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THE FOUNDATIONS OF A SEGREGATED SCHOOLING SYSTEM ON THE WITWATERSRAND, 1900-1924.

Michael Cross

A Dissertation submitted to the Faculty of Education University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Master of Education

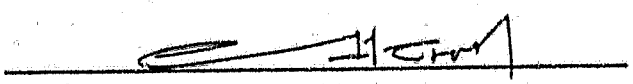
Johannesburg 1986

ABSTRACT

The origins of the present segregated schooling system are bound up with the structuring of South African racial capitalism under the dominance of mining capital, particularly in the period 1900-1924. In attempting an historical explanation of this process, this study argues that the economic and social foundations of the backwardness of the schooling for Blacks in South Africa are connected with the segregationist structure determined by class struggle in the early period of mining capital. It demonstrates that the basic characteristics and features of segregation in education had been established during the same period.

DECLARATION

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



1.03.1986

To

MY FATHER AND MY MOTHER

This Report is affectionately inscribed

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Title page I

Abstract II

Declaration... III

Dedication IV

Table of Contents V

Preface VII

List of Abbreviations IX

1. INTRODUCTION 1

Race, Class and Segregation... 4

Revisionism in South African Education 11

Theoretical Presuppositions 14

Notes 18

2. CHAPTER I: SOCIAL AND IDEOLOGICAL BASES OF RACIAL SEGREGATION 23

The South African War and Regional Implications for Education, 1899-1902 28

The Milner State and Reconstruction Policy ... 32

Notes 45

3. CHAPTER II: STATE INTERVENTION AND ENTRENCHMENT OF SEGREGATION IN EDUCATION, 1902-1907/10 52

Notes 66

4. CHAPTER III: SEGREGATION IN EDUCATION, 1907/10-1924: TOWARDS CONSOLIDATION 70

Reorganization of Education for 'Coloured' Children 76

Reinforcement of the Mechanisms of Control of African Schools 78

Notes 82

5. CONCLUSIONS... 85

6. BIBLIOGRAPHY 87

PREFACE

In 1986, Apartheid was officially declared outdated. Strategies have been devised and different initiatives have been undertaken attempting to bury Apartheid. In education as in any other field of social activity, any move in this direction requires a new approach and a new interpretation of the past experience.

This study constitutes one of the first attempts to provide a new perspective on the historical roots of the policies of racial segregation in education.

Though the Nationalist Party had brought about a new dimension to the policies of racial segregation with the Verwoerdian educational enactments of the 1950s and 1960s, this study shows that the essentials of these policies had already been established during the era of the mining revolution on the Rand. The introduction reviews the debate on the phenomenon of racism, its relationship with the course of South African capitalism and concomitant educational policies. The first chapter examines the social and ideological bases of the policies of racial segregation. The second and the third chapter deals with the main steps of implementation of the policies of racial segregation in education.

The research has covered a large number of primary and secondary sources available at the Church of the Province Archives, Johannesburg Public Library and Pretoria Government Archives. Unfortunately, I had no access to the most important files of the Transvaal Department of Native Affairs which would be of primary importance for this particular topic.

In the course of my research I have had assistance of Tim Clynick and Mrs Cunningham who made available to me the relevant sources existing at the CPSA Archives. On numerous occasions I had need for expert assistance and my supervisor L. Chisholm gave unstinting help in this respect. I wish to thank Mrs Bayat for typing the last draft of this report. My wife, Albertina, and my children, Eunice and Michael, provided me with a favourable emotional climate for this research. I also wish to thank the Human Sciences Research Council for the financial aid without which this research would not be possible. Finally, a word of gratitude is owed to the Department of Education of the University of the Witwatersrand where most of the background for this task was acquired.

1. 03. 1986

(M. Cross)

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CPSA	- Church of the Province of South Africa
H.S.R.C.	- Human Sciences Research Council
S.A.I.R.R.	- South African Institute of Race Relations
S.A.N.A.C.	- South African Native Affairs Commission
TED	- Transvaal Education Department
T.I.C.	- Transvaal Indigency Commission
S.A.M.C.I.	- South African Mines, Commerce and Industries
S.A.M.J.	- South African Mining Journal
U.G.	- Union Government

INTRODUCTION

The policy of racial segregation, more recently known by the terms apartheid, 'separate developement', 'multi-national development', dominates almost all spheres of social life in South Africa. Segregation, as Legassick has indicated, operates at the levels of ideology, of social control, of political administration, of residential or territorial settlement, of educational and cultural life, etc.[1] A multiplicity of meanings and functions has been attached to it at different times and places, and for different communities. The policy of segregation has for a long time played the role of an ideological umbrella for the settlement of British imperialism and for the building up and reproduction of White supremacy in South Africa.

Amongst those who have attempted an explanation of the roots of segregation in South Africa, three main positions can be identified: i) those who have found its roots "at the commencement of White settlement, with van Riebeck's attempt to build a hedge to separate whites and khoisan";[2] ii) those who see it more strictly as apartheid and as the product of Afrikaner nationalist thought; and iii) those who argue that although aspects of segregation can be discovered in earlier periods, the crucial formative period for the policy of segregation as a totality, an all-embracing strategy, was between the South African War (1899-1902) and the First World War.

The former (first and second positions) have been common within traditional liberal thinking. The latter only emerged with the appearance of a radical-revisionist literature in the early 1970s which attribute the shaping of racial policies to the course of capitalist development in South Africa.[3]

The two positions held by liberal writers have in common the fact that they attribute an analytical primacy to the variables of race over those of class. According to the revisionist criticism, this approach tends to treat racial prejudice rather than class struggle, as the heart of the conflicts and inequities in South African society. Race is seen as the driving-force of history, and class relations are seen as non-existent or, at best, as irrelevant and secondary. The antagonism or conflict within South African society is perceived as a racial (or ethno-cultural) conflict. Johnstone, a pioneer in revisionist thought, has characterized the liberal position as follows:

> According to this approach, the system of Racial domination in modern South Africa is seen and explained as a 'dysfunctional' intrusion upon the capitalist economic system, stemming from non-material factors outside it such as prejudice, racism, nationalism, and 'social and cultural pluralism', but doomed over the long term to destruction by the inexorable imperatives of rational industrialism and 'colour-blind' capitalism.[4]

In so far as education is concerned, the liberal approach is represented by those who explain racial separation of schools and the particular nature of the South African education system

as a 'natural' process initiated since the institution of formal schooling by missionaries or colonial authorities in the Cape with no major changes across the time. Racial segregation appears as a necessary and inevitable phenomenon arising out of cultural and racial pluralism. A revised version of this approach attributes segregation in education to the successive Acts which institutionalized 'Bantu Education', 'Coloured Education' and 'Indian Education', during the 1950s.[5]

These assumptions have been challenged by the revisionist historiographers since the early 1970s, particularly in education since the beginning of the 1980s. Initially the debate was centred on the 'race-class' issues and the relationship between the policy of segregation and the economic system. When in the 1980s the revisionist influence penetrated the educational field, the core of the debate shifted to the issues concerning the connections between the schooling system and the workplace, the role and functions of the school in South African capitalism.[6] This study represents, therefore, a different attempt to explain why and how the policy of racial segregation has affected the schooling system. I shall consider the two moments mentioned above, which, as it will be shown, have provided the basic empirical and theoretical foundations for the argument articulated in this dissertation.

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Race, Class and Segregation: the revisionist view

The 1970s saw an emergence of a radical revisionism in South African studies stressing the primacy of class over race and perceiving segregation as inherent and functional to the development of South African capitalism.[7] The argument was that cultural pluralism, racial differences and prejudices as such could not explain the shaping of racial policies, particularly the form they have assumed in South African society. The policy of segregation had to be related to the course of capitalist development, especially to the process of accumulation of mining capital and the class struggle which accompanied it. The crucial questions posed were: Why and how did the course of capitalist development in South Africa determine the shape of its racial policies? How did segregationist policies reproduce and promote capitalist interests? Thus, the relationship between economic growth or capitalism itself on the one hand, and, on the other, the political and ideological forms that accompany it, became the central theme in discussions.

A long list of scholars pioneered this approach, resorting to the tools provided by dialectical and historical materialism. Important issues concerning capital, labour, state, race and class, and their relationships were tackled.[8] For the purpose of this study, I shall confine this review to a few and most significant examples.

The policy of segregation was analysed in detail by Johnstone. According to him, the policy of racial segregation was systematically introduced and developed under the pressure of class struggle in the gold fields and operated to secure and perpetuate the cheapness of African labour.[9] Johnstone argues that white labour claims to rights on grounds of colour legitimized the denial of rights to others on grounds of colour. One fact to underline is his contention that "the reverse side of the job colour bar, which secured a monopoly of skilled work for whites, was the restriction on non-whites to benefits, which was also a vital interest of the mine owners".[10]

Another approach trying to relate the race factor with the course of South African capitalism is epitomized by Wolpe, who suggests that territorial segregation was needed to ensure the reproduction of labour within the requirements of accumulation of mining capital. Thus, the reproduction of labour within the parameters required by mining capital is viewed as the problem to which the policy of segregation was an appropriate solution.[11]

The arguments mentioned above were elaborated in a different way by Legassick.[12] In his successive seminal papers, Legassick sustains the view that "the elaboration of the policy of 'segregation' was a specific and self-conscious attempt to formulate a 'native policy' appropriate to conditions of capitalist

economic growth; not even in the 'weak' sense of preserving an existing social structure under new conditions, but rather in the 'strong' sense of elaborating a policy which should actually promote such growth in the specific conditions which existed in South Africa".[13]

What are the implications for education in these theoretical frameworks? Regarding Johnstone's analysis, it can be suggested that the segregationist structure produced by the class struggle in the gold mines seems to have conditioned the nature of the educational system. An hypothesis can be formulated that the economic and social foundations of the whole education system in general, and in particular the shaping of a separate schooling sub-system for blacks have some bearing on the segregationist structure and social relations created along the process of the mining industry revolution.

Legassick's approach leads to a similar hypothesis. As already mentioned, his main contention is that 'native affairs', particularly the question of labour, was resolved through racist authoritarianism and violence rather than through the social control function of particular ideological institutions like education. Regarding white labour, education may have played this role. However, this argument cannot pass uncontested regarding black labour. One can speculate with a certain degree of plausibility that as the mining industry did not require a significant development of skills from black labour (almost

exclusively unskilled), black schooling appeared of no significant importance either as an ideological apparatus for labour control or as a channel for distribution of black labour into the market. The crucial factor in this process was the policy of racial segregation and state repression.

Institutionally, racial segregation and repression was implanted through a number of enactments some of them inherited from the South African Republic. Chief among them are: i) the Pass Laws (Proclamation No 37 of 1901, amended Ordinance No 27 of 1903 and special regulations for urban areas in the Urban Areas Pass Act, No 18 of 1909), restricting the liberty of movement of Africans; ii) the Master and Servants Acts (the one in the Transvaal dating from 1880); iii) the Native Labour Regulation Act (No 15 of 1911), making a criminal offence the breaking of a labour contract; iv) the Mines and Works Act, No 12 of 1911 imposing colour-bar principle and restrictions later incorporated in the Mines and Works Amendment Act No 25 of 1926; the Land Act of 1913 imposing reserves for Africans; v) the Natives (Urban Areas) Act of 1923, implanting social segregation in urban areas, etc.

In addition to the factors considered by Johnstone and Legassick, there were also constraints imposed by the disintegration of African domestic life in response to the increasing monetarization of the society. For example, when the payment of lobola and traditional taxes began to be made with the money

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earned in the mines by migrant workers, these traditional institutions became an important factor contributing to the reproduction of migrant labour.[14] Schooling as such had no significant relavance among the ideologies affecting the domestic communities of the migrant workers. Missionaries were in many case confronted with societies deprived of males, some of them in school age because of the migrant circuit to the mines.

Preliminary studies in the history of South African schooling history have suggested similar hypotheses. For example, Levin has speculated that the lack of interest in 'Black education' during the 'segregation period'[15] had something to do with the nature of the Black working class: the predominance of a semi-proletariat.[16] Along the same lines, Molteno maintains that the gradual growth of black schooling from the 1860s up to the mid-20th century was not determined by the development of a capitalist mode of production in the region, but it had "some bearing on the way in which capitalist class relations emerged".[17] There is, however, the danger of falling into a merely functionalist prescription as Chisholm has reminded us:

> Educational restructuring during this, or any other period, should not be interpreted... simply as a reflex to 'changing economic needs', as 'the consequence of a political struggle on the part of capital' to re-adjust educational institutions to a new economic order, although it might be this as well. So, for example, it can and has been argued that mining capital's need during the late nineteenth century for large numbers of cheap, unskilled workers and small numbers of skilled white workers, led to the neglect of black education. Such an analysis, while correct in its broad outlines, is too simple and can be misleading. Because of its pervasiveness, it needs to be examined more closely.[18]

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This is a problem which cannot be overcome only through merely theoretical discussion. A careful examination of historical evidence must be undertaken. This dissertation is also an attempt in this direction.

So far, the theory of segregation has been discussed in relation to capital accumulation and labour requirements. Marks and Trapido, and also Davies have gone further and related segregation to the role played by the state. Marks and Trapido emphasized that the demands of the post-South African war period implied the reinforcement of the coercive machinery of the state and the reduction of the need for the creation of institutions which could act as ideological supports for the new economic order. According to them, these included "a compliant press as well as a suitably adapted educational system".[19] They argue that "reform of the education...was essential if the stabilization as well as the reproduction of the White working class was to be achieved".[20] Davies, approximately supporting the same point, suggested that state intervention in education and training institutions was related to the increasing antagonism between mining capital and the white working class and was designed to support whites in their competition with blacks for skilled and unskilled labouring positions.[21] Therefore, industrial schools were directed to equip the 'poor Whites' for better places in the labour market.

The initial enthusiasm for, and concentration on questions about economic determinants and economic functions of segregation often became an exclusive and limited preoccupation leading into economic reductionism and functionalism. Posel, who drafted a bitter criticism against this tendency pinpoints among other the following shortcomings: i) a tendency to sponsor a base-superstructure model for the sake of 'class analysis', where variables such as class relations and capital are seen to determine and account for racial policies, which in turn function to reproduce the economic base; ii) the failure to address the relative independence of racial factors.[22] Of course, these remarks do not apply to all the forms of inquiry to which the revisionists were protagonists, but to those forms of analysis where a set of categories and a priori assumptions and premises are laid down implying a particular sort of problem and solutions. Such an approach is theoretically problematic.

The drift into reductionism and functionalism evoked strong reactions and new forms of conceptualizing the South African process. I would consider this reaction more a new stage of the revisionist 'race-class' debate - I shall call it 'The New Revisionism', rather than a new and independent form of thinking, though writings such as those of Van Onselen, Bozzoli, Marks, etc., have been labelled as new revelations representing new approaches to South African society. At most, it constitutes a step forward towards a greater adequacy in historical materialist analysis. A distinctive feature is the recognition

that no unproblematic relationship can be established between the variables state, capital and ideology. Ideological issues and the way they relate to the economic base, have been more accurately explored.[23]

School, Society and Economy: Revisionism in South African Education

It was not until the beginning of the 1980s that the revisionist movement penetrated into the educational field. The determining forces of this development were explained elsewhere by the writer.[24] Here I shall summarize only the main issues with which this study is concerned. Shortly after the events of 1976, historians and sociologists of education were drawn into a revisionist debate against the liberal tradition in education and against the economic reductionism and structuralism inherited from the early neo-Marxist politcal economy of South Africa.[25] More important, however, was the debate conducted in the pages of two journals, Perspectives in Education and Africa Perspective between 1980 and 1982. In 1984, the major expression of this mode of thinking was found in the publication of Peter Kallaway (ed) Apartheid and Education, which drew on a wide range of scholars.

In this development, Althusser's Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses appeared as a study of major importance as

well as Schooling in Capitalist America by Bowles and Gintis.[26] In so far as education is concerned Althusser appeared revolutionary in his contention that the reproduction of the relations of production in a capitalist society is ensured through a dialectical interaction of the repressive state apparatus, functioning largely by violence and the ideological state apparatus functioning by ideology, where the school occupies a dominant position. Bowles and Gintis went further in positing that the social relations of the school reproduce the social relations of the economic life. The initial repercussion of these theories in South African educational historiography was the emergence of the so-called 'reproduction perspective' in its different models, interpreting schooling either as a mechanism of reproduction of labour or as an agency of social control. The problems arising out of this analytical approach soon became clear with concrete analytical work. I shall illustrate this with a few examples.

Molteno, Majeke, Crehan, Cock and others who have studied missionary education from historical materialist point of view tended to associate the role of the mission schooling in the process of structuring of colonial-capitalist domination with its function as allocating occupational roles in the social division of labour.[27] Molteno for example, places emphasis on the role played by missionary education as an instrument of reproduction of labour and social control. Apparently, this view seems to be well grounded in Cock's study, where missionary

education is seen as playing an important role in incorporating women liberated from the traditional forms of domination into domestic service.

The danger, however, is the tendency to reduce missionary education to a mere appendix of the colonial state apparatus. Missionaries are, thus, reduced to simple instruments of colonialism. The conflicts between the missionaries and elements of the colonial state can only be explained as conflicts about how best to incorporate: by violence or by conversion. They can only be assumed as part of the process of incorporation or reproduction. Rather, one has to remember that this is a subject of the most diverse dispute and which expressed itself in a highly contradictory way. There were disputes within each missionary society, disputes amongst different missionary societies, disputes amongst or with the people the missionaries were ministering, disputes between the missionaries, the state and capitalist and settlers' interests, etc. With not least importance there are also disputes amongst those who tried to interpret the missionary role. This contradictory nature is of crucial importance in approaching the role played by mission schooling.

Another danger of blindly assuming the 'reproduction perspective' is the trend of approaching mission schooling or education in general in terms of a balance-sheet of the 'goodness' or 'badness' done. This approach is often inspired

by the ideological assumption that the role of an historian is that of justifying attitudes or practices in history. Of course this is an oversimplification of the role of an historian. For the aim of an historical study is not a trial of the subjects or objects of a determined historical process, but the reconstruction of such a process as part of our present and future history. Thus, the most important thing is not what the missionaries have done well or what they have not done. From an historiographical point of view, these issues can easily be justified in different ways. The most important thing is the pattern of development they have produced or contributed to producing. In this perspective, a 'balance-sheet' form of analysis, or attempts to justify particular roles played in the historical process, become irrelevant.

Theoretical presuppositions

This study is designed to explain the origins of the present segregated schooling system. It argues that an understanding of the nature of the South African education system requires an examination of the segregationist structure produced by class struggle in the earlier periods of accumulation of mining capital. An additional aim is also an attempt to provide a new dimension to the approach of South African history of education. In this sense, it is also an investigation into new forms of analysing the history of education taking into account the

particularities of South African society. For this purpose, it draws on a body of educational theory produced within the debates reviewed in this introduction. Thus, central theoretical presuppositions are taken into consideration.

Firstly, the reproduction of relations of domination and subordination - including reproduction and control of labour, is not merely an economic process. It involves a dialectical interaction of political and ideological structures, what Molteno call the 'non-economic dimension'. It is at this ideological level that education operates. The way it contributes to the process depends upon many factors, but mainly on the level of development of the productive forces (for example, the pattern of labour force and the technology required for the productive process), social division of labour, forms of capital accumulation, the nature of the state and, in general, the course of the class struggle. For example, the role which a schooling system performs in the presence of a semi-proletariat or a class of migrant workers cannot be the same as that performed in the presence of a completely proletarianized working class.

The opposition revealed during the first two decades of the 20th century against any promotion of African education can to some extent be related to the predominance of a semi-proletariat amongst African workers. In the same way, the unprecedented noise on the need for development of 'Native education' produced

during the 1920s and 30s seems to have been a clear manifestation of the consciousness of the changing social conditions characterized by an emergence of a genuine black proletariat and the inadequacy of the existing instruments of social control. Thus, while educational institutions played a central role in the process of social control of the white working class and in the reproduction of the social division of labour which benefitted them, the same process regarding the black working class depended essentially upon segregationist policies and repressive institutions. A possible hypothesis is, thus, that the particular nature of the social and class relations produced under the pressure of the mining capital and the particular responses of the state to the economic and social forces have some bearing on the particular shaping of a segregated schooling system in South African education.

Secondly, for the purpose of this study, it is important to examine the relationship between the economy, state and education. The state during the period considered in this study was in the hands of the Milner 'reconstructionists', who ideologically expressed the interests of the mining industry, and the British imperial ideal. This analysis will provide some insights about how they justified the changes in schooling and how the ultimate shape taken by education/schooling was related to class struggle during the period of mining revolution.

A final remark relates to the conventional wisdom in approaching South African education. The conventional wisdom tended to compartmentalize education along the institutional racial lines ignoring the whole dynamic of the educational system, its interrelationships and interconnectedness. Education for Whites, 'Coloureds', Indians and Africans has been analysed as different and completely independent schooling systems. Thus, the interrelationships between them and the society have been glossed over and often ignored.[28] Furthermore, many of the young and progressive historians who, challenging the traditional White-sidedness in educational historiography, decided to redress the balance and put emphasis on black education, could not successfully break with the traditional methodological parameters.[29] Again, black schooling has been isolated in a tight compartment and its relationships with the whole educational edifice not adequately addressed. The problem here lies in the theoretical difficulty of how to conciliate the fundamental with the secondary issues which concern the object of study, as a totality. Once this problem is overcome the object of analysis would indeed become more intelligible.

The present study is also an attempt to overcome these handicaps. Education is viewed as a totality comprising of different elements which at the empirical level express themselves and function along racial lines but under the same dynamic of the social formation.

NOTES

1. Legassick, M. 'British Hegemony and the Origins of Segregation, 1901-1914', Collected Seminar Papers. Institute of Commonwealth Studies, University of London, February 1974, p. 1.

2. Ibid., p. 1.

3. Theoretically, revisionism was characterized by the use of historical materialism and Marxist political economy.

4. Johnstone, F.A. Class, Race and Gold. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, pp. 1-2.

5. For example, Alban Winter in Till Darkness Fell, House of Resurrection, 1962, p. 111 upholds the following position: "...I think that all the evils from which the African and the missionaries suffer today do not arise only from the present Nationalist Government with their policy of Apartheid. Far from it. The evil goes back into the far distant past and is due ultimately to a prejudice based on colour and a sense of racial superiority to which the northern European seems peculiarly susceptible". For Winter and many other missionaries involved in Mission schools, Africans were so different in standards of life, civilization and culture, that a 'degree of segregation was necessary'. For the second version see Murriel Horrel, Bantu Education to 1968. Johannesburg, SAIRR 1968 and The Education of the Coloured Community in South Africa 1652 to 1970. Johannesburg, SAIRR, 1970.

6. See the recent compilation of Kallaway, P. ed. Apartheid and Education. Ravan Press, 1984; and the debate which took place in the pages of Perspectives in Education and Africa Perspective.

7. See note 3.

8. Wolpe, H. "Capitalism and Cheap Labour in South Africa: from Segregation to Apartheid", Economy and Society, Vol. 1, No 4, 1972; Johnstone, F.A. "Class conflict and Colour Bars in the South African Gold Mining Industry, 1910-26". University of London, Institute of Commonwealth Studies, October 1969-April 1970; Trapido, S. "South Africa in a Comparative Study of Industrialization" Journal of Development Studies VII, 3, April 1971; Morris, M. "The Development of Capitalism in South Africa: Class Struggle in the Countryside", Economy and Society, Vol. 5, 3, 1976; Legassick, M. "South African Capital Accumulation and Violence", Economy and Society, Vol. 3, 3, 1974, etc.

9. Johnstone, F.A. 'Class Conflict and Colour Bars in the South African Gold Mining Industry, 1910-26'. Collected Seminar Papers, University of London, Institute of Commonwealth Studies, October 1969-April 1970. See also Johnstone, F.A. op. cit.

10. Ibid., p. 122.

11. Wolpe, H. 'Capitalism and Cheap Labour Power in South Africa: from Segregation to Apartheid', Economy and Society, Vol. 1, No 4, 1972.

12. Legassick, M. op. cit.; and Legassick, M. 'The Making of South African 'Native Policy', 1903-1923: the Origins of Segregation', Collected Seminar Papers, University of London, Institute of Commonwealth Studies, 1974; 'South Africa: Capital Accumulation and Violence' Economy and Society, 3, 3, 1974; and 'Gold, Agriculture and Secondary Industry, 1885-1970: from Periphery to Sub-Metropole as a Force Labour System', Palmer R. and Parsons, N. (eds). The Roots of Rural Poverty in Central and Southern Africa, Berkely: California University Press, 1977.

13. Legassick, M. 'The Making of South African 'Native Policy'... op. cit. p.1. In 'Gold, Agriculture... op. cit. pp. 177-178, Legassick puts the same argument in the following way: "The new circumstances required new institutions - and hence the Anglo-Boer War, the assumption of the British hegemony over South Africa, and the creation of a unified South African State - and new policies. In particular, new policies were required for the mobilization and control of black labour, policies which can be lumped under the general name of 'segregation'".

14. This thesis is convincingly supported by Patrick Harries in a number of articles on migrant labour in Southern Africa. See for example, Harries, P. "Marriage and migrants: the role of chiefs and elders in pre-colonial labour movements from Southern Mozambique to South Africa". University of London: School of Oriental and African Studies, African History Seminar Paper, 1979, p. 1.

15. Though it is recognized that the distinction made by Wolpe between the 'segregation period' and the 'apartheid period' is problematic, it is here used for systematic reasons.

16. Levin, E. 'Black Education, Class Struggle and the Dynamics of Change in South Africa since 1946', Africa Perspective, No 17, Spring 1980, p. 18.

17. Molteno, F. 'Historical Foundations of the Schooling of Black South Africans', Kallway, P. ed. Apartheid and Education, Johannesburg, Ravan Press, P. 59.

18. Chisholm, L. 'Class Practice, Racial Control: Education of the White working class on the Witwatersrand, 1886-1913'. Johannesburg: University of the Witwatersrand, July 1985 (mimeographed), p. 4.

19. Marks, S. and Trapido, S. 'Lord Milner and the South African State', History Workshop Journal, 1979, p. 63.

20. Ibid., p. 63.

21. Davies, R., Capital, State and White Labour in South Africa, 1900-1960. A Historical Materialist Analysis of Class Formation and Class Relations. Harvester, 1979, p. 112.

22. The relative independence of racial factors claimed by Posel needs clarification. Racial prejudices as such can be independent from the economic process. This is not the same as racial discrimination, i.e. discrimination based on grounds of colour and alledgedly justified on grounds of racial differences and racial prejudices. Racial discrimination cannot be independent from the existing social conditions and class relations.

23. Posel, D. "Rethinking the 'Race-Class Debate' in South African Historiography', Social Dynamics, 9, 1, 1983, pp. 52-55.

24. See Cross, M. 'A Historiographical Review of Education in South Africa: Towards an Assessment'. Johannesburg: University of the Witwatersrand, Seminar Paper, August 1985 (Memeographed), pp. 15-55.

25. The debate included writings of Peter Kallaway, Frank Molteno, Bill Nasson, Linda Chisholm, R. Levin, C.B. Collins, Pam Christie, T. Fluxman, K. Sole and others.

26. Althusser, L. 'Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses', Cosin, B.J. ed. Education, Structure and Society. Harmondsworth, Penguin, 1977. Bowles, S. and Gintis, H. Schooling in Capitalist America. London: RKP, 1979.

27. See Molteno, F. op. cit.; Cock, J. Maids and Madams. Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1980, p. 281; Majeke, H. The Role of the Missionaries in Conquest. Cape Town: SOYA, 1952.

28. See for example Horrel, M. The Education of the Coloured Community in South Africa, 1652 to 1970. SAIRR, 1970 and Bantu Education to 1968. SAIRR, 1968; or Behr, E.H. Three Centuries of Coloured Education in the Cape and Transvaal, 1652-1923. Ph.D. Thesis. Potchefstroom University, 1952.

29. See for example, Kallaway, P. ed. Apartheid and Education. Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1984. For a more detailed discussion of this issue see Cross, M. op. cit. pp. 19-24.

CHAPTER 1

SOCIAL AND IDEOLOGICAL BASES OF RACIAL SEGREGATION

The transformation from the 19th century rural-feudal Transvaal into the 20th century industrial province was intimately bound up with the course of the mining revolution on the Rand. An accelerated change of the organic composition of capital took place while a large sector of the productive process increasingly lost its labour-intensive base to depend on a capital-intensive base. Therefore, large amounts of capital had to be invested, a pressure which the small companies could hardly or simply could not successfully respond to. Consequently, by the early 1980s, the ownership of the gold mines had become concentrated in the hands of a few groups of capitalist entrepreneurs. A rapid centralization of control had also taken place, being expressed in the constitution of common-interest organizations dealing with major problems concerning the mining industry. The most important example of these organizations is the Chamber of Mines founded as early as 1887, co-ordinating the policies and work of labour recruiting agencies, the Witwatersrand Native Labour Association (1896) and the Native Recruiting Corporation (1912).[1]

Those who have examined the roots of mining industry development have convincingly argued that the rapid centralization and concentration of mining capital which led to the monopolization

of the mining sector, was catalized by three main factors: i) the geological nature of the gold fields, with a low average of ore and with the vast bulk of the ore deep underground; ii) the fixed price of gold in the world market which the mining capitalist could not easily influence; and iii) the increasing grievances expressed by the working class, particularly white workers who demonstrated a high level of political militancy and organization, partly inherited from the 19th century tradition of the British working class.[2]

The geological nature of the gold fields required the abandonment of the exhausted outcrop grounds and the resort to deep-level mining which in turn required supplementary investment of capital and a higher degree of mechanization and skilled labour. The costs of production could not be compensated by the profit extracted at the expense of variables such as the price of gold or the cheapness of machinery. The only variable which could be successfully pressurized in order to raise the rate of profit was labour. Thus, concentration became a necessary requirement in order to cope with the general costs determined by deep-level mining and centralization was also required to influence variables like labour and so minimize the costs of production, and keep or raise the rate of profit. The import of Chinese labour and the labour contracts signed with the neighbouring countries were part of these efforts.[3]

However, the task of reducing labour costs was not an easy one. The social composition of labour in the mines created some difficulties. An overwhelming majority of black unskilled migrant workers worked side by side with a small but politically active section of white skilled or semi-skilled workers. While black workers suffered from tribal and other constraints typical of a peasant society which inhibited significant organizational effort against injustices and repression in the mines, the highly proletarianized section of white workers had already relatively experienced forms of organization. White workers rapidly became an important militant force and an obstacle against the policies of the Chamber of Mines which attempted reduction of wages.[4]

This characteristic of Mine labour favoured a particular development of class and social relations. White workers tended to differentiate and define their class interests on racial lines, regarding their fellow black workers as potential competitors. Their grievances were directed against black workers. The response by State and capital reflected this reality. Colour was seen as a criterion of access to rights, power and status, through which whites occupied elite status and superordinate positions in the social division of labour. By contrast, African workers were kept at the opposite pole as a cheap and rightless labour force. Thus, as Johnstone has pointed out, "white labour's claims to rights on grounds of colour legitimized the denial of rights to others on grounds of

colour".[5] The legacy of colour prejudices which accompanied previous colonial practices, inspired by theories of social darwinism or other factors were revitalized and formalized in the form of job colour bars. The policies and ideologies produced within this development constituted a legalized system of race discrimination, known as 'segregation'.

It is not argued here that forms of racial discrimination or segregation did not exist before the mining industry revolution. Discrimination on grounds of colour as a form of state policy had been incorporated for example in the Constitution of the South African Republic. The distinguishing feature here is that the policy of racial segregation as an all-embracing strategy was assumed as a necessary ideological base for capitalist development in South Africa. The institutional barriers imposed to regulate labour relations in the mines were simultaneously or gradually extended to almost all spheres of social life.

Development of the mining industry had a profound impact in the countryside. Here property relations were radically changed. Increased mercantilization of land as the major source of profit from agriculture led to a rapid accumulation of land among Afrikaner notables and the spread of landlessness among their clients. This process, accelerated by the involvement of speculative land companies, contributed to the proletarianization of large sections of the Afrikaner population, producing the

so-called 'poor white problem'.[7] Peasant commercial production stimulated by the gold-mines' need for cheap food increased until it was strangled by the mine-labour policy and mainly by the Land Act of 1913, which entrenched segregation in the countryside.[8] Thus, a large sector of African peasants was drawn into migrant labour in the gold fields. White tenants deprived of land and jobs flew onto the gold fields where few could get jobs as unskilled workers.[9] With the penetration and development of capitalist social relations in the countryside racial segregation increasingly became a dominant policy.[10]

The process outlined here has been extensively studied.[11] In this chapter I shall concentrate on those issues which have affected the building up of a new educational system based on racial segregation. I shall specifically examine the ideological background which inspired and directed the implementation of the policies of racial segregation in education. Ideally, this analysis would involve an examination of the Milner State and its reconstruction policy, ideology and views expressed by the leadership of the mining industry, missionary societies and other social forces. However, I shall focus only on Milner's reconstruction policy, leaving other issues for further research. This will provide some insights into the particular way the schooling system was moulded. A brief reference is made to the transitional crisis caused by the South African war and its implications.

1) The South African War and Regional Implications for Education, 1899-1902.

Many factors have been listed as constituting the causes which led to the conflagration of the major military confrontation in the history of South Africa, the South African War, traditionally known as the Ango-Boer War. Among these are: i) the insecurity of Britain over the gold reserve; ii) the squeeze on British manufacturing markets and the insecurity over the future of the subcontinent; iii) the 'inefficiency' of the South African Republican regime in promoting interests of the mining industry in the Transvaal; iv) the commitment to the Cecil Rhodes' idea of a large colonial empire from Southern to Northern Africa, etc ...[12]

For the purpose of this study, a particular emphasis is placed on those who played a fundamental role, and who, consequently, have inspired and conditioned the policy of reconstruction. These are related to the clash between two totally different modes of production and contradictory relations of production: the existing feudal and communal modes of production and the emerging capitalist mode of production.[13] By the 1890s, the capitalist mode of production had already developed a strong economic base and social relations which were not followed by the building up of suitable political and ideological apparatuses. It also required an expansion of its social base. And all these needs could not be met through a

simple 'modernization' of the feudal state of the South African Republic. On the other hand, the eruption of the social base of the ZAR state under the pressure of mining capital and its new social relations had increasingly undermined its internal mechanisms of reproduction. An example of this distortion is the increasing proletarianization of the clients and their migration to the towns, capitalization of the notables through the speculative business of land, and consequently the disruption of the economic, social and ideological base of the quasi-feudal social order. Of significant importance, was also the disruption of servitude, with African servants/slaves becoming squatters and some of them being drawn into the migrant labour circuit, following the changing of market relations, property relations among other factors. Other contradictions between the two modes of production were manifested at the level of political and administrative activity, particularly labour policy accompanying the growing demands of the mining capital. About this, in 1901, Milner has put his view clearly: "It would not be easy to exaggerate the evils of the old system, the confusion, the demoralization, the injustice to natives, and the loss to employers ..."[14] In summary, these were the internal and fundamental contradictions which, associated with the factors inherent to British imperialism at the time, led to the eruption of the South African war.

This argument is supported by the thesis formulated by Legassick in a debate involving Simons and Blainey,[15] according

to which the South African War constitutes a particular form of a capitalist revolution, a vertical capitalist revolution:

> "The war...was not a necessary manifestation of British imperialism, but a crucial part of social transformation in South Africa: capitalist revolution made from above and not in a situation where the internal capitalist forces could achieve such a transformation".[16]

As any other revolutionary war, the South African war was highly destructive. Its consequences cannot be sufficiently reconstituted in this study. Sketchily, it is known that before the war the mines produced up to half a million ounces of gold reduced to 180,000 ounces after the war. There should be roughly 125,000 African workers on the Reef, whereas after the war there were 25,000, the rest having refused to return because of a sharp reduction of wages.[17]

The South African war was a cause of great disruption in educational work. As soon as the war broke out, all British subjects were ordered out of the country. The exodus included the missionaries attached to the several British societies and responsible to some Mission schools on the Rand. All the British missions were affected, but the missions of other missionary societies did not escape from feeling the effects of the war. For example, the Wesleyans had to close Kilnerton Training Institution, near Pretoria, which re-opened in 1903.[18] The African ministers who took over the mission work were hampered, as they could not freely move about.[19] In towns a few

schools, largely Catholic, were open, but the majority closed.

The situation was aggravated by the fact that the whole region was recovering from the great Rinderpest epidemic of 1897, which brought about the ruin of many farmers and peasants and caused shortages of meat and milk. In 1897, numbers of Sisters involved in education dropped rapidly and the drop was increased by the outbreak of an unspecified illness among the inhabitants of Barbeton, from which many died.[20]

The crucial implications of this profound social and economic change brought about by the war was the need for a re-adjustment of the whole superstructure to the level of development of the productive forces and the social relations of production, including education or the schooling system which had to play an important role. While the central needs were contained in the contradictions which determined the South African war, the principles and the course which the post-war process has taken was bound up with the course of the class struggle. In the following section, I shall examine the main ideological bases and principles of the reconstruction policy with particular reference to education. It will be demonstrated that although segregationist practices characterized Afrikaner life and were already vaguely incorporated in some legislative statutes, the shaping of the policy of segregation as a strategy of economic and social development and its incorporation in the educational system was the result of the post-South African War process,

which accompanied the mining revolution. Racial segregation appeared in the minds of its protagonists as transcending all the 'assimilative' or 'repressive' policies of previous years in the Cape, Natal and Transvaal and as an appropriate policy to the conditions of capitalist economic growth.[21]

2) The Milner State and Reconstruction Policy

It was during the reconstruction period (1902-1924) that many of the guidelines of twentieth-century segregationist policies were set out, both in relation to town and countryside. As Marks and Trapido have argued, these policies have to be related "not only to Milner's particular world-view... but also to the far wider set of assumptions held by the British rulers of South Africa at the beginning of the 20th century and their interaction with local conditions".[22] The reconstruction regime had to set up an adequate policy which could respond to the contradictions which had determined the war and crisis. It had to meet the needs of capitalist economic growth covering different spheres of social activity such as the labour supply, education, mitigation of the growing social conflict, promotion of the interests of the British imperialism, etc. Racial segregation immediately emerged as the main strategy in all these spheres.

A wide debate took place in the existing newspapers, through the publication of pamphlets, and in the new journals and associations formed at the time. Colonial conferences also contributed to the debate. Periodicals which played a considerable role included the South African Mining Journal/South African Mines, Commerce and Industries (SAMJ/SA Mines), The State (1908-1912), the African Monthly (1906-1910), and such papers as Transvaal Leader and Cape Times. Legassick refers also to the role played by existing societies and organizations as the South African Philosophical Society, the Transvaal Philosphical Society, the Closer Union Societies, The Transvaal Native Affairs Society (formed in 1908) and the Natal Native Affairs Reform Society (formed in 1909).[23] In addition, sources produced by missionaries and education authorities at least influenced the educational policy. A wide range of knowledge and information also came from British and American sources. I shall discuss some of the major issues raised in this debate, starting from Milner's thought which seems to have played a central role.

Three main areas were of major concern to Milner: i) the British settlement in the Transvaal with its political, economic and social implications; ii) the Dutch-English confict; iii) 'native policy' embracing all the matters concerning Black people. Two main principles assume an outstanding importance in Milner's policy. Firstly, there is an underlying assumption that any policy or development should incorporate the principle

that South Africa is 'a white man's country' (in the 'sane meaning' that 'white man should rule' on the only ground of his 'superior civilization'). Secondly, related to the principle of White supremacy, there is an explicit directive that the British section of the population should play a dominant role in the society.[24] Both principles were largely shared by the British-dominated mining sector.

Milner viewed as the first priority in the reconstruction process the consolidation of British dominance and predominance through promotion of British settlement. An adequate policy in this direction would ensure 'not only a majority of British' but with a 'fair margin' compared with Afrikaner population. For him:

> A healthy social and political condition of South Africa would be the following: assuming that 60 per cent of the white population will shortly be industrial and commercial, and 40 per cent agricultural, then I should like to see 45 out of 60 British and 15 Dutch, 15 out of the 40 British and 25 Dutch. The former proportion will accomplish itself.[25]

It is assumed that the majority of the British population should control industry and commerce, and the Afrikaner population should remain a majority in agriculture.[27] However, British settlement had to be conducted in a selective way. Milner pointed out that "We do not want a white proletariat in this country".[28] British settlement should be promoted by attracting 'settlers of superior class'. If any workers had to be attracted, these should be those who could fit into the skilled labour

market available. As early as 1900, Milner proclaimed that "The unskilled labour of this country must be black".[29] He was positively opposed to the employment of white labour in unskilled work: "...development required capital; we have capital, but it also requires a large amount of rough labour. And that labour cannot, to any great extent, be white, if only because, pending development and the subsequent reduction in the cost of living, white labour is much too dear",[30]

Milner's views on education reflected the same preoccupations and a permanent obsession with the growing Afrikaner nationalism which appeared as a potential threat against his imperial ideal. Milner's aim was the anglicization of the Boer society through a state controlled schooling system, on the English public school pattern. The teaching of history and the question of the medium of instruction were particularly mentioned in his speeches. In 1900, he said: "My view is that any school relying upon aid from the State should not only teach English, but make English the medium of instruction in all but elementary classes".[31] History, "another thing of greatest importance", he proceeded, should include "British history and the growth of the Empire" which 'would be of immense use' and not only concentration "on Majuba with a little Jameson Raid", topics which had some bearing on Afrikaner nationalism.[32]

This approach was positively supported by the Council of Education, Witwatersrand, founded in 1895 and by the dominant mining sector. However, in the mining sector demands were made

on largely different but complementary grounds. It was argued that the skilled white workman was 'likely to be the chief factor in a permanent white population' and that 'the most effective way to maintain the ascendancy of the white man was by his higher technical education'.[33] Formal schooling in general was seen as an implication of the technical education for white miners: "The days of the rule of thumb miner are passing and the old maxim that 'trades cannot be taught in a school', has been supplemented by at least equally true one that 'trades cannot be taught without a school'".[34] More important was the assumption that "industrial expansion unaccompanied by perfected elementary, secondary and higher education, would never make South Africa self-supporting".[35] Commenting on the Education Department Report for 1903, the South African Mines, Commerce and Industries (SAMCI) accused the Government of "paying too much for police and too little for pedagogics". Schooling was clearly assumed as a more effective and necessary mechanism of social control than the police, i.e. the repressive institutions:

> It is painfully manifest nevertheless, that precious years are not bringing educational facilities adequate for the children of all classes, without which Lord Milner and his administration cannot rely upon the permanency of their structure. The South African Constabulary was a war time product. (...) More schools, more farm schools which have graduated men as able as those of the lecture room, schools supported by local and general taxation if need be, will minimize the demand later on for barracks.[36]

'Native policy' appeared to Milner as a separate area which required a differential treatment. Labour problems, the question

of the franchise, political and civil rights, and education were among the central components of 'native policy'. For Milner and his Administration the only form of labour for blacks should be unskilled labour. Franchise for all Africans was out of the question. The suggestion of the enfranchisement of 'natives qualified by education' made in 1899 by Mr Chamberlain and existent in the Cape Colony was ruled out. This was delayed until the Constitution of the Union excluded Africans.[37]

The most important element for the formulation of 'native policy' was Milner's idea that 'civilization' should be 'the test of a man's capacity for political rights'.[38] It was extensively discussed in a historical speech well-known as the 'Watch Tower Speech'. One can say that philosophical grounds for racial segregation were here provided:

> What is the good... of perpetually going on shouting that this is a white man's country? Does it mean that it is a country only inhabited by white man? That, of course, is an obvious absurdity, as the blacks outnumber us five to one. Does it mean a country which ought only to be inhabited by white men? Well, as an ideal that would possibly be all very well, but as a practical statement it surely is perfectly useless. If it means anything, it means that we ought to try and expel the black population, thereby instantly ruining all the industries of the country. What it does mean, I suppose, if any sane meaning can be applied to it, is that white man should rule. Well, if that is its meaning, there is nobody more absolutely agreed with it than I; but then let us say that plainly, and do not let us only say it, but let us justify it. There is only one ground on which we can justify it, and that is the ground of superior civilization.
> The white man must rule, because he is elevated by many, many steps above the black man; steps which it will take the latter centuries to climb, and which it is quite possible that the vast bulk of the black population may never be able to climb if at all. But then, if we justify, what I believe we hold to, the necessity of the rule of the white man by his superior civilization, what does that involve? Does it involve an attempt to keep a black man always at the very low level of civilization at which he is today? I believe you will all reject such an idea. One of the strongest arguments why the white man must rule is because that is the only possible means of gradually raising the black man, not to our level of civilization - which it is doubtful whether

> he would ever attain - but up to a much higher level than that which he at present occupies.
> But if you are going to defend white supremacy on this ground, and if at the same time you recognise, as I believe you do, the duty and wisdom of doing everything you can to raise the black man as far as he can be raised, what is the consequence? Is it not a consequence of taking your ground on the firm and inexpugnable ground of colour, that if a black man one in a thousand - perhaps it would be more correct to say one in a hundred thousand - raises himself to a white level of civilization - I will not speak now of the very highest level attained by white, because a black man getting to that level is at present entirely out of sight in South Africa, but to the average white level - should not his treatment be that which accord to a white man, because you justify your special treatment of white men by a civilization to which, ex hypothesi, he has attained?[39]

One would expect a promotion of a 'civilized franchise through an eventual expansion of education. However, this is assumed as an extreme exception. A white man as a ruler has to play the role of 'gradually raising' the black man, not to a white level of civilization, i.e. the level of a 'civilized franchise' but 'up to a much higher level than that which he at present occupies'.

For "South Africa must be ruled by voters of European descent. The political influence of the civilized native can never, within any distance of time which it is profitable to contemplate, be allowed to preponderate in the government of South Africa... The white race must retain the responsibility of government because of its superior intellectual endowment..."[40] Thus, if the black man could never be allowed to preponderate, institutions should be created to keep him at the lowest level.

In so far as education - as an instrument of civilization - is concerned, this would require a different and racialist treatment of 'native education'. In a letter despatched to Mr Chamberlain and Sir Lagden and other members of his Administration in 1901, Milner shared the same view: "I think... that much more should be done for the education of the natives than

has ever yet been attempted in the Transvaal. I do not mean that they should be educated like Europeans, for their requirements and capacities are very different, but that they should be trained and develop their natural aptitudes for their own good and that of the community".[41] Neither Milner nor the Rand magnates had seen any relevant connection between African education or schooling with the labour requirements in the mining sector. While for example schooling for whites had been assumed as a necessary step for technical training according to the industrial requirements for skilled labour, African education was only to resolve problems arising out of the contact between a white employer and a black employee and other sorts of labour relations.

The mining sector assumed a more negative position regarding African education. The dominant position was that African education would result from the labour relations as such. In 1903, the SAMCI, made the point that "a course of six or twelve months labour on the Rand was the easiest and most profound education that can be afforded to the native."[42] There, it reads, "he learns the value of discipline, regularity, and the ways of the white man", and an African trained to mine work was "a better animal and a better man at the end of his term than he was when he began".[43] Of course, these statements are not merely ideological prescriptions. To some extent they reflected the particular conditions of the labour market for African labour as perceived by the dominant capitalist forces. With the

increasing obstacles imposed by the State, employment for Africans were only open in the following fields: domestic service, industry, municipal employment and others. In every case they performed almost exclusively unskilled roles. They were everywhere, lifting, carrying, shovelling, wrapping, and as Ray Philips has pointed out, "performing the manual tasks, and generally with that disarming genial goodnature which leads many whites to conclude that they are quite satisfied with what they get in the way of wages, food, and quarters".[44] When it comes to skilled or semi-skilled employment, there were quite a few outlets outside of teaching in the mission schools, police and subordinate clerks in the Government, Municipal and Native Affairs Departments, compounds, etc.[45] Excepting for these forms of work, development of basic operative skills, attitudes and behaviour would be the central requirements for the training or education of Africans.

Milner did not hope to cover all spheres of activity and bring clear-cut formulas for all the problems of reconstruction. Contradictions produced by the war and the complexity of the inherited institutions and structures, required a profound and long reflection. At most, what he could expect was to create an intellectual climate and a basis to support this climate in order to encourage legislation and administration along desirable lines in the future. The starting point was necessarily the elaboration of a 'native policy' and its translation into appropriate legislation.[46] John Buchan had put it clearly in 1903:

> It remains to consider the forms in which they (the economic and political problems) present themselves to the ordinary man... to one section of the community the labour problem is the sole one, to another the educational, to a third the social. It is necessary to realise that all are part of one question, and that no single one can be truly solved unless the whole ('native policy') is dealt with.[47]

At the Intercolonial Conference of 1903, Milner introduced the 'native question'. He appointed the South African Native Affairs Commission (SANAC) under the chairmanship of Sir Godfrey Lagden, who served as Resident Commissioner in Basutoland. This Commission reported in February 1905 and proposed many aspects of what was to emerge as the policy of racial segregation. It viewed racial segregation as the basis for an adequate 'native policy'. Though not advocating total segregation or separation, it suggested racially exclusive occupation of land areas, separate political representation of blacks and whites. It advocated a policy of gradual and 'assisted evolution' to facilitate the development of Africans in a way which could not merge too closely into European life.

In the sphere of education, the main question posed by SANAC was whether education as a development of the intellectual faculties by literary instruction had militated against the African's usefulness as a productive force or had had the effect of making him/her more productive?[48] It concluded that while in some cases it had had "the effect of creating in the Natives an aggressive spirit, arising no doubt from an exaggerated sense of individual self-importance, which renders them less docile and

less disposed to be contented...had had generally a beneficial influence...by raising the level of their intelligence and by increasing their capacity as workers..."[49]

Sanctioning the principle of racial separation of schools, and the principle that African education should be resolved into a system of State-aided Mission schools, SANAC made three main recommendations: i) the continuance of Government grants in aid of African elementary education: ii) the establishment of grants in aid system to support mission schools and institutions providing industrial training; iii) the establishment of a central institution for training of African teachers and in order to afford opportunities for post-primary education to African children.[50] Besides the principle of racial separation implicitly embodied in SANAC's proposals, it was also recommended that as the great demand of South Africa was for unskilled or partially skilled labour, instructions in manual labour should constitute the basis of African education. For it has the "particular advantage...in fitting him (the African) for his position in life".[51] The Commission urged also that Africans receiving educational facilities for themselves or their children should contribute towards the cost by payment of fees or local rate.[52] Compulsory education was not recommended nor was it considered advisable.[53]

In summary, beyond minor divergences of opinion, the dominant trend amongst Administration officials and even amongst

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In summary, beyond minor divergences of opinion, the dominant trend amongst Administration officials and even amongst

some influential missionaries tended to create a climate favourable to the improvement of education for whites and restriction of education for blacks. This ideological environment was strengthened by the publication of the report of the Transvaal Indigency Commission in 1908, suggesting further discriminatory policies.

The importance of the Transvaal Indigency Commission (TIC) report lies in the fact that it provided the central economic, social and ideological grounds for the implementation of segregationist policy enacted by the Education Act of 1907. Thus, the main problem faced in the Transvaal, particularly on the Rand, was the 'poor white problem', i.e. the problem created by the growing number of those whites "who though able-bodied, are not competent to do skilled or semi-skilled work, and are unable to obtain employment in rough manual labour in competition with the native".[54] It was argued that white labour was very inefficient and required a high scale of wages as compared to the African labour, and, for this reason, whites could not get unskilled employment and, so, became indigent.[55] At the same time, it was argued, blacks (including and mainly coloured and indians) were beginning to intrude upon the field of skilled work narrowing the skilled labour market for whites and thus reinforcing the potential threat of white indigency.[56] Thus, the Commission recommended that the virtual monopoly of the unskilled labour market by blacks and the gradual encroachment, as they became more educated, on the skilled and semi-skilled jobs must be

prevented 'by the white man himself' with the assistance of the Government.[57]

Among the racially discriminatory measures suggested by the Commission, of particular relevance was the improvement of education of whites on the lines of the Education Act of 1907. Indigency, it was argued, is "almost invariably the product of lack of education or some weakness of character. The only way of affecting a permanent improvement in the conditions in which most indigents live is to correct the weakness of character or to make good the deficiency in education or training which is the real cause of their poverty".[58] Though no specific recommendations were made regarding education for blacks, the central implication of the Report was that it could not be placed on the same footing as that for whites.

In conclusion, it was shown in this chapter how the changing social and economic conditions were accompanied by an ideological climate which directly or indirectly favoured the policies of racial segregation as the appropriate solution for the growing needs and contradictions determined by capitalist development on the Rand. It became clear that racial segregation as a policy was not a mere eventuality emerging from cultural or racial prejudices, but a systematic body of ideas arising out of a conscious and articulated debate. In the following chapters I shall analyse the main stages and the form in which the policy of racial segregation was implemented in education.

NOTES

1. Johnstone, F.A. "Class Conflict and Colour Bar in the South African Gold Mining Industry, 1910-26. Collected Seminar Papers, University of London, Institute of Commonwealth Studies, October 1969-April 1970, pp. 113-114. See also Jeeves, A.H. Migrant Labour in South Africa's Mining Economy, The Struggle for the Gold Mines' Labour Supply, 1890-1920. Johannesburg: University of the Witwatersrand Press, 1985, pp. 6-13.

2. It is not meant that the militancy of the white working class was merely a product of British tradition. The struggle on the gold fields was essentially determined and stimulated by local conditions (the increasing proletarianization - the poor white problem, mining capital policies, etc.).

3. Johnstone, F.A. op. cit. p. 113.

4. Ibid., p. 116.

5. Ibid., p. 122.

6. See Rich, P. "Landscape, Social Darwinism and the Cultural Roots of South African Racial Ideology", Collected Seminar Papers. University of London, Institute of Commonwealth Studies, 1983.

7. Malherbe, E.G. provides a summary-description of this process in "Education and the Poor White", South African Journal of Science, Vol. XXVI, pp. 888-903, December 1929.

8. See Morris, M. "The Development of Capitalism in South Africa: Class Struggle in the Countryside", Economy and Society, Vol. 5, (3) 1976; Bundy, C. The Rise and Fall

of the South African Peasantry. London: Heineman, 1979. The former articulates the thesis that the squatting system was a transitional phase in the process of the change of social relations in the countryside. The latter shows how the first impact of capital resulted in a temporary progress of peasant commercial production until it was undermined by the expansion of reserve system (Land Act 1913).

9. Van Onselen, C. Studies in the Social and Economic History of the Witwatersrand, 1886-1914. 1 New Babylon. Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1982, p. 8.

10. The Native Lands Act 27/1913 scheduled certain areas as African Reserves and laid down that no African could henceforth purchase or occupy land outside the Reserves. Whites were also prohibited from buying or occupying land in the Reserves. It was clearly stated in Parliament, at the time, that the purpose of the Act was to ensure territorial segregation of the races. Since then the Act has been regarded as the cornerstone of territorial segregation. Another interpretation came with Wilson in 1971 and Legassick in 1972, according to which the Act was an attempt to minimize the shortage of labour on White farms and to prevent Africans from re-purchasing European owned land which had been acquired by conquest. There is no contradiction between both interpretations. (Harold Wolpe, "Capitalism and Cheap Labour-Power in South Africa: from Segregation to Apartheid", Economy and Society, Vol. 1, 4, 1972, pp. 436-437).

11. Besides the references already made see also: Yudelman, D. The Emergence of Modern South Africa. London: Greenwood Press, 1983; Levy, N. "The State, Mineowners and Labour Regulation in the Transvaal, 1887-1906", Collected Seminar Papers. University of London, Institutes of Commonwealth Studies, 1980.

12. Marks, S. and Trapido, S. "Lord Milner and the South African State", History Workshop Journal, No. 8, 1979, p. 53.

13. For communal mode of production it is meant African mode of production. See Coquery-Vidrovitch, C. "Recherches sur un mode de production africain", La Pensée, 144. Paris: Editions Sociales, 1969.

14. Letter from Lord Milner to Mr Chamberlain, 6.12.1901. In Headlam, C. ed. The Milner Papers, South Africa 1899-1905, Vol. II. London: Cassey & Company, 1933, p. 307.

15. Simons, H.J. and R.E. Class and Colour in South Africa, 1850-1950. Harmondsworth, 1969; Blainey, G. "Lost Causes of the Jameson Raid", Economic History Review, Vol. 18, 1965, pp. 350-366.

16. Legassick, M. "South African Capital Accumulation and Violence", Economy and Society, Vol. 3, 3, 1974, p. 260.

17. Winter, A. Till darkness fell. House of Resurrection, 1962, p. 2.

18. Achterberg, N.D. A Survey of Native Education in the Transvaal. Ph.D. thesis. University of South Africa, 1927, pp. 66-67.

19. Smurthwaite, A.G. The Private Education of English-speaking Whites in South Africa. M.Ed. thesis. Rhodes University, 1981, p. 177.

20. Ibid., p. 89.

21. This argument is articulated by M. Legassick in "The Making of South African 'Native Policy', 1903-1923: the Origins of 'Segregation' ", Collected Seminar Papers. University of London: Institute of Commonwealth Studies, 1974. Legassick reacts against those who see an actual or potential contradiction between segregation and economic growth. I would argue that the process of ideological reformulation as P. Rich has read in the works of Wolpe and his followers or a simple shaping and expansion of the mining ideology. There was a conjunction of factors which cannot be completely explored in this work (Rich, P. op. cit., p. 2).

22. Marks, S. and Trapido, S. op. cit., p. 72.

23. Legassick, M. "The Making of South African 'Native Policy' ..." op. cit., p. 5.

24. Headlam, C. ed. op. cit.

25. Ibid., p. 242. Memorandum. Sir A. Milner to Major Hanbury Williams, 27.12.1900.

26. Ibid., p. 242.

27. Ibid., p. 242.

28. Interview. Sir A. Milner to a Deputation from White League, 1903. Headlam, C. ed. op. cit., p. 459.

29. Sir A. Milner to Mr Chamberlain, 9.5.1900 . Ibid., p. 144.

30. Interview. Sir A. Milner to a Deputation from White League, 1903. Ibid., p. 459.

31. Sir A. Milner to General Pretyman, Government House, Cape Town, 20.6.1900. Ibid., p. 133.

32. Ibid., p. 133.

33. The South African Mines, Commerce and Industries, April 27, 1907, p. 162.

34. Ibid., p. 162.

35. The South African Mines, Commerce and Industries, June 4, 1904: "More Schools, Less Police".

36. Ibid.

37. Memorandum. Mr Chamberlain to Sir A. Milner, 6.12.1899. Headlam, C. ed. op. cit., p. 41. A letter despatched by Kitchner on March 7 1901 stating the position of the HM Government, reads: "As regards the extension of the franchise to Kaffirs in the Transvaal and Orange River Colonies, it is not the intention of HM Government to give such franchise before representative government is granted to those colonies, and if then given, it will be so limited as to secure the just predominance of the white race. The legal position of coloured persons will however be so similar to that which they hold in the Cape Colony", Headlam, C. ed. op. cit., p. 213.

38. When on Jan 1901, a deputation representing over 100 000 coloured su s in the Western Province approached Sir A. Milner to assure him of their loyalty to the Queen and of their confidence that he would always promote the welfare of the 'coloured population' throughout SA, in his reply, he said that he "throughly agreed that it was not race or colour, but civilization, which was the test of a man's capacity for political rights".

39. The "Watch Tower Speech". Headlam, C. ed. op. cit., p. 467 (1903). The value of this speech is in the fact that it was mainly addressed to the liberal opposition in his administration.

40. Milner, 1903. Quoted by Legassick, M. "The Making of South African 'Native Policy', 1903-1923: The Origins of 'Segregation'". University of London: ICS, 1974.

41. Lord Milner to Mr Chamberlain. Despatch, 6.12.1901. Headlam, C. ed. op. cit., p. 307.

42. The South African Mines, Commerce and Industries, March 14, 1903, p. 3.

43. Ibid., p. 37.

44. Philips, R.E. The Bantu in the City, A Study of Cultural Adjustment on the Witwatersrand. Lovedale Press, 1938, pp. 12-13.

45. Ibid., p. 13. See also Kagan, N. African Settlement in the Johannesburg Area, 1903-1923. MA thesis. University of the Witwatersrand, 1978, p. 12.

46. A 'Native Policy' for African people was common in all African colonial territories. The distinguishing feature was however the dominance of racialist policies in South Africa.

47. Buchan, J. The African Colony: Studies in Reconstruction. London: 1903, p. 288.

48. South African Native Affairs Commission Report 1903-1905, p. 67.

49. Ibid., p. 67.

50. Ibid., p. 72.

51. Ibid., p. 72.

52. Ibid., p. 72.

53. Ibid., p. 71.

54. Transvaal Indigency Commission, 1906-08, p. 4.

55. Ibid., pp. 25-26.

56. Ibid., p. 26.

57. Ibid., p. 43.

58. Ibid., p. 5.

CHAPTER II

STATE INTERVENTION AND ENTRENCHMENT OF SEGREGATION IN EDUCATION, 1902-1907/10

The South African Republic declared in its Grondwet or Constitution that there would be no equality between whites and blacks.[1] Accordingly, blacks were totally excluded from the franchise. However, no specific legislation on these lines existed to discriminate against blacks in education, though the majority for different reasons attended the few mission schools established in the Transvaal. The only piece of legislation which remotely approaches this subject is a Government Notice of the 26th October 1860 designed to bring every missionary society under all the existing and future laws, but which made no provision on the desirable work to be done specifically for African children.[2] An utmost variety could be found in Mission schools at this stage; there was variety in method and aim; variety in the curriculum and subjects of instruction; variety in the composition of the pupils. Generally, the subjects of instruction included: Scripture, the Cathechism, Reading, Writing, Arithmetic and Singing. In some cases, geography and physical sciences were taught. While some insisted on a thorough religious education, others took a broader view and included many secular subjects.[3]

The most important feature for this study was the fact that no provision was made to prevent black students from attending the same schools with white or mixed children. By 1896, there were four private schools in Johannesburg which were attended by white as well as black children. One of these schools was the Perseverance School. Another mixed school was St. Cyprians School, opened in 1890. It was closed during the war and re-opened by the sisters of St. Margaret of East Grinstead. By the end of the 1890s, Government subsidy for some of these schools began to be restricted on racial grounds.[4]

However, it was not until the end of the South African War that the Transvaal authorities decided to intervene and gradually institutionalize separation of the schooling system along racial lines. On the 6th November 1900, Mr Sargent was appointed Acting Director for the Orange River Colony and the Transvaal, with the task of re-organizing the educational system.[5] By this stage the enrolment in the Transvaal European schools was just over 17 000 children and when peace was signed in May 1902, there were 26 436 children in the European schools.[6] The number of white children in Government schools in Johannesburg and on the Rand was estimated at 9 000, and the increase is related to the provision of free primary education introduced by the Government of the Transvaal Colony for white children since the beginning of 1901. It is also due to the efforts made by the Council of Education, Witwatersrand towards the development of private schools for white children on the

Rand. It is estimated that nearly 6 000 had been gathered into Government schools on the Witwatersrand in 1901, but nearly 2 000 were not attending school.[7]

The fact that the initiative of introducing free primary education was taken during the war can be interpreted as aimed at promoting Milner's imperialist policy towards the Dutch people. Many English and Dutch children were for military reasons gathered into concentration camps where education was supposed to play an important social and political role. In a letter to Lord Milner despatched on the 14th June 1901, Sargent confessed himself that "Our policy has gathered the greater part of the child population into these camps... I feel that the opportunity during the next year of getting them all to speak English is golden".[8] It can also be interpreted as the beginning of a racially exclusivist policy in education, which began to take shape mainly in 1903. The Secretary of Native Affairs in his later report for 1905-6 declared that in the same year discussions took place on the destiny of African education: "the question of Native education has occupied my attention since 1901, when it formed the subject of many conferences between myself and the then Director of Education, Mr Sargent. It was then resolved to adopt the policy common to South Africa of subsidizing native schools through the various missionary denominations in the country".[9]

Two important steps were taken in February 1903. The first was the passing of the First Education Ordinance in February 1903, wherein provision was made for education of African children. It represents the first effort to re-organize education after the war, introducing a controlled schooling system for white children (structures, control, training and upgrading of teachers).[10] Implicitly, the principle of racially separate schools was introduced. Thus, when in April of the same year, an Asiatic, Dr. M.A. Pereira asked Sir A. Milner to allow his children to attend a shcool for Whites, the request was turned down. Emphasis was laid on the necessity for improving manual training in the education of blacks. Every school eligible for Government grants should register with the Education Department.[11]

As far as African schools are concerned, the Ordinance came as the first attempt to formulate preliminary and provisional principles which would direct education for Africans while 'Native policy' has been discussed. As the Director of Education pointed out in his Report for 1900-1904, "nothing more can be safely undertaken by Government until a comprehensive scheme for the education of backward races... has received the approval of all, or most of the States of South Africa".[12] This scheme would in turn depend on the definition of a general 'Native policy'.

The second step was the appointment of an Organizing Inspector of Native Education in the person of the Rev. W.E.C. Clarke. Shortly after his appointment a detailed survey of Mission schools was organized. The survey disclosed the fact that as at 31st December 1903 only ten per cent of African children in school age were enrolled in the schools. The number of schools was 201, the enrolment 12 660 and there were 289 teachers of whom 41 were Europeans.[13] Clarke came to the following conclusion:

> It seems to be generally recognized... that the secular education of the native races must depend upon the initiative of the different religious agencies, whose main purpose is to christianize them and to elevate their moral conditions... The aptitude that meanwhile appears best for the Government to adopt... is to accept the existing organization, to prescribe a certain course of elementary and industrial instruction, and to subsidize and thereby to control their instruction by means of a system of inspection and quarterly grants...[14]

Clarke's ideas and proposals played a crucial role in the formulation of the first scheme for African education in the Transvaal as well as for formulation of SANAC's 'Native policy' for African education. His ideas cannot be interpreted as reflecting the missionary view as a whole. Notwithstanding the fact of being a missionary himself, Clarke can be described as an 'organic intellectual' for the State who, by his knowledge of missionary activity, could easily formulate proposals to pursue Government interests. He contrasted with personalities like Bishop Carter or Rev. H. Junod who fought for more liberal

initiatives regarding African education. Thus, while Clarke confidently expected that there would be a rush to have all the schools registered in the books of the Department, so that all might participate in the advantage offered, only some 146 applied for registration, of which 14 lapsed again by the end of 1904.[15]

In the meantime a scheme for African education was drawn up which took effect from January 1st 1904, on the lines proposed by Clarke. Among the objects aimed at was the encouragement of manual work in the primary schools, with gardening, brickmaking, matweaving, basketmaking and carpentry (for boys) and needlework and domestic work (for girls) among the subjects subsequently introduced.[16] Particular emphasis was given to the teaching of the English language. About this, the Department's report for the year 1903 has put it clearly that "The enormous percentage of energy that is at present wasted or lost through the lack of a common medium of communication between white employer and native employee shows the necessity of prescribing for all native schools a knowledge of English as one of the elementary subjects necessary".[17] In a short statement at the First General Missionary Conference, held in Johannesburg in July 1904, the Rev. Clarke, Inspector of Native Education to the Transvaal Education Department explained the Government policy regarding African languagues and Scripture. He said: "In reference to the question of religious teaching and the teaching of native languages, Government declines to deal with either of these

points and regards them as left in the hands of the missionaries responsible for the schools. Government has no desire to interfere with, to teach or restrict in any way the present teaching of religion in the schools, or the teaching of native languages".[18]

The omission of religion in the new Code broke with missionary tradition of training teachers as evangelists. About this the Rev. Clarke noted in 1904: "While admitting that the combination of evangelist and teacher in one is in a number of cases inevitable at present, I am bound to say that I cannot contemplate the indefinite continuance of such an arrangement with favour: it by no means follows that a man who would make a good evangelist would also make a good teacher, and... it is no easy matter to find time to give adequate training for a man so that he may discharge both functions".[19] This shows that the aim of the Government in introducing the grants-in-aid system was mainly to get control of African schooling as such according to the tasks which Africans were required to play in society. Missionaries were forced to divorce the training of teachers from the training of evangelists in order to comply with the requirements of the new Code.[20]

The organization of the schools was also changed. All mission schools seeking financial aid from the Government would be placed under the superintendence of a white missionary or other person recognized by the Government and be registered (in

terms of the Education Ordinance No. 7) in the books of the Education Department.[21] A Government Notice dated 1st December 1905, introduced a syllabus for the training of teachers. A three years' course was instituted with the entrance requirement of Standard III. Industrial training was made compulsory to qualify the teachers for the requirements of manual instruction in schools.[22]

By prescribing the course of instruction to be followed in elementary and industrial schools, a more or less uniform aim was set before the schools for African children. By stressing the importance of manual labour, character and moral training and the role of English in the 'Master and Servants' relations etc., the connection between school and workplace was made meaningful. By making the grants-in-aid dependent upon the right to inspect schools, the instruction of African children could be controlled according to the designed aims. The new Code was not accepted without criticism, as far as some of these issues were concerned. The following outburst came from the German missionaries:

> "The English give us one pound Sterling and wish to have a say in our affairs worth ten pound Sterling. The Government in giving the grant, does not only require us to accept their syllabus, but also demands the right to decide when and how we are to build our schoolhouses, how they are to be arranged and when they are to be repaired; to criticise our teachers, etc." [23]

Rev. H.A. Junod, an influential missionary of the Swiss Mission criticised the primacy given in the Code to the English over vernacular:

> "The Study of the Native Language was nowhere mentioned; the vernacular was entirely lost sight of. 'Teach it as much as you like and have time to do it' said the Department, 'but we cannot take it into account'. However, such a recommendation cannot easily be carried out. A subject not mentioned in the curriculum, not included in the examinations, will never be properly studied".[24]

In a letter to the Superintendent of the Educational Department, and to the Inspector of Native Schools, Junod charged the Code for putting "all the strain to make the native an English speaking boy or girl for the use of the white man, rather than a man capable of thinking by himself and of leading intelligently his life".[25] He, rather, believed that school should be the path through which the African should make the transition from being 'a savage or mere child' to become a thinking and moral man' and, thus, find "his place in the South African common wealth as a part contributing to the welfare of the whole".[26] In summary, the chief objections to the new scheme for African education were: i) no provision was made for religious instruction; ii) a subject not included in the official examination is apt to be neglected; iii) secular instruction made such demands on the time available that religious instruction had to be taken out of school hours; iv) no provision was made for the teaching of the vernacular, and the Government aimed at anglicizing schools (from German mission circles); v) the amount of subsidy

was not commensurate with the extent of supervision assumed by the Government in respect to buildings, equipment, staff, etc.; vi) more than simple financial aid the Government grants meant to the mission schools the pursuit of the same aims.[27]

Only a few missionaries had criticized the new scheme as leading to the entrechment of an inferior form of schooling or as preparing blacks for subordinate positions in the social division of labour and in the society in general. The majority were absorbed by the controversy around religious and secular instruction. Curiously, criticisms were not directed against the segregationist aspects of the scheme but mainly against the conflicting religious and secular interests of the missionaries and the State. Generally, missionaries accepted separation in curriculum and school as an inevitable differentiation inspired by cultural pluralism and the complexity of the missionary work for blacks. They perceived separation not necessarily as an aspect of racial segregation, but as a necessary and healthy division of labour and division of forces, or resources. Consciously or unconsciously, missionaries were gradually incorporated by the Government's segregationist strategy. Even those who, at the time, began to understand the evils of the Government's policy did not regard it as the major problem facing African education. Alban Winter of the Community of Resurrection and an apologist of separation illustrates the attitudes in his congregation as follows:

> Why this division, it is said. The question was, in fact, raised from the very beginning of our work by Fr. Alston, who, soon after his arrival, wrote on Dec. 1st, 1904: "To me it is very sad the native and the white work being separated. I have not been here long enough to pass an opinion upon it, but is is quite obvious that the natives just emerging from savagery cannot be treated in the same way as whites, there must be restrictions; there must be in many ways separations. But when they have become Christians it does seem to me that the Alter is one place where they certainly can meet, but it is not so". This policy was no new one but a continuation of that advocated by Cannon Farmer, the most experienced priest in native mission work in the Diocese of Pretoria. In reporting to the Synod of 1904 on mission work he "showed that European and Bantu were so essentially different that it was almost impossible for one priest to tackle both efficiently. The committee thought it advisable that missionary work should be extra-parochial, and the diocese divided into districts, with a missionary in charge of each.[28]

Another aspect of the pre-Union policy was the separation or segregation of schools for 'coloured' children. Up to 1897, there was no provision for education of the mixed people. Atempts were made by the Rev. Charles Philips to open some schools especially for 'coloureds'. The few schools which were open, were closed during the South African war.[29]

After the war, representations were made to Lord Milner and they were re-opened as free schools. Since then all responsibility was undertaken by the Government.[30] Very soon, when the Government adopted its segregationist policy, the Rev. Philips, acting as mouthpiece for the 'Coloured' persons, was informed that the privilege was to be withdrawn and 'Coloured' schools reverted to the Native Mission System, with grants from the Government.[31] Rev. Philips solicited an interview with the then

Director of Education and after discussion, it was agreed that a case had been made out for separation and maintenance of the 'Coloured' schools. The decision was welcomed by the Ebenezer Coloured Congregational Church (a separatist or self-segregated church) under the care of Rev. Philips.[32] A number of schools were opened and converted into Government 'Coloured' schools.

In 1903, there were already in Johannesburg and on the Rand 6 Government schools for 'Coloured' children with an average attendance of about 800. Of these schools, one was attended also by Indian children. The number of 'Coloured' schools increased to 10 with 1 347 pupils in 1908 and 12 with 11 044 pupils in 1910. A manual training centre was established in 1905 for 'Coloured' children at Main Street, Ferreira in Johannesburg.[33] As Government institutions, they theoretically received the same treatment as were schools for White children; received the same annual grants and were placed on the equal footing with regard to equipment. They were subjected to the same supervision and inspection. However, in practice, their education would not reach the same level of quality as that for white children. Not only was it disadvantaged in the space and quality of buildings, human resources, but also in terms of grading. The Director of Education had this to say in 1908: "The working principle which I adopt, unless there are reasons to the contrary, is to grade them one step lower than the schools for White children which have about the same enrolment".[34]

The policy of racial segregation in education was explicitly declared and institutionalized under the Education Act of 1907 which proclaimed the principle of racial separation in the school system and imposed the 'colour bar' in the schools for white children. In this enactment, it was clearly declared that "No coloured child or person shall be admitted to or allowed to remain a pupil or member of any school class or institution..." for white children.[35]

The Education Act of 1907 introduced compulsory education for white children between the ages of 7 and 14 years. With compulsory and free education, white children of both skilled and unskilled whites were placed on a fundamentally different footing from that of either 'Coloured' or African children. As Chisholm has argued, free compulsory education had profound effects on consciousness and is part of the various strategies amongst the ruling class for containing the activities of the white working class and building a racial identity between white labour and capital.[36] Africans were denied the right to free and compulsory education on the grounds that they were still unfit for it. Mixed persons had only the right to free education.

The Act passed in 1907 also empowered the State itself to establish Government schools for African children. The first such school was set up in the same year in Klipspruit but not others were founded until many years later. In 1909, African

schools were placed under the supervision of inspectors of European education.[37]

In conclusion, the policy initiated by the Milner state in 1902, culminated in 1907 with institutionalization of segregation in schools and the imposition of 'colour bars' in the schools for white children. Preliminary initiatives had been undertaken in order to implement racial segregation in the structures and content of the schooling system. However, there were still cases where 'Coloured' children attended schools for whites and African children still attended schools for 'Coloureds'.[38] Indian children also remained mixed with 'Coloured' children in some schools. For example, when the Witwatersrand School Board was set up one of the first matters to which it had to give its attention was in connection with the presence of non-Whites in the schools for Whites. For this reason, the Director of Education sent a directive in 1910 imposing on school boards the duty of seeing that the principle of racial separation was carried into effect.[39] In the period which follows, new initiatives were introduced and the policy revised in order to ensure a more effective implementation of segregation in education.

NOTES

1. Loram, C.T. The Education of the South African Native. 1927, pp. 20-22; and Malherbe, E.G. Education in South Africa, Johannesburg and Cape Town: Juta, 1925, pp. 228-9.

2. Government Notice No. 20.1, Published in the Staatscourant No 22 of the 26th October 1860. This Notice is headed: 'Precautionary measures against fraudulent misrepresentation in the spread of the Gospel among the heathen'.

3. Achterberg, N.D. A Survey of Native Education in the Transvaal. University of South Africa, Ph.D. thesis, 1927, p. 9 (Microfilm).

4. Behr, A.L. and Macmillan, R.G. Education in South Africa. Pretoria: J.L. Shaik Publishers, 1966, pp. 337-338 and Behr, E.H. Three Centuries of Coloured Education in the Cape and Transvaal, 1652-1923. Ph.D. thesis. Potchefstroom University, 1952, p. 275.

5. Achterberg, N.D. op. cit. p. 69.

6. Ibid., p. 69.

7. Report of the Syndic to the Council of Education, Witwatersrand, 4th September 1903, p. 10 and pp. 2-3.

8. Letter from E.B. Sargent to Lord Milner, 14th June 1901.

9. Report of the Secretary for Native Affairs, 1905-6.

10. The Transvaal Public Education Ordinance No 7, February 1903.

11. Behr, A.L. and Macmillan, R.G., op. cit., p. 339.

12. Report of the Director of Education, 1900-1904, TED, p. 24.

13. Achterberg, N.D., op. cit., p. 70. By 1903, the following agencies were at work in the mission field in the Transvaal: Hermansburg Mission, Berlin Mission, Wesleyan Methodist Church, Swiss Mission, Anglican Church, Dutch Reformed Church, Roman Catholic Church and Baptist Church, besides a number of separatist churches.

14. Quoted by Behr, A.L. and Macmillan, R.G., op. cit., pp. 338-339. Clarke also insisted on the necessity for European supervision over every school for blacks: "I think we have a greater guarantee, in the first place, for co-operation with the Government in whatever it believes to be the best line, and secondly, I think a guarantee for greater efficiency and better understanding of the essentials of a good school" (Minutes of Evidence to SANAC, 1904). These were, for him, the advantages of having a white supervision.

15. Achterberg, N.D., op. cit., p. 84.

16. Dodd, A.D. Native Vocational Training, A Study of Conditions in South Africa, 1652-1936. The Lovedale Press, 1938, p. 85.

17. Achterberg, N.D., op. cit., p. 74.

18. Ibid., p. 74.

19. Letter from the Superintendent of Native Education, the Rev. Clarke to the Rev. H.A. Junod, 14th November 1904.

20. The Wesleyans were first to give up their traditional plan of training teachers and evangelists. They accepted the Government's decision and arranged a training for their evangelists quite apart from their teachers. This decision

was followed by a similar deliberation from the Swiss mission after the matter was placed before the Board of Directors in Switzerland (Letter from Lemana Training Institution to the Rev. Clarke, March 18, 1906).

21. Scheme for Native Schools, 1903: see also the Draft for the Scheme for Training of Native and Coloured Teachers sanctioned by the Government in 1904 (this was sent to the Rev. Junod by the Superintendent of Native Education in November 1904).

22. With few exceptions, industrial training had no serious acceptance in Mission schools until many years later.

23. Quoted by Achterberg, N.D., op. cit., pp. 72-73.

24. Junod, H. The Life of a South African Tribe, Vol. III, p. 274.

25. Memorandum. H. Junod to the Superintendent of Native Education, 30.12.17. Swiss Mission, 1904.

26. Ibid. The views of H. Junod regarding the scheme were published in the 'Christian Express' of August 1903 and contained in a number of memoranda sent to the Superintendent of Native Education. The main issues were dealt with in the First Conference on Native Education held in Johannesburg in July 1904, where a formal answer representing the Government position was made by Rev. Clarke.

27. Achterberg, N.D., op. cit., p. 84.

28. Winter, A. Till darkness fell, House of Resurrection. Mirfield-Easter, 1962, pp. 8-9.

29. Nolte, D.J.C. "The Educational Needs of the Coloured People in the Transvaal", paper presented to the First National Coloured-European Conference, Cape Town, June 26, 27, 28, 1933.

30. Ibid.

31. Ibid.

32. Behr, A.L. and Macmillan, R.G., op. cit., pp. 337-338.

33. Behr, A.L. Three Centuries... op. cit., p. 14 and p. 58, 291.

34. TED, Report of the Director of Education for the year ending 30th June 1908, pp. 28-29.

35. Education Act No. 25 of 1907.

36. Chisholm, L. "Themes in the Construction of Free Compulsory Education for the White Working Class on the Witwatersrand, 1886-1907". History Workshop. University of the Witwatersrand, 1984, pp. 17-18.

37. TED, Report of the Director of Education for the year ending 30th June 1910, pp. 44-45: and the Report for the year ending 30th June 1908, pp. 29-31.

38. Behr, A.L. and Macmillan, R.G., op. cit., pp. 337-338.

39. TED, Report of the Director of Education for the year ending 30th June 1910.

CHAPTER III

SEGREGATION IN EDUCATION, 1907/10-1924: TOWARDS CONSOLIDATION

Under the South Africa Act of 1910, education including education for Africans, remained a provincial matter. All other matters concerning Africans were transferred to the Union Government and fell under the Ministry of Native Affairs. Though the principle of social segregation has been sanctioned by the new administration and had become a statutory directive, there was not yet any clear idea about how it could be implemented successfully. This was the task which the new educational authorities received. Thus, from 1907/10 onwards, a process of re-organization and revision of the system of African and 'Coloured' schools was initiated, which led to the consolidation of segregationist structures in education. It included the introduction of more rational methods and institutions in order to make more effective the aims and the role of the free compulsory education for white children. In this chapter, I shall analyse this process, focussing on the most significant changes which took place within the segregated schooling system.[1]

From 1910 up to 1912, any consideration on revision of African education had been postponed by the Provincial Executive in view of the fact that the wider question of 'Native policy'

was under consideration by the Union Parliament. It was thought that until the wider question of national policy with regard to Africans and 'Native Affairs' had been considered and some pronouncement made, any radical change in respect to African education would be premature and might have been inconsistent with wider scheme.[2] In 1912, a debate took place on revision of the African education followed by the introduction of the revised scheme in 1915.

I would argue that the implementation of this scheme was the most important factor for the consolidation of racial segregation in African schools. For it crystallized the idea of segregation not only at the level of institutional structures of control but mainly at the level of the content, aims and conceptions of education for Africans. Probably this argument will not satisfy the classic liberal thinking which views segregation in education as merely a structural matter, arising out of physical separations of schools and institutions of control. However, racial segregation as conceived by the ruling class was designed to mould a particular type of human being, apt to perform particular roles in the society and prepared to accept uncritically his or her place in the society. Though it can be facilitated by, this process cannot be successfully accomplished through a mere physical separation. It requires a particular form of moral and behavioural training, ideological pressures stressing a sense of racial inferiority, cultural differences, ethnic consciousness, etc., factors well expressed in the revised scheme.

The Education Commission of 1912 came with strong criticisms of the existing system and made some radical proposals on control, content and aims which should be considered in African education.[3] Most of these criticisms were endorsed by the Council of Education and dominated the debates until the publication of its Report in 1915. Two main criticisms were made.

Firstly, mission education was criticized for being based on the assumption that African must rise 'on the shoulders of the White man and in a non-African environment' and be educated for participation in an economic and social life from which he/she was barred.[4] Thus the principle which was kept in view throughout the debates was that education for Africans should be considered and a curriculum evolved, as far as possible, from the point of view of the African's "own possibilities, needs, and aspirations".[5] Education for Africans should not be modelled on that of the European, but it should be dealt with as a separate and distinct problem, rather than to attempt to solve it by considering how the European has been treated.[6] To put it another way, education for African children had to adjust and conform to the social and economic roles which African people had to perform in a segregated environment. On these lines, the Director of Education in 1912, argued that the existing code should "be stripped of those portions which have... been taken over from the code for white children, rather than incorporated because of their particular suitability for "Africans".[7]

Secondly, mission education was charged with having negative effects on the African, as 'it puffed him up', made him disinclined for manual labour and made him an easy victim for agitators.[6] The debates were largely directed towards the question as to whether education for Africans should be essentially reduced to industrial training or whether it had to keep the literary basis of mission education. Mission education and the existing code, it was argued, provided too much book learning with little 'social education'.

In considering these criticisms, the Council of Education assumed a more liberal position, but none of the central issues contained in them were dismissed. A remark was made against those who were entirely hostile to literary education and who maintained that Africans should be educated on totally different lines: "It is said that we must keep him in his place, that there is a broad gulf between black and white, or that he is most useful as he is. It cannot be denied that this is approaching the question from the white man's point of view, and that ultimately these arguments reduce themselves to a more or less refined justification of a policy of exploitation.[9] The result of excluding literary training would be "unrest rather than increased efficiency".[10] For Africans would get it through 'less satisfactory channels'. Furthermore, their efficiency is advanced, whether directly or indirectly, "by being able to read, write and count, even in a limited degree..."[11] The arguments against industrial training were also considered:

> The opponents of any literary training for the native have, in practically all cases, taken their stand on industrial training. As the native's future and functions are in the area of industry, whether on the land, in the workshop, in the garden, the house, or elsewhere, his training should be largely, if not entirely, of an industrial character. In a wide and general sense this is the attitude of the employer. It is met by streneous opposition from the workmen and their representatives. There can be no question that their attitude is based on the fear of competition. It is felt and argued that, if he is given an opportunity the native will slowly, but non the less inevitably, encroach on the field of labour now occupied by the European, and this is to be resisted at all costs. The education of the native is to be a product of this policy of resistance from his industrial advance. The weight of sound and liberal opinion is, however, emphatically against this conclusion. The white man must prevail in the industrial field, not through the artificial aid of colour bar, but through proved superiority. There seems to be little doubt of his ability to do this.[12]

Apparently, the views articulated by the Council of Education seemed to be in contradiction with the dominant segregationist policies of the Government. For example, in its Third Report of 1915, dealing with African education, it was clearly stated that a "policy of intellectual segregation is as impracticable as one of physical segregation".[13] But this is not so. As far as racial segregation is concerned, there was not disagreement on the principle and aims of segregation but on the methods. Indeed, the Third Report of the Council of Education can correctly be interpreted as an attempt to bring about a compromise between the hard-line segregationist ideologists and the radical liberal position which in some way regretted the use of artificial 'colour bars' as a means to safeguard white supremacy. It is mainly a reminder of the dangers of 'total segregation' in education, which would have detrimental effects

on the economy by reducing the necessary efficiency of black labour. The implicit argument was that segregation should be implemented in such a way that schooling of Africans could remain as much as possible functional in its relationship to the economic system.

The functionality of the schooling system for Africans would be achieved through an appropriate training of African children. The underlying assumption in the Report is that 'the centre of gravity of the whole scheme must be what is called training as distinct from instruction' including a wide range of items such as industrial training, religious and moral training and "the training in social and civic duties especially as they are laid down in the laws affecting" Africans.[14] Industrial training on which the whole system rested included, in the case of boys, the following forms: gardening, rudimentary agriculture, basket-making, mat-weaving, tree planting, leading water and the care of trees. The girls were to be trained in sewing, domestic service, including cookery, kitchen work, laundry, the care of clothes and household work. Training was defined as covering "all occupations intended to develop habits and aptitudes which will enable the native to live a better and more healthy life and to render more effective service".[15]

Most of the recommendations of the Council of Education were incorporated in a revised curriculum introduced in the African schools in 1915. Vacation courses were held at two training

institutions, Kilnerton and Pietersburg, for a number of teachers entirely with a view to implementing the revised curriculum in which it was determined how to handle it. However, education authorities had to confess to the growing opposition which the curriculum received from teachers and missionaries.[16]

Re-organization of Education for Coloured Children

The major development concerning schools for 'Coloured' children was the segregation of schools for Indian children. Reference was made in 1912 to the provision of separate schools for Indians. Previously, the majority of Indian children attended the same schools for 'Coloured' children, particularly the Burghersdorp Coloured School. Justifying the new development, the Director of Education indicated that "differences of language, religion, and nationality led to proposals from Indian community for the establishment of a separate schools for Indians".[17] The Witwatersrand Central Board which received the duty of controlling the implementation of segregation in education gave the matter full consideration and decided to recommend it. The view was also endorsed by the Council of Education and eventually by the Provincial Executive which decided to accede to the request of the Indians. The school for Indian children was opened at the beginning of 1913 in Johannesburg.[18] The Indian community provided and maintained the building, while the Government payed the salaries of the teachers.[19] Since then the

South African education system became fragmented into four schooling systems: 'African, Indian, Coloured, and White education'.

Regarding 'Coloured education', at the end of 1915, there were 15 schools with about 2 623 pupils. In contrast to the African schools, most of the schools for 'Coloured' children were concentrated on the Rand. For example, of the 19 schools which existed in 1917, 8 were in the Central Rand, 5 in the West and 4 in the East, and only 2 outside the Reef being the Marabastad and Lady Selborne Schools near Pretoria.[20] In 1917, the Department of Education was asked to establish a school for Coloured children going beyond the primary stage and also making provision for the training of Coloured teachers. Racial segregation made it impossible for coloured children to attend the existing high schools in the Transvaal. They had to go outside the province to find them.[21] Only in 1918, the first course beyond the primary school was established at the Vrededorp School. A preliminary training of Coloured teachers was also attempted.[22]

However, these improvements though insignificant as compared to the developments in the schools for whites, were followed with apprehension by the most conservative circles amongst education authorities. For example, the Inspectors of Education expressed disapproval at the fact that Coloured children were following the same syllabuses and courses of instruction as White children.

They suggested a less academic curriculum, with manual work predominating.[22]

Reinforcement of the Mechanisms of Control of African Schools

Following the introduction of the new curriculum for African schools, steps were made towards a reorganization and reinforcement of the existing mechanisms of control in education for Africans. According to the existing arrangements the teacher's training institutions were inspected by Mr W.E.C. Clarke, the Inspector of White secondary schools, while the inspection of African schools in general was the responsibility of district inspectors in charge of schools for whites. The question posed was that, as with the introduction of the new curriculum, African education had become definitely sui generis. The inspection of African schools should thus be in the hands of individuals especially trained and especially qualified for this work.[23] In other words, it was advocated that the administrative apparatus and the method should also be based on "racial, economic and social differences" between Whites and Blacks.[24]

In this perspective, three 'inspectors of native schools' were appointed in 1918. African education gained shape as a separate matter in the Education Department. More radical changes were later on suggested by the Native Affairs Commission of 1921. Emphasis was placed on the need for a Union or central

control under the Minister of Native Affairs. The central argument articulated by this Commission stated that 'Native education' as "the chief factor in moulding a Native policy for South Africa" should be administered by the body responsible for that policy, viz., the Union Government, particularly the Ministry of Native Affairs.[25] This structure would facilitate the necessary co-ordination of educational with other 'Native policy'. Among the Administrative boards suggested, the Commission proposed creation of 'Native Education Advisory Boards' to retain the co-operation of the Missionaries. A Native Education Act on the lines of the Natives (Urban Areas) Bill was suggested for the introduction of this policy.[26]

However, the only innovation in this direction within the period considered in this study was the constitution of an advisory board for African education in 1924. It comprised of the Director of Education, and other members of TED, a member of the Native Affairs Department, representatives of the missionary societies and the Transvaal Native Teachers' Association.[27] In practice it became an accessory council dealing almost exclusively with issues related to the ways of implementing state policy in African education.[28]

Finally, another aspect where the racially discriminatory policy was reflected was the funding of African education. Traditionally, the finance of African education in the Transvaal came from four different sources: the oldest being school fees

from African parents together with contributions from missionary societies; and these were the only two sources until the grants-in-aid system were made effective 1906. Following the idea popular in the Native Affairs Commission of 1921, that funds for African education should come from African sources, the Transvaal Administration decided to impose direct taxes on Africans with the plea that its increasing expenditure on African education justified such a course.[29] Considerable agitation was aroused by the decision and the position was reviewed at the close of 1921 by the Financial Relations Conference, resulting in the enactment of the Financial Relations Fourth Extension Act No 5 of 1922 which debarred Provincial Executives from directly taxing Africans. In 1923, the Union Government assumed responsibility for all grants provided for African education. However, these grants came from a revenue derived from the direct taxation of Africans.

Thus far, I have discussed how the Education Act of 1907 and the proposals made by the Transvaal Indigency Commission and others have resulted in an increasing exclusion from participation in the whole educational process through a gradual implementation of the policies of racial discrimination in education. Blacks not only were compulsorily submitted to an inferior form of education to fit them into subordinate positions in the racially organized division of labour and conform to the existing forms of domination, but they also had to pay for it.

In contrast, important developments took place in education for whites. Not only was education for whites made free and compulsory on grounds of colour but strategies were also introduced to make it more effective. Vocational training programmes were introduced for white unskilled workers and continuation classes for youths engaged in every occupation under the care of the University and Education Department. These educational initiatives were supported by discriminatory industrial legislation, such as the Apprenticeship Act. Thus education was placed within the broader process of co-option of the white working class and minimization of the contradictions which increasingly opposed the white workers against capitalist interests.

NOTES

1. As far as education for whites is concerned, new developments facilitated the co-option of the white working class and contributed to the class polarization.

2. TED, Report of the Director of Education for the year ending 31st December 1912, pp. 91-92.

3. Achterberg, N.D. A Survey of Native Education in the Transvaal. University of South Africa, Ph.D. thesis, 1927, pp. 253-254.

4. Malherbe, E.G. "Educational Adaptations in a Changing Society, 1934, pp. 435-436. See also Brookes, E.H. Native Education in South Africa, pp. 111-113.

5. TED, Report of the Director of Education for the year ending 31st December 1912, pp. 93-94.

6. Ibid., pp. 92-93.

7. TED, Report of the Director of Education for the year ending 31st December 1912, pp. 93-94.

8. Malherbe, E.G., op. cit., pp. 111-113.

9. Third Report of the Council of Education dealing with Native Education, 1915, p. 9.

10. Ibid., p. 10.

11. Ibid., p. 10.

12. Ibid., p. 10-11.

13. Ibid., p. 10.

14. Ibid., p. 11.

15. Ibid., p. 11.

16. The Director of Education in his Report for 1915 (pp- 42-43) characterized the Council's recommendations as follows: "The distinguishing feature is that it attempts to meet the requirements of the native, not by first considering what is done for a European and then whittling this down to what may be deemed a fair proportion for the native, but considering the needs, possibilities, and legitimate aspirations of the native on their own merits, and developing a scheme which will, as far as possible, meet them". Of course these needs, possibilities, and aspirations were not defined by the 'Natives' themselves but by the ruling class according to what ought to be the African place in a segregated environment.

17. TED, Report of the Director of Education for the year ending 31st December 1912, pp. 94-95.

18. Ibid., pp. 94-95.

19. TED, Report of the Director of Education for the year ending 31st December 1917, p. 82 and 1916, p. 54.

20. TED, Report of the Director of Education for the year ending 31st December 1916, pp. 53-54; and 1917, pp. 81-82.

21. TED, Report of the Director of Education for the year ending 31st December 1917, p. 82.

22. TED, Report of the Director of Education for the year ending 31st December 1918, pp. 49-50.

23. TED, Report of the Director of Education for the year ending 31st December 1917, p. 83.

24. Ibid., pp. 80-81.

25. Arguments for Union Control and Administration, in Report of the Native Affairs Commission, relative to Union Control of, or alternatively Provincial Uniformity in Native Education, 1921.

26. Ibid.

27. Administrator's Notice No 471, 30th September 1924.

28. See the Minutes of the Transvaal Advisory Board on Native Education.

29. Principles approved by the Pretoria Rotary Club, by the Chairman of Native Welfare Committee on the 26th March 1942. For details on direct taxation on Africans see Winter, A. Till darkness fell, House of Resurrection, 1962, pp. 50-51. The Statement by Dr H.F. Verwoerd in the Senate of the Union Parliament at Cape Town on the Government's policy for Bantu education, on the 7th June 1954 reads as follows: "Because from the beginning segregation was accepted as the country's policy, the Union Department of native Affairs was created for the interests of the Native population, and Native areas were set aside. It would therefore, have been logical to co-ordinate Bantu education with the activities of this Department. A step in this direction was taken by transferring to the Union the financial obligations of the provinces for Native education in 1922".

CONCLUSION

In the course of the first two decades of the 20th century, the South African education system became fragmented into four schooling systems along racial lines, either in structures and aims or in the content of education, as a result of the implementation of the Government's policies of racial segregation. 'Bantu Education', 'Coloured Education' and 'Indian Education' which apparently appeared as a product of the successive Education Acts published during the 1950s and 60s, had, therefore, taken shape many years before. It was demonstrated in this study that this particular shape of the education system is bound up with the course of social and class relations produced under the pressure of the mining capital on the Witwatersrand.

Class struggle on the gold fields, with the white section of the working class claiming rights on grounds of colour and the increasing threat of the 'poor white problem' determined a racially inspired state and capital response. Tactics of co-option were adopted to reduce or 'silence' the growing militancy of the white employed or unemployed workers leading to a class polarization with white workers manifesting gradual racial identity with the dominant forces. Thus, the state intervened in education as part of this strategy, attempting to reduce the growing militancy between mining capital and the white working

class, and supporting whites in their competition with blacks for skilled and unskilled labouring positions. 'Poor whites' were equipped for better places in the labour market. Blacks, including Indians and 'Coloured' were segregated in order to minimize the potential threat they represented in the labour market for whites. Educational institutions were increasingly reformed or created to meet these demands.

In summary, this study has shown that racial segregation in education was not a mere contingency emerging from cultural or racial prejudices. The changing social and economic conditions on the Rand which followed the establishment of the mining industry created an ideological climate which directly or indirectly favoured the policies of racial segregation as the appropriate solution for the growing needs and contradictions determined by capitalist development. The definition of these policies involved a systematically and consciously articulated debate.

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