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"Trustees and agents of the state?": Missions and post-union policy formation towards African education 1910-1920

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Title: "Trustees and Agents of the State?" Missions and Post-Union
Policy Formation towards African Education 1910-1920.

by: Sue Krige

No 336

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

SUE KRIGE

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

Introduction.

During the first decade after Union, African education was the subject of syllabus reform initiatives in three out of the four provinces. The control of African education was also an issue which was debated as part of these reform initiatives, and was touched on by commissions of enquiry into the provincial system as a whole. It is the task of this paper to analyse the nature of policy making and reform regarding African education in the first decade after union, and to focus on the role of the missions in this process. It argues that the process of syllabus reform in the Transvaal, Natal and the Cape was informed by a general need to respond to critiques of existing education, but that there are important regional imperatives which fashioned each province's particular rationale and content adaptations. It indicates that the reforms cannot be seen as directed at the African working class in order to meet the needs of capital. Instead it argues that much of the "education makes better workers" type of justification for change, and the content change itself was really rhetoric designed to allay white hostility. The target of the reforms was the educated African elite, whose ambitions needed to be shaped in a direction which did not challenge the existing social order. However, only the Cape reforms appear to have moved beyond rhetoric in providing a concrete syllabus for agricultural education for an elite modernising peasantry and ancillary administrative staff. In this sense, to some extent the reforms were compatible with emerging segregationist ideas and policies. However, it is far fetched to link the reforms with any grand design of Native policy or with the "needs of capital".

Missions' involvement and impact in such policy making varied considerably from province to province. Only in the Cape were they intimately involved with policy development, along with members of the African elite. Consequently, the reforms proposed were not as crude as those in the other provinces, and cannot easily be categorised as representing a segregationist perspective. Generally mission priorities were much more with issues of the control of African education rather than its aim and content. Increasing pressure for secularisation of control threatened their perceived role as the mediators of social conflict and the "protectors of the Native". In this they were often arrogant, autocratic and paternalistic, but they were neither blindly or nor consciously serving the interests of the state.

This paper stems from a dissatisfaction with the existing literature's failure to grasp the complexities of the relationship between church, state, education policy and the broader political economy in the early years after Union. In doing so, it addresses a number of problematic areas in the literature of this period. The first is the issue of periodisation. While Cross, Chisholm, Paterson and Harley have argued that

the foundations of segregated education were laid in the period before Union, little work has been done on what was built on these foundations after 1910.[2] Cross and Chisholm do not regard Union as any sort of watershed, and treat 1902-1924 as one period, although most of their argument is concerned with the era before 1910.[3] Since, as many commentators at the time emphasised, the formation of Union was at least partly about the formulation of a common "Native Policy", it is important to consider what impact the Union settlement had on "Native" education. Ironically, the control of African education devolved to the provinces, which immediately separated it from the ambit of a national "Native Policy". This was intended to be a temporary arrangement for five years, but it became permanent. And, unlike White and "Coloured" education, African education remained in private (mainly mission) hands, which meant that it was effectively under a dual, decentralised system of control. This affected the possibility of the emergence of a clear unified policy towards African education.

In this regard, it is clear that there were provincial differences which have hardly been uncovered. Andrew Paterson, in challenging Cross and Chisholm, makes the point that it is not accurate to assume that the dynamics on the Reef which underpinned the development of a segregated schooling system after 1902 can be extrapolated for the rest of the country, and makes a plea for the consideration of regional imperatives in considering the origins of segregation in education.[4] We might extend this argument to considering the developments after Union, given the decentralised nature of the control of African education.

This paper ends in 1920, a year which marks the first real attempt to consider African education from a national viewpoint. This came with the establishment of the Native Affairs Commission in 1920. 1920 also marked the beginnings of increased secular influence on African education in the form of the Joint Council Movement, which encroached on what had been the exclusive territory of the missions - "native welfare". This included African education.

Literature on the role of the churches in African education at this level of policy making is very thin. For the period of Reconstruction in the Transvaal, Cross describes the churches as "unwittingly ... gradually incorporated by the Government's segregationist strategy". [5] Paterson sees them as weak and vacillating in the Cape Colonial onslaught on integrated church schools in the first decade of the 20th century.[6] Cochrane is not as generous. For him, the Anglican and Methodist churches were in fact "servants of power", suffering an "ideological captivity", because they did not challenge segregationist legislation before and after Union. Cochrane's analysis of the churches' role in African education is almost non-existent, but he has done what others have not yet done, and that is to consider denominational perspectives.[7] For the purposes of this work, this paper has tried to isolate the general concerns and involvement of some of the most influential English-speaking Protestant missions in policy making. More detailed work needs to be done on the particular denominations.

Once we have answered the question about the extent to which missions were party to policy making, we have to ask what the ultimate aims of these reforms were in terms of the broader political economy. For Cross, the Transvaal syllabus reforms of 1915 "would meet the capitalist need for more productive black unskilled cheap labour while safeguarding the monopoly of the white working class in the skilled and semiskilled labour

market"[8] This paper challenges this interpretation of the reforms. Underpinning this challenge is Saul Dubow's caveat to historians to be wary of seeing all the authors of segregationist initiatives as "special pleaders for capitalist interests". His argument that earlier analyses "conceive of segregation far too narrowly in terms of the alleged interests or 'needs' of capital" might be applied to literature about African education. [9] Much of the literature on education simply leaves the authors of official documents as faceless individuals belonging to the "state" which is linked quite unproblematically to "capital", and does not attempt to analyse the interest groups actually involved.

A Survey of African Education 1910 - 20

Before the reforms of the decade after Union are considered, a survey of the state of African education during this period is provided. This survey will serve to give a sense of the situation on the ground while the debates blew up at provincial level, and will provide some statistical support for the argument that African educational reform had very little to do with the needs of capital for productive African working class.

Figures 1-7 (page 5 onwards) reveal that the basic legacy of the colonial educational arrangements was hardly altered, and that inequalities between the different racial groups were intensified.[10] African education, unlike White, was neither free, nor compulsory, and the funds devoted to it were minimal as a result. Figure 7 shows that there was a huge discrepancy in the Union average for spending on White and African children, which was especially marked between 1915 and 1920. In 1910, only 8.4% of African children of school going age actually went to school, and by 1920 the figure was up to only 15.6%. Many children did not stay beyond the first two or three years. The corresponding figures for Whites were 52.7% and 83.7 % Only 1.48 % of African children in school had reached Std 6, compared with 13.4% of White children. There were great variations in the provincial percentages of actual as compared with possible school enrolment and in the amounts spent per pupil:

PROV	<u>1910</u>		<u>1920</u>	
	<u>% at school</u>	<u>@ per pupil</u>	<u>% at school</u>	<u>@ per pupil</u>
Cape	13.6%	@1.12.2	27.2%	@2.3.3
Natal	5.6%	@0.15.6	9.2%	@1.18.2
TVL	4.0%	@0.18.9	8.0%	@1.11.1
OFS	11.2	@0.4.4	16.0	@0.6.1
Union	8.4%	@1.4.9	15.6	@1.17.3[11]

These variations were linked to the related factors of how recently African education had been established and the proportion of the provincial budget spent on African education.[12] In both the OFS and Transvaal, the Boer Governments had been hostile to mission presence and to African schooling, and in the Transvaal the first grants-in-aid were paid to the missions during the Milner regime. In the Cape, grants-in-aid to missions dated back to 1839 and in Natal to the 1860s.

As during the colonial period, African education was largely controlled by various mission societies. The provinces provided financial grants-in-aid which did not cover much more than teachers' salaries. Erection and equipment of buildings and maintenance was provided by the mission societies. The provincial education departments exercised control by inspection, examinations, certification of teachers and the drawing up of curricula. Figures for the number of mission schools are difficult to

come by as the the Bulletin of Educational Statistics begins with the year 1917 in its survey of schools. The first mission initiated union survey was done by Rev J Dexter Taylor only in 1928. By 1920 there were 2,533 registered schools for Africans.[13] The major providers during this period were the American Board Mission, the Church of the Province in South Africa, the Bantu Presbyterian Church, the Berlin Mission, the Methodist Church, the Church of Scotland, the London Missionary Society, the Swiss Mission, the Roman Catholic Church, and, to a much lesser degree, the Dutch Reformed Church. While the majority of mission schools were small rural one teacher primary schools, there were a number of influential schools which produced trainee junior primary teachers from Std 3 and post primary graduates who wrote senior teacher training exams or the Cape Education Department Std 6, 8 and Matric exams. The majority were boarding schools on the outskirts of towns or in the rural areas :

Cape: Lovedale (Church of Scotland),Clarkebury and Healdtown (Methodist), ST Matthews and Zonnebloem (CPSA), Tigerkloof (LMS) and Mariazell (Roman Catholic). With the exception of Zonnebloem, these schools were all located in the Eastern Cape.

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

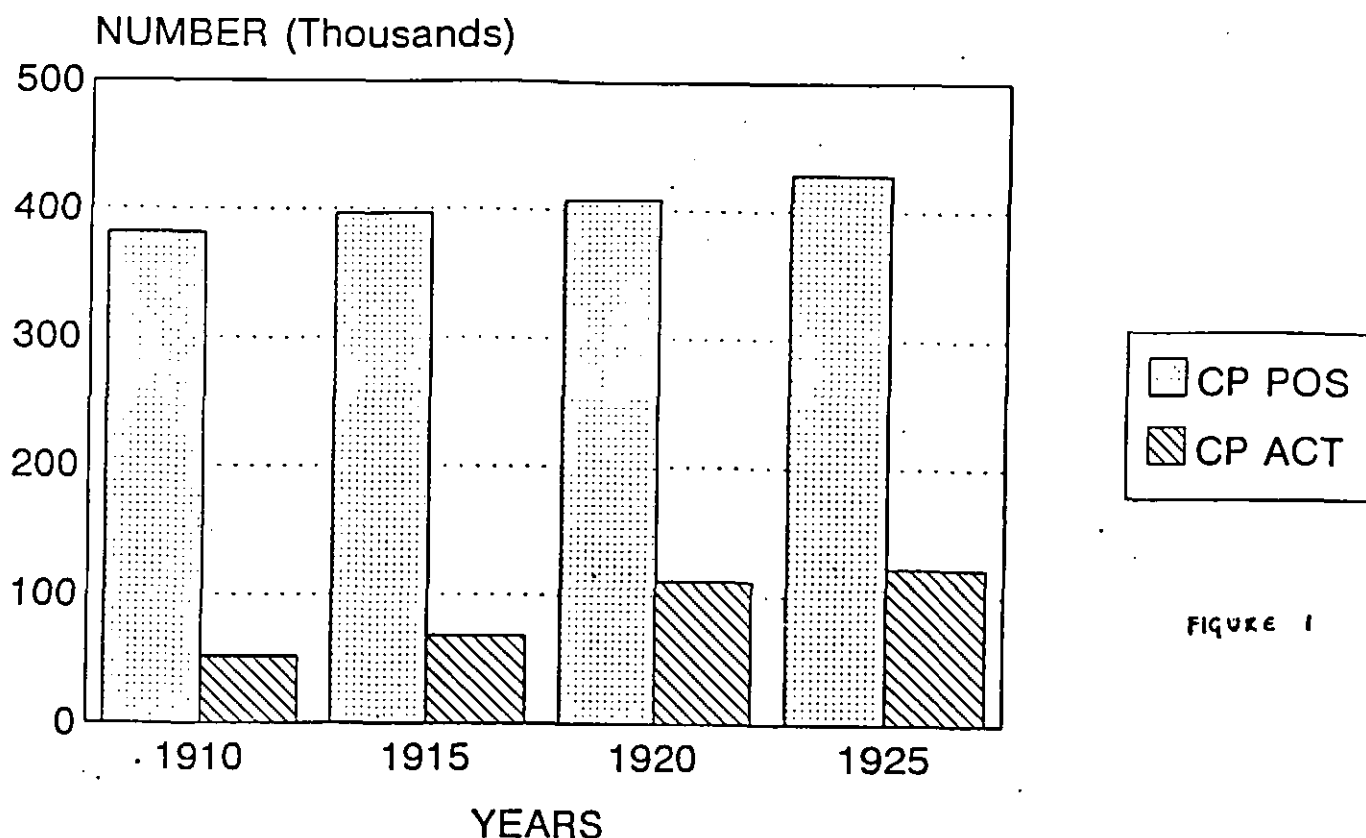
Transvaal: Kilnerton (Methodist), Grace Dieu, St Peters and St Agnes, Khaiso (CPSA), Lemana (Swiss Mission), Botshabelo (Berlin Missionary Society).

Orange Free State: Stofberg Gedenk Skool (DRC), Modderpoort Training College (CPSA).

Many of the critics of mission education pointed to the negative effects of denominational rivalry and, from the late 19th century, the Protestant churches had tried to coordinate their efforts through societies which brought together the missions at both the colonial, provincial and national level. The most important Protestant mission associations during this period were the Natal Missionary Conference (NMC), the Ciskei and Transkei Missionary Councils (CMC and TMC), the Transvaal Missionary Association (TMA), and the overarching South African General Missionary Conference (SAGMC). [14] These associations often provided common evidence to commissions of enquiry which considered African education. The focus of this paper is the English-speaking missions who dominated these associations and whose opinions were also expressed in the ecumenical Lovedale based journal, the Christian Express, which later became the South African Outlook. From the late 19th century, the journal offered a social gospel perspective, refusing to "reflect a narrow pietistic view of racial affairs" and its editor during this period, DA Hunter of Lovedale, upheld this tradition. While the journal represents a Cape perspective, it often included information on other parts of the country. While the overall tenor of the journal is clear on specific issues, Hunter often encouraged the expression of divergent opinions in the interests of public debate.[15]

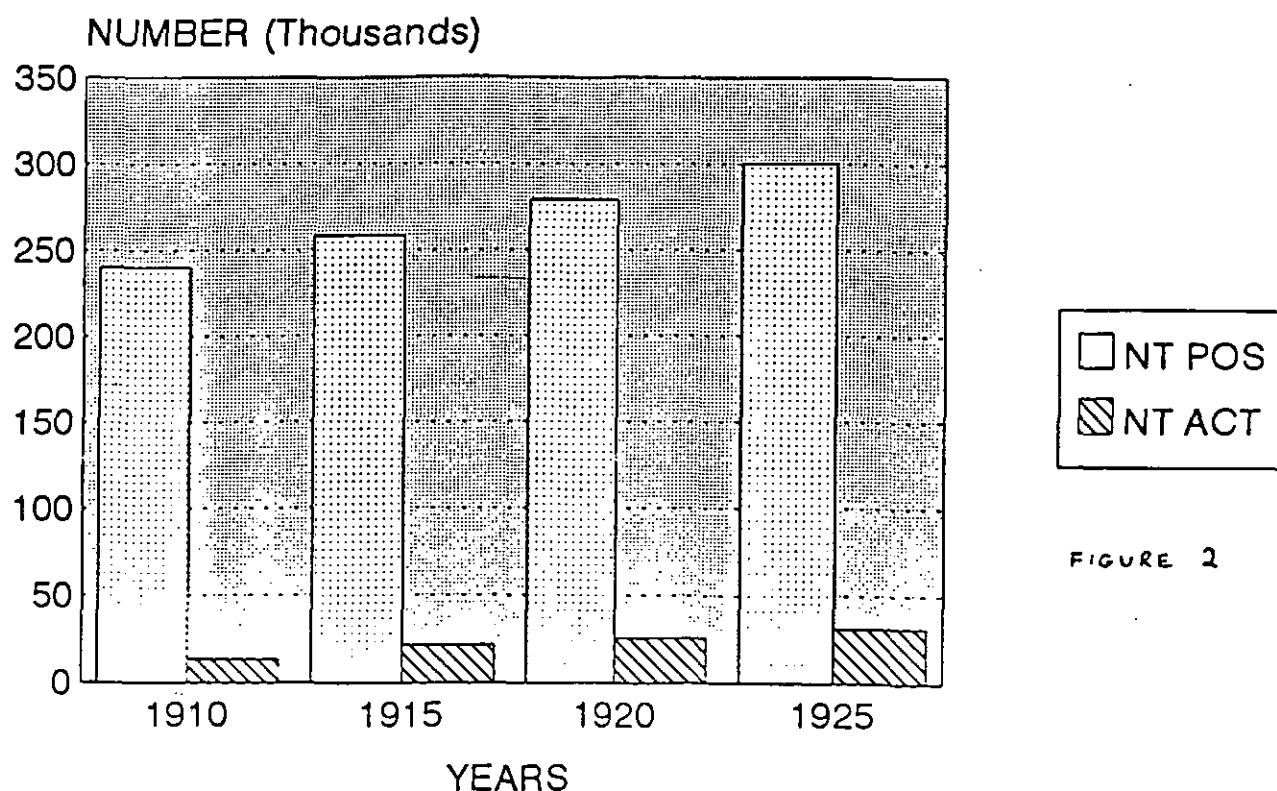
POSSIBLE & ACTUAL NUMBERS AT SCHOOL

AFRICANS IN CAPE 1910 - 1925



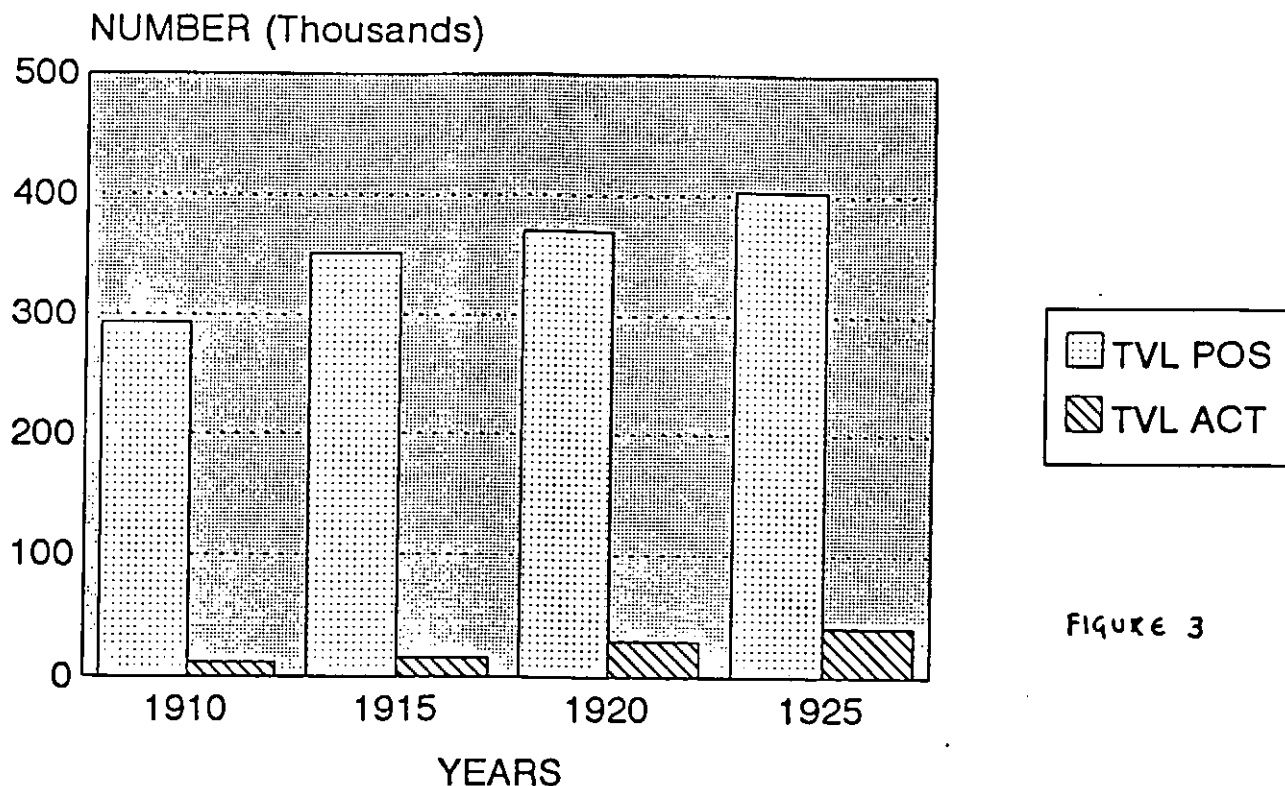
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AFRICANS IN NATAL 1910 - 1925



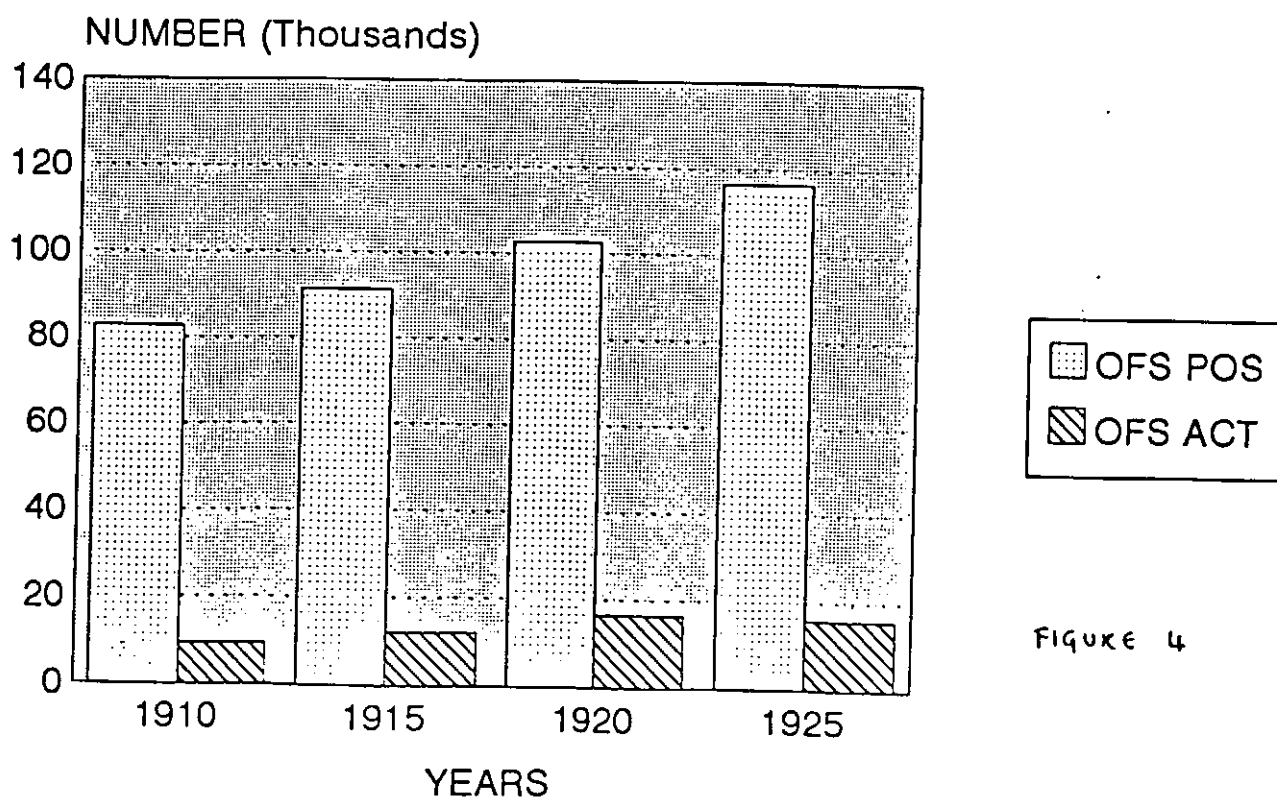
POSSIBLE & ACTUAL NUMBERS AT SCHOOL

AFRICANS IN TRANSVAAL 1910 - 1925



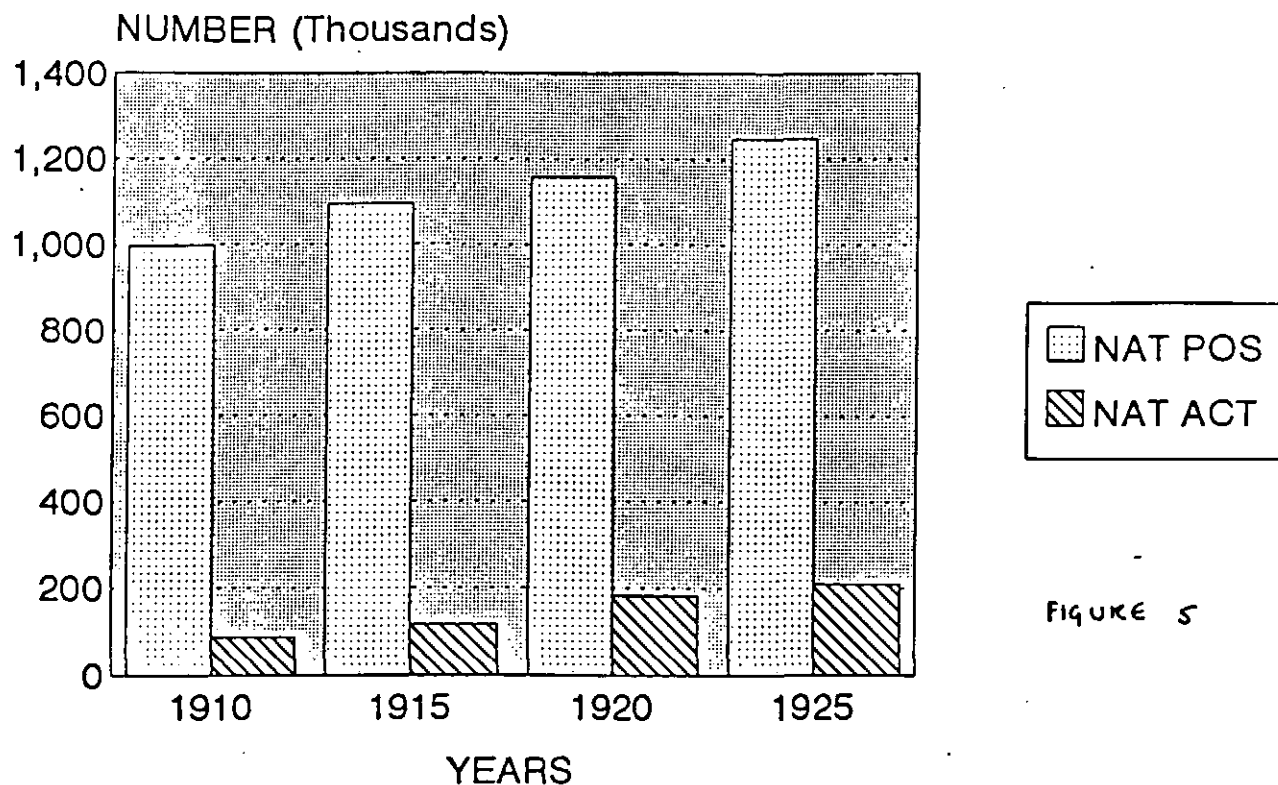
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AFRICANS IN OFS 1910 - 1925



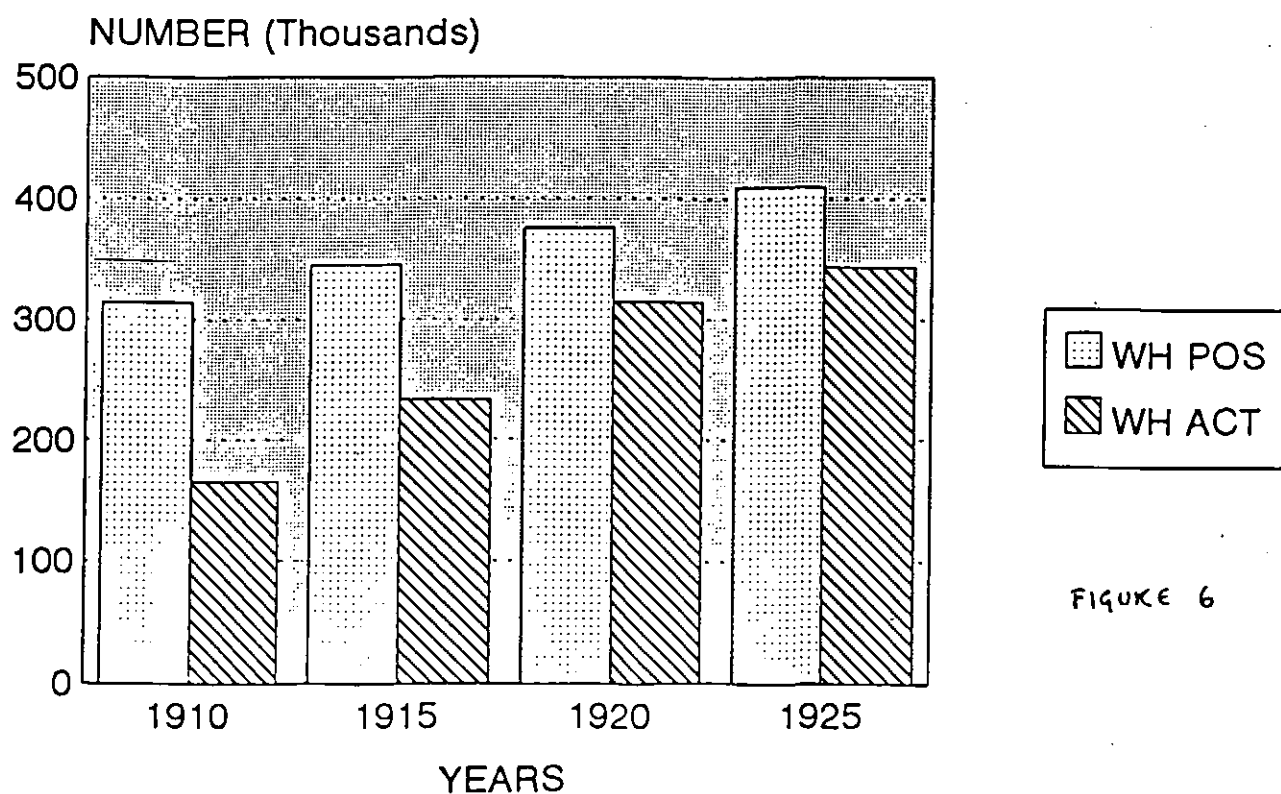
POSSIBLE & ACTUAL NUMBERS AT SCHOOL

AFRICANS NATIONALLY 1910-1925



POSSIBLE & ACTUAL NUMBERS AT SCHOOL

WHITES NATIONALLY 1910-1925



RELATIVE STATE EXPENDITURE

1910 to 1925

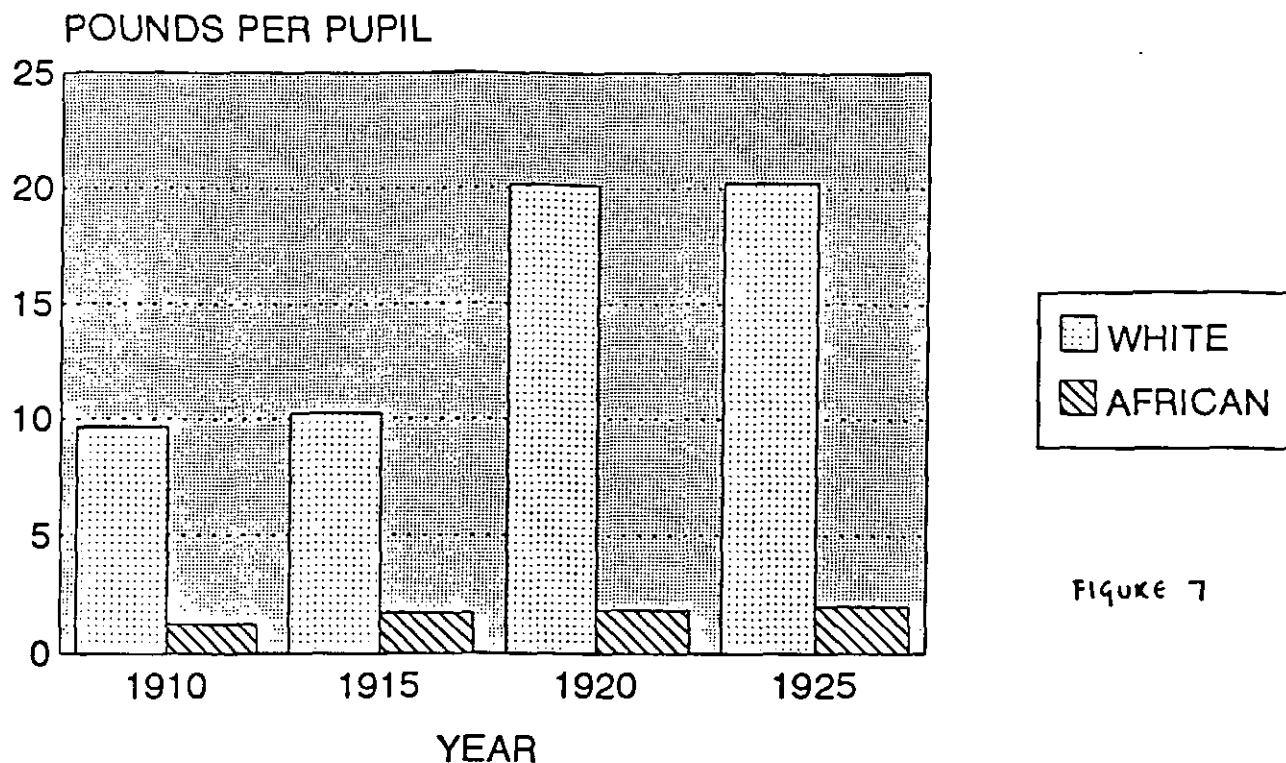
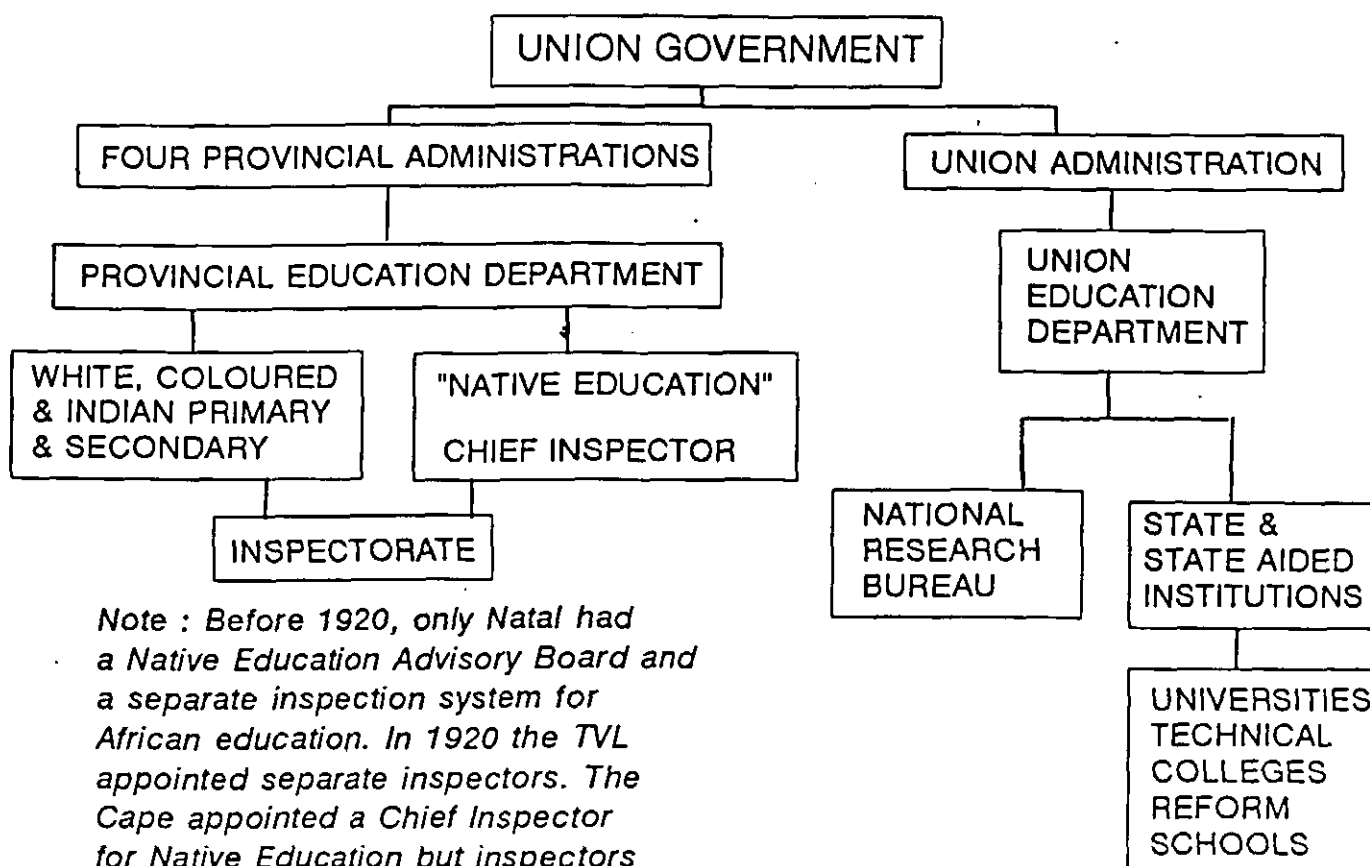


FIGURE 7

ADMINISTRATION OF EDUCATION AFTER 1910

FIGURE 8



Note : Before 1920, only Natal had a Native Education Advisory Board and a separate inspection system for African education. In 1920 the TVL appointed separate inspectors. The Cape appointed a Chief Inspector for Native Education but inspectors continued to inspect all schools.

Mission Involvement in Policy Making

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

When it came to syllabus reform, the provinces differed widely in the extent to which they involved members of the missions. In Natal they were completely excluded and in the Transvaal they did little more than rubber stamp the process. However, in the Cape they initiated and dominated the development of policy. This was the result of a number of factors including strong differences in the political economy of the provinces, individual styles of administration, and in the missions own concerns. In the Transvaal, the reform process was initiated by the Director of Education, Sir John Adamson, who drew up a scheme with the help of three inspectors. This was put before the Council of Education, and then submitted to the Anglican (CPSA), Wesleyan, DRC, Lutheran and Swiss Missions. These denominations were consulted as they ran teacher training sections, whose graduates were the target of some of the reforms and who would ultimately implement the reforms. According to Adamson, the missions gave the scheme their "cordial general approval" and "made some suggestions with regard to details which were subsequently adopted". This was the first time the missions were consulted about policy towards African education in the Transvaal.[16] However, the final Report, which was published in 1915, remained essentially a product of the TED Director and inspectorate. The Transvaal Missionary Association records make no mention of the new scheme, while they do mention the 1920 Report of the Education Commission on provincial control.[17] The missions appeared to be more concerned with the control of African education, the focus of the 1920 Report. (See page 22). It is also clear that at the time the missions were preoccupied with the drain on their resources as a result of a minimal grant which precluded the registration of new schools and abolished equipment grants.[18] For the missions, the province's stipulations about content were not a priority, since under the existing decentralised and denominational system, they could adapt most content to suit themselves. Adamson made no attempt to consult African groups such as the Transvaal Native Teachers Association, which had existed since 1906.[19] The complete exclusion of Africans is indicative of the lack of political power and smaller numbers of the educated elite in the Transvaal in contrast to the Cape.

The Natal syllabus reforms were not subject to a commission, but were the product of one man's efforts - CT Loram, who became Chief Inspector for Native Education in Natal in 1918.[20] His autocratic approach was not surprising. In his writings and correspondence, Loram comes across as an arrogant and opinionated individual. He returned to South Africa in 1917 determined to apply the insights gained from his study of education administration, psychology and Negro education at Teachers College, Columbia University. Concerned as he was with developing a secular, more scientific and efficient basis for African education, he was ambivalent about the role of missions in African education. This is clear in his book, The Education of the South African Native. He castigated the

missions for their destruction of traditional African society and for providing Africans with aspirations which alienated them from their own people. When discussing their control of African education, he said missions were "heroic" and useful but in need of much more state control. [21] He did not think it necessary to consult beyond "teachers in training institutions" and in fact he limited his consultation to Head Teachers and Inspectors. He completely bypassed the Natal Native Education Advisory Board, which consisted of mission representatives and two African representatives. [22] Here we have the first hints at Loram's desire to professionalise and secularise the system of African education on the basis of scientific principles.[23]

In contrast, the 1919 Cape Commission drew heavily on mission and African expertise. Indeed, it was the result of a mission headmasters deputation consisting of Rev James Henderson of Lovedale, Rev Lennard of Clarkebury, and Father Callaway to the Administrator of the Cape, Dr Kolbe.[24] It is not clear what input the mission representatives had concerning the terms of reference which were : to formulate "a scheme of Native Education, including industrial training" and to consider the control and organisation of schools, teacher training and different curricula, "with due attention being given to the industrial side of school work in all classes". [25] It consisted of fifteen members, five of whom were members of "Native Educational Institutions", including Henderson and Lennard, Mr B W Mahlasela, Head of Mpukane Wesleyan Native School and Chairman of the Transkeian Native Teachers Association, Canon CE Bulwer of St Marks and Mr JH Bowes of the Native Training School in Umtata and president of the Association of European Teachers in Native Institutions. Bowes (Convener), Henderson and Mahlasela were members of the curriculum reform subcommittee, along with two inspectors of schools.[26] The Commission did not include members of the Catholic Church, an omission which the Administrator of the Province noted. However, the Commission decided to reply that it was "thoroughly representative".[27]

The racially inclusive nature and designation of the commission members indicates a desire to co-opt the most conservative enfranchised educated African elite, including chiefs, who were concentrated in the Eastern Cape, where most of the major mission schools were located. [28] There is also a sense that the elite, through their "civilised" status, were regarded as part of the body politic and therefore deserved to be incorporated in the policy making process. (See page 12) Indeed, two of the four African representatives were designated as representing government departments - JT Jabavu for the Union Education Department and Chief Marelane of East Pondoland for the Native Affairs Department. A graduate of Healdtown, JT Jabavu was a teacher at Fort Hare and editor of the newspaper Imvo Zabantsundu. He was a powerful figure in the Eastern Cape, in spite of his conservatism and ambivalent attitude to the 1913 Land Act. Along with many other members of the Cape educated elite, he was appalled by the implications of the 1917 Native Administration Bill, which in the interests of a uniform "Native Policy" ignored the hard won "civilised" status of the educated elite. In parliament, John X Merriman commented that African leaders "regarded it as a deliberate attempt to minimize the position of educated men and to drive them back into the kraal." [29]

Particularly in this context, the educated elite was hostile to attempts to differentiate African from White education, and by implication, to deny Africans a place in White society. There appears to have been some alarm among the African elite over the industrial education emphasis in the

Commission's terms of reference.[30] Dr Viljoen, the Superintendent General of Education, in an opening speech before the first round of evidence was heard, tried to address these fears by pointing to the representative nature of the Commission and to a sense of common citizenship :

The personnel of the Commission and the immediate representation on it of the Native population was a guarantee that all interests were adequately represented. They were all animated by a genuine desire to evolve a system which would produce the highest and best type of citizen irrespective of race and colour."[31]

The minutes of the Commission reveal that the Commission heard extensive evidence from the Transkei Missionary Council and Ciskeian missionaries. The Chairman of the Natal Missionary Council, AW Cragg, was the only person outside the Cape who gave a mission perspective. In keeping with its desire to get African support, the Commission heard a wide range of evidence mainly from the Eastern Cape. Delegations included the Transkeian Native Teachers Association and local teachers associations, the Bantu Teachers League, and the Native Farmers Association of the Eastern Province.

The Rationale For Reform.

The timing of the reforms raises questions about whether the provinces shared a vision about the aim and content of African education, particularly in relation to the broader political economy. It is clear from an examination of the way they justified reform that there are common themes which emerge, particularly the inappropriateness of existing education and the need to adapt it to "native needs". However, this paper argues that this must be seen in a context beyond that of generalised labour needs - providers of African education were under siege in terms of financial constraints linked to intensified ideological attacks on the nature of African education. Therefore much of the rationale for reform can be seen as rhetoric designed to convince critics that provision of education was compatible with the maintenance of White supremacy. There is very little sense of fitting the reforms to match a national "Native Policy". Each reform venture was quite parochial - there is no sense that the provincial officials saw the need even to compare notes.

Shingler has argued that by the time of Union, the education of Africans per se was no longer under attack, and therefore reform after 1910 was not concerned so much with defending the right of Africans to education, but with its aim, content and methods. [32] However, he underestimates the extent to which the priority White education enjoyed severely eroded the resources available to African education, at a time when numbers were expanding. Union averages reveal that spending on White education between 1915 and 1920 almost doubled from @10 per pupil to @20. At the same time spending on African education remained the same (just under @2) and the backlog of unregistered schools which received no grants increased. (See Figure 7). These constraints varied from province to province, but there is no doubt that those concerned with the administration of African education at provincial and local level felt besieged. Under the circumstances, the rationale for reform had to be boldly and carefully constructed.

Much of the spending on White education was related to making compulsion a reality through extending hostel services, meals and provision of books.[33] This appears to have been successful by 1920. The percentage of White children at school of school going age jumped from 57.7% in 1910 to 83.7 % in 1920. (See Figure 6) [34] Behind the need to improve school attendance lay a great anxiety about the degradation of "Poor Whites" in the context of social change engendered by emerging industrialisation. Whites, by not attending school, were denied the skills which the schools provided in terms of participating at a privileged level in the industrialising economy. [35] Much of the rhetoric about uplifting "Poor Whites" was bolstered by theories of White racial supremacy which warned of the disastrous effects of racial mixing. By the early twentieth century the disruptive effects of industrialisation had eroded faith in Victorian ideas of progress, civilisation and gradual assimilation which were encapsulated in the non-racial Cape franchise. The development of segregationist policies were underpinned by ideologies of Social Darwinism, scientific racism and eugenics.[36] In spite of this onslaught, the emerging class of educated and, in the case of the Cape, enfranchised Africans actively rejected their "tribal" backgrounds and continued to aspire to equality and assimilation in White society. The formation of the South African National Native Congress, in 1912, which brought together this class on a national basis, challenged the segregationist direction of Union policy. In turn, segregationists saw the educated elite as the agents of social dislocation and the thin end of the wedge in terms of breaching the boundaries of "natural" racial divisions and hierarchies.

This fear underpinned much of the attack on mission education which Shingler points to from the early twentieth century. Writers in the United States, Britain and South Africa criticised the missions for their unscientific approach to African education, particularly its similarity to "bookish" White education, which encouraged Africans to aspire to assimilation.[37] Shingler argues that major changes like industrialisation were only gradually being recognised as one of the causes of the transformation of African society, and that education was most obvious agent to be blamed for such transformation. [38]

In defence of their own position, there was a trend among mission educators to adapt their ideas about African education to a sometimes idealised picture of a rural home and focus for Africans which would inhibit the breakdown of rural society, an education in keeping with the "conditions of native life". Here they were fired by a very real if sometimes paternalistic concern for the suffering and dislocation resulting from what they saw as poor and wasteful farming methods, coupled with the effects of cruel anti-squatter measures associated with the 1913 Land Act. This adaptation was not confined to South Africa. The World Missionary Conference of 1910 recommended that African education should not be modelled on European, but should have substantial components of agricultural and industrial education "adapted to the needs of the native races." [39]

However, this did not imply that the missions supported segregationist critiques and visions such as that of Maurice Evans. In the Cape, Hunter strongly defended the incorporationist vision implicit in the franchise. Evans advocated a segregated rural future for Africans, favoured more appropriate education in line with this and argued strongly for the abolition of the franchise. In a review of Black and White in South East

Africa, Hunter, as the editor of the Christian Express argued that the rural areas were part of "one country". The educated elite were to be modernisers in the rural areas, having "left behind them tribalism" and as such deserved a political voice. Hunter quoted extensively from the book and called Evans a "close and fair ... observer". However, in supporting the franchise, Hunter said he felt that Evans had been "blinded" by his Natal experience, and maintained that " (w)e are not two countries but one A State which rests upon but does not incorporate a large subject population is a house built upon sand ".[40]

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

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

The lack of sense of common purpose may be linked to the absence of much reference to overall "Native Policy" as such. This can be explained by the fact that provincial control militated against cooperation, and reinforced differences. However, the lack of overall reference to Native policy can also be explained by the nature of segregation policies and the position of the Native Affairs Department at the time. Dubow argues that during the first decade after Union, in spite of the passing of the 1913 Land Act, segregation had not yet developed into a systematic political doctrine, a clear ideological package. [41] This only emerged after World War One when the full effects of industrialisation and concomitant social dislocation were felt. Only the TED delayed its new syllabus proposals for African education, which had been drafted in 1912, for fear of being "inconsistent with the wider scheme" of Native Policy. However, it put them in place in 1915 because "no such expression of Union Policy was forthcoming". However, the Bishop of Pretoria was convinced that the reason for the delay was more mundane - lack of funds.[42] Administratively speaking, the NAD, which might have exerted some influence on African education both structurally and ideologically, was a "Cinderella department" - weak, disunited and poor - a department "without honour". There was no full time Minister of Native Affairs. [43]

While historians of the period have not previously noted the lack of reference to "Native Policy", they have given considerable attention to apparent economic and labour related motives, particularly in the case of the Transvaal. The first reform enterprise was one initiated in 1912 by the Director of Education in the Transvaal, Sir John Adamson. In 1912, Adamson's rationale for reform was that African education should be developed from "the point of view of the natives own possibilities, needs and aspirations" and not along "European" lines. It should be treated "as a separate and distinct problem".[44] However, the final Report which was published in 1915, spent much of its introduction not on why native education should be separate and distinct, but why it should exist at all. This rationale had a decidedly economic focus. (The justification for

native education as sui generis was confined to a short section on the aim and nature of native education.) In the Transvaal, education per se was under threat. There had been a considerable increase in the number of African pupils from 1912 particularly in the Johannesburg area, but, by this time, the amount spent on African education occupied less than 3% of the overall education budget. Provincial councillors were even questioning the existing minimal expenditure. Missions were accused of "spreading propaganda" and diverting funds for "specific religious and political purposes" [45]. The Report was therefore at pains to justify why money should be spent on African education. It made much of the economic reasons - increasing workers productive power, making more efficient workers, and legitimating the amount of tax Africans paid.[46] This should not be read off as policy as reflecting the dominant interests of capital. This was rhetoric designed to convince opponents in much more general terms that education for Africans was in fact compatible with white supremacy. As this paper will demonstrate, the reforms themselves were not a serious attempt to prepare workers for work in the industrial sector.

However, there is a detectable concern about urbanisation and the need to combat the evil effects of the city. Hence the Report's emphasis on the role of education in changing inappropriate attitudes encouraged by existing education, which had made the African "puffed up" and "an easy victim for agitators". Suitable "literary" as well as "industrial" education had to be provided or Africans would obtain it "through less satisfactory channels".[47] One of the channels would be the independent church movement which was providing an alternative home to some of the educated elite who were alienated by White paternalism in the churches.[48]

The Cape reformers faced a different set of constraints. Because of a long tradition of African education they did not face the same budgetary hostility as in the Transvaal. However, there were pressures which threatened the funding of African education. Paterson shows that after 1910, huge disparities of spending emerged which had not previously existed. By the late 1890s, Cape Colonial Administration embarked on a process of segregating multi-racial mission schools and building "poor schools" exclusively for poorer White children. This was a "necessary prelude to markedly disparate allocations of funding and resources". This process was formalised in the 1905 School Board Act, but disparities in funding only became very significant after 1910. In 1895, 41% of the colonial education budget was spent on African and "Coloured" education. By 1915, the figure was 18%. From analysing Paterson's graphs for the period 1895-1920, it appears that even less was spent by 1920.[49]

Nevertheless, in its concluding (rather than opening) remarks, the Cape Commission did "not feel itself under the duty of setting up a defence for the fact of native education" [50] It concentrated much more on the fact that the "scholastic emphasis" of the present curriculum had had "lamentable effects in the attitudes of Natives towards education and subsequent vocation". It emphasised that education should fit the child's "future work and surroundings".[51] The Commission's answer for this was more intensive agricultural education for the educated elite. It is important to note the particular context for these remarks. The majority of mission schools were located in the Transkeian Territories and the initiative for the Commission came from Eastern Cape mission educators. There is a sense that inappropriate education was seen as a major cause for the rural decline described by Beinart and Bundy in the Transkeian

Territories in the early twentieth century.[52]

In general the future and power of the inappropriately educated and enfranchised elite were a cause for great concern. This was expressed in Parliament shortly before the Commission was set up. During the debate on the Native Affairs Administration Bill of 1917, National Party leader, JBM Hertzog, stated that little had been done in the area of education "to advance the native" because of white fears about the consequences of extending the franchise .[53] This was also emphasised by Evans in his critique of the franchise. [54] In order to receive sufficient funding, the Cape reformers had to show that education could play a part in redirecting the ambitions of the elite, who would use their political power judiciously. However, there was also a genuine concern among educators like Henderson who was a first hand witness to the effects of rural decline. The Cape reforms were therefore geared towards developing a modern rural peasantry and administrative elite through an emphasis on agricultural as well as literary education . The emphasis on "industrial" education in the terms of reference has strong elements of playing to the gallery of the critics of mission schooling, and should not be seen as much more than that.

CT Loram's reforms of African education in Natal were also motivated by a vision of a self-sufficient African peasantry in the reserves.[55] Very little of the rationale for his reforms comes through in the Natal Education Department Report, but he devoted considerable space to justifying such reform in The Education of the South African Native. Compared with other reform rationales, his justification for the education of Africans played reveals far more of the influence of international ideas of scientific racism - particularly in his references to the dangers of social integration and possible miscegenation, and to intelligence testing. He also justified a curriculum based on agricultural training in terms of the reduction of racial friction, since it would channel Africans away from competition with white workers, but here Loram is grandstanding to some degree. [56] His main interest lay in developing a more "scientific" approach to African education and in justifying differentiation and a rural focus in these terms. In contrast to the Cape and Transvaal, his critique of existing African education invoked new "scientific" principles. He lamented the "absence of a scientific account of ethnology ... and psychology on which to base educational practice" and proceeded to cite his own work in testing children to justify a differentiated syllabus for "slower" African children. All of these ideas led him to formulate syllabuses with subjects of "practical and demonstrable value," with an emphasis on agricultural future in the reserves. [57] He was convinced of the centrality of agriculture in South Africa's economic development, and that Africans could secure their own (separate) future by becoming self-sufficient.

Reforming the Content of African Education

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

paper will argue that they varied in the extent to which they were a serious attempt to develop appropriate skills and values for participation in an industrialising economy.

As we have seen, mission input on the content of the curriculum varied from province to province. In general, mission societies' attitudes to content were ambivalent or non-committal, apart from advocating a strong religious base. This emphasis on a religious base must be seen in the context of encroaching secularisation, in the shape of increased control by provincial education departments, through inspection and examinations. departmental inspections, and in the shape of demands by African clients for state control. (See page) Indeed, what the missions seemed most concerned about at this time was the control rather than the content of African education, since under their control, content could be quite broadly reinterpreted. This indifference to the reform of content was certainly true of the Transvaal Missionary Association throughout this period, where the issue of content hardly ever came up, in spite of the Council of Education Report.[58] It also comes across clearly in the fact that there was little debate about content evident in the discussions among the Cape Commission members or in the evidence heard. The TMC pushed hard for a strongly religious base for education, with "Hygiene and Handicrafts" merely tacked on. Otherwise there were two or three calls for more "useful" education and "industrial" education but, unlike the requirements for moral and religious education, what this meant was not spelled out.[59]

If one considers debates which took place after 1910 in missionary society circles the Cape, there appears to be some confusion and very little agreement on the issue of appropriate content. This was related to the commitment of some missionaries to the incorporationist and civilising notions present in Cape franchise. In 1910 there was unease about how adapting subjects "to the prevailing conditions of Native life" could be done without lowering standards or treating African education as a separate entity.[60] The members of the TMC could not agree on the need for a differentiated curriculum in 1916 .[61] This, along with the preoccupation with control, possibly accounts for the superficial nature of the evidence provided to the Cape Committee about content. It seems that the curriculum produced by the Committee reflected the concerns of its members, who included mission headmasters, rather than a general mission consensus.

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

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

definition of training:

"all occupations intended to develop habits and aptitudes which will enable the native to live a better and more healthy life and to render more efficient service".[62]

The actual requirements for industrial training were extremely vague. The report gave no course outline for industrial schools as such and provided some ill defined suggestions for industrial training within the primary school.[63] In terms of teacher training, secondary and intermediate schools, the Natal syllabus pushed for an emphasis on "Agricultural and Manual Work", "native crafts", wood work, needlework and domestic science, which could take between ten and twenty five hours a week. For primary schools Loram recommended increased manual training. There was far less emphasis on moral or religious training however, probably in keeping with Loram's more secular perspective and the exclusion of the missions from the reform process.[64]

The Cape Report laid down that between six and seven hours out of the twenty five teaching hours in a week were devoted to "religious and moral instruction, manual and industrial training, and hygiene, drill and games". Industrial/manual training occupied half of these hours, considerably less than the ratio recommended by the Transvaal or Natal Reports.[65] Agriculture was to be taken by boys only in the bigger institutions, in Stds 4, 5 and 6, so the focus here was in fact the educated elite. It is the only course which had some substance, indicating the Commission's interest in refocusing the ambitions of the elite towards the rural areas. [66] In contrast, the Commission was vague about manual and industrial training and about the difference between them. Manual and industrial training appear to become more specific when related to the development of "village industries", which linked up with the Commission's rural focus and the development of self sufficiency in the reserves. The Commission emphasised that the products of the new system should be "useful among their own people", but again the emphasis was on a self sufficient reserve economy rather than the protection of white workers. [67] It suggested courses in carpentry, brickmaking and house construction, but gave no outline as to what such a course should look like. Rather in the same vein as the the TED report, it avoided the issue by saying that such training should "be adapted to local circumstances and be carried out on practical lines with utilitarian ends." [68] There was more of an emphasis on "literary" education" (particularly before Std 4), than in the TED report, which recommended that half the time was to be spent on training.

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

Various attempts were made to adapt mainstream education - often generally called literary education or "the three Rs", or, in the case of the Transvaal, "instruction". However according to the Council of Education Report "only those topics which are likely to be of use to the native and which he can appreciate and assimilate have been included." [69] Pruning in Natal was even more alarming. Algebra and Geometry were dropped at teacher training level, and replaced with Physiology, Hygiene and Nature

Study. At primary school level, "a revision on somewhat severely practical lines" of most subjects took place, along with the introduction of Nature Study, Physiology and Hygiene.[70]

In contrast to the Transvaal Syllabus, which was an entirely new creation, the Cape Commission basically adapted the existing Primary School Course for white schools, and retained much of its content. It would seem that the adaptation to "native needs" was mainly in the emphasis on industrial education and not in the approach to the standard components of the syllabus. For example, there were no references to pruning or simplifying the geography or arithmetic course for African needs. [71] This was probably the result of an African and mission presence on the Curriculum Committee.

Teachers were a particular target of syllabus reform since they were to implement the reforms. Teachers' education was accordingly adapted to fit them to teach the new syllabus in both a moral and practical sense. In the Cape, trainee teachers were to take compulsory courses in religious and moral instruction, hygiene, civics, agriculture, domestic and industrial training. [72] The Transvaal Report tied grants for teacher training to their taking moral and industrial training courses, and students needed a certificate at the end of their first and second year regarding their "moral fitness and progress and industrial aptitude and progress" to proceed to the next year.[73] Agriculture, Woodwork and Domestic Science were all mandatory for trainee teachers in Natal, and Loram recommended that teachers who did not teach gardening properly in the primary school, should suffer "pains and penalties for non-completion of the syllabus in this respect".[74]

The coupling of moral with manual and industrial training in the case of the Transvaal and the vagueness of the "industrial" component both suggest that at most the reformers were hoping to neutralise the inappropriate ambitions of their clients, and that they were signalling their intention to do so to their critics. The recommendations for industrial education in the Transvaal and Cape were clearly not going to provide the basis of preparation for work in the real world. Here Jim Campbell's comments on industrial education are most apposite. He argues that industrial education "offered preparation for a life which never existed". It was "less an explicit educational model than a metaphor which conjured up a range of images to different groups at different times." It reassured whites that black education was "compatible with white supremacy.", particularly by "coupling pedagogy to certain secondary political attributes such as docility and industriousness." [75] However, as we shall see, the emphasis on moral education in the Cape at least was also linked to the missions desire to control education themselves in the face of increasing African demands for state control and local African control.

Writers such as Frank Molteno have noted that educationists saw the inculcation of attitudes to work as more important than the skills learned in industrial education. In this way it was compatible with the reproduction of capitalist relations rather than as functional to it.[76] Both Cross and Molteno's arguments assume that African workers were to be the object of such education. But at this time, the African working class was a migrant "semi-proleteriat" most of whom did not go to school. By 1920, only 15.6 % of African children who could have gone to school actually did, and most did not stay longer than two years. The provincial reform initiatives did not seriously consider major extension of African

education, in spite of the suggestions by the 1920 Transvaal Commission that at some stage it was a possibility. None of them saw compulsion even as a remote possibility - the Cape Commission thought it would only alienate rural Africans.[77]

The moral/manual/industrial training was targeted the educated elite, rather than the working class, since the emphasis of this training was at a post Std 2 level. Even then, one questions whether in the Transvaal, the reforms moved beyond the level of rhetoric. It is clear from the TED Reports after 1915 that the Transvaal Provincial Council was not convinced that the extension of African education funding was compatible with the extension of White education, in spite of the aims and altered content of the new curriculum. The finance necessary for the implementation of the reforms was not initially forthcoming and never amounted to much. By 1922 the Transvaal attempted to raise African taxes to extend education, rather than devote more of the existing budget to it.[78] Substantial teacher and mission opposition also emerged. In 1920, the TED report said that as a result of the lack of funds and opposition to it, industrial education was a "dead letter".[79] Therefore to argue that the Transvaal reforms reflected dominant capitalist interests is to give them a substance they did not have.

In the Cape, the particular context and personnel on the Curriculum Committee dictated that there was a much more substantial and realistic attempt to develop a curriculum for Std 4 onwards in agricultural education. Here there was an attempt to bolster a rural elite with priorities in the reserves. Even the rather vague industrial curriculum aimed at supplementing this vision by promoting "native tradesmen" who would serve their own people, and by developing village industries. While this focus might have had the effect of protecting white workers from competition, it was not its main intention. There was a genuine concern among educators such as Henderson and Jabavu about the decline of the rural areas, and the Native Farmers Association strongly favoured agricultural education as a force to combat it.

Loram's reforms had a similar vision. He was convinced that agriculture "must become the chief industry in South Africa", and Africans in this context should "be taught to be good farmers." His definition of "industrial training" was quite specific - "instruction in agriculture and in Native Arts and Crafts." [80] However, in contrast to the Cape reformers, he incorporated the "scientific" ideas of Evans (who was originally from Natal) and Kidd. He was also informed by racist ideas of intelligence and correspondingly more ruthless and autocratic in his sense of the kind of curriculum that could prepare people for their rural futures. The residual Victorian vision of gradual incorporation had no place here and neither did the missions.

Both these attempts to develop a rural focus in terms of skills and political values might have been compatible with capitalist development, but they did not reflect capitalist interests as such.

Debates About The Control Of African Education

According to the Union settlement, all education was to be controlled by the provinces for a period of five years, which implied that the provincial powers in regard to education were only temporary. [81] White, "Coloured" and Indian education was to be provided by provincial

government schools. African education remained the preserve of the missions. The debates which raged about the control of African education during this period can be considered on two levels: the issue of Union as opposed to Provincial control and its implications for differentiation, and the issue of mission as opposed to secular control of schools.

Very little has been written about what was at stake when the issue of control was discussed, and the fierce debate around the secularisation of education has been overlooked completely. Shingler has pointed out that debates about the control and the aim and content of African education are closely linked. He argues that those who favoured central control by the Union Education Department (UED) (see Fig 8) in a separate Native Education department, or by the NAD, were those who saw African education as something that belonged to "Native policy" and should be entirely separate from the European Education Departments. Therefore they would also argue for differentiated content, and were hardline segregationists. Those who favoured provincial control argued that education was not a racial matter and that African education should be administered side by side with White and should not be substantially different from it. Shingler describes such people as "gradualist assimilationists". [82] It is likely that they supported the retention of the Cape franchise. However, a survey of the debates at this time shows that this is a simplistic divide. Some members of the missions felt that the neglect of African education was the result of provincial miserliness and hostility, and that this could only be rectified by the creation of a Department of Native Education under the Union. Commitment to Union control did not necessarily mean a commitment to differentiation.

The temporary nature of the provincial arrangement meant that there was constant debate from 1910 onwards. In August 1910, the Christian Express, discussing the control of African education, commented that "no responsible person directly connected with the actual work of Native Education urges a separate system. The whole of missionary and native opinion is avowedly opposed to a separate system". However, it recommended that African education should be controlled by the Union Government. African education it said, should reflect "the policy of the state as a whole, in a state in which the Natives form the bulk of the labouring population, and are taxpayers and citizens or potential citizens." [83]

In early 1914, Mr G Hofmeyr, the Under Secretary for Education in the UED proposed that Native Education be administered by the Union Government because that would bring African education closer to the NAD and national policy making. One anonymous writer in the Christian Express welcomed the suggestion, noting that this meant that "question of native education will be treated as a matter quite distinct from European education; that a system of education will be devised to meet the particular needs of the Natives, to be administered by a separate department and under the guidance of a special class of officials". The writer argued that "studies of anthropology and ethnology" and "educational science" supported this. [84] However, apart from Hunter's extensive review and critique of Evans' Black and White in South East Africa, references to secular studies and to science are rare in the Christian Express at this time, and the presence of the article probably reflects Hunter's policy of including articles designed to stimulate debate.

The issue of state or provincial control came to a head at the conference called by the Transkei Missionary Conference to respond to the Commission into Provincial Administration in 1916. The Provincial Administration

Commission was appointed in 1915 to reconsider the provincial system.[85] In general it was hostile to the provincial system and recommended changes along the lines of developing a local government system. [86] In considering African education, the Commission appears to have consulted the TMC quite thoroughly, but there is no evidence of any other mission based consultation. Possibly this was because the Commission was interested in the Transkeian Territories General Council system of local government.

At the conference there was much support for the continuation of provincial control, but some members supported the idea of the post of a Director of Native Education, initiated by the Under Secretary for Education, Mr G Hofmeyr, who attended the conference. He did not use the argument about a unified "Native policy", but played on mission concern over provincial neglect of African education. He advocated the appointment of a man "who would plead at the right time and at all times for the cause of Native education so that it should not be forgotten". Rev Scott, headmaster of St Cuthberts, was wary of such an appointment. "Did this imply a definite break between European and Native education?" he asked. "The Native would become more and more capable of receiving the benefits of European education and the feeling was against the separation of Native and European education.". In the end the conference, seduced by the idea of the possible impact of a special pleader for African education, came out in favour of Union control with a "Director of Native Education". [87]

Following the line of debate put forward by the Under Secretary for Education in 1914, the Provincial Administration Commission queried why the Provinces controlled African education, when a unified native policy had been one of the objects of Union. Following the lines of debate of the TMC conference, it recommended that native education become part of the UED, under a special sub department for native education. However, it also recommended that all other education become a Union affair.[88] The NAD report for 1913 - 18 quoted the Commission approvingly.[89] However, the Commission made little impact. In 1917 the Transvaal Commission into Education (Malherbe Commission) began its own investigation into the provincial control of education, and reported that it could see no reason for limiting or ending provincial control of education. By 1920 the provincial system became a permanent constitutional feature.[90]

The 1919 Cape Commission strongly supported Provincial control. Embedded in this was a sense of being part of one education system in "one country". It gave as its reason that Union control would "cut them off from the main course of educational development in the country." [91] There was also an emerging fear, which was more clearly articulated later on, that Union control would mean that the Cape would have to subsidise what Shingler calls "the legacy of indifference and hostility found in the Transvaal and Orange Free State." [92] I would speculate that educational officials and educators in general were concerned about their own professional position should they be incorporated into the poorly funded low status NAD. The issue of control was hardly debated by the Commission or mentioned in the evidence, which supports the Commission's claim that there was consensus amongst interested parties.

By far the most dominant and most acrimonious debate about the control of African education was about the nature of mission control. This was reflected in the 1916 TMC conference, and in evidence to the Cape Commission and to the 1920 Transvaal Report of the Education Commission.

The major English-speaking churches who provided education were not prepared to dilute their control of education on the ground. Christian moral education, with a particular denominational flavour, was at the heart of their enterprise, which moved beyond conversion, to the paternalistic protection of "native rights" and the general defusion of social conflict. This was to be done through inculcation of appropriate values and attitudes in a time of social and economic change - the social gospel. This was expressed in the following way at the Fourth South African General Missionary Conference of 1912:

"The Rev R Henry Dyke spoke about ... the widening gulf of racial difference ... (and how) the missionary societies have the very grave responsibility of bridging the gulf between what have become two opposing forces. He then enlarged on the missionaries' task of protecting the rights of natives"[93]

Soon after union African teachers in the Cape and Transvaal had begun to demand state control of education, and more African control at local school committee level. They argued that the amount of taxes paid by them entitled them to free state controlled education. There was also considerable resentment at the autocratic nature of mission control of schools at a grassroots level, particularly in the appointment and dismissal of teachers on moral grounds. The Transvaal Native Teachers Association by 1916 had made state control a major issue, arguing that African tax contributions obliged the state to provide for free education and pointing to the divisive effects of denominationalism. [94] Heated debate took place at the 1916 TMC conference between White and African delegates over the missions autocratic attitudes. Missions' autocratic appointment and dismissal of teachers and the lack of local African committees were sore points. Rev JB Morris remarked that "he often had to fight against a whole location who wanted a certain teacher who was unfitted for the work". While African delegates favoured the amalgamation of competing mission schools into non-denominational schools, White delegates said "it would simply mean the ruin of the character of the native people". [95]

Similar opinions dominated evidence to the Cape Commission. The Transkeian Missionary Council stated that "true education and civilization of the natives, young and old, depends on the foundations of morality and religion, and therefore religious teaching in the schools and the appointment and dismissal of teachers should still remain in the hands of the missionary". The CMC was equally convinced of this view. They were hostile non-denominational schools and to any local committee or school board which might interfere with the appointment of teachers. [96]

One Native Teachers' Association delegate replied that "the mission school system should be relegated to oblivion and in its place there should be established undenominational public schools". The Commission acknowledged the desire of African teachers for the formation of local school committees but did not think that there was great support for state control.[97] It condemned missionary sectarianism and lack of contact with parents and other interested groups, but still saw mission control as fundamental. Missions were to be "trustees and agents of the state". It said that the ideal was "combined control" where school committees would work with the missionary superintendent, but on the initiative of the superintendent who would still control the appointment and dismissal of teachers. At a district and provincial level there should be advisory

committees where all the stakeholders could meet regularly.[98]

During 1918, among members of the Transvaal Missionary Association, there was a marked a difference of opinion regarding the establishment of government schools and amalgamation of schools of different denominations. The Anglican Church in particular was wedded to denominational education. The TMA was unable to reach agreement on these questions, and decided not to give evidence as an association to the Malherbe Commission. [99] The Malherbe Commission itself noted these opinions and quoted the Anglican position verbatim. However, it recommended the formation of elected school committees, and the amalgamation of denominational schools in areas that were oversubscribed. [100]

In Natal, the secular nature of Loram's approach and his distrust of missions was reflected in the actual take over of some mission schools as provincially controlled "government" schools, which, he said would mark the beginning of a "government" take over of African education.[101] This was made possible by the fact that Natal was better off financially than some of the other provinces.[102] The contrast with the Cape's commitment to mission control is striking.

Conclusion

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

There were important ideological differences underpinning the rural focus of reform in Natal and the Cape. Both the African elite and at least some elements among the missions were still committed to Victorian ideas of civilisation and incorporation of the elite, and this is implicit in the personnel, processes and recommendations of the Cape Commission. Secularisation based on "scientific" and related racist assumptions led Loram to ignore both missions and the African elite in Natal. Demands for secularisation of content and control from segregationist ideologues and secularisation of control from alienated African pupils and teachers forced besieged missions to reaffirm their commitment to religious education and denominational control. This is particularly true of the Transvaal where, in addition, financial stringency overshadowed concern over the details of content reform. It is simplistic to characterise the missions either as unwitting or willing "servants of power" during this time.

It is hoped that this paper has suggested some new avenues for inquiry concerning the interplay of ideology and regional political economy in the complex relations between church, state and education.

[1]Cape of Good Hope : Report of the Education Commission on Native Education, (CP 4-20), Pretoria : 1920, (Hereafter the Viljoen Commission), para 14.

[2]L Chisholm and M Cross "The Roots of Segregated Schooling in Twentieth Century South Africa " in M Nkomo (ed) Pedagogy of Domination (Africa World Press, 1990), pages 43-9. M Cross "The Foundations of Segregated Schooling in the Transvaal 1902-1924" in History of Education, 1987, Vol 16, No 4, page 269. A Paterson "Neglected Origins of Racism in Sate Education Policy : The Segregation of Schooling in the Cape Colony, 1890-1920", Unpublished paper presented at the South African Comparative and History of Education Society Meeting, Kenton-on-the-Katberg, October 1991. K Harley "African Education and Social Control in Colonial Natal" in Perspectives in Education, Vol 13, No 2, Winter 1992.

[3]Cross and Chisholm, "The Roots", page 47.

[4]A Paterson "Neglected Origins", page 17.

[5]Cross, "The Foundations", page 268.

[6]Paterson, "Neglected Origins", page 9.

[7]J Cochrane Servants of Power : The Role of English Speaking Churches, 1903-1930. (JHB, 1988), pages 156-7.

[8]Cross, "The Foundations", page 272.

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

[10]Segregated schools were made law in 1894 in Natal, 1905 in the Cape, 1907 in the Transvaal and 1908 in the OFS, and in all cases White education was free and compulsory until about ages 14-16.

[11]EG Malherbe "Native Education in the Union of South Africa" in Yearbook of Education, 1933, p 605. Union of South Africa : Bulletin of Educational Statistics : 1939, Table 1.

[12]Just prior to Union, the expenditure on Native Education in the Transvaal amounted to 1.7% of the overall budget for education. Transvaal Education Department: Report for the Year Ended 30th June 1909 . Pretoria : 1910, page 36. Things did not improve much after 1910. The Transvaal Education Department Council of Education Report noted that in 1913 native education had taken up only 2.4 % of the Province's total bill for education and that up until that point "maximum grants had rarely been given". Transvaal Education Department : Third Report of the Council of Education Dealing with Native Education . (OP 5844, State Library, Pretoria), page 3. Expenditure on African education in the Cape in 1915 amounted to 18% of the provincial education budget. This percentage is calculated from figures in Paterson, page 13.

[13]Bulletin of Educational Statistics, 1939, page 75.

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

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

[16]TED: Report for the Year Ended December 31 1912 Pretoria : 1913, page 94. Transvaal Education Department : Third Report of the Council of Education Dealing with Native Education, page 1. C.T. Loram The Education of the South African Native, (London, 1917), p 137. South Africa Official: Interdepartmental Committee on Native Education, 1935 - 1936, (UG 29 - 36) (Hereafter the Welsh Report), para 118. The Council of Education was originally founded in 1895 to expand education for White English-speaking children on the Rand.

[17]Province of the Transvaal: Report of the Education Commission, (TP 1 - 1920), hereafter the Malherbe Report.

[18]"Native Education in the Transvaal" in Christian Express, July 1914.

[19]University of the Witwatersrand Archives, AD 843. JD Rheinallt Jones Papers. Kb 27.1. TP Mathabathe and IR Poho, Record of the Work of the Transvaal African Teachers Association 1905 - 1927. (Caxton Press, 1928), page 3.

[20]Charles Loram began his career as an assistant inspector of schools in Natal in 1906. In 1914 he took leave of absence to study at Teachers College, Columbia University. He was one of a number of South African educationists to do so at this time. His dissertation, "The Education of the South African Native", was published as a book shortly after his arrival back in South Africa. See R Hunt Davis Junior "Charles T Loram and the American Model for African Education in South Africa" in P Kallaway (ed) Apartheid and Education (JHB, 1988), and B Fleisch "Science, Efficiency and Education : The South African Dissertations from Teachers College, Columbia University, 1917-1924.", paper presented at the history of Education Society Meeting, Kansas City, October 1991.

[21]Loram, Education of, pages 73-78.

[22]Loram, The Education of, page 137. Natal was the first province to have a Native Education Advisory Board. it was established in 1907, directly as a result of the Bambata rebellion. Welsh Report, para 82. See also Province of Natal : Report of the Superintendant of Education for the Year 1918, NP 4 - 1919, pages 44 and 46.

[23]Fleisch, "Science, Efficiency", page 6.

[24]Cape Province - Official : Report of the Commission on Native Education (CP 4 -20), Appendix A : Minutes of Meetings, Umtata, 25 June 1919 (Hereafter the Viljoen Report).

[25]Viljoen Report , para 1.

[26]Viljoen Report, Appendix B 5. The Commission was chaired by Dr W Viljoen, Superintendent-General of Education and included two inspectors, the Secretary for Native Affairs, the Paramount Chief of East Pondoland, two representatives from the Transkeian Territories General Council, one Provincial Council Representative, and one Union Department of Education representative - JT Jabavu of Fort Hare.

[27]Viljoen Report, Appendix A, Minutes of Meetings, Umtata, 25th June, 1919.

[28]In 1892, the Cape Franchise and Ballot Act raised the property qualifications and for the first time directly linked the franchise to education via a compulsory literacy test. A Odendaal Vukani Bantu !, (Cape Town, 1984) page 13.

[29]Native Affairs Administration Bill Debate, Cape Times, 31-3-17. P Walshe The Rise of African Nationalism in South Africa (JHB, 1987), page 59.

[30]Viljoen Report, Appendix A, Minutes of Meetings, Umtata, 25th June, 1919.

[31]Viljoen Report, Appendix A , Minutes, Friday 11 July. The emphasis is mine.

[32]J Shingler 'Education and the Political Order in South Africa' (Phd Thesis, Yale University, 1973), pages 158-163.

[33]Shingler, "Education and the Political Order", pages 60-1 and Paterson, "Neglected Origins", pages 13-15.

[34]Bulletin of Education Statistics 1939, Table 1.

[35]Shingler, "Education and", pages 60-1.

[36]S Marks and S Trapido (eds) "The politics of race, class and

nationalism" in The Politics of Race, Class and Nationalism in Twentieth Century South Africa (London, 1987), page 8.

[37]Shingler cites Dudley Kidd's Kafir Socialism and the Dawn of Individualism, published in 1908, and Maurice Evans' Black and White in South East Africa : A Study in Sociology which was published in 1911 as being very influential. "Education and", pages 169 and 184

[38]Shingler, "Education and", page 162. The Provincial Administration Commission of 1917 argued that education was one of the "most potent" influences on Africans. South Africa : Official Report of the Provincial Commission into Provincial Administration , (UG 45 - 16). Government Printer, Pretoria. (Jagger Commission), paras 59, 61, 128, 256. See also South Africa : Official Report of the Department of Native Affairs for the Years 1913 - 1918. (UG 7 - 19).

[39]Shingler, "Education and ", pages 176-7.

[40]"Mr Maurice Evans' Book. Black and White in South East Africa." Parts 1, II and III, in Christian Express, May, June and July 1912.

[41]Dubow, Racial Segregation, page 3.

[42]Transvaal Education Department : Report for the Year Ended December 31 1912 Pretoria : 1913, page 92. Welsh Report, para 116. "Native Education in the Transvaal" in CE, July 1914.

[43]Dubow, Racial Segregation, page 77.

[44]TED: Report for the Year Ended December 31 1912 Pretoria : 1913, page 92.

[45]TED: Report for the Year Ended December 31 1912 Pretoria : 1913, page 91. TED: Report for the Year Ended December 31 1914 Pretoria : 1915, page 39.

[46]TED : Third Report , page 2.

[47]TED : Third Report , page 11.

[48]A Odendaal Vukani Bantu !, pages 23-29.

[49]Paterson, "Neglected Origins", pages 2, 11.

[50]Viljoen Report, para 107.

[51]Viljoen Report, para 54.

[52]Paterson shows that there was big increase in school attendance in Transkei during the first decade after Union. "Neglected Origins", pages 15-16. For a discussion of the political economy of the Transkei Territories in the early twentieth century, see W Beinart and C Bundy

Hidden Struggles in Rural South Africa (JHB:1987), pages 10-11.

[53]Native Affairs Administration Bill Debate, Cape Times, 31-3-17.

[54]"Mr Maurice Evans' Book", Part III in CE, July 1912.

[55]Fleisch "Science, Efficiency", page 17.

[56]C T Loram The Education of the South African Native Longmans, Green and Co, London, 1917. Chapter 1 and page 127.

[57]Loram, The Education", Chapter 5 and page viii. See Fleisch "Science, Efficiency " pages 14-18, Shingler "Education and ", page 184.

[58]Report of the 8th Annual Conference of the Transvaal Missionary Association, Johannesburg, October 8 1912. Report of the Transvaal Missionary Association for the Year 1917-1918. Report of the Transvaal Missionary Association for the Year 1918-19

[59]Viljoen Report, pages 19-21.

[60]"Butterworth Conference on Native Education" Christian Express, June 1 1910.

[61]Cape Archives (Hereafter CAD) CMT 3/629 60/3 Report of Proceedings of Transkei Missionary Council Native Education Conference July 1916

[62]TED : Third Report, page 10.

[63]TED : Third Report, "Appendix II: Courses to be Followed in Native Schools".

[64]NP 4 - 1919, page 46, and Natal Province : Official Report of the Superintendent of Education in Natal for the Year 1919, NP 1920 (Printed by the Natal Witness), page 32.

[65]Viljoen Report, page 36.

[66]The Commission made extensive use of "experts" in agricultural education who helped draw up the agriculture syllabus. Viljoen Report, page 35.

[67]Viljoen Commission, para 68.

[68]Viljoen Report, page 36-7.

[69]TED : Third Report, page 9. Beyond the three R's, geography appeared to be an important subject, begun in the 4th year. The teacher course in geography gives an example of the rather crass pruning for African needs : "the movements of the sun and the moon as far as these are useful and be made intelligible to the natives". Appendix III, Second

Year Course.

[70]NP 4 - 19 , page 46 and NP 20, page 34.

[71]Viljoen Report, Appendix B, Report of the Curriculum Committee.

[72]Viljoen Report, para 81.

[73]TED : Third Report, Appendix III : Course For Training Native Teachers.

[74]NP 4 -1919, para 8.

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

[76]F Molteno, "The Historical Foundations of the Schooling of Black South Africans ", in Kallaway (ed) Apartheid, page 68.

[77]Viljoen Report, paras 95 and 96.

[78]Malherbe, "Native Education ", page 612.

[79]TED: Report for the Year Ended December 31 1915 Pretoria : 1916, p 43, TED: Report for the Year Ended December 31 1917 Pretoria : 1918, p 83, TED: Report for the Year Ended December 31 1919 Pretoria : 1920, p 35, TED: Report for the Year Ended December 31 1920 Pretoria : 1921, p 63.

[80]Loram, The Education, page 234.

[81]B Rose and R Tumner (eds) Documents in South African Education (JHB:1973), page 11.

[82]Shingler, "Education and ", page 65.

[83]"Native Education under Union", Christian Express, August 1 1910. The emphasis is mine.

[84]"The Future of Native Education - II" Christian Express July 1 1914.

[85]South Africa : Official Report of the Provincial Commission into Provincial Administration , (UG 45 - 16). Government Printer, Pretoria.(Hereafter the Jagger Commission)

[86]Rose and Tumner, Documents, page 11.

[87] CAB CMT 3/629 60/3 Report of Proceedings of Transkei Missionary Council Native Education Conference, July 1916 . The emphasis is mine.

[88]Jagger Commission, paras 59, 61, 128, 256.

[89]South Africa : Official Report of the Department of Native Affairs for the Years 1913 - 1918. (UG 7 - 19).

[90]Rose and Tumner, Documents, page 18.

[91]Viljoen Report, para 21.

[92]Shingler, "Education and", page 178.

[93]Summary of the General Missionary Conferences, page 67

[94]TP Mathabathe and IR Poho, Record of the Work, page 6.

[95]CAB CMT 3/629 60/3 Report of Proceedings of Transkei Missionary Council Native Education Conference July 1916

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

[97]Viljoen Report, para 17.

[98]Viljoen Report, paras 16-21, and Appendix A : Minutes of Meetings, Umtata, July 1, 1919.

[99]Transvaal Missionary Association Annual Report 1917-1918, page 6, and 1918-1919, pages 15-16.

[100]TP 1-1920, para 498-502. On the other hand it never contemplated total African control, and recommended that a provincial school be run by "a white man of strong moral character and with a missionary spirit".

[101]NP 4 - 19, page 49.

[102]Welsh Report, para 83.