schools actively promoted inter-racial contact, while too many of their products came away with snobbish attitudes towards those who had not attended them.[41]

The reactions of the headmasters of the private schools were, perhaps, predictable.[42] While there was support for the less threatening proposals (greater inter-racial contact etc), the possibility of 'integrating' their schools was rejected with varying degrees of vehemence. One general response was that 'integration' was illegal and would risk the closure of the schools by the government. Another was that most white Anglicans were too conservative to accept such a move, and that large numbers of white pupils would be withdrawn, thus facing the schools with financial ruin. Apart from these 'practical' problems, there were also educational standards to be considered, and here some racist attitudes were revealed: 'If Africans were in the majority, they could easily ruin the whole pattern of ideals and discipline',[43] said one headmaster, while another wondered if they would become 'intellectual misfits, as the Coloureds are racial misfits' and expressed strong doubts that 'a non-white schoolmaster could have the same results as a European'.[44]

The issue rapidly became a national one for the Anglican church and the 1965 Provincial Synod (ie the national body) unanimously passed a resolution calling on Anglican schools not to exclude any children on racial grounds. In the meantime, a Coloured warden in the Anglican Church, J.S. Thomas, had tried to enrol his son at St George's Grammar School. The Dean of Cape Town, who was chairman of the board of governors, and a minority of the board supported the application, but they were outvoted. At the beginning of 1966, Thomas again applied to St George's, no doubt encouraged by the Provincial Synod's resolution. The headmaster refused to consider a renewed application

'in view of the previous decision'. Thomas also applied to Herschel to admit his daughter: the board of this school accepted her enrolment subject to her passing the entrance examination, which she apparently failed. [45]

The government and its press seized gleefully on what they saw as evidence of Anglican hypocrisy, while a heated debate continued within the church itself. An editorial in Seek in January 1966, dealing with the Thomas case, called on the Archbishop, the church's metropolitan, to set up a strong commission to report publicly on the role of the church schools. This was followed by an article by Francis Wilson in the March issue which reviewed events since the Diocesan Synod meeting of 1958, repeated the main charges of the 'Challenge to the Church Schools', and concluded that the schools were betraying Bishop Gray's original intention that a church school should be 'a great engine for the extension of the pure faith of Christ' in Africa.

Wilson's article aroused indignation in some church schools. Deane Yates, the headmaster of St John's, wrote to the Archbishop, [46] describing the article as 'grievously unfortunate', saying that the whole matter should be regarded as sub judice since the Archbishop had in fact set up a commission, and asking that 'dangerous pronouncements in this newspaper' be controlled.

The commission's report was referred to in Chapter 2, in particular its conclusion that the Anglican schools were not answerable to the church itself in terms of management affairs, including the question of admission, but only in matters of faith, worship and doctrine. The schools clearly regarded this as letting them off the hook, but it by no means resolved the conflict within the church. This conflict surfaced again very

soon when, in 1969, Bishops refused admission to the son of a Coloured Anglican clergyman, the Rev. Clive McBride. The diocesan synod expressed deep concern, the relevant resolution being passed by 95 votes to 33, with four abstentions. Francis Wilson wrote an angry editorial in the ecumenical journal, South African Outlook, and there was a good deal of discussion in the press.[47]

The position stayed much the same until the whole question was brought back into sharp focus in 1976, when the Roman Catholic Church decided in principle to integrate its schools. The Anglican and Methodist Churches expressed their formal support. At the beginning of 1977 the Catholic schools began admitting black pupils, with differing reactions in the different provinces. In Natal, the provincial administration raised no objections, but the Administrators of both the Cape and the Transvaal threatened to de-register the schools, which would in effect have made it illegal for them to continue operating. The matter reached Cabinet level, with delegations from both the Anglican and Catholic Churches meeting the Minister of National Education. The outcome was a moratorium, with the government agreeing not to take action against schools that had admitted black pupils, provided that no more were admitted in 1977 or early 1978.[48]

The South African HMC, largely spurred on by Michael Corke, headmaster of St Barnabas College, meanwhile committed itself to a clear policy direction. At its annual conference in 1977 the following motion was carried, with one reservation:

> That this Conference, acknowledging the common identity of Conference members as the heads of corporate Christian institutions; the commitment of Christian people to promoting reconciliation between groups and individuals; and the significant part played by its member schools in the economic life of South Africa; and recognising the polarisation between people of different racial groups in South Africa;

> the urgency of restoring trust and understanding between such separated people; the difficulties faced by the disadvantaged in educating their children; and the shortage in our country of men and women capable of filling positions of technical, professional, administartive and managerial responsibility:
>
> therefore declares itself in favour of the removal of all restrictions to the admission of pupils of different races to private schools in South Africa; the extensions of contact between pupils of different racial and cultural groups; and commits itself to strive for the just and equitable provision of education and opportunity for all South Africans. [49]

The HMC decided not to make this resolution public, but to forward it to the Minister of Education, the heads of the Anglican, Methodist and Catholic Churches and the Association of Private Schools. The principals would also communicate it to their boards of governors. [50] The private schools had thus moved a long way in the period since the publications of the Challenge to the Church Schools in 1963 and the refusal by Bishops to accept young McBride in 1969.

At the end of 1977 the government announced that the policy of separate schools was to be maintained but that exceptions could be made by the provincial authorities in the case of private church schools. Early in 1978 it was clear that the provinces were interpreting this directive differently, with the Transvaal Administrator taking an intransigent line, while most applications in the Cape were granted. [51] The HMC monitored the position closely and at its Executive committee meeting in June 1978 heard reports from its various regions. [52] In the Transvaal it was evident that the Administrator would grant no further exceptions; this was illustrated by his refusal to allow an Indian pupil 'who was in every way suitable' to be enrolled at St John's College. In an ominous

development, the Transvaal schools had been instructed to submit a list of 'non-white' pupils that had been admitted. In the Western Cape schools had been allowed to retain 'non-white' pupils that had already been admitted but no further applications were to be granted for that year (it had previously been agreed in terms of the moratorium between church representatives and the government that three months notice would be given for any new applications). In the Eastern Cape, it was reported, 'non-white' pupils had been admitted to St Andrew's Prep. and St Mary's DSG, while in Natal there had been few applications. The chairman felt that this was probably because there were 'some very good Indian Colleges in the province'.

Several of the issues underlying the move to admit black pupils to private schools were explored in a meeting in August 1979 between the Cape Director of Education and some of his senior officials on the one hand, and principals of twenty five private schools (euphemistically labelled 'open schools' in a report subsequently circulated by the HMC) on the other.[53] This meeting was also an example of the intensive behind-the-scenes negotiations taking place which rarely reached public attention. The director expressed appreciation that 'the matter had been kept out of the mass media and the political arena' and asked the principals to understand that there were 'difficulties in the country as a whole' and 'to continue to act in a quiet unobstrusive way'. One of the 'difficulties' that the Cape Director of Education had in mind was probably the intransigent attitude of the Transvaal administration - it is significant that the Administrator of that province, Mr S. van Niekerk, resigned during 1979 in order to contest the parliamentary seat of Koedoespoort for the National Party and was succeeded by the somewhat more 'verligte' Mr W. Cruywagen. Allied to this

'difficulty' was probably a fear of right-wing white reaction if the government should be seen to be too soft on the question of integrated private schools.

'Verligte' strategy was apparent in the Cape Director's line with the principals. He had recently visited multi-racial schools in the UK and the USA and saw 'the need for academic selectively as being essential in our situation, if we were to avoid the pitfalls' of the USA. He could not accept 'forced integration' and spoke of 'certain research' being undertaken to investigate whether there were 'genetic reasons for the poorer performance of certain black peoples'. In response the principals made it clear that there was no question of forced integration, that they were concerned to maintain academic standards, that the 'genetic theory' was questionable, and that schools that employed an entrance examination were very pleased with the results.

One clear element of the strategy was to put the onus increasingly on the schools. The Director asked schools to be selective - in terms of 'academic ability and social and cultural acceptibility' - in accepting applications from pupils who were not white. 'The Department did not wish to turn down applications. It would prefer the schools to do this'. They had to be 'very selective as a means of obtaining the leaders of tomorrow'. Principals were asked to ensure that the total number of applications for 1979 should not exceed, 'and preferably be lower than', the total for 1978. It was up to the individual schools to decide whether a quota system - black enrolment as a fixed percentage of the total enrolment - should be adopted, as was the Rhodesian practice. In reply to a query from the Director, the principals indicated that they would 'very willingly welcome' Departmental Inspectors who would visit their schools 'to assess discreetly how things were going'.

In September the HMC met for its annual conference and the matter of the admission of pupils of all races was again reviewed.[54] The Cape report mentioned the 'helpful and co-operative' relationship with the administration in that province, which had resulted in about 250 black pupils being admitted to the private schools. In Natal, the Director was also sympathetic. In the Transvaal, all applications for the admission of blacks had been rejected. Despite this, however, it appeared that Woodmead had taken in nineteen Indian and eight African pupils, while St Peter's Prep. had also admitted some blacks. The headmaster of Woodmead, Steyn Krige, said that he regarded the admission of blacks as a matter of conscience. This was presumably also the standpoint of the Catholic schools, whose representative, Bro. Jude (chairman of the Catholic Education Council), attended the HMC conference as an observer, as he had done in previous years. Bro. Jude reported that despite the Transvaal Administrator's (at that time still S. van Niekerk) refusal to approve black admissions, 297 black pupils had been admitted to Catholic schools in the Transvaal, while 250 and 50 had been admitted in the Cape and Natal respectively.

Several other significant developments took place in 1979. St Stithian's College sought, and was granted by the Supreme Court, an amendment to its trust deed by the deletion of a phrase that limited entry to children 'of European descent'.[55] This was indicative of the change that had taken place in the past quarter-century, since this Methodist school was founded, and its trust deed drawn up, in 1953. The Anglican St John's College had in 1974 changed its constitution, drawn up in 1938, which previously limited entry 'to scholars of pure European descent'.

A lengthy meeting was held in Cape Town in January between the ministry, provincial authorities (including

Mr van Niekerk, the 'verkrampte' Transvaal administrator) and representatives of church schools, at which, according to speculation, the Transvaal's 'hard-line attitude' was reprimanded.[56] Despite this, the hard-line attitude persisted and of 310 applications received by the Transvaal Administrator for the admission of black pupils only eleven were granted,[57] while inspectors were sent to ascertain which schools had illegally admitted blacks.[58] The Catholic schools, however, appear to have ignored these problems and continued enrolling black children. By the middle of 1979 there were about 1 500 blacks attending white Catholic schools throughout the country, and in some cases the proportion of black pupils was as high as a third.[59] There was little adverse reaction from white Catholic parents (one parent in the Cape removed his child to a state school, only to find after a few days that the black children of a Transkeian diplomat had been accepted by that school).[60] Very few problems were experienced amongst the children, a point made also to the HMC by the headmaster of Woodmead.[61] In this regard it is of interest to note that a large body of parents at the private German school in Cape Town threatened to withdraw their children over moves to admit black pupils. These moves were made under pressure from the West German government, which subsidises the school.[62] The problem clearly seems to revolve more around the attitudes of white parents than of white pupils, a point made strongly by Bro. Jude.[63]

An important development in Natal was the decision by two of the most exclusive white private schools, Michaelhouse and St Anne's DSG, to admit Indian pupils for the first time at the beginning of 1979.[64] St Anne's was given permission to admit six Indian girls and Michaelhouse, which in 1978 had one 'Coloured' boy, five Indian boys. Bishops, in Cape Town, also had a number of black children in 1979.

The fanfare occasioned by these developments was in sharp contrast to the low profile maintained by the Catholic schools which had been quietly admitting children of other races for several years, and is an indication of the way in which, by 1979, it had become socially desirable for the 'posh' schools to be seen to be going multi-racial. As the 1970's drew to a close, the HMC schools were becoming bolder on this issue. The secretary of the Association of Private Schools was quoted in the press in September 1979 as saying that most private schools were willing to become multi-racial.[65] Rex Pennington, the Rector of Michaelhouse, in his valedictory Speech Day address before the Minister of Education, Dr Piet Koornhof, in 1978, pleaded 'that our private schools... committed as they are to obedience to God's will as taught us through Christ, may be permitted to act as the channels of reconciliation by having all restrictions removed to the admission of pupils'. He announced that the 'accepted and publicly proclaimed principle of this school (is) that there are no grounds for discrimination on the basis of race'.[66] (Inevitably one's mind goes back to 1946, when the admission of a Chinese pupil caused such a fuss within the 'Michaelhouse community'). Things had indeed changed quite dramatically. Less than twenty years before Pennington spoke, W.D. Wilson, one of the most influential figures in the HMC system at the time, was anxiously considering how the church schools could serve a wider group than the 'small and privileged section' that they did.[67] His thoughts ran along the lines of 'children from broken homes, handicapped children, orphans'. He shied away from the racial question on the grounds that the church schools would be unable to agree on a policy regarding the admission of 'non-European' children.[68]

It would, of course, be incorrect to give the impression that by 1979 there was a stampede by the HMC

schools to admit black children. In the Transvaal only Woodmead and St Peter's Prep. had accepted them in significant numbers. Most schools remained all-white, and there was considerable confusion and anxiety about the exact legal position, and some schools used this as a reason for not making definite moves. Another reason for anxiety lay in the long-term implications of a multi-racial policy: at what point would the traditional identity - 'the essential heritage' - of the schools become threatened?

Both these questions - the attitudes to be taken towards the legal position, particularly in the Transvaal, and towards the retention of identity - moved into sharper focus in 1979. The issue of identity was encapsulated in an exchange of letters from some pupils in the magazine of St Martin's School. One wrote saying that no blacks should be admitted, thus preserving the school's 'cultural purity'. Another boy replied: 'We are an Anglican school and we must therefore be prepared to accept all Anglicans, or else dissociate ourselves from the Anglican Church'. [69]

The most common mechanism for maintaining a school's identity seems to be the use of entrance qualifications. It is clear that this is not always confined only to academic ability. The headmaster of Woodridge Prep. has made it clear that, in admitting black pupils, 'we shall only accept pupils who are socially and academically acceptable' [70] (emphasis by the writer). The policy of St John's College is to admit any black pupil able 'to meet our standard requirements regarding academic ability and age' and, of course, able to pay the fees. [71] The requirement regarding age may be a crucial one, since for a long time to come it is likely that African pupils will be of a considerably older age, standard for standard, than whites. In the event the headmaster received 'quite a number' of

applications from blacks but found 'only two were able to meet our normal requirements'.[72] While no private school has publicly adopted a quota system it is clear that there is sufficient flexibility in their admission policies to keep black enrolment to a satisfactory minority, thereby avoiding a destruction of 'the whole pattern of ideals and discipline' that one headmaster so feared in 1964. At this point it is probably superfluous to note that all the other fears expressed at the time, in reaction to the 'Challenge to the Church Schools', have proved groundless. The government has not closed the schools which have accepted blacks, parents have not noticeably withdrawn their support, standards have apparently not dropped. At the same time the schools - their pupils in particular - have probably gained much of value. One may speculate on the reasons for the government's change of attitude: they probably include fear of outright confrontation with the churches, and a policy commitment to building up the black middle classes as part of its 'total strategy'.

Another proviso laid down by some schools is that they will admit blacks only if it is legally possible to do so. An inevitable result was that some church schools were accused of dragging their feet and of being more concerned to obey the government than either God or the church's own pronouncements. Such criticism was voiced particularly within the Anglican church and was directed at the most prestigious of its own schools. The matter is clearly illustrated by events in the Anglican diocese of Johannesburg.

In 1976 the diocesan synod resolved to appoint a commission to enquire whether the church schools were fulfilling their function as part of the church's wider mission.[73] The relevant resolution also affirmed the principle that all Anglican church schools should be open to pupils of all races; stated that the diocese

should seek ways to achieve this in the church schools in the diocese; decided that a scholarship fund should be established for needy pupils; and recommended that the governing bodies of the schools should be representative of the racial composition of the schools themselves.

The commission consisted of clergy and educationists, five white, three African and one 'Coloured'. Its mandate covered five Anglican schools within the diocese: St Barnabas, St Dunstan's Prep., St John's, St Martin's and St Peter's Prep.

The Commission's report echoed the major conclusion of the earlier Archbishop's Commission (1968): 'By virtue of the fact that the governing council of a church school is a responsible body it may take counsel of any sources, such as... the church itself through its synod, but it is under no obligation to act on any authority other than that of its own decisions'.[74] This was seen to include the question of admission and the maintenance of educational standards. The commission was aware 'of an acute impasse in the relations between the diocesan conference or church synod and the governing councils of certain of the church schools'.[75] The commission clearly sympathised with the schools in this impasse: it pointed out that there was no guarantee of church support if the schools should defy the law and proceed with racial integration, while two schools had 'indicated that the parents of many existing scholars might not be willing to accept scholars from other cultural groups'.[76] Rather than press the existing schools to integrate, the commission recommended an ecumenical delegation (Catholic, Methodist and Anglican) to 'negotiate' with the Administrator, and the founding of a new church school 'for scholars of all cultural groups', and located either between Johannesburg and Soweto, or 'in one of the independent homelands'.[77] It believed that there was:

> undoubtedly a deeply felt need among Black parents and leaders for a prestige private school. With the current rapid growth of a middle class of commercial, administrative and professional status there is an increasing number of Black parents who would be happy to send their children to a notable school irrespective of the cost. [78]

The Commission's report did not indicate how such a new school was legally possible. It seems a fair inference that it saw such a school as being essentially for middle class blacks, since most middle class whites would probably prefer to patronise the existing white schools. The clear emphasis on an elitist education also failed to take into account the views of 'radical' blacks. The Soweto Introspection Conference, organised by the Committee of Ten, for example, rejected the very concept of elitist schools, even if they should be multi-racial. [79]

There was strong reaction to the Commission's report. The Chairman of St John's, A. Gnodde, did not like the idea of a new school but favoured giving any available money to the existing schools, 'to ensure that they are able to continue... and offer education to all groups at a reasonable fee structure'. [80] Rather more serious was the reaction of the Council of St Barnabas College, which rejected the report (partly at least because the efforts of St Barnabas itself to progress towards integration had been overlooked, and presumably also because the proposed new school would be a rival). The headmaster of St Barnabas, Michael Corke, circulated a document on 'Church, Church School and Society' before the synod met, in which his objections to the commission's report were set out. Corke challenged the view that a church school was 'under no obligation to act on any authority other than that of its own decisions', saying that it was in fact 'subject to the spiritual and moral discipline of

the church'. [81] He said the commission's view of the church schools presented a picture of

> atrophying and conservative organisations, husbanding their limited resources in a battle for survival and irrevocably committed to the service of particular sectors of the community.

In the end, the synod rejected the report of its Church Schools Commission by 105 votes to 79, [82] and resolved instead that all Anglican schools should be open to pupils of all races, expressed disappointment at the lack of progress towards integration in Anglican schools, and affirmed its conviction that the church schools should be guided by the laws of God in the matter of integration. [83] It was against this background that the synod received and considered the reports of the individual church schools in the diocese. St Barnabas reported that it had 'completed the process of racial integration and continued to develop its programme of community service', while work had embarked on a R3m. development project to re-locate the school near the black townships. As an indication of the way in which the school drew its pupils from the poor and the disadvantaged, only ten per cent paid full fees, the majority being bursary holders. [84] This report was accepted by synod, as was that of St Martin's (which mentioned the drop in numbers caused by 'the ever-increasing school fees' and the emigration of white families but made no mention of racial factors and the admission of blacks.) [85] The report of St Peter's was accepted, 'one dissenting', after the school stated that boys of all races had been accepted on merit since January 1978. [86] St Dunstan's failed to present a report. [87] It was perhaps inevitable that it was the most prestigious of the church schools in the diocese - possibly the most prestigious private school in the country - that came under the closest scrutiny. The headmaster of St John's College reported

on the school's good academic results, the building of more houses for staff, and chapel activities (of 18 preachers at Evensong since 1976, one had been black).[88] At present there was no black child in the school; although two applications had been made on behalf of candidates whom he considered to fulfil his requirements for entry, both had been turned down by the Transvaal provincial administration.

The synod, in an unprecedented move, deferred adoption of the St John's report until there had been discussion on the motion, already referred to, that all Anglican schools should be open to all, and expressing disappointment at their lack of progress towards integration, and calling on them to be 'guided by the laws of God'. After this motion had been passed, with an amendment to include reference to 'the high academic standards which should be associated with church schools',[89] the report of St John's was adopted, 'one dissenting'.[90] There was a subsequent surprising development when a spokesman for St John's, in answer to a question by the Ven. D. Nkwe, stated that 34 children of races other than white had been admitted to St John's.[91] The headmaster must presumably have had Africans in mind when, in his report, he said that no 'blacks' had been admitted. The 34 were probably 'Asians', the majority of them Chinese. (In 1980 two African pupils were admitted to St John's).

Immediately after the synod, and in reaction to press reports about its proceedings, the headmaster of St John's sent a letter to the parents of his boys[92]: 'As I had stated in my report that as yet we have no black pupils... there was some misinformed criticism of St John's College by some of the delegates to synod... It is not commonly known that in 1974 the Council asked the Diocesan Trustees to delete any reference to colour in the admission regulations'. (One must wonder why this was not 'commonly known', particularly amongst the parents).

The law, the headmaster continued, prevented the college from admitting black pupils of it choice. Of the 'quite a number' of black applications received, he had selected only two, but the 'relevant civil authorities' had refused permission for them to be admitted. The letter went on to describe the synod resolution as stopping short of calling on the schools to break the law and as requesting them to maintain high academic standards: 'I respectfully submit that such resolution is entirely in line with the policy of St John's.'

The spirit of the synod resolution as a whole does not, of course, support such a complacent conclusion. The headmaster's letter ignores vital aspects such as the expression of disappointment at the lack of progress towards integration and the affirmation that the church schools should be guided by the laws of God. The emphasis on 'high academic standards' may well be seen as a means of stalling any really significant moves towards integration.

Conclusion

Some church schools may be engaged in a rearguard action, attempting to fend off more radical attacks while not alienating their own conservative supporters in the white parent community. While the battle lines between the private schools and the secular authorities have become increasingly blurred, the battle lines between the churches and some of their own schools have become more sharply defined. It seems reasonable to suppose that attacks from within the church on the bastions of white privilege and exclusivity that some of the church schools are seen to represent will increase in severity in the immediate future.

The relative willingness of private schools to admit selected blacks in the late 1970's must also be seen against the background of changes in the

South African economy. Being closely allied to the private enterprise system, the private schools are likely to be the most sensitive to the need to accommodate to new economic conditions. Bowles and Gintis call this a process of 'pluralist accommodation', which involves 'a more or less automatic reorientation of educational perspectives in the face of a changing economic reality'.[93] This reorientation normally takes place in 'progressive' directions, ie towards conformity with new economic rationality. Certainly the period in South Africa was marked by the government's wooing of private enterprise and its espousal of capitalism as part of its 'total strategy' for the survival of the essential features of the existing social order, and by the recognition by both government and private enterprise that blacks would have to be admitted in increasing numbers into white-collar and managerial positions (partly to provide a 'middle class bulwark' against revolutionary change, partly to offset the shortage of skilled white manpower). The 'liberalising' of the economy inevitably had its counterpart in the 'liberalising' of the private schools. Just as the Anglo-American Corporation appointed a black man to its board in 1980 for the first time, it seems reasonable to expect that private schools will soon begin to appoint a few blacks to their governing bodies.

Footnotes - Chapter 9

1. E.G. Malherbe: Education in South Africa, Vol.2 (1923-1975), Juta, Cape Town, 1977, table on p.719.
2. E.H. Davies: 'Some Socio-Cultural correlates of recruitment to the teaching profession', unpublished M. Ed. dissertation, University of the Witwatersrand, 1975, p.233.
3. Ibid, p.2.
4. Ibid, p.149.
5. Reported in Transvaal Education News, September 1979, p.4.
6. J.W. Nowlan: 'The Role of the Deputy Principal in TED primary schools for whites', unpublished M. Ed. dissertation, University of the Witwatersrand, 1978, p.179.
7. Malherbe, op. cit.
8. Transvaal Education News, September 1979, editorial
9. Johannesburg College of Education, prospectus, 1980.
10. Transvaal Education News, Ibid.
11. Die Vrystaatse Onderwyser, October 1979, chairman's address, pp.1-6.
12. Guy Butler: Karoo Morning - an autobiography, 1918-1935, David Philip, Cape Town, 1977.
13. In the notes on Butler in W.D. Maxwell-Mahon and P. Titlestad: Content and Style, McGraw-Hill, Johannesburg, 1979.
14. J.H.P. Serfontein: Brotherhood of Power, Rex Collings, London, 1979, p.39.
15. Ivan Lombard, secretary of the Broederbond, quoted in Serfontein, op. cit., p.39.
16. Malherbe: op. cit., p.47.
17. Ibid.
18. Quoted in Serfontein, op. cit., pp.142-143, from which the subsequent quotations are taken.
19. Malherbe: op. cit., p.40ff.
20. Ibid, pp.112-113.
21. Ibid.
22. Ibid, p.87f.

23. Serfontein: op. cit.. p.159.
24. Malherbe op. cit., p.670.
25. Serfontein: op. cit., p.161.
26. Nowlan: op. cit., pp.125-126.
27. Ibid, p.152.
28. Quoted in Malherbe: op. cit., p.679.
29. Quoted in Serfontein: op. cit., pp.160-161.
30. Quoted in Serfontein: op. cit., p.160.
31. Calculated by W. Morrow from the Annual Reports of the Department of National Education.
32. 'Education, and the future of the Republic of South Africa', statement by the English Academy of Southern Africa, June 1976. (It is interesting to note that this statement was actually drawn up by the Academy's Standing Committee on Education - minutes of 7-8 May 1976 - before the events of 16 June 1976, when the imposition of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction in black schools triggered off nation-wide unrest).
33. Survey by A.J.G. Oosthuizen, reported in The Star, 5 July 1978.
34. Demographic study by Prof. Ben Piek, Rand Afrikaans University, reported in The Star, 5 July 1978.
35. Dr Jaap Steyn, linguistics lecturer at Rand Afrikaans University, quoted in The Star, 5 July 1978
36. Supplied by the principals, who wished their schools to remain anonymous.
37. See, for example, 'Broederbond threat to English education', Rand Daily Mail, 3 August 1979, which quoted speakers at a symposium at the Johannesburg College of Education as warning that 'English education was controlled by the Broederbond', saying that 'unless steps were taken to counteract the steady erosion of traditional English values, English people would not be educated but become mindless automatons'.
38. Cape of Good Hope Education Returns, 1845, quoted in H.A. Harker. 'Church Schools and the Colour Bar',

paper to the Anglican Students Conference, Modderpoort, 30 June 1964, p.3.

39. Quoted in Harker: op. cit., p.6.

40. Ibid.

41. 'Challenge to the Church Schools', Church School Action Group (F. Wilson et al), Cape Town, 1963.

42. Harker canvassed the views of eight headmasters, five of Anglican and three of non-denominational schools. These are summarised in his paper, op. cit., pp.7-9.

43. Ibid, p.9.

44. Ibid.

45. The 'Neil Thomas Case' was widely reported in the press at the time. See, for example, the Sunday Times, 30 January 1966.

46. Letter from D. Yates to the Archbishop of Cape Town, 10 March 1966, reproduced and circulated by the HMC.

47. Letter from Prof F. Wilson to the writer, 31 July 1979.

48. The details in the foregoing paragraph are taken from the 1977 Survey of Race Relations in South Africa, S.A. Institute of Race Relations, Johannesburg, pp.40-41.

49. The Conference of Headmasters and Headmistresses of Private Schools of South Africa, report of the 31st General Meeting, 1977, pp.18-19.

50. Ibid, p.19.

51. See 1978 Survey of Race Relations, S.A. Institute of Race Relations, Johannesburg, pp.400-401.

52. HMC Executive Committee minutes, 3 June 1978, pp.2-3.

53. Summary of meeting of Cape Director of Education with Principals of Open Schools, 28 August 1978, mimeographed HMC document. The ensuing quotations are extracted from this document.

54. The Conference of Headmasters and Headmistresses, Report of the 32nd General Meeting, 27-29 September 1978, pp.14-16.
55. The Star, Johannesburg, 17 January 1979.
56. The Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, 25 January 1979.
57. The Star, 7 June 1979.
58. The Rand Daily Mail, 1 May 1980.
59. Information from Bro. Jude, chairman of the Catholic Education Council, in an interview with the writer, 10 August 1979.
60. Ibid.
61. 1978 HMC Report, Ibid, p.15.
62. 'Whites threaten to quit over Blacks', Sunday Times, Johannesburg, 14 January 1980, p.9.
63. Interview with Bro. Jude, Ibid.
64. 'Posh Schools go mixed', Sunday Times, 14 January 1980, p.9.
65. The Rand Daily Mail, 5 September 1979.
66. St Michael's Chronicle, Michaelhouse, May 1978, p.19.
67. W.D. Wilson: 'Thoughts on Private Schools and their Association with the Church', memorandum to the Standing Committee of Associated Church Schools (mimeographed), 1960.
68. Ibid.
69. St Martin's Chronicle, April 1978.
70. The Woodridgean, Port Elizabeth, 1977, Prep. School headmaster's report, p.79.
71. Letter to parents from the headmaster of St John's College, 5 September 1979.
72. Ibid.
73. See First Agenda Book, Johannesburg Diocesan Synod, Church of the Province of South Africa, 30 August - 3 September 1979, issued by the Diocesan Office, St Alban's, Johannesburg.
74. Ibid, p.56.
75. Ibid, p.57.
76. Ibid, p.58.

77. Ibid, p.59.
78. Ibid, p.60.
79. Sunday Post, Johannesburg, 23 September 1979.
80. Second and Final Agenda Book, Johannesburg Diocesan Synod, 1979, p.64.
81. Ibid, pp.110-111.
82. Diocese of Johannesburg: Minutes of the 48th session of Diocesan Synod, Thursday 30 August to Saturday 1 September 1979, p.10.
83. Ibid, p.12.
84. First Agenda Book, op. cit., pp.3-4.
85. Second and Final Agenda Book, op. cit., p.68.
86. Ibid, p.70.
87. Diocese of Johannesburg: Minutes of the 48th Synod, op. cit., p.10.
88. First Agenda Book, op. cit., pp.5-6.
89. Minutes of the 48th Synod, op. cit., p.12.
90. Ibid.
91. Ibid, p.17.
92. Letter to parents from the headmaster of St John's College, 5 September 1979.
93. Samuel Bowles and Herbert Gintis: Schooling in Capitalist America, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1976, p.236.

Chapter 10: Evolution of a System

An attempt has been made to describe the historical origins of the English public school (Chapter 3), which was the formative model for schools in the English-speaking world during the Victorian era and thus exercised a strong influence in South Africa (Chapter 4); the beginning of private school education in the Cape, Natal and the Transvaal (Chapters 5-7); the consolidation and expansion of the South African private schools, and their essential features, in the period from 1910 to 1980 (Chapter 8); while Chapter 9 dealt with the position of the schools in relation to the political dominance of Afrikanerdom and their growing need to come to terms with the question of black-white 'integration'. Chapters 8 and 9 considered certain issues which affected the South African English private schools as a body, and provide a basis for a discussion of the way in which they have come together to form a distinctive family of schools, a relatively closed sub-sector within the total South African education system.

The following seem to be the crucial steps in this process:

i) 1891: the Provincial Board of Education (Anglican)
ii) 1895: the Council of Education, Witwatersrand
iii) 1901: the Rhodes Scholarship system
iv) 1906: formation of the Archbishop of Canterbury's Fund for South African Church Schools
v) 1929: the South African HMC
vi) 1935: Chamber of Mines subsidies for 6th Form work
vii) 1942: Currey's pamphlet on the 'Future of the South African Church Schools'
viii) 1944: Archbishop of Cape Town's Commission on Church Schools
ix) 1945: the advisory Standing Committee of the Associated Church Schools
x) 1945: the Private Schools Association (Natal)
xi) 1957: the South African Industrial Fund
xii) 1974: the Association of Private Schools (APS)

The first two of these have already been dealt with, in Chapters 5 and 7 respectively. The Rhodes Scholarships added greatly to the prestige of Bishops, in the first

instance, and, later, other private schools, and provided a valuable line of contact with the old British universities. The Archbishop's Fund (1906) was instrumental in channelling money through the SPCK (Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge) and the SPG (Society for the Propagation of the Gospel) to the Anglican schools (Bishops, St Andrew's College, Michaelhouse and St John's College all benefited in this way). The Chamber of Mines subsidies were described in Chapter 8, and the point made that they represented the first systematic extension outside the Transvaal of assistance by mining capital to the private schools (not entirely disinterested, of course, since the fostering of science sixth form work would presumably be beneficial in terms of later recruitment to the mining industry). All the other items (the HMC, the Standing Committee, the Industrial Fund and the APS) will be dealt with in some detail in this chapter, although passing references have had to be made to them from time to time in previous chapters. Taken together, these twelve events provide something of a coherent framework for the evolution of a system embracing the particular family of schools with which this study is concerned, and which for the sake of brevity can be labelled as 'the HMC Schools', thus distinguishing them from the state sector and the other private sectors, notably the Catholic.

A convenient entry point for this discussion is provided by an earlier theme: private school incest and the growing body of private school men and women in South Africa who acted as agents of cross-pollination, helping in the creation of a common set of values and a shared type of educational experience. Thus, although each HMC school has retained its own distinctive traditions and characteristics, increasingly the lines between them have become blurred and a fairly common typical pattern can be discerned. Very often, as will be described later, the local brew was nourished by

by infusions from the British public school system.

The Archipelago

The analogy of an archipelago may be useful in describing the interplay and interaction referred to above. The early private schools can be seen as scattered islands colonised by Englishmen like Bishop Robert Gray (Bishops College, St George's Grammar School, St Cyprian's), Bishop Armstrong (St Andrew's College), Darragh and Nash (St John's), Newnham (Hilton) and Todd (Michaelhouse), with secular late-comers setting themselves up on islands of their own: Miss Lawrence and Miss Earle (Roedean), Miss Fletcher and Miss Johnston (St Andrew's School for Girls), Miss Thompson (Kingsmead) and the Russell twins (Waterkloof House).

Groups of locals also began to establish islands: Durban Girls' College, Girls' Collegiate, Kingswood, Kearsney, Treverton, each with the particular characteristics desired by their founders (Protestant, Methodist, Baptist etc). There scattered islands, as already mentioned, originally had few points of contact, despite the Anglican group being nourished from a common source on the mainland. In time, however, exchanges began to take place on an ever-increasing scale. Some examples have already been given (Nash who was head of both St John's and Bishops: Currey - Rugby, The Ridge, Michaelhouse and St Andrew's College). The interchanges and exchanges later took on a great diversity, which can be best illustrated with specific examples. Some islanders returned to teach at and even head their old schools: the first Old Johannian to return to the staff of St John's was Brown-Constable, as early as 1908. The examples of headmasters like Currey (St Andrew's) and Hopkins (Kearsney) have been given previously. The latter even had a fellow-Old Boy as his vice-principal. Products of some schools became heads of other schools. Some ventured into the

state sector. The reverse flow, from state to private sector, has already been illustrated in the persons of Falcon, Hudson, Slater and Nuttall (Hilton) and Miss Neave (St Andrew's School for Girls). Teachers moved from one private school to head another one: Cuckow from St John's College to St George's Grammar School, Breitenbach from St Andrew's to St John's, Harison from St John's to St Andrew's, Bloemfontein, to Hilton; or from the headship of a private prep. school to a private senior school (Todd, from St Peter's Prep. to Hilton College), and the other way around (de Lisle from St Martin's to Waterkloof House). Some established new schools of their own: Miss Thompson left Roedean to found Kingsmead; after his dismissal by St Stithian's Krige started Woodmead; Dodson retired fro[illegible]t John's to begin St Peter's Prep. Some ventured across the national borders: Yeates left the headship of St John's to start Maru a Pula in Botswana, following the example of Sneil who left Michaelhouse to establish Peterhouse in Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe). Assistant teachers and chaplains followed the pattern: Jennings, the chaplain at Kearsney, became principal of Waterford in Swaziland; Hickman was an assistant at Highbury before opening St John's Prep. in Rhodesia. Male teachers moved from boys' schools to run girls' schools: Law from Hilton to Roedean; Brown, an Old Johannian, from St Andrew's, Welkom, to St Mary's, Pretoria; Simmonds from St John's to St Andrew's, Bedfordview. New colonisers were brought in from outside: Silcock and Jardine from Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe) to Kearsney and Michaelhouse respectively. The permutations in one career can become almost bewildering: Rex Pennington, a former Rector of Michaelhouse, became an assistant teacher at St Peter's Prep., Rivonia, and then was selected to run a new private (black) commercial high school in Soweto in 1980.

Underlying all this criss-crossing has been a constant flow of information and ideas from the original source, the English public schools, via a complex system of exchanges, visitor-ships and travel grants. Even pupils are sometimes involved in this system: St John's has an exchange system with Eton. It is of interest that only one exchange scheme involving a South African private school and a South African state school can be found in the literature (St Mary's DSG and Pretoria Girls' High).

It is against this background of cross-pollination that one should view the joining of the scattered islands into an inter-connected archipelago through the bodies listed earlier. The common interests and shared experiences of the wider private school community provided a basis on which a system could be built.

The Conference of Headmasters and Headmistresses (HMC)

The formation of the HMC was the first major step towards institutionalised co-operation between the private schools. The lead was taken by the Anglican foundations, with the British HMC providing the model.

Seven schools (or, rather, their principals) joined in the first year, all Anglican boys' schools: Cordwalles Prep., Bishops, St Andrew's College, St Andrew's School (Bloemfontein), St George's (Windhoek), St John's College and St Michael's (Bloemfontein). A notable omission was the other great Anglican boys' school, Michaelhouse, but this was brought into the fold the following year, along with a large number of girls' schools and prep. schools, all Anglican or quasi-Anglican. They included the major diocesan girls' schools throughtout the country; Herschel and Wykeham; and prep. schools like The Ridge, St Dunstan's and Western Province Prep.

Over the next few years membership grew slowly: Roedean and St John's, Maritzburg, in 1932; Hilton and Kingsmead in 1934. In that year a significant newcomer was Kingswood, the first Methodist school to be admitted. The other Methodist schools followed in due course: Epworth and Kearsney in 1936, and St Stithian's in 1954. In time all the remaining Anglican schools joined: St George's Grammar in 1935, St George's Prep., Port Elizabeth, in 1938, and the new foundations of St Martin's in 1960 and St Alban's in 1965.

Between 1936 and 1956 there was a small flood of prep. schools, until every significant feeder school had been taken in. One Catholic school, St Aidan's in Grahamstown, was represented for a while (it closed in 1973). A Catholic convent, Brescia House, was admitted in 1978, but the headmistress resigned in 1980. The German school at Hermannsburg in Natal and the Baptist foundation, Treverton, were admitted in 1966, but Hermannsburg's membership subsequently lapsed. The relative broadening of the base of the HMC was further illustrated with the later admissions of St Barnabas College, an Anglican school with a predominantly black enrolment; the Inanda Seminary, the school for Zulu girls in Natal (see Chapter 6); and Kamhlaba-Waterford School in Swaziland.

By 1978 there were sixty members of the HMC. Nearly half of the members were heads of Anglican schools, and all the schools represented were Christian, only one (Brescia House) being non-Protestant. In most cases senior schools and their prep schools were represented separately. Altogether about 17 000 pupils were enrolled in these sixty schools. For the sake of perspective, the following was the total school-going population in the country in 1978:

African	3 247 292
Coloured	707 923
Indian	205 136
White	954 426
Total	5 114 777

(Source: Survey of Race Relations, SAIRR, 1979, chapters on Education).

Something of the order of two per cent of the total white school-going population is thus educated at the HMC schools, and only a minute fraction of the school-going population of the country as a whole. Within the white, English-speaking group, however, they are very important, and the nexus between capital, the church and the private schools previously referred to provides considerable insight into the power structure of that group. In general terms, only the wealthy - in a society still characterised by gross disparities of income - can afford the HMC schools, with fees at a senior boarding school now about R4 000 per year, and even a relatively modest prep. school requiring an outlay of R1 500 per year on tuition fees alone. With the likelihood that black middle class families will turn in increasing numbers to these schools for an alternative education, they gain added significance. Another factor in considering their relative importance is the link that is maintained, partly through the HMC, with the British public school system. The South African HMC schools in fact form part of a community of independent schools, with many common characteristics, spread across the English-speaking world.

The British connection was, of course, most marked in the early years of the Conference. The minutes of the first meeting at St Andrew's School, Bloemfontein, on 17 December 1929, reveal that items were discussed 'peculiar to the character of these schools'. These included the supply of teachers from overseas - the

heads expressed satisfaction with the services of the recruiting agencies in the United Kingdom - and the obtaining of supplies, likewise from overseas. The chairman spoke warmly of the help he had received from the British HMC, of which he was a member . The essential features of public school life were discussed: the prefect system - it was generally agreed that this was beneficial both for school discipline and the characters of the prefects themselves; fagging - the chairman approved of this, if it was carefully watched, on the grounds that it was good for the boys; games - it was generally agreed that these should be compulsory; and fees - it was felt that there was a need for some less expensive schools and it was agreed to ask the (Anglican) Provincial Board of Education to investigate ways of providing opportunities for church members of moderate means to send their boys to church schools.

The second meeting in 1930, also held in Bloemfontein, discussed problems common to the Anglican schools: the right age for confirmation, the religious syllabus, as well as such matters as co-operation between prep. schools and senior schools and the conditions of service of teachers. On the question of school supplies, it was agreed that large savings could be effected by buying direct from England and the names of appropriate suppliers were mentioned. A draft constitution was considered and the name Conference of the Heads of Church Schools adopted. The object of the body, it was agreed, was to forward the aims of the diocesan church and private church schools for Europeans in South Africa. By the 1940's this object had clearly become too narrow for the broader representation that the HMC had acquired, and in 1949 it was changed to its present form: 'to promote the welfare and interests of the schools concerned'.[2]

At the third meeting, held at St John's College in 1932, the question of the WASP identity of the schools, which was to become a recurring theme, came under discussion (see also the earlier discussion on preserving identity in Chapter 8). The Conference (it was at this meeting that the present name was adopted in order to accommodate the heads of undenominational schools) applauded when the headmaster of Bishops announced that his council had accepted the two sons of the Agent-General for India, who was himself 'a member of the English Church and educated at Harrow and Baliol'. Canon Birt disclosed that ten boys at Bishops had 'Jewish' names, but only two were practising Jews. Kettlewell reported that St Andrew's College had 'for years accepted Jews, but they had to attend chapel and divinity lessons like the other boys. Currey said that Michaelhouse asked for a prospective pupil's denominational affiliation on its application forms and that no departure from the school's religious routine was allowed. Several other heads reported that their schools accepted both Jews and Catholics. St John's did not accept practising Jews. The general feeling of the Conference was that Jews should not be excluded as such, but that strict practising Jews automatically excluded themselves. It was possible, the Conference believed, that a quota system would have to be adopted in time to control the admission of pupils from groups other than those for whom the schools had been established.

Another matter raised in 1932 was to feature regularly in the HMC discussions. This was the question of publicity, and the Conference deprecated efforts by the press to bring pressure on the schools to advertise in the education pages or in educational supplements. At its next meeting in 1934 (the HMC had decided in 1930 to meet every two years), at Bishops College, the conference turned its attention to

'undignified and unprofessional' advertising in the press, and it was decided that press advertising should be restricted to 'necessary announcements'.[4] This became a standing resolution of HMC, confirmed with minor amendments in 1954 and 1977.[5] At the same meeting there was lengthy discussion on the Sixth Form, which R.F. Currey said was the only purely educational feature that distinguished the private schools from the state schools (Currey undertook to draft a memorandum on the dubject: this may well have been an important factor in the subsequent subsidisation of Sixth Form work by the Chamber of Mines, already mentioned). Another question of importance to the HMC schools was dealt with in 1934: this was the reduction of fees to be offered to the children of teachers at HMC schools. It was agreed to suggest to the individual school councils that a one-third reduction in both tuition and boarding fees be made available to the children of staff serving in Conference schools. This, too, became a standing resolution,[6] and plays a significant part in the process of private school perpetuation described in Chapter 8. Another important standing resolution adopted in 1934 was designed to prevent 'poaching' of pupils: it was agreed that schools 'should not accept pupils from other schools represented in the Conference without previous consultation with the heads of such schools'.[7]

Within a few years of its formation the HMC was thus providing a valuable forum for collective consideration of the issues that faced its schools, and was laying down the basis for a type of closed-shop co-operation in which the schools agreed to practices designed to safeguard their interests and to prevent its members from engaging in practices harmful to the schools as a community.

Although the 1938 Conference, held at St John's College, discussed the need for greater co-operation between the private schools and the provincial education departments - there was some difference of opinion on the question of government inspection of private schools - the main concern appears to have been about the state of religion in the schools. The Headmaster of Bishops presented a memorandum which called on HMC schools to be conscious of one another as partners in Christian effort. The position was clearly unsatisfactory and the conference decided to experiment with a 'floating man in orders' who would move from area to area, keeping the schools in touch with each other and presumably generally perking up their religious life.[8] The Community of the Resurrection in due course provided Fr Victor for this purpose, but his efforts were to be hampered by the War.[9]

The same concern was felt in 1940, when Miss Margaret Snell reported on her visits to ten private girls' schools: only 20 to 30 per cent of the girls came from what could be regarded as Christian homes, and many of them could not even say where Jesus was born, while many teachers were lax about attending chapel services.

Along with this inward-looking concern, the 1940 Conference pursued the earlier theme of relationships with the secular authorities. A memorandum by Snell, the Rector of Michaelhouse, stressed the need to bridge the gulf between private schools and the state sector, and the need for effective character training in the private schools, whose 'prototypes' in the United Kingdom over two to three generations had been an effective training ground of 'the ruling class'.[10] The Conference decided to investigate possibilities of staff exchanges with government schools and concern was expressed about 'attitudes of superiority' and the tendency to look down on South African schools and

practices.[11] (Little appears to have come of the moves to foster exchanges).

These sentiments must be seen against the background of various factors already mentioned in this study, such as the growing aggressiveness of Afrikaner nationalism, particularly after the symbolic Trek of 1938, the concomitant growth of a feeling of South Africanism in the private schools themselves, stimulated at least partly by South African involvement in the Second World War, and threats emanating from the Transvaal Provincial Administration against the private schools. The 1940 HMC meeting in fact discussed moves in the Transvaal to insist on professional qualifications for all teachers, who would also have to be registered. The HMC schools, employing as they did large numbers of unqualified teachers, would have been sorely affected, and the meeting felt that teachers with five years experience should automatically be admitted to the register, with no period of residence or language qualification being required. It would seem safe to assume that there was considerable subsequent behind-the-scenes activity to press these views with influential and sympathetic political figures, particularly in the Transvaal.

Due to the War, the HMC did not meet again until 1944. By now the position in the Transvaal had become even more threatening, and the conference showed a quite dramatic departure from its previous preoccupations with the internal life of the schools and the quality of their religious education. The inherent weaknesses of the HMC as a body for the protection of the private school community had become apparent. One headmaster has identified one of these: 'Its weakness as a corporate body is that its members cannot make decisions for the Councils which employ them'.[12] It was probably an awareness of this, amongst other factors, which caused R.F. Currey, then headmaster of St Andrew's

College, to publish his 1942 pamphlet on 'The Future of the South African Church Schools'. In it he recommended the formation of a Church Schools Foundation in which the five diocesan boys' schools should unite 'to form a single foundation which would ultimately control their finances, prescribe conditions of service and interchange of staff'. [13] The outcome of this will be dealt with in the next section (Standing Committee of Associated Church Schools).

The 1944 meeting approved of bilingualism in the schools, but deprecated 'external compulsion' (a reference to moves in Natal to institute a dual medium policy), while a Transvaal draft ordinance giving the Director of Education power to close private schools aroused stronger feelings. An angry resolution ('intolerable interference... utterly destructive of freedom...' [14]) was with-drawn and a sub-committee set up. Its functions were to liaise with the Council of Education 'and other Transvaal bodies', to prepare a memorandum for the Council of Education and 'certain provincial councillors', and to keep in touch with the Provisional Standing Committee set up as a result of the (Anglican) Archbishop of Cape Town's Commission on church schools, which in turn was established as a result of R.F. Currey's 1942 pamphlet. [15]

A further example of the drawing together of the private schools in the face of danger came at the 1944 meeting with a report on the recently-established Natal Private Schools Association which was set up, representing the governing bodies of Natal private schools, to watch over their interests and formulate general policy. Referring to the Archbishop's Commission, Currey said that there were moves a[illegible] establish a national body along the lines of the Natal one (he was referring to the Standing Committee of the Associated Church Schools, to be described later).

The HMC decided to draw up a pamphlet setting forth its views on the dangers threatening freedom of education as a result of the legislation proposed in the Transvaal and in Natal. This was to be distributed among parents and past pupils of HMC schools. This decision arose from moves in both provinces to impose bilingualism in the schools and the Transvaal draft ordinance already referred to. Besides practical difficulties (insufficient qualified staff to teach through the medium of Afrikaans and an inadequate supply of Afrikaans text books), the HMC was of the opinion that 'compulsory mixing' was doomed to failure. While the 'count ' was behind the United Party in its desire to reduce 'racialism' (i.e. antagonism between the two major white groups) and it was unthinkable to support the opposition National Party (which, as we saw in the previous chapter, favoured strict separation of the language groups), the means proposed were seen as interfering with parental rights and over-hasty, without enough thought being given to their consequences. In Natal it was being proposed that the province should have the right to transfer children from one school to another without their parents' consent, in order to ensure a satisfactory mixing of the language groups (foreshadows of the busing technique to be used later in the USA!), while in the Transvaal it was planned to give the Administrator the right to refuse to register a private school.

The HMC favoured the setting up of a Select Committee in the Transvaal to fully examine the position before these moves were finalised. It would seem that in Natal the struggle was to be carried on largely via behind-the-scenes pressure on the provincial council.

An indication of the changes occurring in the country as a whole and in the private school community in particular, was provided by a remarkable address to the 1944 HMC meeting by Miss L. Mellor, headmistress of Wykeham. She spoke of the deterioration in relationships between black and white, the thoughtless wastage of the country's resources, and 'medieval diseases' in the midst of affluence. Saying that a time of crisis was also a time of opportunity, Miss Mellor called for the HMC to give way to a South African Teacher's Association open to all teachers and with a full-time organising secretary. The cleavages between teachers' societies and the powerlessness of existing bodies 'to get even a palpable injustice redressed' pointed to the need for a national organisation. Miss Mellor was clearly well ahead of her time, and in response to her address the HMC merely resolved to consider the possibility of appointing a paid secretary, and to consult with the provisional Standing Committee of Associated Church Schools. With a view 'to the unity of the teaching profession', the meeting recommended that teachers in private schools should be encouraged to become members of the various teachers' associations in their own provinces.

The (Anglican) Bishop of Natal opened the 1946 HMC meeting with a warning of the dangers of bureaucratic control.[16] There had obviously been much behind-the-scenes pressure since the previous gathering, probably through the good offices of United Party members of parliament and of the provincial councils. Nothing more was heard of the dual medium problem in Natal, while in the Transvaal the threatening ordinance was to be re-drafted and submitted for consideration before the final reading. The HMC's sub-committee in turn had agreed to make no further representation and had decided to withhold circulation of a pamphlet 'so ably drawn up by the executive of the Standing

Committee of Associated Church Schools'.[17] Here is an early example of the kind of trade-off that was to take place thirty years later over the question of admitting black pupils to private schools (see the account of the discussion with the Cape Director of Education, dealt with in Chapter9).

The embattled position of the private schools, particularly in the Transvaal, remained a major theme for another decade. In 1950, Mr Justice R. Feetham, the chairman of the Standing Committee of Associated Church Schools since its inception in 1945, opened discussion on the position of the private schools in the face of the dangers threatening their freedom. The meeting resolved to set up vigilance committees in the Transvaal/OFS region, the Eastern Cape, the Western Cape and Natal, and to publish a statement on the aims of church schools.[18] In 1952 Professor Michael Roberts addressed the meeting on the threat of an 'ideological juggernaut', alternatively a 'bureaucratic steamroller', and advised the heads to be 'strong, clever and courageous enough to rally opinion to your side'.[19]

In his speech at the HMC's thirteenth meeting, in 1954, Judge Feetham referred back to Prof Robert's exhortation when he dealt with the Transvaal Education Ordinance of 1953 which froze subsidies to private schools and increased the province's power over them. The member of the Executive Committee in charge of education in the Transvaal had described private schools as a relic from earlier times whose existence was no longer justified.[20] Significantly enough, Feetham pointed out that, although the private schools were strong and most had waiting lists, they could not fight alone but needed to organise their forces. He saw the lack of articulate public support as a weakness, arising in part from the private schools' fear

of public involvement. 'Positive indoctrination' was needed to rally the public opinion which Professor Roberts had called for.[21]

By 1956 it was clear that the battle in Natal was largely over. The administrator himself opened the meeting and paid warm tribute to the private schools, extolling their friendly relations with the Natal Education Department.[22] In the Transvaal the position remained largely unchanged, although the immediate threat had receded somewhat. A new issue, however, was looming. Inspectors were instructing private schools not to admit any new Chinese pupils, while in the case of Asians generally only the children of diplomats were to be accepted in future. Here were the opening shots in the battle over the admission of pupils of all races described in the previous chapter.

The Standing Committee of Associated Church Schools had meanwhile been considering the formation of a Governing Bodies Association on the British model, to overcome the problem of inadequate representation in both the HMC (with which it maintained very close contact) and the Standing Committee itself. The 1960 meeting, which was opened by Sir John Maud, the British ambassador, heard a report that the Standing Committee had dropped the idea of a GBA, but had changed its constitution to enlarge its membership.[23] This was a direct consequence of the dangers facing the private schools, and reflected their growing community of interest across denominational lines. At the same time there was considerable anxiety about a possible dilution of the identity of the Standing Committee, representing as it did the Anglican diocesan boys' schools. This anxiety was reflected in a memorandum from W.D. Wilson to the Standing Committee.[24] While agreeing that it was reasonable to consider the creation of a wider body operating parallel to the HMC, he did not

feel that the goal should be pursued actively, listing as possible disadvantages demands of time and finance, and the 'independent-mindedness' of the schools themselves. In the event the Standing Committee in 1959 widened its membership to include one representative of the Anglican girls' schools, another of the Methodist schools, and two of the HMC (previously there had been one).[25] Cautious as this advance was, it represented a significant breach in the walls of Anglican exclusivity.

In the 1960's the question of the HMC's identity and its function came to the fore. A sub-committee was set up in 1963 to consider the question and its finding was that during the past decade a radical change had taken place in the attitudes of the schools to one another. Instead of their previous splendid isolation, the schools had become 'progressively less insular and exclusive'.[26] This was a result of the schools' 'natural evolutionary growth' and their 'wish to come together in order to protect their freedom in the face of anticipated external pressure'.[27] The effect of this, the sub-committee found, was for each school to look outwards from itself towards the centre of the group, to make use of organisations at the centre, and to take part in projects which presupposed a central organisation. This work 'at the centre of things' clearly implied a more complex organisation than the HMC could provide with one part-time secretary. The sub-committee had accordingly asked J.H. Smith of the Anglo-American Corporation to carry out a survey: his recommendation was the appointment of a full-time secretary, a shorthand typist and a part-time clerk-typist. Their salaries, added to rental and other running costs, suggested a budget of R5 160 per annum, which the sub-committee found to be 'unpleasantly surprising'. The increased focus on the 'centre of the group' is illustrated by the fact that from 1962 the HMC has met annually (with a gap in 1965) and that

since 1973 the arrangements have been made by groups of schools ('Grahamstown schools' in 1973; 'Cape Town schools' in 1974; St John's and Roedean in 1975; Hilton and Michaelhouse in 1976; and 'Grahamstown schools' again in 1977.) [28] It was not until 1978, however, that a satisfactory solution was found to the problem of the secretariat, when Mr G.C.L. Clarke (educated at Wellington and a former housemaster at Hilton) [29] became secretary of the HMC in addition to filling that post for the Association of Private Schools (his dual appointment illustrated the close overlap between the bodies and their complementary roles). The APS was in fact to become the central organisation for the HMC system (see later under Association of Private Schools).

At the 1963 meeting W.D. Wilson gave an address on 'Industry, Commerce and the Private Schools'. [30] He spoke of the need to obtain good staff and suggested that bursaries and opportunities for wider experience be made available. Since the schools could not undertake these things themselves he suggested that the trustees of the Industrial Fund be sent a proposal. A sub-committee was duly set up under Wilson's chairmanship to formulate such a proposal: this marked the beginnings of the Teacher Development Programme which was to have considerable significance for the private schools in terms of improving the quality of their teaching staff and thus enabling them to compete more effectively with the state sector (see later under Industrial Fund).

During the 1970's the HMC pursued a number of earlier themes. It became increasingly a closed shop of private school principals, fearful of undue publicity, where information could be exchanged in confidence and straying sheep gently nudged into line. The executive committee decided in 1971 that 'in view of the difficulties (which sometimes amounted to embarrassment) experienced in the past' the press would not be invited to attend future

conferences, although subject conferences might possibly be open.[31] Schools that advertised themselves in an 'undignified' way were gently chastised.[32] When M.C. O'Dowd (of the Anglo American Corporation (and the prime mover in the establishment of the APS) proposed the production of a film 'to inform the South African public what the schools were trying to achieve', and suggested that sponsors might be found, the HMC rejected the idea.[33]

Occasionally there was conflict within the body itself, when various interests and viewpoints clashed. Such conflict was handled discreetly, however, within the inner core and often did not even reach its way to the annual conference. A good example of this occurred in 1973 when the position of Steyn Krige was considered. Himself a former chairman of the HMC, in 1967-1968, Krige had, as previously mentioned, founded Woodmead after his dismissal from St Stithian's College. In terms of the HMC rules, Krige had to resign from the HMC after leaving St Stithian's and duly re-applied for membership after Woodmead was founded. The executive, which screens all applications, recommended that his application be reconsidered in two years time, but before the period had elapsed some member challenged this on the grounds that Woodmead was 'a prototype of the school of the future'.[34] But the majority view was that

> his actions, which led to his dismissal from St Stithian's, and the press publicity which he appeared to encourage, in contrast to the dignified stand adopted by the governors of St Stithian's, alienated many who would have supported him. It was also suggested that he might well have founded Woodmead for personal reasons to justify himself and that the finances for the founding had been provided from a non-Christian source which had stipulated that Christian worship should not be incorporated in the constitution of the school.[35]

The problem was thus both 'intricate and difficult' and it was decided to stand by the decision to

reconsider his application 1974.

The actual events leading up to Krige's dismissal from St Stithian's throw interesting light on this matter.[16] An undercurrent of discontent amongst the more conservative staff members and governors over Krige's 'unconventional' and 'progressive' approach came to a head in 1968. A debate against Orlando High School, a black school, caused some discontent, and this was followed by a rebuke from the chairman of the governors to the editor of the school magazine for using the word 'doll' to describe a female in an article (which was intended to be humorous) on the school dance. The same teacher later allowed his English class to hold a discussion - one of a series on human relationships - on over-population, during which one boy displayed various birth-control appliances. The teacher was called before the governors (in the event three out of twelve attended) in the headmaster's presence. He refused to give an undertaking not to allow discussions on controversial topics in future and the governors decided to dismiss him. Krige supported his teacher, was held to be 'responsible' and was also dismissed. Another factor in the dispute was Krige's dislike of attempts to make St Stithian's a showpiece: he refused 'red carpet' treatment for visiting sportsmen and other dignitaries, attacked snobbery and did away with the entrance examination. The governors clearly wanted a 'top' private school and were very concerned about 'standards' (possibly another manifestation of the Methodist schools' anxiety to rival the great Anglican foundations?). The governors appointed Mark Henning, a leading sportsman and firm disciplinarian. Eight teachers resigned over the Krige issue, including one who rapidly rose to emminence in the state system. Some parents removed their boys and sent them to Krige's new school, Woodmead. By 1979 Woodmead was occupying a relatively

comfortable position in the family, Krige had been re-admitted to the HMC and the school was a member of the APS. While numbers remained small (about 150) it had gone co-educational and multi-racial and was indeed to some extent the 'prototype' of the private school of the future (it is, of course, possible to regard the admission of girls and blacks as being at least partly motivated by a desire to keep numbers at a viable level).

This episode has been dealt with at some length because it illustrates so clearly many of the themes that have already been touched on: the tension between 'progressive' and 'conservative' approaches to education; the HMC's almost obsessive fear of publicity and its attempts to exercise restraint on those of its members who appear to flout convention; the anxiety to maintain the 'standards' and the 'Christian' identity of the HMC schools; the veil of secrecy behind which most of the operation was conducted; the fear of internecine rivalry; and, finally, the sinewy way in which an errant head could finally be taken back into the fold. It also illustrates the changes in attitude that have taken place in a relatively short time: discussion by senior pupils on birth-control would be unlikely to arouse much adverse comment now, while debates against black schools would probably be regarded as positively desirable.

While hardly an authoritarian body, the HMC exercises its discipline in an effective and 'very English' sort of way. One example is that 'it appears a large number of schools would like to advertise for pupils but are restrained by the HMC standing resolution'.[37]

Like any similar corporate body, the HMC can be used at times as a conduit to disseminate the sometimes

eccentric views of individual members. Thus in 1972 one headmaster solemnly addressed a circular letter to his colleagues drawing attention to the dangers of an American reading scheme which, he believed, had been 'shrewdly and subtly selected to indoctrinate youth towards acceptance of Communist teachings and theory'. The use of stories about the struggle of black Americans for equal rights, he pointed out quickly, was a red tactic: 'the communists regard the African negro and of course the South African Bantu as a potential ally in the class war'.[38]

More seriously, Michael Corke has used the same avenue to disseminate challenging views to the white private schools. His proposal that the church schools turn out middle class blacks was referred to in Chapter 2. More recently, Corke has circulated a document calling on the private schools to make their facilities and resources available for bridging programmes for black children, who would be brought to them in the afternoons and evenings.[39] His proposal has stimulated the staff of at least one white private school to consider sharing their skills and experience with groups of under-qualified black teachers.

If the HMC schools are to become increasingly involved in black education, and if the churches succeed in the attempt to make church schools colour-blind, the question of the HMC's constituency must again come into sharp focus. We have noted previously that the admission of Methodist and Baptist schools and of such isolated special cases as Inanda Seminary, Brescia House, Waterford-Kamhlaba and St Barnabas College has moved the HMC some way from its originally exclusive Anglican and quasi-Anglican foundations, while adding a minor black admixture to its formerly exclusive white identity. The HMC remains, however, overwhelmingly WASP in character and moves to widen its constituency, and thereby dilute that character, are inevitably viewed

with great caution. Corke has pointed out that the HMC schools are concerned with white needs, and that they are very conservative.[40]

One important sector of private education, another result of English initiative in South African education, is automatically excluded from representation in terms of the HMC constitution which debars from membership the head of any school from which an individual 'derives or can derive, directly or indirectly, any personal profit'. This includes the privately owned 'crammers' and tutorial, correspondence and business colleges as well as those schools run as private enterprise ventures - the 'dwindling minority' referred to in the first chapter - of which Redhill School is an example. The exclusion of the 'crammers' and tutorial colleges clearly prevents the HMC from representing a wider social sector, and from introducing into its ranks a wider spectrum of class interests. It can also place the HMC at a disadvantage, since it can exert no restraints on those thus excluded. At an HMC Executive meeting in 1978 one head complained that Damelin College had poached one of his teachers by the offer of a 'huge' salary. The Executive had to conclude that nothing could be done about such soliciting 'outside our own family'.[41]

Entry into membership is tightly controlled. The HMC constitution lays down that a school must be at least two years old, that it makes 'adequate provision for Christian teaching and corporate worship', that it is controlled by a duly constituted governing body, and that it gives consideration 'to the number of teachers and pupils and to the quality of education', before its head can be eligible for membership.[42] Any application for membership must be supported by three members of the Conference and be made to the Executive, which will propose the candidate if it is satisfied about his or her eligibility. Formal election of new members is made by the HMC's General Meeting.[43]

The minutes of the Executive reveal the extreme caution with which the question of widening the HMC's representation (and endangering its historical identity) is approached. In 1971 a suggestion that the Jewish Board of Education be invited to send an observer to the General Meeting was rejected.[44] In 1972 a request from the Catholic Council of Education for limited representation for Catholic schools, for example one school per province, was side-stepped after it was pointed out that while there was nothing in the constitution to prevent the heads of Catholic schools from applying for membership in their own right, 'as there are probably between 250 and 300 Roman Catholic private schools in the country, if all applied and were accepted they could virtually take over complete control of the Conference'.[45]

At the time the HMC was discussing moves which were afoot to launch a Governing Bodies Association and a sub-committee had held discussions with representatives of Catholic and Jewish schools and with the Standing Committee of Associated Church Schools. The sub-committee reported that it appeared likely that a federal body representing all these and possibly others (for example, the German and Hellenic private schools) would be recommended. Some HMC members clearly saw this as a threatening move: 'they considered the real need was for a reconstituted Standing Committee on which the governing bodies of all HMC schools would be fairly represented'[46] (thereby overcoming the weakness identified by Sutcliffe). This was in fact to be the eventual outcome, with the establishment of an Association of Private Schools, whose membership was to overlap almost completely with that of the HMC.

The Catholic problem, however, refused to go away and in 1973 the HMC Executive recognised that individual Catholic schools that conformed to the requirements of

the constitution could apply and noted that 'it seemed likely that some would be appointing Boards of Governors and adopting constitutions that would make them eligible'. The minutes record tersely 'such a move would be expected'. [47] It did not open the floodgates however, as some might have feared, and in 1980 not one Catholic school was represented on the HMC. Brother Jude, however, was being cordially welcomed as an observer for the Catholic Education Council.

The HMC was not above bending its own rules slightly when it came to a question involving its own historical constituency. Thus in 1973, in view of the 'very special arrangements' regarding St Andrew's School in Bloemfontein, the Executive recommended that the headmeaster's membership should continue after the school was taken over by the OFS provincial administration and it thus ceased to be a private school. [48]

Occasionally the HMC was caught in a conflict of interests. This occurred, for example, in 1979, when the question arose of the eligibility of the heads of the de Beers Schools (run by the mining company in Namibia for the children of its employees). On the one hand there was 'the generosity received by the private schools from de Beers' [49] which had to be considered, and clearly such a benefactor should in no way be offended. On the other hand, the schools - filled as they largely were with the offspring of rank-and-file white company employees - themselves hardly fitted the image of the traditional HMC schools. The Conference was unable to reach a decision and somewhat thankfully referred the matter back to the Executive, which had itself recommended that 'further study of the position' was necessary. [50]

The recruiting of desirable members to the HMC is suitably discreet, and the grapevine method is much

employed. Typical notes in the Executive minutes record the expected resignation of a head, with the chairman 'understanding' that his/her successor would be a certain individual from whom an application could shortly be expected.[51] Where an application might be seen as setting a precedent, 'investigations were to be made'. In the case of Inanda Seminary, for example, the Executive took pains to satisfy itself that this was a registered private boarding school, that it had a 'long and honoured history', that it received some support from the private economic sector, that it enjoyed a close relationship with St Mary's School at Kloof, that it provided an academic education to matriculation standard, and that the head was the right type of person. The chairman had visited the school to satisfy himself that it met all the requirements for membership.[52]

In concluding this section on the history and role of the HMC, we need merely to note some remaining factors which locate it at the centre of an important educational network. The informal relationship with the British HMC has already been mentioned. Rather closer is the relationship with the Rhodesian Conference of Heads of Independent Schools, which represents some nineteen schools and is actually affiliated to the South African HMC.[53] In terms of internal relationships, we have noted the close bond between the HMC and the APS, the latter providing the meeting point between heads and governors, and the slow toenadering with the Catholic sector. Within the HMC itself, a chaplains conference and an annual meeting of Prep. School Heads (run since 1962 as a distinct part of the HMC's General Meeting), and representation on the Joint Matriculation Board, the Industrial Fund Awards Committee, the Human Sciences Research Council Committees, and the Board of the Faculty of Education of the University of the Witwatersrand, all provide

channels for the flow of information to the centre and thence outwards to the individual schools.

The HMC's own Examinations Board co-ordinates the extrance examination for some of the senior schools. Regional meetings of the HMC provide a channel for national matters to be discussed, as well as for local issues to be taken further up the ladder. Thus the Transvaal Region in 1979 heard reports from the HMC's annual conference as well as from the chaplains' conference, discussed the question of fee reductions, and was informed of special offers available to schools for bulk orders of supplies.[54] The secretariat - the 'centre of the group' - keeps the machinery oiled and provides a number of useful little services. It runs, for example, a staff pool, circulating lists of available teachers, giving their ages, marital status, qualifications, experience, extramural preferences, and referees. The February 1979 list contained 16 names, of whom 7 were Rhodesians. The value of such a service is illustrated by the fact that the HMC Executive has decided that it is 'not in favour' of it being circulated to schools other than HMC members.[55]

From the simple structure and very limited representation of its beginnings in 1929, the HMC has developed into a relatively sophisticated body providing a service at regional, national and international level and in terms of both practical assistance and policy making. The HMC and the Association of Private Schools, linked together by their joint secretariat and their over-lapping memberships, represent the central core organism of the entire English private school system in South Africa. The central organism is thus of considerable significance in the socialisation process of the English Establishment in this country. (See Appendix 1).

The Association of Private Schools (APS)

i The Standing Committee of Associated Church Schools

The genesis of the APS can be found in the threatening position which faced the private schools in the 1940's and which has already been touched on in the previous section and in Chapter 9. It was this threatening position that prompted R.F. Currey, then headmaster of St Andrew's College, to issue his pamphlet on 'The Future of the South African Church Schools', which led in turn to the establishment of the Archbishop's Commission on Church Schools. In his pamphlet Currey argued the case for a unitary system in which the financial control of the church schools would eventually fall under a Foundation Council which would be the effective employer of the members of staff. This latter provision would, Currey believed, reduce the danger of inbreeding which resulted from the fact that no teacher could change his post without first resigning.

The Commission met in an atmosphere of anxiety engendered by threats of interference in the freedom of the private schools. Opposition to such interference was often expressed in rather more robust terms than would be the case to-day. For example, the headmaster of St John's College, in a press article in 1945,[56] drew comparisons between Nazi Germany and moves afoot in South Africa and vigorously denied that Afrikaner Calvinists had the right to dictate to others (he was reacting in particular to the Transvaal's draft ordinance, mentioned earlier in this chapter). The Bishop of Johannesburg in 1946 gave an address to Roedean in which he called on the private schools to arm themselves against the onslaught of propaganda and to be aware of the dangers of a totalitarian state being established in South Africa through state control of all education.[57]

The memoranda submitted by various headmasters to the Archbishop's Commission - invited in response to Currey's pamphlet - contained much the same message.[58] Kidd of Bishops warned that 'South African Nazism must make its great and final bid at the next elections' and called for a united front against the 'enemy'. Dangers faced all private schools and thus it was necessary to have a central organisation representative of more than merely the Anglican boys' schools. Currey himself, in a memorandum on 'The Church Schools and the Political Background', identified the reason for the failure of the Afrikaners to start their own (private) Christian National Schools: this was because of a conviction 'that they can do, or soon will be able to do, just what they will with the state schools'. Currey gave a remarkably perceptive and accurate forecast of the tactics that would be adopted if Dr Malan's National Party were to come to power: a national education policy, compulsory registration of teachers, a cut-back in subsidies for private schools - al conducted through a process of white-anting rather than through a frontal attack. Clarke of St John's saw a growing hostility towards the private schools amongst teachers and officials in the state system, fostered inter alia by 'the numerous Catholic and convent schools some of which have very low ideals of education and which at their best are a perpetual source of irritation to anti-Roman feelings', the existence of many 'hopelessly inefficient private schools run for private profit', the poor record in Afrikaans of some private schools and their 'overseas outlook'. Snell of Michaelhouse saw a need to facilitate the movement of teachers between private and state schools.

The outcome of the Archbishop's Commission was the formation of the Standing Committee of Associated Church Schools in 1944. By definition, it was an exclusive grouping of the Anglican schools and Kidd's

call for a wider representation was ignored, while the need for a general strategy implied in Currey's memorandum was not pursued. At the same time, the choice of the term 'associated' rather than, say, 'united', suggested a lingering sense of distrust between the schools. Currey makes the point that it was 'not many years since each of these schools regarded the other as deadly rivals from whom the crudest body-snatching was altogether legitimate'.[59] Probably the conservative views of men like Clarke, with his distrust of other sectors of private education and his inability to appreciate the global nature of the political threat, carried a lot of weight. Despite such cautious beginnings it was perhaps inevitable in the political climate of the time, with its threat of Christian-National Education, that in the late 1940's the Standing Committee's authority was gradually strengthened, while its formal representation grew to embrace a number of non-member schools on whose behalf it kept a watching brief.[60]

The most urgent task facing the newly constituted Standing Committee was to examine the provisions of the draft Transvaal ordinance which was also exercising the minds of the HMC (see previous section).[61] This was the draft Consolidated Education Ordinance published in the Provincial Gazette on 26 April 1944 and which, it was understood, would shortly be introduced in the Provincial Council. The draft contained clauses giving the Administration wide discretionany powers of control over private schools, especially as regards the appointment of staff and the curriculum. The Standing Committee drew up suggested amendments which were communicated to the Council of Education and to HMC schools in the Transvaal. In July 1945 a deputation from Johannesburg HMC schools met the Director of Education in the Transvaal and laid before him the proposed amendments. Thus from its beginnings the

Standing Committee worked closely with the HMC in defence of their common interests.

In the event the Executive Committee of the Provincial Council decided 'for various reaons' not to proceed with the draft ordinance, but the respite was relatively brief, since a new draft Consolidating Ordinance, published on 25 June 1952, contained provisions that went further than its predecessor's. The Standing Committee duly prepared amendments which went again to the Council of Education and the HMC. The HMC again duly sent a deputation to Pretoria. This time the Provincial Council appointed a Select Committee to hear evidence. The HMC and various heads of Conference schools submitted evidence, while the Standing Committee helped in the preparation of a memorandum on behalf of the Anglican schools which was presented by the bishops of Johannesburg and Pretoria. In January 1953, the report of the Select Committee was published: it contained virtually none of the evidence submitted on behalf of the private schools. The Standing Committee found some slight improvements in the revised draft ordinance that was published along with the report, but regarded the degree of control as still too drastic, particularly the autocratic powers given to the Administrator to close private schools and the wide discretionary powers given the Director of Education as regards staff appointments. On 11 June 1953 the Transvaal Provincial Council passed the second reading of the draft ordinance by a majority of two votes.

An ominous development on the national front occurred in September 1950 when the relevant Minister refused to register St Mark's school in George under Section 12 of the Companies Act (as an association not for profit). Previous similar applications under this Act had all been granted. The Minister professed himself not 'entirely satisfied that private schools could be said to serve the national interest'. The Standing Committee

pursued the matter by asking for the views of headmasters but they indicated a singular lack of willingness to come to the support of St Mark's. In 1966 Highbury (an undenominational prep. school) had its application rejected on the grounds that because the state made adequate provision for education, the Minister was not prepared to register any more private schools under this section of the Companies Act. [62]

The hostility of the state led the Standing Committee in 1956 to reformulate its views on the position of the private schools. A number of resolutions were passed unanimously: the schools should be vigilant against encroachments on their independence; religious groups should counsel together and keep each other informed of developments; the interest of parents and past pupils should be awakened. To this latter end the Standing Committee had 10 000 copies printed of Prof Michael Roberts' address on 'Freedom in Education in the present South African context', delivered to the 1952 HMC meeting (see previous section). Meanwhile Snell of Michaelhouse and Currey of St Andrew's had circulated copies of a pamphlet entitled 'A Threat to Freedom'.

In the early 1960's the main threat to freedom appeared to be the government's plan to set up a National Education Advisory Council. In a letter to the Minister of Education, the Standing Committee expressed its grave misgivings. [63] It objected particularly to the high degree of centralised control contained in the Bill then before parliament and the fact that the Council's members would be full-time, with the right of access to any information and the right to advise the Minister on any relevant matters. The Minister in turn would have unfettered power to implement the Council's advice. Any private school that received a state subsidy would fall within the provisions of the Bill. The Standing Committee's viewpoint was that since state aid represented

only a fraction of a school's costs, it was unreasonable to seek total control on these grounds.

The Bill was referred to a Select Committee (due at least partly to the pressure exerted by the private school community) and in its final form went some way to meeting the objections, although the Minister's wide powers remained and any school receiving a subsidy, however small, fell under its provisions. The main improvement, from the private schools' point of view, was that the Council was enlarged, with full-time members constituting only one-third, and its functions were closely defined as purely advisory. It thus appeared less threateningly bureaucratic. The HMC duly forwarded the names of three of its members as nominees to represent the private schools.[64] One of these, Stanley Osler of Kearsney College, became a full-time member of the Council and resigned his headmastership. His reassurances did much to soothe the remaining anxieties of the HMC and the Standing Committee.

The setting up of the National Advisory Council by the state marked a major turning point in the evolution of a private school system. The Standing Committee, with its original base in the Anglican boys' schools, even if widened by accepting one representative each of the Anglican girls' schools and the Methodist schools, and despite its 'watching brief' for other schools outside the immediate fold, was too narrowly constituted to provide an effective mechanism to protect the interests of the English private school community. In addition its structure was weak, with only a part-time secretary (for much of the time N.C. Ferrandi, headmaster of St Andrew's, Bloemfontein). The HMC was also not strong enough, although it embraced a wider cross-section of schools, since it excluded representatives of their governing bodies, where effective power usually resided. The Standing Committee had to

discontinue its 'watching brief' on behalf of the subsidised schools: in view of the official differentiation now made between them and the non-subsidised schools, it no longer had any locus standi to act for the subsidised schools in any approach to the provincial or government authorities.[65] A list published in 1967 by the HMC reveals that amongst the subsidised schools were several that ranked very high in the private school system, particularly in Natal (including Kearsney College; Hilton College; Durban Girls' College; Epworth; Girls' Collegiate; and Wykeham) and in the Transvaal (Roedean, Kingsmead, The Ridge Prep. and Auckland Park Prep).

The next five years were marked by a process of discussion and negotiation aimed at replacing the Standing Committee with a more representative and effective body. Inevitably there were moves to renew interest in the formation of a Governing Bodies Association as a single body to represent all private schools.[66] The Catholic Private Schools Action Committee tried to press the Standing Committee to make a joint approach to the Transvaal administration on the question of subsidies, an invitation which the Standing Committee shelved.[67]

By late 1972 the alternative proposals had crystalised between a GBA and a wider Private Schools Association, on which both heads and governing bodies would be represented. In September the Executive of the Standing Committee was told by its chairman, F.C. Robb, a Cape Town businessman, that the Archbishop 'was quite willing to forego the Anglican control of the Standing Committee and for it to be re-constructed along lines fully representative of all HMC schools'.[68] This willingness to relinquish Anglican control, from the very summit of the Church's hierarchy, was a significant factor, symbolising a recognition that the interests of the private school system extended across denominational barriers. Another very important factor was the seizing of the initiative by men in the business sector. At the same executive

meeting where the Archbishop's views were announced, it was reported that Mr M.C. O'Dowd, of the Anglo-American Corporation and a member of the boards of St John's College, St Mary's and St Martin's School, 'played a prominent part' in drawing up a constitution for a new body. (We have already noted the work of another Anglo-American man in the 1960's in making suggestions for the more effective functioning of the HMC). This is thus a period in which big business took the private school system under its wing, as it were, and provided much of the leadership which had previously come from the church and from powerful individual headmasters like Currey and Snell or from governors like Justice Fannin and Justice Feetham. This theme will be explored further in the section on the Industrial Fund.

ii The Interim Period [69]

In 1971 the HMC schools were asked for their opinions on a proposal to form a GBA to replace the Standing Committee. Most schools favoured the proposal. In February 1972 Mr Justice Fannin invited chairmen of the governing bodies to a meeting in Johannesburg. This was attended by all but one of the HMC schools, while two Catholic and three Jewish observers were present. The meeting considered two proposals: the extension of the Standing Committee to include all private schools; or the retention of the Standing Committee in its prssent form as representative of the Anglican schools and the formation of a GBA, which would include both the Catholic and the Jewish schools. The meeting favoured the latter course.

At its deliberations on 7 October of that year the Standing Committee, meeting at Michaelhouse, was informed that the movement to create a Private Schools Association (i.e. with a similar structure to the Standing Committee, with both heads and governors being admitted), rather than a body composed of

governors only, had gained momentum. On the previous afternoon, a meeting had been held at Hilton, largely on O'Dowd's initiative, but formally convened by Mr Justice Fannin, to discuss the constitution of the proposed PSA, and it was reported that it had been decided to restrict membership to HMC schools only, with Catholic and Jewish representation at the Executive level. Once again, anxiety to preserve the WASP identity of the system had forestalled moves to make the proposed new body representative of the whole private school sector.

O'Dowd was elected chairman of the Standing Committee, following in the steps of another Anglo-American man, W.D. Wilson, and subsequent meetings of the executive took place in his office. At the meeting in May 1973 O'Dowd stated that it would be disastrous for the 'private school movement as a whole' if the Standing Committee and the envisaged PSA came into conflict. He proposed that the two should merge 'so that all persons who are active in the cause of the private schools and who have good faith in the private school movement are involved'. A sub-committee consisting of O'Dowd, I.S. Haggie (a vice-chairman of the Standing Committee and another prominent businessman) and Ferrandi was set up to continue discussions with the 'opponents' of the PSA. O'Dowd himself was, as we have seen, perhaps the major proposent of that body, so that presumably much of the sub-committee's activity involved talking to itself. At that same meeting O'Dowd underlined criticism of the Standing Committee for its failure to meet regularly and urged it to fulfil its functions effectively until it was replaced by 'some other body' (which clearly, in O'Dowd's mind, was the proposed PSA).

In August 1973 the Standing Committee's Executive considered the final version of the PSA constitution.

Membership was to be confined, 'initially', to HMC schools, who would be invited to join. There was no disagreement on principle, although some division existed about the question of approaching the state for subsidies. The main difference between the proposed PSA and the British GBA was the former's inclusion of heads as full members. The Standing Committee showed its willingness to be absorbed into the new body of agreeing that its funds might be used to meet the costs of circularising HMC schools inviting them to join the PSA (in 1977, when the Standing Committee's finances were finally wound up, the APS - as the PSA became known - received R15 000).[70]

The Standing Committee having come to accept its own dissolution after being in existence thirty years, matters began to move rapidly under O'Dowd's energetic leadership. In September 1973 Ferrandi informed the heads of HMC schools of the new position. O'Dowd established an Interim Executive Committee and by October seven HMC schools had agreed to join the APS. In January 1974 O'Dowd could write to the chairmen of the governing bodies of HMC schools that about half the private (i.e. HMC) schools had joined and that 'there can be little doubt now that the Association will go ahead'. The Methodist schools were, however, notable omissions from his list, so that the new body was, as all its predecessors and counterparts had been, predominantly Anglican. One of the cementing factors was a joint pension scheme. Another desirable benefit, which would help to attract more schools into the fold, was a proposed combined medical aid scheme, but a revealing little minute[71] records that there was 'no person at Anglo-American who was in a position to assist the schools in this matter'.

By March 1974, 42 HMC schools had joined the APS and the Interim Executive decided the time was ripe to

implement its plans for a regional structure. Each region would elect four representatives (of whom at least one was to be a head and at least one a governor) to serve on a National Council. In May it was reported that six more schools had joined and that regional meetings were to be held in the Western Cape, Natal and the Transvaal. By July, all the HMC schools, with the exception of Kearsney and Epworth (both Methodist), Pridwin and St Mary's (Kloof), were gathered in. They, too, were to come in from the cold in due course, so that the HMC and APS constituencies now represent almost a total overlap.

Ferrandi rounded this whole interim phase off with a letter on 27 August 1974. Quoting O'Dowd, he identified one of the major problems lying ahead: 'The private schools will have little difficulty in continuing to attract the children of the wealthy if they maintain their standards. The real problem is the attraction of children of the middle income group'. Relationships between the schools themselves were, of course, not unrelievedly blissful. One head of a second-ranking school was quoted as remarking somewhat sourly that he doubted there would be any real co-operation among the APS schools: 'while the big schools get bigger, the small schools get smaller'. The head of a prep. had pointed out that an increasing number of boys were going from private prep. schools to senior government schools and that several Cape schools were facing a severe crisis which might call for decisive action and co-operation.

Despite such problems, the HMC schools now had an effective structure at both regional and national level and involving both heads and governors. The temptation to widen the family, to include non-WASP sectors, had been successfully evaded for the moment, and, as in the past, the Anglican schools were in the most powerful position, although the lines distinguishing

them from the other Protestant institutions were becoming increasingly blurred. The expertise and financial backing of the South African English business community had been a very significant factor in the whole process. At last the rallying of forces called for by Justice Feetham in 1954 and the central organisation 'at the centre of things' - the need identified by an HMC sub-committee in 1963 - had been brought into being.

iii The Association of Private Schools

The APS National Council held its first formal meeting at Kingsmead School in July 1974.[72] M.C. O'Dowd was elected chairman and both he and Justice Fannin received votes of appreciation for their initiative in the establishment of the body. In his address, O'Dowd described the meeting as 'an historic occasion in that it was the first time that there had been a meeting representative of most South African HMC private schools at governor level'.

An important development at the second meeting in 1975 was the presence, for the first time, of G.C.L. Clarke as secretary. He was appointed full-time in 1978. From this time on the former rather amateurish administration gave way to a highly efficient and business-like system. (As we have noted already, Clarke later also became secretary of the HMC: the joint office was established at St John's Prep. School in Johannesburg). Jewish and Catholic representatives were present as observers without voting rights at this second meeting, a practice which continues to the present, and follows that of the HMC. Damelin College's application for membership was rejected on the grounds that it was profit-making. A particular anxiety on this score was that the admission of profit-making institutions might jeopardise the setting up of a proposed Private Schools Trust, headed by four or five prominent businessmen and with the general aim of furthering 'the Private School movement'.

ASSOCIATION OF PRIVATE SCHOOLS

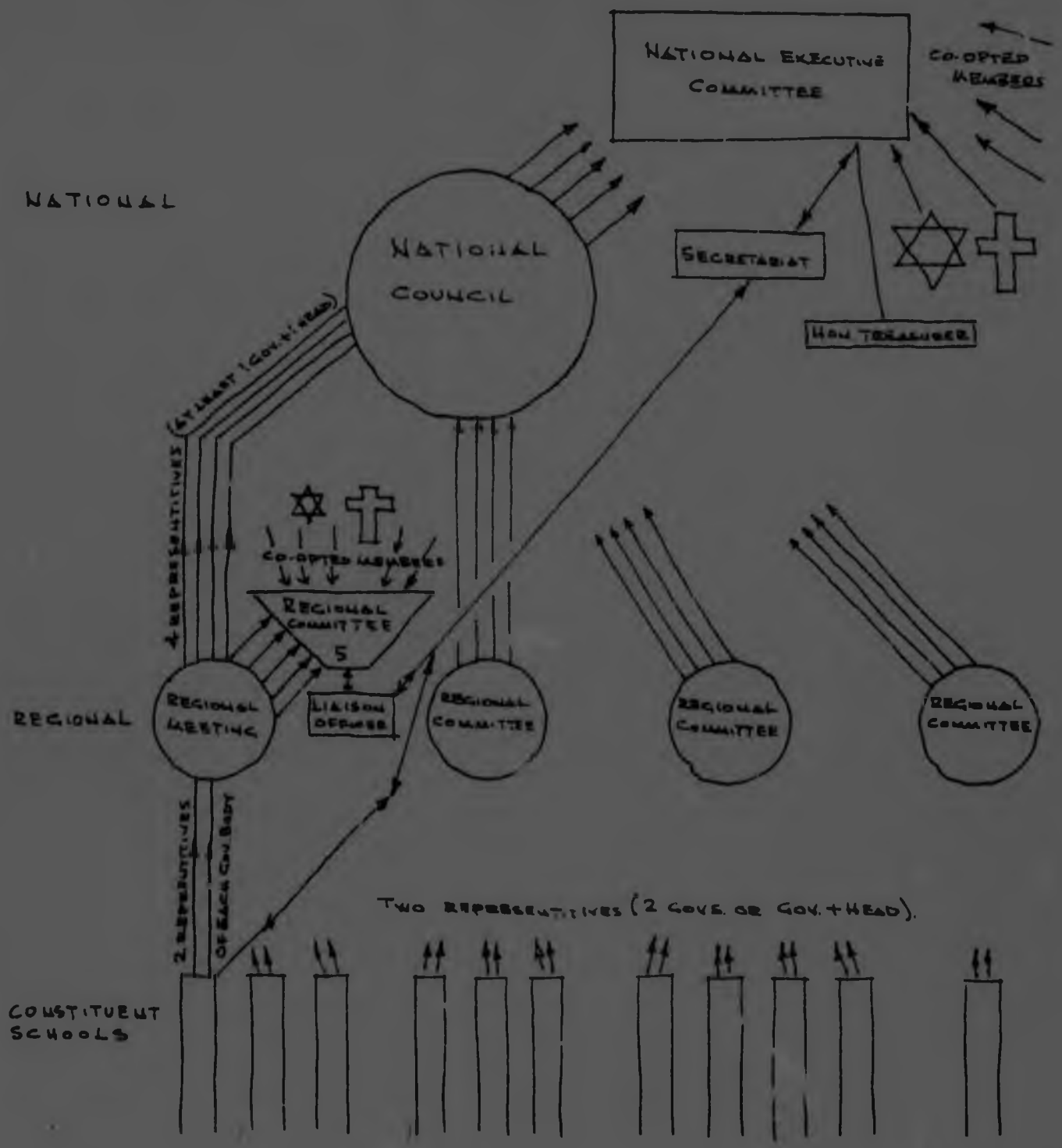


DIAGRAM ATTACHED TO MINUTES OF FIRST TRANSVAAL & OFS REGIONAL MEETING 3/6/74

There was some rather vague discussion about the formation of such a Trust.[73]

At the third meeting it was estimated that the private schools were saving the state about R9 million annually in the Transvaal alone. The Loewenstein Trust (whose chairman, J. Power, was to become chairman of the APS in 1977) was thanked for its grants in 1975-6 towards the establishment of the APS. For the first time detailed regional reports were received from the Liaison Officers in the various regions.[74]

A special meeting at the beginning of 1977 amended the constitution to allow full membership only to registered private schools in South Africa and South West Africa, whether in receipt of public monies or not, and associate membership to private schools in or outside South Africa and South West Africa, provided they were non-profit making and had governing bodies. (It was under this clause that Waterford in Swaziland was subsequently admitted to associate membership). The representatives of such associate members were to be permitted to attend and participate in Regional General Meetings but would have no voting rights.[75] This very limited concession in terms of wider representation was probably the result of local pressure at regional level where HMC schools might have felt it desirable to include their colleagues from other private sectors. The braking mechanism was, however, left firmly in the hands of the National Executive Committee, which was empowered to decide which schools should be admitted to full membership 'either for a period of time or at all'. There could thus be no question of a flood of, say, Catholic schools being admitted to the National Council via the regional committees.

The items for discussion at the National Council began inevitably to duplicate those of the HMC. Thus at

the fourth meeting in 1977, the National Council, following the lead given by the HMC resolution of that year, unanimously agreed 'that it should be minuted that the APS favoured the removal of all legal restrictions to the admission of any pupil regardless of race to any one of its member schools in South Africa'.[76]

At the same meeting it was reported that there had as yet been no success in the setting up of a Private Schools Trust but that the idea had not been abandoned. O'Dowd, who did not offer himself for re-election, was made an Honorary Life President of the APS.

In 1978, after the opening address by Sir Richard Luyt (principal of the University of Cape Town and a Bishops Old Boy), Bro. Jude reviewed the current position regarding the admission of black pupils, as he had done for the HMC.[77] The project to form a Private Schools Trust had taken an interesting turn, with a suggestion having been made to the chairman of the Council of Education, Mr S.A.G. Anderson ('himself a product of the private schools and one time chairman of Pridwin', and a powerful figure in business circles), that the Council should transform itself into a national body and lend its support to the fund-raising effort. This meeting also revealed the same tactics of gentle discipline used by the HMC. There had been considerable dissatisfaction over a recent television programme on the private schools, in which they were defended by some heads (evidently not quite effectively), and it was reported that the National Executive had recommended that 'when heads or chairmen were approached by the media they should seek the guidance of their colleagues or the Association'.

The sixth meeting of the APS National Council, in 1979, was the largest so far, with 28 heads and governors present. Only one woman was there, and all

the members were white.[78] In his opening address the (Anglican) Bishop of Pretoria identified the role of the English private schools as being 'a creative and constructive minority' poised between the two main power blocks of Afrikaners Nationalism and Black Consciousness (cf. Chapter 9 of this study). This analysis was pertinent to a major item of discussion at the meeting, the old issue of the constituency represented by the HMC schools and the question whether that constituency should be extended. As we have seen in previous sections, this issue greatly exercised the minds of all those involved in previous attempts to consolidate the English private schools into a coherent system.

Two choices were avilable: either the APS could be expanded to speak on behalf of all non-profit independent schools, thus including the Catholics, the Jews and the private schools of smaller minorities like the Germans and the Greeks; or a federal body could be created with representatives from each group of schools. The danger of the former option was that it would 'inevitably mean the inclusion in our members of schools differing so much from our present ethos' - the essential heritage? - 'as perhaps to weaken the ties that at present bound us together'. The safer course was to form a Joint Liaison Committee (APS, Catholic, Jewish) 'which could meet together to consider joint action if and when it was felt that this was desirable'. The APS was clearly jealous of its particular advantages - the specialised skills of its members (P. Loveday was mentioned, for example, as chairman of the Business Planning sub-committee); its internal structure (the secretariat and the regional system); and its contacts (the close liaison between the secretary and the Independent Schools Joint Committee of Great Britain, for example, and between the chairman and the British Governing Bodies Association). There was also the advantage of the

parliamentary 'listening post' established by the APS, with members drawn from all three major white political parties.

So when it came to a consideration of changes in the membership structure, the attitude was hesitant and cautious. The chairman of the HMC said that that body would regret it if the APS where to change its requirement - modelled on that of the HMC - that member schools should provide Christian teaching and worship to one that they merely provide religious teaching and worship. This would not only open the doors to Jewish schools (who form a significant group of 23 schools), but, as the chairman said, in reply to a question, to 'Hindu or Mohammedan schools as well'. One member suggested that when new applications for membership were received, there should be close consultation between the APS and the HMC, and that Jewish schools should be allowed no more than associate membership. Another speaker pinpointed the problem: was the APS to be the mirror image of the HMC or was it to extend its constituency beyond that of the HMC? When the matter was put to the vote, an overwhelming majority were in favour of retaining 'Christian' in the constitution. The APS thus showed its unwillingness to move significantly beyond its original base. The Catholic question still remained essentially unresolved, although individual Catholic schools that qualified could be admitted in a piecemeal fashion. As in the case of the HMC, entry into membership is tightly controlled. Nominations must go forward from a Regional Committee to the National Executive which makes a recommendation to the National Council which, in its turn, must approve the nomination by a two-third majority.[79] According to its secretary, the APS is not a policy making body, but plays a consultative, co-ordinating and supportive role for its member schools.[80] It would, however, be clearly very difficult for any member of the family to disregard

the feelings of the majority or to ignore its guidelines. While constituent schools are not bound by any resolution of the National Council, any dissent has to be formally communicated to the secretary for recording, and this mechanism in itself must exercise an influence for conformity.

The structure appears to operate effectively. The National Executive - a balance of governors and heads, businessmen and educators - meets virtually every month. The Regional meetings are well attended: the 1979 Transvaal meeting drew representatives from 27 schools, virtually the entire HMC constituency in the province. The Secretary operates an embryonic ISIS (the British Independent Schools Information Service), circulating information sheets and memoranda on a wide range of subjects. In 1977 he visited the United Kingdom for contact not only with ISIS but also with the Public Schools Bursars Association (which has duly been emulated in the local Bursars Groups), the Governing Bodies Association and the Independent Schools Joint Committee. The APS also acts as the primary link with the Industrial Fund, undertaking much of the administrative work involved in maintaing the system of exchanges and fellowships from the South African English private schools to the British public schools. (see Appendix 1).

This survey has attempted to identify those processes which have led to the formation of the APS as the central organisation of the private school system, fulfilling functions which the HMC cannot. It is thus a key factor in the development of the system itself. In order to understand the system in its totality we need to refer briefly to a number of other components.

The Industrial Fund

Perhaps the most important of these components in the

Industrial Fund, which has played a significant role in financing the private schools and in providing a structure through which industry and commerce could make resources available to the private school system as a whole. The private schools, especially outside Natal, are understandably cautious about becoming reliant on state aid, particularly in the form of subsidisation of teachers' salaries, since 'a man's allegiance was to the concern that paid him'. [81]

It is clearly seen to be in the interest of the private school system as a whole that it, and the individual schools within it, should have a great a degree of financial independence from the state as possible. Interesting questions arise, of course, about the possibility of their financial dependence on industry and commerce. Be that as it may, we have already noted the important role of the Council of Education (drawn from the Rand's financial elite) in supporting the private schools of the Rand since the early days of Johannesburg, and the moves by the APS to persuade the Council to fulfill this function on a national scale. By late 1979 this looked promising, and the proposed Private Schools Trust was beginning to seem like a distinct possibility, since the chairman of the Council was reported as saying that his Syndic was ready to discuss the setting up of such a body. [82]

This function was previously performed to some extent by the Industrial Fund, set up in 1958 in imitation of the comparable body which served the public schools in Britain by making approximately £3 million available to them. The South African version had its origins in 1957, when F. Spencer-Chapman, an Englishman who had succeeded Currey as headmaster of St Andrew's, proposed the establishment of such a fund in this country. The headmaster of Bishops, H. Kidd, enthusiastically supported this idea and wrote to the

secretary of the Standing Committee of Associated Church Schools. The secretary sought the views of the schools, which endorsed the proposal and felt that the Standing Committee should organise the matter. Currey then made an informal approach to the Anglo-American Corporation and was able to report that Oppenheimer and Wilson, chairman and deputy chairman respectively, were very interested. A lunch was arranged in 1958 to which several leading businessmen were invited and at which Wilson gave another of his addresses on the value of the private schools. (It will be recalled from previous sections that this was at a time when the private schools, particularly in the Transvaal, were seen to be facing grave political threats). The immediate outcome was the setting up of an assessment committee to examine the situation and assess the need.[83]

The assessment committee began by visiting the boys' schools and found a need for the improvement of science facilities (this was of course also relevant in terms of industry's needs for trained manpower). An Industrial Fund memorandum of 1966 records that the trustees, under the leadership of H.F. Oppenheimer, raised large sums of money to improve science in the boys' schools. Indeed, the histories of several boys' schools record around this time the erection of new science blocks and the acquisition of improved science facilities.[84] In fact, during the 1960's the Industrial Fund for Assistance to Private Schools in South Africa, to give it its full name, weaves in and out of the story on a national scale in much the same way that the Council of Education has done on a local scale.

In 1963 the assessment committee turned its attention to the girls' schools. It concluded that 'we have learned enough to be able to put forward a strong case for making a further appeal to Industry, to enable the Industrial Fund to help the girls' schools'.[85]

The majority of the sixteen schools were 'in urgent need... of additional accommodation for the teaching of science', while all were in urgent need of apparatus.[86] There was no doubt in the committee's mind 'that Industry and the country as a whole will substantially benefit from any help that is given to the girls' schools'; unlike the boys' schools, there was no need to provide Sixth Form facilities, as there was little demand.[87] The estimated total cost would be R183 834.[88] From this time the histories of the girls' schools also record the assistance given them by the Industrial Fund.[89]

In 1965 the Fund extended its operations by instituting a Teacher Development Programme with the aim of 'providing stimulus to the teaching staff of Conference Schools'.[90] The programme encompassed overseas study tours for heads; sending promising assistants to teach 'in leading English schools'; bursaries for teachers to improve their qualifications; refresher courses in England; bursaries for graduates intending to teach in private schools; and visits to South Africa by 'suitable overseas experts'.[91] A selection committee was appointed after consulation between the Standing Committee and the Trustees of the Industrial Fund. This programme is the heart of the complex system of exchanges and contacts with the British public school system already referred to. In the first five years of its operation R45 000 was paid out. In 1966 it was decided to spend only the interest (approximately R6 000 p.a.), keeping the capital sum intact as a permanent endowment. In 1979 the HMC was informed that the Fund 'was likely to continue to supply overseas grants for teachers at about the same rate as in the past for a further ten to twenty years'.[92] The workings of this scheme will be considered in the next section.

The Industrial Fund has enjoyed the support of a wide range of South African big business. A list of donors

circulated by the Standing Committee of Associated Church Schools in about 1969 makes this clear. It almost goes without saying that the list is headed by the mining industry, with companies like Anglo-American, Anglo-Transvaal Consolidated Investment, De Beers, General Mining, Goldfields of South Africa, Johannesburg Consolidated Investment, Rand Mines and Union Corporation. Under 'general' are individuals like H.F. Oppenheimer and a wide range of concerns from AECI, the Abe Bailey Trust, Barclays Bank and BP to South African Associated Newspapers, Thos. Barlow and Sons and Woolworths. In Natal, all the leading sugar and timber companies are represented as well as a range of merchant firms and secondary industry. More than thirty companies in the steel and engineering industries (SEIFSA affiliates) are listed as donors, including such giants as African Wire Ropes; Dorman Long; Hunt Leuchars and Hepburn; Reunert and Lenz; Scaw Metals and Stewart and Lloyds. The most notable feature of the entire list is that it overwhelmingly reflects the economy of the Rand. The Industrial Fund is in fact an extension of the historical function of the Witwatersrand's capital in supporting the South African English private school system, from which it draws much of its managerial and executive material.

The British Connection

It is appropriate enough to end this historical review of the South African private schools with the same theme with which it began. That the umbilical cord that binds these schools to the English public school system is now much attenuated does not mean that it has become insignificant. The South African English private school system is now largely self-perpetuating, and, with the aid of the South African English business community, self-supporting. While recruitment of staff from Britain is now negligible compared with the position up to the Second World War,

the South African private schools receive a constant flow of information and ideas from the British public school system. The contact between these two systems is in fact much more obvious than that between the private and state systems inside South Africa itself.

Since the mid-1960's the most effective agency for this contact has been the system of exchange which grew out of the South African Industrial Fund's Teacher Development Programme, referred to briefly in the previous section. The pattern is that applications for visitorships or fellowships (i.e. a term or more teaching at a British school)are channelled through the Association of Private Schools to an awards committee. The Industrial Fund pays the travel expenses of successful applicants while the British Council is often responsible for arrangements and travel expenses in Britain itself. Agencies of the British public school system, notably the IAPS (Incorporated Association of Preparatory Schools), frequently assist with advice and practical help.

We need not go into detail here about the exchange scheme run by the Council of Education, Witwatersrand, whereby applicants are sent to Britain to gain further experience, usually in public schools. This scheme draws its recipients from both state and private educational institutions in South Africa. While it provides further illustration of the British connection, it is essentially peripheral to our main concern, which is an analysis of the South African English private school system per se, of which the Teacher Development Programme is an important component and the formalised structure through which the British connection operates for that system.

The APS lists 71 exchanges from the South African system to the British one (the process is almost entirely one-way) between 1964 and August 1976.[93] To these may be added another four which appear to have been overlooked.[94] Between 1977 and 1979 the present

writer has been able to trace another nineteen, thus making a total of at least 94 exchanges over a period of sixteen years, or a not insubstantial average of six visits per year. The recipients of awards are expected to compile reports on their return and these are circulated amongst member schools by the APS, thus theoretically making available to the whole system the insights and other benefits derived. Forty-eight of these reports between 1964 and 1979 were available to the writer and all were studied. The schools visited read like a roll of honour of the whole British public school system: Charterhouse; Eton; the Heberdasher Aske's School; Haileybury; Harrow; the King's School, Canterbury; The Leys School, Cambridge; Oundle; Repton; Roedean; St Paul's; Wellington; Winchester...

The topics covered in the reports range right across the curriculum, describe such matters as counselling methods, educational technology, finance and plant, or deal with generalisms like 'New Trends in Britain' and 'General education in various schools'.

An analysis of the list of successful applicants reveals that the great majority (40 out of approximately 55) of the HMC schools are represented. No visitorship or fellowship has gone to a head or an assistant at a state school. The largest number of awards have gone to Hilton (8), St John's College (8), Michaelhouse (7), Kearsney (7), St Stithian's (6), St Andrew's College (5), St Andrew's DSG (5), and Bishops (3). This is a fair reflection of the ranking order of the South African private schools, with the senior boys' boarding schools heading the list. The 'big five' (Hilton, St John's, Michaelhouse, St Andrew s and Bishops) are well represented.[95] The leading girls' schools have received one or two awards each, while there is a good sprinkling of prep. schools.

An interesting aspect is the number of recipients who were already in leadership positions (heads like Hopkins of Kearsney;Paver of Kingsmead; de Lisle of St Martin's; Krige of St Stithian's; Murray of St Alban's; Nicolson of The Ridge; Simmonds of St Andrew's Girls' School; Todd of St Peter's) and those who were destined for leadership before long (for example, Breitenbach of St Andrew's College, who was to head St John's; Pennington of Bishops, who was to head Michaelhouse; Nupen of St Peter's, who was to head The Ridge).

It is clear that the exchange system is intended to benefit the private schools collectively. In his report, M. de Lisle (1965) expresses it as follows: 'those of us who enjoy the privilege of an overseas visi .. must be able to prove to the British Council and the Industrial Fund that the advantages are of benefit further afield than in a single school'. For the individual involved, of course, there are particular benefits. Apart from enhancing his prospects of promotion, it takes the South African teacher 'out of his all-too-often narrow intellectual environment' (J.J. Breitenbach, 1964, p.3.), while another report expressed satisfaction 'that we had picked British brains very effectively' (R. Norwood, 1966, p.3.). One visitor welcomed the opportunity to stand away from 'the parochial problems of everyday life in a South African School' (V. Clegg, 1968, p.1.), and another was stimulated by the vitality of education in England (R. Brooks, 1970, p.1.). It is probably unnecessary to make the point that this kind of stimulus is available to a far lesser extent to heads and assistants in the state sector of education, and that this is another of the advantages enjoyed by the private school system.

The benefit the exchanges have had for the system generally is difficult to assess. The reports inevitably vary greatly in length, scope and importance from cursory two-page documents, largely listing thanks and the names

of institutions visited, to a few substantial and thoughtful documents giving evidence of keen observation and an awareness of major issues. A great deal of the material is, however, mere dross. Some of it is quite puerile: 'There is so much more to success at school than high marks. Our whole pattern of living today revolves around high scoring, I know - but has this way of life been successful' etc. There is a common lack of any historical perspective, and a common tendency to deplore 'permissiveness' and changes in the public schools. K. Starck (1973, p.4.) was disconcerted by 'the general attire and scruffiness of the teachers' and C. Esprey (1973, p.2.) was 'staggered' by the lack of discip'ine at Abingdon. W. Jarvis of Hilton (1969, p.7) was 'horrified' by 'the bad manners and s'oppiness of the average school-going child in Britain' and by the almost total disappearance of uniforms, corporal punishment and fagging from the public schools, views sternly echoed by H. Lester of St John's (1973, p.2.). (One wonders how such horrified observers would have reacted to the unreformed public schools of the 19th century!).

Esprey liked Pangbourne College much better than Abingdon since 'it is run on naval lines and all the boys wear naval uniform to class. It was so refreshing... this is a school where discipline still exists and I noticed that the pupils in class were more alert, more communicative than their counterparts at Abingdon'. The equation is a simple one: uniform plus discipline equals good academic standards. T. Fair (1972) seems to put the 'more superior (sic) general knowledge' of Tonbridge boys down to the fact that they are well-mannered and well-dressed. A. Parnell (1974), commenting on some 'disgraceful' preps., took the equation a few steps further: 'Tatty staff rooms produce a tatty staff, tatty staff produce tatty standards, and tatty pupils produce a tatty school. The whole process starts obviously with the

Headmaster', presumably a tacty figure himself.

Usually there is an almost grudging recognition that the academic results are very high, despite the scruffiness. Esprey is in a minority when he concludes that teaching in South African (private) schools is as good as in British schools. Jarvis could not help admiring the high academic standards. which Raymond Slater of Hilton (1970) also found 'impressively high'. Slater in fact saw the public schools as bulwarks against the tide of permissiveness which several of the reports see as rampant in the British state schools. R. Dickson, the school counsellor at Hilton, is one of a very few who attempt to apply some perspective. He makes the point (1979, p.3.) that while there may be unruly behaviour in some British schools, 'particularly the large, impoverished urban schools with their working-class multi-racial populations', they experience problems which 'upper-middle class white South Africa has never seen but which are, nonetheless, present in many of this country's urban schools'. In other words, it is probably futile to try to draw comparisons, on the basis of brief observation and discussion, between, say, a comprehensive in the East End of London and a boarding school at Balgowan or Hilton Road. The visitors inevitably tend to view the British system through their own ideological preconceptions. They will often tend to look for comforting similarity, as did C. Diedericks of Kearsney (1974) who found 'a lot of similarity between public schools in Britain and private schools in South Africa', or T. Fair (1972) who was 'amazed' at the 'close similarity' between Tonbridge(founded in Kent in 1552) and Bishops.

These reactions may well illustrate the danger of superficial exposure merely reinforcing preconceptions and/or giving rise to simple golly gosh responses (being amazed, horrified, staggered etc). Some reports

make it clear that visitors consciously avoided involved discussion. Thus Starck (1973, p.3.) felt that some pupils he met seemed to want to take the opportunity of making 'a sustained attack on South African politics... I tried to avoid a politcial harangue'. The same sort of problem - of reinforced preconceptions - seems to apply to opinions about the 'backwardness' of immigrant children and the problems of integrating them (Esprey, 1973, p.4, reports with apparent satisfaction that at one school the pupils 'followed a segregation of their own, i.e. coloureds sat with coloureds and whites with whites'), the 'disastrous' educational policies of the Labour Party and the 'failure' of the comprehensives. The great educational debate in Britain in the 1960's and 1970's is rarely touched on, and there is no evidence of a critical re-assessment of the role of the public schools. R. Todd (1973) reports briefly on an IAPS conference at which the Labour shadow minister attacked private education. There is no comment from Todd apart from a reference to Hattersley's lucidity and lack of 'compassion'. Certainly none of the visitors appears to have returned with any doubts about the rightness and worth of private education, and very few make any attempt - Corke is a notable exception, but his was a private visit, not a visitorship - to relate the issue to larger questions of South African society such as discrimination, inequality, repression and elitism.

The question must be asked whether in fact the South African private school system is deriving any real benefit from this expensive programme of visitorships. The main benefit would seem to lie in the transmission of information and ideas on practical issues of school administration, educational resource material, curriculum development and technology. All this of course goes towards helping entrench the privileged position of the schools. The Rector of Michaelhouse

(R. Pennington, 1972) made the value of the British connection quite clear: 'our private schools draw their information for the most part from the British public schools and indeed many of their most treasured traditions'. At the same time, however, the 'picking of British brains' is not confined to the public schools. Treverton's J. Robertson, for example, in 1973 visited teachers' centres, polytechnics, comprehensives and secondary moderns to study workshop facilities and technological development, while G. Beattie (1977) attended a course in educational technology at the Plymouth Polytechnic.

Another benefit lies in seeing how new trends have operated and in identifying pitfalls to be avoided. For example, H. Lester of St John's (1973, p.2.) warned that co-ordination of boys' and girls' schools has not overcome the problem of 'the liberation of the feminine world from the age-old tyranny of hag-ridden nunneries', and that 'boys and girls will learn to work together fully only when their association is regarded as the normal state of society. As Lester remarks, this 'casts some doubt upon the rather tentative contacts of boys and girls' schools' in South Africa' (referring, for example, to cautious moves to institute co-ordination between the Sixth Forms at Roedean and St John's in Johannesburg). Lester also gives early warning of the general 'flight from boarding' that is affecting town schools like Brighton, Eastbourne, Cheltenham and Clifton and the need to plan ahead to meet this by providing suitable day accommodation like study areas and private rooms for seniors. Another development described by Lester may also come to have relevance for South African private schools: the multiple use of school buildings, with halls, gymnasia and other facilities being made available to the local community in the evenings (cf. Corke's suggestion that South African private schools make their facilities available

after hours to children from disadvantaged communities, referred to earlier in the section on the HMC).

The visitors' reports reveal frequently an interesting tension between admiration for innovation and experimentation in British schools and veneration of the traditional approach. One writer (R. Todd, 1973) deplored the tendency for educators to polarise, 'considering themselves to be either progressive or traditionalists... and usually militant in whatever camp they consider themselves to be'. We have already noted some of the 'horror' experienced by more conservative visitors at what they regarded as declining standards and their admiration for those schools which stuck to uniforms and firm discipline.

Others were frankly disappointed by the traditional methods used in most public schools. W. Jarvis found that in English and Scottish public schools in 1969 the 'open-ended approach by which pupils are encouraged to think for and work by themselves was not as evident as I expected it to be - not even in the junior classes'. Ten years later D. Ede of St Andrew's school found a 'conventional' approach to history teaching in a boys' public school and 'nothing really new to report'. In general, although Esprey thought a progressive primary school was 'chaos', the visitors found the state schools to be much livier and more imaginative in their approach to education. The headmaster of St Andrew's Prep. (A.Parnell, 1974, p.8.) found that in IAPS schools 'there was little evidence of the excellent modern teaching aids... the chalk and talk was very much in evidence'; in contrast the state schools were 'hives of activity' with 'the emphasis on learning and finding out for oneself'. Echoing this, the headmaster of St Dunstan's Prep (E. Whitford, 1974) found that the only schools 'with desks in rows facing

a blackboard were independent prep. schools whose reputation depended upon as many of their pupils as possible passing an entrance exam. to one or other well known public school'. Anyone familiar with South African prep. schools, with their impressive rows of 'honours' boards listing scholarships and exhibitions won to senior private schools, will appreciate this problem. Nor, in view of the distrust of educational theory and 'new fangled' methods common to the South African private schools (see Chapter 8), need one be surprised by the lack of innovation in British public schools.[96]

In contrast, many visitors were impressed by what was happening in the British state sector. Sutcliffe (1964, p.5.) considered the results of the new primary methods to be 'enthralling'; Devis (1969, p.4.) discovered 'an atmosphere in which real learning - as opposed to cramming and spoon feeing - can take place'; the head of the history department at Roedean (G. John, 1977) found the methods in the independent schools stultifying, in contrast to the comprehensives, where history was 'a dynamic and lively subject', as teachers had devised 'imaginative and effective responses' to deal with the problem of large mixed-ability classes (she also adds the significant point that another reason is to be found in the educational philosophy of the teachers).

Finally, there is another theme in several of the visitors' reports that may have some significance in terms of the future of the South African private school system. Several reports comment on the healthy state of recruitment to the British public schools (evidently their advantages are still seen to outweigh - in the minds of upper-middle and middle class people at least - their old-fashioned and unimaginative methods). A. Parnell (1974) found, for example, that despite 'shatteringly' high fees most IAPS schools

were 'full to bursting', which reinforced the finding of R. Todd in 1973. M. Corke, during his private visit, found the same position in 1977 in the senior independent schools, with a vigorous middle-class demand for available places. The irony of this is that, in Corke's words, the strengthening of the independent sector results largely from legislation 'which was designed, at least in part, to eradicate class barriers' (p.4.). J. Law, the Master of Roedean (SA), found disillusionment with the state system to be so widespread that more and more people were turning to independent schools, 'despite almost prohibitive fees' (p.6.). Pennington (1972, p.2.) ascribes the greater support for independent schools to dissatisfaction with the state's comprehensive schools and moves to abolish the grammar schools. He finds cause for comfort for the South African private schools in this development, since 'our new so-called differentiated education' will lead to the development of state schools in size and in the number of courses offered until they in effect become comprehensives. This, Pennington believes, will mean a growing interest among 'discerning parents' in the private schools which will tend to become specialists in one 'direction' laid down in terms of differentiated education. That direction is the 'academic' one.

If that forecast is correct, then - as in the British case - ambitious parents will somehow manage to meet escalating fees, while the schools themselves, through a judicious intake of selected black pupils and careful moves towards co-education (possibly creaming off the best at the top of the girls' schools), will have other mechanisms at hand to keep their rolls full. And if the private schools do become primarily havens for an 'academic' elite then our story will in one way have come full circle.

For that is one of the means by which 'great' schools sought to separate themselves from the ruck, and that is one function that was originally intended for their emulators in this sub-continent.

Footnotes - Chapter 10

1. The sources of the information in this and the subsequent paragraphs are the recent Annual Reports of the HMC, which list the members of HMC in each year.
2. HMC Report 1978, Appendix B, p.45.
3. HMC Report 1932.
4. HMC Report 1934.
5. HMC Report 1978, Appendix A: Standing Resolutions.
6. Ibid.
7. Ibid.
8. HMC Report 1938.
9. HMC Report 1940.
10. Ibid.
11. Ibid.
12. A.G. Sutcliffe: 'Co-operation between Private Schools', address to the 6th Annual General Meeting of the Natal Region of the Association of Private Schools, Durban, 19 March 1979, p.1. (mimeographed).
13. Ibid.
14. HMC Report 1944.
15. Cf. Sutcliffe, Ibid.
16. HMC Report 1946.
17. Ibid.
18. HMC Report 1950.
19. HMC Report 1952.
20. HMC Report 1952.
21. Ibid.
22. HMC Report 1956.
23. HMC Report 1960.
24. W.D. Wilson: 'Thoughts on Private Schools and their Association with the Church', memorandum, 1960.
25. HMC Report 1960.
26. 'The Function of the HMC', report on the findings of the Sub-Committee signed by D. Yates (headmaster of St John's College), n.d., p.1.
27. Ibid.
28. List of HMC meetings, HMC Report 1978.

29. Personal interview, 28/8/79.
30. Reprinted in HMC Report, 1963.
31. Minutes of HMC Executive meeting, Rosettenville, 13 Nov. 1971, p.6.
32. E.g., Minutes of HMC Executive meeting, 19 May 1973, p.9.
33. HMC Report 1972.
34. Minutes of HMC Executive meeting, 17 Feb. 1973, p.4.
35. Ibid.
36. This account in based on information supplied confidentially to the writer by some of those involved.
37. Minutes of HMC Executive meeting, 17 Feb. 1973, p.11.
38. Circular letter to heads of Conference Schools from A.G. Sutcliffe, headmaster of Clifton, Durban, 13 October 1972. The reading scheme referred to was 'The Power Builders' of Science Research Associates, particularly Reading Lab. 2c. (Sutcliffe, incidentally, has been commissioned to write the official history of the South African HMC, after two previous authors have abandoned the task).
39. M. Corke: 'The Need for Academic Bridging Programs in South African Education', mimeographed, April 1980.
40. M. Corke: 'The Place of Private Schools in South African Education', mimeographed, July 1980.
41. Minutes of HMC Executive, 11 Feb. 1978, p.7.
42. Constitution of the HMC, clauses 3 (a) (i - iv) (1979).
43. Ibid, clauses 3 (b) and 3 (c).
44. Minutes of HMC Executive, 13 Nov. 1971, p.10.
45. Minutes of HMC Executive, 3 June 1972, p.3.
46. Ibid, p.7.
47. Minutes of HMC Executive, 17 Feb. 1973, p.3.

48. Minutes of HMC Executive, 14 June 1973, p.4.
49. HMC Report, 1979, p.8.
50. Minutes of HMC Executive, 14 May 1979.
51. See, for example, Minutes of HMC Executive, 3 June 1978.
52. Minutes of HMC Executive, 3 June 1978, p.2.
53. See list in HMC Report, 1978, p.48.
    It is of some interest that several of these are Catholic schools.
54. Minutes of meeting of Transvaal Region of HMC, 26/7/78, held at St John's College.
55. Minutes of HMC Executive, 10 Feb. 1979.
56. The Rev. S.H. Clarke: 'The case for preserving the independence of the private schools' The Star, Johannesburg, 8/12/45.
57. Magazine of Roedean (SA), 1946.
58. The memorarda and the Commission's report itself may be consulted in the CPSA (Church of the Province of South Africa) Archives housed in the Wm. Cullen Library, University of the Witwatersrand.
59. R.F. Currey: St Andrew's College, Grahamstown, 1855-1955, Basil Blackwell, Oxford, 1955, p.152.
60. Cf. A.M. Barrett: Michaelhouse 1896-1968, Pietermaritzburg, 1969, pp.146-7.
61. Most of the detail in this and the subsequent paragraphs is taken from a Standing Committee memorandum: 'The Standing Committee's action re. proposed Transvaal legislation, 1944-1953, affecting the future of the private schools' (CPSA archives).
62. J.S.D. McMillan: Highbury, Durban, 1978, p.188.
63. Letter from the Standing Committee of Associated Church Schools, signed by W.D. Wilson (chairman), to the Minister of Education, 2 May 1960. (CPSA Archives).
64. HMC Circular on the National Advisory Education Act, July 1962 (mimeographed).

65. Letter from the Standing Committee of Associated Church Schools to subsidised Private Schools, May 1968 (CPSA Archives).
66. For example, a meeting of governing bodies in Johannesburg on 26 Feb. 1972 resolved to work for a GBA (Standing Committee Report 1971).
67. Letter from Private Schools Action Committee to the Standing Committee, 22 Dec. 1971 CPSA Archives).
68. Minutes of Executive meeting of the Standing Committee, 22 September 1972.
69. The information in this section is summarised from the minutes of the Executive Committee meetings of the Standing Committee of Associated Church Schools between 1971 and 1973 and the minutes of the Interim Executive Committee of the Private Schools Association, 19 October 1973, 4 Feb. 1973, 27 March 1974, 3 May 1974 and 26 July 1974.
70. Minutes of National Executive of Association of Private Schools, 27 January 1978.
71. Minutes of Interim Executive Committee, 4/2/74.
72. Minutes of First Meeting of National Council, Association of Private Schools, Kingsmead, Johannesburg, 27 July 1974.
73. Minutes of Second Meeting of National Council, APS, St Mary's School, Waverley, Johannesburg, 23 August 1975.
74. Minutes of Third Meeting of Ibid, Michaelhouse, Balgowan, Natal, 2 Oct. 1976.
75. Minutes of Special General Meeting of Ibid, Pridwin School, Johannesburg, 28 January 1977.
76. Minutes of Fourth National Council Meeting of Ibid, Port Elizabeth Club, 27 August 1977.
77. Minutes of Fifth Meeting of Ibid, Bishops College, Cape Town, 30 September 1978.
78. Minutes of Sixth Meeting of Ibid, St Alban's College, Pretoria, 18 August 1979.

79. Minutes of Meeting of APS National Executive, 29 March 1979. This was a special meeting called to consider the whole question of membership and the possibility of widening the APS. The committee was unanimous that the APS should not widen its base to become an inclusive body as it would then lose its homogeneity.
80. Interview with G.C.L. Clarke, 28 August 1979.
81. Minutes of Sixth Meeting, APS National Council, 1979.
82. Ibid.
83. This account is based on information supplied by some of those who were involved in the initial setting up of the Industrial Fund.
94. E.g. 'Michaelhouse was one of the first schools to benefit from the generosity of the Industrial Fund when the new science laboratories were built': Barrett, p.163; Hilton's new science wing was completed in 1960, financed by the Industrial Fund: Nuttall, p.151; St John's was granted nearly R50 000 for new laboratories: Lawson, p.336.
85. Report on visits to Girls' Schools, Assessment Committee of the Industrial Fund, October 1963, p.1. (Members: H.R. Lewin, F.H. Mitchell, J.M. Robertson, G.H. Vivian Smith).
86. Ibid, p.3.
87. Ibid, p.4.
88. Ibid, p.6.
89. Eg: St Andrew's: Neave, p.163; St Mary's DSG, Pretoria: Addison, p.142; Durban Girls' College: Wrinch-Schultz, p.214.
90. Circular inviting applications for the Teacher Development Scheme, issued by the secretary of the Standing Committee of Associated Church Schools, n.d.
91. Ibid.
92. Report of 1979 HMC Annual Meeting, p.20.
94. Messrs. Davis, Esprey, Jarvis and Williams.

95. Only these five meet all the criteria, somwhat arbitrarily established by the present writer on the basis of conversations with a wide range of private school people:

i) Boys' boarding schools
ii) Clearly modelled on English public schools
iii) High fees
iv) Good 'tone' and good 'results'
v) Church connection (only Hilton is non-denominational, although it, too, was originally Anglican, like the other four)
vi) A venerable (in South African terms) history (all were established in the 19th century)
vii) Fine buildings and settings
viii) A post-matriculation Sixth Form
ix) Distinguished and powerful boards
x) A 'Liberal' curriculum and extra-curricular richness
xi) Membership of both HMC and APS

Honey (1972) also identifies these five as the 'leading' private schools, while the secretary of the APS did not disagree when the present writer suggested the same thing to him.

96. D. Perrett, retired headmaster of Cowan House, found in May 1978 that the pressures of the Common Entrance allowed for little experimentation in maths. teaching; T. Sutcliffe (1964) found the same pressures 'unduly severe' for those of less ability; Brooks (1970) remarked that in the British prep. schools 'few concessions have been made to the modern revolution in education'; and art was not as 'imaginatively organised as it is in the maintained (ie state) schools... in some schools... the demands of the Entrance Exam were too great for an official place to be found for it' (Davis 1969, p.7.).

Chapter 11: Conclusion

This overview has resulted in a long and sinuous story, from its beginnings in medieval England to South African private schools facing the challenges of the 1980's. Public schools in England and private schools in South Africa have displayed adaptive skills in meeting changed needs and circumstances. One major example of this, in South Africa, was the development of 'a representative organisation of private schools with whom the authorities could conveniently deal', [1] and which could look after their collective interests.

Many topics and issues have inevitably been treated superficially, and some totally neglected. There are interesting byways which might have been explored. The nomenclature of South African schools, for example, provides some insight into their ethos: some are named directly after English public schools (Roedean, Kingswood, Clifton); others carry English place names (Hilton, Kearsney) or suggest a somewhat archaic English countryside (Woodmead, Kingsmead); many are named for saints, both major and minor, from St Alban to St Stithian; a few are purely functional (Auckland Park Prep., Durban Girls' College); while others take their names from local features (The Ridge, Drakensberg).

Another interesting topic would have been the methods employed to sell the schools. These range from the quiet confidence of 'Michaelhouse needs little introduction. It is one of the most famous of South African private schools...' [2] to the hard-sell of 'We are in the education business, preparing men and women to be at large in society... Men and women of open minds and questing spirit... Change makers. Thinkers, triers, doers - creating tomorrows. People on frontiers. Kingswoodians'. [3] Some schools employ full-time public relations officers, others rely on the help of parents and well-wishers.

Important topics that have not been adequately explored include the question of state aid, curriculum development, comparisons with state schools, [4] and the psychological effects of boarding school life. [5] Nor has an attempt been made to locate the South African English private school system specifically within the South African political economy - its relationship, for example, with the liberal/Progressive capitalist 'opposition' (although something of this has become clear through implication). It would be impossible to tackle all these themes within what is intended primarily as an historical overview, and clearly there is much room for further research into this small but significant area of South African education.

Several major themes have emerged among the lacunae, however, and the remainder of this chapter will discuss some of these.

Harbingers of non-racialism?

The earliest English schools aimed to prepare youth for clerical life, for service to the church. A prime function of modern schools is to prepare the youth for economic life. Private schools aim to produce leaders managers, entrepreneurs, professional men - rather than workers. They can thus be viewed as a function of the capitalist division of labour and all claims made for them (liberal, egalitarian, progressive etc) must be seen against this.

> The well-financed schools attended by the children of the rich can offer much greater opportunities for the development of the capacity for sustained independent work and all the other characteristics required for adequate job performance in the upper levels of the occupational hierarchy. [6]

In South Africa, private schools are inevitably part of a system of institutionalised inequality. It has been clearly demonstrated that educational attainment is strongly dependent on social background. [7] This

applies, of course, not only to private schools, but to all privileged educational sectors, which in this country will include, generally, state-run white schools when these are compared to their black counter-parts. This is not to say that inequality and repression originate in the education system as such, or in parts of it: 'The roots of repression and inequality lie in the structure and functioning of the capitalist economy', according to Bowles and Gintis [8], while in South Africa a system of institutionalised racial discrimination in favour of whites adds a further dimension. The schools will inevitably mirror both these dimensions.

To the extent that South African private schools are now admitting black pupils, this may be seen either as a mechanism for co-opting new recruits to strengthen the ruling elites or as an attempt to diffuse their privileges to a progressively widening social spectrum. One must bear in mind here the previously expressed caution that 'meritocratic' education premised on the needs of a socially stratified capitalist economy may in fact advance rather than reduce social inequality in the broadest terms. Bowles and Gintis make the point that despite a dramatic narrowing of the educational gap between black and white Americans since 1940, the income gap has not closed to any substantial extent, since the roots of the problem lie outside education, in a system of economic power and privilege. [9] Much the same can be said of inequality of economic opportunity between men and women: 'sexual inequality persists despite the fact that women achieve a level of schooling equivalent to men'. [10]

It is necessary to make these points in order to caution against any facile notions that attempts at liberal reform within the private school system can in themselves carry any major significance in terms of social change in South Africa, and to dispel a common view that private schools can act as 'change agents'

in a society in which inequality and repression are so deeply rooted in its most fundamental structures.[11]

The general conclusion is that schools mirror society and do not themselves innovate change. The admission of black pupils to many South African English private schools from the late 1970's in this sense merely reflected changed economic needs and changing nuances in the government's 'total strategy' which aimed to preserve the fundamental features of the society even where this involved some departure from its former adherence to rigid racial segregation in all areas of life. Seen in this light, the 'reforms' of South African private schools in the 1970's are not entirely dissimilar from the 'reforms' of the English public schools more than a century earlier, which were largely prompted by the need to expand the power base of the middle classes.

The close link between the HMC school system and the private enterprise system has been demonstrated. This carries the obvious dangers of 'business values' being imposed on the schools, of their social relationships reflecting a pyramid of authority and privilege,[12] and of a conservatism arising from 'the relative affluence' of those who send their children to HMC schools as well as from 'the caution in social and political matters of the business and professional people who constitute the governing bodies of these schools'.[13] The growing financial dependence of the HMC schools on private enterprise generally is another factor: in the 1970's they raised more than R10 million from private sources.[14] In addition, there are the social costs of a private school system. In Britain some of these have been identified as 'reduced political pressure from middle class parents, of stimulus from expert teachers and response from motivated children', with a general conclusion that 'private schools remain a serious threat to more open and equal opportunity in state schools'.[15]

There is, of course, the counter argument that private schools relieve the state of some of its burden in providing education, but this needs to be seen in the light of the self-perpetuation of the private school system for a privileged minority, as well as in the light of the possibility that at least some of the resources provided by the private sector might be diverted to a wider educational field. Orkin sums up the argument about South African private schools as follows: they achieve their excellence 'in the same way that so many of their fee-paying parents earn their incomes - at the unjustified expense of other sectors'.[16]

When one reverts to the micro-level, the issues seem less clear-cut. Many of the South African private schools indeed achieve standards of excellence, and their very existence may be a source of justifiable pride in the enterprise and initiative of the English community of this country. Their pupils often develop a greater social concern and awareness than their fellows from the state system. From their aspiring black middle class recruits may well come the kind of ferment that will help in the process of social change. The schools themselves sometimes reveal a degree of self-honesty that is quite astonishing:

> Very often the official values of a school contradict the values actually expressed in the school's life. For example, virtue is extolled as its own reward, while self-realisation within the school depends on power; one hears of the rights of the individual, yet conformity is the norm; loving kindness is taugnt, but competitiveness prevails.[17]

The private schools have persisted, and have reached a state of relatively comfortable co-existence with Afrikaner political domination. Whether they will survive the challenge of the future remains an open question. In Orkin's words, they now have value as 'harbingers of non-racialism' (a view that obviously

should not be accepted totally uncritically), but this function may become unnecessary if a unitary, socialist state under black rule should come into being.[18] If, on the other hand, 'total strategy' were to succeed to the extent of ensuring the continuation of a white-run capitalist core state surrounded by acquiescent black-run vassal states, or facilitating the emergence of a 'multi-racial' or even black-run capitalist state, rather like Kenya or Malawi, there seems little reason to doubt that the English private schools will make the necessary adjustments and continue much as before.

Footnotes - Chapter 11

1. Memorandum for the Minister of Education; M.C. O'Dowd, Chairman of the Association of Private Schools, 12 August 1976.
2. Michaelhouse prospectus, 1978.
3. Brochure issued by the Old Kingswoodian Club, Grahamstown, 1978.
4. Confirmation of the view that education is more effective, in terms of academic attainment, in advantaged learning environments such as are provided by good private schools can be found in W.L. Roos: The 1969 Talent Survey Test Programme, South African Human Sciences Research Council, Pretoria, 1975 (Report MT - 24), Chapter 5: School Factors; and F. Smith and [illegible] van der Merwe: 'n Vergelyking van privaat-skoolleerlinge met provinsiale, HSRC, Pretoria, 1978.
5. A pointer to lingering Victorian sexual attitudes is provided in the list of requirements for a tour of France provided by an English girls boarding school in 1979. Each girl was required to have two bars of toilet soap, one of which was to be used exclusively for the gussets of her knickers.
6. Samuel Bowles and Herbert Gintis: Schooling in Capitalist America, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1976, p.133.
7. Cf. Ibid, pp.26-35; A.H. Halsey et al: Origins and Destinations, Clarendon Press, 1980, pp.82-85; 141-145.
8. Bowles and Gintis, 1976, op. cit., p.49.
9. Ibid, p.35.
10. Ibid.
11. Cf. ibid, pp.147-8.
12. Cf. ibid, p.44.
13. M.A.S. Corke: 'The Place of Private Schools in South African Education', July 1980, p.4 (mimeographed).

14. Meeting with the Minister of National Education, 30 April 1979, mimeographed report by the Association of Private Schools, 9 May 1979.
15. Halsey et al 1980: op. cit., p.213.
16. Mark Orkin: 'A Personal Perspective', paper to the Conference on Education and South Africa's Future , University of the Witwatersrand, July 1979 (mimeographed).
17. Kearsney College Chronicle, July 1969,editorial.
18. Mark Orkin, ibid.

LEGEND

H.M.C = HEADMASTERS & HEADMISTRESSES CONFERENCE

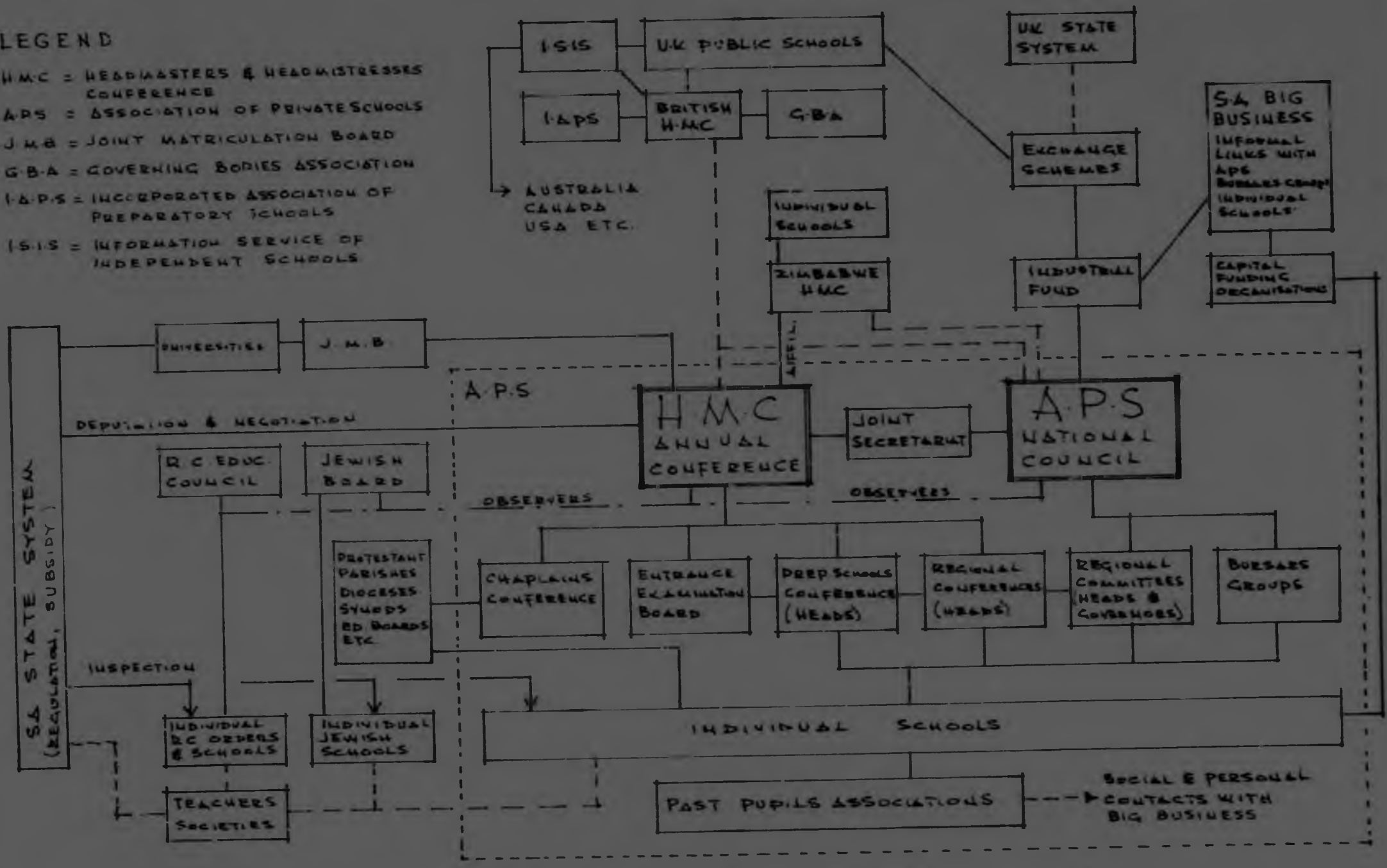
A.P.S = ASSOCIATION OF PRIVATE SCHOOLS

J.M.B = JOINT MATRICULATION BOARD

G.B.A = GOVERNING BODIES ASSOCIATION

I.A.P.S = INCORPORATED ASSOCIATION OF PREPARATORY SCHOOLS

I.S.I.S = INFORMATION SERVICE OF INDEPENDENT SCHOOLS



DIAGRAMMATIC REPRESENTATION OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN PRIVATE SCHOOLS SYSTEM

——— FORMAL LINKAGES — — — INFORMAL LINKAGES

APPENDIX 1

APPENDIX 2: Members of the Association of Private School - 1979.

PRIVATE SCHOOLS OF SOUTH AFRICA

The following abbreviations have been used: A - Anglican M - Methodist g - girls PM - Post Matric [indicating classes available at these levels
B - Baptist P - Protestant b - boys PG - Pre Grade
I - Interdenominational * - Associate Members

SENIOR SCHOOLS: BOYS

CAPE PROVINCE:	Location	Head	Founded	Religion	No. of Pupils Day	Boarder	Terms p.a.	Other Information
DIOCESAN COLLEGE (BISHOPS)	Rondebosch	A. W. H. Mallett	1849	A	204b 3g	206b -	4	PM Girls admitted in PM
ST. ANDREW'S COLLEGE	Grahamstown	E. B. Norton	1855	A	41b	380b	3	PM - Co-streamed with girls from D.S.G. in Std. 8 and above
ST. GEORGE S GRAMMAR SCHOOL	Mowbray	G.D.R. Dods	1848	A	80b	37b	4	-
WOODRIDGE COLLEGE	Nr. Port Elizabeth	K C. Starck	1966	I	3b 2g	226b -	3	PM
NATAL:								
HILTON COLLEGE	Hilton	R. G. Slater	1872	I	-	421b	4	PM
KEARSNEY COLLEGE	Botha's Hill	E. C. W. Silcock	1921	M	80b	360b	4	-
MICHAELHOUSE	Balgowan	N. B. Jardine	1896	A	-	385b	4	PM
TREVERTON COLLEGE	Mooi River	J. M. Robertson	1971	B	5b	91b	4	Girls admitted as day scholars in Stds.7 & 8
TRANSVAAL:								
ST. ALBAN'S COLLEGE	Pretoria	A. R. A. Murray	1963	A	78b	165b	3	PM
ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE	Houghton, JHB	J. J. Breitenbach	1898	A	292b 6g	137b -	3	PM Girls admitted in PM
ST. STITHIANS COLLEGE	Sandton, JHB	M. Henning	1953	M	370b	110b	3	-

JUNIOR (PREPARATORY) SCHOOLS: BOYS

CAPE PROVINCE:								
DIOCESAN COLLEGE PREP. (BISHOPS	Rondebosch	A. W. H. Mallett	1849	A	252b	80b	4	PG
ST. ANDREW'S PREP. SCHOOL	Grahamstown	A. H. Parnell	1885	A	100b 22g	95b	3	Girls admitted in Sub A - to Std. 1 in association with D.S.G. Grahamstown
ST. GEORGE'S GRAMMAR PREP. SCHOOL	Mowbray	G.D.R. Dods	1848	A	135b	22b	4	PG
ST. GEORGE'S PREP. SCHOOL	Port Elizabeth	G. R. Barber	1936	I	150b	-	4	-
WESTERN PROVINCE PREP. SCHOOL	Claremont	P.M.F.T. Dauncey	1913	A	260b	56b	4	-
NATAL:								
CLIFTON PREP. SCHOOL	Durban	A. G. Sutcliffe	1924	I	320b	-	4	-
CLIFTON PREP. SCHOOL	Nottingham Road	J. H. V. Forbes	1942	I	-	146b	4	-
CORDWALLES PREP. SCHOOL	Pietermaritzburg	R. C. Brooks	1912	A	50b	137b	4	-
COWAN HOUSE PREP. SCHOOL	Hilton	D. J. I. Perrett	1948	I	57b	63b	4	-
HIGHBURY PREP.SCHOOL	Hillcrest	J.S.D.McMillan	1903	I	137b	150b	4	-
TREVERTON PREP. SCHOOL	Mooi River	R. E. Hudson-Reed	1964	B	1b 1g	108b 9g	4	Girls admitted in Stds. 2 - 6
TRANSVAAL:								
PRIDWIN PREP. SCHOOL	Melrose, JHB	B. C. Thiel	1923	I	144b	-	3	PG
THE RIDGE PREP. SCHOOL	Westcliff, JHB	A. N. Cheales	1319	I	150b	22b	3	-
ST. JOHN'S PREP. SCHOOL	Houghton, JHB	D. B. Wilkinson	1898	A	360b	50b	3	-
ST. PETER'S PREP. SCHOOL	Rivonia, JHB	R. H. Todd	1950	A	290b	115b	3	PG
ST. STITHIANS PREP. SCHOOL	Sandton, JHB	W. W. MacFarlane	1953	M	390b	-	3	-
WATERKLOOF HOUSE PREP. SCHOOL	Pretoria	M. H. de Lisle	1923	I	110b	20b	3	-

SENIOR SCHOOLS: BOYS AND GIRLS

	Location	Head	Founded	Religion	No. of Pupils Day	Boarder	Terms p.a.	Other Information
TRANSVAAL:								
ST. BARNABAS COLLEGE	Westdene, JHB	M. A. S. Corke	1963	A	62b 63g	32b 13g	4	-
WOODMEAD SCHOOL	N. W. of Johannesburg	M. T. S. Krige	1970	I	77b 47g	31b 12g	3	-
SWAZILAND:								
*WATERFORD-KAMHLABA SCHOOL	Mbabane	A. R. Jennings	1963	I	30b 40g	140b 100g	3	'O' and 'A' levels

JUNIOR (PREPARATORY) SCHOOLS: BOYS AND GIRLS

CAPE PROVINCE:								
SOMERSET HOUSE PREP. SCHOOL	Somerset West	P. A. Rickards	1948	I	72b 45g	23b 18g	4	PG
WOODRIDGE PREP. SCHOOL	Nr. Port Elizabeth	R. B. A. Carter	1936	I	16b 11g	80b 15g	3	-
TRANSVAAL:								
AUCKLAND PARK PREP.	Johannesburg	Miss B. J. Patchitt	1924	I	24b 219g	-	3	PG
*MICHAEL MOUNT WALDORF SCHOOL	Bryanston, JHB	E. J. Dawes	1960	I	160b 139g	-	3	-
ST. DUNSTAN'S MEMORIAL DIOCESAN SCHOOL	Benoni	A. G. Ramsay	1918	A	106b 97g	-	3	-
ST. KATHARINE'S SCHOOL	Parktown West, Johannesburg	Mrs. M. C. Grainger	1916	I	30b 160g	-	3	PG Boys in PG only
UPLANDS PREP. SCHOOL	White River	H. T. Walmsley	1928	A	27b 27g	47b 34g	3	-
O.F.S.								
ST. ANDREW'S SCHOOL	Welkom	G. M. Greenway	1963	A	111b 76g	-	4	

SENIOR & JUNIOR SCHOOLS: BOYS AND GIRLS

CAPE PROVINCE:								
KINGSWOOD	Grahamstown	D. R. Butler	1894	M	115b 55g	198b 73g	3	Co-ed throughout
*WALDORF SCHOOL	Constantia	College of Teachers	1960	I	120b 93g	12b 8g	4	PG
TRANSVAAL:								
ST. MARTIN'S SCHOOL	Rosettenville, Johannesburg	O. C. Wigmore	1958	A	320b 114g	155b -	3	-

SENIOR & JUNIOR SCHOOLS: GIRLS

CAPE PROVINCE:								
DIOCESAN SCHOOL FOR GIRLS	Grahamstown	Miss M. T. Edwards	1874	A	106g	132g	3	PM
HERSCHEL SCHOOL FOR GIRLS	Claremon	Dr. B. I. Silberbauer	1922	I	462g 15b	98g -	4	PG Boys in PG only
ST. CYPRIAN'S SCHOOL	Oranjezicht	Mrs. E. Ryall	1871	A	270g 3b	100g		PG Boys up to Sub B
NATAL:								
DURBAN GIRLS' COLLEGE	Berea, Durban	Mrs. M. I. Harwood	1877	P	537g	71g	4	-
EPWORTH HIGH SCHOOL	Pietermaritzburg	Mrs. R. E. Lewis	1898	M	98g	270g	4	PG
GIRLS COLLEGIATE SCHOOL	Pietermaritzburg	Miss D. I. Clarkson	1878	I	60g	139g	4	-
ST. ANNE'S DIOCESAN COLLEGE	Hilton	A. Cheetham	1877	A	25g	195g	4	-
ST. JOHN'S DIOCESAN SCHOOL FOR GIRLS	Pietermaritzburg	Mrs. S. I. Stewart	1897	A	135g	105g	4	-
ST. MARY'S DIOCESAN SCHOOL FOR GIRLS	Kloof	Mrs. P. A. Butler	1919	A	178g	122g	4	-
WYKEHAM SCHOOL	Pietermaritzburg	Mrs. B. M. Cocker	1905	I	63g	93g	4	-
TRANSVAAL:								
KINGSMEAD COLLEGE	Melrose, JHB	Mrs. I. S. Grounds	1934	I	374g	87g	3	
ROEDEAN SCHOOL	Parktown, JHB	B. A. Law	1903	I	250g	80g	3	PM
ST. ANDREW'S SCHOOL	Senderwood, JHB	F. I. K. Simmonds	1902	I	290g	136g	3	PG
ST. MARY'S SCHOOL	Waverley, JHB	Mrs. D. R. Pitt	1888	A	550g	70g	3	-
ST. MARY'S DIOCESAN SCHOOL FOR GIRLS	Pretoria	Rev. H. I. A. Brown	1879	A	248g	111g	3	-

APPENDIX 3.

LIST OF MEMBERS OF THE CONFERENCE OF HEADMASTERS AND HEADMISTRESSES OF PRIVATE SCHOOLS OF SOUTH AFRICA
1978

Hon. Life Vice-Presidents:

Mr F R. SNELL. Dr R F CURREY. Prof. N.C.H FERRANDI

Approximate numbers in the Schools are given

Mr P L. Anderson, Diocesan College Prep. School, Rondebosch 7700 342
Mr R J. Andrew, Kingswood Junior School, Grahamstown 6140 180
Mr G R Barber, St George's Prep School, Park Drive, Port Elizabeth 6001 148
*Mr J J Breitenbach, St John's College, Houghton, Johannesburg 2196 447
*Mr R C. Brooks, Cordwalles Prep School, Pietermaritzburg 3201 187
Rev H J A Brown, St Mary's Diocesan School for Girls, P.O. Box 11379 Brooklyn 0011 353
Mr D R. Butler, Kingswood College, Grahamstown 6140 285
*Mrs P A Butler, St Mary's Diocesan School for Girls, P O Box 178, Kloof 6340 224
*Mr R B A. Carter, Woodridge Prep School, Thornhill 6375 125
*Mr A N Cheales, Ridge Prep School, Westcliff, Johannesburg 2193 175
*Mr A Cheetham, St Anne's Diocesan College, Hilton 3245 222
*Mrs B M Cocker, Wykeham School, P O. Box 413, Pietermaritzburg 3201 160
Miss M M Clarke, St Mary's Junior School, Waverley, Johannesburg 2192 180
*Miss D J Clarkson, Girls' Collegiate School, 100 Villiers Drive, Clarendon, Pietermaritzburg 3201 200
*Mr M A S Cooke, St Barnabas' College, 26 Perth Road, Westdene, Johannesburg 2092 170
*Mr P M F T Dauncey, Western Province Prep School, 49 Newlands Road Claremont 7700 321
*Mr M H de Lisle, Waterkloof House Prep. School, 73 Charles Street, Brooklyn 0181 130
*Mr G D R Dods, St George's Grammar School, Mowbray 7700 296
*Miss M I. Edwards, Diocesan School for Girls, P O. Box 194, Grahamstown 6140 236
*Mr J H V Forbes, Clifton Prep School, Nottingham Road 3280 134
*Mrs M.C Grainger, St Katharine's School, 43 Escombe Avenue, Parktown West, Johannesburg 2193 216
*Mr G M Greenway, St Andrew's School, P.O Box 5107, Eerstgmyn 9466 182
*Mrs J S Grounds, Kingsmead College, 132 [illegible]ford Road, Melrose, Johannesburg 2196 473
*Mrs M.J. Harwood, Durban Girls' College, 586 Musgrave Road, Durban 4001 905
*Mr M Henning, St Stithians College, P B 2, Randburg 2125 475
Mr R E Hudson-Reed, Treverton Prep School, P.O Mooi River 3300 102
*Mr N B Jardine, Michaelhouse, Balgowan 3275 387
Rev A R. Jennings, Kamhlaba/Waterford School, P.O. Box 52, Mbabane, Swaziland 310
Mr D C. Jones, St Michael's School, Bloemfontein, 9301 241
*Mr M T S Krige, Woodmead School, P.O. Box 68068, Bryanston, 2021 170

*Mrs M.C. Kuhn, Roedean Junior School, Parktown, Johannesburg 2193	120
*Mr B A. Law, Roedean School, Parktown, Johannesburg 2193	220
*Mrs R E. Lewis, Epworth High School, Pieterr aritzburg 3201	370
*Mr M R E Lewis, Inanda Seminary, P.E. X54105, Durban 4000	350
Mr W W. Macfarlane, St Stithians Prep. School, P.O. Randburg 2125	390
*Mr J S D McMillan, Highbury School, P O. Box 8, Hillcrest 3650	292
*Mr A W H Mallett, Diocesan College, Rondebosch 7700	405
*Mr A R A Murray, St Alban's College, P B 1, Alkantrant 0005	240
*Mr E B Norton, St Andrew's College, P.O. Box 102, Grahamstown 6140	421
*Mr A H. Parnell, St Andrew's Prep School, P.O. Box 187, Grahamstown 6140	210
*Mrs B J. Patchitt, Auckland Park Prep School, 59 Twickenham Avenue, Auckland Park, Johannesburg 2092	243
*Mr W I.O Paterson, St Andrew's School, Bloemfontein 9301	383
Mr D J.I Perrett, Cowan House, P O Box 54, Hilton 3245	120
Mrs D R Pitt, St Mary's School, Waverley, Johannesburg 2192	430
*Mr P A. Rickards, Somerset House Prep. School, Somerset West 7130	160
Mr J.M. Robertson, Treverton College, P.O. Mooi River 3300	98
*Mrs E Ryall, St Cyprian's School, Belmont Avenue, Oranjezicht 8001	350
*Dr B I. Silberbauer, Herschel, 21 Herschel Road, Claremont 7700	570
*Mr E C W Silcock, Kearsney College, Botha's Hill 3660	440
*Mr F J K. Simmonds, St Andrew's School, P.O. Box 79001, Senderwood 2145	420
*Mr R.G. Slater, Hilton College, Hilton 3245	420
*Mr K C. Starck, Woodridge College, Thornhill 6375	231
*Mrs S H Stewart, St John's Diocesan School for Girls, Scottsville, Pietermaritzburg 3201.	240
*Mr A.G. Sutcliffe, Clifton Prep School, 102 Lambert Road, Durban 4001	300
Mr B.C. Thiel, Pridwin Prep. School, St Andrew's Street, Melrose, Johannesburg 2196	140
*Mr R.H Todd, St Peter's Prep School, P.O. Box 87, Rivonia 2128	415
Sister Veronica Murray, Brescia House Ursuline Convent, P.O. Box 67019, Bryanston 2021	380
*Mr H.T. Walmsley, Uplands Prep. School, P.O. Box 244, White River 1240	136
Mr O.C. Wigmore, St Martin's School, Victoria Street, Rosettenville, Johannesburg 2190	540
*Mr D B. Wilkinson, St John's Prep School, St David Road, Houghton, Johannesburg 2196	410

* *Denotes those present at the Thirty-Second General Meeting*

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3. Autobiographical and Biographical Works
4. Documents etc.

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