

**CHURCH, LIBERALS AND STATE:
SECULARISATION AND SEGREGATION
IN AFRICAN EDUCATION, 1910-1939**

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DECLARATION

I declare that this dissertation is my own unaided work. It is being submitted for the Degree of Master of Arts at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted for a degree or examination in any other university.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to be 'S. C. Krige', with a stylized, flowing script.

S. C. Krige

March 1994

DEDICATION

**TO THE MEMORY OF
MY GRANDMOTHER DOROTHY OLIVE KIRBY
(1898 - 1977)
WHO WAS THERE**

AND

**MY FATHER JOHN TREANOR PHILIP
(1921 - 1992)
WHO LOVED HISTORY**

ABSTRACT

This thesis covers the era of segregation, focusing on the years between Union and the outbreak of the Second World War. It highlights the English-speaking Protestant missions' responses to the intermeshing trends of secularisation, particularly in the realm of both the content and control of education, and hardening segregation policies, which affected African education. It attempts to open up new areas for research into the history of education in South Africa. Until recently, such history has been narrowly conceived in terms of education's specific relationship with racial capitalism in South Africa. Such a focus has diverted historians from considering the effect of broader global trends of secularisation in the provision and control of education, in particular the gradual reconceptualisation of the role of experts and the State in this endeavour. The thesis traces the expanding role of secular experts in policy construction around African education, from both inside and outside the State, and its effect on the "amateurs", the missions. The ideas that education should no longer be controlled by the church, but that the State and parent communities should have far more of a role in the administration, appointment of staff and curriculum, threatened the heart of the missions' enterprise. In response, they asserted the primacy of religious and denominational education under their control. Essentially, two divergent concepts of education were being articulated during this period; a Christian voluntarist concept drawing on Victorian notions of progress and transcendence, individualism and elitism, and a secular concept based on notions of science, efficiency, psychology and anthropology, which emphasised group oriented education adapted to the existing social order. The existing social order during this period was predicated on the notion of segregation and the exclusion of Africans from civil society. The significance of this was not lost on the missions and it is an important element in understanding mission hostility to secular ideas. Increasing mission and liberal disenchantment with segregation was an important factor behind the missions' desire to keep control of African education. This was

clearly articulated in the 1935-6 Welsh Report, which, far from being a segregationist interpretation of education, was the last statement of a Christian, Victorian, individualist, voluntarist concept of education; a statement which was critical of the implications of segregation policies for African education.

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INTRODUCTION

This thesis analyses the development of state policy towards African education between the formation of the Union in 1910 and the outbreak of the Second World War in 1939, with a particular focus on the role of the missionary churches in this process. Its concern is to highlight the responses of the missions to two major and intermeshing trends which affected African education, secularisation and segregation. In so doing, the thesis attempts to broaden the study of the history of education in South Africa by exploring questions which go beyond existing narrowly functionalist parameters. These parameters have been dictated by a limited concern with the articulation between African education and an emerging industrial economy, divided along the lines of class and race. Here the focus has been on the relationship between education content and the needs of the economy. In being responsible for most levels of African education, the churches are portrayed as agents of the State and capital in tailoring schooling to the economy and to the segregationist norms and patterns of society.

A clear theme which emerges during this period, however, is the desire of the missions to keep control of their schools in terms of administration, appointment of staff and curriculum. Indeed, in mission circles, debates about the control of mission schools overshadowed debates about the content which was to be taught. This concern with control has hardly been documented because of the narrow focus on the content of African education. An exploration of this concern as a mission priority can be understood in the context of an issue which deserves much more attention: encroaching secular ideas about education. The application of principles of science and efficiency to education called into question the appropriateness of mission schooling. The demands of the missions' African clients for State and parent control of education dovetailed with these trends, and were reinforced by the explosion of independent African churches. The idea that education

should no longer be controlled by the church, but that the State and parent communities should have far more of a role in the administration, appointment of staff and curriculum, threatened the heart of the missions' enterprise.

In essence, two different concepts of education were being articulated during this period; a Christian voluntarist concept drawing on Victorian notions of progress and transcendence, individualism and elitism, and a secular concept based on notions of science, efficiency, psychology and anthropology, which emphasised group oriented education adapted to the existing social order.

This took place in the context of evolving segregation policies. Many of the secular ideas about education drew on racially defined, supposedly scientific ideas about education for African "needs", "adapted education" or education appropriate to African "culture". As such, they accorded with broader segregation policies of "retribalisation", reserve development, the restriction of African urbanisation and the exclusion of Africans from civil society. The significance of this was not lost on the missions, nor on some of their liberal colleagues, and is an important element in understanding mission hostility to secular ideas. Increasing mission and liberal disenchantment with segregation was an important factor behind the missions' desire to keep control of African education and to assert the primacy of religious and denominational education.

Many of these issues are embedded in the first national investigation into African education, the 1935-6 Interdepartmental (Welsh) Committee on Native Education.¹ In existing literature the Welsh Report is painted as a segregationist manifesto, a less spectacular precursor to the Eiselen Commission of 1949-51, which

¹ *Interdepartmental Committee on Native Education, 1935-36* (UG 29-36), hereafter cited as the *Welsh Report*.

provided the rationale for the introduction of Bantu Education.² This interpretation appears to be supported by the fact that Committee reported at the same time as the passing of the most fundamental segregationist legislation, the 1936 Land Act and the Native Representation Act. The Welsh Report, however, was rejected by the United Party Government. This thesis demonstrates that it was not simply a segregationist manifesto which prefigured the Eiselen Commission. It was, in many senses, the last statement of a Christian, Victorian, individualist, voluntarist concept of education; a statement which was critical of the implications of hardening segregation policies for African education.

PART 1: LITERATURE REVIEW

(a) AFRICAN EDUCATION AND RACIAL CAPITALISM

Over the last ten years, the literature on African education during the era of segregation has been dominated by attempts to show the continuity between African education before 1948 and the apartheid era. Insights about the relationship between Bantu Education and the political economy of apartheid have been applied to the era of segregation. In particular, a focus on the correlation between African schooling and changing labour needs, both in terms of skills and attitudes, has informed much of the existing literature. This is particularly true of the collection of essays edited by Peter Kallaway in the mid-1980s and by Mokubong Nkomo in 1990.³

In considering why African education was removed from mission control, extended and centralised in 1953 as part of the Bantu Education Policy, writers have tended to make direct links between the development of secondary industry, mass schooling and skilling

² B. Rose and R. Turner, eds, *Documents in South African Education* (Johannesburg, 1974), 228-234; F. Molteno, "The Historical Foundations of the Schooling of Black South Africans" and P. Christie and C. Collins, "Bantu Education: Apartheid Ideology and Labour Reproduction", both in P. Kallaway, ed., *Apartheid and Education: The Education of Black South Africans*, (Johannesburg, 1984), 63-64, 168.

³ Kallaway, ed., *Apartheid and Education*; M. Nkomo, ed., *Pedagogy of Domination* (Africa World Press, 1990).

for capital's needs.⁴ Jonathan Hyslop's work argues that mass education for Africans was essential to maintain the reproduction of the urban African working class. Education was to provide for a form of social and ideological control as well as skills development. This was necessitated by consequences of economic change from primary to secondary industry, which accelerated during the Second World War. The State was faced with a crisis in dealing with massive urbanisation, proletarianisation, social and political unrest and an accompanying crisis of hegemony.⁵

As an extension of this debate, historians of education have turned their attention to the period between the formation of Union and the coming to power of the Nationalist Government, which was responsible for the Bantu Education Act of 1953. Here they have stressed two things. Firstly, they have remarked on the State's "hesitation in policy", "opposition to the promotion" of African education and "tardiness in the growth of black schooling" before 1953.⁶ Secondly, they have focused on the content of the education which was offered. Explanations of the neglect of African education draw heavily on the writings which argue that mass schooling for Africans was not functional for the cheap labour needs of mining capital, either as a means of training and job allocation or as a means of social control. Cross and Chisholm make use of the analysis by Shula Marks and Stanley Trapido of the reconstruction period after the South African War in the Transvaal. They assert that the increasingly coercive machinery of the State was the most efficient means of economic and social control over Africans, whereas mass education as a form of social control and

⁴ For example, the early and influential article by Christie and Collins, "Bantu Education" in Kallaway, ed., *Apartheid*, 160-183.

⁵ J. Hyslop, "'A Destruction Coming In' : Bantu Education As Social Control" (Unpublished African Studies Institute Seminar Paper, 1989) and "State Education Policy and the Social Reproduction of the Urban African Working Class : The Case of the Southern Transvaal, 1955-1976", Vol. 14, No. 3 (April 1988), 446-476.

⁶ Rose and Turner, *Documents*, 202; Molteno, "The Historical Foundations", 69; M. Cross, "The Foundations of a Segregated Schooling System on the Witwatersrand, 1900-1924" (Unpublished M.Ed Thesis, University of the Witwatersrand, 1986), 15; K. Hartshorne, *Crisis and Challenge: Black Education 1910-1990* (Cape Town, 1992), 25.

training was appropriate for the children of the militant and enfranchised White working class. Therefore, White education was segregated, State controlled, free and compulsory, while African education was not free, not compulsory and controlled by the church.⁷ This explanation is also favoured by Molteno.⁸ Regional differences in the process of compulsion, accompanying segregation and financial differentiation of schooling have been explored by Andrew Paterson and Ken Harley.⁹

This "hesitation in policy" and "neglect" needs more careful explanation than a general reference to the nature of labour needs during this period. This thesis will show that, during the 1920s, there were attempts to address the parlous state of African education from within the State itself, albeit in a segregationist paradigm. These initiatives were, however, curtailed by the broader divisions in the State over the direction of segregation itself. There was no clear blueprint for segregation policy during much of this period, much less one for African education. And, ironically, when segregation was more clearly defined in 1936, the Welsh Report recommendations ran counter to the basic tenets of the 1936 legislation. This thesis will show that the Report drew on the ideas of the liberal-mission lobby which had challenged not only the neglect of African education, but also the policy towards the minimal education which was provided.

Regarding this policy, recent writers argue that the education which was furnished was either directly functional to or at least in harmony with the reproduction of capitalist relations in the

⁷ S. Marks and S. Trapido, "Lord Milner and the South African State" (Unpublished History Workshop Paper, February 1979), quoted in L. Chisholm, "Reformatories and Industrial Schools in South Africa : A Study in Colour, Class and Gender, 1882- 1939." (Unpublished D Phil, University of the Witwatersrand, 1989), 3, 381; Cross, "Foundations", 8.

⁸ Molteno, "The Historical Foundations", 72.

⁹ A. Paterson. "Neglected Origins of Racism in State Education Policy: The Segregation of Schooling in the Cape Colony, 1890-1920", (Unpublished paper presented at the South African Comparative and History of Education Society meeting, Kenton-on-the Katberg, October 1991); K. Harley, "African Education and Social Control in Colonial Natal", *Perspectives in Education*, Vol 13, No 2, (Winter 1992), 27-52.

context of segregation. They draw on a wider literature which asserts that both segregation and apartheid were functional to capitalist development.¹⁰ They argue that the "adapted" or practical nature of African education provided before 1953 inculcated "habits of industry" and subservient social attitudes in those "workers-to-be" who did go to school. This theme occurs in studies both of broad policy and of individual educational institutions and personnel.¹¹

Much of the existing literature assumes an identity of interest between the church, the liberals and the State over the direction of African education, in relation to segregation and capitalist development. There is very little attempt to consider the interests of the missions and liberals and their relationship with the State at central and provincial level. Studies of individual mission institutions make very crude, but ultimately tenuous, links to the broader political economy of segregation. They do not consider the intermediate connections of the institutions with the provincial inspectorates, Native Education Advisory Boards, and the umbrella bodies of the missions and liberals to which the institutions were accountable. In terms of institutions, exceptions here are articles by Paul Rich, Tim White and Heather Hughes on Lovedale and Inanda.¹²

¹⁰ See, for example, H. Wolpe, "Capitalism and Cheap Labour Power in South Africa : From Segregation to Apartheid", *Economy and Society*, I, 4 (1972); M. Legassick, "South Africa : Forced Labour, Industrialisation and Racial Differentiation", in R. Harris, ed., *The Political Economy of Africa* (Massachusetts, 1975); M. Lacey, *Working for Boroko. The Origins of a Coercive Labour System in South Africa* (Johannesburg, 1981).

¹¹ L. Chisholm and M. Cross "The Roots of Segregated Schooling in Twentieth Century South Africa" in Nkomo, ed., *Pedagogy*, 43-9; M. Cross "The Foundations of Segregated Schooling in the Transvaal 1902-1924", *History of Education*, Vol 16, No 4 (1987), 269; Molteno, "The Historical Foundations", 72; C. Ndwandula "'The Head of the Native': Swiss Mission Education at Lemana, 1899-1955", *Perspectives in Education*, Vol 10, No 1 (June 1988), 43-52.

¹² P. Rich, "Bernard Hux and the Experiment in African Cooperatives in South Africa, 1926-1948", *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, Vol 26, No 2 (1993), 297-317 and "The Appeals of Tuskegee, James Henderson, Lovedale and the Fortunes of South African Liberalism, 1906-1930", *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, Vol 20, 2 (1987), 271-92; H. Hughes, "'A Lighthouse for African Womanhood' : Inanada Seminary 1869-1945" in C Walker, ed., *Women and Gender in South Africa to 1945*, (Cape Town, 1990), 197-220.

While these insights regarding education and the political economy have been illuminating, they have also defined rather restricted parameters for the study of the history of education in South Africa in general. They have done little to broaden what is essentially a narrow concern with African education's functional relation to developing racial capitalism in South Africa in the twentieth century. The areas of the aim and content, control and finance of African education are all seen through this lens. They have yet to take note of Dubow's critique of functionalist interpretations of segregation ideology and policies in general. Dubow warns historians to be wary of seeing all the authors of segregationist initiatives as "special pleaders for capitalist interests". His argument that earlier analyses "conceive of segregation far too narrowly in terms of the alleged interests or 'needs' of capital" might be applied to literature about African education.¹³

These studies are narrow in another sense. Very little use has been made of Shingler's 1973 pioneering work on education and the political order in twentieth century South Africa, which predates much of the revisionist work on the political economy of segregation and apartheid. What is extremely important about Shingler's work is, firstly, his treatment of the history of South African education as a whole and, secondly, his attention to the importance of the changing intellectual milieu, in particular the rise of science and its effect on education in South Africa. Here, he suggests many of the ideas which are more fully explored in Dubow's work. Shingler's history of education in twentieth century South Africa, which weaves together the intellectual and the material influences, has yet to be bettered.¹⁴ Kallaway's collection draws very slightly on Shingler, and then only on his insights regarding the relationship between education and the economy. **Apartheid and Education** is bolstered far more by

¹³ S Dubow, *Racial Segregation and the Origins of Apartheid in South Africa, 1919-1936* (New York, 1989), 3, 8.

¹⁴ J. Shingler, "Education and the Political Order in South Africa, 1902-1961" (D Phil thesis, Yale University, 1973)

"reproduction theory" from the United States and United Kingdom, and revisionist South African historical studies.¹⁵ It also limits itself to a focus on African education, which it defines as "Black" education. This is also true of the historical section of Nkomo's collection. The failure to move away from the treatment of schooling in racial terms denies us a comprehensive, bigger picture, as Michael Cross has pointed out, and may mean that some of the ideas we take for granted might not stand up to serious analysis.¹⁶

The situation is being rectified by the work of Chisholm, Kros and Fleisch.¹⁷ Fleisch's work focuses on the American influence on South African education as a whole in terms of secularisation, modernisation and bureaucratisation. While this thesis is not concerned with moving beyond the arena of African education, it is informed by Fleisch's work on global, general trends in education. Worldwide trends in education away from education systems and ideologies based on private (often religious) voluntarism, towards expert driven, secular State control and bureaucratisation can be seen emerging in South Africa in the early twentieth century. This had a very powerful effect on the missions who controlled African education. The fact that secular ideas and organisations emerged in the very specific context of industrialisation, state formation and segregation in South Africa, still needs to be acknowledged and elucidated. The wider lens provided by analysis of the moves towards the modernisation and secularisation of education in South

¹⁵ See for example : S. Bowles and H. Gintis, *Schooling in Capitalist America* (London, 1976); R. Dale et al, eds, *Education and the State*, Vols I and II (Lewes, 1981) ; Wolpe, "Capitalism".

¹⁶ M. Cross, "An Historical Review of Education in South Africa: Towards a Reassessment", *Comparative Education*, Vol 22, No 3 (1986).

¹⁷ Chisholm, "Reformatories" and "Class and Colour in South African Youth Policy: The Witwatersrand, 1886-1910", *History of Education Quarterly*, Vol 27, No 2 (Spring 1987), 1-27; C. Kros, "'Deep Rumblings': Z.K. Matthews and African Education before 1955" in *Perspectives in Education*, Vol 12, No 1 (Summer 1990/91), 21-40; B. Fleisch, "Social Scientists as Policy Makers: E.G. Malherbe and the National Bureau for Educational and Social Research, 1929-1943", (Unpublished ASI Paper, March 1993), and "Science, Efficiency and Education : The South African Dissertations from Teachers College, Columbia University, 1917-1924", (Unpublished paper presented at the History of Education Society Meeting, Kansas City, October 1991).

Africa, however, provide for much fuller and more nuanced explanations of developments in education and mission responses to these developments.

From the turn of the century, mission educators had been under attack from emerging secular critics as well as from White hostility to African advancement. A very important factor for mission educators was the physical, as well as ideological, encroachment of the secular and liberal Joint Council Movement from 1921 and, later, the South African Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR), into the arena of African education. In terms of the general relations between liberals and the State in the inter-war years, the works of Rich, Couzens and Dubow are excellent references, providing much of the context for the developments in African education.¹⁸ The missions in general may also be found in a broader literature on the liberals in South Africa, particularly after 1920. Elphick has written an eloquent chapter on the "liberal-mission network" of the inter-war years and points to the close overlap of personnel and ideas between the mission societies and Joint Councils.¹⁹ Literature focused on the role and responses of the mission churches in African education, however, is very thin. In terms of responses to segregation, Cochrane argues that the Anglican and Methodist churches were in fact "servants of power", suffering an "ideological captivity", because they did not challenge segregationist legislation before and after Union. Cochrane's analysis of the churches' role in African education is almost non-existent, but he has attempted what others have not and

¹⁸ P. Rich, *White Power for the Liberal Conscience : Racial Segregation and South African Liberalism* (Johannesburg, 1984); T. Couzens, "'Moralising leisure time' : the transatlantic connection and black Johannesburg 1918-1936", in S. Marks and R. Rathbone, eds, *Industrialisation and Social Change in South Africa* (Longman, 1982); 314-337; Dubow, *Racial Segregation and "Race, the civilisation and culture : the elaboration of segregationist discourse in the inter-war years"*, in S. Marks and S. Trapido, eds, *The Politics of Race Class and Nationalism in Twentieth Century South Africa* (Longman, 1987), 71-94

¹⁹ R. Elphick, "Mission Christianity and Inter War Liberalism" in J. Butler, R. Elphick and D. Welsh, eds, *Democratic Liberalism in South Africa : Its History and Prospect* (David Philip, 1987), 64-80.

that is to consider denominational perspectives.²⁰ There are a number of theses on individual mission institutions which have attempted to capture the denominational flavour of institutions, but they make very little reference to broader education policies of religious bodies to whom the institutions under scrutiny, belonged.²¹

Shingler's focus on both missions and liberals in the arena of education and his treatment of "encroaching secularisation" and "the dilemma of Christianity" in this period is excellent. Elphick emphasises mission and liberal cooperation, but does not allude much to the tensions inherent in the relationship between some of the liberals and missions. This tension resulted from the more secular and scientific approach of people like C. T. Loram and J. D. Rheinallt Jones, who were both founder members of the Joint Council Movement and the SAIRR. Loram also served African education in both the provincial and national structures during the inter-war years. Fleisch has shown how Loram's vision of State controlled secular mass education for Africans was totally different from the essentially voluntarist, elitist, religious and paternalist conception of education espoused by the missions.²²

As Dubow, Rich, Fleisch and Kros have pointed out, the emergence of anthropology as a science with "practical" application regarding the "Native Problem", drew together liberals like Rheinallt Jones,

²⁰ J. Cochrane, *Servants of Power : The Role of English Speaking Churches, 1903-1930* (Johannesburg, 1988), 156-7.

²¹ For example, A.P.P. Mokwale, "The Grace Dieu Experience of the Anglican Church, 1906-1958", (Unpublished MEd Dissertation, UNIN, 1988).

²² Charles Loram began his career as an assistant inspector of schools in Natal in 1906. In 1914 he took leave of absence to study at Teachers College, Columbia University. He was one of a number of South African educationists to do so at this time. His dissertation, "The Education of the South African Native", was published as a book shortly after his arrival back in South Africa. J.D. Rheinallt Jones originally followed a business career, but he had many diverse "welfare" related interests which brought him into contact with African education. These included the Witwatersrand Council of Education, the Joint Council movement and the SAIRR, of which he was Secretary from 1929 to 1947. See Rich, *White Power*; R. Hunt Davis Junior, "Charles T. Loram and the American Model for African Education in South Africa", in Kallaway, ed., *Apartheid*, 108-126; Fleisch, "Science, Efficiency", 1.

Monica Hunter and Winnifred Hoernlé from the Joint Council movement and apologists for Hertzogian segregation policies, such as P. A. W. Cook and Werner Eiselen, in a "club" of experts whose scientific training tended to blur political differences, and made the harnessing of scientific and anthropological ideas to Government policy easier to realise.²³ Inevitably, this set such liberals apart from the missions.²⁴

An area which has been neglected until recently has been the influence of African attempts to control education during this period. The missions certainly felt beleaguered by the criticisms of paternalism made by the educated African elite, both from within the mainstream churches and from those who had led or joined the burgeoning independent church movement. While primary sources abound on this topic, secondary literature on the educated elite's attitudes to, and involvement in, education under and outside mission auspices, is mainly unpublished. Published surveys of the educated elite, such as the work of Odendaal and Walshe, emphasise the obvious political aspects of their views on education. There is almost no overview aside from Michael Cross' broad survey on "The Black Intelligensia", which lacks a sensitivity to historical context.²⁵ In terms of independent churches and schools, Jim Campbell's study of the African Methodist Episcopal Church (AME) in the United States and South Africa contains a comprehensive

²³ Rich, *White Power*, Section 3, 54-76; Dubow, "Race, civilisation", 80-1; Kros, "Deep Rumbings", 25-26.

²⁴ Prof. R.F.A. Hoernlé was Professor of Philosophy at the University of the Witwatersrand, who took a keen interest in African education and was a member of the Transvaal Native Education Advisory Board in the 1930s; Mrs A.W. Hoernlé was Senior Lecturer in Social Anthropology at the same university; Dr. Monica Hunter, author of *Reaction to Conquest* (London, 1936), was an anthropologist and a Research Fellow at the International Institute of African Languages and Cultures in the mid-1930s; Dr. W. Eiselen was Professor of Social Anthropology at the University of Stellenbosch until 1936, when he became Chief Inspector of Native Education in the Transvaal; Dr. P.A.W. Cook was an anthropologist who became Senior Researcher at the Bureau for Educational and Social Research after completing his doctoral dissertation on African education at Columbia in 1934.

²⁵ P. Walshe, *The Rise of African Nationalism in South Africa* (Johannesburg, 1987); A. Odendaal, *Vukani Bantu* ; (Cape Town, 1984) ; M. Cross, "The Black Intelligensia, African Politics and Education in South Africa, 1884-1976", in *Resistance and Transformation: Education, Culture and Reconstruction in South Africa* (Johannesburg, 1992).

analysis of the AME's Wilberforce Institute, one of the few independent schools run by African teachers. Andrew Paterson's work on African independent churches in the Cape colony between 1895 and 1920 is a fascinating account of African struggles for independence, both from missions and education department personnel.²⁶ Shula Marks' work on John Dube, founder member of the African National Congress and Head of the independent Ohlange Institute, suggests interesting avenues for further research.²⁷ As Paterson notes, in general, studies of independent churches "seldom make more than passing reference to the existence of schools".²⁸

(b) DIVISIONS OF PERIOD AND REGION

It is important to periodise and contextualise the development of African education after Union much more carefully, both in economic and political terms. While Cross, Chisholm, Paterson and Harley have argued convincingly that the foundations of segregated education were laid in the period before Union, little work has been done on what was built on these foundations after 1910.²⁹ Writers such as Molteno treat the period from the late 1870s to the late 1930s as a whole, economically and politically. This is also true of studies, both of broad policy-making and of individual education institutions and personnel. Cross and Chisholm do not regard Union as any sort of watershed and treat 1902-1924 as one period, although most of their argument is concerned with the era

²⁶ J. Campbell, "African American Education in South Africa : A History of Wilberforce Institute" in "Our Fathers, Our Children : The African Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States and South Africa", (Unpublished D. Phil, Stanford, 1989); A. Paterson, "Contest and Co-option: The Struggle for Schooling in the African Independent Churches of the Cape colony, 1895-1920" (Unpublished D. Phil, UCT, 1992).

²⁷ S. Marks, *The Ambiguities of Dependence in South Africa. Class, Nationalism and the State in Twentieth Century Natal* (Johannesburg, 1986).

²⁸ Paterson, "Contest and Co-option", 13.

²⁹ Cross and Chisholm, "The Roots", 43-9; M Cross, "The Foundations of Segregated Schooling in the Transvaal 1902-1924", *History of Education*, Vol 16, No 4 (1987), 269; Paterson, "Neglected Origins"; K Harley, "African Education".

before 1910.³⁰ Since, as many commentators at the time emphasised, the formation of Union was at least partly about the formulation of a common "Native Policy", it is important to consider what impact the Union settlement had on "Native" education.

This thesis suggests that the era between 1910 and 1939 may be further divided up into periods which roughly correspond to the decades 1909-1919, 1920-1930 and 1930-1939. The decade 1910-1919 is one in which there was very little attempt to address African education from a national viewpoint, and where the missions were the only extra-parliamentary group occupying the arena of African welfare and education. Dubow argues that during the first decade after Union, in spite of the passing of the 1913 Land Act, segregation had not yet developed into a systematic political doctrine, a clear ideological package. This only emerged after the First World War when the effects of nascent secondary industrialisation and concomitant social dislocation were felt. The formation of the secular extra-parliamentary Joint Councils and the State Advisory Body, the Native Affairs Commission (NAC), between 1920 and 1921, were both responses to increased social change and conflict.³¹ Between 1920 and 1929, the ideological, financial and physical intrusion of the Central State and Joint Councils on African welfare and education made the missions reassert their autonomy and commitment to religious education. During the decade which followed, in response to the devastating effects of the Great Depression on education funding, the application of anthropological ideas to African education and the firming of segregation policy under the United Party Government, there emerged a coherent mission defence of the status quo, based on the notions of progress and transcendence, and assimilation. The outbreak of the Second World War in 1939 heralded major political, social and economic changes, which disrupted the implementation of segregation policy and led to a crisis of major proportions in African education.

³⁰ Cross and Chisholm "The Roots", 47.

³¹ Dubow, *Racial Segregation*, 3; Rich, *White Power*, 18-20.

It is clear that there were also regional/provincial differences which have hardly been uncovered. Paterson, in challenging Cross and Chisholm, makes the point that it is not accurate to assume that the dynamics on the Reef, which underpinned the development of a segregated schooling system after 1902, can be extrapolated for the rest of the country, and makes a plea for the consideration of regional imperatives in considering the origins of segregation in education.³² We might extend this argument to considering the developments after Union, given the decentralised nature of the control of African education.

PART 2 : THE PROTAGONISTS

The focus of this thesis is limited to the English-speaking Protestant missions who concurrently dominated both the provision of African education and the interdenominational mission associations. As has been noted, studies of the ideas of denominational and interdenominational missions about African education and their relationship with secular forces are almost non-existent. To document this and to develop a comparative perspective would be a huge task. This thesis represents an attempt to begin to distill the views of a particularly powerful interdenominational section of the missions. It focuses on the level where they had direct contact with the Joint Councils and the State, through provincial Native Education Advisory Boards and European-Bantu Conferences, as witnesses to commissions and as petitioners to members of the Cabinet. They were also in touch with international missionary organisations, such as the International Missionary Conference (IMC). The thesis should provide a foil for comparative work, ranging from national missionary conference level to the level of individual institutions.

Many of the critics of mission education pointed to the negative effects of denominational rivalry but, from the late 19th century, the Protestant churches had tried to coordinate their efforts

³² Paterson, "Neglected Origins", 17.

through societies which brought together the missions at both the colonial, provincial and national level. The most important Protestant mission associations during this period were the Natal Missionary Conference (NMC), the Ciskei and Transkei Missionary Councils (CMC and TMC), the Transvaal Missionary Association (TMA), and the overarching South African General Missionary Conference (SAGMC).³³ The associations included a wide range of missionary societies from Europe and the United States, but were dominated by the English-speaking Protestant missionary societies. These associations often provided common evidence to commissions of enquiry which considered African education.

The major providers of education during this period were the American Board Mission, the Church of the Province in South Africa, the Bantu Presbyterian Church, the Methodist Church, the Church of Scotland, the London Missionary Society, the Berlin Mission, the Swiss Mission, the Roman Catholic Church and, to a much lesser degree, the Dutch Reformed Church. While the majority of mission schools were small, rural one-teacher primary schools, there were a number of influential schools which produced trainee junior primary teachers from Standard 3 onwards and post-primary graduates who wrote senior teacher training exams, or the Cape Education Department Standard 6, 8 and Matric exams. The majority were boarding schools on the outskirts of towns or in the rural areas. The leading schools were:

CAPE

Lovedale (Church of Scotland), Clarkebury and Healdtown (Methodist), St Matthews and Zonnebloem (CPSA), Tigerkloof (LMS)

³³ In 1904, the Protestant mission societies formed the South African General Missionary Conference to coordinate missionary activity across Southern Africa. Mission Societies represented included : American Board Mission, the Berlin Evangelical Society, the Church of the Province in South Africa, the Dutch Reformed Church, the London Missionary Society, the Paris Evangelical Mission, Wesleyan Missionary Society, United Free Church of Scotland, South African Baptist Mission, and the Swiss Mission. One ordained African Minister from each society could be present. *Summary of the General Missionary Conferences of South Africa, 1904-1932*, Roneod publication, n.d., 4.

and Mariazell (Roman Catholic). With the exception of Zonnebloem, these schools were all located in the Eastern Cape.

NATAL

Adams and Inanda (American Board), Marianhill (Roman Catholic), St Hilda's (CPSA) and Ohlange (independent, founded by John Dube).

TRANSVAAL

Kilnerton (Methodist), Grace Dieu, St Peters and St Agnes, Khaiso (CPSA), Lemana (Seiss Mission), Botshabelo (Berlin Missionary Society). St Peters and St Agnes were the only urban schools. They were located in Johannesburg.

ORANGE FREE STATE

Stofberg Gedenk Skool (DRC), Modderpoort Training College (CPSA).

The following table shows which mission bodies were the major providers of African education by the late 1930s:

Mission Schools	Primary	Teacher/ Secondary	Indus/ Dom*	TOTAL
Am Board	72	2	-	74
CPSA (Anglican)	615	10	2	627
Bantu Presby.	294	-	-	294
German Lutheran	299	4	-	303
Amalgam.	93	-	-	93
Methodist	1,102	7	1	1,110
DRC	295	3	-	298
Church of Scotland	38	2	-	40
LMS	28	3	-	31
Swiss Miss	47	1	-	48
Roman Cath.	Individual figures not available			253

* Separate Institutions³⁴

The liberal network was quite small and interlocked extensively with what Elphick calls the "benevolent empire" of the missions.³⁵ Writers about the liberals agree that, while they cannot be seen as an homogenous group, as "friends of the native", the liberals had ideas and, more importantly, organisations in common. They were concerned to ameliorate the harsh effects of economic and social change and defuse social conflict. In this, much of what they said and did resembled and intermeshed with mission work driven by the concept of the "social gospel".³⁶ However, in spite of professing a range of Christian beliefs, leading figures were sometimes informed by more secular rationales. Influential liberal stakeholders in African education, such as Loram, Rheinallt Jones, educationist and devout Anglican Edgar Brookes and prominent Johannesburg accountant, Howard Pim, had developed what Dubow calls a liberalism which was "in explicit opposition to its Cape forebears".³⁷ Mission ideas still drew heavily on the Cape liberalism of the late nineteenth century which, itself, drew nineteenth century evangelical ideas. It was characterised by mid-Victorian classical, liberal notions about civilisation, individual progress and gradual assimilation, embodied in the Cape franchise. In contrast, the "new" liberalism rejected such notions in favour of concerns with racial groups and differentiation on the basis of

³⁴ Some of the secondary and primary schools had industrial or domestic departments, but their numbers were small compared to the numbers in the rest of the school. For example, St Matthews had 19 industrial students compared with 132 studying teacher training and 58 in ordinary secondary courses in 1938. K. Grubb, ed., *The Christian Handbook of South Africa* (Lovedale Press, 1938) and *Report of the Native Affairs Commission for the Years 1937-1938*, (UG 54-39), (Pretoria, 1939), (hereafter NAC Report 1937-8), Appendix I.

³⁵ Elphick, "Mission Christianity", 70.

³⁶ *Ibid*, 66.

³⁷ Howard Pim was an accountant with a philanthropic bent, who was also deeply involved in Joint Council and SAIRR activities until his death in 1934. Edgar Brookes was awarded a doctorate for his book *The History of Native Policy in South Africa from 1830 to the Present Day* (Cape Town, 1924) and occupied the chair of Public Administration and Political Science at the University of the Witwatersrand in the 1920s. He moved from being a supporter of segregation, who had the patronage of Hertzog in the mid-1920s, to become an opponent of segregation by 1930. He was a founder member of the SAIRR in 1929. In 1934 he became Head of Adams College in Natal and sat on the Natal Native Education Advisory Board. See E. Brookes, *A South African Pilgrimage* (Johannesburg, 1977), Chapters 3 and 4.

culture. It was "strong on pragmatism but rather weaker on principle".³⁸

Liberal as well as mission opinions were expressed in the ecumenical Lovedale based journal, the *Christian Express*, which later became the *South African Outlook*. From the early 1920s it became the official newspaper of the SAGMC, and the main mouthpiece of the Joint Councils.³⁹ From the late nineteenth century, the journal had offered a social gospel perspective, refusing to "reflect a narrow pietistic view of racial affairs" and its editor during this period, D. A. Hunter of Lovedale, upheld this tradition. While the journal represented a Cape perspective, it often included information on other parts of the country. Though the overall tenor of the journal is clear on specific issues, Hunter often encouraged the expression of divergent opinions in the interests of public debate.⁴⁰

There was a liberal presence in State bodies concerned with the administration of African education, both in the national and provincial echelons of African education. In 1920, the Native Affairs Act created a Native Affairs Commission, consisting of three "experts" who would advise the Government, consult with African leaders and mediate White legislators' views to African leaders. One of its briefs was the administration of funds for African education. Loram, one of the founders of the Joint Council Movement, and Dr A. W. Roberts, who had been Head of Lovedale, served on the Native Affairs Commission from its inception in 1920.

³⁸ Dubow, "Race, civilisation", 79-80; R. Davenport, "The Cape Liberal Tradition to 1910", in Butler et al, eds, *Democratic Liberalism*, 30.

³⁹ "General Missionary Conference", *South African Outlook* (hereinafter SAO), Jan. 2, 1924; Elphick, "Mission Christianity", 67; Rich, "The Appeals of Tuskegee", 285.

⁴⁰ In October 1870, Rev James Stewart founded a bilingual English Xhosa journal called the *Kaffir Express/Isigidimi samaXhosa*, at Lovedale. In 1876 it changed its name to the *Christian Express*, and devoted itself to promoting an ecumenical vision of Christian work in South Africa and the world. In 1901, D.A. Hunter, a teacher at Lovedale and father of anthropologist Monica Hunter, became editor, a post which he held until R.H.W. Shepherd, Principal of Lovedale, took over in 1932. F. Wilson and D. Perot, eds, *Outlook on a Century : South Africa 1870-1970* (Lovedale Press, 1973), xiv.

There were provincial variations in the way African education was administered. By 1920, three out of the four provincial councils had established a separate administration system for African education, including a separate inspectorate. The Cape had no separate system of inspectors, but appointed a Chief Inspector of Native Education in 1921. The Welsh Report noted that the actual administration of African education in the Cape was effectively "in the hands of a special branch of the [Cape Education] Department."⁴¹ (See Appendix A, Figure 10) From the late 1920s, the three Chief Inspectors of Native Education of the Cape (G. H. Welsh), Natal (D. McMalcolm) and the O. F. S. (H. Kuschke) were prominent in church and liberal organisations such as Joint Councils and the SAIRR. They formed half the personnel of the Welsh Committee. Influential liberals, such as Pim, Brookes, Rheinallt Jones and Alfred Hoernlé were directly involved with the provincial Native Education Advisory Boards. They were also involved with the European-Bantu Conferences, the South African General Missionary Conference and with individual mission schools.

The strength of mission education in the Eastern Cape, where many of the leading post-primary schools were located (see page 15) as well as Fort Hare University, provided emerging African political organisations all over the Union with leadership. Since professions outside teaching and medicine were not available, it is not surprising that, aside from overtly political organisations such as the ANC and provincial "Native Congresses", most of the educated African elite were involved in strong African teachers associations, such as the Cape African Teachers Association (CATA) and the Transvaal Native Teachers Association (TNTA), and the overarching South African Native Teachers Federation (SANTF). Leading figures in education were: John Tengo Jabavu, his son D. D. T. Jabavu, D. G. S. Mtimkulu (Cape), John Dube (Natal), Charlotte Maxeke, Eva Mahuma Morake and Z. K. Matthews (Transvaal). A large proportion of these people were educated in the US and were

⁴¹ Welsh Report, para 261.

greatly influenced by the ideas of Booker T. Washington and self-help models of Negro education.⁴²

The extent to which leading African educationists were linked in to the liberal-mission network varied from province to province. The existence of the Cape franchise had meant that the African elite in the Cape had a long history of political organisation and were regarded as members of a common society. As such they were integral to discussions about the direction of African education from the late nineteenth century onwards. The formation of the Joint Councils was significant in incorporating prominent members of the African elite into the liberal-mission network, particularly in the Transvaal and O.F.S., and the European-Bantu Conferences consolidated this process.

Provincial Advisory Boards were significant places where State, mission, African and liberal interests were represented together. The Boards varied in composition, but by the early 1930s they included Provincial Education Department officials, Chief Inspectors of Native Education, mission representatives, Joint Council members and African Teacher Association representatives. The Native Affairs Department (NAD) was represented on the Transvaal and OFS Boards, and the Chief Native Commissioner on the Natal Board. The Boards were not established at the same time, nor for the same reasons. The Advisory Board in Natal predated Union.

⁴² A graduate of Healdtown, J.T. Jabavu was influential in the founding of Fort Hare and editor of the newspaper *Imvo Zabantsundu*. In the early twentieth century he was a powerful figure in the Eastern Cape, in spite of his conservatism and ambivalent attitude to the 1913 Land Act. D.D.T. Jabavu, educated at Yale, was also based at Fort Hare, was regarded as the foremost African spokesman on African education from the 1920s and was Chairman of the SANTF in the inter-war years. John Dube, founder member of the ANC, was educated in the US and was profoundly influenced by Negro education institutions such as Tuskegee and Hampton, which emphasised self-help and independence. In 1909, he founded Ohlange Institute along the lines of these institutions. Charlotte Maxeke was educated in the Eastern Cape in the 1890s and went on to study at Wilberforce University in Ohio, an AME institution for Negro education. She returned to South Africa in 1903 and became the first female African social worker. She founded the Bantu Woman's League of South Africa in 1918. Eva Mahuma Morake studied at Teachers College, Columbia University in the 1920s and became the Principal of the AME teacher training college, Wilberforce Institute, in Evaton by 1934. Z.K. Matthews was a graduate of Lovedale and Fort Hare who studied at Yale in the 1930s, after which he taught at Adams College under Edgar Brookes. D.G.S. Mtinkulu became Headmaster of Adams College in the early 1940s after a long teaching career in the Cape and involvement in CATA.

It was established in 1907, directly as a result of the Bambata rebellion, and was aimed at keeping in touch with African opinion. Initially it consisted of two African representatives and representatives of the missions involved in education.⁴³ In the Transvaal, the Advisory Board was established in 1924 after considerable pressure was put on the Provincial Councils by the Transvaal Native Teachers Association (TNTA) and the missions.⁴⁴ It is interesting that the Cape Board was the last to be established; it met for the first time in June 1929. Lack of funds was cited as a reason for the delay, but, as W. G. Bennie, Chief Inspector of Native Education and first Chairman of the Advisory Board noted, the missions, the African elite (including CATA) and the Cape Education Department (CED) had closely co-operated without the existence of a formal structure like an Advisory Board.⁴⁵ This was clearly demonstrated in the 1919 Cape Education Commission. There were also two powerful mission educators' associations in existence in the Eastern Cape which predated the Advisory Board - the Association of Heads of Native Institutions (AHNI) and the Association of European Teachers in Native Institutions (AENTI). Both associations had close ties with the White Cape South African Teachers Association (SATA), as well as the CED and the Cape

⁴³Welsh Report, para 82. See also *Province of Natal : Report of the Superintendent of Education for the year 1918 (NP 4 - 1919)* (Pietermaritzburg, 1919), (hereafter *Natal Education Report for 1918*), 44, 46.

⁴⁴University of the Witwatersrand Archives (hereafter UWA), Record of the South African Institute of Race Relations, Part 1 (hereafter SAIRR/1), AD 843, Kb 27.1., T.P. Mathabathe and I.R. Poho, *Record of the Work of the Transvaal African Teachers Association 1905 - 1927* (Caxton Press, 1928), 8; Welsh Report, para 124. The Transvaal Advisory Board members consisted of : two TED representatives, one NAD representative, two TNTA representatives, and at least four representatives from missions. The missions were allocated members in proportion to the number of schools they supervised. The TMA nominated one member to represent societies which supervised less than fifteen schools. *Report of the Transvaal Missionary Association 1919-1924*, (hereafter *TMA Report 1919-24*), 21-22.

⁴⁵ Cory Library, Rhodes University (hereafter Cory), MS16294, "Cape Advisory Board for Native Education. Minutes of the First Meeting Held at the School Board Offices, East London, on the 6th of June 1919." The members were: the Chief Inspector of Native Education, the Superintendent General of Education, one CED inspector, two CATA representatives, one chief (representing the Transkei Territorial Authority), and ten mission representatives. The NAD did not have a representative.

African Teachers Association (CATA).⁴⁶ They sent their own representatives to the Cape Advisory Board meetings from 1932.⁴⁷

PART 3 : A SURVEY OF AFRICAN EDUCATION 1910-39

A survey of the state of African education during this period is provided. This survey consists of an account of general trends during the period 1910-1939, which will form the background to the developments in each chapter. These include trends in the structure and finance of African education and levels of school attendance. Trends in White education are also furnished for the purposes of comparison.

Figures 1-8 in Appendix A reveal that the basic legacy of the colonial educational arrangements was hardly altered, and that inequalities between the different racial groups were intensified.⁴⁸ African education, unlike White, was neither free, nor compulsory, and the funds devoted to it were minimal as a result. Figure 8 shows that there was a huge discrepancy in the Union average for spending on White and African children. Figures 4-7 and 9 show that there were great variations in the provincial percentages of actual, as compared with possible school enrolment and in the amounts spent per pupil.⁴⁹

These variations were linked to the related factors of how recently African education had been established and the proportion of the

⁴⁶ Cape Archives (hereafter CAD), BEK 25 CE 126, "Association of European Teachers in Native Institutions".

⁴⁷ Cory, MS 16294, "Cape Advisory Board For Education : Minutes of Fourth Meeting Held at the School Board Offices, East London, on the 10th and 11th of August, 1932".

⁴⁸ Cross and Chisholm, "The Roots", 49. Segregated schools were made law in 1894 in Natal, 1905 in the Cape, 1907 in the Transvaal and 1908 in the O.F.S., and in all cases White education was free and compulsory until about ages 14-16.

⁴⁹ E.G. Malherbe, "Native Education in the Union of South Africa", *Yearbook of Education*, 1933, 605. *Bulletin of Educational Statistics for 1939*, (National Bureau for Educational and Social Research, Pretoria, 1939), Table 1.

provincial budget spent on African education.⁵⁰ In both the O.F.S. and Transvaal, the Boer Governments had been hostile to mission presence and to African schooling and, in the Transvaal, the first grants-in-aid were paid to the missions during the Milner regime. In the Cape, grants-in-aid to missions dated back to 1839 and in Natal to the 1860s.

As during the colonial period, African education was largely controlled by various mission societies. The provincial councils provided financial grants-in-aid which did not cover much more than teachers' salaries. Erection and equipment of buildings and maintenance was the responsibility of the mission societies. Funds were obtained from overseas parent mission bodies and from school fees. The provincial education departments exercised control by inspection, examinations, certification of teachers and the drawing up of curricula.

Figures for the number of mission schools before 1917 are difficult to come by, as the *Bulletin of Educational Statistics* began with the year 1917 in its survey of schools. The first mission initiated union survey was done by Rev. J. Dexter Taylor in 1928 under the auspices of the SAGMC. By 1920 there were 2,533 registered schools for Africans.⁵¹ By 1938 there were 3,796 mission schools registered with the provincial departments. The NAC estimated that there were a further 1,400 unregistered schools, some run by independent African churches. There were 130 public

⁵⁰ Just prior to Union, the expenditure on Native Education in the Transvaal amounted to 1.7% of the overall budget for education. *Transvaal Education Department : Report for the Year Ended 30th June 1909*, (hereafter *TED Report for 1909*), 36. Things did not improve much after 1910. The Transvaal Education Department Council of Education Report noted that in 1913 Native Education had taken up only 2.4% of the Province's total bill for education and that up until that point "maximum grants had rarely been given". *Transvaal Education Department : Third Report of the Council of Education Dealing with Native Education* (OP 5944, State Library, Pretoria), (hereafter *Third Report of the Council of Education*), 3. Expenditure on African and Coloured education in the Cape in 1915 amounted to 18% of the Provincial Education Budget. This percentage is calculated from figures in Paterson, "Neglected Origins", 13.

⁵¹ *Bulletin of Educational Statistics*, 1939, 75.

schools under the provincial departments; 128 in Natal, one in the Cape and one in the Transvaal.⁵²

General trends in African education in the era of segregation demonstrate the small percentage of children who actually went to school, and the even smaller numbers who stayed beyond the first two or three years. According to E. G. Malherbe, in 1920, 15.6% of children of school going age actually went to school.⁵³ This figure contrasts with the NAC estimate for 1920 of 19%.⁵⁴ It appears that they worked on different estimates of the number of children of school going age in the Union. This disparity continues for the years 1925 and 1931. For 1925, the percentages given are 16.5% (Malherbe) and 21% (NAC), and for 1931, 21.2% (Malherbe) and 27% (NAC). Detailed percentages of possible numbers of children of schooling age are not as readily available for the late 1930s. The graphs in Appendix A are taken from information in the Welsh Report and they illustrate the trends in increasing enrolment until 1935 in numbers for the provinces and the Union. Figures from the *Bulletin of Educational Statistics* published in 1940, have been used to complete the picture.⁵⁵ According to Malherbe, 58% of African children were in the first two years in 1931, and only 2% were in Std. 6.⁵⁶

From the mid-1920s onwards, there was a substantial increase in the number of African children attending school. This continued into

⁵² NAC Report 1937-8, Appendix I.

⁵³ E.G. Malherbe was a founder of the Bureau of Educational and Social Research, established in 1929. He was among a number of young South African education graduates who studied education administration at Teachers College, Columbia University in the early 1920s. He pioneered quantitative research in education in South Africa, beginning with the education section of the 1929-32 Carnegie investigation of the "Poor White" problem. See Fleisch, "Social Scientists", 1.

⁵⁴ Report of the Native Affairs Commission for the Years 1932-3, (UG 3-34), (hereafter NAC Report 1932-3), Annexure "B", Native Education and the Development Account.

⁵⁵ *Bulletin of Educational Statistics for 1940*, (National Bureau for Educational and Social Research, Pretoria, 1940); Malherbe, "Native Education", 605; NAC Report 1937-8, Appendix I.

⁵⁶ Malherbe, "Native Education", 607.

the 1930s, in spite of the Depression years. Although they both agree on a substantial jump between 1925 and 1931, the percentage increases shown by Malherbe and the NAC during this period do not correspond either. Malherbe's percentage increase for period 1920-25 was 0.9, the NAC's was 2%; Malherbe's percentage increase for 1925-31 was 4.7, and the NAC's was 6%. In terms of provincial breakdowns, Malherbe's figures show that the Transvaal experienced the greatest percentage growth in African pupils in the period 1925-31, and the Cape the lowest.⁵⁷

PART 4 : STRUCTURE AND CONTENT OF THESIS

The chapters that follow are arranged chronologically, and cover the period 1910-1939. Each chapter highlights the English-speaking Protestant missions' responses to the intermeshing trends of secularisation, particularly in the realm of both the content and control of education, and hardening segregation policies, which affected African education.

Chapter One covers the period 1910-1919. Between 1912 and 1919 there were attempts in three provinces to reform the content of African education, as well as an investigation commissioned by the Central Government into the whole nature of Provincial Government, which had implications for the control of all education. In each province the reforms were aimed at making African education less "literary" or "bookish", and more adapted to African "needs". The chapter shows that the rationale for reform in all three cases was informed by a general need to respond to increasing critiques of mission education. Hostility to the content of African education threatened even the minimal amount spent on African education by the provinces. These critiques were informed by international, as well as local, secular and scientific perspectives about the inappropriate nature of African education, by political concerns regarding the privileging of White education and by demands for more control from the African elite. The degree of State, mission

⁵⁷ The NAC's year by year breakdown until 1932 showed the years of greatest increase as 1924-25 (4.9), 1927-28 (6.8), 1928-29 (9.8), 1929-1930 (5.8), and 1931-1932 (4.7). The provincial figures were : Transvaal, 6.4%; O.F.S., 5.6%; Natal, 5.2% and Cape, 3.6%. NAC Report 1932-3, Annexure "B".

and African involvement in curriculum reform varied considerably from province to province. What is clear from the debates and evidence presented, is that the missions were far more concerned with the control of African education than with its content; the loss of control would bring with it the secularisation of content. They saw that both general secular concepts of education and specific segregationist proposals to tamper with central and local control of African education, threatened the very heart of their enterprise. This was often expressed in a commitment not only to Christian but to denominational control of education.

Chapter Two covers the period 1919-1928. 1920 is a year which marks the first real attempt to consider African education from the viewpoint of the central State. This came with the establishment of the Native Affairs Commission in 1920. 1920 also marked the beginnings of increased secular influence on African education in the form of the U.S. based Phelps-Stokes Commissions into education in Africa and the Joint Council Movement.⁵⁸ They encroached on what had been the exclusive territory of the missions, "native welfare". This included African education. The ideas of science, anthropology, psychology and efficiency threatened to undermine the absolute, moral universe of the missions and their hold over their pupils in increasingly conflict-ridden times. Hardening segregation policies from 1925, which affected the control and funding of education and the future of their African clients, many of whom would lose the franchise, made them develop a more openly critical attitude to segregation. Two international missionary conferences in this period also encouraged them to restate their commitment to a concept of Christian, individualist and voluntarist education.

Chapter Three is concerned with the period 1930-34. During this period "expert scientific opinion" was brought to bear on the question of African education as never before, in a context of

⁵⁸ The Phelps-Stokes Fund was based in New York and was a major foundation in the area of Negro education. It financed two commissions into education in Africa; one in 1921 and one in 1924. The former was mainly devoted to South East Africa and the subsequent Report contained a smaller section on South Africa.

economic depression and political upheaval and realignment. Such opinion was embodied in the Natives Economic Commission of 1932 commissioned by the Pact Government in 1930, which applied Hertzog's vision of segregation to education, drawing on anthropological notions. Such ideas were debated at the 1934 New Education Fellowship Conference, where mission education was attacked and the adaptation and modernisation of African culture was recommended as a basis for African education. This conference clearly showed tensions between the more secular liberals and the missions. The missions and liberals were united in opposition, however, regarding threats to harness African education more directly to the implementation of segregation policies. They had, by 1935, developed a strong critique of fiscal segregation, NAC control of funds and opposition to NAD control of education.

The strong critique of fiscal segregation, NAC control of funds and opposition to NAD control of education all appear clearly in the Welsh Report of 1935-36. The last chapter of this thesis is concerned with the period 1935-1939. It deals with the genesis, content and impact of the Report. It demonstrates that the recommendations of the Report clearly mirror the critiques which the liberals and missions had developed during the late 1920s and early 1930s concerning Segregation policy in general, and African education in particular. When the Welsh Committee members denied that education should be an agent of segregation, rejected fiscal segregation and NAD and NAC involvement in African education, they were, in their own way, rejecting the basic tenets of the 1936 legislation. From 1936, State and other critics of the Report dismissed it on these grounds. What is equally important is its assertion of support for mission controlled, Christian based education and its almost complete omission of any references to secular, scientific ideas, particularly anthropology. Attempts by Malherbe to push the boundaries of the Report by attempting to test post-primary African students and to quantify the results, were unsuccessful. The Report was indeed the last statement of the Christian, Victorian, individualist, voluntarist conception of education. The Eiselen Commission was very different in its assumptions.

CHAPTER ONE

"TRUSTEES AND AGENTS OF THE STATE"? MISSIONS AND THE FORMATION OF POLICY TOWARDS AFRICAN EDUCATION, 1910-1920

INTRODUCTION

"The Commission (premises) its remarks by expressing the opinion that the best results are obtainable in education as elsewhere from co-operation and that, in accepting public grants for educational purposes, the Churches become trustees and agents of the State whose business it is to educate the people."¹

During the first decade after Union, African education was the subject of syllabus reform initiatives in three out of the four provinces. The control of African education was an issue which was debated as part of these reform initiatives, and was touched on by commissions of enquiry into the provincial system as a whole. This chapter analyses the nature of policy making and reform regarding African education in the first decade after Union, and focuses on the role of the missions in this process. It argues that the process of syllabus reform in the Transvaal, Natal and the Cape was informed not by the immediate labour needs of capital but by a general necessity to respond to critiques of existing education. There were important regional imperatives, however, which fashioned the particular *modus operandi*, rationale and content adaptations of each province, and these influenced the level of mission participation.

Cross has argued that the Transvaal syllabus reforms of 1915 "would meet the capitalist need for more productive black unskilled cheap labour while safeguarding the monopoly of the White working class in the skilled and semiskilled labour market". He claims that the missions were "unwittingly ... gradually incorporated by the

¹ *Cape of Good Hope : Report of the Education Commission on Native Education*, (CP 4-20), (hereafter *Viljoen Commission*), para. 14.

Government's segregationist strategy".² Paterson portrays the missions as weak and vacillating in the Cape Colonial onslaught on integrated church schools in the first decade of the 20th century.³ This chapter challenges this narrow interpretation of the reforms and the missions' role in formulating them. It indicates that the reforms cannot be seen as directed at the African working class in order to meet the needs of capital. Instead it argues that much of the "education makes better workers" type of justification for change, and the content change itself was really rhetoric designed to allay White hostility. The target of the reforms was the educated African elite, whose ambitions needed to be shaped in a direction which did not challenge the existing social order. Only the Cape reforms, however, appear to have moved beyond rhetoric in providing a concrete syllabus for agricultural education for an elite modernising peasantry and ancillary administrative staff. In this sense, the reforms were at least compatible with emerging segregationist ideas and policies. It is far-fetched, however, to link the reforms with any grand design of "Native Policy" or with the "needs of capital".

Missions' involvement and impact in such policy-making varied considerably from province to province. Only in the Cape were they intimately involved with policy development, along with members of the African elite. Consequently, the reforms proposed were not as crude as those in the other provinces, and cannot easily be categorised as representing a segregationist perspective. What emerges clearly during this period is that issues surrounding the control of African education, rather than its aim and content, most concerned the missions. Decentralisation in the form of provincial control and private control of the schools, allowed the missions to develop their own interpretation of provincial syllabi and preserve their Christian and denominational ethos and style. In this period, however, incipient provincial bureaucratisation, increasing pressure for the secularisation of control of institutions and for

² Cross, "The Foundations", 268, 272.

³ Paterson, "Neglected Origins", 9.

the separation of African from other education, threatened this relative autonomy.

PART 1 : MISSION INVOLVEMENT IN POLICY-MAKING

There were three major provincial curriculum reform initiatives during this period. They were the 1915 Transvaal Third Report of the Council of Education; the 1918 reforms of C. T. Loram as the Chief Inspector of Native Education in Natal and the 1919 Cape Commission into Native Education. The 1919 Cape Commission characterised the missions as "trustees and agents of the State", which implied that it was their task merely to implement policy. It is important, however, to consider the extent to which they were party to reform and policy-making. How far were they unwitting "agents of the State" or "servants of power"?

When it came to syllabus reform, the provinces differed widely in the extent to which they involved members of the missions. In Natal they were completely excluded and in the Transvaal they did little more than rubber stamp the process. In the Cape, however, they initiated and dominated the development of policy. This was the result of a number of factors, including strong differences in the political economy of the provinces, individual styles of administration, and in the missions' own concerns. In the Transvaal, the reform process was initiated by the Director of Education, Sir John Adamson, who drew up a scheme with the help of three inspectors. This was put before the Council of Education and then submitted to the Anglican (CPSA), Wesleyan, DRC, Lutheran and Swiss missions. These denominations were consulted as they ran teacher training sections, whose graduates were the target of some of the reforms and who would ultimately implement the reforms. According to Adamson, the missions gave the scheme their "cordial general approval" and "made some suggestions with regard to details which were subsequently adopted". This was the first time the missions were consulted about policy towards African education in

the Transvaal.⁴ Adamson made no attempt to consult African groups such as the Transvaal Native Teachers Association, which had existed since 1906.⁵ The complete exclusion of Africans is indicative of the lack of political power and smaller numbers of the educated elite in the Transvaal, in contrast to the Cape.

The final Report, which was published in 1915, remained essentially a product of the TED Director and inspectorate. The Transvaal Missionary Association records made only passing reference to the new scheme, while they devoted considerable space to the 1920 Report of the Education Commission on provincial control.⁶ The missions were far more concerned with the control of African education, the focus of the 1920 Report. (See page 45). It is also clear that at the time, the missions were preoccupied with the drain on their resources, as a result of a minimal grant from the province which precluded the registration of new schools and abolished equipment grants.⁷

The Natal syllabus reforms were not subject to a commission, but were the product of one man's efforts, Charles Loram, who became Chief Inspector for Native Education in Natal in 1918. His autocratic approach was not surprising. In his writings and correspondence, Loram comes across as an arrogant and opinionated individual. He returned to South Africa in 1917 determined to

⁴ *Transvaal Education Department: Report for the Year Ended December 31, 1912*, (hereafter *TED Report 1912*), 94; *Third Report of the Council of Education*, 1; C.T. Loram, *The Education of the South African Native*, (London, 1917), 137; *Welsh Report*, para. 118. The Council of Education was originally founded in 1895 to expand education for White English-speaking children on the Rand.

⁵ Mathabathe and Poho, *Record of the Work*, 3.

⁶ *Province of the Transvaal : Report of the Education Commission*, (TP 1-1920), hereafter the *Malherbe Report*; *Report of the 9th Annual Conference of the Transvaal Missionary Association*, May 1913, (Mission Press, 1913), (hereafter *TMA Report 1913*), 24; *Report of the Transvaal Missionary Association for the Years 1918-1919*, (Mission Press, 1920); *Report of the Transvaal Missionary Association for the Years 1919-1924*, (hereafter *TMA Report 1919-24*), (Mission Press, 1925), 19.

⁷ *TMA Report 1913; Report of the 10th Annual Conference of the Transvaal Missionary Association*, September 1915, (Mission Press, 1916), (hereafter *TMA Report 1915*); "Native Education in the Transvaal", in *Christian Express*, (hereafter *CE*), July 1914.

apply the insights gained from his study of education administration, psychology and Negro education at Teachers College, Columbia University. Concerned as he was with developing a secular, more scientific and efficient basis for African education, he was ambivalent about the role of missions in African education. This is clear in his book, *The Education of the South African Native*. He castigated the missions for their destruction of traditional African society and for providing Africans with aspirations which alienated them from their own people. When discussing their control of African education, he said missions were "heroic" and useful, but in need of much more State control.⁸ He did not think it necessary to consult beyond "teachers in training institutions" and, in fact, he limited his consultation to Head Teachers and Inspectors. He completely bypassed the Natal Native Education Advisory Board, which consisted of mission representatives and two African representatives.⁹ Here we have the first hints at Loram's desire to secularise, bureaucratised and professionalise the system of African education on the basis of scientific principles.¹⁰

In contrast, the 1919 Cape Commission drew heavily on mission and African expertise. It was the result of a mission Headmasters' deputation, consisting of Rev. James Henderson of Lovedale, Rev. Lennard of Clarkebury and Father Callaway to the Administrator of the Cape, Dr. Kolbe.¹¹ Indeed, it seems that the Cape mission heads acted pre-emptively in the wake of the other provincial reforms to forestall and direct State intervention. Paterson notes the development of increasing secularisation of control of mission schools in the Cape from the turn of the century. He emphasises the extremely haphazard nature of the expansion of mission schooling, which was plagued by denominational rivalry. From 1895,

⁸ Loram, *The Education*, 73-78.

⁹ *Ibid*, 137.

¹⁰ Fleisch, "Science, Efficiency", 6.

¹¹ *Viljoen Report*, Appendix A : Minutes of Meetings, Umtata, 25 June 1919.

the Cape Education Department attempted to systematise and regulate, as well as segregate, mission schooling through financial aid and a burgeoning bureaucracy. He notes that secularisation "occurred simultaneously on two levels, namely the secularisation of control over the schools and the secularisation of content of mission schooling". Both these aspects were covered by the expansion of the bureaucracy, particularly the inspectorate. Paterson argues that the missions baulked at this, as they felt that their position as "friends of the native" was being compromised and their autonomy curtailed. One of their responses was to set themselves up as advisors to the Department, and Paterson argues that the agitation for Native Education Advisory Boards had its origin in attempts to "institutionalise missionary influence".¹² The setting up of a provincial Native Education Advisory Board was strongly favoured by the mission dominated Cape Commission.

It is not clear what input the mission representatives had concerning the terms of reference, which were: to formulate "a scheme of Native Education, including industrial training" and to consider the control and organisation of schools, teacher training and different curricula, "with due attention being given to the industrial side of school work in all classes".¹³ It consisted of fifteen members, five of whom were members of "Native Educational Institutions", including Henderson and Lennard, Mr. B. W. Mahlasela, Head of Mpukane Wesleyan Native School and Chairman of the Transkei Native Teachers Association, Canon C. E. Bulwer of St. Marks and Mr. J. H. Bowes of the Native Training School in Umtata and President of the Association of European Teachers in Native Institutions. Bowes (Convener), Henderson and Mahlasela were members of the curriculum reform sub-committee, along with two inspectors of schools.¹⁴ The Commission

¹² Paterson, "Contest and Co-option", 117-128.

¹³ Viljoen Report, para 1.

¹⁴ *Ibid*, Appendix B 5. The Commission was chaired by Dr. W. Viljoen, Superintendent-General of Education, and included two inspectors, the Secretary for Native Affairs, the Paramount Chief of East Pondoland, two

did not include members of the Catholic Church; an omission which the Administrator of the Province noted. The Commission, however, decided to reply that it was "thoroughly representative".¹⁵

The racially inclusive nature and designation of the Commission members indicates a desire to co-opt the most conservative, enfranchised, educated African elite, including chiefs, who were concentrated in the Eastern Cape, where most of the major mission schools were located. There is also a strong sense that the elite, through their "civilised" status, were regarded as part of the body politic and, therefore, deserved to be incorporated in the policy-making process. (See page 39). Indeed, two of the four African representatives were designated as representing government departments, J. T. Jabavu for the Union Education Department and Chief Marelane of East Pondoland for the Native Affairs Department. A graduate of Healdtown, Jabavu was a teacher at Fort Hare and Editor of the newspaper *Imvo Zabantsundu*. He was still a powerful figure in the Eastern Cape, in spite of his conservatism and ambivalent attitude to the 1913 Land Act. Along with many other members of the Cape educated elite, he was appalled by the implications of the 1917 Native Administration Bill, which, in the interests of a uniform "Native Policy", ignored the hard won "civilised" status of the educated elite. In Parliament, John X. Merriman commented that African leaders "regarded it as a deliberate attempt to minimise the position of educated men and to drive them back into the kraal".¹⁶

Particularly in this context, the educated elite was hostile to attempts to differentiate African from White education and, by

representatives from the Transkeian Territories' General Council, one Provincial Council Representative, and one Union Department of Education representative, J. T. Jabavu of Fort Hare.

¹⁵ *Ibid*, Appendix A, Minutes of Meetings, Umtata, 25th June 1919.

¹⁶ Native Affairs Administration Bill Debate, *Cape Times*, 31 March, 1917; P. Walshe, *The Rise of African Nationalism in South Africa* (Johannesburg, 1987), 59. This Bill represented one of the first attempts to develop a uniform policy for the administration of Africans in the Union and implied the ultimate abolition of the Cape franchise. Its principles were developed in the Native Administration Act of 1927.

implication, to deny Africans a place in White society. There appears to have been some alarm among the African elite over the industrial education emphasis in the Commission's terms of reference.¹⁷ Dr. Viljoen, the Superintendent General of Education, in an opening speech before the first round of evidence was heard, tried to address these fears by pointing to the representative nature of the Commission and to a sense of common citizenship:

"The personnel of the Commission and the immediate representation on it of the Native population was a guarantee that all interests were adequately represented.... They were all animated by a genuine desire to evolve a system which would produce the highest and best type of citizen irrespective of race and colour."¹⁸

The minutes of the Commission reveal that the Commission heard extensive evidence from the Transkei Missionary Council and Ciskeian missionaries. In keeping with its desire to get African support, the Commission heard a wide range of evidence, mainly from the Eastern Cape. Delegations included the Transkeian Native Teachers Association and local teachers associations, the Bantu Teachers League and the Native Farmers Association of the Eastern Province.

PART 2 : THE RATIONALE FOR REFORM

The timing of the reforms raises questions about whether the provinces shared a vision about the aim and content of African education, particularly in relation to the broader political economy. It is clear from an examination of the way they justified reform that there are common themes which emerge, particularly the inappropriateness of existing education and the need to adapt it to "native needs". This chapter argues that this must be seen in a context beyond that of generalised labour needs. Providers of African education were under siege in terms of financial constraints, which were directly linked to intensified ideological attacks on the nature of African education. Therefore, much of the

¹⁷ Viljoen Report, Appendix A, Minutes of Meetings, Umtata, 25th June, 1919.

¹⁸ Ibid., Appendix A, Minutes, Friday 11th July. The emphasis is mine.

rationale for reform can be seen as rhetoric designed to convince critics that provision of education was compatible with the maintenance of White supremacy. There is also very little sense of fitting the reforms to match a national "Native Policy". Each reform venture was quite parochial; there is no sense that the provincial officials saw the need even to compare notes.

Shingler has argued that by the time of Union, the education of Africans per se was no longer under attack, and therefore reform after 1910 was not concerned so much with defending the right of Africans to education, but with its aim, content and methods.¹⁹ He underestimates, however, the extent to which the priority White education enjoyed severely eroded the resources available to African education, at a time when numbers were expanding. Union averages reveal that spending on White education between 1915 and 1920 almost doubled from £10 per pupil to £20. At the same time, spending on African education remained the same (just under £2) and the backlog of unregistered schools which received no grants increased. (See Appendix A, Figure 8). These constraints varied from province to province, but there is no doubt that those concerned with the administration of African education at provincial and local level felt besieged. Under the circumstances, the rationale for reform had to be boldly and carefully constructed.

Much of the spending on White education was related to making compulsion a reality through extending hostel services, meals and provision of books.²⁰ This appears to have been successful by 1920. The percentage of White children, of school going age, attending school, jumped from 57.7% in 1910 to 83.7% in 1920. (See Appendix A, Figure 2)²¹ Behind the need to improve school attendance lay a great anxiety about the degradation of "Poor Whites" in the context of social change, engendered by emerging industrialisation.

¹⁹ Shingler, "Education", 158-163.

²⁰ Shingler, "Education", 60-1; Paterson, "Neglected Origins", 13-15.

²¹ *Bulletin of Educational Statistics 1919*, Table 1.

Whites, by not attending school, were denied the skills which the schools provided in terms of participating at a privileged level in the industrialising economy.²² Much of the rhetoric about uplifting "Poor Whites" was bolstered by theories of White racial supremacy, which warned of the disastrous effects of racial mixing. By the early twentieth century, the disruptive effects of industrialisation had eroded faith in Victorian ideas of progress, civilisation and gradual assimilation, which were encapsulated in the non-racial Cape franchise. The development of segregationist policies were underpinned by ideologies of Social Darwinism, scientific racism and eugenics.²³ In spite of this onslaught, the emerging class of educated and, in the case of the Cape, enfranchised Africans, actively rejected their "tribal" backgrounds and continued to aspire to equality and assimilation in White society. The formation of the South African National Native Congress, in 1912, which brought together this class on a national basis, challenged the segregationist direction of Union policy. In turn, segregationists saw the educated elite as the agents of social dislocation and the thin end of the wedge in terms of breaching the boundaries of "natural" racial divisions and hierarchies.

This fear underpinned much of the attack on mission education which Shingler points to from the early twentieth century. Writers in the United States, Britain and South Africa criticised the missions for their unscientific approach to African education, particularly its similarity to "bookish" White education, which encouraged Africans to aspire to assimilation.²⁴ The Cape franchise was linked to an education as well as a property qualification, which meant that mission education was seen as providing ideological support for, as well as access to, White society. The franchise also

²² Shingler, "Education", 60-1.

²³ S. Marks and S. Trapido, "The politics of race, class and nationalism" in Marks and Trapido, *The Politics of Race*, 8.

²⁴ Shingler, "Education", 169, 184.

prevented the application of the 1913 Land Act to the Cape.²⁵ Shingler cites secular work such as Dudley Kidd's *Kafir Socialism and the Dawn of Individualism*, published in 1908, and Maurice Evans' *Black and White in South East Africa : A Study in Sociology* which was published in 1911 as being very influential. He argues that major changes, like industrialisation, were only gradually being recognised as one of the causes of the transformation of African society and that education was the most conspicuous agent to be blamed for such transformation.²⁶

In defence of their own position, there was a trend among mission educators to adapt their ideas about African education to a somewhat idealised picture of a rural home and focus for Africans which would inhibit the breakdown of rural society, an education in keeping with the "conditions of native life". Here they were fired by a very real, if sometimes paternalistic concern for the suffering and dislocation resulting from what they saw as poor and wasteful farming methods, coupled with the effects of cruel anti-squatter measures associated with the 1913 Land Act.²⁷ This adaptation of content was not confined to South Africa. The World Missionary Conference of 1910 recommended that African education should not be modelled on European, but should have substantial components of agricultural and industrial education "adapted to the needs of the native races".²⁸

²⁵ In 1892, the Cape Franchise and Ballot Act raised the property qualifications and, for the first time, directly linked the franchise to education via a compulsory simple literacy test. See Davenport, "Cape Liberal Tradition", 32; A. Odendaal, *Vukani Bantu!* (Cape Town, 1984), 13.

²⁶ Shingler, "Education", 162. The Provincial Administration Commission of 1917 argued that education was one of the "most potent" influences on Africans. *Report of the Provincial Commission into Provincial Administration*, (UG 45-16), (hereafter *Jagger Commission*), paras 59, 61, 128, 256. See also *Report of the Department of Native Affairs for the Years 1913-1918*, (UG 7-19), (hereafter *NAD Report 1913-18*), 30.

²⁷ The anti-squatter provisions of the Act and resultant misery were referred to numerous times in the *Christian Express* from 1913. See also *TMA Report 1912*, 25; *TMA Report 1915*.

²⁸ Shingler, "Education", 176-7.

This did not imply, however, that the missions supported segregationist critiques and visions such as that of Maurice Evans. Evans advocated a segregated rural future for Africans, favoured more appropriate education in line with this and argued strongly for the abolition of the franchise. In the Cape, Hunter vigorously defended the incorporationist vision implicit in the franchise. In a lengthy review of *Black and White in South East Africa*, Hunter, as the editor of the *Christian Express*, argued that the rural areas were part of "one country". The educated elite were to be modernisers in the rural areas, having "left behind them tribalism" and, as such, deserved a political voice. Hunter quoted extensively from the book and called Evans a "close and fair ... observer". In supporting the franchise, however, Hunter said he felt that Evans had been "blinded" by his Natal experience, and maintained that "[w]e are not two countries but one ... A State which rests upon but does not incorporate a large subject population is a house built upon sand".²⁹

In South Africa, in the context of financial crisis and such critiques, all providers of education for Africans had to defend their enterprise in the broadest possible terms. Their rationales for reform were apologia for differentiated education designed to answer this critique, and promote the idea that African education was not incompatible with White supremacy.

Apart from Loram's motivation for reform in the *Education of the South African Native*, the authors of the provincial reforms made no attempt to justify these reforms by overt references to a broader body of literature. Nor is there a sense of common purpose; none of the reform initiatives made any cross references to one another. The Cape and Transvaal documents were basically parochial in this regard, and Loram had nothing substantial to say about the Transvaal reforms in his magnum opus.

²⁹ "Mr Maurice Evans' Book. *Black and White in South East Africa*." Parts 1, II and III, in *CE*, 1 May, 1 June and 1 July 1912.

The lack of sense of common purpose may be linked to the absence of much reference to overall "Native Policy" as such. This can be explained by the fact that provincial control militated against cooperation, and reinforced differences. The lack of overall reference to Native policy, however, can also be explained by the nature of segregation policies and the position of the Native Affairs Department at the time. Dubow argues that during the first decade after Union, in spite of the passing of the 1913 Land Act, segregation had not yet developed into a systematic political doctrine. This emerged only after World War One when the full effects of emerging secondary industrialisation and attendant social dislocation were felt.³⁰ Only the TED delayed its new syllabus proposals for African education, which had been drafted in 1912, for fear of being "inconsistent with the wider scheme" of Native Policy. It put them in place, however, in 1915 because "no such expression of Union Policy was forthcoming". The Bishop of Pretoria was convinced that the reason for the delay was more mundane - lack of funds.³¹ Administratively speaking, the NAD, which might have exerted some influence on African education, both structurally and ideologically, was a "Cinderella department" - weak, disunited and poor - a department "without honour". There was no full time Minister of Native Affairs until 1929.³²

While historians of the period have not previously noted the lack of reference to "Native Policy", they have given considerable attention to apparent economic and labour related motives, particularly in the case of the Transvaal. In 1912, Sir John Adamson's rationale for reform was that African education should be developed from "the point of view of the natives own possibilities, needs and aspirations" and not along "European" lines. It should be treated "as a separate and distinct problem".³³ The final

³⁰ Dubow, *Racial Segregation*, 3.

³¹ TED Report 1912, 92; Welsh Report, para 116; "Native Education in the Transvaal", CE, July 1914.

³² Dubow, *Racial Segregation*, 77.

³³ TED Report 1912, 92.

Report, however, which was published in 1915, devoted much of its introduction not on why native education should be separate and distinct, but why it should exist at all. This rationale had a decidedly economic focus. (The justification for native education as sui generis was confined to a short section on the aim and nature of native education.) In the Transvaal, education per se was under threat. There had been a considerable increase in the number of African pupils from 1912, particularly in the Johannesburg area, but, by this time, the amount spent on African education occupied less than 3% of the overall education budget. This precluded the registration of new schools and meant that existing equipment grants were abolished.³⁴ Provincial councillors were even questioning the existing minimal expenditure. Missions were accused of "spreading propaganda" and diverting funds for "specific religious and political purposes."³⁵ The report was therefore at pains to justify why money should be spent on African education. It made much of the economic reasons: increasing workers' productive power, making more efficient workers, and legitimating the amount of tax Africans paid.³⁶ This should not be read off as policy as reflecting the dominant interests of capital. This was rhetoric designed to convince opponents in much more general terms that education for Africans was, in fact, compatible with White supremacy. As this chapter will demonstrate, the reforms themselves were not a serious attempt to prepare workers for work in the industrial sector.

There is a perceptible concern, however, about African urbanisation and the need to combat the evil effects of the city. Hence the Report's emphasis on the role of education in changing inappropriate attitudes encouraged by existing education, which had made the African "puffed up" and "an easy victim for agitators". Suitable "literary" as well as "industrial" education had to be

³⁴ TMA Report 1913, TMA Report 1915, "Native Education in the Transvaal", CE, 1 July 1914.

³⁵ TED Report 1912, 91; Transvaal Education Department: Report for the Year Ended December 31 1914 (hereafter TED Report 1914), 39.

³⁶ Third Report of the Council of Education, 2.

provided, or Africans would obtain it "through less satisfactory channels".³⁷ These might include the increasingly urban African elite, many of whom were members of the Transvaal Native Congress and the Transvaal Native Teachers Association, which had close ties with the Congress.³⁸ The independent church movement was also a threat, both to State and the mainstream churches. It provided an alternative home to some of the educated elite who were alienated by White ternalism in the churches. Reports of both the TMA and SAGMC showed great concern over these movements.³⁹

The Cape reformers faced a different set of constraints. Because of a long tradition of African education, they did not face the same budgetry constraints as in the Transvaal. There were, however, pressures which threatened the funding of African education. Paterson shows that after 1910, huge disparities of spending emerged which had not previously existed. By the late 1890s, Cape Colonial Administration embarked on a process of segregating multi-racial mission schools and building "poor schools" exclusively for poorer White children. This was a "necessary prelude to markedly disparate allocations of funding and resources". This process was formalised in the 1905 School Board Act, but disparities in funding only became very significant after 1910. In 1895, 41% of the colonial education budget was spent on African and "Coloured" education. By 1915, the figure was 18%. From analysing Paterson's graphs for the period 1895-1920, it appears that even less was spent by 1920.⁴⁰

Nevertheless, in its concluding (rather than opening) remarks, the Cape Commission did "not feel itself under the duty of setting up

³⁷ *Ibid*, 11.

³⁸ Mathabathe and Poho, *Record of the Work*, 6.

³⁹ *Report of the 12th Annual Conference of the Transvaal Missionary Association, October 1917*, (Mission Press, 1918), (Hereafter TMA Report 1917), 7; *Summary of the General Missionary Conferences*, 47.

⁴⁰ Paterson, "Neglected Origins", 2, 11.

a defence for the fact of native education".⁴¹ It concentrated much more on the "lamentable effects in the attitudes of Natives towards education and subsequent vocation" which resulted from the "scholastic emphasis" of the present curriculum. It emphasised that education should fit the child's "future work and surroundings".⁴² The Commission's answer for this was more intensive agricultural education for the educated elite. It is important to note the particular context for these remarks. The majority of mission schools were located in the Transkeian Territories and the initiative for the Commission came from Eastern Cape mission educators. There is a sense that inappropriate education was seen as a major cause for the rural decline described by Beinart and Bundy in the Transkeian Territories in the early twentieth century.⁴³

In general, the future and power of the inappropriately educated and enfranchised elite were a cause for great concern. This was expressed in Parliament shortly before the Commission was set up. During the debate on the Native Affairs Administration Bill of 1917, National Party leader, J. B. M. Hertzog, stated that little had been done in the area of education "to advance the native" because of White fears about the consequences of extending the franchise.⁴⁴ This was also emphasised by Evans in his critique of the franchise.⁴⁵ In order to receive sufficient funding, the Cape reformers had to show that education could play a part in redirecting the ambitions of the elite, who would use their political power judiciously. There was also, however, a genuine concern among educators such as Henderson, who was a first hand

⁴¹ *Viljoen Report*, para. 107.

⁴² *Ibid*, para. 54.

⁴³ Paterson shows that there was a big increase in school attendance in Transkei during the first decade after Union. "Neglected Origins", 15-16. For a discussion of the political economy of the Transkei Territories in the early twentieth century, see W. Beinart and C. Bundy, *Hidden Struggles in Rural South Africa* (Johannesburg, 1987), 10-11.

⁴⁴ Native Affairs Administration Bill Debate, *Cape Times*, 31 March 1917.

⁴⁵ "Mr Maurice Evans Book, Part III", CE, July 1 1912.

witness to the effects of rural decline.⁴⁶ The Cape reforms were therefore geared towards developing a modern rural peasantry and administrative elite though an emphasis on agricultural, as well as literary, education. The emphasis on "industrial" education in the terms of reference has strong elements of playing to the gallery of the critics of mission schooling, and should not be seen as much more than that.

Loram's reforms of African education in Natal were also motivated by a vision of a self-sufficient African peasantry in the reserves.⁴⁷ Very little of the rationale for his reforms comes through in the Natal Education Department Report, but he devoted considerable space to justifying such reform in *The Education of the South African Native*. Compared with other reform rationales, his justification for the education of Africans reveals far more of the influence of international ideas of scientific racism, particularly in his references to the dangers of social integration and possible miscegenation, and to intelligence testing. He also justified a curriculum based on agricultural training in terms of the reduction of racial friction, since it would channel Africans away from competition with White workers, but here Loram was grandstanding to some degree.⁴⁸ His main interest lay in developing a more "scientific" approach to African education and in justifying differentiation and a rural focus in these terms. In contrast to the Cape and Transvaal, his critique of existing African education invoked new "scientific" principles. He lamented the "absence of a scientific account of ethnology ... and psychology on which to base education practice" and proceeded to cite his own work in testing children to justify a differentiated syllabus for "slower" African children. All of these ideas led him to formulate syllabuses with subjects of "practical and demonstrable value",

⁴⁶ See summaries of Henderson's surveys of Ciskei in *Summary of the General Missionary Conferences of South Africa, 1904-1932*, 84, 99; Rich, "The Appeals of Tuskegee".

⁴⁷ Fleisch, "Science, Efficiency", 17.

⁴⁸ Loram, *The Education*, Chapter 1 and 127.

with an emphasis on agricultural future in the reserves.⁴⁹ He was convinced of the centrality of agriculture in South Africa's economic development, and that Africans could secure their own (separate) future by becoming self-sufficient.

PART 3: REFORMING THE CONTENT OF AFRICAN EDUCATION

A central question here is what the reforms intended to prepare Africans for in South African society. This chapter has argued that there was some attempt to justify the differentiation of African education, but that it is incorrect to read this justification of differentiation as directed at meeting the needs of "capital" for a productive unskilled working class. Though there were common themes, there was some variation in the motivations behind the reforms, and this had an impact on the content of the reforms. In considering the content of the reforms in detail, this chapter will argue that they varied in the extent to which they were a serious attempt to develop appropriate skills and values for participation in an industrialising economy.

As we have seen, mission input on the content of the curriculum varied from province to province. In general, mission societies' attitudes to content were ambivalent or non-committal, apart from advocating a strong religious base. This emphasis on a religious base must be seen in the context of encroaching secularisation, in the shape of increased attempts at regulation by provincial education departments, through inspection and examinations, and in the shape of demands by African clients for State control. (See page 58). This indifference to the reform of content was certainly true of the Transvaal Missionary Association throughout this period, where the issue of content hardly ever came up, in spite of the Council of Education Report. In fact their concern was with schools of another sort. Between 1912 and 1923, the TMA spent a large amount of time campaigning against traditional circumcision

⁴⁹ Loram, *The Education*, viii and Chapter 5; Fleisch, "Science, Efficiency", 14-18; Shingler, "Education", 184.

schools.⁵⁰ Diffidence about formal content reform comes across clearly in the fact that there was little debate about content evident in the discussions among the Cape Commission members , or in the evidence heard. The TMC pushed hard for a strongly religious base for education, with "Hygiene and Handicrafts" merely tacked on. Otherwise there were two or three calls for more "useful" education and "industrial" education but, unlike the requirements for moral and religious education, what this meant was not spelled out.⁵¹

If one considers debates which took place after 1910 in missionary society circles in the Cape, there appears to be some confusion and very little agreement on the issue of appropriate content. This was related to the commitment of some missionaries to the incorporationist and civilising notions present in Cape franchise. In 1910 there was unease about how adapting subjects "to the prevailing conditions of Native life" could be done without lowering standards or treating African education as a separate entity.⁵² The members of the TMC could not agree on the need for a differentiated curriculum in 1916.⁵³ This, along with the preoccupation with control, possibly accounts for the superficial nature of the evidence provided to the Cape Committee about content. It seems that the curriculum produced by the Committee reflected the concerns of its members, who included mission headmasters, rather than a general mission consensus.

In terms of syllabus revision, all three reports laid down guidelines which emphasised the importance of differentiated

⁵⁰ *Report of the 8th Annual Conference of the Transvaal Missionary Association, for the Year 1912*, (Mission Press, 1913), (hereafter TMA Report 1912), 18; *TMA Report 1913*, 24; *Report of the Transvaal Missionary Association for the Years 1917-1918*, (Mission Press, 1919), (hereafter TMA Report 1917-18); *Report of the Transvaal Missionary Association for the Years 1918-1919*, 18; *Report of the Transvaal Missionary Association for the Years 1918-19*, (Mission Press, 1920), 19.

⁵¹ Viljoen Report, Appendix A, "Minutes of Meetings", 19-21.

⁵² "Butterworth Conference on Native Education", CE, June 1 1910.

⁵³ CAD, CMT 3/629 60/3, "Report of Proceedings of Transkei Missionary Council Native Education Conference, July 1916".

education, which was more "practical" or "adapted" to African life". In practice, this meant the introduction or expansion of certain forms of training and the adaptation of mainstream school subjects. The Transvaal and Natal were the most extreme in their attempts to create a differentiated syllabus for Africans.

The Transvaal Report suggested a new curriculum based on the distinction between instruction and training. It is interesting that it equated religious/moral training with industrial/manual and physical training. Activities such as hard manual labour were seen as having an essentially moral purpose, including character building. Such training had to occupy "not less than half the school day" in the last two years at least, and almost as much in the earlier standards. "The centre of gravity is training rather than instruction" it stated grandly, and cautioned that training was "far wider than industrial training". It offered this definition of training:

"all occupations intended to develop habits and aptitudes which will enable the native to live a better and more healthy life and to render more efficient service".⁵⁴

The actual requirements for industrial training were extremely vague. The report gave no course outline for industrial schools as such and provided some ill-defined suggestions for industrial training within the primary school.⁵⁵ In terms of teacher training, secondary and intermediate schools, the Natal syllabus pushed for an emphasis on "Agricultural and Manual Work", "native crafts", wood work, needlework and domestic science, which could take between ten and twenty-five hours a week. For primary schools, Loram recommended increased manual training. The Cape Report laid down that between six and seven hours out of the twenty-five teaching hours in a week were devoted to "religious and moral instruction, manual and industrial training and hygiene, drill and games". Industrial/manual training occupied half of these hours; considerably less than the ratio recommended by the Transvaal or

⁵⁴ *Third Report of the Council of Education*, 10.

⁵⁵ *Ibid*, "Appendix II: Courses to be Followed in Native Schools".

Natal Reports.⁵⁶ Essentially, the focus of the Cape was on the elite who had completed five years of schooling. Agriculture was to be taken by boys only in the bigger institutions, in Standards Four, Five and Six. It was the only course which had some substance, indicating the Commission's interest in refocusing the ambitions of the elite towards the rural areas and in rural rehabilitation.⁵⁷

In contrast, the Commission was vague about manual and industrial training and about the difference between them. Manual and industrial training appear to become more specific when related to the development of "village industries", which linked up with the Commission's rural focus and the development of self-sufficiency in the reserves. The Commission emphasised that the products of the new system should be "useful among their own people" but, again, the emphasis was on a self-sufficient reserve economy rather than the protection of white workers.⁵⁸ It suggested courses in carpentry, brickmaking and house construction, but gave no outline as to what such a course should look like. Rather in the same vein as the TED report, it avoided the issue by saying that such training should "be adapted to local circumstances and be carried out on practical lines with utilitarian ends".⁵⁹ There was more of an emphasis on "literary" education, (particularly before Standard Four), than in the TED report, which recommended that half the time was to be spent on training.

In all three cases, from the beginning of schooling, girls' industrial training was divided between sewing and knitting on one hand and domestic work on the other. By the fourth year, it would appear that the girls were expected to do much of the domestic work of the schools as part of their training.

⁵⁶ Viljoen Report, Appendix B, Section 5, Report of the Curriculum Committee.

⁵⁷ Ibid. The Commission made extensive use of "experts" in agricultural education who helped draw up the agriculture syllabus.

⁵⁸ Viljoen Commission, para. 68.

⁵⁹ Ibid, Appendix B, Section 5, Report of the Curriculum Committee.

Various attempts were made to adapt mainstream education, often generally called literary education or "the three Rs", or, in the case of the Transvaal, "instruction". According to the Council of Education Report, however, "only those topics which are likely to be of use to the native and which he can appreciate and assimilate have been included".⁶⁰ Pruning in Natal was even more alarming. Algebra and Geometry were dropped at teacher training level and replaced with Physiology, Hygiene and Nature Study. At primary school level, "a revision on somewhat severely practical lines" of most subjects took place, along with the introduction of Nature Study, Physiology and Hygiene. Loram's pruning of both the teacher training and primary school courses is also a reflection of his concern to extend primary education for Africans, rather than to develop the skills of a small elite. The focus of primary education was, however, completely rural. There was far less emphasis on moral or religious training, in keeping with Loram's more secular perspective and the exclusion of the missions from the reform process.⁶¹

In contrast to the Transvaal and Natal syllabi, which were almost entirely new, the Cape Commission basically adapted the existing Primary School Course for White schools, and retained much of its content. It would seem that the adaptation to "native needs" was mainly in the emphasis on industrial education, and not in the approach to the standard components of the syllabus. For example, there were no references to pruning or simplifying the geography or arithmetic course for African needs.⁶² This was probably the result of an African and mission presence on the Curriculum Committee.

Teachers were a particular target of syllabus reform since they were to implement the reforms. Teachers' education was accordingly

⁶⁰ *Third Report of the Council of Education*, 9.

⁶¹ *Natal Education Report for 1918*, 46; *Natal Province : Official Report of the Superintendent of Education in Natal for the Year 1919*, (NP 1920) (Natal Witness, 1920), (hereafter *Natal Education Report 1919*), 32-4.

⁶² *Viljoen Report*, Appendix B, Section 5, Report of the Curriculum Committee.

adapted to fit them to teach the new syllabus, in both a moral and practical sense. In the Cape, trainee teachers were to take compulsory courses in religious and moral instruction, hygiene, civics, agriculture, domestic and industrial training.⁶³ The Transvaal Report tied grants for teacher training to their taking moral and industrial training courses, and students needed a certificate at the end of their first and second year regarding their "moral fitness and progress and industrial aptitude and progress" to proceed to the next year.⁶⁴ Agriculture, Woodwork and Domestic Science were all mandatory for trainee teachers in Natal, and Loram recommended that teachers who did not teach gardening properly in the primary school, should suffer "pains and penalties for non-completion of the syllabus in this respect."⁶⁵

In this case of the Transvaal, the coupling of moral with manual and industrial training and the vagueness of the "industrial" component, both suggest that at most the reformers were hoping to neutralise the inappropriate ambitions of their clients, and that they were signalling their intention to do so to their critics. The recommendations for industrial education in the Transvaal and Cape were clearly not going to provide the basis of preparation for work in the real world. Here Jim Campbell's comments on industrial education are most apposite. He argues that industrial education "offered preparation for a life which never existed". It was "less an explicit education model than a metaphor which conjured up a range of images to different groups at different times". It reassured Whites that African education was "compatible with White supremacy", particularly by "coupling pedagogy to certain secondary political attributessuch as docility and industriousness".⁶⁶ As we shall see, however, the emphasis on moral education in the

⁶³ *Ibid*, para 81.

⁶⁴ *Third Report of the Council of Education, Appendix III : Course For Training Native Teachers.*

⁶⁵ *Natal Education Report 1918*, para 8.

⁶⁶ J. Campbell, "African American Education in South Africa : A History of Wilberforce Institute" in "Our Fathers, Our Children : The African Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States and South Africa", (Unpublished D. Phil, Stanford 1989), 331, 335, 337.

Cape at least was also linked to the missions' desire to control education themselves, in the face of increasing African demands for State control and local African control.

Writers such as Frank Molteno have noted that educationists saw the inculcation of attitudes to work as more important than the skills learned in industrial education. In this way it was compatible with the reproduction of capitalist relations, rather than as functional to it.⁶⁷ Both Cross and Molteno's arguments assume that African workers were to be the object of such education. But at this time, the African working class was a migrant "semi-proletariat", most of whom did not go to school. By 1920, only 15.6% of African children who could have gone to school actually did, and most did not stay longer than two years. Aside from Natal, the provincial reform initiatives did not seriously consider major extension of African education, in spite of the suggestions by the 1920 Transvaal Commission that, at some stage, it was a possibility. None of them saw compulsion even as a remote possibility. The Cape Commission thought it would only alienate rural Africans.⁶⁸

The moral/manual/industrial training targeted the educated elite, rather than the working class, since the emphasis of this training was at a post Standard Two level. In the case of Natal, while Loram's reforms, with their lower primary focus, were less elitist than those of the Cape, they were not directed at an African proletariat. How far the reforms moved beyond the level of rhetoric is not easy to assess. It is clear from the TED Reports after 1915, that the Transvaal Provincial Council was not convinced that the extension of African education funding was compatible with the extension of White education, in spite of the aims and altered content of the new curriculum. The finance necessary for the implementation of the reforms was not initially forthcoming and never amounted to much. By 1922, the Transvaal attempted to raise

⁶⁷ Molteno, "The Historical Foundations", 68.

⁶⁸ Viljoen Report, paras 95-6.

African taxes to extend education, rather than devote more of the existing budget to it.⁶⁹ Substantial teacher and mission opposition also emerged. In 1920, the TED report said that as a result of the lack of funds and opposition to it, industrial education was a "dead letter".⁷⁰ Therefore, to argue that the Transvaal reforms reflected dominant capitalist interests is to give them a substance they did not have.

In the Cape there was substantial debate about the implementation of industrial education and the teachers in the leading schools found it to be expensive, and impossible to sell the articles made. They also resented being told to limit students to "native handwork".⁷¹ The particular context and personnel on the Cape Curriculum Committee, dictated that there was a much more substantial and realistic attempt to develop a curriculum for Standard Four onwards in agricultural education. Here, there was an attempt to bolster a rural elite with priorities in the reserves. While this focus might have had the effect of protecting White workers from competition, it was not its main intention. There was a genuine concern among educators such as Henderson and Jabavu about the decline of the rural areas, and the Native Farmers Association strongly favoured agricultural education as a force to combat it.

Loram's reforms had a similar vision. He was convinced that agriculture "must become the chief industry in South Africa" and Africans, in this context, should "be taught to be good farmers".

⁶⁹ Malberbe, "Native Education", 612.

⁷⁰ Transvaal Education Department: Report for the Year Ended December 31 1915, 43; Transvaal Education Department: Report for the Year Ended December 31 1917, 83; Transvaal Education Department: Report for the Year Ended December 31 1919, 35; Transvaal Education Department: Report for the Year Ended December 31 1920, 63.

⁷¹ CAD, BEK 25 CE 126, "Association of European Teachers in Native Institutions". See East London Conference Resolutions, 19 July 1922, R.O. Milligan (Hon. Sec.) to Superintendent General of Education, 28 August 1928: "Since in Native School Handwork, the chief advantage is in eye hand training, any handwork, not necessarily native handwork should be accepted."

His definition of "industrial training" was quite specific: "instruction in agriculture and in Native Arts and Crafts".⁷² In contrast to the Cape reformers, however, he incorporated the "scientific" ideas of Evans (who was originally from Natal) and Kidd. He was also informed by racist ideas of intelligence and, correspondingly, more ruthless and autocratic in his sense of the kind of curriculum that could prepare people for their rural futures. The residual Victorian vision of gradual incorporation had no place here, and neither did the missions. Fleisch argues that Loram's reform of the education system in Natal was successful, in terms of bureaucratic organisation and the take-over of a large number of mission schools by the province, but it is harder to evaluate the success of the syllabi.⁷³

PART 4: DEBATES ABOUT THE CONTROL OF AFRICAN EDUCATION

According to the Union settlement, all education was to be controlled by the provinces for a period of five years, which implied that the provincial powers in regard to education were only temporary.⁷⁴ White, "Coloured" and Indian education was to be provided by provincial Government schools. African education remained the preserve of the missions. The debates which raged about the control of African education during this period can be considered on two levels : the issue of Union as opposed to Provincial control and its implications for differentiation, and the issue of mission as opposed to secular control of schools.

Very little has been written about what was at stake when the issue of control was discussed, and the fierce debate around the secularisation of education has been overlooked completely. Shingler has pointed out that debates about the control and the aim and content of African education are closely linked. He argues

⁷² Loram, *The Education*, 234.

⁷³ Fleisch, "Science, Efficiency", 3.

⁷⁴ Rose and Turner, eds, *Documents*, 11.

that those who favoured central control by the Union Education Department (UED) (see Figure 10) in a separate Native Education sub-department, or by the NAD, were those who saw African education as something that belonged to "Native policy", and should be entirely separate from the European Education Departments. Therefore, they would also argue for differentiated content and were hardline segregationists. Those who favoured provincial control argued that education was not a racial matter and that African education should be administered side by side with White, and should not be substantially different from it. Shingler describes such people as "gradualist assimilationists".⁷⁵ It is likely that they supported the retention of the Cape franchise. A survey of the debates at this time, however, shows that this is a simplistic divide. Some members of the missions felt that the neglect of African education was the result of provincial miserliness and hostility, and that this could only be rectified by the creation of a Department of Native Education in the Union Education Department, but not the Native Affairs Department. Commitment to Union control did not necessarily mean a commitment to differentiation.

The temporary nature of the provincial arrangement meant that there was constant debate from 1910 onwards. In August 1910, the *Christian Express*, discussing the control of African education, commented that "no responsible person directly connected with the actual work of Native Education urges a separate system. The whole of missionary and native opinion is avowedly opposed to a separate system". It recommended, however, that African education should be controlled by the Union Government. African education, it said, should reflect "the policy of the State as a whole, in a state in which the Natives form the bulk of the labouring population, and are taxpayers and citizens or potential citizens".⁷⁶

⁷⁵ Shingler, "Education", 65.

⁷⁶ "Native Education under Union", *CE*, August 1 1910. The emphasis is mine.

In early 1914, Mr. G. Hofmeyr, the Under-Secretary for Education in the UED, proposed that Native Education be administered by the Union Government because that would bring African education closer to the NAD and national policy making. One anonymous writer in the *Christian Express* welcomed the suggestion, noting that this meant that "question of native education will be treated as a matter quite distinct from European education; that a system of education will be devised to meet the particular needs of the Natives, to be administered by a separate department and under the guidance of a special class of officials". The writer argued that "studies of anthropology and ethnology" and "educational science" supported this.⁷⁷ Apart from Hunter's extensive review and critique of Evans' *Black and White in South East Africa*, references to secular studies and to science are rare in the *Christian Express* at this time, and the presence of the article probably reflects Hunter's policy of including articles designed to stimulate debate.

The issue of State or provincial control came to a head at the conference called by the Transkei Missionary Conference to respond to the Commission into Provincial Administration in 1916. The Provincial Administration Commission was appointed in 1915 to reconsider the provincial system. In general, it was hostile to the provincial system and recommended changes along the lines of developing a local Government system.⁷⁸ In considering African education, the Commission appears to have consulted the TMC quite thoroughly, but there is no evidence of any other mission based consultation. Possibly this was because the Commission was interested in the Transkeian Territories General Council system of local government.

At the conference there was much support for the continuation of provincial control, but some members supported the idea of the post of a Director of Native Education, introduced by Mr. G. Hofmeyr, who attended the conference. Here he did not use the argument

⁷⁷ "The Future of Native Education - II", *CE*, July 1 1914.

⁷⁸ Rose and Turner, eds, *Documents*, 11.

about a unified "Native Policy", but played on mission concern over provincial neglect of African education. He advocated the appointment of a man "who would plead at the right time and at all times for the cause of Native education, so that it should not be forgotten". Reverend Scott, Headmaster of St. Cuthberts, was wary of such an appointment. "Did this imply a definite break between European and Native education?" he asked. "The Native would become more and more capable of receiving the benefits of European education and the feeling was against the separation of Native and European education". In the end the conference, seduced by the idea of the possible impact of a special pleader for African education, came out in favour of Union control with a "Director of Native Education".⁷⁹

Following the line of debate put forward by the Under-Secretary for Education in 1914, the Provincial Administration Commission queried why the Provinces controlled African education, when a unified "native policy" had been one of the objects of Union. Drawing on debate at the TMC conference, it recommended that native education become part of the UED, under a special sub-department for "native education". It also recommended, however that all other education become a Union affair.⁸⁰ The NAD Report for 1913-1918 quoted the Commission approvingly.⁸¹ The Commission made little impact. In 1917, the Transvaal Commission into Education (Malherbe Commission) began its own investigation into the provincial control of education, and reported that it could see no reason for limiting or ending provincial control of education. By 1920, the provincial system became a permanent constitutional feature.⁸²

The 1919 Cape Commission strongly supported Provincial control. Embedded in this was a sense of being part of one education system

⁷⁹ CAD, CMT 3/629 60/3, "Report of Proceedings of Transkei Missionary Council Native Education Conference, July 1916". The emphasis is mine.

⁸⁰ Jagger Commission, paras 59, 61, 128, 246.

⁸¹ Report of the Department of Native Affairs for the Years 1913-1918, (UG 7-19), (hereafter NAD Report 1913-18), 30.

⁸² Rose and Turner, eds, Documents, 18.

in "one country". It gave as its reason that Union control would "cut [the mission schools] off from the main course of educational development in the country."⁸³ There was also an emerging fear, which was more clearly articulated later on, that Union control would mean that the Cape would have to subsidise what Shingler calls "the legacy of indifference and hostility found in the Transvaal and Orange Free State".⁸⁴ The differences in provincial spending are clear from Figure 9. The Cape spent more than double than that of other provinces in 1915. It is also possible that educational officials and educators in general were also concerned about their own professional position, should they be incorporated into the poorly funded, low status NAD. The issue of control was hardly debated by the Commission, or mentioned in the evidence, which supports the Commission's claim that there was consensus amongst interested parties.

By far the most dominant and most acrimonious debate about the control of African education was regarding the nature of mission control of institutions. This was reflected in the 1916 TMC conference, in evidence to the Cape Commission and to the 1920 Transvaal Report of the Education Commission. The major English-speaking churches who provided education were not prepared to dilute their control of education on the ground. Christian moral education, with a particular denominational flavour, was at the heart of their enterprise, which moved beyond conversion, to the paternalistic protection of "native rights", control of the African elite and the general defusion of social conflict. This was to be done through inculcation of appropriate values and attitudes in a time of social and economic change, the "social gospel". This was expressed in the following way at the Fourth South African General Missionary Conference of 1912:

"The Rev. R. Henry Dyke spoke about... the widening gulf of racial difference ... [and how] the missionary societies have the very grave responsibility of bridging the gulf between what have become two opposing forces.

⁸³ Viljoen Report, para. 21.

⁸⁴ Shingler, "Education", 178.

He then enlarged on the missionaries' task of protecting the rights of natives⁸⁵

Soon after Union, African teachers in the Cape and Transvaal had begun to demand State control of education, and more African control at local school committee level. They argued that the amount of taxes paid by them entitled them to free State controlled education. The Transvaal Native Teachers Association, by 1916, had made State control a major issue, arguing that African tax contributions obliged the State to provide for free education, and pointing to the divisive effects of denominationalism.⁸⁶ There was also considerable resentment at the autocratic nature of mission control of schools at a grassroots level, particularly in the appointment and dismissal of teachers on moral grounds. This was bolstered by the development of patches of African teacher autonomy, both within and outside the main-stream churches. Paterson points to the development of "a small but substantial tradition of government recognised African control in the mission schools of the Methodist, Congregational and Presbyterian churches ... By 1913, there were 28 African missionary superintendents controlling nearly 200 mission schools in the Transkeian Territories". In addition, it was often the practice of independent churches to set up schools in close proximity to the churches and schools from which they had recently seceded. They were not bound by the government's "three mile limit", which constrained the main-stream churches' establishment of schools.⁸⁷

Heated debate took place at the 1916 TMC conference between White and African delegates over the missions' autocratic attitudes. Missions' autocratic appointment and dismissal of teachers and the lack of local African committees were sore points. Rev. J. B. Morris remarked that "he often had to fight against a whole location who wanted a certain teacher who was unfitted for the work". While African delegates favoured the amalgamation of

⁸⁵ *Summary of the General Missionary Conferences*, 67.

⁸⁶ Mathabathe and Poho, *Record of the Work*, 6.

⁸⁷ Paterson, "Contest and Co-option", 130, 134.

competing mission schools into non-denominational schools, white delegates said "it would simply mean the ruin of the character of the native people".⁸⁸ The NAD Report for 1913-8 noted that there was "a growing desire among a certain section of the native population to secularise native education and to secure a larger share in its management". This was "most marked in the Transkei Territories", the centre of mission school activity and relative African autonomy.⁸⁹

Similar themes dominated evidence to the Cape Commission in 1919. One Native Teachers' Association delegate asserted that "the mission school system should be relegated to oblivion and in its place there should be established, undenominational public schools". The Transkeian Missionary Council declared that:

"true education and civilisation of the natives, young and old, depends on the foundations of morality and religion, and therefore religious teaching in the schools and the appointment and dismissal of teachers should still remain in the hands of the missionary".

The CMC was equally convinced of this view. It was hostile to non-denominational schools and to any local committee or school board which might interfere with the appointment of teachers.⁹⁰

The Commission acknowledged the desire of African teachers for the formation of local school committees, but did not think that there was great support for State control.⁹¹ It condemned missionary sectarianism and lack of contact with parents and other interested groups, but still saw mission control as fundamental. Missions were to be "trustees and agents of the State". It said that the ideal was "combined control" where school committees would work with the missionary superintendent, but on the initiative of the superintendent, who would still control the appointment and

⁸⁸ CAD, CMT 3/629 60/3, "Report of Proceedings of Transkei Missionary Council Native Education Conference, July 1916".

⁸⁹ NAD Report 1913-18, 31; Paterson, "Contest and Co-option", 130.

⁹⁰ Viljoen Report, Appendix A, Minutes of Meetings, 1 July 1919. The emphasis is mine.

⁹¹ Ibid, para 17.

dismissal of teachers. At a district and provincial level there should be advisory committees where all the stakeholders could meet regularly.⁹²

During 1918, among members of the Transvaal Missionary Association, there was "a marked difference of opinion" regarding the establishment of Government schools and amalgamation of schools of different denominations. The Anglican Church, in particular, was wedded to denominational education. The TMA was unable to reach agreement on these questions, and decided not to give evidence as an association to the Malherbe Commission.⁹³ The Malherbe Commission itself noted these opinions and quoted the Anglican position verbatim. It recommended the formation of elected school committees, however, and the amalgamation of denomination schools in areas that were oversubscribed.⁹⁴

In Natal, the secular nature of Loram's approach, and his distrust of missions, was reflected in the actual take-over of some mission schools as provincially controlled "government" schools which, he said, would mark the beginning of a "Government" take-over of African education.⁹⁵ This was made possible by the fact that Natal was better off financially than some of the other provinces. Figure 9 shows a major increase in provincial spending on African education in Natal by 1920.⁹⁶ Loram's vision of a secular State bureaucracy controlling African education is in striking contrast to the Cape's commitment to mission control.

⁹² *Ibid*, paras. 16-21, and Appendix A : Minutes of Meetings, Umtata, July 1, 1919.

⁹³ *TMA Report 1917-1918*, 6; *TMA Report 1918-19*, 15 - 16.

⁹⁴ *Malherbe Commission*, paras. 498-502. On the other hand it never contemplated total African control, and recommended that a provincial school be run by "a White man of strong moral character and with a missionary spirit".

⁹⁵ *Natal Education Report 1918*, 49.

⁹⁶ *Welsh Report*, para. 83.

CONCLUSION

This chapter has challenged the assumption that provincial educational reforms were directed at the African working class, and that they were reflective of capitalist interests. It has shown that the reformers' emphasis on the work ethic and industrial education was part of a response to general secular critiques and White hostility to the existing content of African education, which was seen as an agent in accelerating undesirable social change, and a challenge to developing segregationist ideologies. Here the target of reformed education policy was largely the educated African elite, not the working class. It has shown that the regional political economy of the Cape and Natal made for rural focus, in contrast to the reforms of the Transvaal. Imperatives regarding education on the Reef are not necessarily generalisable to the rest of the country.

There were important ideological differences underpinning the rural focus of reform in Natal and the Cape. Many elements among the missions were still committed to voluntarist Christian conceptions of education, Victorian ideas of transcendence, civilisation and incorporation of the African elite. This is implicit in the personnel, processes and recommendations of the Cape Commission. Threats of secularisation via State and parent control were countered by this vision. Secularisation based on "scientific" and related racist assumptions led Loram to ignore both missions and the African elite in Natal, and to begin a system of State education for Africans.

In general, demands for secularisation of content and control from segregationist ideologues and secularisation of control from alienated African pupils and teachers, forced besieged missions to reaffirm their commitment to religious education and denominational control. This is particularly true of the Transvaal where, in addition, financial stringency overshadowed concern over the details of content reform. It is therefore simplistic to

characterise the missions either as unwitting or willing "servants of power" during this time.

CHAPTER TWO

"SOLVING THE NATIVE PROBLEM": EXPERTS, MISSIONS AND AFRICAN EDUCATION 1920 - 1929

INTRODUCTION

Until 1920, the field of so-called "Native Welfare", including education, was almost exclusively the preserve of the mission societies. In the wake of the changes which followed the First World War, however, the missions found that they were no longer alone in their attempts to address "Native Welfare". These changes were symbolised by the increasing number of Africans in the urban areas. Possibilities of employment in emerging manufacturing industries stimulated by the War, decay in the reserves and harsh working conditions on White farms, increased the rate of African urbanisation. Housing was inadequate, wages pitiful and inflation was rampant. From 1918 there were two years of militant agitation on the Rand including strikes and boycotts, which involved not only workers, but also some members of the emerging African bourgeoisie, who were products of mission schools.¹ Indeed, the process of radicalisation seemed to have come full circle; Lovedale school was the scene of a riot in 1920 which was blamed on the influence of the "Rand disturbances".² Social conflict manifested itself in both town and countryside with the rise of the Industrial and Commercial Workers Union (ICU). It was urbanisation which focused the minds of policy makers, representing, in a most concrete form, the breakdown of segregation, posing a threat to racial integrity and White supremacy.

¹ P. Bonner, "The Transvaal Native Congress 1917-1920: the radicalisation of the black petty bourgeoisie on the Rand" in S. Marks and R. Rathbone, eds, *Industrialisation and Social Change in South Africa* (Longman 1982), 274, 306.

² *Native Affairs Department Report for the Years 1919-1921*, (UG 34-22), (hereinafter *NAD Report 1919-21*), 2.

This chapter argues that the formation of the Native Affairs Commission (NAC) in 1920 marks the first real attempt to consider African education from a national viewpoint, and in terms of segregation policy. 1920 also marked the beginnings of increased secular influence on African education in the form of the Joint Council Movement, which was deeply involved in consideration of the theoretical and practical implications of segregation policy. Dubow argues that many leading personalities in the Joint Council movement flirted to varying degrees with segregationist ideas, and gave the State some of its intellectual justifications for segregation. He argues that Smuts' and Hertzog's conceptions of segregation differed in their attitude to the African elite; Smuts' Native Affairs Act of 1920 made limited space for the educated African elite, and, as such, enjoyed the support of the "friends of the native" in the Councils and missions. After 1924, however, Hertzog embarked on a much more "exclusionist" and repressive form of segregation, embodied in the attack on the Cape franchise and in the Native Administration Act of 1927. The latter Act caused many liberals and mission members to reconsider their support for segregation.

The preceding chapter noted how, in the previous decade, the missions feared both State control and control by local African communities, who were considered to be morally immature. Christian denominational education was central to their work. From 1920 the missions were increasingly besieged by secular ideas about science, efficiency, psychology and anthropology which came largely from liberals in the Joint Councils. These ideas threatened to undermine the very centre of their absolute moral universe, and their hold over their pupils in an increasingly uncertain and conflict-ridden world. The idea of "adapted education" for Africans was prevalent at this time, and it is assumed in the existing literature that "adapted education" was generally supported by all the stakeholders in African education.³ The missions, however, did not accept the idea unquestioningly,

³ See Chisholm and Cross, "The Origins", 48; Hunt Davis, "Charles T. Loram", 108.

particularly when it threatened to dilute religious education, and when the central State, in the form of the NAC, used such ideas to interfere with mission education. Both State and secular pressures led the missions to restate their commitment to an education with a religious base. Hardening segregation policies from 1926, which directly affected education funding and the overall future of African clients in society, as well as intimate, albeit uneasy, co-operation with the Joint Councils made the missions develop a more critical attitude to segregation. This mirrors the general process of liberal disenchantment described by Dubow, and it was to gain momentum in the 1930s. The "gadfly" in this context was Loram, who straddled both the State and Joint Council spheres of influence. The chapter focuses on Loram, as the major exponent of "adapted education", to highlight the missions' responses to secularisation and segregation in education.

PART I : THE INTRUSION OF THE STATE AND EXTRA-PARLIAMENTARY GROUPS ON AFRICAN EDUCATION FROM 1920

The escalation of social conflict, concomitant with increased African urbanisation, pushed the Smuts Government to produce two important pieces of legislation which encapsulated emerging segregation policy; the Native Affairs Act of 1920 and the Native Urban Areas Act of 1923. The Native Affairs Act made provision for a series of district councils for Africans - a type of local self government system - and a consultative "Native Conference" of African leaders to meet annually in Pretoria. A Native Affairs Commission was created, consisting of three "experts" who would advise the Government, consult with African leaders and mediate White legislators' views to African leaders. Loram regarded himself as an objective authority, who, having studied anthropology "long and deep at the feet of Radcliffe Brown ... was looking forward to this Commission solving the Native Problem by taking it out of politics and by enlisting for its study a body of experts."⁴

⁴ Killie Campbell Archive, (hereafter KCA), E.G. Malherbe Papers, KCM 57030, File 619/1 (70), C.T. Loram Circular Letter, 30 July 1931.

The implications for education were manifold. Education was itself seen as vital in providing training in the functioning and use of the local councils. The local councils and the Native Conference were regarded by the Smuts Government as providing a safe and controlled outlet for the educated elite.⁵ What was most significant for African education was the composition of the NAC. Two of its three members had been directly involved in African education, Loram and Dr. A. W. Roberts. The third member was General L. Lemmer, a wealthy farmer who, Brookes argued, "was put in as a make weight to the two English speaking liberals or semi-liberals".⁶ The formation of the NAC meant that African education was to be considered from a national viewpoint, particularly in relation to segregation, for the first time.

Smuts' concern for a "safety valve" for the educated elite was mirrored in the formation of the Joint Council Movement at more or less the same time.⁷ The visit of the first Phelps-Stokes Commission into Education in Africa in 1920 was a catalyst in the formation of the Joint Council Movement. This was followed by another tour in 1924. Rich has noted the concern which American missionaries, as well as other philanthropic individuals, felt over the impact of urbanisation and industrialisation on Africans and the resultant conflict, particularly on the Rand and in the Eastern Cape. Attempts to form inter-racial groups which sought to

⁵ Native Affairs Bill Debate, *Cape Times*, 27-5-20. South African Party member Webber echoed Smuts' concerns about the role of educated Africans and the councils in 1923. "The question of the educated native constituted a difficulty which was growing day by day... some outlet should be provided for them. Local councils and local self government of natives gave openings for the energies and abilities of these educated natives". *Cape Times*, 8-5-23. See also Report of the Department of Native Affairs for 1921. (UG 15 - 22), (hereinafter NAC Report 1921), Chapter Three : "Native Education".

⁶ KCA, Malherbe Papers, KCM 56986, File 620/2, E.H. Brookes, "A Neglected Figure in South African Education", *Neon* 24 Sept. 1977; E.H. Brookes, *A South African Pilgrimage* (Johannesburg, 1977), 26. Dr. A.W. Roberts had been Headmaster at Lovedale for many years. He was a talented mathematician and astronomer.

⁷ The Joint Councils were regional groups of White liberals and members of the educated African elite, modelled on groups in the American South. The South African Institute of Race Relations was formed in 1929 on the initiative of Loram, to coordinate the work of the Joint Councils and to put informal pressure on the Government through the presentation of "objective" factual material. Rich, *White Power*, 18-19, 23-27.

co-opt African middle class people in the face of rising African militancy, were given a major boost by moral and financial support from the Phelps-Stokes visitors. The presence of Ghanaian, Dr. James Aggrey, was partly responsible for initial African enthusiasm for the councils, which promised equal representation, contact with influential Whites and a possible place from which to pressure the State.⁸

Shingler ascribes the origins of the Phelps-Stokes Commission to a need felt by the colonial powers and missionary bodies in the U.S. and Europe to reassess the role of education in Africa. This occurred as the U.S. was expanding its interest and influence in "international philanthropy". The Phelps-Stokes Fund was an important funder of Negro education. The first Phelps-Stokes Commission's Report, written by its leader Thomas Jesse Jones, focused on the aim, content, financing and control of African education. While Jones was the Educational Director of the Fund, he wrote extensively on Negro education and was heavily influenced by the Tuskegee and Hampton models of Negro education in the American South, which promoted education "adapted to Negro needs".⁹ Jones' African report was based on what he called the "four essentials" of education: health, appreciation and use of the environment, effective development of the home, and recreation. He advocated that, based on the four essentials, African education be adapted to meet local conditions and to develop community consciousness. He stressed

"the overriding importance of simple industrial and agricultural training, the need for better school supervision, the necessity for co-operation between missions and governments for African education, and the need to differentiate between education for the masses of Africans and their leaders."¹⁰

⁸ Rich, *White Power*, 18-20; E.H. Berman, "American Influence on African Education: The Influence of the Phelps-Stokes Commissions", *Comparative Education Review*, Vol. 15, No. 2, June 1971, 139-140.

⁹ Shingler, "Education", 200-1; Hunt Davis, "Charles T. Loram", 108.

¹⁰ Berman, "American Influence", 135.

Embedded in these proposals were assumptions about an increase in State and bureaucratic control and the decrease of mission autonomy and academic elitism. It is therefore not surprising that Jones held up Natal as an example of a province attempting to put adaptationist principles into practice. He criticised major mission schools in South Africa for providing academic rather than community oriented vocational education, and for neglecting industrial training. Lovedale graduates, he wrote, "go out without a sense of their responsibility to the communities in which they are to work".¹¹

In what ways did the major mission societies respond to this intrusion into their territory? They appear to have been consulted, along with individual school teachers, by the Phelps-Stokes team.¹² It is difficult to get a sense of mission opinion on the ground to the visits of the Phelps Stokes Commission and the subsequent publication of the Report, *Education in South East Africa* in 1922. The *South African Outlook's* editor, Hunter of the much criticised Lovedale, devoted a great deal of space to extolling the virtues of Jones' educational philosophy and the importance of the implementation of adapted education model along the lines of Tuskegee and Hampton.¹³ His particular hobby horse was the development of village industries, which would incorporate the Tuskegee idea of making "book learning" and practical education equally important.¹⁴ He did not look beyond the issue of the content of education, or confront the secular implications of the Report. His concern, parallel to that of Henderson, appears to

¹¹ T. Jesse Jones, *Education in Africa: A Study of West South and Equatorial Africa by the African Education Commission* (New York, Phelps-Stokes Fund, 1922), 120.

¹² *TNA Report 1921-24*, 20.

¹³ See "The African Education Commission", *SAO*, April 1 1921; "Dr. Aggery's Address", *SAO*, May 2 1921; "A Man with a Message : James E. Kwegyir Aggery", *SAO*, July 1 1921; "Native Education in South Africa. Is it on the Right Lines?", *SAO*, Sept. 1 1922. The book was dealt with in "The Problem of Native Education" and "As Others See Us", *SAO*, March 1 1923.

¹⁴ See Hunter's plea for a "developer of and organiser of Bantu industries and a bureau of Bantu village industries" in "The Outlook", *SAO*, Oct. 1 1922. See also "A National Policy", *SAO*, Feb. 1 1924.

have been with education as a means for rural reconstruction in the Eastern Cape. In general, the missions took a while to consider the implications of the Report and it only came under scrutiny after the publication of the second Report in 1925.

The mission societies publicly welcomed the formation of Joint Councils, but at least one of the mission societies, the Transvaal Missionary Association, noted that a decline in its own meetings and reports could be ascribed partly to the competition from the new Joint Councils.¹⁵ Many mission educationists, however, seemed to have eagerly joined the Joint Councils and become influential in them. The American Board Mission, the Methodists and Anglicans were particularly well represented.¹⁶ They were also involved in positions of leadership in the SA General Missionary Conference. Some provincial inspectors concerned with African education, many of whom came from missionary stock, joined the Joint Councils. The most influential of these were Herman Kuschke, who was Chief Inspector of Native Education in the Free State, and D. McMalcolm, Chief Inspector in Natal. By the late 1920s, mission lobbying around education issues was mainly co-ordinated by J. D. Rheinallt Jones and Howard Pim who were centrally involved in the Joint Council movement.

Extensive participation in the Joint Councils and in the joint liberal and mission European-Bantu conferences in 1923 and 1924, had important impact on the SAGMC's attitude to African representation and participation. The Outlook noted that for the first time the SAGMC had invited "Native speakers and Native delegates, including a lady" to its 1925 triennial conference. They included ANC and Joint Council members. In 1928 it even went

¹⁵ TMA Report 1919-1924, 1.

¹⁶ Examples include Rev. James Dexter Taylor and the Bridgemans of the ABM, Rev. E. Bottrill of the Methodist Church and Head of Kilnerton Training College. Prominent Anglicans connected with African education, who joined the Joint Councils included Father Latimer Fuller, founder of the Church of the Province in South Africa Training College (Grace Dieu) and Head of the Khaiso High School, the Bishop of Johannesburg, Bishop Karney, Father Francis Hill of the Community of the Resurrection, who was on the TMA sub-committee for education, and Father Stephen Carter, Superintendent of Anglican African education on the Reef.

so far as to invite Clements Kadalie of the ICU to brief the conference on the ICU's aims.¹⁷

The extent to which Joint Councils can be constituted as having a "secular" character, beyond the fact that they were not formally linked to any religious group, is a complex question. Elphick argues that, on the level of ideology, overtly Christian values underpinned the Joint Councils and were central to the reason the churches co-operated with them.¹⁸ The *Outlook* was both the official newspaper of the SAGMC, and the main mouthpiece of the Joint Councils.¹⁹ Most of the Joint Council members claimed to be practising Christians, and ranged from Anglicans to Quakers. The development of science and the claims of "objective experts" who applied their ideas to both education and segregation policies, however, caused some ambivalence in relationships between the Joint Council personnel, whose base was still a missionary society, and those who were not accountable to such a base. This became much clearer in the 1930s.

State (NAC) based expert, C. T. Loram, was also an influential member of the Joint Council Movement and had strong links with the giant Phelps-Stokes and Carnegie Corporation's funding divisions. He made use of these contacts to influence the direction of debate about State policy among the extra-parliamentary lobby groups, including Joint Councils and the missions. He was regarded as the foremost expert on "Native Education" and exponent of "adapted education", mainly as a result of his book *The Education of the South African Native* and his reform of African education in Natal. His place in the liberal mission network from 1920 onwards is a complex one, for a number of reasons. Firstly, as previously indicated, in his reform work in Natal he was concerned with

¹⁷ They included John Dube, Rev. Z.R. Mahabane, D.D.T. Jabavu, Rev. B. S. Dlepu, and Mrs. Charlotte Maxeke. Rev. J. W. L. Hofmeyer, "The General Missionary Conference of South Africa" in *SAO*, March 1 1925; *Summary of the General Missionary Conferences*, 96, 117-8.

¹⁸ Elphick, "Mission Christianity", 65.

¹⁹ "General Missionary Conference", *SAO*, Jan 2 1924; Rich, "The Appeals of Tuskegee", 285.

developing a secular, more scientific and efficient basis for African education, and he was extremely ambivalent about the role of missions in African education. In this sense, Loram was much more of a consciously secular force than some other members of the Joint Council circles. His own religious views were never clear. While he never denied the importance of Christianity as a stabilising force, his cultivation of the Dutch Reformed Church had no religious basis; it was part of a definite political strategy. (See page 77)

It is pertinent, at this point, to consider the views of the major missions on the establishment of the NAC and the appointment of Loram to it. At the SAGMC Fifth General Conference in July 1921, retiring President, Reverend J. Lennard, expressed strong approval for all aspects of the Native Affairs Act, saying that the NAC would mean that "the Native people are no longer inarticulate in the higher councils of our land" and the Councils "may do much to advance the material welfare of the people". He expressed concern, however, at the general level of "moral and ethical standards" among the general African population, and hoped that "higher types of leaders" would be developed, particularly through the agency of Fort Hare.²⁰ The editor of the *Outlook* was fulsome in his praise for the Act as a "... new initiating and directing force in progressive Native Legislation ...".²¹ Many members of the liberal mission network were optimistic that education would get the attention it deserved, given the appointment of Loram and Roberts.

Clearly the most dominant member of the NAC, Loram immediately put African education under the spotlight when he devoted a substantial portion of the first NAC report to recommendations for the reorganisation of "Native Education". He emphasised that education should be seen as one of the most important ways in which Government native policy would be put into practice - "the most important developing factor" - and that, therefore, it should be

²⁰ *Summary of the General Missionary Conferences*, 82.

²¹ "1920 - A Retrospect", *SAO*, Jan. 2 1921.

the responsibility of the Central Government. Here, he cited African demands for central State control. He did not, however, think African education belonged in the Union Education Department but in the Native Affairs Department, because it was crucial to the development of a centralised "native policy".²² Here, he was at odds with mission thinking which, while it was divided on UED or provincial control, opposed NAD control.²³ In that sense, Loram was certainly not a straightforward ally of the missions, nor indeed of other liberals. Differences between his conception of African education and those of members of the liberal-mission network emerged more clearly from 1925 onwards. And yet the network regarded him as an important ally and contact point with the central State.

Loram's other major recommendation in the NAC Report began the process which Dubow has called "fiscal segregation"; in other words, that Africans should pay a separate tax from which they would fund their own development. To motivate for this, Loram made use of mission and African dissatisfaction with the provinces' neglect of education and, in particular, the attempt by the Transvaal Provincial Administration in 1921 to raise extra taxes from Africans to pay for African education, rather than cut its spending on White education. He recommended that the power of direct taxation of Africans should be taken away from the provinces and that the Central Government should create a new tax on Africans. This tax, and not general revenue, would be used to finance the extension of African education. This would ensure, he

²² Report of the Native Affairs Commission for the Year 1921, (UG 15-22), (hereafter NAC Report 1921), Chapter 3, "Native Education", Section I, para. 6, and Section II, paras. 7-8.

²³ See Chapter One. It is interesting how mission support for UED control affected debates in the Transvaal Provincial Council. Members hostile to African education felt that UED control would be far too liberalising. Mr. Joubert of the National Party argued that "[i]f the Union Government took over Native education it might be run along the same lines as the Cape. He would rather see the province retain control so that the Native would be kept in his place". "The Outlook", SAO, Sept. 1 1922.

argued, that African Education would receive more generous treatment.²⁴

The promulgation of the Financial Relations Act of 1922 in some ways reflected the recommendations of the NAC; it removed the power of direct taxation from the provinces and made grants for extensions based exclusively on African tax contributions.²⁵ The debate in the House of Assembly around the Act indicated that, while the Native Affairs Commission saw separate taxation for extension of African education as a positive move to rescue it from provincial miserliness, certain Members of Parliament favoured it, because it was a way of making sure that Whites would not have to fund African development.²⁶

Both the Provincial Finance Commission of 1923 and the Native Affairs Commission were also unhappy with the implications of the 1922 Act, even though it had removed taxation from the Provinces. In its 1922 report, the Native Affairs Commission deplored the pegging of expenditure to the 1921-22 levels and said that, given the existing backlog in some provinces, any new developments in education, especially along the lines of agricultural instruction "and village industries suitable to natives", would be made almost impossible. More money needed to be raised.²⁷ In 1923 the amount given made no provision for "much needed development" and "expansion" and the projected salary scales for teachers could not

²⁴ "The funds for native education should come from native sources ...", NAC Report 1921, 23, Chapter 3, paras. 5 and 11.

²⁵ The Act forbade the provinces to levy any direct taxes and laid down the minimum to be spent by the provinces on education, £340,000, which was the amount spent in the financial year 1921-22. The Governor General could make grants to the provinces over and above this minimum, drawn from the direct taxation of Africans. The Provinces interpreted this as meaning that they never had to do more than spend the minimum; money for extension and improvement would come from the Union Government. Welsh Report, para. 220.

²⁶ South African Party Member, Col. Van Heerden, noted the expanding African population in the Transvaal and said it would be "impossible for the people of the Transvaal to pay for native education, and if this measure compelled them to do so, there would be trouble". Debate on the Financial Relations Bill in Committee, Cape Times, 4 April 1922.

²⁷ Report of the Native Affairs Commission for the Year 1922, (UG 36-23), (hereafter NAC Report 1922), 6.

be fully implemented.²⁸ In 1924, grants had been allocated to the provinces on the understanding that the total amount would be £100,000, particularly for the upgrading of teachers' salaries. The Government unilaterally reduced the amount to £60,000.²⁹

In attempting to find the extra funds needed for African education and development, the NAC recommended that the NAD and Department of Inland Revenue should investigate creating a uniform system of taxation for Africans throughout the Union. This enquiry was to come up with taxation proposals which would provide enough money to meet what was already being spent on education, as well as more money to extend it.³⁰ F. S. Malan told the NAC's annual Native Conference that the Government was committed to the principle that Africans should fund expansion of education, and that a uniform tax was needed for this to happen.³¹

What eventually emerged was the Native Tax and Development Act of 1925. It provided for a Native Development Account or Fund (NDF) which was administered by the Minister of Native Affairs in consultation with the NAC. The NDF was earmarked for African services such as education and health. It confirmed the principle laid down in the 1922 Financial Relations Act, that Africans would have to fund their own development. Loram pushed the idea of segregated taxation as a positive means of extending African

²⁸ *Report of the Native Affairs Commission for the Year 1923*, (UG 47-23), (hereafter *NAC Report 1923*), 10-11. The NAC's concern about the inadequate spending on African education was echoed by the Provincial Finances Commission of 1923. It referred to shortages in the number of schools available, and to overcrowding in existing schools. Pupil teacher ratios were unacceptable and teachers' salaries were "extremely low". *Report of the Provincial Finances Commission* (UG 19-23), para. 338. For example, in 1921-22 the Transvaal spent £2677318 on education in general, and £489498 on African education, 1.8%. "Statements of Provincial Revenue and Expenditure".

²⁹ *Report of the Native Affairs Commission for the Year 1924* (UG 40 - 25), (hereafter *NAC Report 1924*), paras 23-26.

³⁰ *NAC Report 1923*, paragraphs 67-69.

³¹ As the conference progressed he became more blunt about the reasons for making the extension an African responsibility. "The Government was faced with falling revenue and had decided that any money required for the expansion of Native education should come from the natives." *Ibid*, "Minutes of a Native Conference summoned under Act No. 23 of 1920, and held at the Raadzaal Pretoria on the 24th September, 1923 and the following days".

development in the face of White apathy. The fact that the money for it came from Africans alone would mean that Africans would no longer have to be satisfied with small portions of "White revenue".³²

Loram was frustrated in his attempts to bring African education under NAD control. African education remained under provincial control. Finance Minister Burton's reason for not changing the system was related to the fact that such a move might have been seen as an attack on the provincial system as a whole. A later NAC report confirmed that the issue of provincial power was a reason for continued "dual control".³³ To ensure some centralisation in policy, the NAC set up an annual conference of the NAD, NAC and representatives of the provincial departments of Education. These meetings took place until the early 1930s.³⁴

Loram was obviously very busy in his official capacity as NAC commissioner in the period 1920-5. He was also central in activities involving the liberal-mission network over this period of time. A consideration of his involvement in, and the nature of, these extra-parliamentary conferences and attempts to lobby the Government will throw light on the relationships between the liberals and missions and the Government over issues concerning African education. In its reports, the NAC spent some time considering its own and the Government's relationship with the missions, and Loram was intimately involved in the setting up of a

³² The money in the fund consisted of:
* An annual contribution of £354,000 from the Consolidated Revenue Fund (i.e. equal to the amount spent by the provinces in 1921-22). This amount was fixed.
* One fifth of the revenue derived from the General Tax placed on Africans.
NAC Report 1924, Minutes of the Native Conference, October 1924, 34.

³³ Committee stage of debate on Financial Relations Bill. *Cape Times*, 4th April 1922; Report of the Native Affairs Commission for the Years 1927-1931, (UG 26 - 32), (hereafter NAC Report 1927-31), Appendix "C", 9. "It has been suggested that the main argument in support of this was that the European section of the State would also demand that European education should be entirely controlled by the Union Government and the country was not prepared to take this step."

³⁴ NAC Report 1923, 10-11.

number of church based, or church linked, interracial conferences which had education on their agendas. The NAC also consulted with the Joint Councils and invited them to nominate African members to the annual NAC Native Conference.³⁵ It is, perhaps, misleading to lump all the NAC commissioners together, or to see what was essentially Loram's involvement as NAC involvement. Like the Scarlet Pimpernel, he was everywhere, wearing whatever hat suited him at the time.

The NAC Report of 1923 spent some time on the issue of co-operation with missionary bodies, and said that it regarded "the missionary effort as part of the administration of Native Affairs", though it could not lay down any hard and fast rules about the nature of co-operation. It intended to keep in touch with missionary work by attending missionary conferences.³⁶ In particular, the calling of the first European-Bantu Conference by the Federal Council of the DRC in 1923, focused attention of NAC members on their relationship with the missions and other bodies concerned with "native policy", as well as with "leading natives".

It is not clear what prompted the Federal Council of the Dutch Reformed Churches to call the first European-Bantu Conference in September 1923. As members of the SAGMC, they had shown little interest in the broader political issues of the day until that time. And yet the Conference had an overtly political agenda. Reverend P. G. Meiring, one of the DRC convenors, was confident that the meeting would "help in forming public opinion and in the bringing in of wise legislation".³⁷ It seems that it might have been called in order to pre-empt the English-speaking Joint

³⁵ UWA, Records of the Joint Councils of Europeans and Africans, (hereafter Joint Council Records), AD 1433, Cj 2.1.3., NAD No 192/23/110, letter to the Secretary of the Johannesburg Joint Council, requesting the nomination of one African representative for the NAC Native Conference, 3 July 1923.

³⁶ NAC Report 1923, 9.

³⁷ Cape Argus, 5 Sept. 1923.

Councils from calling such a conference.³⁸ One of Loram's guiding principles was that the DRC was the best extra-parliamentary lobby group to pressure the Government. Aside from the obvious reason that the DRC claimed numerous members among leading State officials, the Reverend Prof. J. Du Plessis, the DRC's leading expert on missions and their role, mirrored many of Loram's views on the need for differentiated and "adapted" African education. Early on, Loram made sure he was a moving (and manipulative) force behind the conference. He was involved in DRC plans for the Conference long before his colleague in the Joint Council movement, Rheinallt Jones, even knew about it. It seems that the DRC may have deliberately ignored Rheinallt Jones, and asked him to be local secretary of the Conference only at Loram's request.³⁹ Loram felt that initiatives driven by the Afrikaans churches could be more effective and urged that he and Rheinallt Jones "work with our Dutch friends if possible".⁴⁰

Loram appears to have orchestrated the whole Conference. He persuaded the DRC to hold the Conference immediately after the annual NAC Native Conference and to invite the "twenty leading natives" already in Pretoria to attend the DRC Conference. He made strong suggestions about the composition and proportions of the church and Joint Council representatives.⁴¹ Officially, Loram and the other NAC members were supposed to be "present at, but take no part in, the proceedings of one or more days of the session".⁴² Regarding a possible conflict of interest, he wrote to Rheinallt Jones:

³⁸ UWA, Howard Pim Collection, A 881, Pa 9/b, "Joint Council of Europeans and Natives. Annual Report, 1923".

³⁹ Joint Council Records, AD 1433, Cj 2.1.3, Loram to Rheinallt Jones, 16 May 1925, Rheinallt Jones to Loram 26 May 1923, Loram to Rheinallt Jones, 5 July 1923. Rheinallt Jones said he had found out about the Conference in the *South African Outlook*.

⁴⁰ Joint Council Records, AD 1433 Cj 2.1.3, Loram to Rheinallt Jones, 16 May 1923.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, Loram to Rheinallt Jones, 20 June 1923.

⁴² NAC Report 1923, 9.

"There are still many difficulties in the way, the chief of which is that I do not know the Government attitude on this Conference. If it is known that I have had a share in bringing it about, you know where the opposition will spring from. Help me by your advice and by keeping the matter dark."⁴³

The Conference attracted a wide range of people from secular and missionary organisations. Among the mission groups, the Anglicans were particularly well represented, including the Bishop of Pretoria and the Archbishop of Cape Town. Prominent Joint Council members included Edgar Brookes, Rheinallt Jones, Howard Pim, Selby Msimang, Mrs Maxeke and Selope Thema. The last three were among the "twenty leading natives" imported from the NAC Conference. Others included D. D. T. Jabavu, S. M. Molema, John Dube, Reverend Z. R. Mahabane, M. Pelem, and T. M. Mapikela.⁴⁴

Segregation and its implications regarding land and the urban areas, were on the agenda, but the "administration and content of Native Education" also featured prominently. The teachings of Christianity were expected to inform all the debates. The conference was unable to agree on what was meant by "segregation as a fundamental plank of Native Policy" and Mahabane's carefully phrased resolution requesting a round table conference "representative of the Government, the Churches, the European community, and the Bantu population to consider and report upon the question of the advisability, desirability or feasibility or otherwise of segregation of the races ..." was typical of the compromise resolutions reached.⁴⁵

Two speakers presented papers on education, D. D. T. Jabavu and Reverend Du Plessis. Possibly as a result of intensive debate in the NAC Native Conference Jabavu focused mainly on the issue of how

⁴³ Joint Council Records, AD 1433, Cj 2.1.3., Loram to Rheinallt Jones, 20 June 1923.

⁴⁴ Joint Council Records, AD 1433, Ac 1.2., Conference on Native Affairs convened by the Federal Council of the Dutch Reformed Churches: Minutes of Conference held in the Wesley Hall, President Street, Johannesburg, September 27th, 28th and 29th, 1923.

⁴⁵ Ibid., 9.

much Africans paid in tax and how little African education benefited. On the issue of content he reflected prevailing wisdom (influenced in part at least by the Phelps-Stokes Report and Loram) concerning the need for more "utilitarian" education for the masses, which included training in agriculture, industries, civics and hygiene. Du Plessis was intrigued by secular and scientific debates at the time, particularly the theory of evolution.⁴⁶ Clearly drawing on these debates, Du Plessis made a strong plea for entirely different education which did not cut African students off "from their own culture", as existing education did not take account of the African people's "present stage of development". African education should therefore come under NAD control.

A debate, which was not reported in the official minutes of the conference, was one which blew up specifically over the question of whether Africans were in a "state of child development" or not. The *Rand Daily Mail*, however, gave the argument some prominence. The issue was raised by Bishop Furse, the Anglican Bishop of Pretoria. He questioned the implications of certain scientists' claims that Africans were "in a state of child development" and psychologically inferior, for the Christian view of equality before God.⁴⁷ The intrusion of claims for a need for a more secular and scientific approach to African education was evident resolutions of the conference. There was a strong call "for a special place in the curriculum for biblical and simple doctrinal knowledge, which should form a subject of examination, for the Conference is of the opinion that there is no force like religion for raising the Native".⁴⁸ This resolution was given special prominence by the *Outlook's* report on the Conference.⁴⁹

⁴⁶ Du Plessis came into conflict with the DRC Synod and the Theological Seminary at Stellenbosch University, where he was Professor, over his views on evolution and its implications for biblical interpretation. He was expelled from the University of Stellenbosch for heresy in 1928. *Dictionary of South African Biography*, Vol. I (1968), 264-5.

⁴⁷ *Rand Daily Mail*, 28 Sept. 1923.

⁴⁸ Joint Council Records, AD 1433, Ac 1.2., Minutes of Conference on Native Affairs, 4. The emphasis is mine.

⁴⁹ "Johannesburg Conference", *SAO*, December 1 1923.

Unlike Professor Du Plessis, the English-speaking missions felt some ambivalence towards "scientific" theories which implied African intellectual inferiority and towards anthropology and the relativism inherent in it. Liberals closely connected with African education, however, such as Rheinallt Jones, had begun a flirtation with anthropology. Jones was involved in running Bantu Studies' courses at the University of the Witwatersrand.⁵⁰ The missions felt, at best, that such insights might provide tools in understanding the "Native Mind", but were wary of compromising their Christian beliefs. At the 1921 General Missionary Conference, there was a section devoted to "The Technical Missionary Training in Linguistic and Anthropological Studies". Here, Professor W. A. Norton argued that "the sciences belong to God and should be used in his service" and that missionaries should therefore "make use of specialised training". He noted, however, that the churches "are far from keen".⁵¹ In 1924, the *Outlook* reported that UCT anthropologist Radcliffe-Brown had appealed to missions to add "systematic and scientific study of Native life" to their missionary zeal. The *Outlook* was guarded in its response. It noted that "mission work is varied" and "there is ample room and scope for the simple evangelist as well as the missionary scientist and for those of many grades in between".⁵² On the other hand, in the same year, the Association of European Teachers in Native Institutions had invited Dr Beach, Professor of Bantu Studies at UCT, to give a series of lectures at its annual conference.⁵³ The SAGMC conference in 1925 invited D. D. T. Jabavu and Loram to speak on the matter of "Bantu Psychology and Ethnology in its relation to the presentation of the Gospel". Here, both Jabavu and Loram attacked missions for their destructive effect on African customs. Loram urged them to study their clients "anthropologically".

⁵⁰ Rich, *White Power*, Section 3, 54-76. Dubow "Race, civilisation", 80-1. Very little has been done to explore denominational responses and differences concerning ideas of "culture" and its relationship to Christianity and education. Kros has begun work on the Berlin Mission in this regard.

⁵¹ *Summary of the General Missionary Conferences*, 92.

⁵² "The Outlook", *SAO*, Feb. 1 1924.

⁵³ "The Outlook", *SAO*, Aug. 1 1924.

Nevertheless, the keynote address of the 1925 SAGMC conference was concerned with rethinking the nature of the social gospel, with a less secular, more spiritual emphasis. In his opening address, Reverend Dexter Taylor argued that "... social reconstructions are furrows through which are turned the life giving waters of the Spirit of Christ". Coming from the harsh realities of the countryside surrounding Lovedale, Dr. J. Henderson's paper, which reflected his painstaking work on rural poverty in the Eastern Cape and its effect on evangelisation, made a poignant defence of the existing definition of the social gospel:

"Among Bantu Christians attention is on the hereafter This situation is dishonouring to Jesus Christ, and it is bound up with the land question. We missionaries are to blame for this emphasis on the future life."⁵⁴

Henderson's paper also contained an attack on the 1913 Land Act, taxation and the colour bar.⁵⁵ It appears that he worked with the historian W. M. Macmillan in the area, and that some of his views would be strengthened by Macmillan's attack on segregation in 1927.⁵⁶ The churches' attitude to the emerging science of anthropology and the meaning and application of the social gospel was by no means clear in a rapidly changing social, economic and intellectual milieu.

The 1923 European-Bantu Conference had appointed a committee to co-operate with the SAGMC and Joint Councils to influence public opinion, monitor legislation and "bring influence to bear on the Government to safeguard the rights of the natives". Reverend Mahabane's attempt to include "Native Associations" as groups with

⁵⁴ *Summary of the General Missionary Conferences*, 98, 100, 104-105.

⁵⁵ "The Economic Life of the Natives of the Union of South Africa in Relation to their Evangelisation. Principal Henderson at the South African General Missionary Conference" and "General Missionary Conference", *SAO*, Aug. 1 1925. See also Rich, "The Appeals of Tuskegee", 183, 287.

⁵⁶ Rich, "The Appeals of Tuskegee", 289; Dubow, *Racial Segregation*, 67-8.

whom there should be co-operation, was defeated.⁵⁷ In October 1924, the Joint Council movement, coordinated by Rheinallt Jones, seized the initiative from the DRC and organised a national Native Affairs conference. Compared with the 1923 Conference, a wider range of churches, members of Joint Councils and "Native Organisations", Government officials and academics was invited.⁵⁸ While the main focus was on the 1923 Urban Areas Act, African education was an important part of the agenda.⁵⁹ At the conference, mission speakers again made a strong plea for religious education as central, and the Anglicans, in particular, defended denominational and academic education. The Anglican Dean of Johannesburg attacked "adapted" education which, he argued, took no cognisance of the realities of life. He warned that employment in the trades was limited because of White working class and employer opposition as well as prejudice. He also had no time for people who said that Africans ought to be taught the dignity of manual labour; he described this as "mere clap trap coming from the lips of those who know little of the dignity of manual labour

⁵⁷ UWA, Joint Council Records, AD 1433, AC 1.2., Minutes of 1923 Conference, 5. Conference members appeared to be wary of the ANC and its provincial branches even though individual members were at the conference. Mission conferences had previously expressed disapproval of the ANC indirectly by referring to what they regarded as questionable morality among some of its leaders.

⁵⁸ The major protestant mission groups were there, as well as two representatives from the Roman Catholic Church. Some Africans came as Joint Council members - I bud M'Belle, T. B. Mathabathe (also of the Transvaal African Teachers Association), Rev. A.M'Timkulu, John Dube, Rev. M. Maxeke. The NAC members attended, as did the Secretary of Native Affairs, and location superintendents. Professor Macmillan presented a paper on the Land Act. The ANC was allotted nine representatives. UWA, Joint Council Records, AD 1433, Ac 3.2, Agenda and Delegates; "Johannesburg Conference on Native Affairs", SAO, Dec. 1 1924.

⁵⁹ The issue of the status and role of educated Africans had come under the spotlight when the Native Urban Areas Bill was debated. The question what level of education should entitle an African to exemption from registration raised the issue of to what extent the State should differentiate between Africans or try for a "uniform" policy. Smuts objected to suggestions that Africans who had reached "the sixth or seventh standard" should be granted exemption, because he said that too many Africans would begin to qualify in the not too distant future. He wanted to "keep a watchful eye on the population as a whole". He agreed to exempt certain categories of people: ministers, headmen, teachers and interpreters, for example. *Cape Times*, 8 May 1923.

themselves".⁶⁰ The Outlook, however, was not overly impressed by this, accusing Dean Palmer of "not presenting much fresh thinking".⁶¹

The 1924 Conference took place against the backdrop of a major political change: the victory of the Hertzog-Creswell Pact in the May 1924 general election. This shift was to have serious consequences for African education.

PART 2: "RETRIBALISATION" AND AFRICAN EDUCATION POLICY 1925-1930

By 1925 the Pact Government was beginning to make clear its interpretation of what segregation might mean. The quotation below from Dubow sums up what he sees as the differences between the approaches of the Smuts and Hertzog Governments, and the effect of the changing concept of segregation of the NAC.

"During the 1920s the fluid and implicitly incorporationist brand of segregation proposed by Smuts gave way to a sterner and more exclusionist interpretation in the hands of Hertzog. Administratively, this was evidenced in the demise of the 1920 Native Affairs Act with its provisions for the extension of local councils, the establishment of an annual native conference and the creation of the NAC... Moreover, the 1927 Native Administration Act consolidated and centralised the authority of the NAD, entrenched the principle of Government by executive proclamation, and actively embraced the strategy of 'retribalisation'."⁶²

The Native Tax and Development Act of 1925 emerged after the Pact Government came to power. Although it drew on principles established before 1924 and was constructed by bodies created before 1924, it acquired a Pact flavour. Hertzog had made much of his commitment to a firmer, more directed "native policy", and the

⁶⁰ UWA, Joint Council Records, AD 1433, Ac 3.3.19., "Native Education", Address by Very Reverend Dean Palmer.

⁶¹ "Johannesburg Conference on Native Affairs", SAO, Dec. 1. 1924.

⁶² Dubow, *Racial Segregation*, 126. The emphasis is mine.

uniformity" in "native policy". This is evident in the debates around it in Parliament. During the debate on the Tax and Development Bill, members again criticised existing mission education as being inappropriate, particularly secondary education. Hertzog assured members that the NDF money would not be spent "merely upon ordinary book learning" but that the funds would be utilized for "agricultural, industrial and irrigation development". Africans would be "taught to make better use of [their] land".⁶³ Col. H. P. Creswell, the Minister of Labour, addressed the Pretoria Native Conference on the issue in 1924. Here, he defended the Colour Bar policy by referring to the aims of the NDF. He pointed to the fact that "large sums of money for agricultural education and instructors" were going to come from the new tax system. This would ensure that African workers did not come to the urban areas to compete with White workers.⁶⁴ The Native Development Fund, including its input into education, was now clearly seen as a vehicle for the development of the reserves, which process would, in turn, stem the flow of people to the cities and direct the educated elite away from assimilationist ambitions. This was the first step in, what Dubow has called, the "retribalisation" aspect of the Pact's segregation policy.

It is clear that NAC members developed an education policy which dovetailed with these ideas. When the NAC was given the task of administering the NDF, it decided on some "lines of policy" for African education. These lines of policy were the product of the annual Native Affairs Commission conferences with the heads of provincial education departments and the NAD. They have the distinct imprint of Loram's ideas and of those of the Phelps-Stokes Commissions. In sum, the NAC aimed to extend primary education and limit and rationalise secondary education. All syllabi at all levels were to have a "practical" bias, and "limited" post primary education would concentrate on teacher training, vocational training, agricultural (men) and domestic (women) training, with

⁶³ *House of Assembly Debates*, (hereafter *Hansard*), 9 July 1925, Col. 5785.

⁶⁴ *NAC Report 1924*, 57.

some provision for preparation for entrance to Fort Hare. It also aimed to improve and make teachers salaries uniform.⁶⁵

However, the seeds of dissent between the NAC and Hertzog were already present. One of their causes was the Pact Government's commitment to the Colour Bar, and the passing of the Mines and Works Amendment Act in 1926. Both Loram and Roberts opposed it.⁶⁶ Loram and Roberts were also increasingly uneasy about Hertzog's attack on the Cape franchise embodied in his four "Native Bills" in 1926.⁶⁷ The NAC's national tour to sell the idea of replacing the franchise with a Union Council of Natives to Africans had revealed the extent of African opposition and this, coupled with their close contacts with the Joint Councils, made them reluctant to support the Bills as they stood. The NAC urged the Government not to be rigid in this, but to consider alternatives which did not tamper with the Cape franchise itself.⁶⁸

In direct opposition to the incorporationist principles implicit in the Cape franchise, Hertzog put the Native Administration Bill before Parliament in April 1927. Dubow argues that it "embraced a comprehensive strategy of 'retribalisation'", and "marks a decisive moment in the State's attempts to reconstitute and embalm tribal authority". The NAD, through the Governor General, was to be "Supreme Chief of all natives" outside the Cape.⁶⁹ In this

⁶⁵ *Report of the Native Economic Commission* (UG 22-32), (hereafter the *Holloway Report*), para 597; H. Rogers, *Native Administration in the Union of South Africa*, (Johannesburg, 1933), 257.

⁶⁶ Dubow, *Racial Segregation*, 109.

⁶⁷ In July 1926 Hertzog, as holder of the portfolio of Native Affairs, tabled four Bills : a Native Land Act Amendment Bill, a Representation of Natives in Parliament Bill and a Union Council Native Bill. The latter aimed to remove African voters from the common roll in the Cape, and set up a Council of fifty Africans, of whom thirty-five would be elected countrywide. The fourth Bill concerned the listing of "Coloureds" on a separate roll, but with a view to their being represented in Parliament by Whites. T.R.H. Davenport, *South Africa, A Modern History* (Third Edition), (Johannesburg, 1987), 292.

⁶⁸ *Report of the Native Affairs Commission for the Year 1926* (UG 17-27), (hereafter NAC Report 1926), 44-6.

⁶⁹ Dubow, *Racial Segregation*, 97, 115.

reassertion of the power of the NAD, the NAC had little place. Indeed, in support of the Bill, George Heaton Nicholls launched a vitriolic attack on the NAC and on African education.⁷⁰ The NAC as an institution came in for abuse as a body which undermined "the tribal system more than any other institution we have". Nicholls attributed this to the presence of "the two school masters on this Native Affairs Commission" who "seem to be intent on building up, with the aid of their old scholars, a politically conscious class which is entirely out of touch with the tribal natives". The Government had neglected to educate the chiefs, while encouraging the education of "commoners", who became "articulate native politicians". He attacked mission schools, particularly in the Cape, for encouraging the "breaking down of tribal restraints" and traditions, and creating a useless educated elite with inappropriate aspirations towards democratic participation in politics and integration in White society.⁷¹

Other indications that the NAC was waning in influence were that no Native Conferences took place between 1927 and 1930, and the Native Affairs Commission made only one report for the years 1927-31. In 1928, the Director of the TED, H. S. Scott, commented on the lack

⁷⁰ Heaton Nicholls was SAP Member of Parliament for Zululand from 1920. He became the foremost exponent of "trusteeship", a notion integral to Hertzog's concept of segregation. Dubow defines trusteeship as the idea that "Africans were the wards of their white 'trustees' under whose benevolent guidance they would be encouraged to develop autonomously". He was a vociferous opponent of the franchise and even opposed the Union Council Native Bill. He dominated the Joint Select Committee on the Native Bills between 1930 and 1935, and was appointed to the NAC in 1935. Dubow, *Racial Segregation*, 1, 131, 145-6.

⁷¹ "The native politician is a product of Lovedale. The native chief is a product of our own neglecthow can we, when we take the native into our schools, destroy every tradition and we fill him up with preconceived ideas which destroys every natural aspiration that might be of service to his race? We have a large educated class, but what use are they to the rising Bantu races?", *Hansard*, 28 April 1927, Cols. 2927-8, Col. 2925. Nicholls was supported by M.L. Malan, who called for appropriate education to "educate the native along the right lines", because "a wrong education is a great danger". He accused some mission schools of "doing an amazing amount of harm". *Ibid*, Cols. 2966-7.

of influence of the NAC on the Government.⁷² Both Loram and Roberts were becoming increasingly disillusioned with the NAC.⁷³

Dubow's argument that the NAD and NAC were changing by the mid 1920s is important for an understanding of the dynamics of mission relations with the State and the Joint Councils. Driven by the lack of impact he was having in the NAC, Loram increasingly involved himself in extra-parliamentary attempts to influence policy, and to control the direction of extra-parliamentary lobbying. This process culminated in the establishment of the South African Institute of Race Relations in 1929.⁷⁴ He also became involved in international and local mission conferences.

The International Missionary Conference gatherings were an important influence on the South African missionary associations from their inception in 1910. In 1926, there was a huge gathering of missions from around the world at Le Zoute in Belgium. All the delegates faced the question of Church-State relations, and the social gospel in times of social change. One of the main questions asked was "What should be the relations between the organised activities of the Christian Church and those other powerful forces, political, economic and cultural, that are making their impact on the life of the African peoples".⁷⁵ Loram managed to be the prime mover in the section on education.

Loram placed Thomas Jesse Jones' "four essentials" at the centre of discussion about the content of African education. Some conference members felt, however, that the "four essentials" underplayed the importance of religious education. The resolutions of the conference recommended that "religious teaching and moral instruction should enjoy equal standing with secular subjects"

⁷² UWA, SAIRR/1, AD 843, B 65.4, H.S. Scott to Pim, 1 Feb. 1928.

⁷³ Dubow, *Racial Segregation*, 109-110; Rich, *White Power*, 28.

⁷⁴ Rich, *White Power*, 28.

⁷⁵ "International Conference on the Christian Mission Conference in Africa. Le Zoute, Belgium. Sept. 14 to 21, 1926", SAO, March 1 1926.

because "religion colours the whole curriculum". They emphasised that African education should remain a joint partnership between Government and missions, particularly in teacher training, because of the central influence of Christianity. They stressed the important role of Advisory Boards which represented missionary opinion. By implication, the conference also rejected fiscal segregation, a cornerstone of Loram's policy, by stating that: "the best policy is to regard the general revenue of the country as the main source for educational grants and expenditure ...".⁷⁶

A Transvaal Missionary Association Conference called in October 1927 to respond to the Le Zoute conference, showed that missions in the Transvaal hardly considered the "four essentials". Rather, they honed in on the inadequacies of the funding system, based on the NDF, and asserted the need for religious education and mission control. This occurred in spite of the fact that Loram was one of the initiators of the Transvaal conference. Loram had recommended that the TMA should invite "inspectors, supervisors, mission superintendents and the best of the Native teachers".⁷⁷ A list of delegates is not available but the Director of Education in the Transvaal, Scott, and inspectors of the schools did attend. Loram's designation at the conference was not clear.⁷⁸

Reverend A. Kidwell's paper on missionary control reflected a reassertion of missionary rights to control a large part of African education. He argued that the missionaries were strategically important in sowing "the seeds of peace and harmony" for the next two decades. Anglican speakers, Fathers Carter and Winter, were mainly concerned with immediate circumstances and acerbic in their comments. They did not seem to be particularly concerned to deal with the Le Zoute issues of content. Carter's paper concentrated

⁷⁶ E.W. Smith, *The Christian Mission in Africa : A Study based on the work of the International Conference at Le Zoute, Belgium, (New York, 1926)*, Chapter 7; "The Conference Recommendations and Resolutions", SAO, Nov. 1 1926.

⁷⁷ UWA, SAIRR/1, AD843, B 65.4.1., Loram to Rheinallt Jones, 24 May 1927.

⁷⁸ UWA, SAIRR/143, B 37.10.1., Transvaal Missionary Association : Notice of a Conference on Native Education, 19th October 1927.

on the finance of African education in the Transvaal, and painted a gloomy picture of large numbers of unregistered schools, underpaid teachers and unfair allocation of NDF funds to the Transvaal by the NAC.⁷⁹

By the end of 1927, the limitations of fiscal segregation were becoming clear, as there was a huge increase in the numbers of African children wishing to attend school. All the provinces, except the OFS, experienced a major influx of children in the late 1920s. The Transvaal showed the most spectacular growth in numbers, from 29,500 in 1920 to 40,000 in 1925 and 73,000 in 1930. Figure 7 in Appendix A shows that the actual number of African children at school rose from 10% in 1925 to 16.4% in 1931, though this was still below the Union average.⁸⁰ The Welsh Report of 1936, remarked that, even during the first four years of the NDF's existence, when income exceeded expenditure, estimates of income fell far short of what came in. It acknowledged that the Fund had made possible a huge increase in enrolment after 1925, but questioned the resulting quality of the education provided in existing and new schools during the period before 1930, when expenditure began to overtake income. Many new schools were unable to get grants-in-aid because of this shortfall.⁸¹

The missions' critique of the financial aspects embodied in "fiscal segregation" and assertion of their own agendas in education, were probably bolstered by the influence of the 1927 European-Bantu Conference. Dubow marks 1927 as a key year in which prominent liberals such as Pim, Rheinallt Jones and Brookes broke with Hertzog over his conception of segregation. Important in this was the European-Bantu Conference (called this time by the DRC) in

⁷⁹ UWA, SAIRR/1, AD 843, B 37.10.1 Transvaal Missionary Association Conference on Native Education, October 1927; B 70.1.1., Pamphlet entitled "The Finance of Native Education in the Transvaal, A Paper to be read by Rev. S. Carter at the Transvaal Missionary Association Conference, October 19th, 1927".

⁸⁰ Malherbe, "Native Education", 605; *Report of the Native Affairs Commission for the Years 1932-1933*, (UG 3 - 34), (hereafter NAC Report 1932-3), Appendix "B", 16.

⁸¹ *Welsh Report*, para. 246.

January of that year. The conference was called to respond to the Hertzog Bills and the Native Affairs Administration Act. It is significant that even here Loram's influence seemed to have declined. Loram was left out of the plans for the conference and was very upset to learn that the Anglican church had been talking to the DRC about setting up such a meeting, without consulting the other mission bodies. "It will throw the Wesleyans and other churches into opposition straight away", he wrote to Rheinallt Jones, " ... it must be a national Christian movement to succeed". Whether he was genuinely concerned about a united front or the decline of his own influence is not clear.⁸² At the conference, Macmillan's attack on Hertzog's plans and lucid argument that "the essential interdependence of Black and White rendered segregation impossible", had a profound influence on many liberals and missions, with the apparent exception of Loram. Indeed, Henderson's surveys of agriculture in the Ciskei were invaluable to Macmillan in bolstering his argument.⁸³

In December 1927, the executive of the SA General Missionary Conference agreed that Henderson, who was then Chairman of the Ciskei Missionary Council, should head up a national campaign regarding the finance of African education. In fact, the campaign was about far more than the lack of funding. There was growing dissatisfaction with NAC attempts to dictate education policy through its control of the NDF allocation of funds. In late 1927 the NAC threatened to cut grants to Cape post-primary training schools and secondary schools. This was part of NAC attempts to enforce some uniformity in spending on Native education across the provinces, to limit secondary education and to channel more funds into primary education. Loram was clearly attempting to extend what he had done in Natal, and to implement the ideas developed in 1925. He wanted to amalgamate certain kinds of schools, increase the numbers of African teachers and supervisors, and decrease the

⁸² UWA, Joint Council Records, AD 1433, Cj.2.1.6., Loram to Rheinallt Jones, 22 Sept. 1926.

⁸³ Dubow, *Racial Segregation*, 48-50, 67-8. Dubow also cites the impact of African opinion in the Joint Councils on the liberals.

number of White teachers and the number of inspectors in the Cape.⁸⁴ Since African teachers were paid a great deal less than White teachers, this was a good target for cost-cutting.⁸⁵ In response, Henderson advocated a "thoroughly strong and representative delegation" be put together to see the Minister of Native Affairs.⁸⁶ A very heated meeting followed in January 1928 between the NAC and the Association of Heads of Native Institutions. The meeting was ostensibly about the proposed cuts in grants, but it inevitably addressed the wider implications of the NAC's policy. At the meeting Loram accused the Cape of being extravagant, particularly in its salaries to White teachers who were concentrated in post-primary training institutions and secondary schools.

The NAC met with strong opposition from the Heads. Most mission heads believed strongly in denominational education, and felt that amalgamated schools would lead to the dilution of religious instruction. The majority of White teachers were employed at post primary schools, and mission opposition to increasing African staff was related to their attempts to control the education of elites emerging from post primary schooling. The Heads were also afraid that attempts to get national uniformity would be at the expense of the Cape, particularly in the area of post primary education. The

⁸⁴ UWA, SAIRR/1, ad 843, b 65.4., Henderson to Pim, 16 Dec. 1927.

⁸⁵ The NAC's proposed salary scales for teachers in 1928 demonstrated the differences in race and gender:

	<u>White</u>		<u>African</u>	
	<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>	<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>
	£	£	£	£
Degree with professional training	285	200	175	120
Matric with lower professional training	195	175	136	90
European Primary Lower or Native Higher Primary	150	130	100	72

Cory, Alexander Kerr Papers, PR 4117, Memo entitled: "Native Affairs Commission. Proposed Salary Scales for Teachers".

⁸⁶ UWA, SAIRR/1, AD 843, B 65.4., Ciskei Missionary Council Circular, 16 Dec. 1927.

NAC's role in allocating funds without being responsible to anyone for the way this was done, was also criticised.⁸⁷

The Heads agreed on a March deputation to the Minister of Native Affairs to represent "the whole union". They intended to protest about "the cutting off of native finance from principles governing white and coloured education finance" and to ask for more of the general tax money to be paid into the NDF.⁸⁸ Loram attempted to do some fire fighting. He tried to persuade the organisers not to attack the system of finance in its entirety but to ask that the whole of the General Tax be paid into the NDF.⁸⁹ He also tried to muscle in on Pim's campaign around the issue of finance for the Transvaal. This campaign originated from the 1927 TMA conference and Pim's contact with Henderson, Kerr and W. G. Bennie, Chief Inspector of Native Education in the Cape.⁹⁰

Pim met with TMA, Johannesburg Joint Council and Transvaal African Teachers Association members and obtained their approval for a combined deputation with the CMC. The Ciskeian Missionary Council, mandated by the SAGMC, then began organising the deputation in earnest, between February and May 1928. As part of this, the CMC prepared a substantial memorandum on the finance of African education, which argued that it was difficult to justify "the differential method of financing African education" since:

"[S]uch a system deprives the poorest class of the community of any share in the progressive well being of the country to which, with the other classes of the community, it may be held, by labour and in other ways very substantially to contribute."

It recommended that African education be financed on a per caput basis (i.e. an amount based on the number of children actually in school), but that if this was not practicable, the amount paid into

⁸⁷ UWA, SAIRR/1, AD 843, B 65.4, Notes of a Meeting of Heads of Native Institutions with the Native Affairs Commission, 19th of January 1928, at East London.

⁸⁸ Ibid.

⁸⁹ UWA, SAIRR/1, AD 843, B 64.4., Kerr to Pim, 23 Jan. 1928.

⁹⁰ Ibid, Loram to Pim, 23 Jan. 1928.

the NDF should be increased.⁹¹ The Outlook was extremely supportive and reproduced the memorandum in full.⁹² An end to fiscal segregation and per caput finance became the basis of mission demands until 1945.

In August the SAGMC was ready to request an interview with the Minister of Finance and the Prime Minister, but the request was flatly rejected. The Secretary of Native Affairs, Major J. F. Herbst, stated that Hertzog did not think "any useful purpose would be served by the interview". The existing meeting between the heads of education in the provinces and the NAC was enough to inform the Government of education requirements and no money was available from the treasury to increase the Union subsidy.⁹³

All the groups associated with the campaign were taken aback at Hertzog's response. The CMC and SAGMC decided to hold a meeting in Johannesburg in October 1928 to discuss what should happen next and to "consolidate mission opinion in the four provinces". In addition to the representatives nominated for the abortive deputation, the Conference invited Education Advisory Board members. The NAC members, however, including Loram, were conspicuously absent.⁹⁴ The conference was chaired by Bishop Karney, President of the SAGMC, and Rheinallt Jones. The debates during the conference revealed deep dissatisfaction with the NAC. It was described as the dictatorship of a body of three, particularly in its control and allocation of funds. The existing policy, which linked African education to the general tax, was described as "morally wrong, inexpedient and unwise". A budget should be drawn up on a per caput basis after each province had

⁹¹ UWA, SAIRR/1, AD 843, B 70. 1.1., Memorandum entitled "Finance of Native Education".

⁹² "The Outlook" SAO, Dec. 1 1927 and Feb. 1 1928.

⁹³ UWA, SAIRR/1, AD 843, B 65.4., Secretary of Native Affairs, Herbst, to Rheinallt Jones, 18 Aug. 1928.

⁹⁴ UWA, SAIRR/1, AD 843, B 70.1.2., "Missionary Conference on the Finance of African Education".

been carefully surveyed, though the Cape was wary of any attempts to push for uniformity at the expense of its standard of education.⁹⁵ The Cape's fears were reflected in a resolution which described proposals to unite educational administrations under the Union Government as "premature". Nonetheless, the Cape missions approved the idea of a Union Advisory Board of Education.⁹⁶

Such a Board was clearly seen as a means of countering the control and influence of the NAC, and support for the establishment of a Union Advisory Board grew in mission and liberal circles from 1928 onwards. Opposition to NAC attempts to control African education was also clear in the conference resolution which asserted that:

"The content and direction of Native Education in the several provinces shall remain the responsibility of the Departments of Education in these Provinces, acting in consultation with the Provincial Advisory Boards"

In a statement which flew in the face of the Loram/"adaptationist" approach on aim and content, the Conference resolved that:

"In Native, as in all other education of whatever race, adaptation to local and community needs is required, but since all education is essentially one, and since the present practice of Native Education has grown out of the application of world wide educational science and, under Christian influences, out of local experience tested by time, it maintains that no radical change of educational policy is called for."⁹⁷

The Conference resolutions stated a commitment to the employment of White teachers and emphasised the need for "an effective combination of Native and non Native forces".⁹⁸ A committee was

⁹⁵ Ibid, B 65.4., Rheinallt Jones' personal notes on the 1928 Conference.

⁹⁶ Ibid, B 70.1.2., "Resolutions passed at Conference at Johannesburg (2nd to 3rd October, 1928), convened under the auspices of the General Missionary Conference on the Finance of Native Education". See also B 65. 4., Henderson to Rheinallt Jones, 3 Sept. 1928. Henderson was not in favour "the overhauling of Native Education generally" as it would lower the standard of education in the Cape: "The forces operating in Native Education on the official side do not want Native Education to be of the same standard as European education."

⁹⁷ Ibid, B 70.1.2., "Resolutions passed at Conference at Johannesburg". The emphasis is mine.

⁹⁸ Ibid.

elected to forward the resolutions to the NAC, "with a view to presenting them to the Minister of Native Affairs".⁹⁹

The NAC received the SAGMC delegation in November 1928. Its members appeared to be less on the offensive than they had been at the Heads of Native Institutions' meeting. They agreed to the Conference's resolution that there was no need to "review the content and aim of Native education". They stalled on the issue of finance; they agreed that the existing system of funding was inadequate and could not be supplemented by further taxation. They maintained, however, that it would be difficult to arrive at a formula for assessing African educational needs and to use the per capita system. In the area of staffing the NAC seemed committed to cost cutting by increasing the numbers of African teachers at a post primary level, saying that there were enough qualified African teachers.

The NAC advised the delegation not to send the resolutions to the Minister of Native Affairs until after the 1929 election, and promised to make a report of the interview to the Minister.¹⁰⁰ As a member of the deputation, Henderson was not sure that the deputation achieved much at all, but hoped that the NAC had been impressed by the united front presented, and the strong convictions of the people the deputation represented.¹⁰¹

CONCLUSION

After the bitterly fought "Swart Gevaar" election of 1929, both Loram and Roberts indicated that they were going to resign from the NAC. Dubow observes that "it was the first occasion since Union that the 'native question' emerged as the foremost issue during a national poll". Loram told Malherbe that the NAC was no longer of

⁹⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid, "Report of General Missionary Conference Interview with the Native Affairs Commission".

¹⁰¹ UWA, Pim Papers, A 881, Bc 79, Henderson to Pim, 30 Nov. 1928.

any use once Hertzog had made "the Native Question a matter of politics".¹⁰² His perceived role as objective expert was over. He was given a post as Superintendent of Education in the Natal, which he abandoned in favour of a professorship at Yale University, after it became clear that he would not be allowed to serve on the 1930 Natives Economic Commission.

While he served on the NAC, Loram represented the intrusion of secular forces, both in and outside the central State, on the mission dominated arena of African education. It is clear, however, that historians of education have neglected to note that he was not particularly successful in carrying out his ideas about "adapted" primary mass education supported by a special tax. There are a number of reasons for this. He was hamstrung by the limits of his own system of fiscal segregation and by the changing conception of segregation policy which marginalised the NAC. Equally worthy of note is the missions' strong opposition, both to Loram's attempts as a central State official to control African education and to Loram's secular ideas, which underpinned these attempts to control African education.

¹⁰² Dubow, *Racial Segregation*, 142; KCA, Malherbe Papers, KCM 57030, File 619/1(70), CT Loram Circular Letter 30 July 1931.

CHAPTER THREE

SEGREGATION, SCIENCE AND COMMISSIONS OF ENQUIRY: EDUCATION AND THE PLACE OF "THE NATIVES" IN SOCIETY 1930-1934

INTRODUCTION

In September 1932, Reverend C. M. Jones, Vice Principal of Grace Dieu Training College, remarked that "[t]his country seems to revel in Commissions".¹ Adam Ashforth, in his work on the politics of official discourse in twentieth century South Africa, argues that:

".. at critical junctures in the formation of the South African State the so-called "Native Question" has come to the fore in political debate. During these periods, when new alignments in the structures of power, new understandings of the place of the "Natives" within the political economy had to be devised At these times one of the main institutions to which political leaders turned was the commission of enquiry."²

The period under consideration is one where economic pressures undermined existing political alignments and led to the formation of the Fusion Government and United Party, which paved the way for the passing of the 1936 Land and Native Representation Acts. In this context, between 1930 and 1935, three State initiated commissions were set up, all of which had a direct bearing on African education: the 1932 Natives Economic Commission, the 1933 Provincial Finance Commission and the 1935-6 Interdepartmental Committee into Native Education (Welsh Committee). As the latter pointed out, " whatever aim is formulated [for African education] it will of necessity involve, by implication, the position which the Native has to occupy in the political and

¹ UWA, SAIRR/1, B 37.15.2., Rev. C.M.Jones to Bishop S. Woodfield, 27 Sept. 1932.

² A. Ashforth, *The Politics of Official Discourse in Twentieth Century South Africa* (Clarendon Press, Oxford 1990), 2.

economic structure of South African society".³ In addition, there was a significant privately funded commission which had an indirect impact on African education. E. G. Malherbe, as Director of the Bureau for Educational and Social Research, was involved in the educational aspects of the 1929-32 Carnegie Commission's Union-wide investigation of the "Poor White" problem.⁴

In considering the 1932 Natives Economic Commission Report and the 1933 Provincial Finance Commission Report, this chapter will continue with the theme of the impact of secularisation and segregation policy on missions and liberals involved in African education. It will demonstrate links between these commissions and wider debate about science and African education, which took place at the 1934 New Education Fellowship Conference. This chapter is a prelude to the consideration of the Report of 1935-6 Welsh Committee. The Welsh Report was, in many senses, the last statement of the Christian Victorian liberal perspective on African education, in the face of the secular influences of experts in science and anthropology and hardening segregation policies.

This chapter will argue that when "expert scientific opinion" was brought to bear on the question of African education, the missions asserted the primacy of religious education, in which were embedded mid-Victorian classical liberal ideas about gradual assimilation, and a commitment to the franchise which was under threat at this time.⁵ The cultural relativism and emphasis on group identity of anthropology offended the more prominent English-speaking mission personnel. They saw Christianity's value system as providing a firm moral basis for, and control of, African society in transition and education had to be underpinned by this. Their objections to scientific intervention based on anthropological ideas, however, also lay in an understanding that these ideas were being

³ *Welsh Report*, para. 455.

⁴ Fleisch, "Social Scientists", 5; E.G. Malherbe, *Never a Dull Moment* (Cape Town, 1981), Chapter 11.

⁵ For a full discussion of these ideas see Dubow, "Race, civilisation", 79-80.

appropriated by hardline segregationists, as was demonstrated by the Report of the Natives Economic Commission. Hence, they were wary of Rheinallt Jones' obsession with anthropology and culture contact at the New Education Fellowship conference. In this, they had support from liberal Joint Council members in the inspectorate, particularly, but not only, in the Cape.

PART 1 : EXIT LORAM

The resignation of Loram from the NAC and his departure from South Africa in 1930 gave Rheinallt Jones more room to manoeuvre and attempt to dominate debates about African education. Loram's departure is also indicative of the decline in the influence and independence of the NAC as an expert advisory and mediating body, and its concomitant transformation into a vehicle for the "trusteeship" ideology that underpinned the Hertzog Bills. By 1930, the NAC was no longer a centralising force and lobbying point for African education. In spite of the fact that there had been conflict and tension between the missions in the SAGMC and in the Association of Heads of Native Institutions, and the NAC, the presence of Loram and Roberts was seen as vital to the interests of African education. The resignation of Loram and his subsequent exclusion from serving on the Natives Economic Commission, was seen by many educationists as a blow to African education.⁶ Increasingly, the NAC was perceived as either apathetic or potentially hostile to African educational and other interests. The *South African Outlook* of February 1930 summed up this impression when it commented on the proposed retirements of Loram and Roberts:

"[their retirement] deepens the apprehension with which so many patriotic South Africans are watching the development of the Nationalist Government's native policy. We cannot doubt that in the present troublous times, the continuance of their services could have been secured if only the Cabinet had genuinely desired it".

It went on to say that the newly appointed Commissioners were:

⁶ KCA, Malherbe Papers, KCM 57030, File 619/1 (70), C.T. Loram Circular Letter 30 July 1931. "I was bitterly disappointed when the Natal Administration would not allow me to serve on that Commission." See also KCM 56986, File 620/2, Brookes, "A Neglected Figure". Brookes argues that E.G. Jansen cynically removed Loram to Natal to neutralise him.

"not associated with an area in which Natives live in other than servile conditions and where the 'Native Problem' is not mainly that of securing an abundance of cheap labour for white employers".⁷

As it turned out, Roberts remained on the NAC until early 1935, and served on the NEC, for which he made a significant minority report.

In the context of the Great Depression and drought, it seemed that the resignation of Loram could not have come at a more unfavourable time for African education. The Depression and the drought had a devastating effect on African education. By late 1929 and early 1930, the total expenditure on African development began to exceed the revenue of the NDF, and by 1933 the NAC declared the Native Development Fund to be bankrupt.⁸ The consequences of making African education dependent on a group least able to pay and in a time of severe Depression, were becoming very clear.

That African education would suffer after Loram's resignation appeared to be confirmed by the statements of the first full-time Minister of Native Affairs, E. G. Jansen. In late 1930 and early 1931, Jansen eventually made some statements about the financial crisis. He was firmly committed to the principle of fiscal segregation and regarded this as a viable means of supplying money for the NDF. He made it clear that he would not allow general revenue to be used to fund African development, as this would mean that Whites would be funding African development.⁹ This was a particularly persuasive argument in the context of the Depression and concern about the "Poor White" problem. Jansen went so far as to state that there would be no increases in the amount of money given to the provinces for mainstream education, because money was needed for separate agricultural education and development.

⁷ "The Native Affairs Commission", SAO, Feb. 1 1930.

⁸ Welsh Report, para. 250.

⁹ "I would like to ask the Hon. member if he would be prepared in his constituency or in the Transvaal to advocate the taxation of Europeans for native education Those Hon. members who wish additional provision to be made must face the position that it would mean additional taxation." Hansard, 12 March 1931, Cols 1513-5.

"If we are going to meet the desire of the natives for being in their own areas it will be necessary for us to provide them on the one hand with more land and, on the other hand, we shall have to see that they make better use of the land which they haveI want to point out to the Hon. members that the financing of that side of our policy [agricultural education and development] in regard to the natives has also to come out of the Native Development Account, and it is for that reason, because we feel there should be more development in that direction we have told the provinces that in future we cannot make greater provision for them than we did in 1929."¹⁰

The missions bitterly resented this. In October 1931, the Ciskeian Missionary Council remarked that "capital expenditure for agricultural development was being made out of the same General Tax, while only 22% of native children of school going age in the Transvaal were in registered schools".¹¹ Preliminary letters concerning the SAGMC Conference on Native Education in July 1932 also reveal a concern about the impact of expanding agricultural education and development on mainstream education and its funding.¹² Professor A. V. Murray noted how missions in Africa, in general, were facing a decline in funding from parent organisations by the second decade of the 20th century.¹³ The Depression played further havoc with this funding. A SAGMC memorandum remarked that "losses on the exchange are ... colossal".¹⁴

At the time Jansen made his speech about the Government's commitment to agricultural development, he also argued that he could not address the crisis until the Natives Economic Commission had made its Report. The promulgation of the Report in May 1932 made no difference to the financial crisis. It made

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, Col 1519.

¹¹ UWA, SAIRR/1, AD 843, B 42.5., Ciskei Missionary Council, Minutes of the Sixth Annual Meeting, 28th of October 1931.

¹² *Ibid.*, B 80.1.1., Letter of Rev. J. Dexter Taylor (Acting Hon. General Secretary of the SAGMC), May 1932.

¹³ A.V. Murray, *The School in the Bush : A Critical Study of the Theory and Practice of Native Education in Africa*, (London, 1929), 265.

¹⁴ UWA, SAIRR/1, AD 843 B 70.1.2., SAGMC Memorandum on "The Finance of Native Education", October 26, 1932.

made no difference to the financial crisis. It made recommendations which were based on the concept of fiscal segregation. Despair at the Government's failure to intervene at all prompted the SAGMC to organise a deputation to interview Jansen in October 1932. He told a SAGMC deputation that he could do nothing until the Hertzog Bills were passed.¹⁵ The SAGMC deputation's memorandum expressed alarm at Jansen's reply, saying that the Land and Franchise Bills had nothing to do with the present financial crisis:

"To postpone relief until the problematical passage of measures that show no signs of emerging successfully from the Select Committee is to bring despair to the hearts of all concerned with Native Education. It defers hope to the Greek Kalends."¹⁶

In broader terms, members of the liberal mission network were alarmed by the close relationship of the NEC Report's ideas about the finance, control and aims of African education to the wider strategy of retribalisation.

PART 2: SEGREGATION, ANTHROPOLOGY AND SOCIAL EDUCATION: THE NATIVE ECONOMIC COMMISSION REPORT OF 1932

The NEC Report confirmed what Jansen had said in early 1931 about the centrality of agricultural education and fiscal segregation. The NEC focused on education as the key to the development of the reserves.¹⁷ Ashforth maintains that the NEC was informed by demands that the "Native Problem" be approached scientifically, which included the use of economic experts and the insights of anthropology. The NEC contended that the principal locus of the "native problem", and undesirable and uncontrolled urbanisation in

¹⁵ After joint sittings of Parliament failed to pass the Hertzog Bills in 1929 and 1930, they were referred to a Joint Select Committee, which presented its report in 1935, Davenport, *South Africa*, 309; Dubow, *Racial Segregation*, 142-3.

¹⁶ UWA, SAIRR/1, AD 843, B 37.10.2., SAGMC Memorandum to the Minister of Native Affairs, October 26 1932; B70.1.3. SAIRR Report of Interview with the Minister of Native Affairs, October 26, 1932.

¹⁷ Ashforth, *The Politics*, 85, 93.

particular, was in the reserves. The reserves therefore had to be developed as a home for the Natives where they could, in one of the most enduring clichés of the day, "develop along their own lines". Ashforth also points out that there was an assumption of homogeneity in the African population which implicitly denied the legitimacy of the African "middle class struggle to defend and extend their limited rights of citizenship" and reinforced demands for the abolition of the franchise. It saw the African elite's failure to use its talents in the reserve areas as a cause of reserve decline, and blamed mission education for this.¹⁸ It said that at all levels, mission education was fundamentally inappropriate, as it failed to prepare Africans to develop the rural areas; instead it encouraged urbanisation and the development of unsuitable social and political expectations. Implicit in this is the important sense in which education was seen as providing the ideological underpinning for the franchise, as well as access to it. It was the franchise which prevented the application of the 1913 Land Act to the Cape and the development of a "common political status" for Africans.¹⁹

Drawing on anthropological notions, the NEC had isolated the "primitive mentality" of reserve based Africans as the cause of the wasteful farming methods and the attendant poverty which stimulated urbanisation. In a direction which was not originally indicated in its terms of reference, the NEC focused on education as a means to transform this mentality. Money for development would be wasted otherwise.²⁰ The remedy proposed was the provision of a different kind of education which would promote the development of the reserves and appropriate political and social aspirations: "social education". The NEC's section on the aims of social education encapsulates its anthropological assumptions and its critique of

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 78.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 72.

²⁰ "As regards the ideal of a well organised State, it is essential to put a stop to the ruination which is taking place on all sides, to introduce among the Natives a leaven of social education which will gradually, step by step, free the masses from their anti-progressive social heritage;" *Holloway Commission*, para. 79.

mission education. The aims of "social education" are worth quoting at length:

"It should aim at freeing the mass of Natives from their reactionary conceptions - animism and witchcraft, certain phases of the cattle cult, and "doctoring" of lands as an alternative to proper cultivation which are the real reason for their backwardness. The removal or transformation of these is the first problem of Native Education; "It should not pursue a course which makes the Native dissatisfied with everything in his own background, but it should proceed from the foundations of Native society, and build up, giving the Native a pride in his own people..; It should aim at making the educated native a missionary to his own people, an instrument in advancing their material progress...;"²¹

The NEC envisaged two tiers of education for Africans. All would undergo a "social education" course, but a minority would then be given a more conventional school education to provide a limited professional elite. The NEC saw this as the logical extension of the NAC statement of aims in 1925. The NEC envisaged much of the post primary training advocated by the NAC statement no longer as the responsibility of schools, but of NAD agricultural colleges and hospitals.²² This idea that African education should be removed from the missions and be located far more "on the job", was foreshadowed by Jansen's support for the earmarking of more NDF money to non-mission based education.

The NEC's definition of its own version of adapted education, "social education", consisted of vague platitudes and observations about rural society and the proper place of the educated elite.

"For the tribal native there is a great deal that precedes the three R's and that is definitely more important than the three R's. The great bulk of the Native population will derive much more good from teachings on simple hygiene, elementary agricultural methods and comprehension of the fact that spirits ... do not account for their good fortune, rather than from ordinary school teaching."²³

²¹ *Ibid.*, para. 628. The emphasis is mine.

²² *Ibid.*, paras. 628, 632, 636.

²³ *Ibid.*, paras. 630-631. The emphasis is mine.

The Commission noted that "social education" would cost additional money, but it seemed unclear as to how this "social education" fitted with existing schooling. On one hand it said that "Native school education" was growing and that extra funds would be needed to fund "social education", since funds could not be diverted from mainstream education.²⁴ On the other, it argued that native education needed to be transformed by the integration of social education into mainstream education. Presumably, in this scenario no funds would have to be diverted.²⁵ The Commission acknowledged that the NDF funds were limited and could not "finance any great expansion of native education". But, it did not question the NDF's sources of revenue. Instead it rather ingeniously touted social education as the key to the creation of additional wealth in the reserve areas. This increased wealth would provide greater revenue which would, in turn, be used for education and development. The Commission recognised that changes in education were dependent on intervention and control by the central State. Therefore, the Commission recommended that Native education "be controlled from one source an officer of the Union Government". It avoided saying what department this official would belong to, the UED or NAD.²⁶ Ashforth argues that by advocating Union Control "a unified approach to the 'Native Question' could be developed with proper attention given to the cultivation of the whole native race in a mode fit for their place in the future".²⁷

The NEC Report was not unanimous. The only educationist on the Commission, A. W. Roberts, was the predominant author of the minority findings, especially on education. In their minority report, Roberts and F. A. W. Lucas objected strongly to "social education" and presented a minority report which defended the

²⁴ *Ibid.*, para. 643. In the following paragraph, the Commission explicitly spoke of how the State would have to decide on "the allocation of expenditure between these two types of education".

²⁵ *Ibid.*, para. 630.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, paras. 637, 640.

²⁷ Ashforth, *The Politics*, 86.

existing content and approach of mission schools.²⁸ Roberts and Lucas were the only Commissioners who questioned the principle that Africans should fund their own development. They argued that money for African education should not be limited to the NDF, but should come from general revenue as well, since Africans contributed in many indirect ways to general revenue.²⁹ Reflecting the concerns of many people involved in social welfare at the time, they pointed to the importance of expanding education in the urban areas to create "useful members of the community", defusing social conflict and controlling youth.³⁰ This was in contrast with the majority report's concern with the reserve areas.

The fact that the NEC had not originally been asked to consider African education meant that many educationists felt that the NEC was unqualified to comment on African education. Indeed, the Report's critics challenged its claims to be "scientific". When the Report of the NEC was tabled in May 1932, the *South African Outlook's* editor called into question the competence of the commissioners to comment on the area of African education. The *Outlook* indicated that it fully supported the minority report, particularly in education.³¹ On the issue of finance, the journal supported Roberts' critique of fiscal segregation, and went so far as to say that the NEC estimates of African contributions to the revenue of the country were based on "guesswork". It rejected the majority reports' critique of the methods of existing mission education as "based on insufficient or unrepresentative data", and defended the existing content. It dismissed the idea of social education preceding the three R's as ridiculous.³² At the 1933

²⁸ *Holloway Commission*, para. 656. F.A.W. Lucas was a senior advocate and Chairman of the Wage Board until 1936. More research needs to be done on his attitudes to African education. This also applies to the other members of the Commission.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, para. 657 and 660.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, paras. 649, 663.

³¹ "The Native Economic Commission Report: Native Education", *SAO*, Oct. 1 1932.

³² "Natives Economic Commission", and "The Native Economic Commission: The Share of Natives in Public Revenue and Expenditure", *SAO*, Dec. 1 1932.

European-Bantu Conference, the Chief Inspector of Native Education of the OFS, Herman Kuschke, rejected the argument that mission education had been responsible for the breakdown of traditional society, and cited the many other economic and political forces behind this process. He also accused the NEC of being confused and unrealistic in its support of social education.³³ The Education Committee of the Fifth European Bantu Conference of 1933 was generally dismissive of the whole section of African education, saying that this section was so inadequate that "it is evident that the Commission found itself faced with a problem beyond its powers".³⁴ It supported the aims of social education, but could not take the idea of "social education" seriously. Here, it echoed the Cape Education Native Education Advisory Board members who minuted that they

"would dissent from the views expressed and the fundamental assumptions made in paras 603-644 of that report ... We are equally anxious that education should be related to the daily life of the masses, but we believe that this cannot be confined within such narrow limits as are suggested."³⁵

This attempt to affirm the aims, but reject the "social education" solution, reveals the dilemma of mission educationists at this time. They did not want to appear to be believers in immediate assimilation - i.e. as "radicals". They needed to make it clear that they believed that some differentiation was necessary, for the time being at any rate, and that syllabi for Africans would have to be "adapted" to their needs. But they were anxious to disassociate themselves from a particular form of differentiation which they saw, not only as ridiculous and impractical, but also as associated with hardening segregation policies. This dilemma led to some convoluted arguments that "in principle" there should be no

³³ *Some Aspects of the Native Question: Selected Addresses Delivered at the Fifth National European Bantu Conference, Bloemfontein, July 5-7, 1933* (Johannesburg, 1933), 145-55.

³⁴ UWA, SAIRR/1 AD843, B 40.4.10., Memorandum entitled "SAIRR : Fifth National European-Bantu Conference: Findings of the Education Committee".

³⁵ Cory, MS 16294, Cape Advisory Board for Native Education : Minutes of Fourth Meeting Held at the School Board Offices, East London, on the 10th and 11th of August, 1932. The resolution was put forward by D.D.T. Jabavu and Reverend P.L. Hunter. Paragraphs 603-644 contained most of the majority report on African education.

differences in the way African and other children were educated, but that the differences had to come in at the level of context. Somehow, however, as this extract from the Outlook illustrates, the race a child belonged to was regarded as an equivalent variable with whether s/he lived in a rural or urban context.

"In brief, we believe that the educational content must vary in detail, according as a child comes from a cultured or a poor home, from an urban or a rural area, from one geographical region or another; it must also vary according to his race but only in details."³⁶

By 1934, it was likely that fusion and founding of the United Party would make possible the resolution of the stalemate in the Joint Select Committee on the Hertzog Bills, and that segregation policy would soon be clarified in legislation. Debates about the aim and content of African education have to be seen in this wider context. Many of the ideas which were so crudely expressed in the NEC were explored in a much more sophisticated way in the New Education Fellowship Conference in 1934.

PART 3 : ANTHROPOLOGY AND EDUCATION ADAPTATIONS: THE NEW EDUCATION CONFERENCE OF 1934

The NEF conference debates reveal the way in which some liberals, in the name of applying science to educational problems, flirted with anthropological ideas. It highlights how a commitment to anthropology made for close links between liberals, such as Rheinallt Jones and the Hoernlés, with apologists for segregation such as Werner Eiselen and P. A. W. Cook.³⁷ This caused a split between educationists involved in African education, for the significance of these ideas in relation to segregation policies was not lost on mission members and on educationists in general. This was particularly true in the Cape where Christian, individualist

³⁶ "The Native Economic Commission Report". In his own assessment of the NEC on African education. E.K. Matthews was saying something similar when he approvingly quoted Edgar Brookes as follows: "...the Bantu ought to be given educational facilities equal in degree and not markedly dissimilar from those which we should approve for white South Africa." "The Native Economic Commission and Native Education", SAO, Nov. 1 1932.

³⁷ See Dubow, "Race, civilisation", 81-2.

education was linked to a commitment to the idea of one education, one society and the franchise.

The NEF Conference is particularly interesting in its concern with science, culture and anthropology and the applicability of "culture contact" ideas to African education. In published form, the report of the New Education Fellowship Conference could be read as a triumph for the anthropological perspective, but its pages conceal the struggle around who should decide the direction of African education, and what its aim and content should be. At the end of the conference, a "Joint statement of Anthropologists, Educationalists and Missionaries" was produced. This was the result of, what Rheinallt Jones described as, "private meetings" at which the stakeholders "wrestled to find common grounds for co-operation". Revealingly, in the letter from which this quotation is taken, Rheinallt Jones had written "common" over the original "any". The Joint Statement conceals the "wrestling" which took place during the Conference as a whole, as well as over the statement itself, and it overemphasises consensus about the need for an anthropological departure point. The closing statement has no reference to Christianity as a major component in education, important for stabilising African society in transition, though this was a widely held view, not only by the mission but also by officials in African education. Instead the statement concluded that:

"due recognition must be given to those elements in indigenous African culture which are not only living social forces at present but are also capable of development and re-fashioning"

The statement listed the elements in African culture as: tribal organisation, the family, kinship ties, village organisation, the neighbourhood, age sets, the clan, respect for religion, arts and drama and economic organisation. It qualified this a little by saying that:

"Special consideration must be given to those groups living under conditions in which these institutions no longer function, so that a knowledge may be obtained of

the changes that are taking place, and guidance given in the development of new forms of social organisation."³⁸

In July 1934, the New Education Fellowship organisation hosted a major education conference in South Africa. It was a consciously secular movement which sought to include all creeds and beliefs.³⁹ Its theme was "Educational Adaptations in a Changing Society". The Conference took place in Cape Town and Johannesburg, with the Johannesburg sessions following immediately on the end of the Cape Town sessions. African education was, from the first, considered as an entirely separate section to the Conference.

Originally, the convenor, E. G. Malherbe, who was seconded from the Bureau for this purpose, gave the African Education Conference to Rheinallt Jones to organise.⁴⁰ As it turned out, Rheinallt Jones had nothing to do with organising the Cape Town African education discussions. An irate section of the New Education Fellowship organising committee in the Cape objected to Rheinallt Jones' involvement in the Cape and he withdrew. This conflict appears to have been the result of a misunderstanding on Malherbe's part, as there was a Cape organising committee in place. But the correspondence also reveals a Cape dislike of "northern" or "backveld" interference and "imperialism". This had two consequences. Given the resources available to Rheinallt Jones through the South African Institute of Race Relations and his own personal influence, the Johannesburg conference was a much bigger and more prestigious affair, and much more focused around

³⁸ E.G. Malherbe, ed., *Educational Adaptations in a Changing Society* (Johannesburg, 1937), 520.

³⁹ The New Education Fellowship was a British based organisation founded in 1915. According to the introduction of the record of the proceedings of the Conference, the New Education Fellowship "was an international movement intended to unite those who believed that the problems threatening our civilisation were basically problems of human relationship which demanded a new type of education more responsive to the requirements of a changing world". It held international conferences every few years, and the Conference in South Africa was one of these. Malherbe, ed., *Educational Adaptations*.

⁴⁰ UWA, Records of the South African Institute of Race Relations, Part 2, (hereafter SAIRR/2), AD 843/RJ, Kb 10.1 (File 1), Malherbe to Anson Phelps-Stokes 6 Nov. 1933, and SAIRR Circular 33/10.

anthropology in terms of content.⁴¹ The Cape Town event's lack of anthropological emphasis, however, provided a challenge to the focus of the Johannesburg conference.

It is clear from the correspondence surrounding the conference that, in the name of a more scientifically and anthropologically based approach to African education, Rheinallt Jones tried to exclude the main stream English-speaking missions and prominent African speakers. In this he had the full support of Malherbe. There is no doubt that the expense of the conference substantially limited the participation of missions on the ground. The funding of overseas speakers meant that the conference was expensive at £2.2.0 per person, without travel or accommodation.⁴² Expense, however, was not the only reason that the missions were not well represented on the ground as delegates. Except for the Dutch Reformed Church, none of the missionary organisations were formally invited. On a typed list of organisations and people invited to attend the Conference, Malherbe had written; "Seeing we have invited the DR Church, should we not invite the other churches? If so, which?"⁴³

Rheinallt Jones' efforts to drum up DRC support also extended to Southern Rhodesia, from which a strong official contingent was

⁴¹ Ibid, Kb 10.1 (File 1), J. Burger (Chairman of the Organising Committee of the NEF in Cape Town) to Rheinallt Jones, 7 Dec. 1933; KCA, Malherbe Papers, KCM 56982, File 505/6/1 (55), E.O. Vaughan (Gen. Secretary of SATA) to Malherbe 23 April 1934: "What was the idea of reserving the fuller treatment of Native Education to the Backveld Conference? [Members] are grouching at the richness of the feast on the table at JHB and the boarding house fare at Cape Town". The Johannesburg Conference had 50 papers, and the Cape nine.

⁴² There were many requests for reduction of fees from Africans and Whites connected to the missions and outside them. In dealing with one such request from W.B. Ngakane of Kilnerton Training College, Rheinallt Jones argued that, "some of us concerned with the Conference had to overcome objections on the part of some Europeans to the admission of non-Europeans" and so, he argued, once Africans attended the Conference, there could be no differential treatment. UWA, SAIRR/2, AD 843/RJ, Kb 10.1, (File 4), Rheinallt Jones to W.B. Ngakane, 26 April 1934.

⁴³ Ibid, Kb 10.1 (File 2), Typed list of organisations and people invited to attend the Conference; Kb 10.1 (File 2), Rheinallt Jones to E.D. Hanson, 30 Jan 1934.

coming. He particularly mentioned DRC support.⁴⁴ He appears to have become concerned at the lack of response from mission institutions and missions as the Conference got closer, and he made a last minute attempt to increase mission participation.⁴⁵

What is more significant is that both mission and African speakers were under-represented. In the case of the missions, one of the main reasons appears to have been a deliberate attempt by Rheinallt Jones and Malherbe to move the debate around African education away from the churches into the "scientific" or "anthropological" domain. Malherbe wrote as follows to Anson Phelps-Stokes:

"In order that we may get a lead on the more purely scientific (i.e. anthropological) side of this section, we have invited Dr. Malinowski from London."⁴⁶

All Rheinallt Jones' draft programmes placed heavy emphasis on "indigenous life", and "cultural change" which Rheinallt Jones saw as an essential context for discussion of African education. In a letter to Professor Malinowski, he said that this discussion of context would take up more than half the conference.⁴⁷ As a result, a large number of people related to the discipline of anthropology spoke at the Johannesburg Conference. Malinowski was guest of honour, but ~~he~~ was supported by Professor R. F. A. Hoernlé, Mrs. A. W. Hoernlé, Dr. I. Schapera, Dr. W. Eiselen, Dr. P. A. W. Cook, Dr. Monica Hunter and Professor G. P. Lestrade.⁴⁸

⁴⁴ Ibid, Kb 10.1 (File 2), Rheinallt Jones to Jowitt, 26 Feb. 1934, 5 March 1934.

⁴⁵ In February 1934, he began pressing the Chief Inspectors of Native Education to check that all mission schools had been informed. In late March he sent circulars all over the country and put inserts in the newspapers "most likely to reach those in native education". He had also advertised in church newspapers, including the Outlook. See Kb 10.1., Files 3 and 4.

⁴⁶ Ibid, Kb 10.1 (File 1), Malherbe to Anson Phelps-Stokes, 6 Nov. 1933.

⁴⁷ Ibid, Kb 10.1 (File 2), Rheinallt Jones to Professor Malinowski, 26 Feb. 1934.

⁴⁸ Prof. Bronislaw Malinowski was Professor of Anthropology at London University, Dr. I. Schapera was Professor of Social Anthropology at UCT and Prof. G.P. Lestrade was head of the NAD's ethnological section from 1925 and later became Professor of Bantu Languages at UCT. See Dubow, *Racial Segregation*, 81.

Malherbe tried unsuccessfully to ensure that the Cape Conference included Cook.⁴⁹

To speak on what Malherbe called "the more practical and applied side", Rheinallt Jones invited officials from the education departments in South Africa and "experts" in "native affairs" in the British colonies in Africa.⁵⁰ The English-speaking Protestant missions, that were responsible for most of the "practical" side of African education, were hardly represented. From the correspondence surrounding the Conference, it is clear that some mission representatives were included as an afterthought, and it was, again, the DRC which was encouraged to contribute speakers. In terms of provision of African education, the DRC was a latecomer compared to the other churches. In March 1934, three months before the Conference was due to begin, Rheinallt Jones told Jowitt that Malherbe

"is very anxious that we should draw the Dutch into the native education section, partly because he thinks it would be very good for them, and partly because he has been severely criticised in several quarters because of the overloading of the Conference Programme with English speaking persons from overseas."

Rheinallt Jones continued by saying that he felt that he would also like to draw more missionaries in general, because "at present my programme is overwhelmingly official ..."⁵¹ It was getting rather late in the day to have such second thoughts, however, and when he did try to expand on missionary speakers, he concentrated on those from the DRC.⁵² Sometimes Rheinallt Jones attributed the desire to

⁴⁹ KCA, Malherbe Papers, KCM 56982, File 505/6/1 (47), Malherbe to J.F. Burger 3 Feb. 1934, "Daar is een persoon wat ek dink julle nie moet vergeet nie in verband met julle Naturelle afdeling nie, en dit is Dr. P.A.W. Cook".

⁵⁰ UWA, SAIRR/1, AD 843/RJ, Kb 10.1 (File 1), Malherbe to Anson Phelps-Stokes, 6 Nov. 1933. Professor Fred Clarke was Professor of Education at London University. Colonial experts included H.E. Dumbrell who was Director of Education in Bechuanaland, H. Jowitt who occupied a similar position in Uganda, and had been Director of Native Development in Southern Rhodesia, J.H. Farquar who was Inspector of Native Development in Southern Rhodesia.

⁵¹ Ibid, Kb 10.1 (File 3), Rheinallt Jones to Jowitt, 5 March 1934.

⁵² Ibid, Kb 10.1 (File 3), Rheinallt Jones to Malherbe, 3 March 1934.

include the DRC to Malherbe, but at other times he pushed as his own policy.⁵³ There might have been other reasons for the wooing of the DRC. Perhaps Rheinallt Jones and Malherbe felt that the DRC was more sympathetic to the "cultural" focus of the anthropologists.⁵⁴ They were probably also influenced by the idea, articulated by Loram in the 1920s, that the DRC would have more influence over the State than would the English Churches.⁵⁵

The lack of missionary input drew criticism from Professor A. Victor Murray, who was based at Hull University, but had long teaching experience in Africa. He was the author of the *School in the Bush* which contained a critique of notions of adapted education and anthropology from a Christian perspective.⁵⁶ Murray himself was not initially invited to speak, and basically invited himself in March 1934. Rheinallt Jones tried to palm him off on the Cape Town Conference, but was unsuccessful.⁵⁷ Murray responded to Rheinallt Jones' draft programme by saying that:

"We are told on all hands that African education must be based on Religion, meaning by that, for the most part, the Christian religion, yet there is nothing about that, as far as I could see, in the programme. I know it is a terribly thorny subject and there is all this denominational nonsense, but still the facts being as they are, I don't see how you can cut it out entirely, and I think there could be something on the contribution

⁵³ Ibid. See, for example, Rheinallt Jones to Herman Kuschke, 26 Feb. 1934. "I do not want the speakers to be all official representatives and I also do want the DRC missionaries to have a look in."

⁵⁴ The DRC's attitude to Native education began to emerge in the late 1920s, but became much clearer after the tabling of the Welsh Report. In September 1930, *Die Basuin*, the General Mission Journal of the DRC, as translated by Alexander Kerr, commented that mission education did not create "an atmosphere in which the Native can develop on his own merits and can perpetuate a national pride! Why must the native educational system so degenerate the Native as to make of him a mere imitator?" Cory, Alexander Kerr Papers, PR 4088. After the tabling of the Welsh Report, the *Outlook* reported that the DRC was in favour of education which "did not detribalise and denationalise". The *Outlook* quoted this with some disapproval. "The Reorganisation of Native Education", *SAO*, 1 Sept. 1937.

⁵⁵ See Chapter Two.

⁵⁶ Murray, *The School in the Bush*, particularly Chapters 9 and 14.

⁵⁷ UWA, SAIRR/1, AD843/RJ, Kb 10.1.(File 3), Rheinallt Jones to W. Mears, Chairman of the Cape Town Sub-Committee on the Native Education section, 16 March 1934.

of Christianity (not just religion) to the future of the African people While I greatly sympathise with Malinowski I do not think that vague approval of "Religion-in-general" is going to be nearly good enough."⁵⁸

He recommended that Rheinallt Jones ask Edgar Brookes to speak on the "contribution of Christianity" to balance the programme. Possibly as a result of this, Rheinallt Jones appears to have invited Brookes to speak only when the programme had already been finalised.⁵⁹ Even with Brookes' contribution, the issue of Christianity and education was to be limited to two speakers on "Moral and Religious Teaching." The other speaker was S. R. Dent, Inspector of Native Education in Natal.⁶⁰

Rheinallt Jones' stated reason for the lack of African speakers was that there were not many African educationists who were of the same standard as Whites, and he did not want to embarrass them or lower the standard of the Conference. An exception was Z.K. Matthews, who as Kros argues "consciously phrased himself as a student of 'culture contact'". He was studying in Loram's programme of Studies in Race Relations and Culture Contact at Yale University. Rheinallt Jones had favoured inviting Matthews, but Matthews was unable to attend.⁶¹ He ended up inviting Dr. A. B. Xuma, Mrs. E. M. Morake and Reverend K. T. Motsete of Tati Training Institution in Bechuanaland.⁶² D. D. T. Jabavu and D. G. S. Mtimkulu spoke at

⁵⁸ Ibid, Kb 10.1. (File 4), Prof. A.V. Murray to Rheinallt Jones, 26 April 1934.

⁵⁹ Ibid, Kb 10.1. (File 4) Memorandum entitled "New Education Fellowship Regional Conference Johannesburg". Rheinallt Jones' third and final draft programme does not include Edgar Brookes.

⁶⁰ Malherbe, ed., *Educational Adaptations*, 427-8.

⁶¹ Kros, "Deep Rumbings", 26-9.

⁶² UWA, SAIRR/1, AD843/RJ, Kb 10.1. (File 2), Rheinallt Jones to Prof. Mabel Carney, 7 February 1934. See also Kb 10.1. (File 3), Rheinallt Jones to D. McMalcolm, 5 March 1934. Mabel Carney was Professor of Rural Education, Teachers College, Columbia University. She was one of the main guests at both conferences and it was at her behest that Rheinallt Jones invited Eva Mahuma Morake, who was an ex student of Prof. Carney and the Principal of the AME teacher training college, Wilberforce Institute. Dr. A.B. Xuma had just returned from medical training in the U.S., Hungary and U.K. Walshe, *The Rise*, 116.

the Cape Town Conference, but they were not on Rheinallt Jones' list of competent Africans. As in the case of mission speakers, Rheinallt Jones seems to have had second thoughts about the lack of African speakers as time went on. Again he asked the Chief Inspectors of Native Education to recommend African speakers, but in somewhat diffident manner. "I do not know of any Natives of the necessary standard, do you?" he wrote to Herman Kuschke.⁶³

A comparison between the Cape and Johannesburg programmes is interesting. The Cape Conference was organised with little or no reference to Rheinallt Jones, who received a belated draft programme from its organisers in March 1934. While it made use of Schapera and Malinowski as speakers, there is no sense that an anthropological viewpoint was being pushed, and its focus was basically descriptive and practical. It is interesting to note that Eiselen had been scheduled to speak in Cape Town on "Should the Content of Native Education be on academic or practical lines?", but his name was scratched out.⁶⁴ The anthropological input was to take one of the six days of the Cape Town Conference, whereas Rheinallt Jones was intending to spend five of the ten days putting African education in an anthropological context.⁶⁵ In Cape Town, an African voice was far more evident. There were only nine

⁶³ Ibid, Kb 10.1.(File 2), Rheinallt Jones to Kuschke, 26 Feb. 1934.

⁶⁴ Ibid, Kb 10.1.(File 4), Ts manuscript "Native Section: New Education Fellowship: Cape Town Meetings." Schapera and Malinowski shared a slot with D.D.T. Jabavu, who was in fact the first speaker.

⁶⁵ The "JHB" Conference provided for an introductory symposium on:

"Indigenous life"

"Cultural Change"

Education and Cultural Change"

It then moved to "Educability", "Differential Development in Native Education" and "the Medium Question". Content as such was to be discussed in this context. There was also discussion of "Community organisation", and "Possible Developments in Education Administration".

In contrast, the Cape Town Programme gave very little space to an anthropological viewpoint and moved quickly on to:

"Influence of Primary education"

Technical and Agricultural Education"

The Use made by Natives of their Education"

The Medium of Instruction"

Should the Content of Native Education be on Academic or Practical lines?"

papers in all, and no sense of any organising theme. All the local speakers were from the Cape.⁶⁶

A report on the NEF Conference was edited by Malherbe and published in 1937. The section on African education was edited by Rheinallt Jones, who combined the proceedings of the Cape Town and Johannesburg Conferences. The Cape Town contributions were almost all put together in a section called : "The African Child and What School Makes of Him", which basically did not interfere with the anthropological focus which Rheinallt Jones had wanted.

The Report contains a sustained attack on mission education by a range of anthropologists. The debate was couched in similar terms to those in the NEC Report. The destruction of African social systems and the decline of the reserve areas informed much of the debate about the appropriate or inappropriate nature of the content of mission education.⁶⁷ This was reiterated when relations with missions were briefly discussed. Malinowski presented an indictment of schooling "out of harmony with real conditions". It was important to help the African to adjust to the "invading culture" but, in so doing, he should "take full advantage of his cultural endowment to help him retain his respect for his own tribal dignity and racial characteristics and to assume his natural place in that society". Educationists needed to ascertain what remained of African culture and to see what ought to be preserved.⁶⁸

Reflecting most strongly the criticisms of mission education expressed by the Natives Economic Commission, Eiselen, Cook and Dr. John Holloway himself, advocated "adapted" curricula which would

⁶⁶ Three out of the nine papers were to be given by Africans: D.D.T. Jabavu of Fort Hare, C. Kabane of Lovedale and Chairman of CATA, and D.G.S. Mtshkulu of Healdtown. Kabane does not appear to have delivered a paper.

⁶⁷ See Malherbe, *Educational Adaptations*, Chap XV, "The Changing African Society" and Chap XVI, "Education as a Reintegrating Agency".

⁶⁸ *Ibid*, Chap XVI, "Education as a Reintegrating Agency", 425.

fit most Africans for life in the reserves.⁶⁹ While Eiselen favoured a broader curriculum which included "Bantu history, folk lore and songs" (as well as practical arithmetic and industrial training) which aimed to create "Bantu national sentiment", Cook and Holloway saw a severely practical curriculum to create "sturdy peasants" in "social schools" which were not concerned with literary education, but which might exist side by side with existing mission schools.⁷⁰

This caused a major reaction from Victor Murray and Jowitt, who gave a defence of Christian basis for education. They argued that it would be foolish to reconstruct old institutions which had declined because they were no longer appropriate. They contended that African society was far from homogenous and many of the old institutions were not relevant to people's lived experience. They emphasised the positive benefits of Christianity and Christian education which, rather than being divisive, were cohesive and dynamic.⁷¹

At the Cape Conference, G. H. Welsh, the Chief Inspector of Native Education, was openly critical of the attempts to adjust existing education "on the strength of some new prophecy of the Native's economic future in some dreamland of adequate reserves".⁷² He made what the *Outlook* called "a brilliant vindication of the present system".⁷³ In Johannesburg, D. McMalcolm, Chief Inspector of Native Education in Natal, had made his position clear by

⁶⁹ Holloway was Director of Census and Statistics and Chairman of the NEC.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, "Education as a Reintegrating Agency", 429-30, "The Content of African Education", 482, "The Economic Environment", 418. Originally, Holloway had wanted to present a paper on "What the Purpose of Native Education Ought to Be", saying that he still held firmly to the views he had held in the report of the NEC. UWA, SAIRR/1, AD843/RJ, Kb 10.1 (File 3), Holloway to Rheinallt Jones, 12 March 1934.

⁷¹ Malherbe, ed., *Educational Adaptations*, "Education as a Reintegrating Agency", 427-8.

⁷² *Ibid.*, "The Influence of Primary Education", 437.

⁷³ J.W. Macquarrie, "The New Education and the Natives", *SAO*, Aug. 1 1934.

recommending that funding should come from general revenue, be controlled by the Union Education Department and that education, in general, should be controlled by a central advisory board. Going even further, he recommended that all "departments of State should be available to the native population" which would mean the abolition of the Native Affairs Department.⁷⁴

It would appear that Rheinallt Jones set up the section on "The Educability of the Bantu" as an attempt to showcase the "cultural" approach and to show up the limitations of the scientific racism inherent in Dr. M. L. Fick's work. Fick was, as Fleisch points out, "the most outspoken defender of white intellectual superiority".⁷⁵ Dubow notes that "it was the pluralism and relativism characteristic of anthropological thought which offered a way out of the evolutionist constraints of biological determinism" inherent in scientific racism, which was equated with repression.⁷⁶ Professor Hoernlé argued that differences in intelligence were due to culture; therefore different content could not be justified on the basis of racist ideas about intellectual inferiority.⁷⁷ Fick's work was directly challenged by Mr. G. R. Dent and a general conference discussion of the validity and cultural specificity of tests.⁷⁸

In contrast to the NEF conference, the European-Bantu Conference of 1933 was not informed by anthropological ideas, and as we have seen, its Education Committee reacted very negatively to the proposals of the NEC. The Conference not only provided a central place to develop a consolidated critique of the NEC, but also a

⁷⁴ Malherbe, ed., *Education Adaptations*, "Relations Between Education and the Native Affairs Departments", 514-5.

⁷⁵ Dr. M.L. Fick was a Harvard trained psychometrician who worked on intelligence testing in the Bureau from 1929. Fleisch, "Social Scientists", 9-11.

⁷⁶ Dubow, "Race, civilisation", 80.

⁷⁷ Malherbe, ed., *Educational Adaptations*, "The Educability of the Bantu", 446.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 466; Fleisch, "Social Scientists", 10.

place for the liberal-mission network to unify its evidence concerning the financial crisis to the imminent Provincial Finances Commission. Out of this came a clearly articulated critique of fiscal segregation, the NAC and possible NAD control. This was strongly reiterated in the Welsh Report.

PART 4: CHALLENGES TO FISCAL SEGREGATION AND THE NATIVE AFFAIRS COMMISSION: THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE PROVINCIAL FINANCE COMMISSION OF 1933

The most immediate and pressing problem for the missions was not that of the aim and content of African education, but that of finance. The missions became rather exasperated with the "scientific investigation[s] of social questions" while they suffered from the effects of the financial crisis.⁷⁹ As a result of recommendations of the Carnegie Commission, funds were channelled at a greater rate into White education to improve the holding capacity of schools, mainly through school feeding schemes and the development of rural boarding schools and transport networks.⁸⁰ Between 1931 and 1935 there was a significant increase in spending on White education. In 1935, the provinces spent over £23 per White pupil, compared with just under £2 per African pupil. Spending per African pupil had dropped from 1931, when it was over £2. (See Appendix A, Figure 8) In this context the State's commitment to fiscal segregation was even more unlikely to change. The formation of a coalition Government between the National Party and the South African Party in March 1933, made people involved in African education hope that the new Government might at least address the financial crisis in a more constructive way than its predecessor.⁸¹ Rheinallt Jones, in a document recommending joint

⁷⁹ J.W. Macquarrie, "Some Needs of Native Education", *SAO*, Aug. 2 1937.

⁸⁰ Cross and Chisholm, "The Roots", 52; Malherbe, *Never a Dull Moment*, 140.

⁸¹ UWA, SAIRR/1, AD 843, B 70.1.3., A. Cragg to Rheinallt Jones, 22 March 1933; B 70.1.5, Appendix C to the Minutes of the OFS Native Education Advisory Board Meeting of 27 April 1933; Letter from Rheinallt Jones to OFS Advisory Board, 25 April 1933. This feeling was articulated in meetings of both the Natal Advisory Board for Native Education and its counterpart in the Transvaal. Both boards, independently of each other, felt the time was ripe for a delegation from the advisory boards to the new

action from the provincial Native Education Advisory Boards, argued that:

"It is generally understood that the previous cabinet as a whole, and the Minister of Finance in particular, did not appreciate the gravity of the situation. There is now a new Government, some of whose members have in the past expressed sympathy with the demand for further funds for Native Education. This may well prove a most favourable opportunity for pressing anew for the relief so urgently needed."⁸²

Attempts to "press for relief" were pre-empted by the establishment of a Provincial Finance Commission in April 1933. Its focus was:

The financial relations at present existing between the Union and the provinces" and "the present financial position of the several Provincial Administrations ..."⁸³

Rheinallt Jones, using the infrastructure of the SAIRR, appears as a key figure in the co-ordination of mission evidence, both in terms of the missionary societies and the provincial Native Education Advisory Boards. Optimism that the new Government would, in fact, address the crisis in African education is evidenced by the huge amount of work the missions and SAIRR put into preparing evidence for it.⁸⁴

The Fifth European-Bantu Conference of 1933 provided stakeholders, both in and outside the provincial education departments, with an opportunity to prepare and co-ordinate evidence for the PFC.⁸⁵ Herman Kuschke's paper appears to have been very influential in the

Government.

⁸² Ibid, B 70.1.5., Appendix C to the minutes of OFS Advisory Board Meeting.

⁸³ *Report of the Provincial Finance Commission of 1933* (UG 46-34), (hereafter *PFC Report 1934*), Terms of Reference.

⁸⁴ For example, the Transvaal Missionary Association, with the help of the SAIRR, attempted a survey of all the African schools in the Transvaal. UWA, SAIRR/1, AD 843 B 81.1., TMA Survey of Native Schools in the Transvaal; B 70.1.3, Memorandum of the Transvaal Missionary Association to the Chairman of the Provincial Finance Committee.

⁸⁵ In June and July of 1933, the last European-Bantu Conference was held in Bloemfontein. It was arranged by the SAIRR, and had 232 delegates from a wide range of organisations, including mission societies and churches, Joint Councils, the ICU, the Bantu Youth League and municipal advisory boards. ANC members also attended as individuals or JC members. *Report of the Fifth National European Bantu Conference* (SAIRR Press, Johannesburg, 1933).

findings of the Conference and in the memoranda presented by the Advisory Boards to the PFC.⁸⁶

Apart from the OFS Advisory Board evidence and the Joint Advisory Board evidence, it appears that the evidence to the PFC took the form of extremely detailed accounts of the effects of the financial crisis.⁸⁷ The evidence of churches, related organisations, the Chief Inspectors of Native Education and of the individual and Joint Advisory Boards, all strongly favoured a per caput grant instead of the existing block grant given to each province. This was a long-standing demand. Many witnesses from the Missionary Associations and Advisory Boards favoured an increase in the amount to be paid into the NDF from the General Tax as the quickest way of dealing with the crisis.⁸⁸ The Education Committee of the European-Bantu Conference had moved beyond such immediate firefighting suggestions and had roundly condemned fiscal segregation, and a similar argument was strongly put in the Joint Advisory Board memorandum to the PFC. This memorandum contained a lengthy critique of the NDF and of fiscal segregation, and the divorce of executive and administrative functions between the provinces and the central Government. It concluded its gloomy picture of native education by saying:

"The parlous position of Native education shows that the financial provisions of the Native Taxation and Development Act are not only totally inadequate, but are based on a wholly wrong principle..."⁸⁹

⁸⁶ *Some Aspects of the Native Question*, 145-55.

⁸⁷ A. Kerr, "Native Education: Evidence Led Before the Provincial Commission, August 1933", *SAO*, Oct. 2 1933; J.W. Macquarrie, "Native Education and the Provincial Finances Commission", *SAO*, Feb. 1 1934.

⁸⁸ UWA, SAIRR/1, AD 843, 70.1.3., Memorandum on the Finance of Native Education, Submitted by the Natal Advisory Board on Native Education; OFS Education Department: Native Education. Memorandum Presented to the Provincial Finance Commission, 1933, by the Native Education Advisory Board of the Orange Free State.

⁸⁹ Ibid, B 70.1.3., Memorandum entitled "The Finance of Native Education. Joint Statement by Native Education Advisory Boards of the Cape of Good Hope, Natal, the Transvaal and the Orange Free State to the Provincial Finance Commission"; *Fifth European-Bantu Conference, Findings*, Part V, Native Taxation, 80-81. The emphasis is mine.

As regards the future control of African education, there was consensus in the evidence given that provincial control should be retained, but that if Union control was envisaged, the NAD should not manage African education.⁹⁰ Kuschke argued that Provincial control would be sensitive to regional diversity and encourage local initiatives. He was opposed to NAD control, and to the possible separation of African education from educational policy in general, if it fell under Union control. He recommended a Union Native Education Committee, on which the NAC and the Heads of Education in the provinces could sit. This would formalise what had happened up to 1930. (The meetings of the Provincial Heads of Education with the NAC had ceased after 1930.) Here, he had the support of the Chief Inspector of Native Education of the Cape, G. H. Welsh. The idea of a Union Education Committee was similar to the recommendation made by the SAGMC in 1928.⁹¹ Both these items of evidence contained a condemnation of NAC involvement in controlling allocation of funds to the provinces.

The Joint Advisory Board memorandum on the subject of control went much further, and reflected the escalating hostility to the NAC. It characterised the NAC as lacking the necessary expertise and out of touch with African educational needs. It argued that this was particularly true since the demise of the annual meeting with Provincial Heads of Education. It accused the NAC of "earmarking grants and threatening to withdraw sums if they were not devoted to purposes of its own choosing". It concluded that the framing of educational policy should be done by a Union Advisory Board which included "those who are in touch with the education needs of the people, and have knowledge of the actual problems of administration". It said that:

⁹⁰ Ibid, B 70.1.5., Memorandum entitled "Union Control of Native Education". From the contents it is clear that the author is Kuschke, and that it was prepared for the PFC. B 70.1.3., OFS Education Department: Native Education. Memorandum Presented to the Provincial Finance Commission, 1933, by the Native Education Advisory Board of the Orange Free State.

⁹¹ J.W. Macquarrie, "Native Education and the Provincial Finances Commission", SAO, Feb. 1 1934. See UWA, SAIRR/1, AD 843, B 70.1.2. Resolutions passed at Conference at Johannesburg (2nd to 3rd October, 1928), convened under the auspices of the General Missionary Conference on the Finance of Native Education.

"The Commission is not a suitable body to frame educational policy and to direct educational organisation."

The memorandum strongly favoured retaining provincial control, which included the provinces being "free to plan out their own provincial programme", and that funds should be in the hands of "those who have knowledge of the special problems of each province". "Diversity in unity" should be sought.⁹²

The PFC Report itself devoted very little space to African education and was a great disappointment to those who had put so much effort into compiling evidence. The *Outlook* editorial of February 1935 summed up the feelings which greeted the publication of the report. It portrayed the section on African education as inadequate and almost laughable. As in the case of the NEC, it called into question the competence of the commissioners to deal with the subject of African education. It took the PFC to task over its lack of consultation with Africans. It accused the PFC of diluting, misrepresenting or omitting much of the evidence given. This criticism was valid. The PFC devoted considerable space to Kuschke's testimony at the expense of other evidence, particularly that of the Cape. It also flew in the face of much of the evidence (including Kuschke's) by recommending Union control.⁹³ In its 1932-33 Report, the NAC again made a case for control by the NAD, given the dire financial position and the problems it saw in content; it described native education as "aimless".⁹⁴

The PFC Report had taken note, if too briefly, of the volumes of detailed evidence on conditions presented by the missions. It said that the NDF was bankrupt and painted a graphic picture of chaotic conditions of overcrowded classrooms, poor pupil-teacher ratios and

⁹² UWA, Pim Papers, A 881, Pa 9/5, "Administration: Joint Statement by Native Education Advisory Boards of the Cape of Good Hope, Natal, the Transvaal and the OFS."

⁹³ The PFC blithely stated that African opinion on these issues was "a closed book to the Commission". "The Provincial Finance Commission", *SAO*, Feb. 1 1935; *PFC Report*, para. 169.

⁹⁴ *NAC Report 1932-33*, para. 50.

grossly underpaid teachers. The Commission appears to have devoted most of its attention to Kuschke's concern for the extension of African education, particularly in the urban areas, and how this could be financed.⁹⁵ This concern had been clearly articulated by Roberts in the NEC, and implied a recognition of a permanent and expanding African urban community, in contrast to the retribalisation focus for education advocated by the NEC and in debates at the NEF Conference. Motivated by this concern, it was Kuschke who suggested a comprehensive enquiry into African education, which he had first mooted at the Fifth European-Bantu Conference.⁹⁶ In direct response to this, the PFC recommended that the focus for such an enquiry should be on the extension of African education in the future, including the possibility of compulsory education, and how this should be financed. The issue of content was not central in the terms of reference, and control was not mentioned.⁹⁷

The *South African Outlook* wearily speculated that the PFC's recommendation for another commission meant that the State could simply postpone addressing the crisis in African education once again.⁹⁸ Members of Parliament and the Minister of Finance, however, supported the idea of a commission of enquiry recommended by the Provincial Finances Commission.⁹⁹ The appointment of J. H. Hofmeyr as Minister of Education in the UP Government gave him the power to set up such an enquiry in early 1935. The terms of reference, however, were not the same as those suggested by the PFC. The focus shifted to the aim, content and control of African education. This shift was related to the fact that, by early 1935,

⁹⁵ The PFC also felt strongly that at a local level municipalities should take on some responsibility for providing school buildings, indicating its concern for urban education. *PFC Report 1934*, paras. 169-70.

⁹⁶ *Fifth European-Bantu Conference, Findings*, Section 6, 81-2.

⁹⁷ *PFC Report 1934*, para. 171.

⁹⁸ "The Provincial Finance Commission", *SAO*, Feb. 1 1935.

⁹⁹ *Hansard*, 28 March 1935, Col. 3933-4.

it was clear that the "Native Bills" were likely to become law, entrenching segregation and abolishing the Cape franchise.

CONCLUSION

By 1935, the missions were under fire as never before. They faced a concerted attack from all sides, including from within the liberal-mission network itself, on what their critics perceived as the unscientific, alienating and destructive nature of the education they provided for Africans. These arguments were made with varying degrees of sophistication in the NEC and at the NEF Conference. The missions realised that the proposed alternative, education differentiated along "cultural" lines, implied the end of individualist education based on absolute moral concepts, and the end of mission control of the process of the African's passage into the modern world. It also accorded with broader segregation legislation which stated that this passage would not be into a common modern society. As they prepared their evidence, a question which must have occupied mission minds was the extent to which the Welsh Committee members might align themselves with prevalent secular ideas, which could both erode the central ideas of the mission enterprise in education, and harness education to the implementation of segregationist legislation.

CHAPTER FOUR

"SHOULD EDUCATION LEAD OR FOLLOW THE SOCIAL ORDER?" THE WELSH REPORT AND THE POLICY OF SEGREGATION, 1935 - 1939 ¹

INTRODUCTION

In April 1935, the Welsh Committee was set up as the first national commission into African education after Union. It reported in March 1936, at the same time as the passing of the Native Trust and Land Act and the Native Representation Act. Its timing alone demands that it can be taken seriously in considering the relationship between policy towards African education and segregation. In the literature about African education during this period, very little attention has been paid to the nature of the Welsh Report's connection with the legislation of 1936. Commentators on the period assume that the Welsh Report reflected United Party Government thinking on African education. The Report is interpreted as supporting greater differentiated education for Africans, a less spectacular precursor to the Report of the Eiselen Commission in 1951. In this sense it is cited as evidence of continuity between policies towards African education before and after 1948.²

The contention of this chapter is that the Welsh Report was not a segregationist manifesto for African education, nor a simple precursor to the Eiselen Report. By considering the genesis,

¹ A substantial part of this chapter has appeared as a refereed article in the *South African Historical Journal*, No 28, May 1993, under the title "'Should Education Lead or Follow the Social Order?' The Welsh Report and the Policy of Segregation, 1935-1940".

² Rose and Turner, eds, *Documents*, 228-234; Molteno, "The Historical Foundations"; Christie and Collins, "Bantu Education", 63-64, 158.

content and impact of the Report, this chapter will demonstrate that, to a large degree, it was in direct opposition to segregationist thinking at the time. Even the much quoted section on the aims of African education reflects a confused, liberal and mission disenchantment with Hertzogian segregation rather than a blueprint for differentiated education. When the Welsh Committee was set up, it was clear that the issue of African education was, itself, a vehicle for the much broader question of the future place and role of Africans in society. This role was being debated through discussion of the "Hertzog Bills" in a Joint Select Committee which represented its last report to Parliament in April 1935. From this time on, while the Welsh commissioners heard evidence, "public debate intensified markedly".³

When, in their final Report, the Welsh Committee members denied that education should be an agent of segregation, rejected fiscal segregation and NAD and NAC involvement in African education, they were, in their own way, rejecting the basic tenets of the 1936 legislation. Shingler argues that the "formulation of the Committee's approach is an excellent instance of the position of South African liberals in the period between the two World Wars".⁴ Their proposals offered no significant alternative to what was in place. Their suggestions regarding the aim of African education merely acknowledged that the limitations placed by existing segregation undermined the possibility of truly undifferentiated education, at least for the time being. Elphick's characterisation of the Christian liberals as social workers, rather than social analysts who "had no clear conception of the kind of society they wanted, no clear ground from which to assail White domination" has resonance in the tone and content of the Welsh Report.⁵

³ Dubow, *Racial Segregation*, 142, 164. The Joint Select Committee, which began sitting in 1930, had reduced the three Native Bills to two, a Natives Trust and Lands Bill and a Native Representation Bill.

⁴ Shingler, "Education", 271.

⁵ Elphick, "Mission Christianity", 72, 79.

What is equally important about the Report is its assertion of support for mission controlled, Christian based education and its almost complete omission of any references to secular scientific ideas, particularly anthropology. This was in spite of the presence of E. G. Malherbe on the Committee. He attempted to push the boundaries of the Report by endeavouring to set up a large scale survey of African education which included intelligence tests. He encountered resistance to this, however, and was not very successful. Mission opposition to such secular scientific intrusions was related to a commitment to Christian values, but it also had to do with a recognition of the close connection of such ideas with segregationist ideas.

PART 1: "THE SOCIAL ORDER" - AFRICAN EDUCATION IN CONTEXT

During the time the Welsh commissioners heard evidence and made their report, South Africans were feeling the effects of both the legacy of the Great Depression and the economic recovery. The drought of the early 1930s and the Depression acted as a stimulus to urbanisation. The decline of the reserve areas and poor working conditions on ~~White~~ farms pushed many African men and, increasingly, women into the towns for the first time. Here they could seek employment in new or expanding manufacturing industries. Both the economic recovery, fuelled by the high gold price and the expansion of gold mining and protective tariffs, had stimulated State and privately funded manufacturing industry.⁶ While there were concerted attempts to cushion the effects of urbanisation on Whites, Africans were left to suffer the full force of social dislocation associated with urbanisation. The provision of education for Africans at this time was extremely limited. In 1935, only 30% of African children of school going age actually went to school, and very few stayed beyond the first two standards. Only 1.83% of pupils at school were in post primary classes. The amounts spent on them were pitifully small compared with White children. Heavy emphasis on developing White education precluded

⁶Davenport, *South Africa*, 302-3, 524, 535.

any increase on African education, especially in the context of the findings of the Carnegie Report on "Poor Whites" and post Depression reconstruction. Here, education was seen as key to White social reconstruction.⁷ (See Chapter Three)

The spectre of an emerging militant African proletariat had occupied the minds of administrators, politicians, missions and social theorists since the first wave of African urbanisation after the First World War. Dubow argues that the policy of segregation embodied in the 1936 legislation was one of "social containment" designed to limit the social dislocation and unrest resulting from industrialisation, which threatened White supremacy. The proposed abolition of the non-racial Cape franchise was "linked to anxieties of Whites about the emergence of a politically conscious African proletariat". He argues that the differences about the franchise which kept Smuts and Hertzog apart before the formation of the United Party in 1934, were superficial and both agreed on the importance of preserving White supremacy. Hertzog's promotion of a "[White] South African nationalism" was integrally linked to the "exclusion of blacks from civil society".⁸ Therefore, the non-racial franchise could no longer be tolerated. Dubow observes that:

"General Hertzog was particularly adept at transforming the idea of black political advancement into a generalised panic. He did so by conflating - in defiance of rational argumentation - the urbanisation of Africans, their education, miscegenation and the 'swamping' of Whites at the polls."⁹

In the Joint Sitting debate about the Native Representation Bill, Hertzog justified the neglect of African education by linking it to the franchise issue. He argued that, since education was one of the criteria for qualifying for the franchise, its provision had been limited to prevent the creation of large numbers of African

⁷ In 1935, £23 per annum was spent on each White child as compared with £1.18s.6d per annum for each African child. See Appendix A, Figure 9. *Bulletin of Educational Statistics 1940*, Chapter 8.

⁸ Dubow, *Racial Segregation*, 14-15.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 16-17. The emphasis is mine.

been limited to prevent the creation of large numbers of African voters. Once the franchise was abolished, African education could safely be given more funding.¹⁰ During the Joint Sitting debate, Hertzog's chief ideologue, George Heaton-Nicholls, vented his spleen on the subversive nature of mission based education itself.¹¹ He emphasised the important connection between Hertzog's argument about education as providing access to the franchise and the content of education providing the ideological underpinning for the franchise. This serves to make clear the often implicit and unexplored links between education, the non-racial franchise, and the broader place of Africans in society.

The control of African education, designated as an area for investigation by the Welsh commissioners, was also an issue which had implications for broader segregation policy. As has been shown, one of the debates which characterised the period after Union was whether African education should remain a provincial preserve or be taken over by the NAD, which would differentiate it completely from other education and bring it more into line with "Native Policy". The NAC continued to favour NAD control. By 1935, the NAC, under the leadership of Heaton-Nicholls, had shed its objective mantle and was known to be a propaganda vehicle for segregationist ideology.¹² As such, it had alienated many prominent liberal and mission figures involved in African education.

PART 2: "THE GOVERNMENT HAS SOME PRECONCEIVED IDEAS ABOUT WHAT SHOULD BE IN THIS REPORT"

The Welsh Committee was set up ostensibly in response to a recommendation by the Report of the Provincial Finance Commission of 1934, for a commission into African education. The Committee began hearing evidence in mid-1935, and the Welsh Report was handed

¹⁰ *Joint Sitting of both Houses of Parliament Convened in Accordance with Article 58 of the South Africa Act of 1909, to Consider the Representation of Natives Bill, (JS 2-36), (hereafter JS 2-36),* Cols. 336, 529.

¹¹ *JS 2-36, Cols 385, 1197.*

¹² Dubow, *Racial Segregation*, 11, 110.

to Hofmeyr at the end of March 1936; around the time of the third reading of the Native Representation Bill. It was discussed in the Cabinet and in the provincial education Advisory Boards only in November 1936.¹³ Critics of the Welsh Report were quick to point out that the Committee had been established and had gathered evidence before the passing of the 1936 legislation. This, they argued, nullified the recommendations of the Report. Nevertheless, it seems that it was no accident that J. H. Hofmeyr, as Minister of Education, did not wait until the Bills had become law before he convened the Welsh Committee. The Committee took evidence during the period of intense public debate which followed the final report of the Joint Select Committee in April 1935. It is clear from the terms of reference and the composition of the Committee that Hofmeyr saw the Committee as a platform for challenging the direction of segregation policy embodied in the "Native Bills".

The Welsh Committee was asked to consider two main issues about African education policy: the control and the aim of African education. Here the focus was quite markedly different from the terms of reference recommended by the 1934 Provincial Finance Commission, which had advised that the extension and finance of African education be investigated. Embedded in the issues of control and aim of African education were the much larger questions about the role of Africans in society. Fundamental to the segregation Bills was the idea that Africans, particularly the educated elite, could no longer aspire to a place in White society - their aspirations were to be focused on the reserves. The logic of the Bills for African education was clear; a shift of control from the provinces to the NAD, and a manifest differentiation of aim from White education. Malherbe was aware that Hertzog wanted recommendations which would be in line with broader segregation policy. He was reluctant to serve on the Committee because "the Government has some preconceived ideas about what should be in this

¹³ KCA, Malherbe Papers, KCM 56980, File 480/1 (154), W.T. Welsh to Malherbe, 23 April 1936; UWA, J.H. Hofmeyr Papers, A1 Dd, Memorandum titled "Native Education", dated 20 November 1936. This was Hofmeyr's discussion document on the Welsh Report which he prepared for the Cabinet.

report". "It seems to me", he wrote, "that one will have to choose between two evils: either to do violence to one's conscience and gloss over the real issues, or get into disfavour with the Government and possibly be labelled forever as a negrophile."

This was also clear from the "Government's" opposition to a liberal presence on the Committee. Malherbe remarked that he knew "confidentially that they do not on any account want men like Professor Hoernlé or Edgar Brookes to serve on this Commission".¹⁴ Malherbe's reference to "Government" clearly did not include Hofmeyr, who appointed a committee dominated by men within the State and provincial echelons who were very closely associated with liberals such as Brookes and Hoernlé, men who had made clear their opposition to Government policy towards African education, and, by implication, to the direction of segregation policy. He also excluded people who might have supported greater differentiation of aim and content and the transfer of African education to the NAD.

The Committee consisted of the Chairman, W. T. Welsh, Cape Provincial Councillor and former Chief Magistrate of the Transkei; the three Chief Inspectors of Native Education of Natal, Orange Free State and the Cape - D. McMalcolm, H. Kuschke and G. H. Welsh. The Transvaal's most senior inspector of Native Education, G. Franz, was on the Committee because the Transvaal had no Chief Inspector of Native Education until 1936. E. G. Malherbe was the sixth member. G. H. Welsh, Kuschke and McMalcolm all had close links with Joint Council, SAIRR and church groups and had voiced their disquiet over the finance and control of African education. They were particularly opposed to NAC control of the finances of African education and to possible NAD control. This had come through loud and clear in the 1933 European-Bantu Conference, evidence to the Provincial Finance Commission, and in the 1934 New Education Fellowship Conference.

¹⁴ KCA, Malherbe Papers, KCM 56982, 505/14 (267), Malherbe to Prof. Fred Clarke, 27 March 1935.

It is significant that the Committee contained no members from the NAD or the NAC. Logically, they should have been present and their omission appears to have been deliberate. By this time, however, as Dubow points out, the NAC was no longer conceived as a body of independent experts, but as a propaganda vehicle for segregationist ideology, so it is not surprising that Hofmeyr did not include any of its members.¹⁵ His exclusion of the NAD can be seen as a clear statement about the maintenance of the independence of education from a Department which was basically there to administer segregation laws.

Malherbe's position and role in the Report exemplifies the tension which existed on the Committee between competing conceptions of how a commission of enquiry should set about analysing a problem and making recommendations. On one hand, there was the existing standard format which characterised the NEC and the PFC, where the commission members travelled around to hear evidence from a wide variety of, what Malherbe would have regarded as, "amateurs" involved in the area under investigation. The evidence itself consisted mainly of opinion and anecdotes, and there was almost no attempt to quantify and measure data in a scientific way. Malherbe was extremely critical of this approach as it lacked a systematic scientific base. He argued that it was ineffective in addressing the problem under scrutiny.

"The expression of vague feelings of dissatisfaction usually impinges on the inertia of social institutions like beating against a wall with a pillow. To make an impression one needs the precise sharp cutting edge of a scientific fact."¹⁶

The Carnegie Poor White study was the first commission in South Africa to make use of the "cutting edge of a scientific fact" which emerged from large scale surveys and the analysis of statistics.

¹⁵ Dubow, *Racial Segregation*, 110.

¹⁶ Malherbe, *Education and Social Research in South Africa*, (South African Council for Educational and Social Research Series No 6), 38-9, quoted in Fleisch, "Social Scientists", 1.

It set, what Fleisch calls, a "paradigmatic precedent ... for the relationship between social science and policy making".¹⁷

As head of the National Bureau for Educational and Social Research, Malherbe was required to sit on interdepartmental committees concerned with education.¹⁸ On the whole, the Welsh committee did not differ from the NEC and PFC in the way it heard evidence. A wide range of individuals, liberal organisations, missions, teachers organisations, State, provincial and municipal bodies presented evidence. Malherbe, however, attempted to push the parameters of the Committee by setting up a detailed empirical survey of African education. He commissioned P. A. W. Cook to conduct the research. Cook attempted to institute Arithmetic and English vocabulary "achievement tests" to African student teachers and secondary students at Standard Six level, as well as surveys of the age levels of students and the finances of the schools.¹⁹

Circulars were sent out by the UED in early October 1935. The operation showed the "experts" complete disregard of the "amateurs". Teachers and inspectors were simply expected to carry out instructions; there was no attempt to elicit the support of teaching personnel. The timing shows a lack of understanding about the pressures teachers and inspectors faced at that time of year. There were problems from the beginning. Tests and scripts went astray in the post. There was also resistance from teachers to the intrusion of the tests on normal end of year exams. They also found the nature of information required unfamiliar and they had great difficulty in filling in what were obviously strange, lengthy and complex forms, particularly those to do with finance and "Age Standard Tables". Inspectors, who were supposed to administer all the tests in the interests of control and validity, were unable to carry out their normal duties and found themselves caught in the middle between irate teachers and the UED, from which the Bureau

¹⁷ Ibid, 6.

¹⁸ Ibid, 12.

¹⁹ CAD, BEK 14 CE 360, "Native Education Committee".

operated.²⁰ Malherbe was completely unsympathetic and instructed the inspectorate to get the information in as fast as possible. He cited Hofmeyr's desire to get the Report for the beginning of the parliamentary session.²¹ By January 1936, three major schools in the Cape, Shawbury, Healdtown and St. Matthews, had not done the tests at all or had done only the English tests.²² J. W. Macquarrie, Head of Lovedale Secondary School, still bristled from the experience in 1937. In a talk to the South African Teachers Association he remarked,

"But whilst there is plenty of scope for scientific investigation with batteries of intelligence tests and psychometric material into the relative backwardness of Native pupils, the fundamental cause ... is only too apparent. It is essentially economic."²³

Most of Cook's research did not appear in the Welsh Report, but was published by the Bureau in 1937 in the form of three monographs. This might have been related to the disorganisation which surrounded the process, which precluded the use of many of the findings in the Report. In fact the data was used later in the Eiselen Report. It appears, however, that the other commissioners were not particularly interested in the results of Cook's work, which represented a different paradigm and approach to African education. Fleisch sums this up by saying that,

"The commissioners' passive neglect of Cook's facts could be interpreted as a defensive response to the new policy-making paradigm which did not recognise the moral authority of 'Church truths'."²⁴

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Ibid, Malherbe to Mr. C. Kitchin of CED, copy to G.H. Welsh, 26 Nov. 1935.

²² Ibid.

²³ J.W. Macquarrie, "Some Needs of Native Education", SAO, Aug. 2 1937.

²⁴ Fleisch, "Social Scientists", 14.

PART 3: "IT IS CERTAINLY NOT THE FUNCTION OF EDUCATION TO KEEP NATIVES IN RESERVES"

The recommendations of the Welsh Commissioners to a large degree represent the dilemma of the liberal-mission network faced with developing alternatives to Hertzogian segregation. In its rejection of NAD/NAC control and fiscal segregation, the Report fairly faithfully represented the liberal-mission critique of Government policy towards African education that had developed over the previous six or seven years. Here, it flew in the face of Government policy embodied in the 1936 legislation, and its critics were the first to acknowledge this. It also prefaced its reflections (rather than recommendations) about the aim and content of African education with a rejection of the Hertzogian vision of segregation and the subordination of education in its service. It is in this context that these reflections, which are often quoted out of context, must be seen. It is true to say, however, that the Report was unable to provide a bold alternative vision of African education which might, in turn, signal an alternative vision of society in general.

It is appropriate to begin with what is the most quoted and most misunderstood section of the Welsh Report; the section on the aims and content of African education. The Report surveyed the limitations created by segregation on African employment and social opportunities. It concluded with observations which are often cited as evidence of the Report's advocacy of differentiated education for Africans:

"The education of the White child prepares him for life in a dominant society and the education of the Black child for a subordinate society. The Committee ... feels it would not be quite honest to avoid stating clearly that a full liberal philosophy is not at present applicable to Native education."²⁵

At the time, this section of the Report drew criticism from many members of the liberal-mission network, as well as African educationists. They felt angered by what appeared to be a

²⁵ *Welsh Report*, paras. 458, 463.

compromise with the forces of segregation. While no-one had questioned that education should be racially segregated physically, liberals and mission representatives had, in their evidence to the Committee, stated that education was not to be seen in racial but individual terms, and that African education should not in principle differ from White education.²⁶ This opposition to seeing education in racial terms should be seen in the context of disquiet over earlier recommendations of the 1932 NEC, where education was touted as an agent of segregation. In the Transvaal, the joint Transvaal Missionary Association - Johannesburg Joint Council memorandum made direct reference to this when it objected to education adapted to "a supposed environment which may be predicated for [Africans] by Government or popular opinion".²⁷

In the light of this, what are we to make of the Welsh Report's remarks about the inapplicability of a "full liberal philosophy"? It is important to see this section as acknowledging rather than advocating the existence of outside constraints which would inhibit the application of a full liberal philosophy. This section of the Report was peppered with remarks which distanced "educators" from the construction and justification of these constraints.²⁸ The Welsh Commissioners later defended their remarks in these terms. Kuschke told a very angry R. H. Shepherd, Principal of Lovedale, that the statements about education contained "an avowedly interim thesis", and that unanimity among the commissioners had been achieved by emphasising this. He asked Shepherd to note that the commissioners had included the phrase "at present" when they argued that a "full liberal philosophy" was not applicable to African

²⁶ J.W. Macquarrie, "The Cape and Native Education", SAO, 1 Dec. 1935; Cory, PR 4127, W.G. Bennie Papers, Memorandum entitled "Native Education Committee 1935 Memorandum of W.G. Bennie"; Cory, 371.974, "Memorandum Submitted by Lovedale Missionary Institution to the Interdepartmental Committee of Enquiry into Native Education 15th November 1935."; UWA, SAIRR/1, AD 843, B 80.2.1, "Draft of Evidence to be Given on behalf of the Cape Native Education Advisory Board to the Inter-Departmental Committee to Enquire into Native Education".

²⁷ UWA, SAIRR/1, AD 843, B 80.2.1., Memorandum entitled "Native Education: Evidence to be presented on behalf of the Transvaal Missionary Association and the Johannesburg Joint Council of Europeans and Africans to the Commission on Native Education".

²⁸ Welsh Report, paras. 459-461.

education.²⁹ In early 1937, Malherbe complained to Rheinallt Jones that the Report's critics had "confused aims and objects with limitations".³⁰ In 1938, speaking at a Cape African Teachers Association conference, W. T. Welsh emphasised that he and his fellow commissioners were merely being "realistic" and not prescriptive.³¹ In being realistic, however, they blunted the critique of segregation which is implicit in the Report, and revealed their lack of vision for the future.

A general reading of the chapter reveals that the commissioners were critical of the social and economic constraints on Africans' advancement which had developed in the name of segregation, and the consequent impact on education principles and practice. Shingler describes the committee's position as "critical, if elliptically so" of segregation.³² Indeed, as a preamble, the Report launched a scathing attack on the segregationist idea that Africans should "develop along their own lines" in the reserve areas. Such a notion, it said, ignored the substantial urban population and squatters on White farms, and the level of acculturation which had taken place in the reserve areas. Echoing the liberal critique of Hertzog's 1926 Native Bills, it averred that all people were bound up in a single economic system, which was "moulding their institutions and ways of living more and more upon the European pattern". The very wording of this section echoed remarks made by J. H. Hofmeyr in Parliament at the Joint Sitting debate about the Native Representation Bill.³³ Clearly drawing on the 1933 European Bantu Conference critique of the NEC, the Report attacked the NEC's recommendations for "social education" as being impractical and

²⁹ Cory, R.H. Shepard Papers, MS 14712(V), Kuschke to R.H. Shepherd, 10 Oct. 1936. The Report had singled out Lovedale's evidence by name as being "idealistic under the present circumstances".

³⁰ UWA, SAIRR/1, AD 843, B 80.2.2., Malherbe to Rheinallt Jones, 6 Feb 1937.

³¹ "Teachers in Conference", SAO, 1 Aug. 1938.

³² Shingler, "Education", 272.

³³ JS 2-36, Hofmeyr: "The native developing along his own lines - that means for most who use the phrase the same as the native being kept in his own place.", 6 April 1936, Col.1086.

misconceived.³⁴ The Report made it clear that it did not see education as an instrument to encourage segregation.³⁵ It is in this context that the quotations on page 137 must be read and understood.

The Report did not make a case for the content of education for Africans to be something distinct from White education and asserted that "the forms or categories of content do not differ from those which one would consider essential in European education". It was up to the teacher to relate schooling to the wider context, to make it relevant. The Report recommended that professional and vocational training should begin only at a post primary level, but noted that the constraints of segregation policy, such as the "civilised labour" policy and the Mines and Works Amendment Act of 1926 which enshrined the job colour bar, and the nature of the reserve economy made a mockery of developing "industrial education".³⁶

Liberal and mission educationists' commitment to the same education for all led them to reject, in principle, the removal of African education from the control of the provinces, where it was administered side by side with White education. A number of them, however, had begun to feel that the financial crisis which they faced would not be addressed if the status-quo remained. The possible transfer of African education to the UED was seen as a means of getting the central Government to address the crisis without the influence of the NAC or NAD. It was not seen as a means of further segregating African education.³⁷ The fact that there was strong and united opposition to transfer to the NAD is testimony to this. They felt that education in the hands of the

³⁴ Welsh Report, paras. 491-7.

³⁵ "It is certainly not the function of education to keep Natives in reserves or to segregate into reserves those who are not there." *Ibid.*, para. 454.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, paras. 567-8, 575-6, 582, 599-600.

³⁷ Malherbe, ed., *Educational Adaptations*, "Relations Between Education and the Native Affairs Department", 514-5; "The Native Education Committee", SAO, 1 Nov. 1935.

NAD would be reduced to being an agent of intensified segregation. The joint Transvaal Missionary Association - Johannesburg Joint Council evidence argued that "policies would inevitably be shaped not from the standpoint of education, but from the standpoint of political administration".³⁸ This position had been very clearly articulated at the Fifth-European Bantu Conference of 1933 and in evidence to the Provincial Finance Commission.³⁹ What also possibly underpinned educationists' concern about NAD control was concern about what impact this would have on their professional status, as well as on their practice.

It is interesting to note that Douglas Smit, Secretary of Native Affairs in the NAD, was himself opposed to NAD control because of the extra administrative burden it might place on the Department which did not have the necessary expertise. He said he thought that the UED was likely to devote more funds to African education than the NAD.⁴⁰

Hostility to NAD take-over of African education went hand in hand with long standing liberal-mission opposition to NAC control of the finance of African education. The Welsh Committee members themselves were initially sharply divided over the issue of control of African education, but they eventually came up with a scheme whereby native education would be transferred to the UED, under a special Native Education Department (NED).⁴¹ (See Appendix B, Figure 11) Provincial structures would remain in place, but report to the new NED. In addressing mission argument that African education should not be separate from other education, the Report highlighted the contradictions in this by arguing that, in fact, three out of the four provinces "had created a considerable measure

³⁸ WA, SAIRR/1, AD 843, B 80.2.1., Memorandum entitled "Native Education: Evidence to be presented on behalf of the Transvaal Missionary Association and the Johannesburg Joint Council of Europeans and Africans to the Commission on Native Education".

³⁹ See Chapter Three.

⁴⁰ "The Native Education Committee".

⁴¹ UWA, J.H. Hofmeyr Papers, A1 Dd, Memorandum entitled "Native Education", dated 20 Nov. 1936.

of separate administration" for Native education, and the fourth had a Chief Inspector of Native Education, if not separate inspectors. Also from 1925, the centralisation of finance had differentiated African education from White.⁴² When the Report came to advocate UED control, this separation was not advocated on grounds of the principle of segregation. The proven inadequacy of the existing system and the crises engendered by it, meant that African education could be dealt with only at a central level.⁴³

The Report vigorously rejected the idea of NAD control, saying that education should not be linked to a department that had a negative image among Africans, and was basically a "regulatory" body.⁴⁴ It proposed that the NAC should not be represented at all in the new Department of Native Education, while the input of the Secretary for Native Affairs was limited to a voice on the Union Board of Native Education with a substantial mission presence. (See Appendix E, Figure 12) The missions had long supported the creation of such a Board, which would guarantee their place and influence in State bureaucratic structures. This Board would advise the Union Director of Native Education and administer a Native Education Fund. The NAC was to have no control over the new Native Education Fund. The retention of the provincial structures, including provincial advisory boards, with their preponderance of mission representatives, and provincial control over curricula (except for the issue of the vernacular) was an attempt to maintain a degree of provincial diversity, and to recognise the continued importance of mission control at grassroots level.

The missions, although they were faced with serious financial problems, did not, on the whole, favour State control. Many witnesses from the missions emphasised the key socialising role of the missions in a period of social upheaval and urged that they

⁴² Welsh Report, paras. 260-261.

⁴³ Ibid, para. 288, "... the Committee believes that only by the country as a whole shouldering the responsibility, is it practicable to do adequate justice to the educational requirements of the Native people".

⁴⁴ Ibid, para. 320.

remain major partners in the provision of African education. A Lovedale memorandum held that, "[a] full public system of control is better suited to a land where there is a strong ethical and religious life". Here the Report was completely in line with what most of the members of the liberal-mission network recommended.⁴⁵ While it noted problems of denominationalism which led to duplication, and African opposition to the missions' "paternal form of control", the Report emphasised the key importance of the mission schools in socialising their pupils in a period of transition and change. It was important, the Report noted, to "direct and control the process [of 'Europeanisation']".⁴⁶

Having expressed its confidence in the missions as major partners with the State, it moved somewhat beyond its terms of reference and advocated increased State and municipal spending on buildings and equipment in the urban areas. It recommended that primary education be free, and that limited urban areas experiment with making primary education compulsory.⁴⁷ This focus on African education in the urban areas must be seen in the context of major increases in African urbanisation. The Report appears to reflect the concerns of welfare workers and educationists in the Joint Councils and in the SAIRR, including Kuschke, at the time with upgrading urban conditions to defuse social conflict and, in particular, seeing school as a means of dealing with delinquency. This urban focus was in stark contrast to the policy of segregation which aimed at retribalisation as a strategy against urbanisation.

The Welsh Commissioners' attitude to Africans themselves reflected the missions' need to "direct and control" social processes. While they recognised the need for more African participation at the

⁴⁵ Cory, PR 4127, W.G. Bennie Papers, Memorandum entitled "Native Education Committee 1935 Memorandum of W.G. Bennie"; Lovedale, "Memorandum submitted"; WUA, SAIRR/1, AD 843 B 80.2.1 Memorandum entitled "Native Education: Evidence to be presented on behalf of the Transvaal Missionary Association and the Johannesburg Joint Council of Europeans and Africans to the Commission on Native Education".

⁴⁶ Welsh Report, paras. 342-3, 465. The emphasis is mine.

⁴⁷ Here it took up the terms of reference suggested by the PFC in 1933. *Ibid.*, paras. 371, 358, 364, 398-404.

highest levels and on the ground, such participation would be more than balanced by a substantial white presence. For example, the missions were to have eight representatives on each Provincial Advisory Board, compared to a maximum of three African representatives.⁴⁸ (See Appendix 8, Figure 13) At the same time that the Report condemned mission rivalry, favoured amalgamation and increased African participation in local school committees, it was also not prepared to countenance more than a very limited growth of African run independent schools.⁴⁹

The Committee's terms of reference did not include the finance of Native Education and there was very little evidence given in this regard. Cook's statistics, however, appear to have been used to demonstrate the relative contribution of the African communities missions and state. In response to the Provincial Finance Commission, the liberal-mission network had developed a sustained critique of fiscal segregation. Their basic demands were for African education to be financed from general revenue, rather than from the General Tax, and for a per caput (per child) grant rather than a block grant allocation to be made to the provinces. This would force the State to recognise and provide teachers for the steadily increasing numbers of children coming into mission schools. As an interim measure, they wanted the amount from the General Tax to be paid into the NDF to be increased.

The Welsh commissioners were plainly uncomfortable about the fact that finance was not part of their brief, but felt that they could not consider other aspects of African education without referring to it.⁵⁰ The Commission raised problems over the principle of segregated taxation, which underpinned the fund and noted how the fund had failed to live up to what was expected of it in practice.

⁴⁸ *Ibid*, para. 320.

⁴⁹ *Ibid*, paras. 366-370.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, para. 216.

It concluded with a vote of no confidence in the NDF and its sources of finance.⁵¹

It recommended that Native education be paid for out of a Native Education Fund, and amounts for each province be calculated on an annual per caput basis. The Native Education Fund would be administered by a National Advisory Board of Education and would be separate from the Native Development Fund. (See Appendix 6, Figure 11) The Report noted that "[t]he determination of the sources of this new fund does not fall within this committee's terms of reference".⁵² It is clear, however, from its sustained and lengthy critique of the NDF and of the idea of fiscal segregation, that it thought that education should be funded from general revenue. The proposed NEF, however, was not something which the liberal mission network had wanted, opposed as they were to financial differentiation. This proposal for a separate fund perhaps indicates a fear on the part of the Commissioners that if African education simply took its chance every year along with other services, it might be neglected by a hostile Government. The existence of a separate fund might ensure that this did not happen.

Silences in the Report are also significant. Cook's work on African attainment levels in English and Arithmetic and age standard distribution was dealt with very cursorily by the commissioners. Citing "external handicaps" on African schooling, they questioned the validity of these tests and as well as those of Dr. M. L. Fick, who also presented evidence to the Committee.⁵³ It is also significant to note that the Welsh Commissioners did not take up the increasingly popular alternative offered by the perspective of anthropology: differentiation of education along "cultural" and not racial lines. Here they reflected a general distrust among the missions for the moral relativism inherent in an anthropological perspective and its political implications. In

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, para. 237.

⁵² *Ibid.*, paras. 303-4, 306.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, paras. 526-30.

striking contrast to the Eiselen Report, there is almost no reference to the debate about culture and education in the Welsh Report. In contrast to the NEF statement in 1934, the Report denied the role of anthropologists in African education by saying that "the Native should be allowed to decide for himself which elements in his indigenous culture should be preserved".⁵⁴ Its recommendations for continued mission control of schools is also testimony to its rejection of the notion of the consolidation of African culture as a basis for differentiation.

The Welsh Report's proposals regarding control and finance gave the missions some hope that the major financial crisis which they faced might be resolved. This was not to be, however.

PART 4: "AS A POLICY OF DEFINITE SEGREGATION HAS BEEN ADOPTED BY PARLIAMENT, THE MINISTER CONSIDERS THESE WORDS TO BE VERY DANGEROUS"

The passing of the Native Trust and Land Act and the Natives Representation Act of 1936 had a crucial impact on the way the Welsh Report was received, and this accounts, to some degree, for the struggles around control and finance which followed. Vested interests in the provincial control of African education, however, made sure that elements in the State were not able to win the struggle and push African education into NAD hands. By the time Hertzog resigned in September 1939, a stalemate existed and the status quo remained. The Welsh Report had, to all intents and purposes, been rejected.

The Report was considered by the Cabinet only eight months after it was submitted. This was possibly due to the fact that its recommendations were controversial, and not a straightforward application of segregation principles to African education. Towards the end of 1936, it was indeed becoming clear that the Welsh Report was perceived as incompatible with the basic principles of the 1936 legislation. This perception was

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, para. 466.

responsible for a division between the Dutch Reformed Church and liberal-mission members involved with African education. Disagreement emerged in the provincial advisory boards, in the pages of the *South African Outlook* and in the Christian Council (successor of the SAGMC) itself.

At the OFS Advisory Board meeting of 5 November 1936, Reverend J. G. Strydom of the Dutch Reformed Church, supported by the NAD representative, Mr. P. van Biljon, said that the Welsh Report was out of date because "the recommendations were uttered before the Native Bill had been passed". He proposed that:

"Now after segregation as a principle in the Native Policy has been passed, it should be carried out strictly and Native Education should remain under the NAD, and not under a Department which has to deal with the education of Europeans."

Van Biljon also stated that the paragraph which rejected education as an agent of segregation (454) was regarded by the Minister of Native Affairs as "very dangerous", "as a policy of definite segregation has been adopted by parliament". Kuschke, however, maintained that the recommendations had been made with "the draft Native Bill" to hand, and the minutes record that "it was stated by members of the board that Education is not a legal machine which could be exploited for political purposes". Strydom's proposal was outvoted five to three.⁵⁵ This dissent surfaced again in the joint Advisory Board meeting on 13 November 1936, which was constituted to respond to the Welsh Report. Here Reverend G. Willemse, another DRC member of the OFS Advisory Board, rejected UED control of African education, and the exclusion of the NAC and NAD. Willemse's objections suffered the same fate as those of Strydom.⁵⁶

By mid 1937, the DRC Native Affairs Commission decided to approach the Government directly with a critique of the Welsh Report, which

⁵⁵ WA, SAIRR/1, AD 843, B 80.3.2., Native Education - Advisory Board. Minutes of Meeting held on the 5th and 6th of November, 1936, in the Native Education Office, 68 East Burger Street, Bloemfontein.

⁵⁶ UWA, Joint Council Records, AD 1433, Cj 2.1.16, RR 68/36, Native Education: Minutes of the Conference of Advisory Board Representatives, 13th of November, 1936.

made almost identical comments to those in the NAC Report of 1936 (see below). The critique supported fiscal segregation, NAD control and education which did not "detribalise or denationalise". It argued that UED control clashed with "the new principle of separateness of European and Native as applied in the latest Native Legislation".⁵⁷ It demanded separate but equal representation with the English language churches on any future Union Advisory Board. Given the relative number of schools under the control of the DRC and English churches and the greater amount of experience the English Churches had in the area of African education, the editor of the *Outlook* expressed dismay at the idea.⁵⁸ This heralded a major split in the Christian Council between the DRC and the English churches over segregation, including the control and aims of African education. Matters came to a head when the DRC left the Christian Council in 1939.⁵⁹

At the end of 1936, Hofmeyr noted in a memorandum to the Cabinet that the Minister of Native Affairs, P. Grobler, supported UED control, but it would appear that Grobler's position changed during 1937, probably as a result of NAC influence.⁶⁰ In its report for 1936, the NAC came out strongly in favour of NAD control, and launched a scathing attack on the Welsh Report. Its author was the most influential member, George Heaton Nicholls. He saw education as a central force for ensuring that Africans remained in the reserves. He attacked existing mission based education in general, and the Welsh Report in particular. As he said so often in Parliament, he saw mission based education as contributing to the

⁵⁷ UWA, SAIRR/1, AD 843, B 42.4., Naturellesake Kommissie van die Federale Raad van NG Kerke: Rapport van Interdepartementele Kommissie van Onderzoek insake Naturelle Onderwys. The memo noted that "[D]ie aanbeveling van paragraaf 295 ... met die nuwe beleid van apartheid van European en Naturel soos aangeneem in die jongste Naturelle Wetgewing, bots."

⁵⁸ "The Reorganisation of Native Education", SAO, 1 Sept. 1937.

⁵⁹ "The Christian Council Conference", SAO, May 1 1939.

⁶⁰ UWA, Hofmeyr Papers, A1 Dd Hand written addition to his memorandum "Native Education" dated 20 November 1936.

"detribalisation" and "proleterianisation" of African people.⁶¹ He was extremely critical of the Welsh Report's view of education's role as tiding Africans over a period of social change; this was synonymous with accepting detribalisation and common citizenship in a single society.⁶² Instead, Heaton Nicholls argued, the aim of African education should be to resist detribalisation, preserve the "cultural continuity of Native life", and be in harmony with the development of the reserves.

Given these terms of reference, he rejected the recommendations of the Welsh Commission as regards control and funding. He characterised the Welsh commissioners as politically out of line with the content and aim of the 1936 Acts. He reiterated a commitment to fiscal segregation and made it clear that the possibility of additional funds would not be dependent on a transfer to the NAD.⁶³

In August 1937, a joint Advisory Board attempt to institute proceedings for the setting up of a Union Advisory Committee was thwarted because it was in conflict with the spirit of the 1936 legislation and possible NAD control. This proposal had been spearheaded in Natal by Edgar Brookes, as a member of the Natal Advisory Board. He regarded this as a first step towards some recognition of the Welsh proposals.⁶⁴ On 23 August 1937, a joint Advisory Board deputation met the Acting Minister of Native Affairs, J. C. Smuts, Smit and Hofmeyr to discuss the idea. Smit

⁶¹ For example, *Hansard*, 28 April 1927, Col. 2925; JS 2-36, 2 March 1936, Cols. 385, 386.

⁶² *Report of the Native Affairs Commission for 1936*, (UG 48-37), (hereafter *NAC Report 1936*), para. 41.

⁶³ *NAC Report 1936*, para 63, 67-8. "The question of further financial provision to be made can be more effectively discussed when the reorganisation contemplated is under way ..", para. 71.

⁶⁴ UWA, SAIRR/1, AD 843, B 80.3.3., Natal Advisory Board for Native Education: Minutes of an extraordinary meeting of the Native Education Advisory Board held on Wednesday August 4, 1937; Memorandum entitled "Native Education: Minutes of Conference of the Representatives of the Four Provincial Advisory Boards on Native Education held in the Provincial Building on Monday August 23rd at 10 am; and of an Interview with the Acting Minister of Native Affairs and the Minister of Education on the Same Day".

referred the delegation to the 1936 NAC report which, he emphasised, favoured NAD control, and was opposed to UED control. Though Smit was a loyal bureaucrat in public, in private he again voiced reservations about the extra administrative load African education might bring. He intimated to Rheinallt Jones that the control African education might be linked to the possible appointment of Heaton Nicholls as Minister of Native Affairs, a possibility which he and the chief Native Commissioners dreaded. As a result he "was delighted with the Native Representative Council's rejection of NAD control".⁶⁵

The joint Provincial Advisory Board proposal for a Union Advisory Committee was vetoed in a meeting of Provincial Executive Committees. Members of the Transvaal Advisory Board were told, at their September meeting, that the scheme was out of line with government policy:

"It was pointed out to us that now South Africa had settled her native policy which we were told was quite fluid in 1935, and the NAD was to be the ruler in all things. So they required no help from the Union Education Department or any other Department, and the scheme of Senator Brookes etc. was completely turned down."⁶⁶

There were other reasons for the failure to implement centralisation of the control of African education, whether it was to be under the UED or NAD. The first was the opposition of the Natal Provincial Council to any diminution of its power, and the second was, ironically, the above mentioned opposition of the Native Representative Council, which was created by the 1936 legislation.

Hofmeyr was extremely supportive of the UED control. Armed with a Joint Advisory Board memorandum, he attended an Inter Provincial Consultative Committee meeting to discuss the transfer of African

⁶⁵ Cory, R.H. Shepherd Papers, MS 14713 (V), Rheinallt Jones to Shepherd, 19 Dec. 1937.

⁶⁶ UWA, SAIRR/1, AD 843, B 37.12., Father S. Carter, Anglican representative on the Transvaal Advisory Board, to Rheinallt Jones, 18 Sept. 1937.

Education to the Union government held in early 1937.⁶⁷ He seems to have rushed the Advisory Boards into responding to the Report so that he would have their opinions for this meeting.⁶⁸ Kuschke and Malherbe expressed fears that Natal opposition would in fact scuttle the Report, and were not too sanguine about Hofmeyer's ability to deal with the Natal Provincial Council. In the face of this, Kuschke recommended that the Welsh commissioners should stand by the two other main tenets of the Report, "NO interference from Native Affairs and PER CAPUT grant".⁶⁹

At this meeting, Natal was the only province to oppose the transfer to Union control. In March 1937, the Natal Education Enquiry Commission (Broome Commission) presented an interim report to the Natal Provincial Council, which recommended by six votes to three that African education be transferred to the Union.⁷⁰ It was also very supportive of the other recommendations of the Welsh Report. The Natal Provincial Council, however, decided to support the recommendations of the minority report and retain control.⁷¹ Hofmeyr tried again in August of that year. In another Provincial Consultative Committee Meeting he asked the representatives of the provinces either to enforce uniformity between the provinces or hand over control of African education to the UED. According to the *Outlook*, the provinces could not agree about uniformity.⁷² While Hofmeyr put pressure on the Provinces, George Heaton Nicholls

⁶⁷ UWA, SAIRR/1, AD 843, B 37.15., Memorandum To Members of the Conference of the Four Advisory Boards, held at Bloemfontein, on November 13, 1936.

⁶⁸ UWA, SAIRR/1, AD 843, B 80.3.2., Native Education Advisory Board: Minutes of the Meeting held on the 5th and 6th of November in the Native Education Office in Bloemfontein.

⁶⁹ KCA, Malherbe Papers, File 480/1, KCM 56980, Kuschke to Malherbe, 27 October 1936. "Geen inmenging van naturellesake nie en hoofdelike toelaag."

⁷⁰ "Natal and the Control of Native Education", SAO, May 1 1937. See Natal Province: Report of the Education Commission (hereafter Broome Report) (Pietermaritzburg, Natal Press, 1938), para. 575.

⁷¹ UWA, SAIRR/1, AD 843, B 80.2.2., Malherbe to Rheinallt Jones, 6 Feb. 1937.

⁷² "The Reorganisation of Native Education", SAO, Sept. 1 1937.

tried, in December 1937, to persuade the NRC to advocate NAD control for African education. The NRC responded by forcefully rejecting his proposal and by giving the Welsh recommendations their full support.⁷³

During 1938, the issue of control now became linked directly with increased funding, in an attempt to put pressure on the provinces to resolve the issue. The funding of African education remained at a crisis level, in spite of the fact that for the year 1936/37 an extra 20% of the General Tax was paid in to the newly formed Native Trust Fund (NTF), which had replaced the NDF. To the great disappointment of the missions, it was not to be spent on African education, but on other development needs. Here the UP Government was continuing the Pact Government's policy of not spending more on mainstream education. The outcry which greeted this pushed the Government to provide for an extra £35,000. As the *Outlook* noted, promises about a major injection of funding, once the franchise was removed, had not materialised.⁷⁴

In 1938, the Minister of Finance, N. C. Havenga, withdrew £180,000 because the issue of control was not resolved.⁷⁵ In desperation, in May 1938, the Transvaal Advisory Board asked Rheinallt Jones to approach the other Advisory Boards with a view to a joint Advisory Board deputation to the Prime Minister, the Minister of Native Affairs, and the Minister of Finance.⁷⁶ The new Minister of Native Affairs, Henry Fagan, appeared to be extremely reluctant to see

⁷³ "The Natives Representative Council", *SAO*, Jan. 1 1938.

⁷⁴ "Financing of Native Education: A Bitter Disappointment", *SAO*, 1 June 1936; UWA, SAIRR/1, AD 843, B 80.4.6. Memorandum entitled "Christian Council of South Africa: Native Education". Wilkie remarked that the money "was earmarked for admittedly useful purposes" but that "nothing additional" was made available for Native Education.

⁷⁵ UWA, Joint Council Records, AD 1433, Aa 3.19., SAIRR RR 17/40, Memorandum entitled "Finance of Native Education".

⁷⁶ UWA, SAIRR/1, AD 843, B 37.15., Minutes of the Transvaal Advisory Board on Native Education held on 12th of May 1938.

Rheinallt Jones, and Havenga simply refused to do so.⁷⁷ An Advisory Board deputation saw Fagan only six months later, on 7 November 1938. According to Carter's report back to the Transvaal Advisory Board, Fagan was "sympathetic" but said there were no funds available.⁷⁸

In the budget for 1939, no extra money was to be made available because the issue of control was still not resolved.⁷⁹ In early 1939, Smit had prepared a lengthy memorandum possibly for use by Fagan, whose responsibilities now included Native Affairs and Education.⁸⁰ In it he strongly supported the transfer of African education to the NAD, arguing that:

"...the Government feels that Native Education, equally with Native Agriculture and Native Administration generally, both urban and rural, has problems of its own which require study by officers specially suited therefore whose efforts are not dissipated in having to work also for the European section of the community."⁸¹

In February 1939, Fagan held an interview with the Native Representatives and told them that a Bill was being prepared to transfer African education to the NAD, and that all "native services" would be charged against the Native Trust Fund. The *Cape Times* had published the "rumour" that the £340,000 Treasury grant which supplemented the contribution from the NTF, would be withdrawn at the same time.⁸² This was confirmed by Rheinallt Jones

⁷⁷ Ibid., B 65.2.2., D. Smit to Rheinallt Jones, 5 Sept. 1938; Rheinallt Jones to H. Fagan, 6 Oct. 1938; Fagan to Rheinallt Jones, 22 Oct. 1938.

⁷⁸ Ibid, B 37.15., Minutes of Statements Presented to the Honourable Minister of Affairs by Representatives of the Provincial Advisory Boards for Native Education, on November 7th, 1938.

⁷⁹ Ibid, B 37.15., Transvaal Advisory Board for Native Education: Minutes of the Meeting Held at the Voortrekker Gedenksaal on the 9th of March, 1939.

⁸⁰ Hofmeyr resigned from the Cabinet in September 1938.

⁸¹ Albany Museum (Hereafter AM), D. Smit Papers, GM 69/35/D (3/39), "Memorandum Regarding Proposed Assumption of Control of Native Education by the Government".

⁸² UWA, SAIRR/1, AD 843, B 37.15., Memorandum marked "Urgent: To Members of the Natives Representative Council", 13 February 1939, probably written by Rheinallt Jones, but from the seven native representatives in the Senate and

at the March 1939 meeting of the Transvaal Advisory Board, where he outlined the State's moves to transfer Native Education to the NAD. Once Native Education was under NAD control, the State would put all the general tax into the Native Trust Fund, but would withdraw the £340,000 which came from the Treasury. Fiscal segregation would be complete. The Trust would fund all "native services", not only education.⁸³

Ironically, Malherbe wrote a letter to Loram in which he said that he felt that both Fagan and Smit were representative of a "humane tendency among the top men in Native Affairs at the present time", and that, since Fagan was both Minister of Education and Native Affairs, "it would not be so bad to turn over Native Education to Native Affairs".⁸⁴ Other members of the liberal-mission network did not feel as warmly towards the NAD. The Johannesburg Joint Council launched a campaign against NAD control and in support of the Welsh Report, and it circulated a memorandum on the subject to the Minister of Native Affairs, the Missionary Societies, the *Outlook* and the major newspapers.⁸⁵

In April 1939, Fagan, on a visit to Lovedale, defended the proposed transfer as being in the best interests of the African people, and said that the financial gain from the whole tax being paid into the Native Trust Fund would be substantial. He hinted however, that he was not firmly committed to fiscal segregation and that some general revenue might be used for African development, because Africans contributed indirectly in many ways to general revenue.

House of Assembly, E.H. Brookes, C.H. Malcomess, W.T. Welsh, M. Ballinger, G.K. Hemming, D.B. Molteno and Rheinallt Jones. See also "The Control of Native Education: Statement by the Johannesburg Joint Council of Europeans and Africans", *SAO*, April 1 1939.

⁸³ See also *Hansard*, 20 March 1939, Col. 2030.

⁸⁴ KCA, Malherbe Papers, KCM 57030 File 619/1 (85), Malherbe to Loram, 20 April 1939.

⁸⁵ UWA, Joint Council Records, AD 1433, Cj 2.1.19., Honorary Secretary E.L. Benjamin to D.C. Burnside, 23 February 1939; "The Control of Native Education: Statement by the Johannesburg Joint Council of Europeans and Africans", *SAO*, April 1 1939. The *SAO* itself came out strongly against NAD control and highlighted NRC opposition. "The Outlook", *SAO*, 1 March 1939.

He drew the line at a per caput grant, however, saying that public opinion would not countenance it. He also announced that, due to opposition from Natal and the NRC, he would not proceed with a Bill to transfer control to the NAD that session.⁸⁶ In the face of this stalemate, the Cape Advisory Board and Transvaal Advisory Board both issued resolutions which still supported the Welsh recommendations. In July 1939, the SAIRR called a major conference on African education which reasserted its support for the Welsh Report.⁸⁷ It was followed by yet another Advisory Board deputation to the Minister of Finance urging that control and funding be addressed as separate issues.⁸⁸

After September 1939, with Smuts at the helm and Hofmeyr reinstated in the Cabinet, Smit's ambivalence regarding NAD control of African Education surfaced again. In a speech at the opening of the boys' dormitories at Lovedale in 1941, he said:

"I know that many of you look upon me as part of a conspiracy that would take control of Native Education from the hands of the trained experts where it belongs and hand it to the tender mercies of the Department of Native Affairs. I can assure you, however, that whatever decision may eventually be come to, my Department has no desire to assume control of such a thorny problem .." (Insert here in pen) "I do not agree with the view that Native Education should be placed under the control of the Department of Native Affairs".⁸⁹

In contrast, the NAC Report for 1939-40, published in 1941, showed that the NAC at least was firmly committed to fiscal segregation

⁸⁶ "The Minister of Native Affairs at Lovedale and Fort Hare", SAO, 1 May 1939; KCA, Malherbe Papers, KCM 57030, File 619/1 (85), Malherbe to Loram 20 April 1939.

⁸⁷ UWA, SAIRR/1, AD843, B 37.15., Transvaal Advisory Board for Native Education: Minutes March 1939; B 70.1.1. Cape Advisory Board for Native Education: 15th June, 1939; Memorandum entitled "Finance and Control of Native Education"; B 70.1.7 Rheinallt Jones to Wilkie, 11 April 1939; SAIRR Circular entitled "Conference on the Finance and Control of Native Education".

⁸⁸ UWA, Joint Council Records, AD 1433, As 3.19., SAIRR RR17/40, Memorandum entitled "Finance of Native Education".

⁸⁹ AM, D.L. Smit Papers, GM 69/35/D (16/41). Lovedale Centenary: Opening Ceremony: Boys Dormitories: 21 July 1941. (Hand Written Note: Speech at the opening of the Douglas L Smit Dormitory Block)

and NAD control.⁹⁰ The status of the NAC under the war time political dispensation, however, is unclear. In 1945, Hofmeyr drew up legislation which made the source of funding of African education the Consolidated Revenue Fund, and which set up a Union Advisory Board. Whether this can be seen as a belated acceptance of the recommendations of the Welsh Report or not is a matter for further research. From the early 1940s, a new set of social and economic factors was at play. The task of this chapter has been to show the relationship of the Report to the wider context of segregation policy up to 1939.

CONCLUSION

This chapter has shown that in the context of segregation and legislation, issues around the control and aim of African education were contested by members of the liberal-mission network both inside and outside State structures. It has argued that, to a large degree, the Welsh Report embodied this in its personnel and recommendations. As such it was not a reflection of the United Party's interpretation of how segregation policies might be applied to African education. Its fate is also testimony to the fact that it was out of kilter with segregationist policies. What it does perhaps reflect is the inability of the liberal-mission network to develop much of an alternative to the status quo, and to challenge the ideology of segregation through the platform of African education.

Given that, during the 1930s, debates about the application of secular scientific ideas to education were ascendant, the Report's diffidence or silence about such debates is significant. It supports the claim that the Welsh Report was the last comprehensive statement of a Christian Victorian, individualist, voluntarist conception of education, articulated in opposition to more secular conceptions held by experts in science and anthropology. It demonstrates that the commissioners were also constantly aware of

⁹⁰ *Report of the Native Affairs Commission for the Years 1939-1940* (UG 42-41), Appendix E: Native Education.

the relationship between these ideas and the consolidation of segregation in the legislation of 1936.

CONCLUSION

This thesis has painted a broad picture of the relations between the English-speaking Protestant missions concerned with African education and the secular forces embodied in the State and liberal organisations, in the context of segregation. It has attempted to show that these missions were informed by an ideology of Christian Victorian liberalism which underpinned their concept of education. This concept was fundamentally individualist, elitist, and voluntarist. Religious education remained the foundation of their work. In contrast, secular concepts of education linked to the application of sciences such as psychology and anthropology were emerging to challenge this concept of education.

These challenges came in the form of attempts by the provinces to reform and exert more control over African education in the decade before 1920. They varied in their intensity and impact. The missions in the Transvaal and Natal were marginal to the process of reform. Loram was successful in Natal in removing some schools from the missions and transforming them into secular Government schools. This process was not extended to the other provinces for reasons which were both political and financial. Transvaal Provincial Council hostility to African education was fierce, given the context of increasing "poor White" phenomenon. In the wake of the Transvaal and Natal reforms, the Cape mission educationists and the enfranchised African elite managed to pre-empt the reform process and to dominate it. In the case of the Transvaal and Cape, the missions devoted much of their energies to preserving the control of African education which would, to some degree, ensure that they could interpret the provincial reforms as they saw fit. The most obvious threat was the transfer of African education to the NAD, which would separate it from White education and identify it as specific to a particular racial group; the missions saw education, like salvation, as an individual issue, unrelated to race. Nevertheless they toyed with ideas concerning education for "native needs". This did not mean a wholesale acceptance of the notion of "adapted education" espoused by secular educationists

like Loram. Particularly in the Cape, missions were concerned with rural reserve rehabilitation, and their reforms must be seen as attempting to redirect the educated elite into such activity, without compromising on individualist notions of education and standards. In both the Cape and Transvaal, the missions showed great hostility towards attempts to secularise "from below". They remained committed to religious denominational control in the face of increasing demands for local African control.

In its discussion of the period before 1948, the Eiselen Commission remarked that,

"The Minister [of Native Affairs] had no officials whose duty it was to formulate general education policy or to see that it was carried out."¹

When Loram was appointed to the NAC in 1920, he certainly regarded himself as having such a duty. He saw himself as an expert and objective official and, as such, he represented the encroachment of both secular and segregationist ideas on African education in the context of social conflict after the First World War. He manipulated his position in the NAC and in the Joint Council movement to formulate general education policy. His main success was to make funding a group, rather than an individual issue, through the Native Tax and Development Act. He was, however, unable to implement education policy "adapted" to the needs of the African racial group. He was constrained by the limits of his own system of fiscal segregation, by general White hostility to African development and by the marginalisation of the NAC under the Pact Government. In addition, he encountered resistance from the missions at home and abroad who reasserted their traditional commitment to religious individual and elitist education. This was informed not only by their opposition to secularisation, but also by an understanding of the link between such secular ideas and the policy of segregation embodied in the "Hertzog Bills" and the 1927 Native Administration Act. This was confirmed by the anthropological principles for African education outlined in the Natives Economic Commission Report and by the similar parameters of

¹ Report of the Commission on Native Education, 1949-1951 (UG 53-1951), para. 180.

debate at the 1934 New Education Fellowship Conference. This led to tensions between the missions and their more secular counterparts in the Joint Council movement, such as Rheinallt Jones. The financial crisis surrounding African education, evidenced by the bankruptcy of the NDF, focused the minds of the missions and liberals in consolidating their opposition to fiscal segregation, the block grant system and NAD and NAC control of African education.

Mission and liberal opposition to fiscal segregation, the block grant system and NAD and NAC control was cogently expressed in the Welsh Report of 1936. Embedded in this was a rejection of the principles informing the 1936 legislation: the exclusion of Africans from civil society and their treatment as a homogenous group rather than as individuals. As such the Report was a platform for Hofmeyr to critique these principles. Its timing and personnel are testimony to this. So is the fact that it was rejected by the United Party Government. The significance of the Report, however, is broader than its connections with the 1936 legislation. In its refusal to change format and become an instrument of social scientific analysis, in its diffidence towards intelligence testing and in its omission of references to "culture" it was the last statement of a traditional mission based concept of education which was under siege. The next commission on education would harness some of the ideas and research conducted in the 1930s by social scientists and would tie it explicitly to adapting African education to the principles of apartheid. The Eiselen Commission would also deal directly with African frustration at mission control and paternalism which exploded in the 1940s in riots at the schools, such as Lovedale, where individual religious education was so prized.

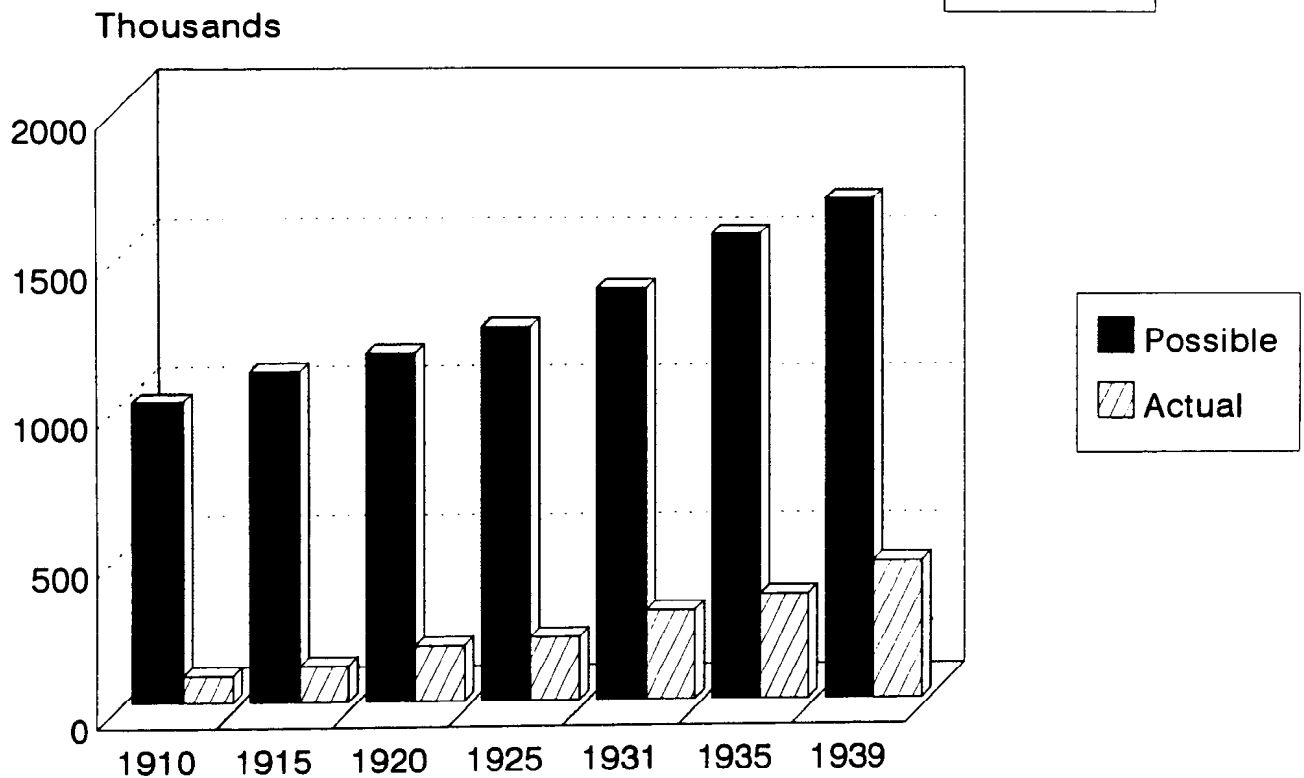
APPENDIX A

(FIGURES 1-9)

AFRICAN EDUCATION - 1910 to 1939

POSSIBLE AND ACTUAL ENROLMENT

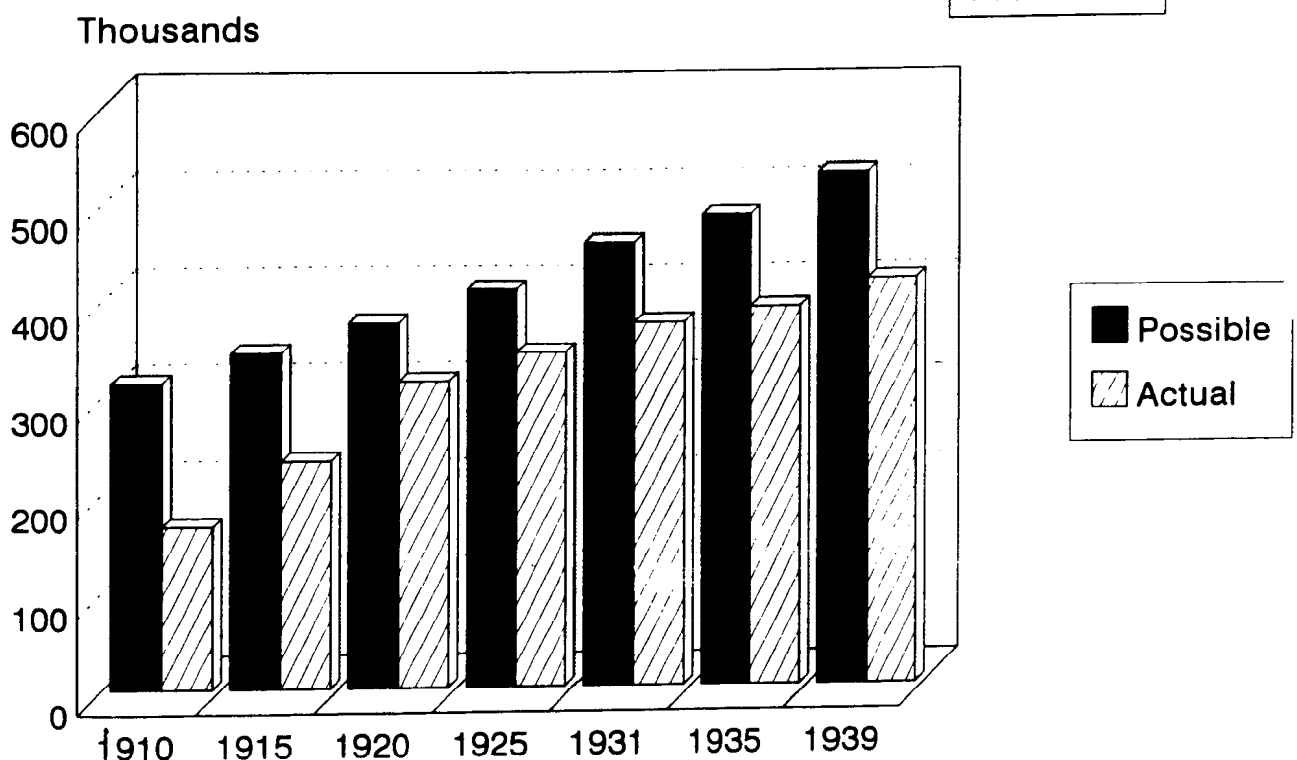
FIGURE 1



WHITE EDUCATION - 1910 to 1939

Possible and Actual Enrolment

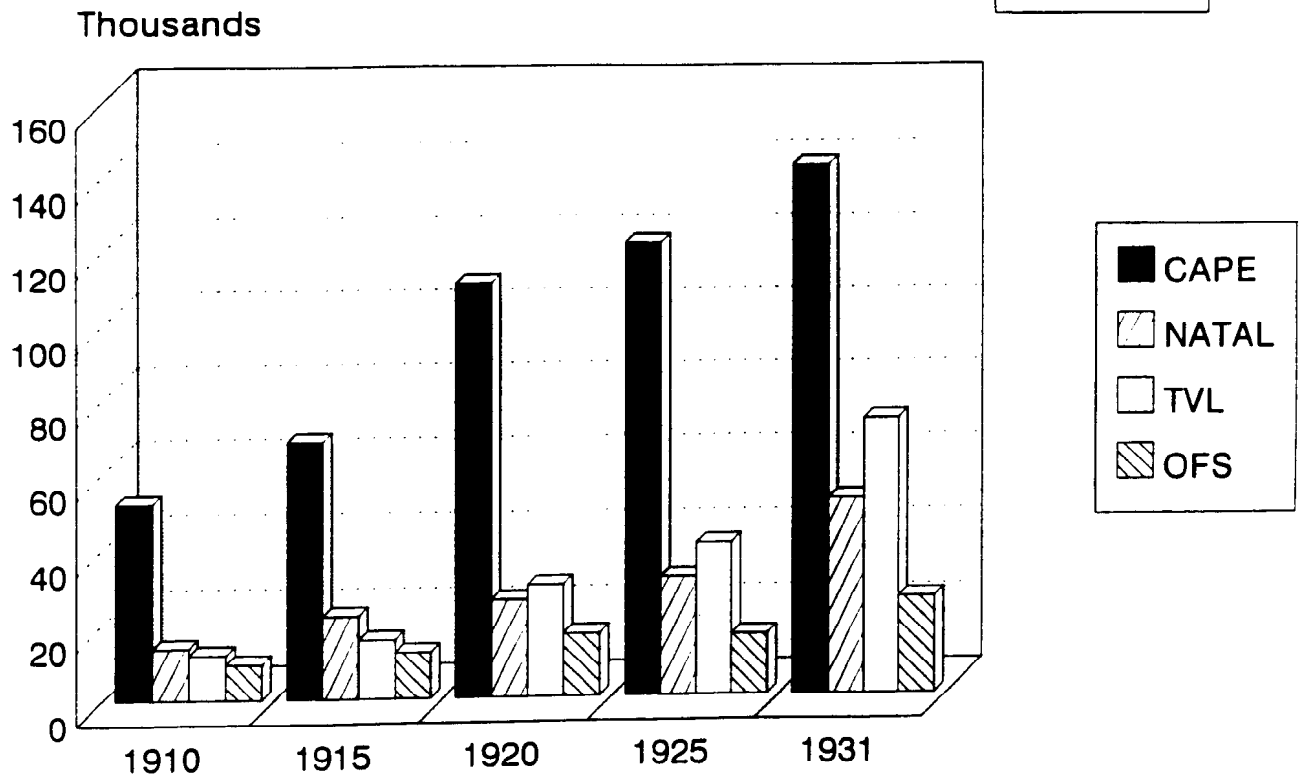
FIGURE 2



PROVINCIAL AFRICAN ENROLMENT

1910 - 1931

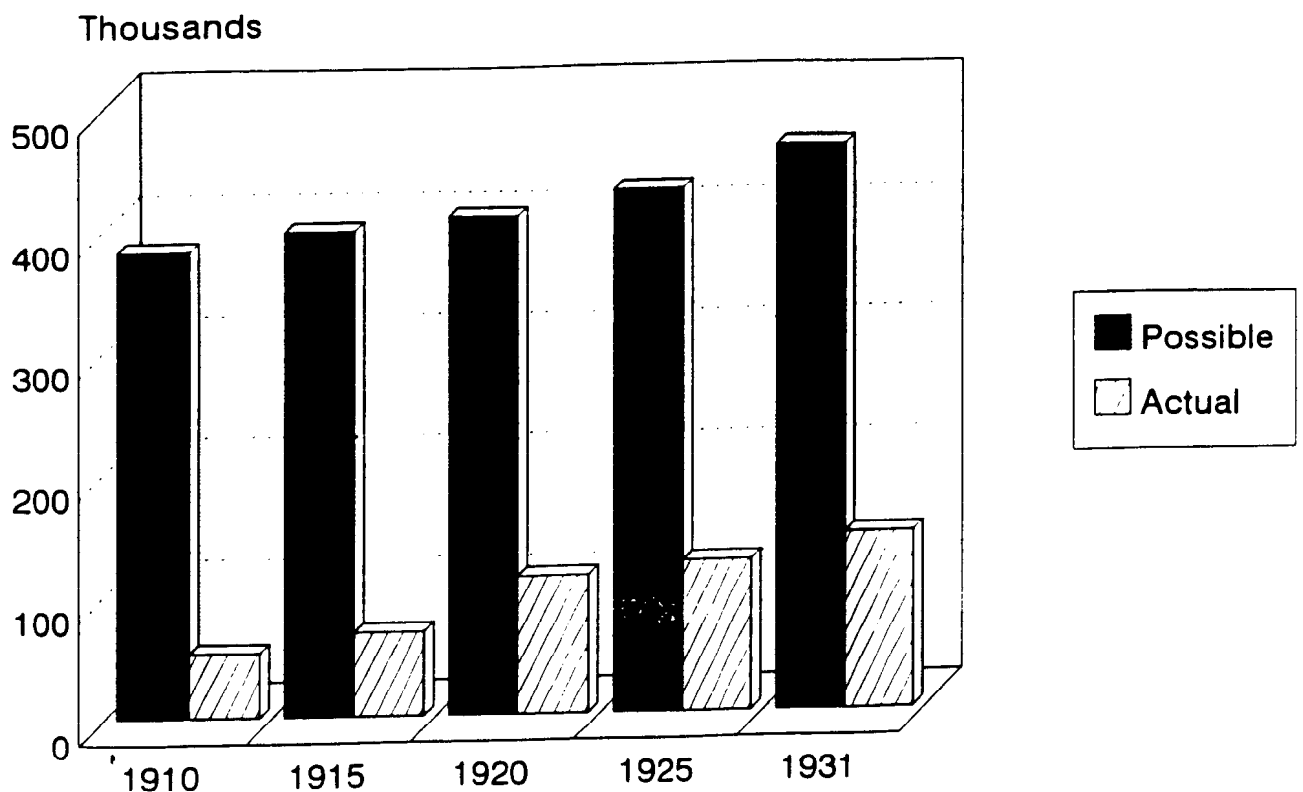
FIGURE 3



AFRICAN PROVINCIAL ENROLMENT 1910 to 1931

CAPE

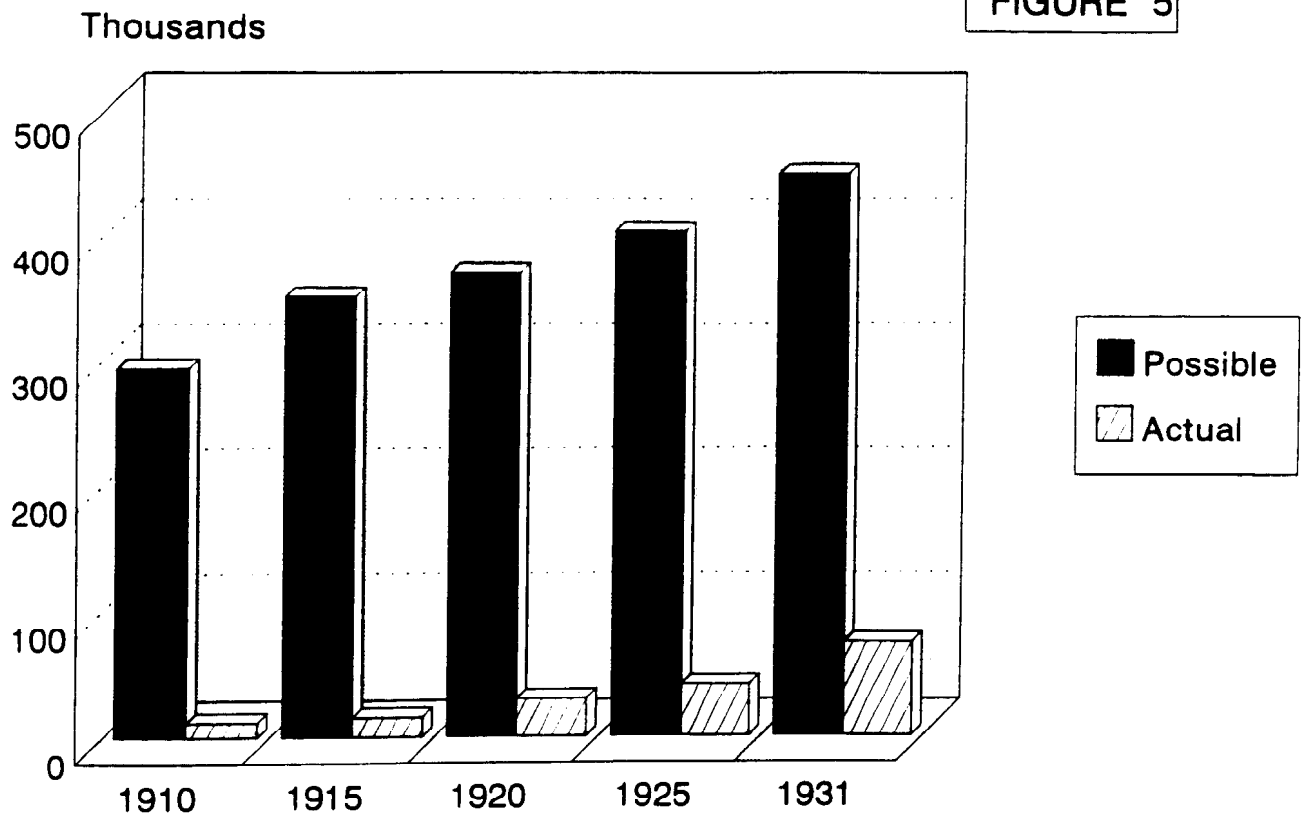
FIGURE 4



AFRICAN PROVINCIAL ENROLMENT 1910 to 1931

TRANSVAAL

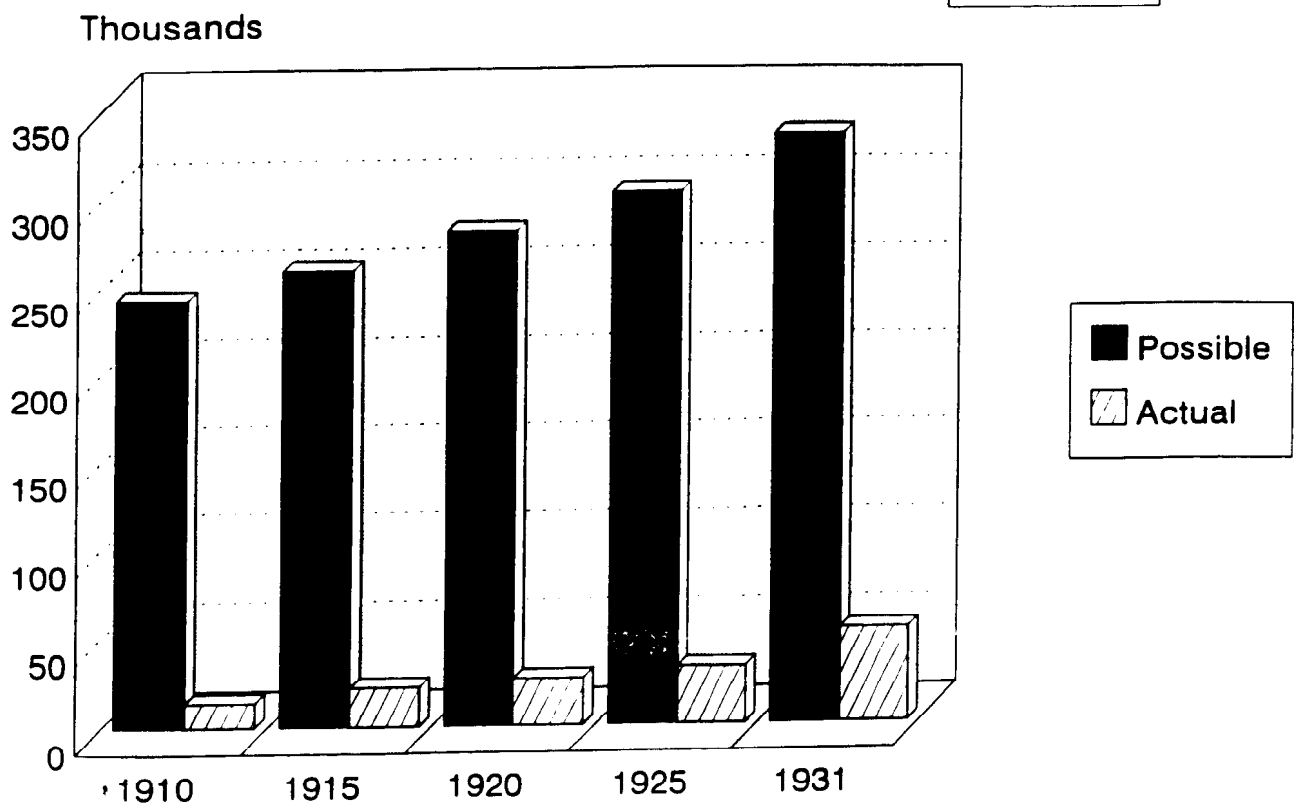
FIGURE 5



AFRICAN PROVINCIAL ENROLMENT 1910 to 1931

NATAL

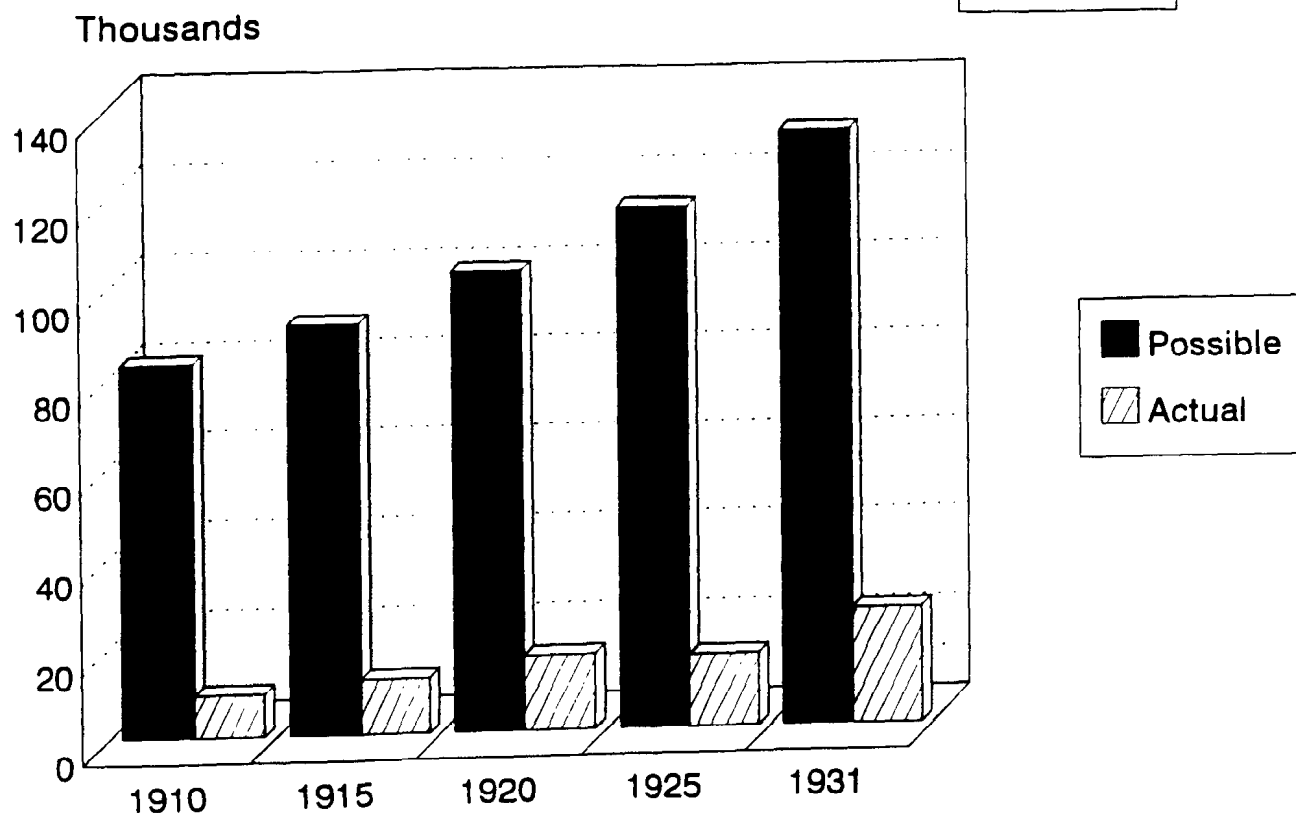
FIGURE 6



AFRICAN PROVINCIAL ENROLMENT 1910 to 1931

ORANGE FREE STATE

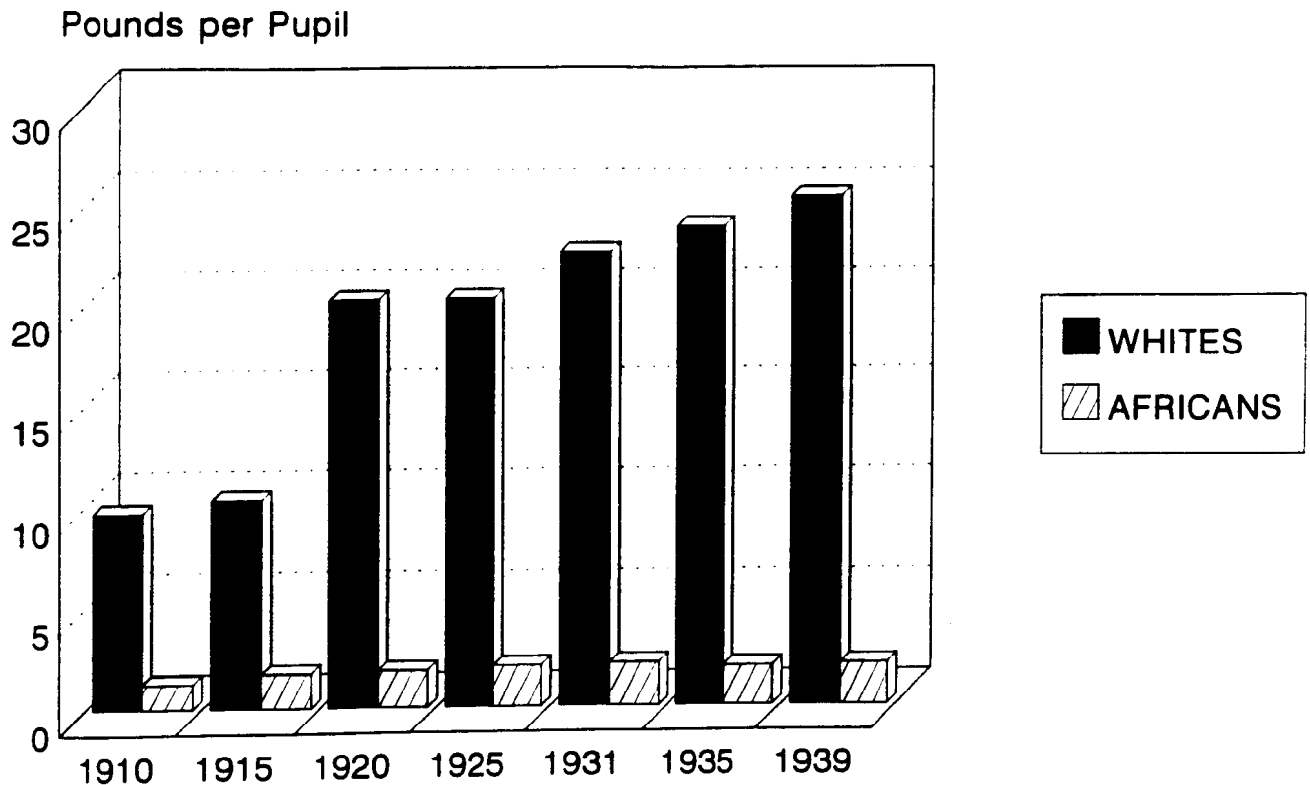
FIGURE 7



RELATIVE SPENDING ON EDUCATION

1910 to 1939

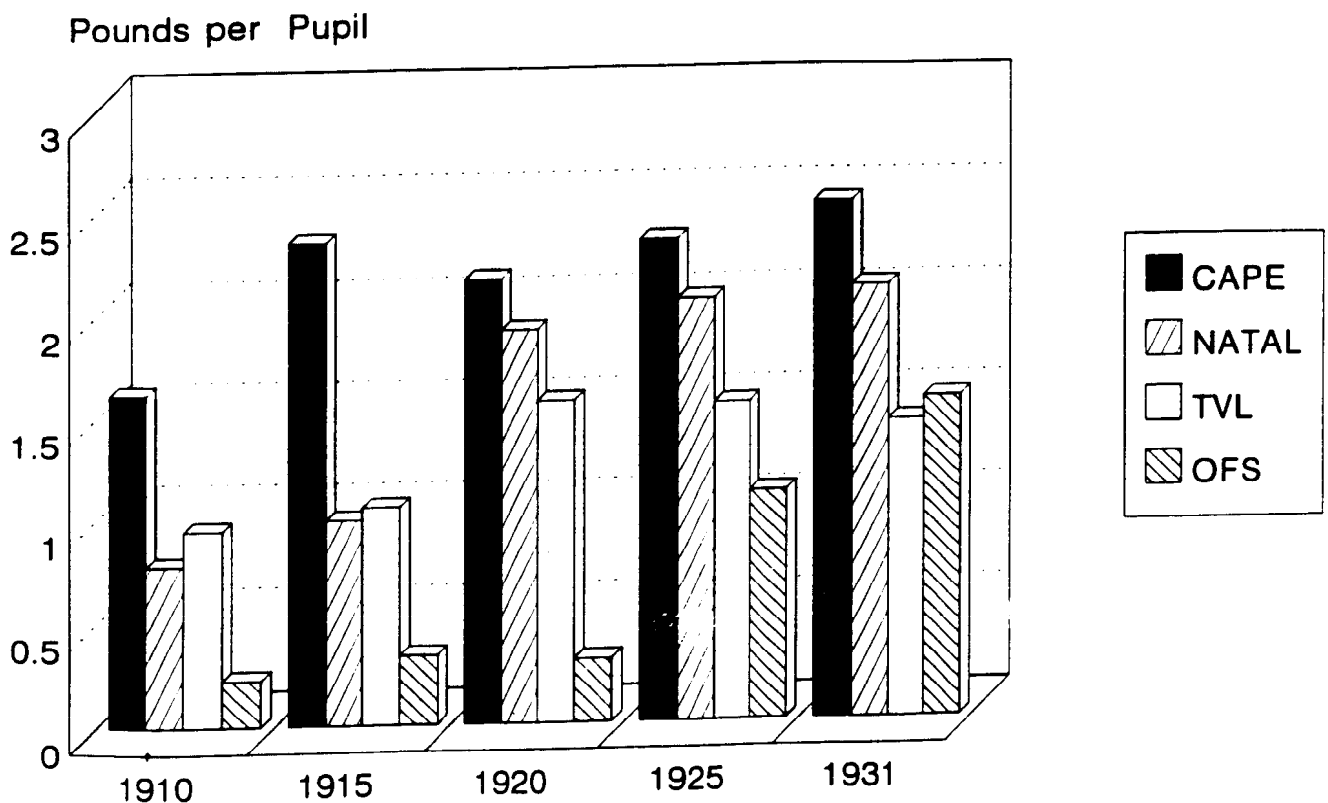
FIGURE 8



PROVINCIAL SPENDING ON AFRICAN EDUCATION

1910 to 1931

FIGURE 9

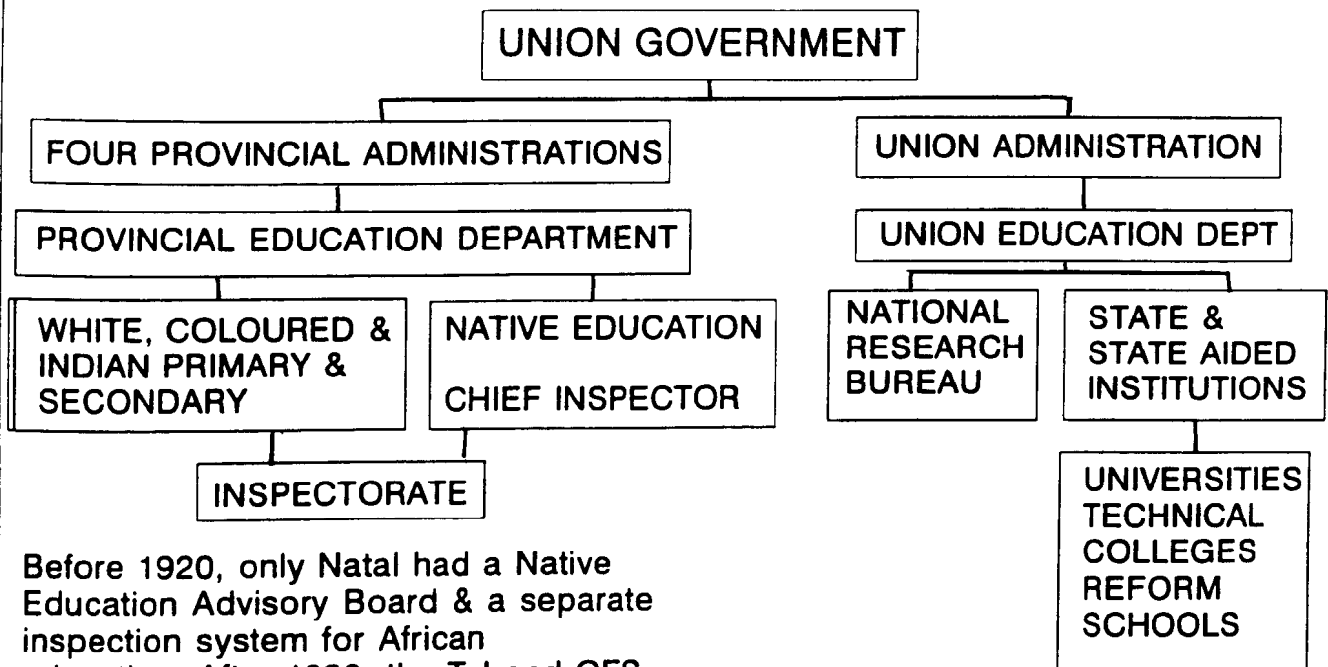


APPENDIX B

(FIGURES 10-13)

AFRICAN EDUCATION ADMINISTRATION AFTER 1910

FIGURE 10



Before 1920, only Natal had a Native Education Advisory Board & a separate inspection system for African education. After 1920, the Tvl and OFS appointed separate inspectors. The Cape appointed a Chief Inspector of Native Education but inspectors continued to inspect all schools.

THE WELSH REPORT 1936

PROPOSALS FOR CONTROL OF AFRICAN EDUCATION

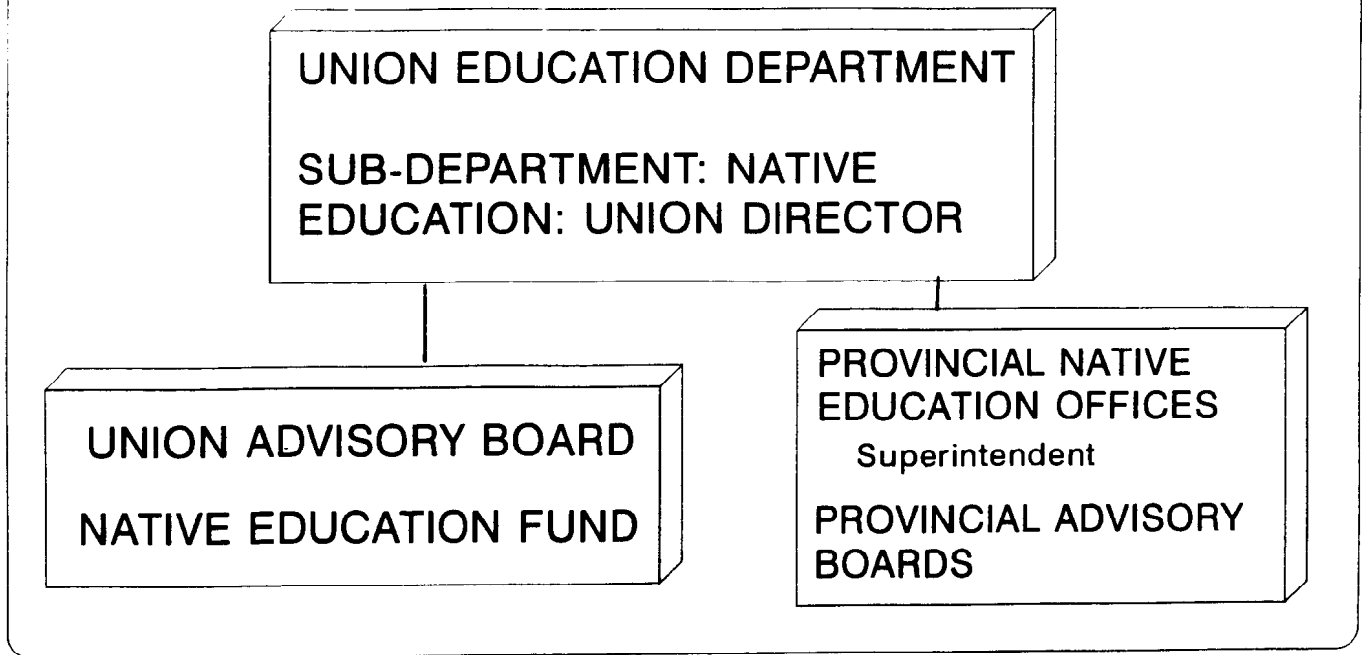


FIGURE 11

COMPOSITION OF UNION ADVISORY BOARD PROPOSED BY WELSH REPORT 1936

- UED Secretary for Education
- Secretary for Native Affairs
- Union Director of Native Education
- 4 Heads of Provincial White Education Depts
- 4 Representatives from Provincial Advisory Boards
- Principal of Fort Hare
- 2 African Representatives
(Nominated by the Native Representative Council)

FIGURE 12

COMPOSITION OF PROVINCIAL ADVISORY BOARDS PROPOSED BY WELSH REPORT 1936

- Provincial Head of White Education
- Provincial Superintendent of Native Education
- 1 NAD Representative
- 1 or 2 "Prominent Natives"
(depending on province size)
- 1 Provincial Councillor
- 1 African Teacher Organisation Representative
- 1 White Teacher Organisation Representative
- 1 University Representative
- 8 Mission Representatives

FIGURE 13

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