were sentenced to a period in the reformatory. It appears that the great majority of male juvenile offenders who committed crimes of violence ended up in gaols. Boys apprehended for a variety of crimes against property, such as stock-theft on farms, house-breaking, theft and pilfering were sent to the reformatory. Those convicted of such crimes were seen as 'reformable', whereas those guilty of murder were assumed to have an innate criminal disposition. Girls of a similar age-group were sentenced not only for theft and 'female crimes' such as concealment of childbirth and prostitution, but also for crimes considered 'unnatural' to the female sex- assault, culpable homicide, poisoning and murder.[26] In the case of both boys and girls, assumptions about what constituted 'natural' behaviour influenced decisions as to whether they went to gaol or reformatory. Separate provision was also made for girls. Not until 1897 was a dormitory set aside in the Female House of Correction, a part of the Cape Town gaol, for seven girls between the ages of thirteen and twenty-one.[27]

Although Porter Reformatory's constituency was class- and sex-specific, no distinctions were intially made between black and white. The inmates included 'Coloured Afrikanders' and 'Hottentots', who constituted the majority. The remaining quarter of the reformatory population was comprised of Africans from the Eastern Cape Transkeian region, 'Mozambiques' generally employed on the docks in Cape Town, Malays and Europeans. This was entirely in keeping with broader penal policy which at this stage did not legally differentiate between white and black prisoners inside gaols. It could also be linked to general political conditions, particularly the existence of the franchise which allowed people of African origins to participate in colonial politics. Although access to suffrage was being limited in the

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26 C.A.D., C.O. 6972, Description Registers of Female Prisoners; see also C. Smart, Women, Crime and Criminology: A Critique (London 1976).

27 M. van Wyk, 'Gevangeniswese', p. 475.

1890s, it is sigificant that William Porter had himself been associated with a liberal tradition in the Cape Colony.[28]

Methods for the control and discipline of reformatory inmates changed dramatically during the 1890s. At first, the institution lay open to the fields. The boys undifferentiated by colour, enjoyed a relatively free existence within its confines. Little control was exercised over them. The Superintendent himself was drawn from the Church, and was accountable to a Managing Board. All major decisions regarding punishment had to be referred to the magistrate. Warders and supervisors were few in number. Time was unstructured. A strict time-table did not exist, although boys did spend a few hours of each day in industrial training and clearing the farm grounds. Few heeded what punitive controls there were. Sentences were no longer than two years on average, and the reformatory was treated with contempt rather than fear. In 1889 the colonial government took over control. This inaugurated a new era: the reformatory was reorganised and different means of 'character reformation' were introduced.

11

The punitive aspect of Porter Reformatory was symbolised in its location.[29] Originally situated on the farm Valkenberg, the reformatory was moved to the Tokai Estate in 1889 when the farm was taken over for use as a mental hospital. Located some miles outside Cape Town and surrounded by forest, the reformatory was secluded from the common concourse of society. The isolation and enclosure of inmates was secured by thick wire fencing around the grounds, barred dormitory, school and hospital windows, enclosed

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28 See S. Trapido, '"The Friends of the Natives": Merchants, Peasants and the Political and Ideological Structure of Liberalism in the Cape, 1854-1910', in S. Marks and A. Atmore, Economy and Society in Pre-Industrial South Africa (London 1980), pp. 247-275.

29 C.A.D., C.O. 6414 and 6485, ref. 134/93; C.A.D., C.O. 6521, ref. 271/95; C.A.D., C.O. 6504, refs 148/94 and 153/94.

yards serving as playgrounds and several isolation cells for the solitary confinement of recalictrant offenders.[30] At first, two dormitories were flanked by the Superintendent and warders' rooms which overlooked the yard. Boys spent two hours of each day in this confined space, whatever the weather may have been. Here they had their meals and spent their leisure time.

Life in the reformatory was rigidly structured and tightly controlled. Boys of profoundly varying origins, few of whom had previous experience of institutional life, were all subjected to the same unyielding routine of work and socialisation. Many had for years led lives largely free of control, either by families or the state. Those from towns had received their most significant socialisation in what the Superintendent chose to call 'gangs of young thieves'.[31] To eradicate such independence and autonomy as there was, they were drilled into docility by a time-table characterised by military discipline:

5.30	Rise. Muster. Wash. Make up beds.
6.00	Muster for work.
8.00	Breakfast. Prayers. Play
8.30	Muster. One half the number of boys in the institution to attend school - the other half to work.
11.30	School dismissed. Working parties brought in.
12.00	Dinner. Play.
1.00	Muster for work and school. The boys who attended school in the forenoon now take up work. Those who worked earlier now attend school.
4.00	School dismissed. Scholars to work.
5.00	Muster. Wash. Supper. Prayers. Play.
6.00	Muster. March to dormitories. Lock-up.
8.30	Visit by warden. Remove lights.[32]

Except when the boys themselves subverted or disrupted the daily routine, it was interrupted only when the institution demanded the labour of all boys: during the planting and harvesting

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30 C.A.D., C.O. 6436, refs. 138/90, 194/90; C.A.D., C.O. 6504, ref. 143/94; C.A.D., C.O. 6504, refs. 148/94 and 153/94.

31 C.A.D., C.O. 6451, ref. 384/95 and C.A.D., C.O. 6533, no page ref.

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

seasons all other acitivities, including schooling, were abandoned.[33] At these times, the institution's capacity to remain self-sufficient took precedence over its disciplinary function; economic imperatives alone broke the social-psychological regimen.

Productive labour was clearly the most important aspect of disciplinary training. Through work, it was believed, boys would become disciplined wage-earners. Non-productive labour was strongly discouraged by the Colonial Office. It argued that forms of punishment characteristic of the precapitalist epoch and discarded in Britain, 'including all purely mechanical work on cranks and treadmills should, except as prison punishment, be entirely abolished wherever possible'.[34] Instead, but also in line with the imperative to be self-supporting, farm work and varieties of craft labour were advised and put into practice. Through dairy-farming, market-gardening and fruit cultivation an agricultural surplus for sale to other penal institutions was produced, while boys were simultaneously trained in largely unskilled manual farm labour.

Industrial training, which involved tailoring, carpentry and blacksmithing, was intended to teach boys 'some useful handicraft by which they can earn their living after release'.[35] For a number of reasons, it did not succeed in achieving this aim. No consistent training was provided; only a handful of boys were employed for short periods in each activity. In practice, industrial training meant that they made the uniforms for their fellow-inmates and did the necessary repairs to the reformatory buildings and equipment. Their training was directed by warders, themselves untrained and ill-equipped to teach. In tailoring, each boy cut and sewed an entire article, a labour process

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33 C.A.D., Ibid., refs. 131/91 and 217/91; C.A.D., C.O. 6465, ref. 280/92.

34 C.A.D., House of Assembly (H.A). Annexures, vol. 383, Report on the Management and Discipline of Prisons and Convict Stations for the year 1894, p. 23.

35 Ibid.

already superceded in the light clothing industries of Cape Town. Industrial training achieved little more than the transmission of forms of de-skilled work.

Both skills and products manufactured at the reformatory were unmarketable. Very early on, in the late 1880s, as the reformatory regime became established, production became geared to the needs of other penal institutions rather than the 'open market'. Apart from producing commodities in a way that made them uncompetitive, there is also some evidence to suggest that pressure had been exerted by private enterprise, for the colonial government stressed that by confining production in prisons and reformatories to the supply of government institutions, it had 'ensured that the government does not enter into competition with private enterprise or business'.[36] By 1896, all basket-ware for the General Post Office, hospitals, the Robben Island leper colony and other government institutions was made at the reformatory.

Schooling was part of a time-table geared to productive work and keeping boys busy. The hours assigned to school work, for at least one group, were those when boys were least alert, and then only for two to three hours every day. Most boys arrived at the reformatory illiterate; few possessed even rudimentary skills of literacy and numeracy.[37] At first, irrespective of age or educational level, all boys were crowded into one room. Here they received religious instruction and elementary skills in the three Rs. Religious instruction on weekdays was provided in the precepts of the Church of England, even though most boys with a religious affiliation belonged to the Dutch Reformed Church.[38] Only on Sundays were the latter catered to by the visiting Chaplain, J. Roos, of the Dutch Reformed Church. At first the Superintendent and the warders, the latter barely literate

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36 Cited in van Wyk, 'Gevangeniswese', pp. 50-1.

37 C.A.D., C.O. 6436, ref. 30a/90.

38 C.A.D., C.O. 6465, ref. 292/92; C.A.D., C.O. 6971, Description Registers of Juvenile Offenders, no page ref.

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