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Dubow, Saul

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UNIVERSITY OF THE WITWATERSRAND

A F R I C A N S T U D I E S I N S T I T U T E

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RACE, CIVILISATION AND CULTURE: THE ELABORATION OF SEGREGATIONIST DISCOURSE IN THE INTER-WAR YEARS

by Saul Dubow

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Note:An earlier paper (with a stronger emphasis on anthropology) was given to the Witwatersrand University 1984 History Workshop, and in a revised form to the University of Cape Town Africa Seminar. This paper has been rewritten to take account of criticisms and includes a new section on racial biology. It was presented to an Oxford seminar in 1985. The present version has been read and commented on by Stanley Trapido and William Beinart, to whom thanks are due.

Victorian Pessimism, Evolutionary Thought and Scientific Racism.

The core principles of classical liberalism as exemplified by Benthamite utilitarianism and the laissez faire political economy of Smith and Ricardo, reached its prime by the mid-nineteenth century. Confidence in the inevitability of human progress, which strongly informed the imperial mission, had lost its force.

Economic depression in England during the 1880s was accompanied by serious unemployment and an increase in working class radicalism. This crisis provoked a reassessment of traditional social objectives. There was a growing consciousness of the need to preserve social order and an awareness that the problems of poverty and social welfare could not be solved by laissez faire policies alone. Thus social reformers began to embrace measures which were by nature collectivist rather than individualist.[1]

The demise of cherished liberal ideals - such as the equality of man and the doctrine of inevitable progress - found expression in a number of ways. One important measure of this change is the spectacular explosion of biologically-based racial science in the second half of the nineteenth

1. G.Jones, Social Darwinism and English Thought (Sussex & New Jersey, 1980) ch.IV. See also E.J.Hobsbawm, Industry and Empire (London, 1968) pp201-2.

century.[2] The development of racist thinking is an enormously complex (and developing) subject. Whatever its origins, there appears to be consensus amongst scholars that the second half of the nineteenth century experienced a marked increase in racist discourse. In England, concludes Nancy Steppan, "the nineteenth century closed with racism firmly established in popular opinion and in science."[3] In the United States too, the preoccupation of European racists with evolution and eugenics had come to dominate American racist thought by the turn of the century.[4]

The bizarre if vigorous debates within racial science are exceedingly intricate. But despite their differences, Social Darwinists, Spencerians, Lamarckians, craniologists and physical anthropologists all set themselves the task of classifying the world's races according to a natural hierarchy. The biological sciences in particular were of great importance in this process. Deeply embedded evolutionist assumptions together with the the doctrine of the 'survival of the fittest' came to be applied to the human situation. Biology, writes Greta Jones, helped to "create the kind of moral universe in which nature reflected society and vice versa."[5] Racial thought also drew heavily on the metaphor of the family, an "area where subordination was legitimised."[6] Imagery derived from the biological sciences and the family gave rise to ubiquitous notions of the 'dependent' or 'child races'. In the imperial context this was later transformed into conceptions of 'separate development' and 'trusteeship'.
Stepan argues that the mid-nineteenth century mood of social optimism had, by the turn of that century, conceded to a profoundly pessimistic outlook which was "perfectly expressed" by the advent of Francis Galton's eugenics movement.[7] Eugenics was the so-called science of 'racial

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2. See for example N.Stepan, The Idea of Race in Science: Great Britain 1800-1960 (London, 1982); D.A.Lorimar, Colour, Class and the Victorians (Leicester, 1978); I.A.Newby, Jim Crow's Defense. Anti-Negro Thought in America 1900-1930 (Louisiana, 1965); Jones, Social Darwinism.

3. Stepan, The Idea, p111.

4. Newby, Jim Crow's Defense, pp8-9.

5. Jones, Social Darwinism, p147.

6. Ibid., p144.

7. Stepan, The Idea, p117. For a discussion of eugenics see G.R.Searle's Eugenics and Politics in Britain 1900-1914 (Leyden, 1976); M.Banton, The Idea of Race (London, 1977); also Jones, Social Darwinism, ch. VI.

stocks'. It was founded on the idea that social ends could be efficiently achieved by the deliberate manipulation of genetic pools. As such, eugenics was deliberately intended as a practical guide to the administration of society and the formulation of social legislation.

Eugenics drew strongly on the late nineteenth century fear of working class discontent and was infused with an "air of catastrophism".[8] It was deeply influenced by both Darwinian and Malthusian thought and effectively served to set the doctrine of evolutionary progress on its head. According to Galton, Western civilisation was on the decline. It could only be saved through the adoption of radical measures of social and biological engineering.

The influence of the eugenics movement and of racial biology more generally, was deeply pervasive in Britain and the United States by the early decades of the twentieth century. Eugenics was by no means the exclusive preserve of intellectual cranks. Its powerful potential as a force of social engineering attracted widespread interest amongst influential radical and socialist thinkers. J.M.Keynes, Sidney Webb, H.G.Wells, Bernard Shaw and H.J.Laski are just some of the prominent thinkers who (in varying degrees) expressed an interest in eugenics as a means of effecting fundamental societal reform.[9]

Within Britain eugenics was primarily addressed to questions of class and was viewed as a mechanism to deal with problems of poverty and the physical and moral 'degeneration' of the urban proletariat. Its language and applications were, however, readily transferred to the colonial domain, where it was applied to questions of race. In the form of social imperialism (a turn of the century political programme designed to ameliorate domestic class conflict by incorporating the working classes into support of the imperial mission) eugenists and social Darwinists were prominent in proclaiming the breeding of an 'imperial race'.[10]

Eugenics, incidentally, has an interesting association with Southern Africa. The ideas of Francis Galton, its inventor, were strongly influenced by his experiences in South West

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8. Jones, Social Darwinism, p103.

9. Ibid., pp110-17. Searle, Eugenics and Politics, pp10-14, describes the "intellectual calibre and social prestige" associated with the membership of the Egenics Education Society.

10. See Bernard Semmel's remarkable Imperialism and Social Reform. English Social-Imperial Thought 1895-1914 (London, 1960)

Africa (Namibia) during 1850-1, where he was a pioneer explorer amongst the Damara.[11] Eugenist ideas were powerfully reinforced when the initial setbacks of the Boer War and the poor physical condition of the working class recruits became a cause for imperial "panic".[12] It is noteworthy too, that Lancelot Hogben, the most effective and consistent scientific critic of eugenics, was deeply influenced through his direct exposure to racism in South Africa, having served as professor of zoology at UCT from 1927-30. Hogben referred to South Africa as a "chromatocracy" and ridiculed the bigotry of his academic colleagues there.[13]

Social Darwinism, eugenics and social imperialism are all reflective of the growing pessimism and collectivism of late nineteenth century British thought. The development of these movements was in part a response to the depression of the 1880s and the growing radicalism of the working classes. George Mosse notes a "new tone of urgency" informing racial biology at the beginning of the twentieth century, and he associates this with "accelerated urbanism and population growth" in western and central Europe.[14] Abroad, major events like the 1857 Indian Mutiny, the Governor Eyre controversy of 1865-6 in the West Indies, and the Boer War of 1899-1900, together served to cast doubt upon the viability of the imperial mission. These setbacks provided

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11. F.G.Galton, The Narrative of an Explorer in Tropical South Africa (London, 1891, 4th.edition). The introduction by G.T.Bettany claims that "This book occupies a relation to Mr Galton's career similar to that which Darwin's celebrated Journal of the Beagle occupied in his lifework." pix. Galton was a cousin of Charles Darwin.

12. Searle, Eugenics and Politics, p9,20.

13. L.Hogben, Dangerous Thoughts (London, 1939) p47-48. Hogben describes a typical academic conversation like this:
"Almost any South African Graduate: If you have to live in this country as long as I have, you would know that a native can't be taught to read or write.
Myself: Have you ever visited Fort Hare Missionary College?
Almost any S.A.G.: Don't talk to me about missionaries.
Myself: Well, I have. I have seen a class of pure blood Bantu students from the Cis-kei working out differential equations.
Almost any S.A.G.: What would you do if a black man raped your sister?"
This conversation is also cited in Gary Werskey's account of left-wing science in Britain, The Visible College (London 1978) p106.

14. G.L. Mosse, Toward the Final Solution. A History of European Racism (London, 1978) p78.

fertile ground for the pessimism implicit in social Darwinism and encouraged the use of social engineering to reverse the decline.

In South Africa itself, similar processes are discernable. A number of writers have remarked on a distinct ideological shift in the late nineteenth century Cape. Parry, for example, has demonstrated the manner by which the "amalgamationist" policies of Sir George Grey had been gradually undermined by the close of the nineteenth century. Although the rhetoric of 'civilising the backward races' persisted, the combination of administrative difficulties and the new conditions occasioned by the mineral revolution, combined to rob the classical liberal vision of its practical force. Thus Parry regards Rhodes' Glen Grey Act of 1894 as a key moment in the replacement of the assimilationist strategy by one of segregation.[15]

Russell Martin's analysis of the Transkeian administration in the late- nineteenth century traces the transition in social evolutionary theory which so strongly informed the world-view of the administrators. He shows how, particularly after the wars of 1877-8 and the rebellions of 1880-1, administrators became ever more sceptical of the potential for success of the Victorian civilising mission. By slow degree "the orthodoxy of Grey who had sought to promote 'civilisation by mingling' became the heterodoxy of the Transkeian magistrates who set their face against what they called 'amalgamation'."[16] This change in perspective appears to have been true of the British Colonial Office as a whole. Thus Hyam, writing of the Liberal government of 1905-8, claims that by this time "the mid-Victorian objective of turning Africans into black Europeans had long been given up, and the question of educating them towards self- government of the European type relegated to the distant future... the tendency was towards segregation rather than assimilation."[17] Hyam ascribes this change to the historical experience of colonialism, as well as to the teachings of "pseudo Darwinian science".[18]

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15. R.Parry, "In a Sense Citizens, But Not altogether Citizens..." Rhodes, Race, and the Ideology of Segregation at the Cape in the Late Nineteenth Century", Canadian Journal of African Studies vol. 17 no.3 1983 pp384-8.

16. S.J.R.Martin, "Political and Social Theories of Transkeian Administrators in the Late Nineteenth Century" (unpublished Masters thesis, UCT, 1978) p82.

17. R.Hyam, Elgin and Churchill at the Colonial Office 1905-8, (London, 1968) p539.

18. Ibid.

As a theory, segregation developed out of the demise of mid-Victorian liberalism and the ascendancy of racial science, in particular eugenics. Segregation was most often presented as a compromise between the discredited policies of 'assimilation' and 'repression', or as Edgar Brookes put it, "between the Scylla of identity and the Charbydis of subordination."[19] This implied a rejection both of classic liberalism and of overt forms of racism. The rejection of these polar opposites did not, however, constitute a ruptural break with its central assumptions. Born out of compromise, segregation was not a new philosophy . It was essentially a synthesis of divergent political traditions of political thought and practice. The discourse of segregation therefore continued to carry within its terms resonances of those very elements which it professed to reject.

RACIST THOUGHT IN SOUTH AFRICA.

The lived relations of paternalism which bound black and white together in South Africa presented white supremacy as part of the natural order of things in its (im)moral universe. To an extent, this obviated the need for the elaboration of explicit theories of racial superiority as evidenced in Britain or the United States. It is nevertheless anomalous that so little attention has been given to the development of racist thought in South Africa. Aside from maverick individuals like Fred Bell it is true that there is a relative absence of virulent scientific racism in early twentieth century South Africa.

This point has recently been made by Paul Rich.[20] In making it, however, Rich has underrated the extent to which scientific racism was an implicit component of the political discourse of the time. Indeed, it is perhaps in virtue of the fact that racist assumptions were so prevalent in the common-sense thinking of early twentieth century South Africa, that the relative absence of eugenist of social Darwinist theories is to be explained. In the pre-Nazi era, theories of racial superiority derived from the biological sciences, were widely prevalent in South Africa. If we return with John Coetzee to "the discourse of racism before 1945, what strikes us first about it, is its nakedness, its shamelessness."[21]

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19. E.H. Brookes, The History of Native Policy in South Africa from 1870 to the Present Day (Cape Town, 1924) p501.

20. P.Rich, White Power and the Liberal Conscience (Johannesburg and Manchester, 1984) p5.

21. J.M.Coetzee,"Blood, Flaw, Taint, Degeneration: The Case of Sarah Gertrude Millin", English Studies in Africa, vol. 23 no.1 1980 p41.

The imagery of social Darwinism is clearly discernable in three important areas of political debate: speculation about the relative intelligence of blacks and whites; the almost universally expressed horror of 'miscegenation'; and fear of racial 'degeneration' following upon the uncontrolled development of a black and white proletariat in the cities.

With respect to urban legislation, the language of biological racism is especially clear. Maynard Swanson, writing of the 'sanitation syndrome' in the early twentieth century Cape, examines the "imagery of infectious disease as a societal metaphor", and demonstrates its role in the evolution of the ideology and institutions of urban segregation.[22]

In the view of many, Africans were 'naturally' part of the land. Cities were portrayed as an 'alien environment' for which Africans were supposedly not yet ready. To the new migrant the city was seen as the site of vice and immorality, "influences far too potent for his [the African's] powers of resistance."[23] The phenomenon of 'poor whiteism' was frequently held up as a warning of what would occur should unrestrained African proletarianisation be allowed to continue. For many biological determinists 'poor whiteism' was a perfect illustration of the inevitable tendency of civilisation to decline. Concern was expressed for the physical and moral 'degeneration' of Africans in the foreign environment of the cities. In the 1920s urban social welfare became an important area of liberal concern, as liberals attempted to arrest physical and moral 'decay' and to defuse the potential for social and industrial conflict.[24] Notably, the ideological presentation of the 1923 Urban Areas Act stressed the measure as a 'protective' measure which would assist Africans in their confrontation with 'industrialism'.

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22. M.Swanson, "The Sanitation Syndrome: Bubonic Plague and Urban Native Policy in the Cape Colony 1900-09", Journal of African History vol.XVIII no.3 1977 p387.

23. C.T.Loram, The Education of the South African Native (London,1917) pp9,11. See also Brookes, History (Cape Town,1924) ch.XVIII. On p403 Brookes states that "The native ... is not naturally a town-dweller or an industrialist."

24. Rich, White Power pp10-17. Rev. Ray Phillips' The Bantu are Coming (London, 1930) is a revealing manifesto for the role of the 'modern' missionary in urban welfare work.

The language of eugenics is strongly evident in the obsession with 'race fusion' or 'miscegenation'.[25] Eugenics added fuel to the prevalent fear of racial mixing, since it warned against the dilution of 'pure racial stocks' and the 'decline of white civilisation'. Miscegenation, particularly amongst the working classes, was held to sap the fibre of white civilisation at its most vulnerable point. 'Race fusion' was portrayed in the most apocalyptic terms by such eugenist-inspired catastrophists as Ernest Stubbs and George Heaton Nicholls.[26] Maurice Evans, associated himself (as did most white liberal thinkers) with the opinion of the" average white South African" that the admixture in blood of the races is the worst that can happen, at least for the white race, and perhaps for both."[27] So strong was feeling on this point that African politicians took care to distinguish their political claims from the implication that they desired 'social equality' - often as not, a euphemism for miscegenation.

The dangers of miscegenation were powerfully exploited at the hustings. In his speeches on segregation Hertzog invariably warned of the vulnerability of white civilisation in the face of the numerical preponderance of Africans, and he frequently equated political rights for Africans with 'swamping'.[28] The full force of these warnings escape us today - as they have eluded those liberal historians who naively attempt to show by means of figures that Hertzog's fears of the rapid expansion in the African franchise were unfounded.[29] The impact of 'swamping' or of the 'rising tide of colour' is rendered more comprehensible

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25. The fear of miscegenation was so widespread that it is futile to attempt to document it. An interesting critical survey of the phenomenon in a pamphlet by G.Findlay, Miscegenation (Pretoria 1936) Stubbs papers A954 Ea (Church of the Province Archives, University of the Witwatersrand - henceforth 'CPA')

26. E.Stubbs, Tightening Coils. An Essay on Segregation (Pretoria, 1925); G.H.Nicholls, Bayete! (London, 1923)

27. M.Evans, Black and White in South East Africa. A Study in Sociology (London, 1911) p223.

28. See for example Hertzog's Smithfield and Malmesbury speeches in The Segregation Problem. General Hertzog's Solution (Cape Town, n.d.)

29.C.M.Tatz, Shadow and Substance in South Africa. A Study in Land and Franchise Policies Affecting Africans 1910-60. (Pietermaritzburg, 1962). On pp41-45 Tatz isolates and evaluates the validity of 12 arguments advanced by Hertzog for the removal of the Cape African franchise.

when set in the prevailing mood of the time, with its paranoia about civilisation's retrogressive tendencies and its vulnerability in the face of a 'vigorous' and 'virile' mass of 'barbarians' who were 'flooding' into the cities.

This point was observed by the liberal philosopher Alfred Hoernle who noted that "the fear of race mixture is at the root of the 'anti native' attitude of many White South Africans." He explained that those who were "primarily afraid of the native's economic competition or of being swamped by the native vote" were "easily strengthened in their opposition" when it was put to them that economic and political integration would "inevitably lead to a breaking down of social barriers and thus of the racial integrity of the white group."[30]

The writings of Heaton Nicholls and Sarah Gertrude Millin are suffused with the language and imagery of biological degeneration.Some of these themes are brilliantly analysed by John Coetzee in his essay "Blood, Flaw, Taint, Degeneration:The case of Sarah Gertrude Millin."[31] It was in fact another writer of the period, William Plomer, who turned the threat of miscegenation on its head in his controversial novel Turbott Wolfe.[32] The book's fanciful solution to South Africa's racial problems amounted to a form of positive eugenics; the main protagonists of Turbott Wolfe propose the establishment of a Young Africa Society, whose function it would be to eradicate race itself through the adoption of a deliberate policy of miscegenation.

The widely debated question of the relative intelligence of blacks and whites, is a further area in which the impact of Social Darwinism is evident. The question of the capacity of the African races to rise in the scale of civilisation became an integral part of any discussion on segregation. "The direction which native policy should take" was, as Rheinallt Jones explained, "dependent upon the view we take of the place which the primitive races are destined, by reason of their inherent capacities, to have in modern civilisation."[33] He therefore called upon scientists,

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30. R.F.A.Hoernle, "Race Mixture and Native Policy in South Africa", in I.Schapera (ed.) Western Civilisation and the Natives of South Africa. Studies in Culture Contact (London, 1934) p265.

31. Coetzee,"Blood, Flaw, Taint"

32. W.Plomer, Turbott Wolfe (London, 1926)

33. J.D.R. Rheinallt Jones, "The Need for a Scientific Basis for South African Native Policy", South African Journal of Science vol.XXIII 1926 p91.

psychologists and anthropologists to establish the data upon which a sound social policy could be formulated.

Peter Nielsen, an administrator in Rhodesia, devoted an entire study to answering the question "Is the African Native equal to the European in mental and moral capacity or is he not?" This, he considered, was the "crux of the Native Question in South Africa..." and the issue on which Africans' "proper place in the general scheme of our civilization" would depend. After an exhaustive discussion of contemporary theories of racial biology, he concluded that there was "good reason for accepting the Bantu as the equals of Europeans in every respect save past achievment..."[34]

The problem of genetic inheritance provoked three major problems with respect to Africans; their innate as opposed to their potential mental capacities; whether their intellect was 'originative' as well as 'imitative'; and whether their mental development was 'arrested' after adolescence.[35] The results of intelligence testing, derived from American models then in vogue, was frequently invoked in support of arguments for or against segregation.[36]

Speculation about the relative mental capacity of the different races was by no means confined to those who may obviously be considered to be racists. Prominent liberal thinkers like Maurice Evans, Rheinallt Jones, C.T.Loram, and Alfred Hoernle, all addressed themselves to the question of innate intelligence at one time or another.[37] A.R. Radcliffe-Brown, then professor of social anthropology at the University of Cape Town, was equivocal on the matter. He thought it likely that there were some physiological

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34. P. Nielsen, The Black Man's Place in South Africa (Cape Town, 1922) pp3-4,148. Somewhat out of tune with his findings, Nielsen concluded that territorial separation was necessary for "peace and happiness in South Africa, though on account of "unalterable physical disparity, and not because of any mental inequality." p148.
35. See for example J.E.Duerden, "Genetics and Eugenics in South Africa: Heredity and Environment" S.A.J.S. vol. XXII 1925.

36. See for example M.L.Fick, "Intelligence test results of Poor White, Native (Zulu), Coloured and Indian School Children and the Educational and Social Implications", S.A.J.S. vol.XXVI 1929; Loram, The Education.

37. Evans, Black and White, pp36-7; Rheinallt Jones, "The Need"; Loram, The Education; Evidence of Prof.& Mrs Hoernle to NEC, K26 Box 9, pp9183-85 (Pretoria State Archives - henceforth 'PSA').

differences between whites and blacks, but supposed it would not make a vast amount of difference.[38] As regards this form of speculation, the general consensus as expressed by S.M.Molema was that "neither capacity nor incapacity have been shown conclusively to be characteristic of the backward races, or more plainly, of the African race."[39] Notably, a similar conclusion on the indeterminacy of intelligence testing was reached by Werner Eiselen in 1929, later to become a key ideologist and implementor of apartheid.[40]

If most writers were agreed that the matter of biological differences between the races was in doubt, this did not prevent them, however, from making inferences based on their own prejudices and suspicions. For some, innate racial differences were manifestly obvious, the only question which remained was the extent to which Africans could be expected to bridge the intelligence gap. In the case of others, the inconclusive results of scientific research offered hope for the ultimate achievment of liberal ideals. In general, however, to pose the question of biological differentiation in itself presupposed some form of segregation; a policy of benign differentiation, it seemed clear, was the best social laboratory in which the true capacity of Africans could be tested.

THE DECLINE OF THE VICTORIAN 'CIVILISING MISSION'.

If forms of social Darwinist thought informed one aspect of segregationist thought, liberalism constituted another. Mention has been made of the decline of mid-Victorian liberalism, both abroad and in South Africa. In England the pessimism and collectivism which replaced earlier confidence in industrial progress, did so against a backround of economic and social crisis. In the Cape, the decline of mid-Victorian liberalism occured in the context of industrialisation, frontier wars, and the tenacious resistance of African social systems to their dissolution and incorporation into colonial society.

D.M.Schreuder's study of the British 'civilising mission' is an excellent - if perhaps overstated - interpretation of

38. UG 14-'26 Economic and Wage Commission (1925) pp326-7.
39. S.M.Molema, The Bantu - Past and Present (Edinburgh, 1920) p328.

40. W.Eiselen, Die Naturelle Vraagstuk (Cape Town, 1929) pp3-4.

Victorian imperialism in its late heyday.[41] Schreuder's novel thesis is that the sombre 'official mind' of the British Colonial Office obscures a more purposeful and belligerent form of cultural imperialism in the colonial periphery. Schreuder examines the ideology of 'progress', 'individualism' and 'assimilation' or 'identity' and considers its zealous application by Cape 'native administrators' between the 1860s and 1880s. He indicates how colonial officials devoted themselves to rooting out the "triad" of traditional cultural and political forms constituted by polygamy, lobolo, and above all, chieftanship.[42] Schreuder displays sensitivity to the material context in which this ideology flourished, and deals with such issues as the desire to establish a limited African peasantry, to secure a force of individual wage labourers, and to develop political alliances with an acculturated African 'improving' class.[43]

Although Schreuder does point to a demise in the coherence of the imperial mission by the 1880s it appears that he exaggerates the belligerence and confidence of the mid-Victorian Cape administrator. He provides us with an ideal image of Victorian cultural imperialism which was never realised in practice. Historical reality is not, however, at issue, for I am concerned here with an analysis of the structure of ideas from which the framework of segregationist ideology was constructed. Notably, a conception of nineteenth century Cape liberalism as a force for 'assimilation' (very similar to the one outlined by Schreuder) was used as a foil by thinkers in the 1920s in their attempt to develop a theory of liberal segregation.

South Africa's transition from a mercantile to an industrial economy in the late nineteenth century was the material context in which the assumptions of classic liberalism were called into question. It was, however, only during the Milnerite reconstruction period, and especially during the decade following the conclusion of the First World War, that the full implications of industrialisation became clear. The declining agricultural capacity of the reserves, the rapid

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41. D.M.Schreuder, "The Cultural Factor in Victorian Imperialism: a case study of the British 'civilising mission'", Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History, vol.IV no.3 1976.

42. Ibid., p292-4.

43. On the material basis of Cape liberalism, see Stanley Trapido's pioneering essay "'The friends of the natives': merchants, peasants and the political and ideological structure of liberalism in the Cape, 1854-1910", in S.Marks & A.Atmore (eds) Economy and Society in Pre-Industrial South Africa (London, 1980).

dissolution of the tribal system, nascent working class radicalism, and the growth of urban slums, were the chief social consequences of South Africa's rapid process of industrialisation. It was in this context that social theorists began to draw on the brand of liberal reformism and collectivism which had been gathering strength overseas. The new liberalism which developed after the Boer War and coalesced on the Witwatersrand during the early 1920s, was born in explicit opposition to its Cape forebears.

By the 1920s Cape liberalism was widely seen as being somewhat archaic,its legacy surviving through ageing patricians like Merriman, Burton and James Rose Innes. Important African figures like Jabavu, Thema and Plaatjie also derived their political world-view from this powerfully symbolic tradition. By contrast, the newly constructed liberalism of individuals such as Edgar Brookes, Howard Pim, C.T.Loram and J.D.Rheinallt Jones was strong on pragmatism but rather weaker on principle.

Although in many senses the inheritors of the Cape tradition, Witwatersrand establishment-liberalism eschewed the essential tenets of the mid-Victorian project. The writings of Evans, Loram, and Brookes rejected the policies of 'identity' and 'assimilation'. In the hands of the liberal segregationists 'civilisation' was replaced by 'culture', 'progress' became synonymous with 'differentiation', while 'individualism' was subsumed into the collective interests of 'racial groups'.

If scientific racism was equated with 'repression' and mid-Victorian liberalism with 'identity', segregation was seen as the synthesis of these dialectical opposites. An intellectual organising principle was required to validate this synthesis or compromise. The development of an anthropological notion of 'culture' came to serve this purpose admirably.

ANTHROPOLOGY AND BANTU STUDIES.

The study of anthropology in South Africa was institutionalised during the decade after the First World War.[44] South Africa was a pioneer in this respect. In 1921

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44. On the institutionalisation of anthropological studies in South Africa and its relationship to segregation see my "'Understanding the Native Mind': Anthropology, cultural adaptation and the elaboration of a segregationist discourse in South Africa, c.1920-36", (unpublished seminar paper, UCT,1984). For a discussion of the impact of anthropology on liberal thought in the 1920s & 30s, see Rich, White Power, ch.3.

A.R.Radcliffe-Brown, one of the acknowledged founders of modern social anthropology, was appointed to the newly established chair of social anthropology at the University of Cape Town. Within a few years all four teaching universities in the country had departments offering courses in 'Bantu studies' and anthropology, or their equivalents.

From the outset, anthropology was looked to as a source of applied knowledge. Influential individuals like C.T.Loram, J.D.Rheinallt Jones, James Duerden and Jan Smuts were instrumental in establishing and promoting anthropology in South Africa. All of them stressed the role that anthropology could play in providing a solution to the so-called 'native question'.[45] In the words of Radcliffe-Brown social anthropology was "not merely of scientific or academic interest, but of immense practical importance..." Given a situation where the economic, social and cultural situation of the "native tribes" was being "altered daily" Radcliffe-Brown extolled the value of anthropological knowledge in "finding some social and political system in which the natives and the whites may live together without conflict..."46

The extravagant claims made as regards anthropology's utilitarian value to native administration, echoed the professed intentions of the International Institute of African Languages and Cultures which was established in 1926 under the patronage of Lord Lugard. In its journal Africa, Bronislaw Malinowski articulated the need for a modern "functional school of anthropology" to be conducted under the aegis of the Institute. Its purpose would be to bridge "the gap between theoretical anthropology and its practical applications" and to provide analytical data on such questions as education, taxation, labour and direct versus indirect rule.[47]

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45. Loram, The Education, ppvii-viii; J.D. Rheinallt Jones, "Editorial" in Bantu Studies, vol. 1 no.1 1921 p1; J.E. Duerden, "Social Anthropology in South Africa: Problems of Nationality", S.A.J.S., vol. 18 1921 pp4-5. According to Adam Kuper, Anthropologists and Anthropology (London, 1973) p62, Smuts, in consultation with Haddon of Cambridge, was personally responsible for inviting Radcliffe-Brown to UCT.

46. A.R. Radcliffe-Brown, "Some Problems of Bantu Sociology", Bantu Studies, vol.1 no.3 1922 p5.

47. B.Malinowski, "Practical Anthropology", Africa, vol.II no.I 1929 pp37-38. See also Lord Lugard, "The International Institute of African Languages and Cultures", Africa, vol.VIII no.1 1928; E.W.Smith, "The Story of the Institute. A Survey of Seven Years", Africa, vol.VIII no.I 1934.

Whether of not the Institute and the developing school of functional anthropology fulfilled its intentions in British Colonial Africa, is not of immediate concern.[48] In South Africa consistent attempts were made to harness the developing schools of anthropology to the interests of state.

The universities soon devised diploma courses in Bantu studies which were specially tailored to the perceived needs of native administrators. They also held annual vacation courses with a distinct anthropological bent, for the benefit of missionaries and administrators. In 1925 the Native Affairs Department appointed G.P.Lestrade as head of its newly created ethnological section.[49] By and large the attempts by anthropologists to forge links with the state amounted to little more than special pleading by a flegling discipline anxious to attract funding. Ultimately, the efforts of anthropologists, self-appointed 'experts' and liberal activists to aid in the formulation of a modern 'native policy', were largely ignored by the state.

If the instrumental effects of anthropology on state policy was limited, its contribution to the development of an ideology of segregation was, however, significant. Prominent liberal thinkers with segregationist tendencies, especially those involved in the Joint Council nexus, were strongly influenced by anthropological thought. J.D. Rheinallt Jones was a part-time lecturer in the Wits Bantu studies department as well as editor of its journal Bantu Studies. The philosopher Alfred Hoernle, doyen of liberal intellectuals in the 1930s, served for a time as head of the Wits Bantu studies department. His wife, Winifred Hoernle, trained a number of important South African anthropologists and taught in the department. C.T.Loram, together with Rheinallt Jones and Hoernle, sat on the Inter-University Committee for African Studies which funded and controlled anthropological research in South Africa. Edgar Brookes, in his capacity as professor of public administration at the Transvaal University College (Pretoria) was instrumental in

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48. The relationship between anthropology and colonialism is a subject of considerable debate. See T.Asad, Anthropology and the Colonial Encounter (London, 1973); G.Huizer & B.Mannheim (eds) The Politics of Anthropology (The Hague, 1979).

49. Dubow, "'Understanding", pp6-14.

offering courses on 'native administration' to officials of the Native Affairs Department.[50]

For these members of the liberal establishment, anthropology and the new theory of 'culture contact' offered new and valuable insights into the 'changing native'. Its recognition of the complexity of African society and of the distinctive nature of African 'culture, informed their efforts to provide for the differential development of Africans. As an empirical science of a distinctive 'native mentality', anthropology was eagerly seized upon by positivistically oriented experts seeking a 'solution to the native question'.[51]

Common to both the civilising mission and scientific racism was the ingrained assumptions of nineteenth century evolutionism. The universalism of classical liberal thought held to the doctrine of inevitable progress culminating in the perfection of Western civilisation. Scientific racism too, viewed the world within the parameters of evolutionism, governed by the extremities of 'barbarity' and 'civilisation'. But scientific racism differed from classical liberal thought in two respects. First, it contended that civilisation was as likely to retrogress as to progress. Second, the biological determinists thought that the relative position of 'pure races' along the evolutionary scale was immutable.

It was the pluralism and relativism characteristic of anthropological thought which offered a way out of the evolutionist constraints of biological determinism, as well as those inherent in classical liberalism.It provided those seeking a synthesis between 'identity' and 'repression' with a powerful intellectual justification. The key concept was 'culture'.

George Stocking, the American historian of anthropology, has convincingly demonstrated how the work of Franz Boas and his students in the period 1900-30 served to "free the concept of culture from its heritage of evolutionary and racial assumptions, so that it could subsequently become the cornerstone of social scientific disciplines completely

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50. Of these individuals only Winifred Hoernle can really be considered to be part of the modern discipline of social anthropology. The above-mentioned were not consistent segregationists. After his break with segregation, Brookes, for example, offered a critical evaluation of the teachings of anthropology in his 1933 Phelps-Stokes lectures. See his The Colour Problems of South Africa, (Lovedale, 1934) ch.VI.

51. See Rich, White Power, ch.3, esp pp54-63.

independent of biological determinism."[52] This view is supported by Newby's observation that the impact in the United States of Boasian thought, had caused a precipitous decline by 1930 in the "amount of scientific literature purporting to prove the Negro's alleged inferiority."[53]

The influence of the Boasian school, explains Stocking, generated a specifically anthropological concept of culture which became current in the Anglo American tradition. This notion of culture, as formulated by Boas' students Kroeber and Kluckhohn, was distinctively relativistic. It was contrasted to the humanist sense of culture "which was absolutistic' and knew perfection". Thus

"anthropological 'culture' is homeostatic, while humanist 'culture' is singular. Traditional humanist usage distinguishes between degrees of 'culture'; for the anthropologist, all men are equally' cultured'."[54]

The attractiveness of the anthropological sense of culture to segregationists seeking a way out of the evolutionist constraints of biological determinism and those of universalist humanism, should be apparent. As disseminated through Malinowski and possibly through Boas, a popular notion of 'culture' came to serve as a credible linguistic peg upon which the segregationist compromise was hung. It did so by incorporating the evolutionist assumptions of both liberal assimilationists (who believed in the capacity of the black man 'to rise') and of racist 'repressionists' (who maintained the inability of Africans to ascend the evolutionary scale). This proposition may be illustrated with reference to contemporary usage of the term 'culture'.

CULTURE AND ADAPTATION.

52. G.W.Stocking, Race, Culture and Evolution. Essays in the History of Anthropology (New York, 1968).For an assessment of the impact of Boasian thought see also M.Harris, The Rise of Anthropological Theory (London, 1968) chaps IX & X.

53. Newby, Jim Crow's Defense, p51.

54. Stocking, Race, Culture and Evolution, pp199-200.

The first use of 'culture' to be examined is that which functioned as a synonym for 'civilisation'.[55] Consider Howard Rogers' description of NAD ethnological research into the "...relationships of the tribes, their languages and state of culture"[56]; the Friend's report of a "mass meeting of over 500 natives of all stages of culture [which] was held yesterday near Middeldrift"[57]; J.B.M.Hertzog's assertion that "Kadalie had been a very active agitator and one of no mean culture..."[58]; and Imvo's complaint in the wake of his 1926 speech that "General Hertzog, far from being magnanimous and generous with his superior culture is this week engaged in pushing though Parliament the Colour Bar Bill with its designs to arrest Bantu industrial progress in advance."[59]

In the first two examples the customary formulation 'state of civilisation' is directly transposed as 'state of culture', while in the last two examples 'culture' is strongly associated with progress along the barbarian/ civilisation continuum. All four examples are similar to the extent that 'culture' is portrayed as a dynamic quality located within the idiom of orthodox Victorian developmentalist thought.

The direct obverse of this use of 'culture' assumes a congruence between distinct, biologically defined human 'races' or 'stocks', and inherently 'inferior' or 'superior' civilisations. "In short the basis of culture is biological: it varies with the innate qualities of human stocks. Culture is a function of race."60

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55. See the entry on 'culture' in R.Williams, Keywords. A Vocabulary of Culture and Society (Fontana, 1976) pp78-9. Williams describes how 'culture', understood as a unilinear concept, became separated from 'civilisation' through a "decisive change of use in Herder", and how this plural sense became common in twentieth century anthropology. The following analysis is indebted to Williams.

56. H.Rogers, Native Administration in the Union of South Africa (Johannesburg, 1933) p251. The underlinined words in this and the following three quotations are my own.

57. The Friend, 7/7/27.

58. The Star, 11/5/26.

59. Imvo, 4/5/26. See also Evans, Black and White p7, where Africans are referred to as a conservative race "at a lower stage of culture".

60. Hoernle, "Race Mixture", p270.

A revealing example of this racist sense of 'culture' is evident in George Heaton Nicholls' novel Bayete! which was written as an explicit manifesto for racial segregation and bears the strong imprint of eugenist ideas. At one point the chief protagonist (and prophetically named?) Nelson gazes at his future wife Olive with Lamarckian adoration:

"His mind was filled with her beauty, and he found himself weighing the value of heredity. Many generations of culture had gone to her making, as indeed, many generations of grave Arabs had gone to his."[61]

Out of these two opposing uses of 'culture' there emerged a third anthropologically-influenced notion of culture. While implicitly racist and openly hostile to nineteenth-century ideas about assimilation, this sense of culture carried within its web of associations room for a gradual process of racial 'upliftment'. It was this notion of culture that was to become part of the legitimising ideology of segregation.

A paradigm example of this mode of thought is evident in General Smuts' celebrated 1929 Oxford lectures.[62] In his historical account of 'native policy', Smuts rejected the view which saw the "African as essentially inferior or sub-human, as having no soul, and as being only fit to be a slave." He also rejected the converse, whereby the "African now became a man and a brother.[63] Although this view had given Africans a semblance of equality with whites, it involved the ruthless destruction of "the basis of his African system which was his highest good."[64] For Smuts both these policies had been equally harmful.

The solution was to be found in a policy of differential development or segregation. "The new policy" he explained, "is to foster an indigenous native culture or system of cultures, and to cease to force the African into alien European moulds."[65]

The idea that the culturally assimilated and missionary-educated native was somehow fraudulent ("about as original as a glass of skimmed milk") and that one would have instead

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61. Nicholls, Bayete! p236.

62. J.C.Smuts, Africa and Some World Problems (Oxford, 1930).

63. Ibid., p77.

64. Ibid., p77.

65. Ibid., p84.

to "build up a good Bantu future" on the basis of their own culture, was consistently argued by the government ethnologist G.P.Lestrade.[66] In 1931 Lestrade informed the Native Economic Commission

"...there is a middle way between tying him [the native] down or trying to make of him a black European, between repressionist and assimilationist schools...it is possible to adopt an adaptationist attitude which would take out of the Bantu past what was good, and even what was merely neutral, and together with what is good of European culture for the Bantu, build up a Bantu future. To this latter school I would take this opportunity of declaring my adherence."[67]

Lestrade's doctrine of cultural adaptationism was to become a crucial organising principle for the proponents of segregation. J.E.Holloway, the chair of the monumental Native Economic Commission, commented that witnesses had fallen into "two diametrically opposite" positions; one group representing the adaptationist view of Lestrade, the other holding to a policy of assimilation.[68] A year later the influential report of the NEC "unhesitatingly affirm[ed]" its adherence to Lestrade's formulation of adaptationism which it considered "not only the most reasonable but also the most economical approach to the native question."[69]

THE DIFFUSION OF 'CULTURE'.

Although it derived from anthropology, the politicised notion of 'culture' or of 'cultural adaptation' should not be too closely associated with social anthropology itself. Isaac Schapera, for example, was strongly critical of Lestrade's theory of cultural adaptation as adopted by the

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66. AD1438 box 9 p8787, Evidence of G.P.Lestrade to NEC, Pretoria 5/6/31 (CPA).

67. Lestrade papers, BC255 K1.11, "Statements in Answer to General Questionnaire Issued by the NEC." (Manuscripts Division, Jagger Library, University of Cape Town).

68. K26 box 9 pp9198-9, Evidence of Prof. & Mrs Hoernle to NEC 13/6/31 (PSA).

69. U.G.22-'31, Report of the Native Economic Commission,1930-32, p31, para.200. Note that Dr. Roberts of the Native Affairs Commission and NEC, dissented from this view, adding, "...the way of progress for the Native lies along the path of the Native assimilating as rapidly as possible the European civilisation and culture." p31, para.201.

NEC. Schapera derived his understanding of culture contact from Malinowski, and laid stress on its dynamic qualities.

For Schapera, the penetration of Western civilisation in the form of "the missionary, the teacher, the trader, the labour recruiter, and the farmer" was irreversible. It was therefore impossible to "bolster up the chieftanship and Native legal institutions..." He noted perceptively that "a thorough-going policy of adaptation thus calls for a complete segregation of the Native under absolute administrative control extending to every aspect of life."[70] That, he wrongly thought, was inconceivable.

Schapera's understanding of the integral relationship between European and African cultures suggests the absorption of Macmillan's historical insights into his anthropology. In passing, it is worth noting that Macmillan himself was bitterly contemptuous of the "rather doubtful doctrines" of anthropology from as early as 1923.[71] He attacked the liberal establishment for its involvement in anthropological studies, complaining angrily of the "paralysing conservatism" of its approach.[72] In Macmillan's view rural poverty and tribal disintegration had "already gone too far" It was therefore "more urgent that we see he [the African] is provided with bread, even without butter, than to embark on the long quest to 'understand the Native mind'".[73]

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70. Schapera, Western Civilisation, pp xi-xii. See also his "Changing Life in the Native Reserves", Race Relations, vol.1 no.1 1933. See Max Gluckman's paper "Anthropology and Apartheid: The work of South African Anthropologists" in M.Fortes & S.Patterson (eds) Studies in African Social Anthropology (London & New York, 1975) p36. Gluckman credits Schapera as the dominant figure in reorienting British anthropology towards the idea that Africans and whites were "integral parts of a single social system, so that all had to be studied in the same way."

71. W.M.Macmillan, My South African Years. An Autobiography (Cape Town, 1975) p194.

72. Ibid., p214, pp214-219. Macmillan criticised Rheinallt Jones, the Hoernles and especially Loram for their involvement in anthropological research. For details of his failed attempt to subvert Jones' course on native law and administration, see Wits Arts Faculty Minutes, vol.VIII pp38-40b (Wits archives).

73. W.M.Macmillan, Complex South Africa. An Economic Footnote to History (London, 1930) preface, p8.

The concept of 'culture' and of 'cultural adaptation' was widely appropriated in the political domain. In the hands of Heaton Nicholls, one of the foremost ideologues of segregation, it was imperative to recreate a tribally-based culture or 'ethos' as the only alternative to class warfare. In his view

"An adaptationist policy demands as its primary concept the maintenance of chieftandom without which tribal society cannot exist...It assumes some measure of territorial segregation. It assumes what is in effect the growth of a national consciousness amongst the Bantu themselves which will either become inimical to the interests of the Europeans or form a harmonious part of our complex society. The opposite policy of assimilation substitutes class for race, and if continued on its present basis, must lead to the evolution of a native proletariat inspired by the usual antagonisms of a class war."[74]

Werner Eiselen, lecturer in ethnography and Bantu languages at Stellenbosch University, also emphasised the need to recognise and encourage "Bantu culture" in order to promote a policy of differentiation. "The duty of the native", he explained, was "not to become a black European, but to become a better native, with ideals and a culture of his own."[75] Eiselen later became Minister of Native Affairs under Hendrik Verwoerd and was a central figure in the implementation of apartheid.76

In introducing the 1937 Native Laws Amendment Bill to parliament, Minister Grobler explained that "the effect of the influx of young natives into surroundings foreign to their mental outlook and culture is one of the most serious problems we have to face."[77] In this situation 'culture' became associated with white fears of African

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74. Heaton Nicholls papers, KCM 3323 file 3. Handwritten memo. on Native Policy, n.d., p1 (Killie Campbell Library, University of Natal).

75. Records of the South African Institute of Race Relations (henceforth 'SAIRR') AD843 72.1. Unmarked newspaper clipping, 10/5/29 (CPA). For the full Afrikaans version see Eiselen, Die Naturelle Vraagstuk.

76. On Eiselen's retirement the Bantu Affairs Department official journal BaNtu, vol.VII no.8 1960 devoted an entire issue to him. A lengthy eulogy to Eiselen quoted extensively from the 1929 address cited above. It was represented as a direct antecedent to his views on apartheid.

77. House of Assembly Debates, vol.29, 1937, col.4219.

These examples serve to indicate the wide dissemination of 'culture', an ideological concept originally generated by anthropology and subsequently absorbed and utilised for political ends. In the 1920s and 30s the notion of Africans as the 'child races' lowest down on the 'scale of civilisation', was still ubiquitous. The usefulness of this concept was its essential ambiguity; as 'children' it could be expected that Africans would in time attain the maturity of white civilisation. On the other hand, however, it could also be implied that on account of their essential differences, Africans would remain children, perhaps forever.[78]

The assumptions behind this metaphor were strictly evolutionist, its imagery deriving from biology and the family. The concept of culture gradually came to replace this formulation, rendering it increasingly obscure. In drawing upon a wide range of racist assumptions, while at the same time avoiding the strong associations of biological determinism, 'culture' came to function as a more subtle form of 'race'. Its relativism and pluralism was ideally suited to the propogation of policies of differential development or segregation.

The language of cultural adaptation was of distinct advantage in the attempt to link South African segregation to the wider imperial policies of indirect rule and trusteeship. This linkage constitutes a major theme of Smuts' 1929 Oxford lectures in which he outlined a policy of segregation based on the preservation of 'native culture' and social institutions. Smuts sought to demonstrate that the South African policy of differentiation was enshrined in the trusteeship clauses of the League of Nations' Covenant.[79]

In his keynote statement on the draft Native Bills in 1935 Heaton Nicholls reinforced this connection. He claimed that the essence of the Bills "differ in no way in principle from the new conception of native government which is embraced in

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78. For examples of the child metaphor used to justify segregation, see Hertzog, The Segregation Problem, p13, "The native stands in relation to the European as a child of eight years to a man of mature experience"; Smuts, Africa, p75,"It [the 'Bantu'] has largely remained a child type with a child psychology and outlook." On the other hand see Molema, The Bantu, p335, where the child metaphor is employed to sustain the idea that "human progress and human perfectability" is "an axiom and a law of philosophic history."

79. Smuts, Africa, pp88-89.

the word 'trusteeship' and translated into administrative action through a policy of 'adaptation' in all British States."[80] The policy of adaptation, he added, was not new to South Africa "where the people have learnt their anthropology at first hand from actual contact with native life."[81]

In Britain, Lugard's doctrine of indirect rule was lent theoretical coherence through its association with social anthropology, and in particular, the Malinowskian concept of 'culture contact'. For both the advocates of segregation and of indirect rule, the vocabulary of 'culture', 'adaptation', and 'parallelism' constituted a strikingly similar ideological discourse. This fact was a source of considerable embarassment to British social anthropologists and commentators for whom South Africa was increasingly seen as a retrogressive or abberant member of the Empire.

The attempt to distinguish indirect rule from segregation was awkwardly accomplished. Margery Perham, in her elaboration and defence of indirect rule, claimed that it was "strange that segregation and indirect rule should have been confused."[82] She argued that whereas segregation was characteristic of the "mixed territories", indirect rule had only been applied in the "purely native territories". The strategy of preserving indigenous cultures in South Africa was criticised for its doctrinaire artificiality. The essence of indirect rule, however, was its benign flexibility. Perham was sensitive too, to the charge that anthropology was the "evil genius" of indirect rule.[83]

Perham's arguments were elaborated on at greater length by Lucy Mair. For Mair, as for Perham, indirect rule was not a magic formula whose essence could be deduced theoretically. In the final analysis, the distinction between Nigera and Tanganyika (where the finest attributes of indirect rule were apparently exemplified) and South Africa (which was based on the selfish preservation of white "supremacy") could only be judged empirically.[84] Perham and Mair were undoubtedly correct in their concern to distance indirect rule from segregation. Their manifest difficulty in doing so, however, is testament to the power of the language of

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80. SAIRR papers, AD843 B53.1, Natal Advertiser, 15/5/35.

81. Ibid.

82. M.Perham, "A Restatement of Indirect Rule" Africa, vol.VII no.3 1934 p326.

83. Ibid., p327,323.

84. L.Mair, Native Policies in Africa (London, 1936) pp261-9.

cultural adaptation in South Africa as a justificatory ideology of segregation.

CONCLUSION.

The declining confidence in the efficacy of the Victorian civilising mission, and a marked rise in the propogation of scientific racism, was characteristic of the development of collectivist thought in the British metropole. This phenomenon was markedly reinforced by the effects of economic depression and the growth of working class radicalism.

In South Africa similar processes were at work. Social conflict attendant upon its rapid process of industrialisation was accentuated in the period following the First World War. The policy of segregation which was elaborated by liberal theorists in the first decade of the twentieth century was essentially conceived as a conservative policy of social containment. It was portrayed as a compromise between the extremes of 'assimilation' and 'repression'. 'Assimilation' or 'identity' was associated with the discredited brand of nineteenth century liberalism and its 'civilising mission'. Repression referred to those political policies (often associated with the Boer Republics) which entrenched the subordiantion of Africans.

The emerging discipline of anthropology and the notion of 'culture' and of 'adaptation' came to serve as a vital organising principle for the ideology of segregation. Although many anthropologists flaunted the utilitarian value of their research in dealing with problems of 'native administration, it would be misleading to overestimate the direct influence of anthropology on the conception and implementation of segregation.

The indirect influence of the conception of 'cultural adaptation' (which was drawn from and associated with anthropology) was, however, of great importance in the elaboration of a discourse of segregation. the dissemination of these ideas into the popular domain was seized upon by advocates of segregation. Brookes came to argue that the older anthropological school had "supplied the segregationists with a badly needed philosophy;[85] Lancelot Hogben commented that "some of our anthropologists...have upholstered Hertzog's segregation policy for starving out the Bantu with a pedantically sentimental plea for the right of the native to evolve along his own peculiar line of

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85. Brookes, The Colour Problems, p145.Brookes was more welcoming of the "newer" school of social anthropology which considered problems relating to 'contact'. His distinction is not entirely clear.

self-expression."[86] Even Heaton Nicholls, who was dismissive of academe, credited anthropology to some degree in promoting the "change of view" by which segregation and trusteeship had gained acceptance.[87]

The ideological force of cultural adaptation relates to its ability to feed upon a wide range of racist assumptions without being pinned down to a patently untenable theory of biological racism. At the same time it avoided the discredited assimilationist project which was associated with classical liberalism. Thus the pluralism and relativism inherent in 'culture', transcended the legacy of nineteenth century evolutionist thought, whose unyielding logic lay at the heart of both Victorian individualism and of scientific racism.

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86. Hogben, Dangerous Thoughts, p45.

87. SAIRR papers, AD843 B53.1.3, Natal Advertiser, 15/5/35. Nicholls was apt to cite the authority of 'anthropology' in his advocacy of segregation. See for example House of Assembly Debates, vol.19 1932 col 4319.