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

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2014-12-09
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framework, examined in Chapter Four, to the ideological dimensions of the mental testing movment when it came to prominence during the nineteen twenties. These ideas were applied to race and gender and mobilised by reformers in key periods of social strife and turmoil (1917-1922 and 1929-1932), to advance and win support within the state for a a modernising vision of the relation between state and delinquency. In the South African context this vision articulated with a social policy that extended welfare rights to white workers and denied them to blacks.

CHAPTER 7

THE SOCIAL WORLD OF INMATES AND STAFF 1911-1934

In examining the internal world of total institutions, writers have pointed to the contradiction between the rehabilitative, humanitarian goals of total institutions and their reality.[1] Amongst these, Goffman has analysed the 'encompassing tendencies' of the total institution,[2] while Michel Foucault has detailed the 'microphysics of power'[3] operating in them, and Patricia O'Brien has been interested in the 'place of the prison in the social system', a 'history of the prison from the inside out'.[4]

The next three chapters seek to demonstrate the contradiction between goals and institutional reality. Reformatories and industrial schools were located in a context which did not 'merely "influence" or "shape" or "put pressure upon" penality...(but which) operate(d) through it and (was) materially inscribed in its practices'.[5] The period under discussion saw the definitive extension and consolidation of the system of social segregation in South African society. How these developments in the wider world were manifested in and refracted through the most hidden recesses of the society will be explored through a comparison of white and black and male and female reformatories. At the same time comparisons will be used to cast a mirror on the wider society. Since a campaign was underway

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1 See, for example, E. Goffman, Asylums: Essays on the Social Situation of Mental Patients and other Inmates (Harmondsworth 1961), pp. 1-22; P. O'Brien, The Promise of Punishment (Princeton 1982), pp 1-12.

2 Goffman, Asylums, p. 15.

3 M. Foucault, Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison (London 1977), p. 139.

4 O'Brien, The Promise of Punishment, p. 9.

5 D. Garland and P. Young, 'Towards a Social Analysis of Penality' in D. Garland and P. Young (eds) The Power to Punish: Contemporary Penality and Social Analysis (London 1983), p. 21.

between 1911 and 1934 to place reformatories under educational discipline, a comparison with industrial schools, transferred to the Union Education Department in 1917, will be made to ascertain if and how this differed from penal discipline.

A. REFORMATORIES

Accommodation, Staff and Inmates: Surveillance, Hierarchy and Monitorial Control

The relative size of the reformatory populations before 1934[6] reflected South Africa's population at large. The largest reformatory during the period was Diepkloof, on the outskirts of Johannesburg, for African boys. This was followed in the Western Cape by Porter, for 'coloured' boys, the Breakwater Reformatory and Tokai for white boys, then by Fort Glamorgan in the Eastern Cape and Eshowe (until 1926) in Natal for African and Indian boys. Houtpoort, also situated on the outskirts of Johannesburg at Heidelberg, was the second largest reformatory for white boys, but smaller than Diepkloof, Porter and Fort Glamorgan. The reformatory in Natal at Estcourt/Eshowe for white and black girls was the smallest of them all. African males formed the largest proportion of the total reformatory population, followed by 'coloureds' and whites, who were roughly on a par with each other numerically.[7]

The ratio of boys to girls was standard for prison populations, but there were more black girls than white girls at Eshowe. This partly reflected numerical preponderance of black girls in the population as a whole. Courts also had the option of sending white girls either to industrial schools or to reformatories; they were thus distributed over several institutions.

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6 See Chapter Six.

7 T.A.D., U.E.D., vol. 1715, File e103, vol. 1, Memo to the Minister of Education attached to letter from Secretary for Education to Minister of Education, 3 May 1933.

The fact that black and white girls were not segregated until the mid-1930s was due on the one hand to their small numbers and the cost-effectiveness of housing them all in one institution and on the other to the ideological priorities of the state and middle classes. Since small numbers were not a consideration in the Western Cape, where the 'coloured' and white male reformatories stood side by side headed by one white Warden, considerations of the racial, gendered construction of delinquency and criminality must play a part in accounting for the non-segregation of girls.

One of the main reasons for not segregating white from black girls was that white girls convicted of 'immorality' were also associated with the 'deterioration of the race'. Between 1927 and 1934, out of a total of 268 girls between the ages of 12 and 18 drawn from all over the country, 159 were African, 86 'coloured', 20 white and three Indian. The vast majority of African and 'coloured' girls were sent to Eshowe on the grounds of theft, including stock theft and housebreaking with intent to steal. Second in importance were poisoning and murder. A few cases were admitted to the institution for assault, arson, desertion from employment and trespassing.[8] By contrast, just under half the white girls were there on various counts of theft; the rest were there on a variety of charges relating to 'immorality', incest, loitering with intent to solicit, relations with black men and vagrancy.[9] The monthly report of Eshowe Reformatory for 1931 unambiguously stated that 'many of the European inmates have been sentenced under the Immorality Act and for co-habitation with natives'.[10] For the transgression of the boundary between white and black, the white female was literally cast out from white society. Nonetheless, from the late 1920s onwards, greater

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8 See Chapter Five for more detail on sentencing patterns of male and female.

9 T.A.D., U.E.D., vol. 1971, e202/1/4 Vol. 1: Monthly Reports for Eshowe Reformatory between 1927 and 1934.

10 T.A.D., U.E.D., vol. 1971, e202/1/4 Vol. 1, Monthly Report for 1931.

attempts were made to segrega girls inside the reformatory in the same way as they had bee Porter in the 1890s. This appears to have been an attempt control black-white lesbian relationships and rebellion in the reformatory.[11]

Both boys and girls placed in reformatories between 1911 and 1934 found themselves in buildings which were either adjuncts of adult prisons or converted prisons.[12] They also shared all the physical features of prisons and compounds: the rectangular shape, high fences surrounding the building, iron grilles and gates controlling access to and exit from and between different parts of the building, dormitory cells with barred windows and isolation cells for detention of refractory inmates.

Plans for alterations and extensions between 1917 and 1924 echoed the structure of 'total'[13] and 'complete and austere institutions'[14]; they were all framed on the architectural principles of confinement and exclusion from the outside world and surveillance inside the institution. In 1917 alterations were recommended for Houtpoort along the lines of the Borstal Reformatory at Chatham, England. Plans for the building specified that 'there should be no more than two entrances on the ground floor which should be controllable by locked doors; further that the masters' rooms should be on the ground floor and not on the first floor'.[15] These were features also shared by the compound for black migrant workers. The model for windows was explicitly

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11 See Chapter Ten.

12 T.A.D., Department of Justice, Annual Reports, 1911-1934; Letter from C.A. Chadwick, Chairman of Natal Regional Monuments Committee, 2 September 1986 to author; Report of the Select Committee of Inquiry into Porter Select Committee 1921 (henceforward Porter Select Committee), S.C. 14-21, p. xii; S. Marks, Reluctant Rebellion (Oxford 1970), p. 356.

13 Goffman, Total Institutions, pp. 1-22.

14 Foucault, Punish, Part 3, Chapter 1, pp. 231-257.

15 T.A.D., Public Works Department, vol. 5/648, vol. 1, File 8/5648, Roos, Director of Prisons to Secretary for Public Works, 8 December 1917.

drawn from the pattern of fixed windows at the African sections of the Mental Hospital, but were also used in compounds. Windows had a steel frame, 5 inch ventilation space at the bottom and louvred glass with wire mesh at the top. They were considered to be 'just the thing' for reformatory buildings, since they allowed for ventilation, and were 'secure without any appearance of restraint'.[16] Provision was also made for additional solitary cells. A hostel was built along these lines for 100 boys, and was ready for occupation by the end of 1921. Alterations to Porter Reformatory dormitories in 1922 were also designed to facilitate enclosure and surveillance, and specified that 'what was required was a door placed across the angle of the room to enable good supervision to be exercised over all parts of the room'.[17] In 1924 provision was made for additional iron grille railings, steel doors and locks.[18]

Inmates at reformatories spent most of their time enclosed either in dormitories or in a yard. At Porter, the main dormitory was originally a wine cellar; the other two dormitories had been stables. The main dormitory was condemned by the Warden in a report of the 28th January 1916 in the following terms:

> Both buildings and staff are inadequate....At present they have to be herded together in the common rooms and yards like sheep in pens, either in the blazing heat of a summer's day, or under the cheerless, sodden atmosphere of the Tokai winters.[19]

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16 T.A.D., Public Works Department, vol. 5/648, vol. 1, File 8/5648, Letter from Warden, Houtpoort, to Director of Prisons, 22 August 1919.

17 T.A.D., U.E.D., vol. 1715, File E103/4, W.S. Bateman, Director of Prisons to Public Works Department, 30 June 1922.

18 T.A.D., U.E.D., vol. 113, File e6/62, Warden, Tokai Reformatories, to Director of Prisons, 10 July 1924.

19 Cited in the C.A.D., Porter Select Committee Report, S.C. 14-21, p. xix; C.A.D., Report of the Select Committee on the Porter Reformatory, Minutes of Evidence (henceforward Porter Select Committee Minutes of Evidence), p. 6.

By 1921, after the Report of the Select Committee on Porter Reformatory, changes had been made in the direction of greater segregation of boys. White boys were joined with the inmates from the Breakwater reformatory and removed to a site which, unlike Porter, was open to public view. Additional dormitories had been brought into use at Porter, and a large room was built as a dining and school room. These changes did little to reduce the overcrowding or discomfort of the institution.

More than half the boys at Porter had to be given their schooling in the yard which was barely 'the size of a tennis court',[20] 'in the heat of summer ... a blazing furnace and in the winter ... swept by rain'.[21] The quadrangle at Diepkloof was little different, and was 'approximately on the same basis as the usual road camps in use for hard labour prisoners'.[22]

At night, for 12 hours, from 7 p.m. to 7 a.m., boys were generally locked into large dormitories in which paraffin lamps burnt all night. Doors were supplied with judas windows; these were used by warders on night duty to inspect the dormitories every half hour. Sanitary buckets were placed inside the dormitories. At Porter there were four dormitories in all, one containing 60 planks covered with coir strips which served as beds. Earlier, hammocks had been used, but because they easily and repeatedly became infested with bugs, were discarded.[23] One dormitory was set aside for the 'incorrigibles'; other than that, boys with previous convictions, aged from 8 to 18, were kept together.

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20 C.A.D., Porter Select Committee Minutes of Evidence, S.C. 14-21, Rev. E. Place, p. 15.

21 C.A.D., Porter Select Committee Report, S.C. 14-21, p. xx.

22 T.A.D., U.E.D., vol. 1460, File e55/6/4, vol. 1. Diepkloof Reformatory, Notes on a Visit of Inspection made on 6 February 1935 by C.N. Kempff, Inspector of Institutions.

23 C.A.D., Porter Select Committee Minutes of Evidence, S.C. 14-21, Dr. P/B. Stubbs, 9 May 1921, p. 46.

By 1935 a system had been built up which was superbly captured by Alan Paton in his despcription of Diepkloof reformatory as he found it:

> July 1935. My first month at Diepkloof Reformatory, as foul a place as ever I saw. Four hundred boys were housed in wood-and-iron buildings set around a hollow square, one side of which was used for administration. Round the entire block, and about twenty feet from it, ran a thirteen-foot-high barbed-wire fence, inclining at an angle towards the building.
> In this block was a great gate, and opposite it was a corresponding gate in the high fence, and the two gates might not be open simultaneously, except when the whole reformatory marched out to work at 8.00 a.m. and 1.00 p.m. or when it marched back again at noon and 4.00 p.m. At the gates were men in uniform....The outside of the huge block was closed and blind, except for high windows heavily barred. Four hundred boys lived in the block in about twenty rooms, the doors of which opened on to the hollow square. Just after five o'clock in the afternoon, when they had had their supper, they assembled together for evening prayers, and sang as beautifully as any four hundred boys ever sang upon earth. Then they paraded outside their rooms and were counted. Then they paraded inside their rooms and were counted again. Then they were locked in for fourteen hours, with one bucket full of water and another bucket for urination and defecation. The lights burned all night, and in each door was a spy hole through which acts of turpitude could be observed. The stench which poured out of the rooms when the doors were opened at 7.00 a.m. was unspeakable.[24]

Such eloquent testimony speaks as well for the other reformatories.

While the physical structure of the institutions embodied one form of disciplinary control, the structure of hierarchical relationships inside the reformatory governed and produced another. It was exemplified in the shooting in September of 1914 at Houtpoort of several boys by a warder. Some were wounded, but one, Hendrik Geere, was shot dead. The matter was hushed up, and

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[24] A. Paton, 'First Days at Diepkloof', Diepkloof: Reflections of Diepkloof Reformatory, compiled and edited by Clyde Broster (Cape Town 1986), pp. 9/10.

the warder was transferred from the Institution.[25] Until 1934, all the members of staff at reformatories were drawn from the ordinary prison service, and were transferable from prisons to reformatories or from reformatories to prisons. At Porter reformatory, the two chief officials of the reformatory (the Warden and Assistant Warden) were also the chief officials of the Convict Prison, and responsible for its discipline. They oscillated between prison and reformatory, the reformatory being a secondary nuisance and not very important in determining the career path of a prison official.

In all the reformatories, except Eshowe and Diepkloof, the hierarchy was white and male. When in 1921 the Report of the Select Committee on Porter Reformatory considered replacing white warders with 'coloured' teachers who, it was assumed, would have greater sympathy for their charges, the question of cost spuriously ruled out the suggestion. At Eshowe in the early 1930s two black wardresses were appointed at bitterly meagre wages.[26] They fell under a white, female hierarchy.[27] Almost all of the white women were 'big women from the farms of the Free State'.[28] Their own salaries were notched below those of white men, but above those of black men and black women.

Salary scales reflected the racial and gendered hierarchy. At the top of the salary scale stood the white male Warden, followed by the white female Warden. A white schoolmaster earned more than the chief white warder, who was also paid more than the black teacher and interpreter at Diepkloof, Ben Moloi. Moloi was also paid less than a white female wardress at Eshowe, and only marginally more than a black male warder. The black female

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25 Johannesburg, C.A.S., Johannesburg Branch, Monthly Report for month ending 30 September 1914, Report by L.E. Brandt.

26 T.A.D., U.E.D., vol. 1971, File e202/1/4, vol. 1, Monthly Reports, Eshowe Reformatory.

27 Mrs. Mpanza, ex-wardress at Eshowe Reformatory in early 1930s, interview with author, Eshowe, 12 September 1986.

28 Ibid.

wardress occupied the bottom rung.[29] The distance between the black wardresses and the white was almost greater than that between the black wardresses and the girls. While the black wardresses were drawn exclusively from Zululand, the girls came from all over the country, speaking every language of the country, and many unable to communicate with the white staff. Here the black wardresses played a mediating role.[30] They could be friendlier towards the girls than the white women were, but they could never be off their guard. Their task, like that of male warders, was to keep order and control, to break up fights and to prevent escapes. For this purpose they carried batons.[31]

There was much scope in the hierarchical structure of control and discipline at reformatories for brutality. Warders had few social contacts and, living thus 'under conditions of isolation'[32] from society, wider resentments often found expression in their relationships with inmates. Their formal, but lack of any real power in the institutional hierarchy, meant that mere self-assertion by inmates could be interpreted as 'insolence', 'disobedience' or 'ill-discipline',[33] and a challenge to their slender authority. Racial prejudice could also be harnessed in a context where social relationships in the

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29 P.C.P., Department of Prisons, File: Juvenile Crime: 1/594/30. Part 11:

White Male Warden:	£750 - 900
Eshowe Warden:	£260 - 300
White Male Schoolmaster:	£500 - 600
Black Male Schoolmaster:	£ 78 - 90
Chief White Warder:	£300 - 350
White Male Discipline Warder:	£150 - 282
" Female Discipline Warder:	£120 - 170
Black Male Discipline Warder:	£ 48 - 66
" Female Discipline Warder:	2/9 - 6d per working day.

30 Mrs Mpanza, interview.

31 Ibid.

32 T.A.D., U.E.D., vol. 114, File e6/63, 'Notes on Visit to Eshowe, 10 June 1935'.

33 T.A.D., U.E.D., vol. 1984, File e210, 'Assaults', Offences punished at Porter during 1923.

outside world sanctioned it. As the Warden of Porter Reformatory described the situation:

> The staff is composed partly of temporary warders, who lack all incentive to work, since they are placed on an inferior rate of pay; many have an inherent dislike of the coloured man, so that there is no love between officer and inmate....An inmate...has every inducement to run away, as thereby he may get an officer he dislikes into trouble.[34]

Much energy thus went into organising the system in such a way that the boys did not escape. The main means of securing adequate supervision and control was through developing a division of labour in the institution which would ensure that boys were, at all times, within sight of the warders. Thus one warder would assist the master basket-maker; another would attend to the cooking of the meals; another would act as hospital-orderly; another would assist with the dairy cattle, transport animals, etc.; another would be in charge of boys doing repairs around the estate. The warder's task by day, as much as by night, was of a 'police character':[35] keeping order.

Another way of ensuring that large numbers of boys under supervision of one warder did not escape, was through instilling fear ofthe punishments that could be given for insolence or disobedience. It was presumably not only at Houtpoort that one particular warder was graced with the appellation, 'the lash man'.[36]

The reformatory schoolmaster being the most educated had a certain status in the reformatory hierarchy, as he was custodian of that section of the reformatory which officially differentiated it from the prison. Many entered the system with idealism, but rapidly became disillusioned when, despite their

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34 C.A.D., Porter Select Committee Minutes of Evidence, S.C. 14-21, Mr. A. de Villiers, 4 May 1921, p. 6.

35 C.A.D., Porter Select Committee Minutes of Evidence, S.C. 14-21, p. 13.

36 C. Lessing, Forth from the Dungeon (Johannesburg 1956), ch. X, p. 44.

best efforts, boys treated them with the same contempt as they treated the warders. Schoolmasters quickly learnt that an unspoken law in the reformatory was the establishment of who was boss over whom.[37]

Individual Wardens, Principals and teachers affected the tone of the institution quite dramatically. The chances of individual imates depended on this. Christoffel Lessing,[38] for example, who spent his entire youth and early adulthood in the 1920s and 1930s in industrial schools, reformatories and prisons, and later became assistant superintendent of Zonderwater Prison, recalls individual staff members and Wardens in terms of their attitudes to him. His memory and sense of each institution was fundamentally shaped by his introduction to the staff. His introduction to George industrial school was a beating by the Principal; at Houtpoort, even though the Director, 'Old Dif', was allegedly in the habit of visiting dormitories at night, exposing himself to the boys, and frequently beating them up, he greeted Lessing warmly. Lessing's memories of Houtpoort thus fix not on the buildings in which, when he first saw them, he 'imagined starving boys languishing in the underground dungeons',[39] but on his first meeting with the man running the institution. Similarly, the fondest memory of another ex-inmate, Eleanor Shipley, of Standerton Industrial School was her relationship with a Miss Roets, a teacher who drew Eleanor to her, inviting her to her room after lights out, where she marked books and Eleanor embroidered.[40] While for staff this had much scope for

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37 C.A.D., N.I.C.R.O., A2380, 4/1/1, Report of Visit to Heidelberg, 16 March 1916; C.A.D., Porter Select Committee Minutes of Evidence, S.C. 14-21, Mr. G.W. Caudwell, 9 May 1921.

38 See M. Aarons, 'Prison Experience in the Work of Some South Africa Writers from Lessing to Cronin', M.A., University of the Witwatersrand, June 1988, pp. 4-54.

39 C. Lessing, Forth from the Dungeon (Johannesburg 1958), p. 38.

40 Eleanor Shipley, interview.

brutality, there was also the possibility for inmates to become 'objects of fellow feeling and affection'.[41]

In general, a rigid racial and sexual separation operated at reformatories before 1934. The only men that the girls at Eshowe ever saw, largely 'owing to the opening between the gaol and the reformatory gardens', were the African prisoners working in a different section of the gaol garden.[42] This contact was soon stopped soon after it was discovered. The only women in male reformatories were the wives of teachers or other staff. The formative effect of this contact on relations with the opposite sex is captured by Lessing's fantasised description of the wife of the schoolmaster at Houtpoort:

> His wife was a real beauty, tall and slim like her husband, with jet-black hair and snow-white skin, the perfect madonna. As we passed, I imagined, as many another motherless boy there must have imagined, that she was looking at me with loving eyes. We returned her gaze longingly; but all she could give us was the privilege of loving her from a distance.[43]

Neither a shared sex, colour, or language,[44] each of which could be manipulated for different purposes, defined the role of the Warder, or the nature of the relationship between inmate and Warder. This was defined by the purpose of the institution, which was confinement, exclusion, discipline and control, reinforced by the hierarchical structure of relationships within the institution and altered by the different possibilities for staff-inmate relationships.

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41 Cf. Goffman, Total Institutions, p. 79.

42 T.A.D., U.E.D., vol. 114, File e6/63, Director of Prisons to Magistrate of Eshowe, 31 August 1931.

43 C. Lessing, Forth from the Dungeon (Johannesburg 1956), p. 41.

44 See A. Paton, 'First Days at Diepkloof', Diepkloof: Reflections of Diepkloof Reformatory (Cape Town 1986), p. 11: 'Afrikaans was the language of the reformatory; most of the white personnel was Afrikaans-speaking, but above and beyond that, Afrikaans is, except in southern Natal, the language of the African delinquent. It is a weird and wonderful Afrikaans...'.

Disciplinary control over inmates was exercised through a strict regulation of space, time and movement. The enforcing agents in this process were organised into a hierarchical system patterned on racial and gendered forms. Inmates themselves, however, were positioned in such a way that they, too, became agents in a process of collective discipline. This was a common feature of the public school system, the military and prisons.

Military rankings, uniforms, and the use of stripes and badges, were used in reformatories particularly as a means of differentiating and disciplining boys. This practice seems to have been drawn directly from the organisation of the Union Defence Force, but was also in use at prisons. The Union Defence Force was brought into being in 1912, and was itself modelled on standard and British army rank and stripe systems. In the military model, non-commissioned officers form the front line of discipline from which officers are generally remote. The lowest ranking N.C.O. had one stripe, the officer above him two, and the third rank from the bottom, the sergeant, had three. Fourth up in the hierarchy was the warrant officer who was equipped with a badge.

In reformatories, good conduct was rewarded with points and stripes and badges. These were marked onto the uniforms, similar to those worn by adult convicts, and were handed out to a boy when he arrived at the reformatory and his own clothing became state property.[45] Stripes and badges in turn signified a privileged status in the reformatory. Privilege brought with it extra food, powers over other boys and the possibility of early release on licence.

Punishment and rewards invariably revolved around food. In this way, food became one of the most powerful means in the reformatory for control, for investing some with power, for

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45 T.A.D., U.E.D., vol. 998, File e216, vol. 1.

disempowering others.[46] As in all contexts where lives are stripped to their bare essentials (such as in armies, boarding schools and prisons), essentials such as eating, working, playing and sleeping, were among the few areas left for negotiating individual and social control. For example, control over food, its consumption and distribution, became a site for the crystallisation of power relations. Like corporal punishment and extra labour it was directed at the body; unlike corporal punishment and extra labour, its association with sustenance, nurturance and care meant that it was also directed at the psyche. Solitary confinement on spare diet was double punishment directed at the 'soul', for in solitary confinement the inmate was deprived of both social and personal comfort.

Lessing wrote of his experience of food at Houtpoort:

> The boys did not look as if they suffered from lack of food, so I could not understand why they were in such a hurry for their meal. I thought the food must be something worth hurrying for, but when I saw the coarse bread and the mug of luke-warm tea I concluded it could not be that. But the day would come when I would react in the same way to the sound of the bell and fall upon the food just as ravenously. Like my fellow victims of oppression, I would eat to bursting and grow fat, yet always rise hungry from the table. It was hunger of the soul, hunger for love, for escape from monotony, for security that we suffered and tried to allay it by filling our stomachs. Man does not live by bread alone. The truth of those words comes home to you in captivity, when you feel you are dying of hunger in the midst of plenty.[47]

During the 1920s, boys with food had power. The Report of the Select Committee of Inquiry into Porter revealed in 1921 that 'good conduct boys' were boys with power. But 'good conduct boys' and boys with food were not necessarily those who obeyed institutional rules more often and more diligently than others.

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46 For a subtle analysis of food and power in black mission boarding schools in a later period, see J. Hyslop, 'Food, Authority and Politics: Student Riots in South African Schools, 1945 - 1976', Africa Perspective, new series, 1, June 1987, pp. 3-42.

47 Lessing, Dungeon, p. 41.

They were simply those who had managed to negotiate their way, almost always through brute physical strength or, more rarely, a combination of native intelligence and physical strength, into working in the kitchen or sitting at the 'coffee', 'pudding' or 'jam table', as it was called at Porter.[48] The 'jam table' was the highest in the order of institutional merit; a boy at this table could have his name placed on the list of boys brought before the Board of Management for release. It was, accordingly, 'very difficult for a boy to get there'.[49]

The power that did accrue having access to food was often one which had to be continually defended and negotiated with others who had a different power. Thus little boys at the 'pudding' or 'coffee' table seldom enjoyed their dessert, but took it out into the yard to the bigger boys: 'these boys are very frightened, because the big boys tell them that if they do not bring out pudding they will be punished. Last Sunday I caught 14 with pudding to give to the big boys'.[50] A little boy caught taking his pudding out into the yard would be deprived of his privilege and thus lose his chance of being considered by the Board.

In practice, as at Porter, the 'good conduct boys' were often the bully-boys of the institution.[51] In this way, as in armies, they formed the first line of discipline in the institution as a whole. By getting younger boys to steal food or tobacco for them,

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48 C.A.D., Porter Select Committee Minutes of Evidence, S.C. 14-21, passim.

49 C.A.D., Porter Select Committee Minutes of Evidence, S.C. 14-21, Mr. J.H. Veldhuizen, 17 May 1921.

50 C.A.D., Porter Select Committee Minutes of Evidence, S.C. 14-21, 17 May 1921.

51 T.A.D., U.E.D., vol. 1998, File e216, vol. 1, Director of Prisons to the Acting Warden of Houtpoort, 11 June 1925: 'It has been proven over and over that badge holders cannot be trusted; some of them are even more dishonest and greater rogues than those without badges....'.

for example, they managed to 'work up a good record',[52] for themselves and earn privileges which further strengthened their position. These included having fewer physical demands made on them by being placed in charge of the dormitories and of working spans. The sign of their status was now no longer their cap or badge, but their appellation as 'monitors', a term drawn from the monitorial system of education devised in early nineteenth century England by Lancaster and Bell, and known as the first form of 'mass schooling'. In this system, factories of children of all ages were contrclled by one schoolmaster with the use of older boys who received their instruction early in the morning, and which they then passed on to smaller groups of younger boys in one large schoolroom. Their main purpose was that of keeping order. Similarly, their task in boarding school dormitories, where they were also known as 'prefects' was to substitute the authority of the schoolmasters. In the reformatory dormitories, the monitor was the 'look out boy'.[53]

Monitors, however, maintained control in their own, corrupt way. At both Houtpoort and Porter, the bigger boys, the monitors, had their 'pets', or 'canaries', as they were called at Porter. Each monitor apparently had his own 'canary'. A 'canary' was a small, 'nicer looking boy', available for the pleasure of the bigger boy:

> A blue cap boy would go to the bed of a smaller boy in the dormitory when the warder was not looking....He used the small boy like anything. If the small boys did not want to be used in this way the big boys hit them.[54]

In exchange for being used as a canary, though, a smaller boy

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52 C.A.D., Porter Select Committee Minutes of Evidence, S.C. 14-21, Mr. D. de Villiers, 12 May 1921.

53 C.A.D., Porter Select Committee Minutes of Evidence, S.C. 14-21, F. Ferries (youth), 13 May 1921, p. 106.

54 C.A.D., Porter Select Committee Minutes of Evidence, S.C. 14-21, F. Ferries, 13 May 1921, p. 107.

would be protected from the other boys: 'if we want to fight with a "canary" then a bigger boy takes their part'.[55]

At Houtpoort, during the mid-twenties, according to Lessing, 'the warders let (the monitors) do as they please because they help to keep the other boys in their place'.[56] Few dared to report these events, of which the warders were, anyway, apparently aware. 'If any boy reported any of the bad things that happened to the warder, the other boys, if they found out, would catch hold of him in the yard and chuck him to the ground and treat him badly'.[57]

The system of placing boys in authority over others appears not to have been in use at Diepkloof,[58] and little evidence exists for the other black reformatories, except for Eshowe. None of the powers given to 'good conduct boys' were given to girls. When the reformatory, first at Estcourt and then at Eshowe was wracked by revolt between 1926 and 1934,[59] it was attributed, at least partially, to the absence of a system of reward and punishment.[60] As a result, relationships between the girls were structured somewhat differently from those in the male reformatories. Girls formed themselves into 'husband and wife' teams with no regard to the colour of their partners. There was, indeed, considerable concern on the part of the authorities that 'European inmates encourage familiar behaviour on the part of

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55 C.A.D., Porter Select Committee Minutes of Evidence, S.C. 14-21, p. 107.

56 Lessing, Dungeon, p. 42.

57 C.A.D., Porter Select Committee Minutes of Evidence, S.C. 14-21, 13 May 1921, p. 107.

58 T.A.D., U.E.D., vol. 1998, File e216, vol. 1, Warden of Diepkloof to Director of Prisons, 29 November 1920.

59 See L. Chisholm, 'Gender and Deviance in South African Industrial Schools and Reformatories for Girls 1911-1934', in C. Walker (ed.), Gender in South African History (forthcoming).

60 T.A.D., U.E.D., vol. 1983, File e208, vol. 1; T.A.D., U.E.D., vol. 1971, File e202/1/4, vol. 1.

non-European inmates towards them'.[61] These relationships also seem to have taken a more affectionate, less violent and exploitative form than that in evidence at boys' reformatories; partners often became so attached to one another that if one was threatened with separation from the other, she would 'deliberately misbehave, regardless of any punishment to get back to her'.[62]

Control over and between girls was regulated less by the system of reward and punishment than by their access to their families and the outside world although, no doubt, food became as central to their lives as it did to those of boys. At industrial schools the privilege of visits or going home over the December vacation in the 1920s was dependent on good conduct and the financial well-being of the family.[63] At the girls' reformatory, privileges were extended only to white girls. These also revolved around interaction with the outside world, and only after the 1926 rebellion when the Reformatory Board of Visitors took selected girls out on Christmas picnics, motor outings, and 'bioscope entertainments'. The reformatory authorities now also began to allow white girls to attend lectures, swimming galas, sing-songs and theatrical 'entertainments' at the local school.[64] One reason for the earlier exclusion of girls from the system of reward and punishment may have been related to the assumptions about the inherent nature of criminal girls as sex-mad retards.[65]

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61 T.A.D., U.E.D., vol. 1971, e202/1/4 Vol. 1, Monthly report for Spetember 1926.

62 T.A.D., U.E.D., vol. 1971, e202/1/4.

63 T.A.D., U.E.D., vol. 953, File e37/2/2, vol. 1.

64 T.A.D., U.E.D., vol. 1971, File e202/1/4, vol. 1, Monthly Reports.

65 See correspondence on rebellions between 1926 and 1933, T.A.D., U.E.D., vol. 1983, e208 Vol. 1, Correspondence between South African Police and Estcourt Magistrate, 1926; T.A.D., U.E.D., vol. 1971, e202/1/4 Vol. 1, Monthly Reports.

The system of control through boys was generated by the nature of the diet, and the dormitory system. The basic diet at reformatories was guaranteed to render the portions of pudding, jam, syrup, coffee and sugar allocated to 'good conduct boys' twice a week highly prized items. Up to 1928, the diet scale for boys and girls which was in force at both reformatories and government industrial schools, both for boys and girls, was a scale introduced by the Prisons Department in 1916, industrial schools at that time still falling under the administration of the Prisons Department. It was a diet high in carbohydrate and low in fats, sugars, fresh fruit and vegetables. Bread, mealie meal, samp, rice, onions, potatoes and dried beans formed the staples.[66]

New diet scales were introduced by the Pact government in mid-1928 into all state-controlled educational institutions.[67] It was directed, like in compounds and prisons, at producing people fit only for labour. Within certain financial limitations, diet scales were calculated according to the nature of work being done. A scale was devised for boys doing light muscular work and girls doing heavy muscular work. This was separate from a scale for boys doing heavy farm labour. The main diet remained heavily reliant on starch with the addition of lentils, peas or beans and fresh vegetables. It was supplemented by dried and fresh fruit, nuts and raisins for 'good conduct' boys and girls.[68]

Despite the revised scales, however, the average diet, by 1935, still only included 2 720 calories and was, according to Miss Chattey, Inspectress of Hygiene and Domestic Science in the Union Education Department, 'most monotonous', with 'far too heavy a proportion of starch', 'insufficient A.1 protein', and a 'woeful lack of mineral salts and of Vitamin A and Vitamin C and

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66 T.A.D., U.E.D., vol. 1998, File e216, vol. 1, Table of Indulgences and Privileges; T.A.D., Treasury, vol. 2164, File 8/132, vol. 1.

67 T.A.D., U.E.D., vol. 1678, File 89/3-89/5/1.

68 T.A.D., Treasury, vol. 2164, File 8/132, vol. 1.

D'.[69] At the Tokai reformatories, for example, breakfast always consisted of bread and porridge, the midday meal of bread and potatoes, or bread and beans. The evening meal consisted of bread and vegetables or bread and mealies. At Diepkloof, it was also noted in 1935 that 'each meal consists of one course only. The midday meal ...consists of beans only. In the kitchen (stands)a huge pot of mealies. That evidently represented their evening meal. As far as I could ascertain the midday meal consists of beans or mealies or mealie-pap with an issue of half a pound of meat per inmate on Wednesdays and Sundays'.[70] All considered, it was a badly balanced and 'inefficient' diet which allowed 'just (a) sufficient ... quantity to promote health and growth only if there are no deductions for bad behaviour'.[71] The general reformatory diet was thus punitive and designed simply for the day-to-day reproduction of inmates.

Susceptibility to ill health and disease was thus a hazard of reformatory life if other means of supplementing the diet were not found. Influenza epidemics, enteric fever and pneumonia regularly swept through the institutions.[72] Amongst the cases treated in the Diepkloof reformatory hospital between 1929 and 1934, apart from venereal disease, there were cases of tuberculosis, influenza, pleurisy and pneumonia, typhoid, enteric fever, chicken pox, numerous abscesses, sores and septic wounds.[73] The hospital itself was described in 1935 by an

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69 T.A.D., Treasury, vol. 2164, File f8/132, No. E89/5.

70 T.A.D., U.E.D., vol. 1460, File e55/6/4, vol. 1, Notes on Visit to Diepkloof Reformatory, 23 April 1935.

71 T.A.D., U.E.D., vol. 1460, File e55/6/4. vol. 1, Notes on a Visit to Diepkloof Reformatory, 23 April 1935.

72 See for example, T.A.D., Annual Report of the Director of Prisons for 1912, U.G. 56-12, p. 227; C.A.D., S.R.P. 1/2/88, vol. 2, Department of Justice, Annual Report for 1918, U.G. 54-17, pp. 41, 43, 46.

73 T.A.D., U.E.D., vol. 1971, File e202/1/1, Diepkloof Reformatory Monthly Reports; see also T.A.D., U.E.D., vol. 1460, File e55/6/4, vol. 1, 'Notes on a Visit to the Diepkloof

Education Department official as 'not very suitable for its purpose since it is impossible to give adequate attention to all the cases of illness'.[74]

Not all of these cases were due to poor diet - at least some of them were aggravated by conditions in the dormitories, sanitation and by the clothes given inmates to wear while at work. In 1934 Louis van Schalkwijk reported that he would:

> not be surprised if the unhygienic condition of the cells were found to operate as a causal factor (in the frequent cases of pneumonia at the reformatory). The cells are of corrugated iron, with poor ventilation and ordinary ground floors. The floors are uneven, broken, dusty and...damp.[75]

In addition, conditions at Diepkloof, Tokai and Houtpoort were such that the reformatories had to be fumigated regularly. Large amounts of sulphuric acid and cyanide, and large numbers of cats and rat-traps were used to kill bugs, rats and mice. Rats, infesting reformatory buildings, stores as well as the veld where the inmates worked, constituted a public health hazard in all the institutions. The girls' institutions of Standerton and Eshowe were also not immune and were fumigated regularly throughout the 1920s and 1930s.[76]

Sanitary conditions were also generally such that inmates were rendered prone to disease. At Heidelberg Industrial School an open drain near to the 'cottages' led one visitor to comment that it was 'certainly a danger to health, as...flies settle on these septic pools and find their way into the cottages

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Reformatory by Louis van Schalkwijk', 10 October 1934.

74 T.A.D., U.E.D., vol. 114, File e6/64, ref e55/6/4, 'Notes on a Visit of Inspection made on the 6th February 1935 by Mr. C. Kempff, Inspector of Institutions'.

75 T.A.D., U.E.D., vol. 1460, File e55/6/4, vol. 1, Notes on a Visit to the Diepkloof Reformatory on 26 September 1934.

76 T.A.D., U.E.D., vol. 2010, File e223/1, Rats and Mice: Destruction of Rodents 1923-1930; T.A.D., U.E.D., vo. 101, File e6/1, vol. 1.

contaminating all food'.[77] When Alan Paton arrived at Diepkloof in 1935 his first work was done in connection with sanitation, cleanliness and health.[78] In the same year, Z. Martins, Chief Clerk, reported that the 'sanitary arrangements are nauseating', and that 'the present conditions would shock even natives living in kraals'.[79]

Reformatory dietary scales could not have played much of a role in building immunity to disease in reformatories. Few boys managed to retain the privilege of 'indulgences' in their diet, since punishments in the form of withdrawal of points and stripes were accorded for insolence, fighting, smoking and other infringements of reformatory rules that were often unavoidable. In addition to forfeiting marks, indulgences, privileges or degradation of rank, all of which involved deprivation of food, inmates could also be sent to solitary confinement **on a spare diet of bread and water,** or simply be deprived of a meal.

In conclusion, everything in the reformatory regime colluded to produce boys and girls whose 'character' was re-shaped in ways of which its authorities could not approve in public. They were thus sensitive to criticism. Criticism alone could not yield change, however. This was determined, as suggested earlier, by the wider economic, political and social context.

This section has examined the penal and disciplinary regime to which white and black boys and girls were subjected between 1911 and 1934. Relations with staff, health and sanitary conditions were governed by uniform and hierarchical penal relationships, economies and scales. Changes to the buildings or

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77 T.A.D., U.E.D., vol. 1979, File e206, J. O'Reilly to Principal, 30 November 1922.

78 A. Paton, Towards the Mountain: An Autobiography (Cape Town 1980), p. 163.

79 T.A.D., U.E.D., vol. 114, File e6/64, Letter from Alan Paton to Secretary for Education, 29 July 1935; T.E.D., U.E.D., vol. 114, File e6/63, Report on Diepkloof by Chief Clerk, Z. Martins, 23 April 1935; T.A.D., U.E.D., vol. 114, File e6/614, Superintendent of Johannesburg Gaol to Director of Prisons, 30 January 1934, makes similar comments.

the diet, in the early and late 1920s, reinforced rather than altered the structure of discipline. Within this overall system, race and gender determined staffing of the institutions as well as salary scales. Racism was an additional feature affecting staff-inmate relationships in institutions where the inmates were black, and the staff white. Significant differences existed between the institutions mainly in the power accorded to inmates over one another, within the institutional structure, by the reward and punishment system. Before 1926, black boys and girls of all colours were placed in the same symbolic category by the absence of any such system in these institutions. After 1926 white girls began to be privileged over black girls. What this comparison then seems to suggest is that blacks and women in the lower echelons of white society were expected until the late 1920s to occupy the same social and economic world but not to occupy or be integrated into a common political world, involving the exercise of social power. By 1930, when white women were enfranchised in the wider society, concerted attempts were being made in the reformatory to re-incorporate white girls previously symbolically cast out. From 1932, such girls who continued to be refractory or failed to conform in the Standerton Industrial School were sent to a special whites-only institution, the Luckhoff Institute, later re-named the Durbanville Institute. Special provision was also made through Die Vlakte school, a wing of Standerton, for girls considered 'mentally subnormal'. Die Vlakte had grown out of the special class started for 'sub-normal' girls as a result of mental testing during the 1920s, and became a separate school in 1932.

B. INDUSTRIAL SCHOOLS

The 'Cottage System', white South African Nationalism and Self-Government for Boys, 1911-1934

The same principles of enclosure and surveillance governed the architecture of industrial schools, although the physical aspect of the buildings, and the form of surveillance, differed from

that in reformatories. Surveillance was dispersed over different units, each allowing for greater personal supervision of the inmates and simulation of the organisation of the patriarchal family. Standerton Industrial School, for example, was housed in military barracks remaining from the Anglo Boer War, quaintly referred to as 'cottages'.[80] Here, by 1929, there was a self-contained wood and iron house with accommodation for 30 girls; an old army hut containing 35 beds for pupils and 2 staff rooms; eight smaller 'cottages' each able to lodge 15 pupils; an annexe with housing for 25 pupils and 4 staff rooms; and Die Vlakte with room for 28 pupils and 2 staffrooms. At the Emmasdale Industrial School for boys, there were also six so-called 'cottage blocks', each separated by distances of two to three hundred yards. Each 'cottage', built to contain about 45 boys, frequently became overcrowded.[81]

The 'cottage system' was a euphemism for 'separate and distinct',[82] scattered, and local supervision, which owed something to the system developed at L'Ecole Agricole, Mettray, in France during the nineteenth century, and which became a popular model for many nineteenth century American reform schools.[83] Situating the reform school in rich farm lands, the founders of the Agricultural Colony at Mettray were concerned to replicate the spirit of family life in its structure and organisation. The colony consisted of two rows of stucco cottages in which forty-two boys and a supervisor lived. Each was to serve as a home for the boys. Boys slept in hammocks at night which

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80 T.A.D., U.E.D., vol. 101, File e6/1, vol. 1, Standerton Buildings and Repairs, Report by Inspector of Vocational Training, 17 October 1929.

81 The Star, 5 July 1921; T.A.D., U.E.D., vol. 1114, File e47/16/3, vol. 1.

82 T.A.D., U.E.D., vol. 1971, File e201/38, Public Services Commission, 16 May 1924.

83 M. Foucault, Discipline and Punish (London 1977); B. Brenzel, Daughters of the State: A Social Portrait of the First Reform School for Girls in North America, 1856-1905 (Massachusetts 1983), pp. 52-56.

were rolled up during the day so that the room could be used for other purposes.

Although the idea of industrial schools seemed to parallel that of the Agricultural Colony, the military origins of many of the buildings built before and after 1917 suggest that there was more of the army than the rural family about industrial schools. Standerton Industrial School was housed in military barracks, while the Dewetsdorp Industrial School, founded in 1918 with 60 boys, was established on the farm Rooipoort(or Roodepoort) and was originally intended by Milner for British settlers in the Orange Free State. It was eventually renamed Dewetsdorp at the insistence of the Board of Management, consisting mainly of local white farmers, after General de Wet. Here, stables were converted into dormitories for the boys.[84]

While there was not a great difference between the white and black, male and female reformatories, there were differences between industrial schools and reformatories. Although industrial schools were marked by enclosure, discipline, surveillance and a 'general sense of poverty and shabbiness',[85] the precise form of these differed from reformatories in that much closer, personal, and more individualised scrutiny was allowed for in the use of smaller buildings with a higher staff:student ratio than that provided for in the control of the reformatory. Both, however, shared either a physical or a symbolic relationship with the prison, the compound and the army barracks.

Industrial schools also appear to have been harnessed to a campaign by the state from the time of the recession of 1912-13 to the drought of 1916 to 'resettle' 'poor whites' in rural areas.[86] According to Davies, this trend was short-lived and was

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84 Die Volksblad, 12 December 1925; T.A.D., U.E.D., vol. 1114, e47/6/1, vol. 1; J.P.L., Jimmie Roos Boys' School, Dewetsdorp: 50: 1.8.1918 - 1968 (1968).

85 T.A.D., U.E.D., vol. 1114, File e47/16/1, vol. 1, Dewetsdorp, General Correspondence, Magistrate to Secretary of U.E.D., 26 August 1929.

86 See Davies, White Labour, p. 108.

reversed in 1916 when the emphasis shifted back towards industry and state departments.[87] When the Pact Government took office in 1924, new forms of state intervention in connection with the 'poor white' problem were again developed in both industry and agriculture. Educational institutions do not, however, respond automatically or unproblematically to changes in policy. This is illustrated in the way industrial schools continued to combine and mediate different state policies at different times with regard to 'poor whites'. Some of the contradictory effects of industrial schools stemmed from the dual and sometimes conflicting purposes sedimented over time in the functioning of the institutions.

When additional industrial schools were initially built during the Pact period, their staff saw the task in terms of simultaneously transforming the land, halting the town-ward migration of landless whites and equipping their charges for manual and semi-skilled work. The work of industrial schools was seen as both social and moral reclamation; individual reclamation through reclamation of the land. Kingwilliamstown Industrial School, for example, opened in 1925 under W. Marais in the one-time Home of the Imperial Soldiers. He arrived in 1925 to find the environs 'wild and unkempt;'[88] 'as far as they eye could see, there was nothing barring the dilapidated buildings surrounded by weeds'.[89] The first task of Marais, the boys and the teachers was to build the school. They built drains, made bins and containers, put up gutters and inserted the plumbing system.[90] The different trade sections were used to build, plaster, paint, and make cupboards. Even the rugby field was

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87 Davies, White Labour, pp. 109-110.

88 J.P.L., School of Industries Kingwilliamstown, Silver Jubilee Souvenir (Kingwilliamstown 1950), p. 8.

89 J.P.L., School of Industries, Kingwilliamstown, Silver Jubilee Souvenir (Kingwilliamstown 1950), pp. 7-8.

90 T.A.D., U.E.D., vol. 923, File e35/4, vol. 1, Board Minutes, Kingwilliamstown Industrial School, July 1929.

levelled by the boys in 1929. They, too, were required to keep the buildings clean and tidy.

In the wider society, this work was work usually done by Africans. That whites were being made to do this in the industrial school indicates another contradiction of these institutions established to assign 'poor whites' to positions of superiority over blacks in the racial division of labour. While the overt aim was to equip boys with a trade in order to begin a process of transforming their class position, in practice there was also another unwritten, silent agenda to which the work of the boys corresponded - keeping them in and reminding them of their inferior class status within white society itself.

On the face of it, industrial schools were an extraordinarily unattractive proposition for the majority of teachers. Before 1917 teachers at reformatories and industrial schools were paid according to prison and not provincial education department scales. In addition, their conditions of work were appalling. Pointing to the difficulties of securing 'the best class of man'[91] for reformatory and industrial school work Roos noted that conditions of service were 'somewhat harder' than those obtaining at ordinary schools. Teachers had to be prepared to work without leave of any kind, and to devote their lives to their work, since they were in intimate contact with pupils during the day and at night, when they would be in charge of a House.

As a result, most of the teachers drawn to industrial schools were those hoping to use the school as a stepping stone into a Provincial Education Department, temporary teachers, or men and women who were imbued with the sense of participating in an important 'volkstaak'.[92] During the 1920s, especially from the

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91 T.A.D., Treasury, vol. 6329, File 47/23. Director of Prisons to Secretary for Finance, 14 September 1912.

92 J.P.L., George Hofmeyr School of Industries, Golden Jubilee Souvenir 1909 -1955, 'Herrinneringe van Dr. Louis van Schalkwijk'; Johannesburg, C.A.S., Johannesburg Branch, Monthly Report for Month Ending 18 January 1915.

late 1920s, schools became an important base for some of the more middle class elements attracted to the cause of nationalism. Men and women for the schools were recruited largely from Afrikaans-speaking university education departments, university colleges and colleges of education. Both J. Struwig and W. Marais, who eventually became Principals at Dewetsdorp and Kingwilliamstown respectively, were recruited to the industrial school system by the Professor of Education at Stellenbosch University, G. Cilliers, in 1918. He inspired them with a vision of doing pioneering work for the nation in the schools.[93] A large part of the schools' population were those whites whose degradation was horrifying and appalling, and for whom they sought to provide channels for economic mobility.

Even after 1917, when this 'new class of man' and woman was employed at the industrial schools, conditions often proved unbearable. For the Principals at least there was some compensation in salary. For the rest there was no respite from work. As an assistant matron at Emmasdale recalled:

> We assistant Matrons did not have an easy time either. We worked from 4.30 a.m. to 1 p.m. and again from 3 p.m. till 7 p.m. for the princely salary of £4 per month. We never had a day off and the only holidays were a month at Christmas when the boys who could not go home went to a cadet camp and a further two weeks during the year. This applied to all the staff, teachers, matrons and Principal. There were no servants - we had to do all the work with the help of the boys, cleaning, rubbing, polishing. The boys rose at 4.30 a.m. to start work. Breakfast was at 5.30 a.m. so that there could be time for cleaning and washing the dishes before school started at 7.30 a.m.[94]

Some matrons and teachers did not stay behind over Christmas, however, but accompanied the boys to camp.

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93 W. Marais, ex-Principal of the Tokai Reformatories, interview with author, Cape Town 1984; J.P.L., Emmasdal 1912-1962, ''n Terugblik: Mnr. J.N. Struwig', p. 19; J.P.L., Emmasdal 1912 - 1962, ''n Terugblik: F.P. du Toit': du Toit was recruited from the Pretoria College of Education in 1931.

94 J.P.L., Emmasdal 1912 - 1962, Miss Bobby (Matron at Emmasdal), 'As I Remember it', p. 52.

The routine of teachers was different but equally strenuous. They began the day at 7.30 or 8.00 a.m. and taught until 3.30 p.m., had a break for 45 minutes, and then continued with extra-mural activities until shortly before the evening meal. After supper they had to carry out supervision duties in the Houses. In effect, staff at industrial schools had a 15 hour day.[95] The effect was that teachers often broke down under the strain. In 1916, a Miss Langenegger from the Emmasdale Industrial School was given 30 days' vacation leave, having reached breaking point. She had been employed as a teacher in August 1913, had had no leave since her appointment, and was on duty not only from morning to night, but also on Sundays and public holidays.[96] What seems to have made this schedule bearable was the simple dedication of many of the teachers.

Throughout the 1920s, staff figures remained constant as numbers at the schools increased.[97] The overcrowding and the difficulties of maintaining control were directly responsible by the late 1920s, in at least one school, for an irritable, tense and restless atmosphere amongst teachers.[98] In these circumstances, many of the younger teachers 'drew the conclusion that it didn't matter what you hoped to achieve as long as

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95 See, for example, T.A.D., U.E.D., vol. 1429, File e55/2/1, vol. 1, Report on Standerton Industrial School, 29 April 1929; Johannesburg, C.A.S., General Committee Minutes, 1 August 1916.

96 T.A.D., Treasury, vol. 6327, File 47/7/23, Director of Prisons to Secretary for Finance, 27 January 1916; see also T.A.D., Treasury, vol. 6327, File 47/7/23, Letter from Director of Prisons to Secretary for Finance, 29 August 1912, 27 December 1913, 8 October 1914.

97 T.A.D., U.E.D., vol. 1971, File e201/38, Public Service Commission, Inspection into 4 Industrial Schools in the Transvaal and Orange Free State, 16 May 1924.

98 T.A.D., U.E.D., vol. 1429, File e55/2/1, vol. 1, Reports of Inspector of Domestic Science, 29 April 1929, 28 September 1929, 9 November 1931, 20 January 1932.

everyone, pupils and teachers, was simply kept busy'.[99] It is perhaps not completely fortuitous that Emmasdale saw a rash of escapes during this period.[100]

As early as 1916, the Children's Aid Society was instrumental in founding a staff association at Emmasdale. Through these associations the Society hoped 'to get the whole staff interested in the general welfare of the Institution, to promote a better "esprit de corps"', and to use the association to organise annual sports events and prize-givings', 'so as to organise the games of the boys and to encourage them to compete amongst themselves and with outsiders'.[101]

Numerous talks were given and heard throughout the twenties at all the boys' industrial schools to help build this esprit de corps. Practical issues and problems in the industrial school formed the bases of talks which used the work of 'progressive' educationists like John Dewey in the United States,[102] Georg Kerchensteiner[103] in Germany and the principles underlying the Little Commonwealth in England.[104] Thus, between 1921 and 1926, the Emmasdale Industrial School, and between 1928 and 1930 the teachers at Dewetsdorp and Kingwilliamstown, were addressed on a variety of topics reflecting new directions in child-centred education. These included lectures on 'The Gospel of Work', 'Daddy Long Legs', 'Hygiene', 'Being Interested and Alert', 'We

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99 J.P.L., Emmasdal 1912 - 1962, p. 31.

100 See Chapter Ten.

101 Johannesburg, C.A.S., Monthly Report for month ending 18 January 1916.

102 One of Dewey's most popular books at the time was J. Dewey, Democracy and Education (New York 1916).

103 Georg Kerchensteiner authored the highly influential The Idea of the Industrial School (New York 1913); The Schools and the Nation (London 1914) and Education for Citizenship (London 1915).

104 T.A.D., U.E.D., vol. 1950, File e214/7, Heidelberg Industrial School Staff Minutes 1921-1926; T.A.D., U.E.D. vol. 469, File e14/86/49, Dewetsdorp Staff Minute Meetings 1922 - 1942.

ourselves are to Blame', 'Why Our Boys should be Taught Trades', 'Morality and Education', 'Discipline', 'Juvenile Delinquency', 'Instincts and Tendencies in the Child', 'The Role of Women', 'Self-Government', 'The Role of Sport' and 'The Definition of a few Modern Tendencies in Education'.[105]

Speakers also tried to inspire teachers by reminding them that their task was one of national significance, involving the building of a white South African nation:

> Patriotism and love for his calling ought also to inspire patience in the teacher. Today, more than ever before, South Africa feels that her white population is too small. This draw-back is especially underlined by the fact that a significant portion of this already small population is inferior, i.a. in education. Governments of South Africa have attended to this matter in a systematic way for a number of years, and with great success have applied methods to place each child in a position to become of highest value to the state. It will depend on these children, as already said, what role South Africa will play in the future.[106]

If teachers failed to be inspired by this kind of talk, their sense of duty to the nation was invoked:

> Our Education aims at the formation of strong, individual characters and at the making of good citizens....It is our duty to train our children to become young South Africans. The introduction of Civics in all the schools is a step towards the development of the national aspect of education in South Africa.[107]

The attempt to build an 'esprit de corps' amongst the teachers, the emphasis in industrial schools on games and character, citizenship and loyalty, the camping excursions undertaken at the end of each year, all testify to the strong influence within

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105 T.A.D., U.E.D., vol. 1950, File e214/7, Heidelberg Industrial School Staff Minutes 1921-1926; T.A.D., U.E.D., vol. 923, File e35/2, vol. 1; T.A.D., U.E.D., vol. 511, File e14/92/49.

106 T.A.D., U.E.D., vol. 469, File e14/86/49, Minutes of Dewetsdorp Staff Meetings, 7 February 1933.

107 T.A.D., U.E.D., vol. 1950, File e214/7, Heidelberg Industrial School Staff Minutes 1921-1926, Talk on 'A Few Modern Tendencies in Education', p. 1.

these institutions of the principles of voluntary youth organisations like the Boys' Brigades and Baden-Powell's Boy Scouts, adapted to wider white South African nationalist educational ends.[108] The peculiar mixture of 'drill, discipline and religion'[109] characteristic of the rash of youth organisations that emerged in fin de siecle England, also found its way into industrial schools. The same intellectual currents that gave birth to these movements had inspired the prime movers in South African industrial schools: Social Darwinism and the fear of race deterioration and the social imperialist view that the interests of a great Empire required the rearing of an imperial race.

However inspired and dedicated the teachers, they were no less tolerant of violence amongst the boys than warders were at reformatories as long as the helped in maintaining order and control. 'Progressive' educational methods which emphasised the freedom of boys gave those in industrial schools the latitude to punish other boys. In 1920 at Heidelberg boys were asked to draw up rules and regulations for punishment of absconders. These were approved by the Secretary of Education who noted that:

> they strike me as effective, leaving very little loophole to offenders for escape from retribution and the penalties certainly do not err on the side of leniency.[110]

The boys drew up a formal list specifying particular punishments. The terms in which they were framed are again reminiscent of the oaths taken by organised voluntary youth organisations:

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108 See, for example, J. Springhall, Youth, Empire and Society: British Youth Movements 1883-1940 (London 1977); J. Springhall, B. Fraser and M. Hoare, Sure & Steadfast: A History of the Boys' Brigade 1883-1983 (London & Glasgow 1983); M. Rosenthal, The Character Factory: Baden-Powell and the Origins of the Boy Scout Movement (London & Glasgow 1984).

109 J. Springhall, Youth, Empire and Society, p. 103.

110 T.A.D., U.E.D., vol. 1980, File e206/46, Heidelberg Rules and Regulations framed by pupils.

these institutions of the principles of voluntary youth organisations like the Boys' Brigades and Baden-Powell's Boy Scouts, adapted to wider white South African nationalist educational ends.[108] The peculiar mixture of 'drill, discipline and religion'[109] characteristic of the rash of youth organisations that emerged in fin de siecle England, also found its way into industrial schools. The same intellectual currents that gave birth to these movements had inspired the prime movers in South African industrial schools: Social Darwinism and the fear of race deterioration and the social imperialist view that the interests of a great Empire required the rearing of an imperial race.

However inspired and dedicated the teachers, they were no less tolerant of violence amongst the boys than warders were at reformatories as long as they helped in maintaining order and control. 'Progressive' educational methods which emphasised the freedom of boys gave those in industrial schools the latitude to punish other boys. In 1920 at Heidelberg boys were asked to draw up rules and regulations for punishment of absconders. These were approved by the Secretary of Education who noted that:

> they strike me as effective, leaving very little loophole to offenders for escape from retribution and the penalties certainly do not err on the side of leniency.[110]

The boys drew up a formal list specifying particular punishments. The terms in which they were framed are again reminiscent of the oaths taken by organised voluntary youth organisations:

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108 See, for example, J. Springhall, Youth, Empire and Society: British Youth Movements 1883-1940 (London 1977); J. Springhall, B. Fraser and M. Hoare, Sure & Steadfast: A History of the Boys' Brigade 1883-1983 (London & Glasgow 1983); M. Rosenthal, The Character Factory: Baden-Powell and the Origins of the Boy Scout Movement (London & Glasgow 1984).

109 J. Springhall, Youth, Empire and Society, p. 103.

110 T.A.D., U.E.D., vol. 1980, File e206/46, Heidelberg Rules and Regulations framed by pupils.

All members of this Committee have sworn to be faithful and trustworthy to this movement which has been entrusted to them.

They shall set an example to all pupils attending Emmasdale (especially to inmates of Cottage 11) and will render their services to the uttermost of their ability to this organisation, which shall take place from this evening the 18th day of August, 1920.
We the undersigned take out oaths to do as has been stated above.[111]

Punishments of absconders included:

1. Shall be sent to Cottage 11.
2. Will sleep in absconders dorm.
3. Shall attend to sanitation work for absconding dorm day and night.
4. Will have hair cut short (bald cut).
5. His place at table shall be between the smallest inmates of our cottage, and will stand during all meals.
6. Day after arrival accused will have to run the gauntlet dressed in a shirt and thin pair of trousers.
7. Will not receive a single word from any inmate with the exception of those who are in supervision over accused for the period of a month.
8. Will have to make all beds in dorm of accused every morning for a solid month.
9. Will have to do extra duty during all spare time.[112]

With a few minor additions, these punishments seem already to have been in practice, or were common practice at other reformatories. This applied particularly to the punishment of making boys 'run the gauntlet'. Lessing describes the attitude to absconders as follows:

> Sometimes a boy would break away from the gang and run for it. Then he would be hunted by everyone in the institution - warders, teachers, his fellow inmates- like a pack of dogs. When he was brought back and stood trembling before the Director, the boys crowded around the office shaking their fists at him and calling him names. Then one of the big bullies would ask the Director to order 'parade lashes.'
>
> The boys would be lined up and the victim would appear in a pair of thin linen pants. The big

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111 T.A.D., U.E.D., vol. 1980, e202/46, 'Heidelberg Industrial School Rules and Regulations framed by Pupils 1920'.

112 T.A.D., U.E.D. vol. 1980, e202/46, 'Heidelberg Industrial School Rules and Regulations Framed by Pupils 1920'.

> warder would roll up his sleeves and fetch his three-and-a-half foot cane. Before the whole institution the unfortunate boy would bend down and receive ten cruel strokes so that the blood trickled down his bare legs.[113]

This ritual of 'mortification' seems of a piece with the 'milieu of personal failure',[114] and punishment of failure, engendered by the total institution. By giving boys the power of punishment over others, institutional authorities were re-defining the role of boys vis a vis themselves as victims of the institution. In certain relatively defined circumstances they could temporarily escape their victim status psychologically by creating an 'enemy', projecting their 'badness' and aggression onto that enemy and expelling him from the group.[115] The relish with which the very same boys who attempted escapes would punish those who did can thus partially be explained in terms of the way they were disempowered and empowered by the institution itself. Empowerment occurred in limited spheres, in ritualised forms, in which aggression and humilation could be expressed symbolically, and always within a context structured by domination and subordination. The dominant relationship between boys and authority in the institution shaped all other relationships between boys as well.

As with the language of monitorialism in reformatories, the language of self-government, which governed this 'rather unregulated mob rule',[116] sanctioned violent assault. In 1932, two boys at Emmasdale, Visser and Kleynhans, absconded. On their recapture they were badly beaten amidst the trees by the other

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113 Lessing, Dungeon, p. 45; see an account of 'running the gauntlet' at Tokai in 'Tokai Reformatory from the Inside: A First Offender's Story', The Star, 28 June 1929.

114 Goffman, Total Institutions, p. 66.

115 See K. Figlio, 'Oral History and the Unconscious', History Workshop Journal, Special Feature: Psychoanalysis and History, 26, Autumn 1988, pp. 128-129, for discussion of the uses of the concept of projection in history.

116 T.A.D., U.E.D., vol. 1114, File e47/16/3, vol. 1.

boys. The boys again escaped, this time to their parents. The parents laid a charge, but the matter was justified on the grounds of the general 'uncontrollability' of the boys, and hushed up. Some doubts were raised about the degree of 'self-government' allowed the boys: it was not, however, forbidden.[117]

In many ways, then, the language of militarism, monitorialism and self-government in reformatories authorised a system of control through boys which was as violent as it was corrupt, and which constituted them at once as victims and as petty despots. Their reaction, also, to fellow-inmates who had 'failed' was a mirror-image of the way in which they had been dealt with by the process of juvenile justice.

'Educational discipline' at industrial schools owed much to a staff imbued with the zeal of pursuing a task of national and individual salvation. They seem to have imparted an evangelical-religious, nationalist, scouting ethos to industrial schools which was not as marked at reformatories where the task of discipline and rehabilitation was undertaken in a more mundane spirit. Their methodology was influenced by the ideas of the 'progressive' educationists of the day, Dewey, Kerchensteiner and Lane. While 'progressive' ideas and a sense of national calling may have inspired teachers, these ideas were used to bring into being a form of 'boy rule', which did not mould the 'character' of the charges of industrial schools in any simple way. As in the reformatories, the latter themselves perforce adapted the rules to their own ends, ends which confirmed them in their structural subordination.[118] In these aspects, staffing and ethos, the social world of industrial schools differed most markedly from reformatories. As total institutions, they shared the principles of surveillance and exclusion, the militarism and violence of the reformatory regime.

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117 T.A.D., U.E.D., vol. 1114, File e47/16/3, vol. 1.

118 P. Willis, Learning to Labour: How Working Class Kids Get Working Class Jobs (Aldershot 1978).

Conclusion

Between 1911 and 1934, both the reformatory and industrial school largely contradicted the goal of humane rehabilitation in the very conditions governing everyday routine and social interaction. During the nineteen twenties, changes were made to the buildings, diet, punishments and rewards in reformatories. In the industrial schools, boys were afforded a measure of self-government from 1920 on. These changes, however, reinforced the punitive and exclusionary aspect of incarceration. Within this wider system, the most telling feature of social life was the double exclusion of black boys and girls of all hues from an internal system of government, no matter how distorted a one it was, until 1926. On the occasion of a rebellion uniting black and white girls, steps were taken to separate, selectively re-incorporate and punish white girls differently from black. Another remarkable feature was the contradictory role played by industrial schools in simultaneously aiming at placing 'poor whites' at a social and economic remove from blacks, but in practice employing them to do work which brought them closer to the domain of blacks.



FIGURE 9



FIGURE 10

Heidelberg Boys' Camp, 1920s



FIGURE 11



FIGURE 12

Heidelberg Boys' Camp, 1920s



FIGURE 13

Emmasdale Rugby Team, 1921



FIGURE 14

Houtpoort, 1941: Additions

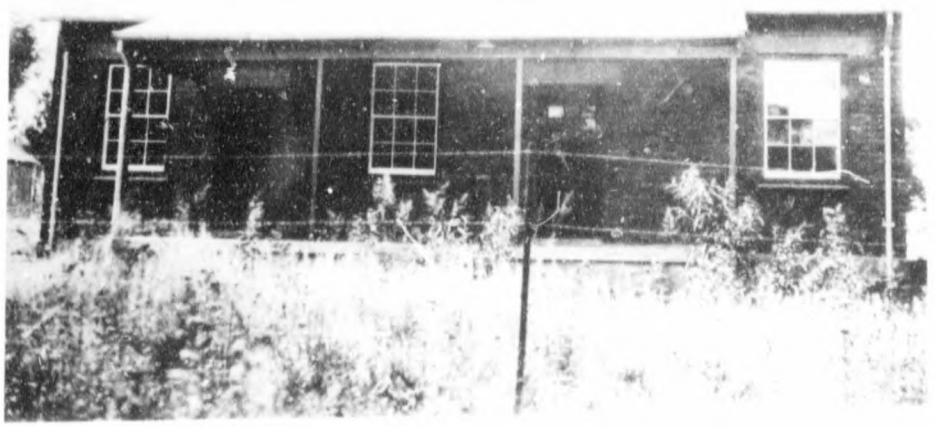


FIGURE 15

Staff Cottage, Houtpoort

CHAPTER EIGHT

EDUCATION AND TRAINING: AGRICULTURE, THE STATE AND THE REFORMATORY, 11-1934

One of the most important means of rehabilitating youth between 1911 and 1934 was through education and training for a trade. If the institutional context was intended to separate black from white boys, youth from corrupting contact with adult criminals, and girls from boys, schooling and trade or domestic training was designed to facilitate their re-integration into society as useful, employable citizens. In this aim, the time-tabled pattern of alternating productive labour with schooling used at Porter reformatory was adopted in those reformatories formed just before and after Union.

Earlier it was suggested that in the late 19th Century, training in productive labour was the most vital aspect of training at Porter. To keep institutions self-sufficient, an agricultural surplus was produced for sale to other penal institutions. Boys were used for this purpose, and were thus trained in largely unskilled manual farm labour. Industrial training did little more than attempt to inculcate the discipline of work and transmit unmarketable skills, while schooling was extremely rudimentary. Through the apprenticeship system, the reformatory played a direct role in allocating boys as farm labourers to farmers of the Western Cape. In this regard, a state institution was used to distribute labour to local, commercial agricultural concerns. Their dominance in the region was, conversely, demonstrated in the extent to which they could exercise power over the institution and its disposal of boys. The internal regime of the reformatory seemed to generate a sub-culture, however, which was significant in building a sense of solidarity against the institutional process of regimentation and de-humanisation. Boys used institutional mechanisms and rules to reinforce both peer and familial solidarities. Thus the institutional regime, in attempting to re-mould the boys as disciplined farm workers, did so only imperfectly.

While the institution housed boys of all colours, from the mid 1890s a gradual distinction began to be drawn between white and black boys. By the beginning of the twentieth century, even though all boys were subjected to the same discipline, dormitories were segregated not only according to age and conduct, but also according to colour. In addition, white boys were increasingly channelled into industrial work and black boys into manual labour. As segregation became built into an overarching political solution to South Africa's industrial ill , these developments presaged the future segregation of reformatories according to colour, as well as the entrenchment of a racial division of labour signified in their separation.

Through the Prisons and Reformatories Act of 1911 provision was made for extracting white and African boys from Porter, leaving it an institution for those designated 'coloured'. A key question would be whether or not this separation of boys made any difference to their preparation for the labour market, and whether it can be said to have performed a humane and rehabilitative function, as intended. A related consideration is that of whose interests were represented in the control of the reformatory and its curriculum, and whether this changed significantly from the pre-Union Porter days or not.

Evidence of the nature of schooling and apprenticeship in the reformatories for the period before the 1930s is slender, since inspection of reformatories was irregular prior to 1930. Irregular inspection was itself an index of its relative insignificance. In 1930, however, in the context of mounting pressure for transfer and reform of the reformatories, the Warden of Tokai requested a report; it was then decided to conduct investigations into all the reformatories.[1] From the scattered evidence that does exist before 1930, and in particular, the evidence taken before the Select Committee of Inquiry appointed into the Porter Reformatory in 1921, it does appear that exceedingly little changed during this time, accounting in part

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1 T.A.D., U.E.D., vol. 1460, File e55/6/2, vol. 1 Inspection Reports.

for Lessing's description of the 'daily monotony' of reformatory life, punctuated as it was, by the marching and counting of boys before and after every activity.[2]

Schooling in Reformatories

During the time reformatories were administered by the Prisons Department, schooling of boys and girls was not a major priority. 'The main object', as the Annual Report of the Department of Justice reported in 1917, was 'to prepare pupils in the first instance not to pass an examination test but the stern test of life'.[3] By 1921, at Porter Reformatory for example, schooling in the juvenile adult section was nominally for one hour a day - between 5 p.m. and 6 p.m. - but this period was frequently reduced in practice to not much more than half an hour. A single schoolmaster supervised between 120 and 170 boys in the open yard during this half hour, under conditions which the Report of the Select Committee of Inquiry into Porter Reformatory in 1921 described as being such as to 'make the schooling a farce'.[4] In the juvenile section two hours a day were given to schooling. Here there were boys of all ages and all levels of education. Some were as young as 7; some were illiterate, others had passed standard six. These the schoolmaster used as monitors. The standard aimed at was standard four; no education was provided beyond that. Houtpoort, the white reformatory, did not go beyond standard five.

Diepkloof Reformatory showed much the same pattern fourteen years later in 1935: classes 100-strong, of pupils from varied educational backgrounds, were conducted under the 'Head Native Warder'. 'In the majority of cases', Inspector Kempff reported,

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2 Lessing, Dungeon, p. 45; see also Paton, Mountain, pp. 152, 166.

3 Union of South Africa: Annual Report of the Department of Justice for 1917, U.G. 36-1918, p. 131.

4 C.A.D., Porter Select Committee Report 1921, pp. xiii, 92.

'kindergarten instruction must be given to boys who are already advanced in years and in experience of life....The teaching as carried out now seems to be part of the inmates' "punishment".'[5]

Except for minor changes between 1921 and 1934, there was little variation between the reformatories. Given the introduction of free and compulsory education for whites in the early part of the twentieth century, white boys entered reformatories with a generally higher level of schooling than black boys. In 1917, for example, it was reported that 26 out of 118 boys at Houtpoort were in elementary grades. There was no school inspection of the Breakwater Reformatory between 1916 and 1919.[6] At Diepkloof, the vast majority were in elementary grades: only 25 out of 306 boys were in standards one to four.[7] The majority of African and 'coloured' boys at Diepkloof and Porter were illiterate. This meant that the standards catered for were slightly higher than in the black reformatories. White boys left the institutions, though, with little more schooling than that with which they had arrived. The result was that while some went into factories after their release, the majority seem to have been absorbed into farming.[8]

Schooling must be seen in the context of the overall reformatory curriculum, which was in turn structured by wider penal practices in the deployment of prison labour. In general, even though the only difference between reformatories and prisons at that time was the fact that in reformatories 'there (was) a

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[5] T.A.D., U.E.D., vol. 114, File e6/64, ref. e55/6/4, 'Notes on a Visit of Inspection made on the 6th February 1935 by Mr. C.N. Kempff, Inspector of Institutions.'

[6] T.A.D., Annual Report of the Department of Prisons for 1919, U.G. 54-20, p. 33

[7] See for example, C.A.D., Department of Justice, Annual Report for 1918, U.G. 54-20, pp. 189-190.

[8] See for example, T.A.D., Annual Report for the Department of Prisons for 1913, U.G. 44-13, p. 275; C.A.D., Department of Justice, Annual Report for 1918, U.G. 54-20, pp. 44, 49, 189-190; C.A.D., S.R.P. 1/2/92, vol. 1.

schoolmaster (and) some recreation',[9] the function of schooling was subordinated to the institution's custodial and productive function. The reformatory regime, like the prison, was geared to maintaining the reformatory as a self-financing enterprise within an extremely limited budget.[10] All the boys' reformatories served as work farms. The hours allocated to schooling merely constituted a variation on how to keep inmates busy and under control, and formed part of the rationale of the reformatory during the times that they were not productively employed.

The difference during this period between the boys' and the girls' reformatories was marked. The disciplinary regime as a whole, including work and schooling at the girls' reformatory, was dominated by conventional notions of what constituted women's work. In these, as in similar institutions established for girls in the United States, England and Australia, the curricular emphasis was on vocational training for domestic service, either in their own homes, or in the homes of others. Correctional education for girls lay primarily in equipping them for family life and/or domestic service.[11] The application of this ideology

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9 C.A.D., Porter Select Committee Minutes of Evidence 1921, Mr. A.H. de Villliers, 6 May 1921, pp. 25 and 35.

10 See chapter 3; see also T. Corry, Prison Labour in South Africa (Cape Town 1977), pp. 127-132; in 1917, for example, it was reported that Porter Reformatory 'supplied 42 tons of vegetables to the Cape Town gaol, 42 tons to the Tokai Convict Prison, 34 tons to the reformatory itself, 21 tons to Robben Island, 18 tons to the old Somerset Hospital, 16 tons to the Cape Town House of Correction and 8 tons to the Breakwater Reformatory'. In addition, the reformatory produced grapes for sale, lucerne, mealies, engaged in forestry and 'gardening in all its branches'. See C.A.D., Annual Report of the Department of Justice for 1916, U.G. 39-17, p. 190.

11 B. Brenzel, Daughters of the State: A Social Portrait of the First Reform School for Girls in North America, 1856-1905 (Cambridge 1983); J. Cock, Maids and Madams: A Study in the Politics of Exploitation (Johannesburg 1980); D. Gaitskell, 'Christian Compounds for Girls: Church Hostels for African Women in Johannesburg, 1907-1976', Journal of Southern African Studies, 6, 1, 1979, pp. 44-69; K. Wimshurst, 'Control and Resistance: Reformatory School Girls in Late Nineteenth Century South Australia', Journal of Social History, Winter, 1984.

of domesticity was cut across, however, by questions of race and IQ. Thus a subtle colour bar also operated within the girls' reformatory, related to the socially differential position of white and black women in wider South African society during the 1920s.[12]

Agricultural and Industrial Training at Reformatories

After Union and the passing of the Prisons and Reformatories Act the interests of the agricultural sector continued to dominate the reformatory curriculum for both black and white, even though it became prison policy after 1911 to make whites responsible for virtually all industrial work, and to concentrate non-European labour in the building sections and in the various handicrafts such as mat and brush making.[13] As W.S. Bateman, Director of Prisons testified in 1921, 'the main idea that actuated the Department' in the establishment of reformatories:

> was to get the boys away from the slums of the town and to fit them for an agricultural life by sending them to farms before they were 18 years of age; and then we have the hope that some of them at least will remain on the farms and not come back to the towns.[14]

During the 1920s, the racial division in the relative attention paid to industrial and agricultural work in white and black boys' reformatories widened. In 1917, boys at the white Breakwater Reformatory were engaged in printing and binding of gazettes and law reports, as well as carpentry, bootmaking and tailoring. At Fort Glamorgan established in 1917, by contrast, boys were solely 'employed in the vegetable garden on agricultural labour and on

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12 See L. Chisholm, 'Gender and Deviance in South African Industrial Schools and Reformatories for Girls, 1911-1934' in C. Walker (ed.), Gender in South African History (forthcoming), pp. 509-512.

13 T. Corry, Prison Labour in South Africa (Cape Town 1977), p. 128.

14 C.A.D., Porter Select Committee Minutes of Evidence 1921, W.S. Bateman, 17 May 1921, p. 43.

the Prison Reserve on afforestation work'.[15] By 1934, boys at white reformatories were being encouraged to prepare for the National Technical or National Commercial Examinations, and to concentrate on trades in preference to farming, whereas black boys were more firmly locked into agricultural work.

Richard Feetham noted in 1921 that this was state policy in his Report of Select Committee of Inquiry into Porter Reformatory in 1921 when he said that:

> The boys enter very keenly into the work of basketmaking and become proficient basketmakers and basketmakers' shop does a good deal of work for the Railway and Post Office, as well as supplying private customers. The undoubted success of this shop...naturally suggests that other forms of industrial training in handicrafts should also be provided in the reformatory. The policy of the Department is, however, not to widen the industrial training in the case of coloured lads, but to concentrate on agricultural training. The training in gardening and agriculture is given with a view to turning out useful farm labourers rather than skilled horticulturists.[16]

The racial gap was widened by the degree of literacy of inmates when they entered the institution, the relative amount of trade training received inside it and the expected future development of the curriculum. The training in trades that black boys received was negligible.

In 1921 'coloured' artisans in the Western Cape still dominated certain trades, especially brick-laying, painting, decorating and contracting, plastering, tailoring, leather-working, furniture-making and carpentry, but also the baking and building trades. Reformatory trade training was a pastiche of training for this 'skilled or semi-skilled work', and appears to

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15 C.A.D., Annual Report of the Department of Justice for 1917, U.G. 36-1918, pp. 130-135.

16 C.A.D., Porter Select Committee Report 1921, p. xxvi.

have been part of a wider process of deliberately cutting 'coloured' artisans out of the skilled labour market.[17]

'Coloured' juvenile offenders also seem to have been cut out of future participation in the small but growing industrial labour market. By 1916/17, there were 21,000 workers in industry in Cape Town. Their numbers grew rapidly over the following three years to reach a total of 31,700 as the post-war boom reached its climax. Employment declined during the depression that followed but had recovered to 34,900 by 1924/5. The policies of the Pact government produced a spurt of growth which ended in 1929/30 when 41,800 worked in the Cape Peninsula industries. The 1930-32 depression wiped out the growth of the previous five years.[18] During this period, the increase in employment was mainly European and African: 'the coloured show(ed) only a weak general tendency to increase'.[19] By 1932, however, the movement of women into factory work was being provided as justification for the exclusion of 'coloured' juvenile offenders from industry and their training for farm labour.[20]

By 1930, the emphasis in Porter was falling squarely on training for farm labour. During the late 1920s and early 1930s there appears to have been a persistent shortage, related to the low wages offered, of casual, seasonal farm labour for the ploughing, reaping, shearing, fruit picking and packing seasons on Western Cape farms.[21] Reformatory juvenile labour was an

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17 Report of the Commission of Inquiry regarding Cape Coloured Population of the Union, U.G. 54-1937.

18 M. Nicol, 'A History of Garment and Tailoring Workers in Cape Town, 1900-1939', Ph.D, University of Cape Town, 1984, pp. 71/72.

19 Report of the Commission of Inquiry regarding Cape Coloured Population of the Union, U.G. 54-1937, p. 60.

20 T.A.D., U.E.D., vol. 1460, File e55/6/1, vol. II, Inspection Report on Tokai Reformatory by A. Linscott, Inspector of Vocational Training, 6 June 1932.

21 Report of the Commission of Inquiry regarding Cape Coloured Population of the Union, U.G. 54-1937, p. 76.

Author Chisholm Linda
Name of thesis Reformatories And Industrial Schools In South Africa: A Study In Class, Colour And Gender, 1882-1939. 1989

PUBLISHER:
University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg
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