

TR 87-62
V

LOVEDALE 1930-1955:
THE STUDY OF A MISSIONARY INSTITUTION
IN ITS SOCIAL, EDUCATIONAL AND POLITICAL CONTEXT

THESIS

Submitted in Fulfilment of the
Requirements for the Degree of
Master of Arts
of Rhodes University

by

TIMOTHY RAYMOND HOWARD WHITE

December 1987

Financial Acknowledgements

1. The writer wishes to express his gratitude to the Ernest Oppenheimer Memorial Trust, whose Scholarship for 1820 Settler and Eastern Cape History has made this work possible.
2. The financial assistance of the Institute for Research Development of the Human Sciences Research Council towards this research is hereby acknowledged. Opinions expressed, and conclusions arrived at, are those of the writer and are not to be attributed to the Institute for Research Development or the Human Sciences Research Council.
3. The Masonic Rowley Trust Bursary for Post-Graduate Study.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<u>Page</u>
Abstract	iv
Abbreviations	vi
Preface	vii
<u>Chapter</u>	
1. Lovedale in Context	
1.1 Educational Policy and Change: The Govan, Stewart and Henderson Years	1
1.2 Interregnum: The search for a new Principal	11
1.3 Conciliation and Confrontation: The contrasting styles of Wilkie and Shepherd	17
2. Re-thinking Educational Policy: Wilkie and the Le Zoute Conference	31
3. Education for Life	
3.1 The Vocational Model	49
3.2 Literature and Education: The Lovedale Press	73
4. Violent Repercussions: The Lovedale Riot	97
5. Church and State: The Emergence of a New Order in African Education	152
Conclusion	219
Appendices	224
Bibliography	236

ABSTRACT

Lovedale was founded by the Glasgow Missionary Society as an educational centre for Africans. Education was to be adapted to the lives of the Africans, which would be a departure from the English classical tradition. This meant that emphasis was placed on vocational training and that academic education focussed on the study of English rather than the Classics. But the importance of mother-tongue education was also stressed.

The missionaries placed emphasis on village education, whereby the African would be taught skills and crafts that would be useful to him in life. Education, they argued, should also aim at character-training and at spreading the Christian message. They also wanted to see co-operation between the Church and the State in the education of the African.

Vocational education was designed to create African artisans who would be able to compete with Whites; but it also aimed at emphasizing the importance of industry in building up character. The Lovedale Press illustrates vocational training in progress, dealing with the difficulties that arose when African printers came into competition with Whites. But the missionaries also used the Press to propagate the Christian message and to promote African literature.

An ideological rift began to open up between the missions and the new

Black political beliefs of the Second World War. This led to the Lovedale Riot which is considered in the broader framework of socio-political unrest within the country.

After the 1948 Election an ideological rift also developed between the missions and the State. This study concludes by examining the introduction of the Bantu Education Act and the Lovedale response to this. It was felt that although Bantu Education threatened to undermine their educational endeavour, they should nevertheless co-operate with the system in order to save what they had built up.

"Upon the education of the people of this country the fate
of this country depends" (Disraeli)

Abbreviations

Primary Sources

A.H.I.	-	Association of Heads of Institutions
Exec.G.C.M.	-	Executive Lovedale Governing Council Minutes
G.C.M.	-	Lovedale Governing Council Minutes
P.C.	-	Press Committee
P.Sub-C.	-	Press Sub-Committee
Pub.C.	-	Publications Committee
S.M.	-	Lovedale Senate Minutes
P.P.	-	Documents in Private Possession of the Writer

Other

J.A.H.	-	Journal of African History
S.A.H.J.	-	South African Historical Journal
Outlook	-	South African Outlook

PREFACE

Education is seldom the passive partner of ideology, because in order to propagate a particular set of values, it becomes necessary to change the minds of those whom we teach. This function of education is easily detectable in South Africa, in both White and Black schools. Since 1948 one of the declared goals of the Government was to educate Africans so that they would fit into a particular mould in society. But how different to this was the belief of the Church? What sort of values did it aim to promote? This study has made an attempt to examine the last quarter century of Church dominance in African education and to consider the ideology of the missionaries. With the current crises in Black education this is of particular importance.

My long personal association with Lovedale has benefitted me in these endeavours, as well as having added interest. My desire to undertake a study of Lovedale also increased when the State decided to close the Training College at the end of 1979. When I came across much material which had not previously been used my desire turned into reality.

I would like to thank all those who have expressed an interest in this subject and who have provided me with encouragement.

I have been privileged to have, as my supervisor, Professor Rodney Davenport. His deep and penetrating knowledge of South African history and his clear precise mind have been of enormous benefit to me. He has continuously given constructive comments on History as well as on style and he has been available for consultation at any

time, always remaining patient and encouraging. Various members of the History Department, at Rhodes University, have provided me with advice and encouragement. In particular, I would like to thank Dr Chris Hummel for his continued support and his liberality in giving me ideas about History and historical research.

For allowing me access to material belonging to the Reformed Presbyterian Church of Southern Africa, I would like to thank the Moderator, Rev. Sam Ngcobo, the General Manager of the Lovedale Press, Rev. Blessing Finca and the Accountant, Mr Cliff Leo.

Proof-reading was undertaken, under great pressure, by Ruth White and Fay Healey, who also provided me with free access to their extensive knowledge of language and style. I would also like to thank them for their continuous support and encouragement. Anthony and Michael White provided financial aid and responded to urgent requests to try and locate material at the University of the Witwatersrand. Their interest in this study is also appreciated.

Mrs Cherry Charteris worked, under considerable pressure of time, to produce this thesis ahead of its deadline. I would like to thank her for such a professional job and for having been alert to any mistakes which had not previously been spotted. Madi Moed pitched in at the last moment when time was really against me. I would like to thank her for having planned and typed the bibliography.

The staff of the Cory Library for Historical Research at Rhodes University have been most helpful during the course of this study.

Mike Berning, Sandy Fold, Jackson Vena, Sally Poole and Anne Torlese have always been ready to guide me to the most appropriate sources. They have also provided me with the benefit of their knowledge of missionary history. I would also like to acknowledge the assistance received from the William Cullen Library, University of the Witwatersrand, the Howard Pim Library, University of Fort Hare and the South African Library in Cape Town.

Finally I would like to thank all those who have responded to queries. Professor J W Macquarrie has been prepared to give of his considerable knowledge and experience of Black education. The late Professor J T Davidson opened up new areas for me with his wise comments on the personalities of Lovedale and Fort Hare. Mr R G S Makalima provided an insight into the African thinking of the time and willingly answered all my questions. Mrs Ruth White was able to draw on forty years of experience at Lovedale, as well as having an intimate connection with the Lovedale Press, when responding to any of my questions.

The final product, however humble, is mine.

Chapter 1

LOVEDALE IN CONTEXT

1.1 Educational Policy and Change: The Govan, Stewart and Henderson Years

Since their first penetration into South Africa, the missionaries have indelibly shaped the history of the country. In 1824 John Ross and John Bennie, agents of the Glasgow Missionary Society founded a new mission station twelve miles south-east of the Tyhume River. This new station was named Lovedale in honour of the first Chairman of the Glasgow Missionary Society, Dr John Love, who had died in December 1825.¹ By 1838 Lovedale had been moved to the west bank of the Tyhume River, some four miles from its original site. Here progress was made towards the establishment of an educational centre for Africans which would offer both vocational and academic training as well as the printing and dissemination of the Christian Word. As early as April 1838 there were 132 pupils, of whom 94 were female and 38 male.²

-
1. In 1795 the London Missionary Society was formed; one of its first secretaries was the Rev. John Love. The Glasgow Missionary Society came into being in 1796 and Love became its chairman in 1807 and its secretary from 1810 to 1825. For background on the establishment of Lovedale see R.H.W. Shepherd, Lovedale South Africa: The Story of a Century 1841-1941, (Lovedale Press 1941), chs 1, 2 and 3; see also Shepherd, Lovedale South Africa 1824-1955, (Lovedale Press, revsd. ed. 1971), chs 1 and 2; Shepherd, Lovedale and Literature for the Bantu, (Lovedale Press 1945), ch 1; Sheila Brock, James Stewart and Lovedale: A reappraisal of missionary attitudes and African response in the Eastern Cape, South Africa, 1870-1905, (Ph.D Edinburgh University, 1974), ch 1 and David Burchell, A History of the Lovedale Missionary Institution 1890-1930, (M.A. Natal University, 1979), ch 1; Dictionary of South African Biography (D.S.A.B.), Vol 1.
 2. Shepherd (1971), *ibid.*, p 10.

William Govan arrived in Lovedale on 16 January as its first Principal, and the Institution was officially opened in July of that year. From the beginning Lovedale was to be an undenominational centre of education and it was to be open to both the Black and the White races of South Africa. This meant that Lovedale could expand its horizons into a more cosmopolitan institution, attracting many different types of people to its environs. But these early days in Lovedale were to be clouded in controversy as the infant Institution struggled to find its place in the evolving South African society.³

In 1863 James Stewart, a young medical doctor, visited Lovedale; four years later he was appointed to the staff of the Institution. This was to be one of the most important appointments in the South African mission field and Stewart would become a major figure in the development of Black education.⁴

Stewart was, however, destined to clash with Govan over the question of educational ideals and goals.

Govan believed that education should be maintained at a high intellectual level, even if this meant that fewer people would benefit

-
3. For the Govan period see Shepherd (1941), *op.cit.*, ch 4; also Shepherd (1971), *op.cit.*, ch 3; Brock, *op.cit.*, ch 1 and Burchell, *op.cit.*, p 2 ff.
 4. For the Stewart period see Shepherd (1941), *ibid.*, ch 5; also Shepherd (1971), *ibid.*, ch 4; Brock, *ibid.*, chs 2-5; Burchell, *ibid.*, p 18 ff, ch 2; James Wells, Stewart of Lovedale: The Life of James Stewart, (Hodder and Stroughton, London, 1928), ch 11 ff.

from it. African standards should be comparable to White ones and learning should be Eurocentric. Thus Govan stood for an educated African elite and accordingly put forward four proposals. He believed firstly, that an elementary school should be established which would train young, qualified men as teachers. This would compare with the Normal schools in Scotland. Secondly, a Preparatory School would provide elementary instruction in English literature, the classics, mathematics and science. This would compare with the Scottish High Schools. Thirdly, a College Department would offer the ordinary branches of a Higher Education in literature, science and philosophy. And finally, there should be a Theological School or Divinity Hall which would train ministers of religion.

Stewart, however, believed that education should be harnessed to the needs of Africans. His vision for Lovedale was that it should produce African preachers and teachers who were of a high calibre. His idea was to put particular emphasis on practical education and the study of English rather than classics. To Stewart, Lovedale should be a missionary training centre; to Govan, an African copy of a British Public Church School. The Foreign Mission Committee (F.M.C.) of the Church of Scotland was faced with the dilemma of choosing the direction that Lovedale would take. There were two alternatives facing it. It could either attract White and Black to an Institution of learning that would seek to integrate Africans into White society, whilst promoting Christian ethics and values; or it could cater for the general as well as the Christian needs of Blacks, whilst making the Christian ethic the central feature of education and thus raising

African preachers and teachers.⁵ The Committee favoured the latter proposal and supported Stewart's beliefs. Thus they initiated an early experiment in adapting education to the needs of the African.⁶

Stewart's aim was a broad and practical education which would assimilate the general mass of the people. This was because "education spreads among a people from above downwards rather than the reverse." Stewart proposed a four-fold programme. In the first instance, the aims of education should be to train young men who had a strong intellectual and spiritual capacity, as preachers. Then secondly, African school teachers should be trained. Thirdly, there should be a strong input of vocational training which would cover a wide field from printing and book-binding to wagon-making. And lastly, Stewart held that Lovedale should provide a general education for those who were undecided. The Classics - Latin and Greek - were only to be offered to theological students. This was a contentious decision as it created the impression amongst many Africans that theirs was to be an inferior form of education.⁷

But Stewart saw himself as being divinely inspired to order the type

5. On the debate as to the type of education that Lovedale should offer see Shepherd (1971), *op.cit.*, pp 18 and 35; Brock, *op.cit.*, ch 3; Burchell, *op.cit.*, p 15 ff; Wells, *op.cit.*, ch 19 and James Stewart "What is Education?" in Francis Wilson and Dominique Perrot (eds) Outlook on a Century: South Africa 1870-1970, (Lovedale Press - Spro-cas 1973), pp 65-76.

6. Burchell, *ibid.*, p 16.

7. Shepherd (1971), *op.cit.*, p 35; Burchell, *op.cit.*, p 20.

of education that Africans should be given.⁸ His goal was a religious one: he believed that only by conversion and moral growth would the education of Africans succeed. Hence he stressed the moulding of the moral character in each individual.⁹ This was to become an integral part of the missionary philosophy of education.

This clash of ideals between Govan and Stewart was to have major implications for the future direction of Lovedale and of the whole style of African education in this country. By July 1870 Govan was under considerable pressure to resign the Lovedale Principalship and three months later Stewart succeeded to this position. He was then able to guide African education according to his own dictates.¹⁰

Nor did Stewart waste any time, for by 1873 he had embarked upon a considerable upgrading of vocational training. African girls began to receive domestic training. Workshops were refurbished. Industrial training was extended so as to improve agriculture. The academic and industrial sides of the Institution were combined, so as to integrate the structure of education to be offered. Under Stewart, Lovedale was rapidly expanded so that by the time he died on 21 December 1905 there was an enrolment of 750 students and the yearly fees came to £5,000.¹¹

8. Stewart, *op.cit.*, pp 73-75.

9. Shepherd (1971), *op.cit.*, pp 36-37; Burchell, *op.cit.*, p 47.

10. The Kaffir Express was launched in 1870; by 1876 it had been renamed The Christian Express. This publication was to become the official mouthpiece for Lovedale.

11. Shepherd (1971), *op.cit.*, p 66

Early in 1906 James Henderson was appointed as Lovedale's third Principal. He had had extensive missionary experience in Nyasaland (modern-day Malawi) and at the comparatively early age of thirty-eight was in a position to breathe new ideas into Lovedale. Although Stewart's long innings had ensured the stability of Lovedale, the Institution was in need of some change. Henderson, however, would still continue to pursue Stewart's goals. Thus continuity of educational purpose was achieved at Lovedale. Henderson believed that education should not stop at the intellectual growth of the individual, but that it should also be geared to the development of character. Central to this process of moral upliftment were the ideals of discipline, spiritual influence, obedience and self-restraint, which were inculcated by Lovedale. Henderson believed that Lovedale was bound to pass on certain obligations to its students to live as they had been taught.¹² His main concern, however, was for African poverty. Academic education would not help socio-economic advances; rather the future of the African race lay in its ability to till the land. This meant that increased emphasis should be placed on the study of agriculture. Allied to this, but more important, was the "cultivation of character" to which reference has already been made. To Henderson this was extremely important because only force, stability and the right sort of character would determine the survival of the African people. Divine assistance was needed to

12. Shepherd (1971), op.cit., p 71.

achieve this goal.¹³

Henderson saw the African as being in a transitional phase of development and he, therefore, saw the need to relate school knowledge to the home environment. He believed in an evolutionary view of African development, but rejected the distinctions between White and Black.¹⁴ Further, Henderson's view was that greater emphasis should

13. See Shepherd (1971), pp 72-74. There was a nineteenth century belief that the survival of the Black race in Southern Africa was at risk. The missionary, John Aitken Chalmers, for instance, in February 1865, published an article in Indaba entitled "What is the Destiny of the Kaffir Race?" (This was reprinted in the King William's Town Gazette and Kaffrarian Banner on 3 April). Chalmers considered that the African was doomed to extinction because his "indolent habits" barred his progress. He was also disillusioned by the fact that to him it seemed as if the African tribes were not interested in education. For a discussion of this attitude see Donovan Williams, Umfundisi: A Biography of Tiyo Soga 1829-1871, (Lovedale Press, 1978), ch 7. In a vigorous refutation of this idea, the African missionary, Tiyo Soga put forward his Sons of Ham theory in which he claimed that Africa was given by God to the Black races and that therefore there could never be any thought of their extinction. For this argument see Donovan Williams (ed.) The Journal and Selected Writings of the Reverend Tiyo Soga, (A.A. Balkema, Cape Town, 1983), pp 38-40, 178-182. This belief became particularly strong at about the time of Union in 1910 and it was argued that "vigorous survival is primarily dependent upon the degree of white competition ..." Thus the Africans needed protection from the Whites and so a paternalistic form of separate development could be advocated. For this view see Statement IX "The Negro in America" in The Government of South Africa Vol II, (Central News Agency, Cape Town, 1908), pp 93-95.

14. Burchell, op.cit., p 64; See also Christian Express, August 1908, p 124.

be given to vernacular education. His was a highly sophisticated argument. Teaching through the English medium merely gave the pupils knowledge of words and phrases but not ideas. Thus students aimed simply to learn for their examinations. The ideal of education, to get students to wrestle with complex problems was, therefore, being negated. To Henderson this meant that knowledge was hollow without any meaning or excitement to it. He accepted that a good understanding of English was crucial in the modern world; but the language should be competently taught. Henderson believed that only once English was sufficiently understood should it be used as a medium of instruction in educational subjects which were intended to develop the reasoning powers of the students. This was because the student's intellectual powers were employed in the task of learning a difficult language and not on mastering the complexities of the subjects that they were being taught.¹⁵

Henderson had shifted from Stewart's position and now based his educational philosophy on two fundamental principles. He, firstly, believed that the medium of instruction in the lower standards should be the vernacular and that English should be taught in all standards as a foreign language; and that, secondly, whilst aiming at the goal of civilization for Whites and Blacks, the special needs and circumstances of the African should be considered when planning his

15. Shepherd (1971), *op.cit.*, p 77.

education.¹⁶ Henderson believed that if a child's environment was rooted in an English culture and tradition, it would be possible to think in English if this language had been learned from infancy. But he saw that African circumstances precluded this because of a different tradition which regarded the English language as foreign. English was also taught by those who were incapable of fully understanding or appreciating the language and who then returned to African villages after school to hear only the vernacular spoken. Stewart, it has been shown, believed in vernacular teaching in the lower classes, industrial training for all students, moral training and a curriculum adapted to the needs of the African. He had, however, opposed Govan's policy of a classical education and instead had inserted English as the classical language in place of Latin and Greek.¹⁷

With the appointment, in 1918, of N.J. Viljoen as the Superintendent General of Education in the Cape, a more enlightened attitude to African education was adopted. Lovedale was, therefore, in a stronger position to plead that greater attention be given to Black education, particularly teacher and industrial training. A major initiative in this direction was the appointment in May 1919 of the Native Education Commission, as this was to draw up a scheme for African education, including industrial training.¹⁸ This Commission endorsed a syllabus which would be relevant to the African community and its needs.

16. Shepherd (1971), op.cit., p 77

17. Ibid.

18. Ibid., pp 78-79.

C.T. Loram a prominent Natal educationalist had, in 1917, published The Education of the South African Native, proposing a course of study that would specifically cater for African demands as an evolving people. It was commonly believed that the African suffered from an arrested intellectual development which set in at puberty and that he therefore needed to be protected from White competition.¹⁹ This stimulated a belief in separate development and gave rise to the view that the administration of African education be transferred from provincial control to the Native Affairs Department.²⁰ Whilst these views might have been well intended, they were potentially very divisive.²¹

Lovedale had been controlled by an Education Board, but in 1922 this was replaced by a Governing Council and a Senate. The Education Board had been an internal body and it was felt that Lovedale should mirror the broader needs of South African society. The Governing Council was planned as a national body which would reflect liberal opinion on a broad front. A new constitution was decided upon and approved by the Church in Scotland.²² The Senate took responsibility for the internal functioning of the Institution: the co-ordination of work, the maintenance of discipline and the recreation of students. It was composed mainly of elected members of staff. But the real control of Lovedale lay with the Governing Council and this was later to engender

19. See above fn 13; see also C.T. Loram, The Education of the South African Native, (Longmans, Green & Co., London, 1917); see below ch. 5.

20. Loram, *Ibid.*, ch. 13; see below ch 5.

21. See below ch 5.

22. See Appendix A

conflict during disturbances at the Institution because of the Senate's view that it had been charged with the maintenance of internal discipline.²³

Under Henderson's principalship, Lovedale was able to consolidate its position as the most important centre for African Education in South Africa. In 1905, Stewart's final year, there had been 750 students enrolled at Lovedale; by 1930, Henderson's final year, there were 1 063.²⁴ As Lovedale grew in influence and importance, tensions would increasingly develop between it and the State.

1.2 Interregnum: The search for a new Principal

Some months before his death Henderson had begun the search for a Vice-Principal who would be able to succeed him once he had retired. The ultimate aim was to achieve a smooth transfer of power, thus maintaining a sense of continuity and stability within the Institution. The new appointee would then be able to learn the Lovedale ideals and to follow Henderson's educational philosophy.²⁵

The Lovedale Principalship was a very demanding position as it entailed overall control of the Educational Institution, the Press,

23. See below ch 4.

24. For comparison see Lovedale Reports, 1905, 1930; Cory, Lovedale Collection.

25. Henderson to Dr Robert Forgan, Convener of the Foreign Mission Committee, 9 April 1930, Cory MS 14,743.

the Hospital and the Farm. The efficient management of the Institution had become too onerous for Henderson who felt that he was "to a considerable extent a spent man" who could not be expected to carry this "present burden with the efficiency and the initiative that the Institution requires for much longer."²⁶

The intriguing question about the search for a new Principal was the variety of persons considered for the post. There were two notable choices amongst the many considered. Edgar Brookes was

one of the most prominent and best informed men as regards Native affairs in South Africa, a courageous and wise advocate of Native rights and a man with a deep spiritual experience, but not of our Church. (27)

This letter reveals the major attributes expected of any man appointed to the Lovedale post. The trouble with Brookes was that he had not yet managed to throw off his early dalliance with Hertzog's Native policy²⁸ and this meant that he was not a wise choice as the possible successor to Henderson. The other possible candidate was Alexander Kerr, but as Principal of the South African Native College, it would really have been counter-productive to move him to Lovedale.²⁹

26. Henderson to Dr Robert Forgan, Convener of the Foreign Mission Committee, 9 April 1930, Cory MS 14,743.

27. Henderson to Dr Donald Fraser, Organising Secretary, F.M.C., 9 April 1930, Cory MS 14,743.

28. On Hertzog's Native Bills and his policy towards Africans see T.R.H. Davenport, South Africa: A Modern History, (Macmillan, Johannesburg, 1987), pp 292-297.

29. Henderson to Fraser, *ibid.*, Cory MS 14,743.

The choice between Brookes and Kerr raised issues which merit careful consideration. Henderson favoured bringing Brookes to Lovedale,³⁰ but this was not readily acceptable to the Foreign Mission Committee. The work at Lovedale was seen as following a set educational philosophy which had been pioneered by Stewart and extended by Henderson.³¹ The main objection to Brookes was that he did not measure up to this policy.

In 1924 he had supported Prime Minister Hertzog's policies by advocating a form of paternalistic segregation and he had also proposed that education be practical, not the "book education" of Western tradition. He had criticised Lovedale as being "the very heart of the policy of identity" because he believed that the education offered there was too academic and not sufficiently technical.³² Although by 1930 Brookes had undergone his conversion and forsaken the segregationist model, the stigma of his past still clung to him. The Foreign Mission Committee favoured appointing Kerr to the Lovedale position as he was known to them and it would have been less of a problem to fill the vacancy at Fort Hare.

By 18 July 1930 Henderson was dead and the Vice-Principal, James

30. Henderson to Loram, 25 March 1930, Cory MS 14,743.

31. See above pp 3-8.

32. E.H. Brookes, The History of Native Policy in South Africa from 1830 to the present day, (Nasionale Pers, Cape Town 1924), ch. 20. This point was to be taken up later by Shepherd as editor of The South African Outlook. See "Lovedale's Educational Policy" in Wilson and Perrot (eds), *op.cit.*, pp 507-510; see also Davenport (1987), *op.cit.*, ch. 11 for background to the Hertzog period.

Chalmers, was thrust into the position of co-ordinating efforts to find a new Principal. Chalmers, however, was on the point of retirement, and although he would have been considered a successor, thus maintaining continuity, he was not in any way interested. Nor did he see the practicality of moving Kerr, as he believed that "what is most wanted is the addition of a new personality to fill the blank created by Dr Henderson's death, and not the transference of a worker, leaving a sphere still to be filled."³³ Chalmers felt the need for a fresh, young and vigorous mind to grapple with the problems confronting Lovedale and the educational, political and social ramifications facing Africans. Henderson had been in decline for some years, indicating that new initiative was required. Although Kerr would have been an ideal appointment, it would not have strengthened the position in any way. Such a change would, in any case, only have been acceptable to Kerr if the situation had become critical.

A conflict of opinion centred on the candidature of Brookes, which basically illustrated differences between the Church of Scotland and ordinary members of the Governing Council. Chalmers echoed the views of the Church hierarchy when he wrote that "the man for this position should, if possible, have Scottish tradition and inheritance behind him."³⁴ Yet C.T. Loram, a member of the Governing Council, expressed the view that Brookes "would be infinitely more effective as Principal of Lovedale" than in his position in Pretoria. Loram did not accept

33. Chalmers to Forgan, 13 August 1930, Cory MS 14,743.

34. Ibid.

that the candidate should be chosen from Scotland as such a man "would take a good deal of time to adjust himself to the extraordinary complicated racial situation in South Africa." The Church of Scotland should, therefore, appoint the most adept person for the "spear head position" of Principal of Lovedale.³⁵

Since an impasse existed, further roads needed to be explored. The Foreign Mission Committee, therefore, made an offer of the Lovedale Principalship to Rev. J.W.C. Dougal, Head of the Jeanes School³⁶ in Kenya and regarded as one of the most prominent missionaries working in Africa. Dougal had been Secretary of the Phelps Stokes Mission and was a "man of splendid capacity with decided organising gifts and a thorough knowledge of education." In addition to this he had "a high spiritual character."³⁷ Fraser considered him to be "possibly the very best man that we could look for"³⁸ and later, once a definite offer had been made to Dougal, said that he was "the best man in Africa."³⁹ Dougal fitted into the established missionary pattern because of "his knowledge of education, his academic status, his experience of Africa, and his personal character."⁴⁰ In terms of the Lovedale Constitution,⁴¹ the appointment of a Principal had to be made with the concurrence of the Governing Council. Thus on the advice of

35. Loram to Chalmers, 16 August 1930, Cory MS 14,743

36. See below, ch 2.

37. Fraser to Chalmers, 8 October 1930, Cory MS 14,743; see below ch. 2.

38. Ibid.

39. Fraser to Chalmers, 16 October 1930, Cory MS 14,743

40. Ibid., 30 October 1930.

41. See Appendix A.

Loram and Kerr, at the meeting of the Council on 6 November 1930, it was agreed to approve the F.M.C.'s offer to Dougal.⁴²

In November 1930 Chalmers fell seriously ill and R.H.W. Shepherd, the Lovedale Chaplain, took over as acting Principal. Dougal, however, refused the Lovedale offer because he had already accepted a missionary assignment in East Africa. The main difficulty which faced the F.M.C. "was to obtain the type of man who could cope with the amount of work - particularly administrative - and who has had some preparation of mind for the position."⁴³ By February 1931 there was still no definite candidate in view, but it was felt that the search be pursued methodically as it was "necessary that we get a good man who will both fill the post and give some leadership in South Africa, and we do not want to compromise the future by sending anything but the best to you."⁴⁴

After further efforts to secure a new Principal had failed Fraser informed Shepherd that an invitation was being extended to Dr. A.W. Wilkie of the Gold Coast Mission. He wrote that from the first Wilkie had been

conspicuously the most tested and efficient man visible, but it seemed as if we could not take him from the Gold Coast. He has proved himself to have a peculiar power of conciliation between Government and

42. G.C.M., 6 November 1930, Private Possession of writer (hereinafter cited as P.P.)

43. Fraser to Shepherd, 28 January 1931, Cory MS 14,743.

44. Ibid., 11 February 1931.

missions, between Europeans and native races, and between discordant elements in the European or in the native staffs. (45)

Wilkie, however, was slightly old at fifty-five but, nevertheless, even if he could only last ten years his appointment would have been worthwhile.⁴⁶

1.3 Conciliation and Confrontation: The Contrasting Styles of Wilkie and Shepherd

A.W. Wilkie had been born in England on 9 November 1875 and was educated at Glasgow University where he took the Bachelor of Divinity and Master of Arts degrees. In 1901 he had gone to Calabar in Nigeria as a missionary of the United Free Church of Scotland, where he had remained for seventeen years as secretary of the mission. Towards the close of the First World War, Wilkie had then assumed duty in the Gold Coast (modern-day Ghana) and Togoland (divided between Ghana and modern-day Togo). In both of these territories there were well established German and Swiss mission stations. But by 1917 the British Government believed it to be expedient that these missionaries leave the Gold Coast and instead it asked the United Free Church of Scotland to take over responsibility for the work which the Basle (or

45. Fraser to Shepherd, 18 March 1931, Cory MS 14,743 (emphasis mine).

46. Ibid.

Swiss) and Bremen (or German) missionaries had done.⁴⁷ Wilkie was appointed leader of this mission and delicately negotiated between the United Free Church (U.F.C.) and the foreign missionaries for their withdrawal from the Gold Coast.

Wilkie had served as a magnet drawing towards him many fresh, young missionaries and because of his efforts the Germans were able to return to the Gold Coast and to Togoland sooner than they could to other areas. From their return in 1925 the Germans co-operated with the Scottish Mission. These achievements earned for Wilkie the C.B.E. from the British Government and the degree of Doctor of Divinity conferred in 1927 by the University of Glasgow.

From his headquarters at Accra, Wilkie played a significant role in the educational debates of the Gold Coast. He served on various government commissions and was connected through educational work with Achimota College. In 1921 he attended the first meeting of the International Missionary Council held at Lake Mohonk; in 1928 he was a delegate at the Jerusalem Meeting of the International Missionary Council; and in September 1926 he reached the pinnacle of his career when he delivered a major address entitled "The Christian Mission in Africa" to the International Missionary Conference held at Le Zoute in

47. For details on the Basle Mission in West Africa see Margaret Gannon "The Basle Mission Trading Company and British Colonial Policy in the Gold Coast, 1918-1928" in J.A.H. 24 (1983), pp 503-515.

Belgium.⁴⁸

So Wilkie came to Lovedale with thirty years of experience in the African mission field, its conditions and its administration. He was also equipped in the field of race relations having successfully dealt with such issues in the Gold Coast and having given advice to the British Government in an attempt to forge Black-White co-operation. He had also extensively toured the American Negro Institutions of Hampton and Tuskegee and this had given him the opportunity of studying how a different society coped with its racial problems. Wilkie had also experienced economic boom through the development and production of cocoa, as well as economic slump resulting from the decline of this product.⁴⁹

Although the appointment of Wilkie was in itself surprising because he was "a very tired man" who had "had an amazingly heavy job in the Gold Coast owing to the complete collapse of the native wealth and liberality",⁵⁰ it was perhaps inevitable. He was a man who could be trusted and who would be able to knit the whole staff together in a

48. See Shepherd (1971), op.cit., pp 96-97. This important paper which synthesises Wilkie's educational philosophy seems to be lost, but large portions of it have been reproduced in Edwin W. Smith, The Christian Mission in Africa, (International Missionary Council, London, 1926), ch. 8. Professor A.C. Ross of Edinburgh University drew my attention to this book (Personal communication, 26 September 1986). I have not been able to trace anything more substantial on Wilkie's life or on his beliefs. But some detail of his missionary involvement in West Africa is provided in Smith, Aggrey of Africa: A Study in Black and White, (Student Christian Movement Press, London, 1932).

49. Shepherd (1971), op.cit., p 97.

50. Fraser to Shepherd, 14 May 1931, Cory MS 14,743.

"wonderful fellowship." His West African experience would be invaluable in helping "with the affairs of the Native Church", and his experience in working with the British Government and in administration would benefit him when dealing with these same issues in South Africa.⁵¹ Yet it is also possible that the appointment of Wilkie was a means of ushering in a period of conciliation in the history of Lovedale. Wilkie's most important gift was that of conciliator; he was in no sense a man of controversy and not in anyway a publicist. In fact he was "rather a shadowy figure."⁵² The qualities of tact and diplomacy which Wilkie could wield with such skills are very well illustrated in his Journal, kept whilst he was Principal at Lovedale.⁵³ He was able to steer a middle path, maintaining an equilibrium at Lovedale and earning the respect of both staff and students. He also did not look for conflict, rather believing in dialogue to solve problems.⁵⁴ It is also possible that the F.M.C. wanted to groom Shepherd for the Principalship once Wilkie had retired.

But Wilkie was not really prepared for the situation in South Africa, as conditions in the Gold Coast had been less turbulent. Here "politics and governmental antagonism, white public opinion, financial

51. Fraser to Shepherd, 14 May 1931, Cory MS 14,743.

52. Personal communication, Prof. A.C. Ross, 26 September 1986.

53. See Wilkie's Journal, 2 vols 1933-1942, Cory MS 9044. This Journal gives an interesting insight into the workings of Wilkie's mind and the way in which he was able to combine tact, diplomacy and negotiation to resolve any potentially explosive issues.

54. Personal communication, Prof. J.W. Macquarrie, 6 October 1986.

troubles over farm and fruit orchard and industrial departments, a more secular and heterogenous staff" were difficulties bound to weigh heavily on a man already strained and tired out.⁵⁵

Wilkie, however, does not appear to have had any illusions about his work at Lovedale, nor did he imagine that it would be "easy to adjust one's mind and thought to utterly new conditions". He was also "ready to learn from those whose knowledge of South African conditions must be so much deeper than my own."⁵⁶ Wilkie also had a paternalistic love of Africa and the African, but this expression of sentimentality was largely integral to his character, for he had seen his work in West Africa as a labour of love and so he had been prepared to devote himself tirelessly to the advancement of the Africans.⁵⁷

Wilkie felt honoured by being invited to the Lovedale Principalship and expressed the view that in the Gold Coast and Calabar they had become "just a big family" without "formal and official relationships."⁵⁸ This was to be important during his period at Lovedale as he was anxious to break down the rigid formality which existed at the Institution. The way in which Wilkie was to cope with the demands of the Lovedale Principalship, however, were best defined by himself when he wrote to Shepherd that

55. Personal communication, Prof. J.W. Macquarrie, 6 October 1986.

56. Wilkie to Shepherd, 4 June 1931, Cory MS 14,743.

57. Ibid.

58. Ibid.

We have varieties and "diversities" of thought and of method, but we have got into the habit of discussing everything together and it has made work unspeakably happy. We look forward to that same relationship in Lovedale, and to a family there bound together in one common service. (59)

These were the principles to be followed during Wilkie's Principalship. There was to be no great controversy or confrontation as that was not his style. Rather he would pursue a policy of subdued diplomacy in an attempt to achieve his goals both educational and political.⁶⁰ In February 1933 A.W. Wilkie arrived in Lovedale as its fourth Principal.

Stress has been laid upon the fact that Wilkie would use tact and conciliation to surmount any difficulties which he might have faced. The period was, therefore, set to be a calm one. Even the continuing debate over African education was mild, with the appointment, in 1936, of the Interdepartmental Committee on Native Education. This Report advocated that African education be transferred from the Provinces to the Union Education Department. Although the most liberal Government Report to be produced on African education, it was followed in 1937 by the conservative Report of the Native Affairs Commission. This argued for the incorporation of Black education into the Natives Affairs Department, because under the missionaries Africans had only received "a little clerkly instruction in individualism."⁶¹

59. Wilkie to Shepherd, 4 June 1931, Cory MS 14,743.

60 See below ch. 2.

61. Interdepartmental Committee on Native Education 1935-1936 (Welsh Report), U.G. 29/1936, paras. 57,58 ; Report of the Native Affairs Commissions for 1936, (Heaton Nicholls Report), U.G. 48/1937, p 14,41.

The most interesting feature of Wilkie's period is the way in which he promoted the Lovedale Press. He was instrumental in encouraging the growth of African literature, particularly the publication of secular books. The work of the Press was also a subtle means of promoting a religious aim and to Wilkie this was most important.⁶² Yet the equilibrium which Wilkie was able to maintain at Lovedale showed signs of strain when, in September 1939, the Second World War began. The unsettling effect that this war would have on South Africa at large was also to be felt in the growing tensions at Lovedale which would erupt into major riot in 1946.⁶³ Thus the climate at Lovedale was hardening and had Wilkie remained it is doubtful whether he would have been able to avoid the looming conflicts.

It was obvious that once Wilkie had retired in 1941 he would be succeeded by R.H.W. Shepherd, one of the most experienced missionaries in South Africa.⁶⁴ Shepherd, however, was a very different person to Wilkie. He had been born in 1888 in Scotland of humble parents. So he had been forced into a life of strict self-discipline and hard work in order to climb the rungs of the steep social ladder.⁶⁵ This had meant that his advancement in the mission field and his considerable influence were owing very largely to a tremendous capacity for work

62. See below chs. 2, 4.

63. Wilkie's Journal, 3 May 1940, 11 May 1940, 8 December 1941, Cory MS 9044; see below ch. 5.

64. Ibid., 27 September 1941, Cory MS 9044

65. Shepherd's social background is discussed below at ch. 4; for further detail see G.C. Oosthuizen, Shepherd of Lovedale, (Hugh Kearthland, Johannesburg, 1970), chs. 1-5.

and a tireless energy which demanded a similar response from others. But Shepherd's background probably also accounted for a very rough side to his character and an abrasiveness which could be disconcerting to those whom he contacted. The rapid advancement which Shepherd had made in the mission field and the wide influence he had gained, together with the fact that he was both brilliant as a preacher and an academic, meant that he often appeared arrogant. He was, nevertheless, widely respected.⁶⁶ Shepherd was also a prolific writer and an informed commentator on South African affairs.⁶⁷ His real influence lay in his directorship of the Lovedale Press and it was here that he was to sow the seeds for future controversy.⁶⁸ Shepherd was also to wield considerable influence through his long reign as editor of The South African Outlook.⁶⁹

Given the personality of Shepherd and the fact that he was able to direct two very powerful organs, it must be accepted that he would engender far more controversy and heat than Wilkie. It was not his way to seek a tactful resolution to difficulties. Yet one must also realise that Shepherd became Principal at a difficult time and was not

66. Interview, Mr R.G.S. Makalima, 26 October 1987.

67. Oosthuizen, *ibid.*, pp 226-240.

68. See below ch. 4.

69. Shepherd became editor of the South African Outlook in March 1932, when he took over from D.A. Hunter, (editor from 1901-31). In 1964 Shepherd ended his 32 year reign as editor, handing over to Alexander Kerr, the first principal of Fort Hare University. In February 1970 the Outlook was transferred from Lovedale to an independent company, Outlook Publications, whose directors were to be appointed every five years by the South African Council of Churches. Francis Wilson who had been appointed editor in 1967 continued in this position.

able to control the events which were occurring around him.

The Second World War was to create grave difficulties for the entire Institution and was a direct cause of the Lovedale Riot in 1946.⁷⁰ It was also to be a time of growing political turmoil in the Union with an ever-increasing onslaught on all liberal establishments. Shepherd would also have to face the demise of the missionary enterprise at Lovedale when all Native education was taken over by the State in 1955.⁷¹

What is important here, given these stresses and tensions, is to enquire whether Shepherd was well enough fitted to deal with the situation. Wilkie it is certain would have adopted a more tactful attitude to these events and had he been younger, he would probably have been able to cope with them. He would possibly have been more adept at handling the 1946 disturbance which needed greater skill and understanding than Shepherd could achieve under the particular circumstances.⁷² Yet on the other hand, Shepherd was probably better equipped to cope with the transfer of power from the mission schools to the Government. It needed a powerful personality, who would not allow himself to be overawed, to deal with the State's attack on African education. Here Shepherd with his incisive and cutting mind was no doubt invaluable in the deliberations which preceded the takeover of Lovedale and the other missionary institutions. It is in

70. See below ch. 4.

71. See below ch. 5.

72. See below ch. 4.

these terms and these colours that Shepherd, as the fifth and last principal of Lovedale, must be examined.

Shepherd had been sent to Lovedale on 4 June 1927 in an attempt to relieve some of Henderson's enormous responsibilities. He had begun his Christian Mission at Main in the Transkei in April 1920. So his knowledge of South African conditions and of Lovedale in particular was extensive. Although it was obvious that Shepherd would succeed Wilkie, there was considerable support for his appointment when in 1941 he became Principal. Professor Z.K. Matthews of Fort Hare was unequivocal in his support for Shepherd when he offered "heartiest congratulations on the signal honour conferred on you by the Foreign Mission Committee in appointing you to the Principalship of the greatest Institution for Africans in Africa!" Matthews referred in conclusion to an African proverb which said that "a chief is a chief by his people", or that "the greatness of a chief depends upon the manner in which he watches and guards the interests of his people and upon the co-operation which he can call forth from them."⁷³

Shepherd's educational philosophy was in the main stream of Lovedale Tradition.⁷⁴ He did not believe solely in formal school education, believing strongly that the influence of the home with its human relationships and the influence of the work place provide a more

73. Z.K. Matthews to Shepherd, 6 November 1941, Cory PR 3682

74. On Shepherd's educational philosophy see Oosthuizen, *op.cit.*, chs. 17 and 18; see also Shepherd (1971), *op.cit.*, ch.7

rounded-off type of education. The emphasis should be on Christian standards. Education was a process of life and all the formative influences contributed to human intercourse. Shepherd emphasized that education was concerned with the development of character and this meant that care had to be taken over individual pupils. He also saw Lovedale as a centre which aimed at preparing Africans to adapt to the modern Westernized society in which they would be forced to participate. Education served to open the "door into fuller, richer life and into a widening and deepening understanding of the real meaning of life." His view was that "life in its widest sense comprehends the natural world, human society and God, and the task of education is to help young people to establish active and purposeful relations with these." Modern educationalists believed that the pupil's needs, his capabilities, his interests and his background were crucial to determining the focus of education.⁷⁵

The importance of Lovedale was that it identified with things familiar to the African child by emphasizing the "social nature of education." Psychoanalysis had opened up the field of human development in educational theory and thus Shepherd was concerned about issues such as repression, association and distortion which resulted owing to experiences of conflict. The personality of the child had to be respected if sound development were to take place. Learning should be an adventure which would lead to a fuller life. The ideals

75. Oosthuizen, op.cit., p 127.

inculcated by such a learning process then became natural to the development of the pupils. An important place was given to the vernacular, as education was related to the actual lives and needs of the pupils. But Lovedale should also participate effectively in the life of the community to which the students belonged. The educational programme was based on a critical analysis of the community life from which the students came. Education should be related to this life, it was life, not abstract unrelated knowledge.

But just as a thorough study of the individual was important, so was a complete understanding of the community. The child came under the influence of his home and the habits, traditions and atmosphere of the society in which he lived. Yet the most important influence was that of the Church. In a society undergoing change with the "old order" giving way to the new, education was faced with new difficulties and had to enlarge its functions and assume greater responsibilities. Lovedale's deliberate aim had to be "the encouragement of a new sense of duty to their community among its students and pupils."⁷⁶ An educational system needed to be fully conscious of this in order to produce future citizens who would be able to compete in the world.⁷⁷

But education should also be concerned with passing on objective values and the final outcome of this was the "invisible world of health, beauty and goodness." Through this the African should see nature and society in perspective. Shepherd believed that

76. Oosthuizen, op.cit., p 127

77. Ibid., pp 127-128

Christianity should form the basis of education, which otherwise would be incomplete.⁷⁸

Shepherd advocated that gradually there would be a shift of the mission schools from individuals to groups which would have African representation. This could then progress to a responsibly constituted school committee.⁷⁹

The size of the institution was a major aspect of Shepherd's educational beliefs especially after the 1946 Riot. This was particularly important because

We have been guilty of sending out students on a mass production system. We have often failed to give the personal attention young people require in their adolescent days, if satisfactory character is to be produced in them. (80)

Under Shepherd, Lovedale was to follow a much more aggressive course. This was partly owing to the fact that Shepherd did not try to avoid confrontation. But, as shown above, it was equally a reflection of the much more volatile and turbulent events, both nationally and internationally. The Second World War ended in September 1945 and its repercussions for Lovedale were to be felt in the riot of August 1946.⁸¹ Yet despite the difficulties of the war years, the Lovedale

78. Oosthuizen, op.cit., pp 128-129.

79. Ibid., p 130.

80. Ibid., p 131.

81. See below ch. 4.

Press continued to expand as Shepherd maintained a heavy involvement in the production of literature for Africans.⁸² In education too the period was to be highly significant. Industrial education, such an important aspect of Lovedale's educational philosophy, was to receive comprehensive study in the Commission on Technical and Vocational Education.⁸³ But the most important feature of Shepherd's period was the impending clash with the State. The National Party had won the 1948 election and one of their first actions was to appoint a Commission on African education under the chairmanship of W.W.M. Eiselen. This Commission spelt the demise of missionary control over African education and the beginning of total control by the State.⁸⁴ Such a scenario was bound to create conflict.

82. See below ch. 3

83. See below ch. 3.

84. See below ch. 5.

Chapter 2

RE-THINKING EDUCATIONAL POLICY:
WILKIE AND THE LE ZOUTE CONFERENCE

When considering the educational philosophy of the Church of Scotland, attention should be given to the study of conditions in Africa undertaken by the two Phelps-Stokes Commissions. The first commission landed at Sierra Leone on 4 September 1920. It was led by the American educationalist, Thomas Jesse Jones and was to visit such countries as the Gold Coast and South Africa. The aim was to survey the educational conditions and opportunities which prevailed for Africans. In January 1924 the second Phelps-Stokes Commission also visited South Africa. The importance of these commissions was that they crystallised the official conceptions of education. This meant that Governments were prepared to take their advice and to accept the view that education was the key to the future role of Africans in public life.¹

In view of the findings of these commissions and the attitudes of the Governments, the missionaries believed that they should review their involvement in African education. They believed too that this meant that they should clearly state their educational ideals, define their

1. Thomas Jesse Jones, Education in Africa, (A Study of West, South and Equatorial Africa by the African Education Commission, under the Auspices of the Phelps-Stokes Fund and Foreign Mission Societies of North America and Europe, 1922); see especially ch. 9. This survey provides a general analysis of conditions pertaining in Africa to education. See also Smith, (1932), *op.cit.*, chs. 10,11,13.

attitude towards Government policy and make concrete proposals regarding the type of curriculum that should be offered.

This type of thinking led to the important International Missionary Conference held at Le Zoute in Belgium from 14 to 21 September 1926. A.W. Wilkie, who was one of the most prominent missionaries in Africa and who had served on the Phelps-Stokes Commission, summed up the general tone of the Le Zoute conference when he said that these "years of study and survey have been necessary", the "immediate duty is to translate their results into practice."² The decisions taken at this conference and the ideas expressed need to be examined in detail because they were to lay the basis for all subsequent thinking.³

Although African education had been extensively pioneered by the missionaries, there had also been involvement by the colonial governments in some form or another.⁴ By 1925 the Colonial Office had

2. Smith (1926), op.cit., pp 56-57.

3. For missionary thinking during this period and for the importance of the religious ideal in education see Smith, *ibid.*, chs. 5-7; also Smith *The Blessed Missionaries* (Oxford, Cape Town, 1950), ch. 4; J.W.C. Dougall, *Religious Education in Africa*, (International Missionary Council, London n.d. 1929?), Introduction; J.H. Oldham and B.D. Gibson, *The Remaking of Man in Africa*, (Oxford 1931), especially chs. 1-4; and J.H. Oldham "Christian Education in Africa" in *Christian Education in Africa and the East*, (S.C.M. Press, London 1924), pp 82-96.

4. In South Africa Black education was under provincial control but left mainly to the missionaries, subsidized by grants-in-aid. In Uganda and Malawi where "the missions already covered most of the country with a network of schools" the governments had closely collaborated in education. In other areas, such as Northern Nigeria and the Lake Province of Tanzania, "native administration schools become the basis of educational policy." On the Tanzanian coast, however, schools which were directly controlled by the Government predominated. See Lord Hailey, *An African Survey*, (Oxford University Press 1939), pp 1213, 1233, 1234.

issued a memorandum in which was envisaged increasing control by the State over education, which, however, would be "based on religion."⁵ The Le Zoute Conference was trying to resolve the problem which related to the relationship between Church and State. In a significant resolution the Conference accepted that education was the territory of the government. But it expressed the view that education for the African would have no value if it was not grounded in religious thought. African education should, therefore, be conducted by the missionaries, whilst being subsidized, organized and directed by the government. But State involvement in education was only to be welcomed if it did not dictate too heavily the content of the courses to be offered.⁶

A.W. Wilkie had had twenty-five years of missionary experience in West Africa and he addressed himself to these issues. He believed that the

best results in education can only be achieved by the fullest possible sympathetic co-operation, and that there is no necessary opposition between the aims of Government and of missions. (7)

Governments were increasingly aware of the fundamental position of missionaries and would more than ever accept the standpoint that "educational activities in Africa must end in ghastly failure if there is an attempt to divorce education from religion."⁸ Wilkie elucidated

5. Hailey, *op.cit.*, pp 1235-6.

6. Smith (1926), *op.cit.*, pp 109-112.

7. *Ibid.*, p 58. For a general survey of education in Africa and of the extent to which the missionaries had pioneered this field see Hailey, *ibid.*, ch. 18.

8. Smith, *ibid.*, p 58.

a central feature of missionary education when he expressed the view that apart "from the teaching and inspiration of Jesus Christ there can be no sure foundation for the upbuilding of character."⁹

Wilkie argued that it was important to consider what one regarded as "central in education" - the type of courses to be offered and the quality of teacher to be in charge of them. Once this had been discussed, then attention could be given to the question as to whether the Church was justified in spending so much on education at the expense of its evangelistic work.¹⁰

The missionaries should always be true to their main aim, expressed in Christ's words, "I am come that they might have life and that they might have it more abundantly", and that, according to Wilkie, this "must be the aim of all our education: to open up the way to abundant life."¹¹

This should then be followed up for the individual and for the community because education was "not outside the primary plan of Christian missions", but rather "lay at the very heart of it." Wilkie believed that education was

the finest God-given instrument for the evangelization and the upbuilding of a new Africa. The religious spirit must be woven into the whole being of the school and be felt in every activity. (12)

9. Smith (1926), op.cit., p 58.

10. Ibid.

11. Ibid., pp 58-59.

12. Ibid., pp 58-59

These views received a more precise definition by the Conference, providing an important statement of policy, for the Christian Mission in Africa. It was claimed that Jesus Christ epitomised human greatness, meeting in the perfection of grace and truth. Men were only mature if they contained the mind of Christ. This was the supreme moral achievement, and to

fashion character after the pattern of Christ is ... that definition of the aim of education which, traced out in all its implications, is felt by the consent of our whole nature to be at once the highest and the most comprehensive. (13)

Here one can be critical of the Church's approach to education for its aim was to produce citizens who would conform to certain Christian values without attempting to question them.

Yet the Conference did agree that education in Africa was a co-operative undertaking in which the Governments, Missions, Africans and the non-official European community were all concerned. The Government was mainly responsible for the education of the people over whom it had assumed control. It was for the Government to formulate and in the main to direct educational policy, as well as to administer the educational system and to supervise all educational institutions. It could best obtain the co-operation of the other parties by establishing an Advisory Board upon which all would be represented.

13. Smith (1926), op.cit., p 59.

Through these boards the missionary societies could exert considerable influence providing that at least one well qualified educationalist, to represent them, was appointed to each area. The Conference also conceded that the Government had the right to inspect schools. In fact this criticism was welcomed so that any defects in mission work could be detected. It was, however, stipulated that these inspectors should be competent educators, sympathetic to missionary work and able to speak at least one of the African languages current in their circuits. This theme of State-Church co-operation which runs through South African education is highly significant; being particularly strong in Settler societies. The idea of Christian National Education had begun with the Genootskap van Regte Afrikaners in the late nineteenth century, having been brought to South Africa from the Netherlands.¹⁴

One major problem of the Christian mission in Africa was that schools were too often poorly supervised and African teachers generally poorly trained. This meant that missionaries had too much to do. To add to these difficulties schools were scattered over vast tracts of land. The arrival of the Phelps-Stokes Commission in 1921 had introduced a sense of comparison between Black education in America and in Africa.

This had been enhanced by visits to America of the leading missionary

14. Smith (1926), p 60; See also Davenport, *The Afrikaner Bond*, (Oxford, Cape Town 1966), pp 31-2. For further development of C.N.E. philosophy see John D. Shingler *Education and Political Order in South Africa: 1901-1960* (Ph.D Yale University, 1973) chs 9-11; Ernst G. Malherbe *Education in South Africa*, vol II, (Juta, Cape Town 1977), Chs. 6 and 7; for this theme and Bantu Education see below ch. 6.

educators in Africa.¹⁵ The Phelps-Stokes Commission had recently completed a study of the American Negro Schools and so this afforded an opportunity for comparison. The major difference was that in British African territories in particular there was much more direct government supervision and regular financial support; but there was also a greater rigidity of syllabus and more conventional methods of education than applied to the Negro schools. The Commission had made the important recommendation that there should be more adaptation to the actual condition of the people in their environment and that the syllabus should be adapted to bear more directly on the actual lives of the people.¹⁶

It recommended the establishment of a number of 'Jeanes Schools'.¹⁷ These establishments emphasized simple home projects, such as the running of the household, measures for its improvement, the better preparation of meals, the care of children, the cultivation of the garden, simple hygiene, the canning of fruit, the making of clothes and the rudiments of literacy. Alexander Kerr describes these schools

15. Lovedale's five principals, Govan, Stewart, Henderson, Wilkie and Shepherd had all made extensive studies of the Negro educational institutions of Hampton and Tuskegee. Kerr, principal of Fort Hare had also undertaken an extensive tour of Negro educational institutions.

16. Alexander Kerr, *Fort Hare 1915-48*, (Shuter & Shooter, Pietermaritzburg, 1968), pp 81-82; see below ch. 6 for a discussion on this view.

17. A Quaker, Anna T. Jeanes believed in these schools and made an endowment for their upliftment. From this fund a band of itinerant supervisory teachers was supported. They would travel from school to school spending as much time as was needed at each so as to encourage the teachers and to initiate improvements and new methods; see *The South African Outlook*, 2 May 1927, pp 90-92.

as "village clubs, in which husband and wife were instructed for a time and then went back to their villages to put into practice and to demonstrate to others what they had been taught."¹⁸ The Phelps-Stokes Commission believed that this was where the emphasis on African education should be laid. Such centres had already been established in British West Africa, but in South Africa the Jeanes Schools had not been successful, because they did not fit into any scheme of organized government education.¹⁹ So the Jeanes Schools were basically aimed at relating education "to the needs of the community". But the system as implemented in Africa would need to be adapted to suit local conditions. The Le Zoute Conference, therefore, advocated the employment of such teachers and asked that they should be trained at a central institution controlled by a governing body on which the missions would be well represented and that they should then work under mission direction.²⁰

There was a sense of pragmatism at the Conference as it was held that, as the missions could not run all the schools, the governments would have to open their own, otherwise many Africans would be deprived of education. The missions should mainly concentrate on training teachers.²¹ This was an important consideration because through the training of the teachers one would best be able to inculcate and

18. Kerr, op.cit., p 82; see also Carnegie Corporation, Village Education in Africa, (Report of the Inter-Territorial "Jeanes" Conference, Salisbury, S. Rhodesia, May 27th - June 6th, 1935), section 3 esp. p 25 ff.

19. Kerr, ibid., p 82

20. Smith, op.cit., p 60

21. Ibid., p 61.

disseminate one's educational philosophy. It was also to play an important role when African education was taken over by the State in 1955.²²

The missionaries would also concentrate on village, intermediate and secondary education. The Government would concentrate on higher and technical education. The missionaries believed that the training of teachers and elementary education was of greater importance than the training of a small number of scholars.

The real question was: what were the schools to do? It has already been pointed out that Africa was absorbing much of the American spirit in education. Valuable new ideas for the education of a deprived people had begun to germinate after the American Civil War of 1865. Out of such ideas had grown the Negro Institutions of Hampton and Tuskegee. The Phelps-Stokes Fund had then enabled missionaries to visit these institutions in the Southern States of America and for them to study this system in operation. Dr Jesse Jones was the chief exponent of this "New Education." He believed that "consciousness of community" should govern all forms of education, that it should infuse all school policies and that it should determine all school aims. By this Jones meant that there should be "a comprehensive understanding of community conditions on the basis of which the educator plans the whole educational process." Education should prepare the pupil for the experience of life.²³

22. See below ch. 5.

23. Smith (1926), pp 61-62; see also Thomas Jesse Jones The Four Essentials of Education, (Charles Scribners Sons 1926), p 21.

The Conference adopted this view, declaring that "the curriculum of all types of schools should be drawn up with complete awareness of the life of the community."

Jesse Jones had selected four elements which made up group life. He termed these, the "simples" of the community: Health and sanitation; appreciation and the use of the environment; the household and the home; and recreation; 're-creation' by which he meant the "mental, moral and spiritual development" of the pupil. These features, according to Jones, should determine the form of school education.²⁴ In pre-colonial Africa, education had been geared to life; this had involved the learning of folk tales, legends and traditions of the tribe. This New Education, of which Jones was the proponent, was "a development of the indigenous African system."²⁵

The Conference, therefore, maintained that the development of character along religious lines should be the corner stone of all educational activity. Emphasis should be placed on hygiene and health, not solely in the home, but also on subjects like reading, writing and arithmetic. Both agriculture and industry should be taught in the classroom as well as being practised in the field and the workshop. The school should stress the need to develop a sound home life and it should attempt to promote the value of recreation for

24. Jones, *op.cit.*, p 22 and for further detail of this philosophy, chs 2-5.

25. Smith (1926), *op.cit.*, p 63.

the pupil.²⁶

This notice of education was considerably different to past practice. As the Conference noted, education was no longer to be regarded as 'book-learning' because its main aim was not the mastering of books or the passing of examinations, rather it was the "elevation of the tone and character of the community" wherein the school was situated.²⁷

Wilkie, whose benign paternalism and great tact, had made him an influential voice in the African missionary field, believed that if education was to give one new life one could only seek this through service for Christ. He maintained that the mission school would only fulfil its purpose when pupils were inspired to follow in the footsteps of Christ. What had most impressed Wilkie about his visit to the Southern States of America was the way in which many of the Coloured teachers and pupils spoke of 'my people.' And those who did this were followers of Christ. Pupils attended schools so as to learn how they could best serve their people.²⁸ Here we get almost a sentimental equation of education with Christianity. Everything good and noble can only be derived from a belief in Christian ethics and the role of education was to serve this end. The development of this philosophy at Lovedale can be seen when students were encouraged to take an interest in public affairs and where debate was reasonably free and thought unfettered, not imprisoned behind the ironbars of

26. Smith (1926), op.cit., p 63.

27. Ibid.

28. Ibid., pp 63-64

ideology.

To Wilkie the school was not an institution which sought simply to impart literate facts. Nor was it simply a "training place for clerks or hands for industrial groups." It was the "centre of life of the community - serving it, helping it ..." Wilkie believed in the importance of rural and village life. The school should act as a block against the drift towards the towns and if the education was good this inevitable exodus would be halted. In any case those who did migrate to the cities would have stronger affinities to tradition and their past. Wilkie believed that this teaching would not really be effective if it only concentrated on agriculture and hygiene. He argued that

we can only make it effective by a definite determination to bring the whole life of the school into relation with the community in which it is established ... it is of the greatest importance that all our schools, and particularly our boarding schools and our training centres for teachers and catechists, should be set up in the closest possible touch with normal rural communities and not in isolated localities. (29)

If the school was closely connected to the community it would also help in the education of the girls. This was because of the strong antipathy towards sending girls to school, owing largely to the fact that "training has been completely unrelated to the life which they

29. Quoted in Smith, *op.cit.*, p 64; see below ch. 5 for a discussion of Bantu Education and the community school idea.

will have to lead." But when the central area of their training was focussed on the life in their homes this innate antagonism evaporated. Agriculture, however, would be an important part of the curriculum, not simply a formal lesson or a period for 'manual labour' providing cheap farm work.³⁰

This provoked a question which the Conference had not yet tackled. On the West coast, White settlement was unlikely to develop much beyond an embryonic state, or so it was believed. Thus it was possible to plan education with the African community only in view. But in South and East Africa the community consisted of Whites and Blacks: if the needs of the community were to regulate the curriculum of the school, the fact that Africans had to live among the Whites and that they were economically dependent upon them would have to be taken into account.³¹

The missionary thrust into the field of education for Africans would not have been complete without a heavy emphasis on religion. The Le Zoute Conference made this clear by declaring that the

need for giving to Africa an education which is based upon religion, and which in all its parts is infused with religion, is vital to the missionary cause. It is also one of the chief reasons why both Governments and missions are convinced that missionary co-operation is essential in the education of Africa. This being so, it is obvious that the missionary body must see to it that the religious instruction and practice of its schools is raised to the highest possible level of efficiency. (32)

30. Smith (1926), pp 64-65.

31. Ibid., p 65.

32. Ibid., p 66; see also Dougall op.cit., pp 493-505

But there was considerable dissatisfaction at the state of religious education. Biblical teaching should rather focus on the practical realities of Life and Service within the community than some esoteric concept of an After Life.³³ In this the missionary conference was adopting a sensible approach and critically considering the question of religious education.

The inevitable question of the medium of instruction raised its horny head and created the greatest division at the Conference.³⁴ Wilkie expressed only one view when he elaborated on his belief in mother-tongue instruction. He believed that

If education is the opening up of a way of life, it follows inevitably that the medium of instruction must be the vernacular. The soul of a people is enshrined in their language, and it is futile to expect to awaken to life the soul of any child through a medium other than the mother tongue. Yet this is perhaps one of the most common mistakes even in missions schools; and then one hears comments upon the slowness of the African child to acquire knowledge, the dullness of their minds and their painful lack of imagination. (35)

Wilkie went on to point out that the inability of many African school children to master the subjects they were taught or of their "parrot-like replies" was the result of learning through the English language from an early stage. He argued that he would have hated to be taught in a foreign medium and that had this been the case he would have made a very poor student. Wilkie considered the question of

33. Smith (1926), op.cit., p 67.

34. For the importance of the vernacular see above ch. 1 and below ch. 5.

35. Smith, ibid., p 68; see below ch. 5.

foreign language tuition in very serious terms and believed it to be "a crime, for it is starving the soul and the life of the child." He, therefore, contended that the logical outcome of his argument was that the mother-tongue should be the medium of instruction throughout school life.³⁶

Whilst Wilkie's argument might appear to be somewhat emotional one must bear in mind that the whole issue of vernacular education was a controversial one. This was particularly the case in South Africa at institutions such as Lovedale where the medium of instruction was English. The issue of language was in fact a very important feature of education and life at Lovedale: every effort was made to encourage the speaking and writing of English. This was done by enforcing the "English-speaking" rule by which only English could be spoken within the Institution grounds from Mondays to Fridays.³⁷ In addition debating and writing were encouraged by the Literary Society

36. Smith (1926), op.cit., p 68.

37. The English-speaking rule was a cause of friction in Lovedale. For this view see the autobiography of Z.K. Matthews, Freedom for my People, (David Philip, Cape Town 1981), p 36. The rule was later dropped. But K.D. Matanzima, Paramount Chief of the Emigrant Thembu, called for the re-introduction of the rule. This led to a debate in the Governing Council during which the difficulty of enforcing this particular rule without the co-operation of the students and prefects was emphasized. It was felt that it was not practicable to enforce this rule. The Council, however, recorded the view that African students were "suffering in their knowledge of English because of the prevalent speaking of the vernacular." It called for consideration to be given to the ways in which the standard of English could be improved. G.C.M., 12 Nov. 1953, P.P; Edgar Brookes, in his autobiography, A South African Pilgrimage, (Ravan Press, Johannesburg, 1977), pp 63-64 refers to a similar rule at Adams College.

and student publications.³⁸ Such factors were instrumental in providing Africans with the agility both verbal and written to enter into areas such as politics and literature and so helped to form the burgeoning "new class" of African.³⁹

Possibly, in any case, Wilkie's position was far too extreme. Loram put forward a more rational view when he argued that the African's real reason for education was to learn English. If they wanted to reach the level of the Whites then they would have to learn their language. But if the vernacular were adopted there would be strong opposition by those Africans who were literate and who would feel that opportunities were being denied to their children. English was also the language of government and commerce and not to know it would be

-
38. Expression, both written and verbal, tended to be reasonably free. The Lovedale Literary Society held regular debates often on contentious issues. A sample of debates from the Programme for 1941 includes the following: "That practical education is of more value than an academic education", "That the advance of science spells the ruin of mankind", "That the Westernization of the Bantu is undesirable." Cory MS 16451. See also Minutes of the Lovedale Literary Society, P.P. Lovedale also published a students magazine, The Emblem, which could be outspoken. Unfortunately only two of these have survived: See Cory Lovedale Press Collection, File 3, Box No. 30. A decision taken by the Lovedale Senate is also interesting in this regard: "... in many cases the students should be encouraged to contribute articles to the press, providing the subject matter was suitable. No censorship should be imposed, but students should be encouraged to seek the advice of a teacher." Senate Minutes, 8 October 1947 P.P. See also the autobiography of Ellen Kuzwayo, Call Me Woman, (Ravan Press, Johannesburg, 1985), p 94; Personal communication, J.W. Macquarrie, 6 October 1986; Interviews: Mrs R.M. White, Grahamstown, 30 September 1987; Mr R.G.S. Makalima, Alice, 28 October 1987.
39. Tim Couzens, The New African: A Study of the Life and Work of H.I.E. Dhlomo, (Ravan Press, Johannesburg 1985), ch. 1.

extremely disadvantageous. English would also serve to unite the disparate groups of Africans. So that all should be conversant in English, it should be taught from the primary level.⁴⁰

Education was to be boosted by the promotion of vernacular literature. That which was available was inadequate. Wilkie stated that those Missions with which he had been associated in Africa had both laid a great emphasis on the teaching of the vernacular in schools, but little attention had been given to the preparation of books. There was little in the way of vernacular publications and this was particularly serious in the schools: readers for the primary school, for instance, were totally insufficient when compared to the English graded series. Wilkie noted that

The preparation of really first class books in the vernacular is one of our paramount duties and there is ample material for their construction - in the folktales, the proverbs, in the tales of the courage of their own people, in the history and customs of the tribe, material to which every child will respond and the dull faces will become alert and the imagination kindled as they read. If we could only have a series of such books, opposition to the use of the vernacular would rapidly disappear. (41)

To Wilkie, the production of literature would be a useful tool in the education of Africans.

For Lovedale the ideas expressed at Le Zoute were to have particular

40. Smith (1926), op.cit., pp 68-69

41. Smith (1926), ibid., pp 70-71; see also C.E. Wilson, "The Provision of a Christian Literature for Africa", in International Review of Missions, (1926), pp 506-14.

importance because, within six years, Wilkie who had been a leading force behind the organization of the Conference, had become its new principal. Lovedale, combining as it did, the academic, vocational and publishing departments, gave Wilkie an ideal opportunity to implement his beliefs. Although academic education was vitally important and maintained at a top standard in Lovedale, it was the vocational model and the desire to publish literature that might be seen as best serving the missionary purpose. As Lovedale was the foremost institution in these spheres careful consideration must be given to this practical side of missionary work.

Chapter 3

EDUCATION FOR LIFE3.1 The Vocational Model

The original purpose of vocational education was to train the Africans into a "disciplined routine of regular work, and to lead them to higher and more civilized standards of living".¹ Stewart had argued that the various forms of education offered at Lovedale - both academic and vocational - were important primarily to extend the mind and to develop the character by discipline and industry. He believed that the Biblical truths should not merely be accepted, but that they should be demonstrated practically in every day life. It was this view which led to the practice of daily manual labour for all Lovedale students who were not apprentices.² So although industrial training was provided only for a minority of students, all at Lovedale were expected to engage in some form of practical work. The importance of industrial manual training was emphasised by Stewart when he said that Africans should be able to obtain the best education that the country could offer, but that this "should go hand in hand with real work."³

A distinction must be drawn between the manual labour undertaken in the Institution and the industrial courses offered to prospective

-
1. Shepherd, (1941), op.cit., p 427.
 2. Christian Express, January 1897, p 1.
 3. Christian Express, May 1910, p 809.

students. Manual labour, because it was compulsory, was never popular and in many instances the work assigned was both "pointless and monotonous."⁴ Increasingly, however, the practice of manual labour came under scrutiny as its wisdom was questioned.⁵ This was because it served no basic purpose and merely fuelled grievances against the Lovedale authorities.⁶

Industrial training, however, was one of the features which contributed to Lovedale's reputation. In 1855 Sir George Grey, Governor of the Cape Colony, proposed the establishment of industrial training courses at five selected missionary institutions - Salem, Healdtown, Lesseyton, D'Urban (Peddie) and Lovedale. At Lovedale, departments in masonry, carpentry, wagon-making and blacksmithing were established so as to undertake the training of apprentices. In 1861 Govan added the printing and book-binding departments. Of the original five institutions only Lovedale was to maintain its industrial departments, contributing widely to vocational

4. Shepherd (1941), op.cit., p 431.

5. A. D. Dodd, Native Vocational Training, (Lovedale Press, 1938) pp 25-6.

6. Professor D.D.T. Jabavu's view here is illuminating: "in our schools 'manual labour' consists of sweeping yards, repairing roads, cracking stones, and so on, and is done by boys only as so much task work, enforced by a time keeper, and under threats of punishment. It is defended because 'it makes for character training.' The inevitable result is that the boys grow up to hate all manual work as humiliating ..." See D.D.T. Jabavu, The Black Problem, (Lovedale Press, 1920), p 58.

education.⁷

Yet although industrial training was part of the philosophy behind the work of the Scottish missionaries, it was an area which engendered considerable debate as well. The question was whether Lovedale should teach "European" trades or African handicrafts. Brookes had criticised the early missionaries for teaching every trade known to Europeans, rather than concentrating on, initially, the improvement of existing African handicrafts. He believed that the missionaries had gone "sadly astray in their training."⁸

D.A. Hunter, Editor of The South African Outlook from 1901 till 1932, recommended that missionary education should concentrate on training for village industries. In 1916 he argued that if South Africa wanted a fair deal for its African population and wished to extract the most out of them, then a well constructed plan for developing village industries was probably the most needed reform of the day. Hunter believed that there would be substantial benefits for South Africa if it was made clear to the African that in his own village, and without the interruption of his ploughing or herding, he could turn his abilities to creating wealth for himself and the State.

-
7. Dodd, op. cit., p 8-10; see also Shepherd (1941) op.cit., p 424-7. Shepherd lists the variety of industrial courses offered by Lovedale during the course of its history as "agriculture, horticulture, carpentry, building and plastering, wagon-making, black-smithing, printing, book-binding, shoe-making, domestic science (housekeeping, cooking, sewing and laundry work), nursing, telegraphy, basket- and mat-making, rug-making, tin-ware, bee-keeping and poultry-farming."
8. Brookes, op.cit., p 432.

Accordingly, the Government should investigate the type of industries that could profitably be established in these villages. Spinning and handloom weaving were possibilities because sheep provided wool which was the raw material. The spinning wheels and looms were also inexpensive and could easily be made in the country, a hut serving as a workshop. This work could be pursued as time permitted and this would benefit the economical allocation of work.

Other village industries worth investigating could be the making of wicker furniture and baskets. It was poor economy to import these products when they could be made locally. The idea should be to create an African industry which would then produce goods that would be consumed by an African market. Hunter then proposed that instructors be imported from the East where village industries had long been in operation. Such instructors would also be prepared to work for less money than Whites and so the final cost would be kept down.⁹

The missionary purpose, however, was to train the African in skills that would equip him to enter a European-orientated world. The African needed to be lifted to the level of western civilization and this would not have come about if only indigenous crafts were to be encouraged. To the missionaries, the hut - small, low and dark -

9. G.C.M., 12 March 1931, P.P.; Christian Express, July 1916, p 104;

symbolised the primitive state of the African.¹⁰ In order to raise the level of civilization, it was therefore necessary for this traditional village structure to be broken down. Square houses with rooms were needed in order to raise the African onto a higher social level. Thus there was a need for carpentry and building to be offered as industrial courses. The importance of transport in any developing society is vital and so the emphasis on blacksmithing and wagon-making. Printing and book-binding were also obviously crucial to the African as their language and level of education was rapidly evolving.

The idea of village industries created a difference of opinion in Lovedale as their economic merits were questioned. Lovedale had for long recognized the importance of such industries, and so had taught simple crafts, such as basket-making and rug-making, for use in the home. So although greater effort could be exerted in encouraging these village industries, all products should be distinctively African. If the African was to slavishly imitate European goods, he would at once come into fatal competition with the manufactured article. The demand for such goods was to be found only amongst the Whites and even here the market was limited. But it existed and more professional "organization might secure to the Native a greater reward for his labour."¹¹ The United Transkeian General Council was also of the opinion that it was futile to resuscitate traditional African

10. Christian Express, August 1883, p 121; see also Shepherd (1941), op.cit., p 435.

11. Dodd, op.cit., p 149-150; see also Shepherd (1941), op.cit., p 437-438.

handicrafts that "might open the way for a Native industry." This was because Africans were "using articles of European manufacture with which the hand-made article will never again be able to compete."¹²

In 1923 the Lovedale Senate had formed an Outdoor Work Committee which was to investigate and report on the entire issue of vocational training. This Committee suggested that all male students in the High and Normal Schools be allocated some form of outdoor work in which they should become proficient during their three years course at Lovedale. But considerable care should be taken to guide each student into the line of work "for which his task and ability and physique best fit him." Furthermore, the Committee stated that

to reduce the different groups to such dimensions as will make individual instructions and influence possible, all the available lines of instruction Lovedale already offers be utilised and added to as opportunity occurs.

All supervision of work was to be shared by both African and White male teachers and any students who did not take an interest in vocational training were to "be drafted into a squad for hoeing, weeding and other less skilled work."¹³

The policy at Lovedale was to provide all students with at least some form of technical training. This determination, as well as the

-
- 12. United Transkeian Territories General Council, Proceedings, 1933, p2.
 - 13. Vocational training could include agriculture, animal husbandry, fruit-growing, forestry, hut-building, painting and sign-writing, shoemaking, road-making. Outdoor Work Committee Report to Lovedale Senate, 1923, Cory MS 16451.

realisation that there was a great need for technically trained people, ensured that the Lovedale Industrial Departments continued to function and evolve.

Much emphasis was placed on the needs of the Industrial departments in relation to the broader socio-economic concerns of the South African community. This was the one area of Lovedale's educational work that was continuously being reviewed because vocational training was of particular value to society, but by its very nature it could not be static and had to change with the times. In March 1932 a Committee of the Lovedale Governing Council, for example, expressed the opinion that there was a useful and a hopeful future for trained African carpenters and builders and that the training at Lovedale be continued along present lines. But for the rural areas a simple course which combined carpentry, building and painting should be introduced at an early date. It was argued that for the more specialised courses apprentices should be given instructions so as to enable them to work out contracts and estimates for such work as was likely to come their way.

The Industrial departments maintained a high standard of work and there was no sense of inferiority to the academic courses offered at Lovedale. Students unable to cope with academic work were not automatically channelled off into the industrial departments.¹⁴

14. G.C.M., 10 March 1932, P.P.

In November 1932 J.W. Macquarrie, head of the Training School, tabled the report of the Committee which had been established at the previous meeting of the Governing Council to investigate vocational training. This called for a five year course comprising a dual training in carpentry and building which would be instituted alongside the existing industrial course. This was to be divided into a two year component which would consist of the minor trade chosen by the student as well as a three year component consisting of the student's choice of major trade. The minor course was to be followed by the first choice. Technical instruction was to remain as the entrance qualification.¹⁵

Suitable academic instruction was, however, to be given in all courses, but this was to be confined to English and arithmetic which should be taken over a three year period. The academic instruction should be for five hours per week, from 6.45 to 7.45 am. Such instruction should be supplemented by a series of talks on subjects of general or cultural interest. These talks would occupy one evening per week. Thus there was to be no neglect of the technical student's academic education.¹⁶

Finally, the Report advocated that adequate publicity in the African Press and other Institutions be given so as to ensure among the African people a "knowledge of the scope of the proposed new trade." This Report was adopted on the clear understanding that this dual

15. G.C.M., 3 November 1932, P.P.

16. Ibid.

course in carpentry and building be recognised as an integrated course and that these recommendations be submitted to the Department of Education.¹⁷

Again a Committee report presented to the Governing Council in March 1932, expressed the opinion that there was a useful and hopeful future for trained African carpenters and builders and that the training at Lovedale be continued along present lines. For the rural areas a simple course which combined carpentry, building and painting should be introduced at an early date. For the more specialised courses apprentices should be given instruction so as to enable them to work out contracts and estimates for such work as was likely to come their way.¹⁸ At the same Council meeting it was decided to close down the shoe-making department from the end of June and that consideration would be given, when circumstances permitted, to the possibilities of providing opportunities for students to engage in leather work as a hobby.¹⁹

The main difficulties in operating courses for vocational training lay in the areas of expense and employment. When Wilkie arrived in Lovedale he was confronted by the difficulty of financing the extensive costs of the various departments. This forced him to consider the structure of fees charged. Lower fees, particularly

17. G.C.M., 3 November 1932, P.P.

18. Ibid., 10 March 1932.

19. Ibid.

those charged by Natal institutions, such as Adams, were creating financial difficulties for Lovedale, as there was a considerable fall-off in the numbers of students entering the Industrial departments.²⁰ To revive the number of applicants to the vocational courses, a cut in fees was recommended.²¹

Wilkie, therefore, recommended that it would be more cost effective if the Carpentry and Building Departments were amalgamated with the heads working together as "Partners". Costs could also be reduced by lowering unskilled wages. Yet this would be a retrogressive step for Lovedale and one which could only be taken with the approval of the Governing Council.²²

In 1933 the Governing Council accepted a new fees structure for apprentices in the Carpentry and Building Departments. There would be a £5 yearly charge and the provision of free tools, which would become the property of apprentices at the completion of their course. The monthly wages to be paid would be 2 shillings in the first year, 3 in the second year, 8 in the third year, 12 in the fourth year and for the fifth year, 16 shillings. For the full course of five years the fees would be £25.²³ It was important to restructure the Industrial Departments, so as to attract more students because vocational training was central to the missionary ideal of education.

20. Wilkie's Journal, 6 February 1933, Cory MS 9044.

21. Ibid., 3 February, 1933.

22. Ibid., 6 March 1933.

23. G.C.M., 7 March, 7 November 1933, P.P.

But vocational training is the most financially straining form of education and the very heavy costs of these departments fell on an Institution which had limited means. Thus these departments would be in a continual state of flux basically dependent upon the supply and demand of the workplace. Previously, in this connection, Lovedale had, in 1930, abolished the anachronistic wagon-making department.²⁴

As the Building and Carpentry departments had been combined it meant that more efficient work could be performed. Costs could, therefore, be considerably cut. Lovedale was also in a position to undertake her own alterations and building programmes as well as to offer quotations for outside work.²⁵ This could be carried out at considerably cut prices which perhaps was a justification for an argument that an exploitative labour practice was being used. Yet Lovedale's outside work was mainly confined to Fort Hare. In any case, if building costs were kept as low as possible at both Lovedale and Fort Hare, then educational costs could be kept down as well.

The major problem for vocational education was, however, the employment of Africans. Most skilled Africans were forced to work in the Native Reserves. The industrial colour bar prevented Whites, in general, from employing African artisans.²⁶ Africans in the Native

24. G.C.M., 10 March 1930, P.P.

25. Wilkie's Journal, 16 June, 8 December 1936, Cory MS 9044

26. Davenport (1987), op.cit., pp 528-540.

Reserves, however, could seldom afford to employ Black artisans. This meant that skilled Africans were often unable to find profitable work and so were forced into menial labour. Poverty and theft levels then rose, as an increasing number of people tried to find employment, creating social dislocation within the African areas. Owing to these factors vocational training was becoming an increasingly problematic area of instruction.

Lovedale, however, was prepared to take upon itself the responsibility of monitoring the attempts of former students to find employment. This policy meant that Lovedale was able to open the doors for trained journeymen to practise their trade. Municipal work within the African locations could be undertaken by Lovedale apprentices. There was also the possibility that Lovedale could devise a practical school which would be able to help African journeymen undertake similar work as opportunities arose.²⁷

Further possibilities to be explored lay within the Native Territories, where, the interest and support of the Bunga would have to be secured as far as possible to use trained Black craftsmen in the erection of public buildings for African use. Lovedale could make a gesture by the opening of Jobbing work within the Institution to

27. G.C.M., 7-8 November 1934, P.P.

trained journeymen, "showing how such work could be undertaken profitably in their own territories." It would be in the Lovedale tradition to provide such a practical lead. Municipalities should be asked to employ Black Carpenters and Builders when undertaking work, such as the erection of houses for African occupation; in addition to which African sections in employment bureaux might be organised. There should also be an organisation for the employment of girls.²⁸

Lovedale's Industrial department was, however, kept active in local work as the proposed list of buildings to be put up in 1943 indicated: Fort Hare required a new medical block, Lovedale a new press building and the Hospital a new orthopaedic block.²⁹

By 1942 the amalgamation of the Carpentry and Building courses had run into trouble. None who had started on the combined course had completed it. This had led Wilkie to instruct that none should be apprenticed to it in 1942. Here there were two main considerations. Firstly, on the positive side, it was thought to be of great value to Africans in the Territories if a tradesman was capable of putting up a simple building complete from foundation to roof. This was the major consideration in combining the courses. Secondly, and on the negative side, the apprentice in the combined course did not get issued with a professional certificate at the end of his training. Debate within the Governing Council led to two motions being passed: That the

28. G.C.M., 7-8 November 1932, P.P.

29. Ibid., 11-12 November 1942.

combined course be continued and that the Education Department be approached concerning the issue of a certificate for the Combined Course.³⁰ When in March 1943 the combined carpentry and building course came again under the spotlight, Wilkie reported that he had interviewed apprentices taking this course who had completed three years as builders and were due to change to carpentry. All wished to continue with the building course as they had found that three years was insufficient for them to develop proficiency in that trade.³¹

The trade unions, however, insisted that nothing less than a five year apprenticeship at one trade would be recognised; that a builder had a better chance of learning some carpentry later, than a carpenter learning building; that when the Combined Course was started the aim was to improve both carpentry and building services in the rural areas of the Native Territories; that there were no openings for skilled Africans in South Africa outside their own Reserves but that work was obtainable in South Africa as a whole, the Native Trust making a special effort in this direction. The Council resolved under these circumstances to end the combined building and carpentry course.³² If this was a self-help project aimed at boosting living standards in the Reserves, it was negated by the frustrating cycle of poverty and unemployment because these workers were unable to find employment in White areas unless they were skilled in one particular trade.

30. G.C.M., 11-12 November 1942, P.P.

31. Ibid., 10-11 March 1943.

32. Ibid.

In view of the difficulties encountered in pursuing vocational education increased emphasis came to be placed upon more vigorous training. Such an approach would, at least, have been able to reach the White market where cheap skilled labour was required.

In April 1947 a Committee to deal with apprentices' evening classes was formed. This Committee was to make arrangements for all first, second and third year apprentices to attend the Fort Hare African Continuation Classes weekly for two evenings. For the other two evenings they would be placed under supervision for private study. The Committee suggested that for the six printers involved, English and Xhosa be taught and for the twenty-six carpenters and builders, English and Workshop arithmetic.³³

The next approach in this further training occurred at a special meeting of the Committee of the Continuation Classes held at Lovedale in May 1947. This included amongst others the Chairman and Principal of Fort Hare, Dr Alexander Kerr, and the Professor of Anthropology, Z.K. Matthews. It was reported that the Lovedale Senate had approved of a scheme to bring the Apprentices into the Continuation Classes. Lovedale would pay the fees for their tuition and so would have representation on the Committee of Management. The aim of these classes would be to improve the apprentices' general education, all

33. Minutes of Committee to deal with Apprentices Evening Classes, 2 April 1947, Cory MS 16451/II

technical work being performed by Lovedale instructors during the day. The apprentices would, however, also receive two evenings of academic tuition a week and would work on their subjects under supervision. There would be about thirty apprentices, all of whom would at least have passed Standard VI. The Committee would see to it that the instructors were of sufficient academic standard. It was then agreed that this scheme was acceptable provided that the Continuation Committee could pay for it out of fees from Lovedale and possible grants from the Union Education Department. The courses and the additional staff required would have to be worked out by Lovedale. It would then be possible to work out the costs and fees. If extra costs could be covered by extra income, then the scheme would commence operation when Lovedale re-opened in July.³⁴

By 1945 the vocational training in South African education had assumed such an important place that the Chief Inspector for Native Education, F.J. de Villiers, was appointed to head a Commission to investigate this question. The Commission on Technical and Vocational Education reported in 1948. This was a watershed year in the development of Black educational policy in South Africa. On 26 May the Nationalist party led by D.F. Malan, won the General Election on a ticket to implement the new policy of social discrimination, apartheid.³⁵ Educational thinking "began to reflect values related to a concept of

34. Minutes of Special Meeting of Committee of Fort Hare African Continuation Classes, 27 May 1947, Cory MS 16451/II.

35. Davenport (1987), op.cit., chs 13 and 14.

separate development of the groups that made up the population of South Africa, and an emphasis upon the survival of the Afrikaans-speaking people."³⁶ This led to the introduction of the policy of Christian National Education, causing considerable alarm amongst English-speakers, despite the assertion that the policy was only intended for the Afrikaner.³⁷

The De Villiers Report addressed itself to the state of vocational training in South Africa in a forthright and open manner. Although its terms of reference did not require any investigation into the education and training of Africans, the Commission argued that as this formed "such an important part of the whole national scheme of education" it should also be considered.³⁸

The Commission noted that the African generally preferred the same school courses as were provided for Whites. But it argued that the African, in his "present stage of development", would benefit more from a practical than an academic education. In order for the African child to adjust to different social conditions instruction in "ordinary manual dexterity, the use of simple tools and accurate

36. Brian Rose and Raymond Tunmer (eds), Documents in South African Education, (Ad Donker, Johannesburg 1975), pp 46-47; see below ch. 5

37. See above ch 1 and below ch. 5; see also John Shingler, op.cit., chs. 10 and 11.

38. Report of the Commission on Technical and Vocational Education, (De Villiers Report), U.G. 65/1948, par. 1765.

measurement" should be given. The Commission recommended that as most Africans left school after Standard III, practical subjects should be introduced at an early stage in the primary classes.³⁹

But the De Villiers Commission noted that the education of Africans lacked stimulus because there were no prospects of employment for them. Education should be linked to and motivated by the job market. Otherwise there would "be no proper incentive to learning, especially at the adolescent stage." A vocation would provide the African with this motivating force as well as "a sense of achievement and personal worth."⁴⁰

In the planning for African education, the De Villiers Report suggested, that "background and environment" be taken into account as well as the "general social problems" of the child. Thus education should grow "from the foundations of Native Society", providing the African with a pride in himself and his traditional institutions. The educated African could then help his people to adapt to Western lines.⁴¹ Yet the Commission was clear that the African's position in industrial life was an economic and political problem rather than an educational one. Only once this had been determined could a comprehensive educational policy be formulated, with an expected

39. De Villiers Report, para. 1798.

40. Ibid., para. 1800.

41. Ibid., para 1801.

improvement in vocational training.⁴²

In order to promote vocational training, it would be necessary to develop a sound foundation of general education. It would be essential to introduce a minimum level of compulsory general education which could be phased in gradually and at least apply up to Standard IV. The Commission suggested that primary education be made free and compulsory for the majority of Africans between the ages of seven and fourteen years and that because of the difficulties of this proposition it should be part of a fifteen year programme.⁴³ Thus an attempt should be made to rid the schools of overcrowding.⁴⁴ The school should also "be closely integrated with the life and activities of the community" with an encouragement to lead a better way of life and teachers should be aware of the conditions under which their pupils lived.⁴⁵

The De Villiers Report claimed that although vocational training had always received emphasis in African education little progress had been made in this direction.⁴⁶ The explanation here was to be found in the limited sphere of opportunity that the skilled African artisan had at his disposal. This was because the "incentive of earning a livelihood which would very soon increase the number of pupils for technical

42. De Villiers Report, para. 1802

43. Ibid., para. 1803

44. Ibid., para. 1808

45. Ibid., para. 1811-1813

46. Ibid., para. 1826

education and consequently the demand for such schools, is largely absent."⁴⁷

It would be in the national interest to provide the African with greater manual and technical skills. The Commission argued that the "national income of goods and services" resulted from the labour of the people; that if skill and efficiency could be increased "the national output and wealth must increase correspondingly."⁴⁸ This meant a fresh approach to vocational education was required: greater scope should be given to developing aptitudes and talents, both for the individual and the community. All efforts should be directed towards the supplying of suitable facilities for vocational training.⁴⁹

Finally, the De Villiers Report argued that the greatest need for urban Africans was housing. Africans should, therefore, be trained to build houses for themselves, not only in the Reserves or rural Native areas, but also in the urban Native villages and locations.⁵⁰ As there was a rapidly increasing demand for trained Native labour in most categories of work, vocational training should be progressively implemented.⁵⁰ It was also essential that Africans who entered employment in industry should at least receive some training in

47. De Villiers Report, para. 1832.

48. Ibid., para. 1833.

49. Ibid., para. 1836, 1837.

50. Ibid., para. 1846

51. Ibid., para. 1854, 1856

certain basic skills.⁵²

The major thrust of the De Villiers Report was to raise the entire notion of vocational training onto a new plane and onto a par with academic education. The Association of Heads of Institutions had appointed a Findings Committee, under the chairmanship of Shepherd, to produce a memorandum on this Report. This Committee noted that it was only the missionary institutions that had provided vocational education for Africans and that this had been the only form of training open to the Black youth. It asked the Education Department not to close "avenues for vocational training in missionary institutions before equal opportunities are provided in other ways." The industrial courses under present offer aimed at "the training of skilled artisans within the moral environment of institution life."⁵³

Employment was to be more easily found for those who had completed the carpentry and building courses. But there were disabilities which affected these courses: firstly, owing to the low 'prestige' value the quality of entrants was generally poor; and secondly, owing to the lack of steady orders the quality of the training varied, from Institution to Institution as well as from year to year within the same Institution.⁵⁴ The Association, therefore, suggested that these schools should, in future, be termed 'Technical Schools'. There

52. De Villiers Report, para. 1869.

53. A.H.I.Minutes, 26 February 1948, Cory MS 16,295.

54. Ibid.

should be an attempt to offer scholarships for entrants possessing the Junior Certificate. A detailed course of training should be prescribed for all similar schools. Any articles made during such training should be designed for school purposes or to improve the African home and should be offered for sale. If it was necessary, a central 'factory' should be established to employ at piece rates home improvers who could not find employment. The products made in these factories should be of use to African schools and homes.⁵⁵

The development of vocational education at Lovedale and indeed in Black education as a whole received a set back with the appointment in 1949 of the Commission into Bantu Education under the chairmanship of Dr. W.W.M. Eiselen.⁵⁶ In its initial stages, before the Report was due to appear, it meant that a brake was put on all proposed advances in African education. It was a time of waiting and seeing. At Lovedale a proposal had been made in March 1950 to the Governing Council that a motor mechanics course be introduced into the general scheme of vocational training. The Executive of the Council had been instructed to explore the possibility of offering such a course. But under the circumstances prevailing in the country all, except one member of the Executive, wished to defer this matter until the publication of the Report of the Commission.⁵⁷

This might be interpreted as an overly cautious approach but one must view it against the general state of hesitancy which was gripping the

55. A.H.I.Minutes, 26 February 1948, Cory MS 16,295.

56. See below ch. 5.

57. G.C.M., 9 November 1950, P.P.

country. There was a general feeling of uncertainty as to how one should re-act to proposed Nationalist legislation against practices which had now become established. The educational system was particularly brittle as it relied heavily on State subsidies and the need for drawing its students from a broad spectrum of society. The power of the new Nationalist State could be brought to break liberal influence over Black education. It was for these reasons that the Executive of the Lovedale Governing Council decided to be chary and to wait and see what would happen. Dr Rosebery Bokwe, member of the Governing Council and an African National Congress official, however, dissented from the general view of caution because he believed that the need for such a course was great and that it would be advisable to establish before the Commission's findings were made known.⁵⁸

But the Council decided to defer the matter until its next meeting, when it would know the gist of the Commission's Report. In the meantime, it agreed to contact the Chief Inspector of Native Education, the Secretary for Native Affairs, and the Union Education Department so as to try and determine what sort of support such a course would receive and what it would cost.⁵⁹ By March 1951 when the Governing Council next met, considerable information had been collected about such a course which had previously been run at Izingolweni in Natal. As the Report on Native Education was still not available it was decided to continue with inquiries.⁶⁰ Here the

58. G.C.M., 9 November 1950, P.P.

59. Ibid.

60. Ibid., 8 March 1951.

matter seems to have died as there is no further evidence of a motor mechanics course being offered. In any case Missionary Institutions were coming under more and more pressure from an increasingly hostile and intolerant Government. The new policies coming into play in African education would leave no room for innovation.

In March 1955 the Governing Council reviewed the situation in African education. The national climate was bleak as the harsh realities of the new legislation into African education began to bite deeper into the policies of the Mission Institutions. Shepherd, however, as chairman of the Governing Council took a firm line by stating that there was no thought of curtailing industrial work in Lovedale; rather this should be extended. It would be probable that the period of apprenticeship would be reduced from five to four years, of which the first three would be spent almost entirely in the classroom. More builders and fewer carpenters were needed. Those who were completing courses were urged to submit to trade tests and those passing would be placed on the register and might earn up to £22 a month. It was possible that there might be a similar scheme for printing apprentices, but the Master Printers' Federation would have to be consulted in this regard. Shepherd said that the new Department would probably be in favour of taking over the stocks of the Lovedale Carpentry and Building Departments. These were valued at approximately £6000. There was also the possibility that other courses such as plumbing, electrical work and motor mechanics, might

be introduced.⁶¹

As the training of printing apprentices was an important feature of vocational education and as the printing and publishing of literature for Africans served to promote the missionary message, a detailed examination of the Lovedale Press will now be undertaken.

3.2 Literature and Education: The Lovedale Press

The Lovedale Press had been founded in 1823 and as such was the oldest printing press in Africa.⁶² It had been started by the Scottish missionaries as a means of promoting Christian knowledge in Southern Africa and for propagating their ideals of civilized norms of conduct and moral behaviour.⁶³ During the last years of Henderson's principalship the four departments of the Lovedale Press - the printing, the book-binding, the retail and wholesale bookstore and the journal, The South African Outlook, were amalgamated into one organisation.⁶⁴ Shepherd was appointed as Director of Publications, which position was officially confirmed by the Executive of the Lovedale Governing Council on 3 February 1932.⁶⁵ This appointment was

61. G.C.M., 10 March 1955, P.P. See below ch. 5.

62. See above Introduction.

63. On the Lovedale Press see Shepherd (1971), op.cit., pp 102-104 and 126 ff; see also his Lovedale and Literature for the Bantu (Lovedale Press 1945), esp. chs. 1 and 2; Jeff Peires, "The Lovedale Press: Literature for the Bantu Revisited" in History in Africa 6 (1979), 155-175.

64. Shepherd (1971), *ibid.*, p 102.

65. G.C.M., 10 March 1932, P.P.

to have far-reaching implications in the world of printing and publishing in South Africa and it was to be a very controversial choice.

The influence of Shepherd as the new Director of Publications at Lovedale made itself felt immediately. He, himself, was to define the aim of the Press,

as always, to provide the ministry of the printed word to the African people, and it was therefore felt to be no hardship when trade union regulations laid down that the Press must confine itself to vernacular literature and missionary publications. (66)

Shepherd entered his new position with two principles in mind; first, that books to be paid for and to be used by Africans should be printed and bound by African workmen; second, and most significantly, that African authors should be encouraged as much as possible.⁶⁷

A missionary whose aim it was to spread the Gospel, Shepherd was certainly no religious bigot and he could appreciate the greater concerns with which he had now been entrusted in the Lovedale Press. Until his appointment the Press had concentrated almost solely on publishing books and pamphlets, mostly in English and Xhosa, for religious and educational purposes. It should be remembered that education was always orientated towards the religious goal. This would have meant that many of the publications were not of a

66. Shepherd (1971), op.cit., p 102

67. Ibid.

particularly high order as they attempted to be too didactic, a mark of poor literature. Shepherd, however, had a broader view of the responsibilities of a mission press and believed that Lovedale should also take into account the provision of more general reading matter for the Africans. He had also had a long interest in literature, stretching back to his childhood when reading had helped him to escape the realities of his poverty. Thus when Shepherd had arrived at Lovedale, one of the main attractions he had found was the Press. Into this he threw his considerable energy, becoming the Convenor of the Press Committee in 1930, and thence, as pointed out above, its Director. Shepherd was thus able to bring a considerable knowledge of literature to a somewhat unique publishing venture. This was aided by the fact that he too enjoyed writing and prided himself on this account.

Shepherd's willingness to look further than the confines of Christian literature was illustrated by his watershed decision in March 1930 to accept for publication, Mhudi, a novel written by the journalist Sol Plaatje. This was the first novel by an African to be written in English and Plaatje had been searching for a publisher for eight years only turning to Lovedale as a last resort.⁶⁸ In Mhudi, Plaatje dealt with one of the most important and recurrent themes in Black writing: the transition from a traditional society to a Western orientated one. In praising the traditional customs and ways of life, Plaatje's aim was to show that these were in fact superior to the society being imposed by Europeans. Owing to the dominance of white society,

68. Brian Willan, Sol Plaatje: A Biography, (Ravan Press, Johannesburg 1984), pp 349-350.

historical perspective became blurred and so Plaatje desired to show that the centre of the stage in South African history was the volcanic upheaval and dispersion of the African tribes as a result of the Mfecane and the creation of the Zulu empire.⁶⁹

Nor was Shepherd prepared to wait for events to overtake him. It was he who was instrumental in forming a Literature Committee. Dr Dexter Taylor, the prominent American Board Missionary, had written to Shepherd urging that this idea be acted upon. He believed that it was

very important that such a Committee should be formed
... that you take it upon yourself to act as Convener
and to associate with you such people as you think
would be useful. (70)

Taylor suggested that this Committee should consist of representatives of any Missions which undertook publishing.

The idea of a Literature Committee was not solely to promote Christian literature, but rather African writing. It would also bring together the different mission presses so that there could be a joint effort in printing and publishing. With this streamlining of work, more could be produced and at cheaper prices. Shepherd, as Secretary of the General Missionary Conference, was, however, cautious of appointing such a committee.

He indicated to Dexter Taylor, that until the functions of the Committee were more definitely defined, difficulties might be raised.

69. Sol T. Plaatje, Mhudi, (Quagga Press, Johannesburg, 1975 edn), see esp. Preface.

70. Sub Comm. of the Exec. of the General Missionary Conference Minutes, 13 September 1932, Cory MS 16,436

It was uncertain how far the Churches or Missionary Societies would commit themselves to sending representatives. Shepherd proposed that a start be made by "seeking the friendly interest and help of individuals" who were concerned to promote vernacular literature. The first step should be to establish ways of making more widely known the existing literature and thence reaching conclusions as to what was most urgently required.⁷¹

Shepherd's list of proposed persons to be invited to join the Literature Committee covered the broad spectrum of Missionary Societies working in South Africa as well as those involved in the study of African language and literature. Included amongst those who were invited were A.J. Haile, Principal of the London Missionary Society's Tigerkloof Institute, Rev. John Dube of the Ohlange Institute, Professor D.D.T. Jabavu of Fort Hare University and Professor C.M. Doke of the Phonetics Department at the University of the Witwatersrand and Editor of the Baptist Magazine.⁷² Shepherd sent out a circular letter to all persons invited to join the Literature Committee and it was through this that he informed prospective members that this Committee would work in close co-operation with the International Committee on Christian Literature for Africa, of which Margaret Wrong was secretary.⁷³

71. Shepherd to J. Dexter Taylor, 8 November 1932, Cory MS, 16,436.

72. Shepherd to Taylor, 8 November 1932, Cory MS 16,436

73. Shepherd's circular letter, 10 December 1932, Cory MS 16,436

Reaction was widespread and varied. Doke, for instance, wrote to Shepherd in December 1932 stating that he would be able to assist the Committee. He pointed out, however, that the Inter-University Committee on African Studies had been making a survey of literature and language in the Bantu area of South Africa, particularly with "a view to promoting literature growth and research." Doke, as chairman of this survey committee, believed that it would complement Shepherd's idea as their survey did not include religious or educational literature.⁷⁴ J.A. Persson of the Methodist Episcopal Church responded to Shepherd by stating that many of the books used were unsatisfactory because they had been written by Whites and not "adapted to the native mind." He believed that the greatest need was for text books on agriculture.⁷⁵ P.E. Schwellnus of the Berlin Mission suggested that there was a need for a new history of South Africa "written with the intention to create a better feeling between white and black." He believed that, despite financial losses, books should be sold as cheaply as possible.⁷⁶

Doke's idea of forming language academies and a Central Bantu Literature Committee was welcomed by Shepherd, who nevertheless also criticised the composition of the Committee for including only four missionary representatives. This was because missionary effort had

74. Doke to Shepherd, 19 December 1932, Cory MS 16,436; Inter-University Committee for African Studies, C.M. Doke's Circular letter, 1932(?) (hereinafter cited as Inter-University Committee), Cory MS 16,436.

75. J.A. Persson to Shepherd, 14 March 1933, Cory MS 16,436

76. P.E. Schwellnus to Shepherd, 24 March 1933, Cory MS 16,436

"largely brought Bantu literature to its present position."⁷⁷

The Literature Committee which Shepherd hoped to launch represented a major thrust into the field of African writing. Lovedale, which was the most influential and also the most powerful of the mission presses, would naturally take the lead in this, but it was Shepherd's enthusiasm which determined the new directions that would now be taken in publishing. Before there was any other significant publishing in South Africa, the formation of a Literature Committee, meant that the Missionary Societies had tremendous control over the way in which ideas were to be disseminated. And they were in fact able to control what the African was to read.

This might have reflected poorly on Mission Presses, but in actual fact they were moving towards a more open policy of publishing. This was certainly the case with the Lovedale Press and its director, Shepherd. In any case, it should be remembered that affairs at Lovedale were not dominated by any one man, but controlled by a system of committees drawn from the Senate and Governing Council. Thus the Lovedale Press was controlled by the Press Committee and hence its policy was formulated through a consensus of opinion. Shepherd might have been a powerful figure but there is nothing to suggest that the publishing initiatives he took were simply those of his own choice.

77. Shepherd to Doke, 13 November 1933, Cory MS 16,436; Inter-University Committee 1932(?), Cory MS 16,436.

His apparent concern was to promote sound African writing, to provide as much advice in this area as possible and to take risks which usually meant that Lovedale was subsidising much, if not all, of the African literature produced by it.⁷⁸ The Press could, however, carry such ventures owing to its text book sales and printing orders⁷⁹. But even so few publishers would be prepared to take on books which would have little likelihood of selling well.

The fact that Lovedale was a mission press created certain difficulties. The aim of the Press was to promote African literature as well as to train African printers and journeymen. Thus it combined two functions which were central to the whole missionary ethos at Lovedale - the idea of influencing people through the printed word, whilst also furthering the cultural ambitions of a foreign people and then of providing an opening for vocational training in this field.

The comparatively low wages paid by Lovedale meant that it could take on work cheaply which led to conflict over industrial relations with the Federation of Master Printers (F.M.P.) of South Africa. M. Hennegin, General Secretary of the Federation, argued that an understanding had existed whereby the printing industry would not force the strictures of the Apprenticeship Act of 1922 or the Industrial Conciliation Act of 1924 onto the Lovedale Press.⁸⁰ These acts were part of the racial armoury of the Botha-Smuts

78. Outlook, 1 June 1937, 134-136; See Shepherd (1945), op.cit., ch. 4.

79. Pub.C.Minutes, 23 July 1931, Cory MS 16,297

80. M. Hennegin to T. Atkinson, 31 March 1933, Cory MS 16,436.

administration. The first adjusted the educational provisions for admission to trades, giving white trainees major advantages over blacks. The second gave restricted collective bargaining to unionised white and coloured workers.⁸¹ But as the Press was solely engaged upon its own work and as it did not enter into competition with the general printers it had been left alone. Hennegin was, however, disturbed at the fact that Lovedale was planning to print the Annual Report of the South African Methodist Missionary Society. He pointed out that for the past seven years one of his members had been given the printing of this report which ran to, roughly, one thousand pages, thus representing much work for many employees. If this work was to be given to the Lovedale Press there would be an understandable outcry from the F.M.P. as well as the Typographical Union, because it would mean that a number of European printers would be thrown out of employment. Hennegin asked that Lovedale re-affirm its policy of non-interference in the work of commercial printers.⁸²

This letter is important in several respects. Lovedale was not bound to pay its workers the standard wage required and this meant, as already pointed out, that it was able to tender at comparatively low prices. By exempting Lovedale from the relevant Industrial Relations Acts, the Master Printers had virtually ensured that a strong rival in the commercial printing world was unable to compete with them and printing was Lovedale's largest source of revenue. The only branch of

80. M. Hennegin to T. Atkinson, 31 March 1933, Cory MS 16,436.

81. Davenport (1987), *op.cit.*, pp 258-259, 530-532.

82. Hennegin to Atkinson, *ibid.*

the Lovedale Institution to make a profit consistently was the Press.⁸³ It was also a secure, albeit limited, source of labour and because it was able to make a profit it generated employment within the Institution. Nor had it been the aim to confine the Press only to internal work. It was concerned with Mission printing in general. Hennegin, however, had raised the old South African spectre of Blacks coming into competition with Whites. Yet Hennegin was in a vulnerable position because he had to answer to the membership of the various unions and the mood would have been ugly had any Whites lost their positions because of competition from Lovedale.

If Lovedale had restricted itself to purely internal work, however, then it would have been far less effective in providing vocational training to African printers, bookbinders and journeymen. Even by 1940 six of the largest African printing offices in South Africa did not want to train their own apprentices. Instead they wished "to continue to take advantage of the special facilities of the Lovedale Press for the selection and training of apprentices."⁸⁴ Lovedale needed to expose its apprentices to the competition of the free market in order to improve their efficiency. The idea was to produce Africans who were skilled and competent at their particular crafts and who would be able to take their places alongside similarly trained Whites.

The Lovedale Press should only be allowed to take on outside work if

83. Pub.C.Minutes, 26 March 1931, Cory MS 16,297; Press Financial Statement as at 31 August 1940, Cory MS 16,436.

84. Ibid., 31 July 1940, Cory MS 16,297.

it was prepared to "conform to the terms of the National Agreement" by operating competitively with White firms. Lovedale could not be allowed the benefit of cheap labour whilst competing with White firms for work which would ordinarily be theirs. Hennegin warned that Lovedale would run into trouble if its publications had to be produced under Industrial Council conditions.⁸⁵

The position of the Lovedale Press was stated in a Memorandum which argued that, when the printing industry began to organise along Trade Union lines, it was obvious that the African missionary presses would not easily be accommodated. Lovedale had, therefore, adopted the attitude, which it continued to maintain, that it should only undertake work for Africans or Missions. It was also hoped that these presses would be excluded from "the scope of legislation or measures designed to remedy troubles in the White section of the industry." The F.M.P. had never interfered with the work that Lovedale had engaged upon.⁸⁶

The Press, however, believed that a very fine distinction existed here: European and commercial printing had always been refused, but work for African churches and Missionary Societies had always been accepted. As Lovedale was the leading press in the country which specialised "in the sphere of Native interests", work from such organisations as the Joint Councils, the Institute of Race Relations

85. M. Hennegin to T. Atkinson, 24 April 1933, Cory MS 16,436

86. Memorandum by T. Atkinson, Manager Lovedale Press, 2 May 1933, Cory MS 16,436.

and the Department of Bantu Studies at the Witwatersrand University was given to the Press which then often acted as the publisher as well as the printer. But such work would only be accepted if it dealt with African affairs.⁸⁷

Yet Lovedale had little room to manoeuvre. A representative of the Department of Labour, I. Lucas, informed Wilkie that although the attitude of the Federation was unfair there was nothing that could be done. The "attitude of the European population towards the employment of Natives and the specially strong organisation of Europeans in the printing industry" meant that Lovedale would have to abide by the strictures imposed upon it by the Federation.⁸⁸

The conflict with the F.M.P., however, was cause for concern as it was felt that this could "be the beginning of a very important question of policy for the Press."⁸⁹ Wilkie was justifiably concerned that the demand to ignore outside printing would spiral. This would in effect force the Lovedale Press to limit its activities to internal work and thus its continued existence as an independent publisher and printer would be questioned.

Such demands, in any case, would have important implications. The technical training of Africans for the printing trade would virtually

87. Memorandum by T. Atkinson, Manager, Lovedale Press, 2 May 1933, Cory MS 16,436.

88. Lucas to Wilkie, 8 May 1933, Cory MS 16,436

89. Wilkie to Lucas, 12 May 1933, Cory MS 16,436

cease, and in any event the experience they would gain would be minimal. The employment of people who otherwise might not find work would be terminated: the Lovedale position that a small wage paid to a poor worker was better than that person being unemployed might be criticised, but under the circumstances prevailing in South Africa in the 1930s it was probably justified. The Press depended for its money on outside printing jobs: this meant that it could afford to publish African books which stood no chance of paying for themselves and otherwise would probably never have seen the bookshop shelves. Finally, the Institution as a whole depended on loans from the Lovedale Press in order to continue to expand. Hence the concern of Wilkie and those at Lovedale in this wrangle over whether the Press should be allowed to publish a report which had previously been published by a White printing concern.

The main consideration was that White printing firms should be protected from any form of competition. Lovedale would need to maintain a low profile in this regard so as not to antagonise these firms and it would need to ensure that it did not take away from commercial printing concerns work which had hitherto been done by them. If small local printing firms lost work they would struggle to regain it and Africans would not be "considered as having any rights in opposing them."⁹⁰

In August 1933 Hennegin again met with Wilkie to outline the aims and

90. Lucas to Wilkie, 13 June 1933, Cory MS 16,436

policies of the F.M.P. The Federation had been organized to combat the depression of wages in the printing industry which had resulted from the competition of unskilled White workers.⁹¹ This was a direct consequence of the application of Hertzog's "civilised labour policy" during the Depression years. The "fair labour" principles, such as the employment of a minimum number of Whites, by individual firms ensured that they would receive formidable encouragement from the Government in various ways.⁹² The aim of the F.M.P. had been to prevent the depression of wages generally, and to make this economically possible by increasing the standards of efficiency through training. The wage determinations for employees had always taken into account local conditions and standards of efficiency. Where the standard wage could not be paid to individuals for adequate reasons, exemption certificates could be issued in respect of certain persons.⁹³

But this wage determination did not apply to African presses. In terms of the Industrial Conciliation Act, African males could not be involved in Industrial Council agreements because they were disqualified if they carried passes. They were subject to Wage Board

-
91. Minutes of Informal Meeting between Wilkie and Hennegin, Secretary of the Federation of Master Printers, Lovedale, 10, 11 August 1933 (hereinafter cited as Wilkie, Hennegin Meeting), Cory MS 16,436.
92. On the "civilised labour policy" and the "fair labour" principles see Robert H. Davies, Capital, State and White Labour in South Africa, 1900-1960, (Harvester Press, Brighton 1979), pp 199-202; see also Davenport (1987), op.cit., pp 532-534.
93. Wilkie, Hennegin Meeting, Ibid.

determinations under the Wage Act of 1925. Determinations under this Act were made without reference to colour, in industries where labour was not unionised and where it was technically less well qualified.⁹⁴ The F.M.P. accepted the "justice of not applying to Native Presses, wage-standards essential in European firms employing White labour." They accepted it because the African presses supplied a need and undertook work which was not touched by White firms. Nor did such work depress skilled White wages. The Industrial Conciliation Act, therefore, did not apply to African presses or their employees. Thus exemption certificates could be issued for White or Coloured employees working in African presses, such as Lovedale if they were paid below the standard White wage for that district.⁹⁵

Hennegin stated that the F.M.P. had "no desire to interfere with the work of the Lovedale Press, nor to hamper its legitimate development." It acknowledged that the Press had "performed a special function in relation to the Native Peoples, particularly in the preparation of Educational and Missionary literature, both in the vernaculars and in English." There would be no attempt to restrict this type of work and the attitude maintained would be one of friendship.⁹⁶ There would, however, need to be two limitations which would inhibit the press from competing with firms that were compelled to pay higher wages. Thus, firstly, Lovedale should not undertake commercial printing of any

94. Davies, *op.cit.*, pp 210-224; see also Davenport (1987), *op.cit.*, pp 532-533.

95. Wilkie, Hennegin Meeting, 10,11 August 1933, Cory MS 16,436.

96. *Ibid.*, P.C. Minutes 11 August 1933, Cory MS 16,297.

sort. And, secondly, Lovedale should not undertake any work - even if this were educational or missionary - which a White firm had been producing.⁹⁷

The general impression which Lovedale gained from these discussions was that the Press would be able to develop as long as it did not enter "into direct competition with European firms."⁹⁸

So there was a resolution of the conflict between Lovedale and the Federation of Master Printers. Yet whilst this conflict was to be contained under the Smuts Government, it would become increasingly bitter after the 1948 election victory of the Nationalists.

Shepherd then reaffirmed that the ultimate goal of the Lovedale Press was to provide the African with "the ministry of the Word." This meant that only publications which reached "a certain standard of excellence" would be accepted. He believed that it was the function of the Press "to give a lead to Missionary Societies and Mission Presses in South Africa in regard to the co-operative production and distribution of literature." Towards this end, the Lovedale Press was in constant touch with the International Committee on Christian Literature in Africa.⁹⁹

The desire to increase the influence of the Lovedale Press became more

97. Wilkie, Hennegin Meeting, 10, 11 August 1933, Cory MS 16,436.

98. Ibid.

99. G.C.M., 7 November 1933, P.P.

firmly entrenched when it was decided to look for a skilled bookbinder. This would mean that the durability and quality of publications would be improved, in addition to the better training of apprentices.¹⁰⁰

This in educational terms was very important, as Lovedale believed that in order to create a sound infrastructure in a developing country, people should be trained to fill a broad variety of positions. Stimulus would then be given to the economy as greater work opportunities were generated. Of course the major obstacle here was that African work opportunities were severely limited and, as has been shown above, were generally restricted to the depressed black areas. But if these barriers were broken down then African advancement had to be encouraged. Thus the Press played a dual function in Lovedale's educative role: it trained Africans for the printing trade and even more importantly it promoted African literature, and thence thought, the most important means of overcoming prejudice.

By November 1935 the volume of work at the press had so greatly increased that it became necessary to move to new premises and to buy new machinery.¹⁰¹ During 1935 about 90 000 books printed and published by the Lovedale Press had been sold. Total sales had amounted to £16 000 and the year had closed with a credit balance of £1 700. Profits were being reserved for further development, the

100. P.C. Minutes, 11 August 1933, Cory MS 16,297; G.C.M., *ibid.*

101. *Ibid.*, 13,14 November 1935, P.P.

extension of African literature and the encouragement of African authors.¹⁰² Nor would Lovedale limit itself solely to Xhosa or English publishing, but would move into other African languages if there was a need.

Attempts were also made to keep the prices of publications as low as possible because the Lovedale market was generally a black one and consequently less able to afford the cost of books. Lovedale also needed financial sponsorship of major publication ventures in order to keep down the prices. When it was decided to publish a new edition of the Kropf-Godfrey Xhosa Dictionary, the Chief Native Commissioner of the Ciskei, A.L. Barrett, intimated that the Ciskei Council had voted a grant of £150 so that the selling price could be reduced. The Lovedale Governing Council agreed to approach the Transkei General Council in the hope of obtaining at least £300. The aim was that the new edition of the Dictionary should be sold at only 15s.¹⁰³ The Press Committee was to explore further possibilities of "discovering other sources from which help could be obtained towards reducing the price of the revised edition of the Dictionary."¹⁰⁴

The publications being produced were normally subsidised by the Lovedale Press with, if possible, outside grants from organizations such as the Carnegie Corporation of New York, the Transkeian and

102. G.C.M., 25,26 March 1936, P.P.

103. Ibid., 5,6 November 1936.

104. Ibid., 3,4 March 1937.

Ciskeian General Councils. In March 1938 the Lovedale Governing Council was informed that the Press had published a total of forty-four books at its own expense.¹⁰⁵

Besides this, sheet-music and the work of six African composers and thirteen authors had been produced without cost to the writers. The Kropf-Godfrey Dictionary, in addition to the £150 that had been voted by the Ciskei General Council, had received an extra £50 from the Inter-University Committee on African Studies.¹⁰⁶ This would still mean, however, that the publication would need to be heavily financed by the Lovedale Press. By November 1938 the Press was able to announce plans for the publication of the new edition of the Kropf-Godfrey Dictionary towards which the Transkeian Territories General Council had now voted £150, making up a total outside subsidy of £350. The Press would also publish a series of Zulu Readers, and a series of English Readers for African schools, and it would also commence with the publication of books in the new Tswana orthography.¹⁰⁷ It can, therefore, safely be argued that the Lovedale Press was making a considerable and very worthwhile input into the hitherto uncharted field of Black publishing in South Africa.

Success also meant that the Lovedale Press had been able to inaugurate a pension scheme for its journeymen. Shepherd had also announced

105. G.C.M., 9,10 March 1938, P.P.

106. Ibid.

107. Ibid., 9,10 November 1938; P.Sub-C. Minutes, 2 August 1938, Cory MS 16,297

that under the auspices of the Christian Council an endeavour was being made to deal with the important matter of the provision and distribution of African literature on a national scale.¹⁰⁸

The outbreak of the Second World War on 3 September 1939 had a cataclysmic effect on political, social and economic conditions in South Africa.¹⁰⁹ The effect on printing and publishing was severe. The Lovedale Press, therefore, needed to take a stand with regard to war conditions and here, production of books so as to provide troops with reading matter, was important. The war made it difficult to obtain supplies of paper, although in this regard the Press was fortunate having stocks of materials on hand, so it was able to offset this situation to some extent. The Press Committee drew up a set of guidelines, firstly appointing a sub-committee to monitor the situation and to take such steps as the special circumstances called for. It agreed to accept all new work on the condition that sufficient supplies of materials could be obtained and that the Press was free to alter prices if the circumstances demanded. But the Press Committee took the important decision that as a general policy, it would not increase prices for work that had already been accepted and for which it already had the material. The Committee agreed to give priority to the production of the Stewart Xhosa Readers, the Stewart Zulu Readers, and the Stewart English Readers.¹¹⁰

108. G.C.M., 3,4 March 1937, P.P.

109. See Davenport (1987), ch. 13; see below ch. 4.

110. P.C. Minutes, 27 September 1939, Cory MS 16,297; G.C.M., 1 November 1939, P.P.

The Second World War did not impede the work of the Lovedale Press. Shepherd was able to tell the Governing Council in November 1941 that the Press had been working to its full capacity throughout that year; that there were sufficient stocks of paper for all normal operations to the end of 1942, and that an urgent call had been received for Lovedale to supply literature to African troops.¹¹¹ Shepherd, however, had already undertaken to visit the military camps, in order that he might establish the best means of distributing the available literature.¹¹²

But by March 1942 the war was beginning to take its toll. It was reported to the Governing Council that the Press, so far, had been able to obtain all the paper that it required, largely through imports from America although this had been at increased cost. The Press had, on hand, sufficient paper to meet all ordinary requirements until the end of 1942. The Union Government had appointed a Controller of paper and Lovedale had to render to him a return which showed all the stocks it had on hand. The Transvaal Paper Mills appeared to be engaged solely on war work for the Government. Thus there were many indications that there would be a real shortage of paper from 1943.¹¹³

There was also a likelihood that costs would soar from about £30 to £85 per ton. The policy of the Press would be to keep reprinting, if this were possible, the present School Readers and other books so as

111. G.C.M., 5,6 November 1941, P.P.

112. P.Sub-C. Minutes, 29 October 1941, Cory MS 16,440.

113. G.C.M., 11,12 March 1942, P.P.

to meet the demands of old customers. But it would discourage the publication of new books or orders from new customers. A system of rationing paper had been introduced by the supply houses. The hope was expressed that the Native Affairs Department would ensure that the African printing trade received sympathetic treatment in the rationing of supplies of paper. In November 1942, it was announced that the Union Government had approved contracts that the Lovedale Press had signed with paper mills in the Transvaal. This would ensure that the supplies of paper needed by the Press would be guaranteed, at very reasonable rates, to the end of 1944.¹¹⁴

The war had its effect on employment practices in the printing industry too. In 1940 the Lovedale Press began to employ women book-binders on an experimental basis. Although this was common practice in White printing firms it was an innovation for the Black industry.¹¹⁵

The Lovedale Press had practically the only African book-binding department in the country and if women continued to be employed in this sphere, there would be no room for new male apprentices. There was, however, a dearth of employment prospects for book-binders, and it was felt that new apprentices should not be trained but that the need for skilled men should always be kept in view. The employment of women had also opened up, "a new avenue of wage-earning"

114. G.C.M., 11,12 March 1942, P.P., Exec. G.C.M., 16 June 1942, P.P.

115. P.C.Minutes, 23 September 1940, Cory MS 16,297.

for the economically depressed African.¹¹⁶

During the war years standards at Lovedale tended to rise: in wages, because the Industrial Council of the Printing Industry had laid down that wages for apprentices be increased and there should be no charge for tuition; and in qualifications, since the Press could insist on a Standard VII or VIII pass for entrance to the printing trade.¹¹⁷

The recruitment of new apprentices was still the main difficulty as there was "a fear in the minds of African young men that the trade was a blind alley". In book-binding, especially, the lack of apprentices meant that there was no source from which to fill vacancies in the trained staff.¹¹⁸ In 1944, for instance, five new apprentices joined the staff, making a total of twelve, only one of whom was a book-binder.¹¹⁹

So the dilemma emerged that there was a "steady demand for trained printers" but so far all trained book-binders would have to find posts with the Lovedale Press.¹²⁰

But with the introduction of Bantu Education in 1956,¹²¹ the Lovedale Press was forced to cut-back on its employment of apprentices. This was because printing was not to be one of the industrial courses

116. P.C.Minutes, 23 September 1940, Cory MS 16,297.

117. Exec. G.C.M., 3 October 1941, P.P.

118. P.C.Minutes, 2 June 1943, Cory MS 16,297.

119. Ibid., 2 November 1944.

120. Ibid.

121. See below ch. 5.

offered to African students. The Government would, therefore, no longer pay the salary of the Works Manager, or provide any subsidy towards the training of printing apprentices.¹²²

The Governing Council recommended that the training of printing apprentices be continued as a missionary service, providing that satisfactory accommodation could be found. It was unlikely that the Department of Native Affairs would agree to provide any boarding facilities for apprentices when they were no longer responsible for the training of apprentices. The result was that the number of apprentices declined and in 1956 only four were accepted for training in the printing trade.¹²³

Yet there was a growing demand for Lovedale text books, particularly School Readers and this increased rapidly during the post-war period.¹²⁴ As the Press was forced to cut back on the intake of apprentices, its capacity to print in large quantities was placed in jeopardy.

This is probably what the Department of Native Affairs under H.F. Verwoerd wanted. The Lovedale Press dominated the Black school market and was particularly active in the rural areas of the Ciskei and Transkei. This posed a threat to Verwoerd's aim of controlling Black education.

122. G.C.M., 10 November 1955, P.P.

123. Ibid.

124. P.C. Minutes, 12 August 1948, Cory MS 16,295.

Chapter 4

VIOLENT REPERCUSSIONS: THE LOVEDALE RIOT

If the missionary ideal of education was sound, then why did periodic outbursts of violence take place? Lovedale under missionary control was, however, fortunate in that it only experienced two major disturbances; the first occurred on 25 April 1920 and the second on 7 August 1946.¹ The 1946 Riot must be examined in the broader context of socio-political conditions in the country during and after the Second World War.

Smuts made a far-reaching decision when he took South Africa into the Second World War in support of Britain and her Allies. He led a divided nation and an uninspired cabinet; his concern being that the war should be won and that Hitler and barbarism be destroyed. Thus his major concern was for external affairs and he left the running of the country to Hofmeyr whom he had brought back into the cabinet to be in charge of Finance and Education.² The Second World War was a catalyst for change in South Africa and the most important turning point in its history. Those, Black and White, within the country who held the traditional notions of civil liberty and justice for all but who opposed racism and fanaticism wanted victory for the western allies. But Whites who believed that racial separation inside

1. Shepherd (1971), op.cit., pp 87, 128.

2. Davenport (1987), op.cit., p 329 ff; see also Alan Paton, Hofmeyr, (Oxford University Press, Cape Town, 1964), ch. 28; W.K. Hancock, Smuts: the Fields of Force 1919-1950, vol 2, (Cambridge University Press, 1968), p 333.

South Africa was important for the survival of European civilization and those who were drawn towards Nazi doctrines either supported the Axis Powers or demanded neutrality.³ The decision to take South Africa into the war served to unify the country, thus enabling the United Party coalition to consolidate its power base in the general election of 1943 and so to return to parliament with 110 seats.⁴ Smuts was, therefore, in a powerful position. He also had at his disposal a considerable array of legislation, which he had inherited from Hertzog and which was designed to imprint a racial policy on South Africa and to suppress Black dissent.⁵

Although Hofmeyr as Minister of Education and Finance and Douglas Smit as Secretary for Native Affairs were whittling away the stringent restrictions on Black education, and although conditions in this sphere were greatly improving⁶, the overall position of Africans in the Union was not an enviable one. Africans had, however, accepted the challenge to fight alongside their White countrymen because they believed in the idea of political freedom and social justice.⁷

3. Davenport (1987), op.cit., p 331.

4. Ibid., p 337.

5. Ibid., p 338 for an account of this legislation

6. See below ch. 5.

7. On the changing attitudes of Africans towards the Second World War see Thomas Karis and Gwendolen M. Carter (eds) From Protest to Challenge: A Documentary History of African Politics in South Africa, 1882-1964 vol 2, (Hoover Institution Press, Stanford 1977), doc. 19 p 155, doc. 20 p 159, doc. 29b p 216 (African Claims), doc. 25a pp 181-184, doc.26 pp 192-194, doc. 61 pp 339-340; see also L.W.F. Grundlingh, The Participation of South African Blacks in the Second World War; (D.Litt et Phil, Rand Afrikaans Universiteit, 1986), ch. 2.

Z.K. Matthews, then Professor of Anthropology at Fort Hare University College and the leading African academic in the country, wrote graphically of the position of Africans during the war; the atmosphere of a growing sense of egalitarianism and of an increasing resentment, particularly amongst returning troops, that they were not to share in these notions of freedom.

Matthews argued that "1946 was a momentous year in the history of race relations in South Africa," because the post-war mood of the African public was one of hope. This was because there had been much talk of reconstruction after the war and such a world being very different. The Native Representatives Council (N.R.C.) expected that those "Africans who had played such a noble part in the world conflict would not be forgotten." This would make South Africa a better place in which to live. White soldiers, on active service, "had conceived the idea of a War Memorial for South Africa fashioned not in stone or marble but in the promotion of a better life for all sections of the population ..." Africans, as non-combatants, had had a wide field of experience and had been deployed in a number of war zones. The important thing was that these soldiers invariably "came back with wonderful stories about the countries they had visited." In South Africa conditions remained the same: the colour bar, the pass laws and the poll tax remained in force, whilst wages remained static and pensions meagre. Thus a mood of dissatisfaction was engendered in the country.⁸

8. Matthews, *op.cit.*, pp 144-145. In December 1935, D.D.T. Jabavu called a National Convention, the so-called All African Convention, in Bloemfontein. This was intended to create a united movement against the Hertzog Government. In 1936 Hertzog's "Native Bills" were forced through Parliament and the Cape Africans were removed from the common voters' roll. In 1937 the N.R.C. was established as a means of "consulting" Africans.

If this was the situation in which Africans found themselves, then it was not surprising that rumblings of discontent began to be felt throughout the land. During the Second World War African trade unionism had advanced rapidly owing largely to Communist Party influence. But War Measure 145 of January 1942 outlawed strikes by Africans forcing them to "accept arbitration of disputes at ministerial discretion." This provision was further strengthened by War Measure 1425 of 1945. The Smuts Government "sought to contain union resistance by prohibiting gatherings of more than twenty people on mine property."⁹ A "Union-wide famine" had resulted in a cut in mine rations and consequent violence. In April 1946 the African Mine Worker's Union (A.M.W.U.) claimed a basic wage of ten shillings a day and the repeal of War Measure 1425. The situation reached a stalemate, however, as the Chamber of Mines would not recognise the Mineworkers' Union. On 14 August over 70,000 African miners came out on strike.¹⁰ By the end of that week the strike had been crushed by the police: 9 men were killed and over 1 200 injured.¹¹

The claims of the mineworkers were part of the broader policy of the African National Congress (A.N.C), with the Youth League arguing that the strike was part of a national struggle.¹² The strike provided the immediate cause for the adjournment of the N.R.C.,

9. Davenport (1987), op.cit., p 341.

10. Ibid., p 342; see also Peter Walshe, The Rise of African Nationalism in South Africa : The African National Congress, 1912-1952, (C. Hurst, London, 1982), p 306 ff.

11. Matthews, op.cit., p 145.

12. Karis and Carter, op.cit. vol 2, doc. 35 pp 261-262, doc. 54 pp 318-319

this step being proposed by Dr J.S. Moroka, Treasurer of the All African Convention. Finally the N.R.C. Chairman, Z.K. Matthews, moved that the Council be adjourned until the Government "undertake such a revision of its Native policy with a view to making possible better co-operation between white and black in this country."¹³ Smuts, however, always more interested in foreign affairs than domestic issues, had left the country on 16 August to attend the postponed peace negotiations in Paris and thence to represent South Africa at the United Nations.¹⁴ This added to the tensions as it was interpreted as a snub towards Black aspirations.¹⁵

The political situation was a thorny one. The N.R.C. had presented the Government with a blunt resolution calling on it to "abolish all discriminatory legislation" immediately.¹⁶ Smuts who led a predominantly conservative cabinet was not able nor indeed willing to do this. Hofmeyr as the acting Prime Minister was, therefore, forced to tread warily and to temper his liberalism, showing a more tactful and cautious stance towards his cabinet colleagues.

-
13. N.R.C. Verbatim Proceedings, Ninth Session 20-6.11.46, Cory SNH 28; Matthews, op.cit., p 146 ff; Karis and Carter, op.cit. vol 2, doc 31 p 224 ff. This is the full text of Professor Matthews' pamphlet, published in November 1946, setting out the reasons for the adjournment of the N.R.C.; see also Walshe, op.cit. ch 11; Tom Lodge, Black Politics in South Africa Since 1945, (Ravan Press, Johannesburg, 1985), ch. 1; Paton (1974), op.cit., ch. 35; Hancock, op.cit., vol 2, ch. 27; Kenneth Ingham, Jan Christian Smuts: The Conscience of a South African, (St Martins' Press, New York, 1986), p 235 ff; Davenport (1987), op.cit., pp 342-345.
 14. Hancock, *ibid.*, ch. 27; Ingham, *ibid.*, p 236 ff; Paton, *ibid.*, p 432 ff.
 15. Matthews, *ibid.*, p 145.
 16. N.R.C. Verbatim Proceedings, *ibid.*

For the general tone, in South African politics, was not one of conciliation towards Blacks and it was this attitude which led to increasing tension amongst Africans and an increasing polarisation amongst the various racial groups of the country.

The unease created by the Second World War also affected African educational institutions and it was against this background that the Lovedale Riot of August 1946 took place. Some, such as B.K. Long, member of Parliament and former editor of the Cape Times, were quick to interpret this as an anti-white rather than an anti-establishment attitude. Long, accompanied by Fenner-Solomon, Member of Parliament for the Fort Beaufort district, had visited Lovedale and Fort Hare early in 1941.

Long wrote to Shepherd complaining of the treatment that he and Solomon had received whilst at Fort Hare. D.J. Darlow, Professor of English and University Chaplain, had told the assembled students "that members of Parliament were so grossly ignorant of everything in connection with natives that it 'might' do two of them good to come to Fort Hare where they 'might' learn something." This remark had been received with "rapturous applause" by the audience. Long also criticised D.D.T. Jabavu, Professor of Bantu Languages, for "being deliberately offensive to Solomon."¹⁷

17. B.K. Long to Shepherd, 28 May 1941, Cory MS 14,712 (7).

What most upset Long was the African attitude to the Second World War. He "had ventured to expatiate on the excellent work of coloured transport drivers with the armies in the north and to suggest that the natives should take a more active part in similar work." Jabavu had replied, again amidst "rapturous applause", that African opinion to the War differed to that of Whites; Fort Hare students would volunteer "as one man" if they were allowed to carry arms, but if not then they would have nothing to do with the War.¹⁸

To Long, colour was a side-issue when it came to the War: he believed that it was the patriotic duty of every man to do what he could for the country as directed by those in authority. It was "grossly unpatriotic" for people to choose what they would do in such a crisis. Such an attitude would merely serve to antagonise Whites and "to disgust and horrify even Europeans who have been sympathetic to the native all their thinking lives."¹⁹

Long was benignly paternalistic towards Africans: he could sympathise with them as long as they remained under White authority. He believed that had the European never come to South Africa then "the Bantu tribes would have committed suicide by steady mutual extermination."²⁰ Long's sensitivity in this situation also illustrated a basic lack of

18. Long to Shepherd, 28 May 1941, Cory MS 14,712 (7).

19. Ibid.

20. B.K. Long, In Smuts's Camp, (Oxford University Press, 1945), ch. 9 and esp. p 100. Here is another version of the idea that the African races could be threatened with extinction.

understanding of African frustrations. Fenner Solomon's standing amongst Blacks, for instance, was not high;²¹ so his presence at Fort Hare was likely to have aggravated the students' antagonism rather than to have mollified them.

In the fixed belief that the War was all-important, Long completely misunderstood African opinion. To Blacks, it was a war between European powers in which their emotional involvement was marginal, save perhaps for a common feeling that a British victory would have been better than a German one.²² The Atlantic Charter had been drawn up in August 1941 and one of its provisions had been the right of all people to choose their own form of government.²³ These notions of democracy, however, had not filtered through to South Africa. So although Long believed that all had a duty in defending Western values, Jabavu was simply affirming the African view that in return for support in the war they wanted to be given more freedom in their country.

Long was correct when he stated that such an attitude would antagonise "the average European" and convince him that the African was not a worthy citizen. But if Europeans had been sympathetic to the African cause, they should have been understanding about the growing

21. Jeff Peires, "The Legend of Fenner-Solomon" in Belinda Bozzoli (ed.), Class Community and Conflict, (Ravan Press, Johannesburg 1987), pp 65-92.

22. Grundlingh, op.cit., ch. 2.

23. For the African view of the Atlantic Charter see Karis and Carter, op.cit. vol 2, doc. 296, pp 211-217.

grievances which were affecting African thought, especially because these grievances were likely to affect Black educational institutions and help to mould African political opinion. The date when Long wrote his letter, 28 May 1941, was also important because it came shortly before a major re-thinking of Black attitudes to the Second World War. On 22 June 1941 Hitler launched Operation Barbarossa and invaded Russia. From then on Black opinion was solidly behind the Western Allies and opposed to the aggressive stance which Germany had taken.

During 1944 and 1945 the climate at Lovedale was also tense. Signs of unrest had been most evident amongst the Form V students of the High School. These students had styled themselves "The Board", a title which they had taken from the Board of Guardians in Dickens' Oliver Twist, one of the set texts for that year. Oliver Twist had been told by Mr Bumble to "bow to the Board" and seeing no board but a table, had bowed to that. The idea at the back of the minds of the students seems to have been to compel others, particularly the teachers and the young students, to bow to the "Board." Members of this "Board" resorted to numerous forms of insubordination. Notices were chalked on walls urging students to "strike" and they contained abusive remarks about the staff and the prefects. One such notice called on students to "Kill Dr Shepherd." The Literary Society was used as a platform to slate those in authority and there was

general subversion of good order.²⁴

The entire High School refused to participate in the election of members of the S.R.C. and at a meeting of the Literary Society a call was made that Shepherd should step down as its Chairman. In addition the standard of work had deteriorated rapidly and it was expected that there would be a high failure rate in the Senior Certificate examinations.²⁵

Towards the end of 1945 these incidents culminated in an article sent by one of the students to The Emblem and a document, posted on a notice board which argued that an institution should be a place where young Africans were given a well-balanced education as a weapon to be used in this troubled world. This document maintained that the Lovedale administration was too decentralised and degenerate, depriving the students of freedom, which in turn led to radicalism. Lovedale should be an example of progress, not of

-
24. Inquiry into the Causes of the Disturbance at Lovedale on 7 August, 1946 (hereinafter cited as Committee of Inquiry), 30 November 1946, Cory MS 16,453. This provides the most complete account of the unrest; Record of Proceedings of Inquiry held at Lovedale on 23rd October, 1946 into the Causes of Certain Disturbances that Took Place at the Lovedale Institution on the Night of 7th August, 1946. (hereinafter cited as Inquiry Evidence), Smit papers, Albany Museum 35/46. Wide ranging evidence was taken from Staff, students and prominent Africans connected with education.
25. Inquiry Evidence, Ivan Bokwe, Prefect and President of the S.R.C., 24 October 1946, *ibid*. The minutes of the Literary Society are brief and do not give much indication of tensions within Lovedale. Minutes of Lovedale Literary Society, 1945-1946 P.P.; Senate Circular to Parents, 31 October 1945, Cory MS 16,453 B(2); see Lovedale Reports, 1945 and 1946 Cory for examination results.

oppression, tyranny or dictatorship. All students had been born free, man being "of one flesh, one aim, one desire and most of all of one Mighty God."²⁶

Shepherd's narration of the events of the night of 30 November 1945 illustrates the growing tension. It was the evening of the Completers' Social which was held in the Boys' Dining Hall which was proceeding smoothly until a Primary Higher student, Sanganmane Zotimba gave the first address.²⁷ It is fairly certain that Zotimba used the occasion to vent her political frustration on the educational establishment at Lovedale. She was followed by one of the most senior and able of the Lovedale students, Gerald Sihlali, who spoke on behalf of the men. According to Shepherd's account he had submitted a draft of his speech to representatives of the Entertainment Committee, the body responsible for planning the Completers' Social. But he apparently departed entirely from his speech and for half an hour, "he harangued the audience on the deficiencies of the Lovedale staff." The main feature of Sihlali's address was to give a "eulogy of Major Geddes" which was in effect "a veiled attack on Mr McGillivray."²⁸ Sihlali declared that from the time Geddes had died the spirit of the Lovedale

26. Inside Lovedale: a Student's Opinion by T. Giqua (an anonymous author), September 1945? Cory MS 16,453 B(2); The copy of The Emblem is lost.

27. I have not been able to locate this speech.

28. Geddes was widely respected as the Boarding Master during the years 1920-41, although his control was rigid. He was succeeded by McGillivray.

staff had declined. Amongst other things he alleged that in the Training School students were not allowed to question what was said, but were threatened with being reported to the Education Department if they did. Sihlali further maintained that there was no freedom of speech or expression at Lovedale and claimed that the lives of families living in Lovedale had further deteriorated. To Sihlali one of the few good features about Lovedale was the high quality of the sermons!²⁹

This was a highly volatile situation in a very tense political climate. It is to Shepherd's credit that he handled the situation with skill and so was able to defuse much of the explosive nature of this speech. He allowed Sihlali to finish talking. This meant that Sihlali was able to air the general grievances of the students openly and publicly without being forced to bottle them up. In effect, this contradicted one of his major points, which Shepherd was quick to point out: "if there had been no freedom of speech at Lovedale, then why was a student allowed to speak at such length and so openly." Shepherd also pointed to the suspicions directed against the so-called "Board" and recorded that Sihlali had exposed it and that the charges made against it had been proved correct.³⁰ So the year at Lovedale was set to end on a sour note. Two hours of debate with the senior members of the African staff took place on 3 December. They reluctantly accepted that police be informed of the situation at

29. Shepherd's Journal, 30 November 1945, Cory MS 16,453, B(2). I have only been able to trace extracts from this Journal.

30. Ibid. This address is not recorded elsewhere.

Lovedale so that a patrol might be instituted for the remaining two days of term. According to Shepherd, they came to this decision without any pressure on his part. The African staff, however, did not want the police to take any sort of action apart from their appearance in Lovedale although of course they would be entitled to act if any attempt was made to "interfere with property or persons" within the Institution.³¹

The following year saw the crisis in African education heightening. This was largely owing to the entire post-war malaise in South Africa.³² If the situation as it affected white South Africans was bad, that which afflicted Africans was chronic. The major effect of the Second World War, on the country, was the shortage of food. This led to the Association of Heads of Institutions, meeting in East London on 7 May 1946, to call for the Education Department to extend the winter vacation of the current year by one week.³³ This the Department refused to do.³⁴

The question of boarding fees was then discussed. H.C.W. Williams, Rector of St. Matthews Anglican College, moved that boarding fees be increased to £3 per annum from January 1947. This was, however, opposed by Shepherd. He believed the increase should only move up to £2. Yet six voted for the motion and only three for the amendment.

31. Shepherd's Journal, 3 December 1945, Cory MS 16,453 E.

32. Davenport (1987), op.cit., ch. 13.

33. A.H.I. Minutes, 7 May 1946, Cory MS 16,295.

34. Ibid., 30 May 1946.

The representative of the Association of European Teachers in African Education also supported the motion. As no consensus could be reached, it was ultimately decided that the increase be set at £3 per annum. This would raise the minimum fee to £18 for Training Schools and £20 for Secondary and High Schools. This fee would also cover, at the discretion of each Institution, any extra fees normally charged as separate levies, for example, for medical attention and sport. This new fee was to be advertised widely in the African Press and Educational Gazettes.³⁵ The issue of fees was a very important one, particularly in post-war South Africa. There was a shortage of work and so many people unemployed. Thousands of returning soldiers, Black and White, created social dislocation within the country. The position for Africans, however, was the worst because the Europeans were given preferential treatment.³⁶

The question of fees was crucial to the crisis which developed in late 1946 in Lovedale. It also serves to illustrate the desires and beliefs of some of the major characters. Shepherd, for instance, had protested against the increase in fees and indeed had tried to keep them as low as possible. This was because of Shepherd's belief that education should serve the greater bulk of the people and not follow the more elitist line and exclude those who could not afford it. Thus Shepherd was renouncing the Govan approach, that African education should be more restrictive and more Eurocentric. He was rather

35. A.H.I. Minutes, 30 July 1946, Cory MS 16,295.

36. Davenport (1987), *op.cit.*, ch. 13.

following his hero, James Stewart, whom he emulated in many things, and so he proposed a wide-based educational system which would incorporate the masses.

Shepherd too had had to struggle in order to become educated because his parents were poor and unable to give him much support. He had an artisan background and by day would work in a mill and would study late into the night by the light of a candle. Through perseverance Shepherd had made considerable achievements, beginning his university training at Dundee University College in October 1911 and then proceeding in October 1915 to New College, the divinity hall of the United Free Church of Scotland in the University of Edinburgh. This was the supreme achievement for any Scot and it had been gained through dint of hard labour and a brilliant academic record. Shepherd knew that if there had been stringent financial barriers to educational progress, he would not have been able to achieve so well and he was generally sympathetic to those who were poor but nevertheless sought to break out of their poverty by becoming educated. He, therefore, hoped that Lovedale could accommodate Africans regardless of their social positions.³⁷

Shepherd's educational and social background was important in another sphere too. And in this sense his educational outlook was severely limited. For because he had had to struggle in order to

37. Oosthuizen, op.cit., chs. 1-5 for background to Shepherd's life.

become educated and because life had never been easy for him, forcing him to undertake long hours of labour, he was unable fully to understand any person who rejected the education which was held out to him. It was this which probably limited Shepherd's total understanding of the grievances felt by the bulk of the students and of why the post-war period was one of disruptions in African educational institutions.³⁸

In addition, as the war ended, many ex-soldiers returning to the country were in need of education. Generally these ex-soldiers who entered institutions, such as Lovedale, were considerably older than the average students. Thus they were less likely to accept the more formal discipline of school life. Ex-soldiers also brought with them the egalitarian notions which they had gained from their contact with Europe. So they were bound to agitate for change and were able to exploit those within the institutions who were really only waiting to be guided into some form of violent action. They were, therefore, able to mastermind the riot.³⁹ So the stage was well set for a flare-up during 1946. The climate in South Africa was a very turbulent one, as has been shown above, and the atmosphere at Lovedale was no less turbulent. It was after the Winter Vacation in 1946 that the situation began to develop into a major crisis. This was caused by the continuing food shortages which endured into the post-war era and

38. Inquiry Evidence, R.H.W. Shepherd, 23 October 1946, Smit Papers 35/46

39. Inquiry Evidence, R.T. Bokwe, 23 October 1946, Smit Papers 35/46; See also Shepherd (1971), *op.cit.*, p 128; Davidson, *op.cit.*, ch. 19.

which created endless problems for the running of a big institution like Lovedale.

Shepherd was concerned at the deterioration of relations between the students and the Lovedale authorities, as it was the rapport which was part of the whole missionary tradition. He, therefore, held an interview with Ivan Bokwe, the Chairman of the S.R.C.. Bokwe told Shepherd that he had chaired a meeting between the Training School and the High School in order to ascertain views regarding the food, especially the sugar. The chief spokesmen at this meeting were all ex-soldiers, Ebenezer Madiya, Kitchener Leballo⁴⁰ and Andrew Moreoselle. They were all considerably older than most of the other students. Shepherd also interviewed other members of the S.R.C.. The major complaint was that they wanted to know why the rations of bread and sugar had been cut by fifty per cent and why this had been done without consulting the student body. Most of the ringleaders who were agitating for action against the authorities were Basuto, although these were in the minority.⁴¹

This interview took place the day after the Riot which broke out on the evening of 7 August 1946 when between 100 and 200 male students went on the rampage and broke over 600 panes of glass and caused

40. Leballo later became prominent in the Pan Africanist Congress. See Gail M. Gerhart, Black Power in South Africa (University of California Press, Berkeley, 1979), chs. 5, 6.

41. Shepherd interview with Ivan Bokwe, 8 August 1946, Cory MS 16,453 M; Inquiry Evidence, Ivan Bokwe, R.T. Bokwe, J.W. Macquarrie, 23 October 1946, Smit Papers 35/46.

damage worth £220. Unsuccessful attempts had been made to start fires. The violence was mainly directed against those in authority: the Staff and the Prefects' Houses were attacked, stones being hurled through the windows. Loss of life was narrowly averted in more than one instance. There were wild scenes of confrontation before the students fled up Black Hill which overlooked Lovedale. They were arrested, by the police, the following day. The remaining students - 185 men and 275 girls - had then acted against Institutional authority by marching to the police station in support of those arrested.⁴²

On 11 August a letter sent from the Lovedale students to Shepherd announced that it was "the unanimous decision of the majority of the students" that from 12 August there would be a boycott of classes. This would only be lifted once the civil action against the students had been concluded; and furthermore Lovedale would need to give "her own decision as to the scholarly position of her criminals." This meant that once the courts had handed down a verdict, the students should not be given a "double punishment" by Lovedale.⁴³

The mood was ugly and by no means conciliatory. Yet once the students had rioted the case moved away from Lovedale's sphere and necessitated criminal proceedings. Lovedale was also in the anomalous position of employing defence counsel to act for those who had caused her injury.

42. *Outlook*, 2 September 1946, pp 141-142; Shepherd (1971), op.cit., pp 128-129.

43. The Students to Shepherd, 11 August 1946, Cory MS 16,453

The following day, 12 August, Shepherd intimated that after having consulted the Education Department and others it had been decided to close Lovedale classes temporarily with immediate effect.⁴⁴ The remaining students were then sent home. Lovedale was closed owing to the fear that there would be further violence and destruction and it was felt that such an action would bring home to parents and students the harm being done by them to African education. Lovedale remained closed for nine weeks, during which time intensive investigation into the causes of the riot and those responsible for it took place.⁴⁵

On 20 August an emergency meeting of the Executive of the Lovedale Governing Council took place and the Vice Chairman, Senator Welsh, moved that the Committee deplore the rioting by students and record its "stern disapproval of their conduct." It sympathised with the Principal and Staff in the "flagrant defiance of their authority by the students." The Committee appreciated "the efficiency, consideration and firmness" with which the riot was handled, recognising the "extremely difficult and delicate situation" which faced the Lovedale authorities.⁴⁶

In addition to the normal members of the Governing Council Executive, there were attending, W.A.H. Chesters, Inspector of Schools; de Souza, the Magistrate of Alice who also represented the Chief Native

44. Intimation from Shepherd, 12 August 1946, Cory MS 16,453

45. Shepherd (1971), op.cit., p 129-130.

46. Exec. G.C.M., 20 August 1946, P.P.

Commissioner of the Ciskei; Chief Harold Mgudlwa; A.H. Stander, Chief Inspector for Native Education; B. Yates, Assistant Chief Magistrate who also represented the Chief Magistrate of the Transkeian Territories and Thornhill Cook of the firm Hutton and Cook, legal advisers to the Institution.

The major question to be dealt with by this Executive meeting related to culpability. It was generally agreed that a Commission of Inquiry be set up and that this be composed of people outside the Lovedale establishment. It was suggested that this Commission should be under the chairmanship of D.L. Smit, the able and sympathetic Deputy Chairman of the Native Affairs Commission.⁴⁷ Two other members were to be nominated, one of whom was to be Chief Inspector for Native Education, A.H. Stander and the Healdtown Chaplain, Rev. Seth Mokitimi. Welsh's resolution was hard line supporting the Lovedale authorities, but there was disagreement amongst Africans as to whether the correct procedures had been adopted. Chief Mgudlwa, for instance, wanted to open Lovedale and allow all students to return. The Commissioner would then recommend who was to be dismissed and all those who had been intimidators would have to go.⁴⁸ It was suggested by Thornhill Cook, that before the Inquiry was to meet a

47. Smit had been Secretary for Native Affairs from 1934 to 1945. On his involvement in education see M.M.S. Bell, The Politics of Administration: A study of the career of Dr. D.L. Smit with special reference to his work in the Department of Native Affairs, 1934-1945, (M.A., Rhodes University 1978), ch. 3.

48. Exec. G.C.M., 20 August 1946, Cory MS 16,453 A(1) Harold Mgudlwa was from the Transkei, but I am unable to identify him further.

letter should be sent all parents inviting them to return their sons so as to participate in the inquiry which would then decide on re-admittance. But those who knew their sons to be implicated should not even bother to send them back because they would simply be dismissed. The test of a student's bona fides would be his assistance in helping the authorities to get to the root of the affair because most boys knew the ring-leaders and how the trouble began. With regard to the question of culpability of the individual students, an inquiry should be made to find out from selected students what was at the bottom of this disturbance and of similar movements within the Institution. Kerr suggested that this be done by bringing the students back, building up information and then deciding on the culpability of the others.⁴⁹

Dr Roseberry Bokwe, a member of the Governing Council and one of the most respected of Africans, condemned the rioting as a "cowardly ... act of indiscipline." He reported that he had interviewed some students and had found it difficult to get to the bottom of the affair. But he stated that shortly before the strike and during the day of the strike and immediately following it, there was a "reign of terror in the Institution." The riot had come as a surprise to many of the staff and students, especially the Prefects. This was because the period from January to July 1946 had been exceptionally happy and relaxing. Bokwe stated that a "clique" of students had been

49. Exec. G.C.M., 20 August 1946, Cory MS 16,452 A(1)

responsible for the action which had been kept secret and that not all of these students had been arrested. A second strike had been averted by Lovedale's closure. There had been inter-tribal friction and widespread intimidation and it was difficult to isolate the ringleaders.⁵⁰

The terms of reference of the Commission of Inquiry were duly discussed and it was decided that it should investigate and determine the real causes of the riots. Furthermore, it was suggested that the Commissioners might consider whether the organisation of the Institution needed amending and if so to suggest remedies. Kerr, however, called for a Commission that would investigate nation-wide disturbances. Stander suggested that the Native Affairs Department be asked to appoint one and that the Education Department appoint a member to it.⁵¹ Shepherd believed that there should first be an internal inquiry before a national one. Differences arose regarding those to be called and those who were guilty. Yates suggested that those who did not take part in the riot, but only in the strike, when they flouted authority, be re-admitted on giving an apology and an undertaking to give truthful evidence before the Commission. And if the Inquiry disclosed that certain students were ringleaders those should be expelled. Shepherd, however, felt that the question of re-admittance should be shared with the Senate and that the Commission should call in those it felt could be useful in determining the causes

50. Exec.G.C.M., 20 August 1946, Cory MS 16,453 A(1); Inquiry Evidence, R.T. Bokwe, 23 October 1946, Smit Papers 35/46.

51. Exec. G.C.M., Ibid.

and the guilt. This position was accepted. Macquarrie suggested that all students be written to and such statements be used by the Commission. There was hope that the Institution would not remain closed for too long because, as Bokwe pointed out, the innocent should not be made to suffer for what they had not done. Provisions were made to postpone the examinations so as not to affect those who had been forced by events into a riot situation.⁵²

The Lovedale Riot came as a considerable shock to many in authority, particularly as it led to violence. This contributed to some of the hard-line attitudes. The Assistant Chief Magistrate, Yates, also agreed that the Institution should be opened as soon as possible, because he did not want to give the impression that Lovedale had surrendered to violence. He believed that an inquiry should be held as soon as possible so as to identify those who took part in the violence and the subsequent march into Alice. Yates said that those students should be formally expelled by letter. Thereafter fresh applications should be invited from those sent away and this might enable the authorities to refuse the admission of some applicants simply on the grounds of undesirability. Yates also recommended an age limit because of the fact that some students were as old as twenty-nine and still in the secondary school. He sensibly argued that school discipline on adult men manifested itself in frustration and violence. He was adamant that none of the students involved in the disturbance should be re-admitted.⁵³ The entire question of re-

52. Exec. G.C.M., 20 August 1946, Cory MS 16,453 A(1)

53. Ibid.

admittance was to become highly controversial and to reveal on-going conflict amongst the various members of the Lovedale Governing Council and even bodies and individuals beyond that sphere.

The situation at Lovedale was aired by a prominent member of the Blythswood staff and of its Governing Council, G.B.B. Bikitsha, at a meeting of that body on 22 August 1946. Bikitsha suggested that Institutions should limit their enrolment and give their full attention to the training of character. Although this was part of the missionary ideal of education, the notion that institutions should be very selective was at variance with Shepherd's views. But Bikitsha maintained that he had arrived at this view after long observations amongst his people. What he had to say is important and should be examined at some length, as it was an expression of African thought on the subject. Bikitsha was emphatic that those people he had spoken to had been deeply disappointed at the strike at Lovedale, which was the oldest missionary institution and regarded as a symbol of progress. He believed that in spite of the harm done to Black education, it was gratifying to know that the question of character development was still accepted without prejudice. An institution's worth could only be assessed on the basis of the quality of the student it produced and not on the quantity. Therefore students should be strictly selected in consultation with Headmen, Ministers and

Teachers.⁵⁴ Bikitsha went on to suggest that the question of environment was very important because some students came from urban areas and some from rural areas. These two groups lived under very different circumstances and so held different outlooks. The town dwellers had to be prepared for work under the strenuous conditions of modern city life; whereas the country dwellers had to fit back into the "Native Reserves" where conditions were largely based on tribal customs, norms and traditions. Great care should, therefore, be taken that there should not be too much mixing of African children from these different environments at too early a stage in their development. Bikitsha felt that urban and rural dwellers could only start mixing once they were mature enough not to be led astray.⁵⁵

Everything should be done to get the parents interested in their children's education. This could be done by inviting parents to meetings within the Institutions and where possible giving them the opportunity to address the children, thus making the students realise that harmony existed between them and the authorities. Bikitsha made a telling point when he stated that this would give parents an opportunity of knowing what was going on inside the institutions as this would then avert ignorance, suspicion

54. Remarks by G.B.B. Bikitsha to Blythwood Governing Council, 22 August 1946, Cory MS 16,453 A (hereinafter cited as Bikitsha's Remarks). Early in 1942 Gladstone B. Bikitsha was appointed to assist in the Boys Boarding Department becoming head at the end of the year. In 1947 he was elected as an elder in the Bantu Presbyterian Church. See Andrew Murray McGregor, Blythwood Missionary Institution 1877-1977, (The South African Missionary Museum, King William's Town 1977), pp 26, 28.

55. Bikitsha's Remarks, 22 August 1946, Cory MS 16,453 A.

and mistrust. The Blythswood Principal, William Arnott followed this practice. The important thing was that at all such meetings good understanding, goodwill and harmony had ensued and had, therefore, undermined any misunderstanding that might have previously existed. These meetings enabled the parents to meet members of staff who were also able to participate in the proceedings.⁵⁶ This point of Bikitsha's is vital to any sound educational process: dialogue is important because it gives the parent a feeling that he is a part of his child's education.

Bikitsha believed that Africans desired a sound selection of staff because they were entrusted with the training and the handling of their children. It was felt by the people he spoke to that those working in the Institution should only be those imbued with the "missionary spirit". Bikitsha said that the education process began at home and then children were sent to school so that they could be trained to follow the profession of their choice. But it was felt that when these children were trained they should not be cut off from the life to which they had to return. He was emphatic that they should "not become misfits in their own natural environment" and that their culture should be made "richer, fuller, more advanced." Professions demanded men and women of sound character and this would only be formed "provided these children have been given sound Christian training by Christian teachers."⁵⁷

56. Bikitsha's Remarks, 22 August 1946, Cory MS 16,453 A.

57. Ibid.

Finally, Bikitsha argued that people on consultative bodies should be carefully selected. It was often questioned whether these were "men with exemplary characters, sound education and Christian principles." A majority of representatives on local councils, general councils, the N.R.C. and advisory boards were not ideal. If no salaries were paid, the most suitable people would be willing to serve on those bodies. It was because some people would do anything to get elected to organisations that corruption became evident. Bikitsha concluded that it was "not only rehabilitation of the land that is needed: it is rehabilitation of the whole people, if our hopes for the future are to be realised."⁵⁸

A special Senate meeting was held on 26 August 1946 in order to survey the situation to consider the matter of re-opening the Institution and of the culpability of the students. The Senate had power in these matters as it was responsible for the internal functioning of the Institution. This was to have important repercussions leading particularly to conflict between the Governing Council, as Lovedale's supreme authority, and the Senate. Shepherd, Chairman of the Senate, stated that it was known which students were convicted, which went to Alice and which attended classes on the Monday morning. One difficulty in re-opening was that all the ringleaders had not been found and some had probably remained in the Institution until the last minute. But with the students having been sent home they would have nothing to fear from intimidators about disclosing information.

58. Bikitsha's Remarks, 22 August 1946, Cory MS 16,453 A.

Macquarrie suggested that a general questionnaire be sent to all students and that these replies be evaluated. B.B. Mdledle, a teacher in the Training School, said that he took a serious view of those who marched into Alice on the Saturday morning as they had taken advantage of a very difficult situation. Students had also wilfully disobeyed the Lovedale authorities and shaken the foundations of the establishment. To Mdledle the students should be divided into four categories: firstly, those who marched to Alice on Saturday morning; secondly, those who deliberately rioted on Wednesday night; thirdly, those who tried successfully to escape and those who were apprehended by the police; and fourthly, those who did not march to Alice on the Saturday morning and attended classes on the Monday.⁵⁹ Finally, it was agreed to send a letter and a questionnaire to each student and it was decided that no "students should return until all replies had been received and sifted and that all students who would be allowed to return should be admitted at the same time." The Discipline Committee would then investigate the case of each student who, in some way or the other, had participated in the Riot.⁶⁰

Public comment and debate were inevitable, given the serious nature of the outbreak. Black opinion was not entirely supportive of the actions that Lovedale was planning to take. Councillor Quma at the Middeldrift Local Council meeting on 5 September 1946, moved that the acts of violence which had taken place at Lovedale be condemned. Quma

59. S.M., 26 August 1946, Cory MS 16,453 G; Inquiry Evidence, B.B. Mdledle, 23 October 1946, Smit Papers 35/46

60. S.M., *ibid.*

also regretfully noted that although his Council maintained two scholarships at Lovedale, that Institution had "not thought fit to advise the Council of the strike or of steps taken in connection therewith." The important part of this motion was that the Council did not favour the sending of questionnaires to students because individuals accused by others would not have the opportunity of defending themselves.⁶¹

The Registrar of Fort Hare wrote to Shepherd desiring to express sympathy owing "to the riotous attack made upon the persons of some members of staff and upon the property of the Institution." Although the closure of the Institution was deplorable, such outbreaks of violence made it imperative for the Government to appoint "a searching inquiry" which would examine "the causes underlying such behaviour and the ways and means of their removal." A start towards this end had been made by the Lovedale Governing Council in its decision to appoint an independent inquiry to investigate the causes of the disturbance. The Fort Hare Senate believed "that not only the interest of parents and students but the whole course of Native Education is being imperilled by the occurrence of such disturbances."⁶²

61. Extract from Minutes, Middledrift Local Council, 5 September 1946. Cory MS 16,453 C. During the disturbances at Fort Hare in 1955 the issue of sending out questionnaires also created controversy.

62. Registrar, Fort Hare to Shepherd, 5 September 1946 (Minutes of Senate, 27 August 1946), Cory MS 16,453 D.

It was perhaps understandable that the Fort Hare Senate should issue a resolution in favour of the actions taken by the Lovedale authorities because at the time they needed objective comment and criticism in order to boost the darkening mood in African education. Riots gave a sense of failure to those who had given life-long service to the educational process;⁶³ they also aggravated those who were already antagonistic towards Blacks receiving any form of equal education.

The call for an independent inquiry into disturbances in Black educational institutions was taken up by Gordon Mears, the Secretary for Native Affairs, in a letter to Shepherd. He wanted to know whether such a view was supported by Shepherd as the Education Department had not suggested any such action. Mears stated that he believed that public exposure of the rioters might have beneficial results. This was because little was "ever heard of the true facts of a strike at an institution with the result that the accounts and excuses of the students go uncontradicted."⁶⁴ Some days later, Shepherd replied that he had expressed the view in the South African Outlook "that a general inquiry into the whole matter of these outbreaks should be undertaken by Government" and this had been supported by Senator Welsh.⁶⁵ Shepherd refuted any notions that Lovedale would attempt to cover-up its Riot or silence its opponents because he felt that the time had passed

63. Inquiry Evidence, 23 October 1946, Smit Papers 35/46. This was a general feeling amongst White witnesses.

64. Gordon Mears to Shepherd, 5 September 1946, Cory MS 16,453 E

65. Shepherd to Mears, 9 September 1946, Cory MS 16,453 E; Outlook, 2 September 1946, p 142.

for individual institutions to seek to hush up or minimise their outbreaks. A broad searchlight should be directed on the situation, with a view to exposing causes and applying remedies.(66)

If there was a general feeling of despondency, there was also a feeling that things had to be set right.

Black opinion, however, continued to oppose the steps which Lovedale had taken. The General Secretary of the Transkei Parent-Teacher Association, E.G. Jiyana, sent Shepherd a copy of a resolution adopted at a meeting of that body in Umtata on 7 September. The Association expressed its "sympathy with all those who were affected by the recent strike action at Lovedale "and they wanted it to be known that they condemned "the unconstitutional methods that may have been employed to seek redress". But the Association requested the Lovedale authorities "to re-open schools as soon as possible " so that the students might return to continue preparing for their examinations.

Yet the Association went further even than this and demanded that " all the students, irrespective of whether or not they were implicated in the strike, be re-admitted." The Association endorsed the idea of a Commission being appointed to enquire into the nation-wide disturbances in African educational institutions.⁶⁷

There is no doubt that the Lovedale Riot had plunged the Institution

66. Shepherd to Mears, 9 September 1946, Cory MS 16,453 E; Outlook, 2 September 1946, p 142.

67. E.G. Jiyana to Shepherd, 9 September 1946, Cory MS 16,453 C

into a very severe crisis. And it had become embroiled in a widening gulf over how to handle the situation. A Senate meeting held on 19 September had been informed that some parents had suggested that all the students be allowed to return: that two lawyers' letters had been received from Port Elizabeth asking what the purpose of the questionnaire was and that these had been sent on to Lovedale's attorneys. Discussion then took place regarding the policy being adopted over the re-admission of students. These were divided into three groups. Firstly, those already convicted who were again subdivided into the more active rioters and those not quite so guilty; secondly, those who flouted Lovedale authority by marching into Alice in sympathy with the rioters; and thirdly, those who met in the Smit Block on the Monday morning and refused to attend classes.⁶⁸ The following day the Senate and the Discipline Committee met in order to outline the principles on which they would work.

In October the Transkei Organized Bodies (T.O.B.) sent a deputation to Lovedale so as to assess the situation for themselves. This included their Vice-President, J.K. Finca and General Secretary, Govan Mbeki. The T.O.B. embodied most African organisations in the Transkei. From its inception it had concerned itself with African education, particularly in an effort to establish healthy contacts between itself and the Heads of African institutions. The T.O.B., therefore, appealed to the Lovedale Authorities to re-open the Institution and

68. S.M., 19 September 1946, P.P.

to re-admit all the students to write their examinations. On the question of re-admittance and re-opening, Shepherd stated that they would re-open on 9 October and continue to re-admit students until the 15 October. He said that about 50 per cent of the total enrolment would be re-admitted and that the remainder were being investigated. Shepherd emphasized that justice would be done in undertaking this investigation and pointed out that in the interests of Lovedale not all the students who had been suspended would be re-admitted.

The T.O.B. deputation then asked how Lovedale would determine which students should not be re-admitted. Shepherd, however, declined to reply as he considered this question unfair as the matter was still under consideration. But with regard to the Training School the deputation was informed that the decision to re-admit students was largely in the hands of the Education Department. Although the riot had been instigated by students in the High School, those training to be teachers were more clearly under the jurisdiction of the Department and involvement in unrest was viewed more seriously. Shepherd told the T.O.B. deputation that the internal Commission of Inquiry would commence on 23 October. The deputation was, however, unhappy that Lovedale would not inform them of the way in which it would be determined who was not to be re-admitted. The attitude of parents was that the principal of Lovedale acted in loco parentis and as such had as much responsibility in moulding the students' future as the parents had. To the charge that tyranny existed at Lovedale Shepherd stated that nothing would be more pleasing than the return of all students. If, however, a decision was taken to refuse students, it would be after careful consideration because "Lovedale was a highly organised

place that was not ruled by a dictator." ⁶⁹

Shepherd claimed that the report of this meeting was inaccurate in many respects.⁷⁰ He explained that "the Senate had already arranged to open the Institution on 9 October" and that students would be re-admitted "much beyond" the 15 October. What he had said, in fact, was that special arrangements had been made with the Education Department for the submitting of the names of candidates for examinations up to 15 October. Shepherd denied that he had said that only half the total enrolment would be re-admitted on 9 October, but that it would be in excess of half the number of students. And any not re-admitted would be kept out "not in the interests of Lovedale but in the interests of Native Education which ... is a bigger concern." When asked how Lovedale was classifying the students, Shepherd had replied that he could not answer at that stage because the question of classification was still being considered. Finally Shepherd said that the Report should mention the fact that the Governing bodies of Lovedale, the Governing Council, the Senate and the Discipline Committee, were dealing with the questions involved and that the decisions taken would be those of such bodies and not of the principal.⁷¹

The disturbance was also viewed very seriously by the Cape African Parents Association (C.A.P.A.) whose chairman, Rev. J.A. Calata, held

69. Minutes of Meeting of Transkei Organized Bodies Mission to Lovedale, October 1946, Cory MS 16,452 p

70. I have not been able to trace this report and have had to rely on the Minutes of the meeting and the consequent correspondence.

71. Shepherd to Mbeki, 8 October 1946, Cory MS 16,453 P.

great influence in the Cape Midlands.⁷² Calata was also President of the A.N.C. in the Cape as well as being that organisation's Secretary-General. He wrote to Professor D.D.T. Jabavu of Fort Hare University College to the effect that he had heard that all those imprisoned, owing to their part in the riot and those who had marched into Alice, were to be expelled. Calata asked that Jabavu ascertain the correct facts, so that he would have something to go on.⁷³

Calata then arranged a meeting of the C.A.P.A. for 19 October and he asked that Jabavu request Shepherd to attend. He told Jabavu that he was doing this at "great sacrifice of time but I felt that it was important that we meet as early as possible and do what we can for Lovedale students."⁷⁴

This meeting drew up a resolution of five points: it would plead for the immediate return of all the students, totalling 257; it would show the staff that they cannot be judges; it would meet the Principal first and make him undertake the responsibility of taking the students back; it would present its resolutions formally and it would express sympathy and promise assistance and only present the grievances to the

72. Matthews, *op.cit.*, p 138

73. Calata to Jabavu, 7 October 1946, Calata Papers, William Cullen Library, University of the Witwatersrand, File 1729 MS D1

74. Calata to Bokwe and Jabavu, 11 October 1946, *ibid.*, MS D2

Commission.⁷⁵

Prior to this, however, a Conference of the C.A.P.A. held in King William's Town had resolved to appoint an Interim Committee. This Committee would make a concerted effort to co-operate with the Department in all matters which pertained to African education. It would also press for the "re-admission of students involved in disturbances." The Conference also urged the Government to appoint a Commission of Inquiry, which should include African representation, to investigate disturbances in Educational Institutions and to recommend how these could be avoided in future. But the Conference did not approve of the action of students in resorting to violence to redress their grievances and warned against such steps.⁷⁶

Jabavu was the lone representative of the Cape African Parents' Association Interim Committee and was the first witness to appear before the Lovedale Commission of Inquiry. Jabavu wrote to Calata that he had given "an extempore address based on the points we had jointly collated." These were nine in all. He had made a "plea for mercy and the re-admission of those not yet invited to return" then given an account of the resolutions adopted at the King William's Town Conference. Jabavu had also asked that parents be consulted in the event of trouble and this should also involve a "fatherly attitude on

75. Interim Committee, C.A.P.A., 19 October 1946, Calata Papers, File 1729, MS D3-5 (hereinafter cited as Interim Committee).

76. Resolutions of Conference of Parent Association, 28 September 1946, Calata Papers, File 1729, MS D1.

the part of the authorities." There should also be a "devolution of power from Whites to Blacks in all departments, especially the Boarding Department." The Boarding Master should also be independent of any White superior. Teachers of both races should "eliminate slanderous talk of personalities and politics with pupils in and out of the classrooms." Parents should also warn their children not to damage buildings when they strove to settle their grievances. But neither should expulsion be used as a "major method of inculcating order and discipline."⁷⁷

The Commission had asked "numerous, in fact, innumerable" questions on these points and Jabavu considered three to be of particular importance.

When asked how many ringleaders could fairly be expelled, he had replied that in his experience of Fort Hare disturbances only between five and eight per cent. As to whether students training to be teachers should be re-admitted, Jabavu maintained that he "would not like them to have their careers blasted, but as a way out would have them allowed to return and to be drafted into other non-teacher courses." To the question whether these disturbances were "not traceable to literary propaganda such as Communist papers and leaflets like 'New Africa' and the 'Guardian', Jabavu pointed out that it

77. Jabavu to Calata, 29 October 1946, Calata Papers, File 1729, MS D8; Inquiry Evidence, D.D.T. Jabavu, 23 October 1946, Smit Papers 35/46.

was only at Fort Hare that all forms of literature were available.⁷⁸

Jabavu went on to state that

The real cause is that all present-day students grow up in homes, rural and urban, where the principal staple of conversation is the colour bar, unjust wages, lack of faith in the White man generally, and the whole gamut of anti-Native legislation and ill-treatment by public officers; whereas in my youth there was no such thing as the phrase "colour bar" (which came into circulation with the 1909 Union Act); instead we worshipped Queen Victoria and the Englishman's sense of fair play... (79)

Jabavu had summed up the causes of the Lovedale Riot; the larger causes which had created so much post-war frustration and, within the land, such tension. He had lived through the changing attitudes and few were better able to judge the situation than he. It was not that the students had revolted against missionary education per se, but rather that they saw little hope for themselves once they had passed through the comparatively closeting confines of mission institutions. It was that these institutions were creating an educated elite which was in advance of the mass of the African population, yet not accepted by the majority of whites. Something had to give.

78. Jabavu to Calata, 29 October 1946, Calata Papers, File 1729, MS D8.
 79. Ibid. Inquiry Evidence, D.D.T. Jabavu, 23 October 1946, Smit Papers, Albany Museum 35/46

The question of who was to be re-admitted gave rise to an important principle: where did the final authority for the control of Lovedale lie? The Discipline Committee had recommended that 33 boys and 11 girls be re-admitted and that 187 boys and 10 girls be excluded.⁸⁰

At the November meeting of the Governing Council there was a deadlock as 11 were in favour and 11 against so many exclusions. The Council then passed a resolution which stated that

1. The Governing Council learns with appreciation of the long-continued efforts of the Discipline Committee to establish the innocence or culpability of those implicated in the August Disturbances.
2. The Council approves of the measures taken to bring home to all concerned the heinousness of rioting in Native educational institutions, remembering that the adoption of such methods is contrary to established order and the law-abiding nature of the Bantu, and is in consequence bringing disgrace on the African people.
3. The Council approves of the Discipline Committee's action in allowing to return to Lovedale those who have established that they were not deeply implicated.
4. The Council approves of the Committee's determination to discover the ringleaders and records its satisfaction that the identity of these is in so large measure established; also approves of the view that under no circumstances can these be re-admitted to Lovedale.
5. The Council approves of the Senate's action in not re-admitting for the rest of the Session those others who by conviction in the Magistrate's court or by other evidence appear to have identified themselves with acts of violence or insubordination.
6. The Council instructs the Senate to consider individually the re-admission on probation of those who are not established ringleaders, on solemn promise of good behaviour and that never again will they be

80. S.M., 10 December 1946, P.P. I have not been able to trace the records of the Discipline Committee.

associated with riotous or insubordinate conduct. Special consideration should be given to those who on account of youth or recent admission to the Institution may be deemed to have acted under the influence of others and that the opinion of the Education Department should be sought with regard to those in the final year of their teacher's course. (81)

This was an important resolution because it signalled conflict within the Lovedale establishment. And this was one major consequence of the riot: how was one to approach such a situation? Essentially it would seem that the Governing Council was adopting a soft approach; although it was tactful in first commending the Senate actions and condemning the riot, it was doing an about face and calling for the maximum number of re-admissions. The Senate, in response, moved that it carry out the Governing Council's instructions. This was defeated and instead the Senate asked the Council to reconsider the final paragraph of its resolution.⁸²

The split was essentially between those who lived in Lovedale and those who remained outside the Institution.⁸³

Thus an impasse was created and so Shepherd wrote a circular letter to all members of the Executive Committee of the Governing Council. He stated that the last paragraph of the resolution was tantamount to a vote of no-confidence in the Discipline Committee which consisted of

81. G.C.M., November 1946; S.M., 10 December 1946, P.P.

82. S.M., *ibid.*

83. Inquiry Evidence, 23 October, Smit Papers 35/46. This evidence brings this point home most clearly.

the Senate's most able members and that neither that body nor another committee could attempt to accomplish more. He believed there to be a matter of principle involved and asked for suggestions as to how to meet the situation that had now been created. It was difficult, at this late stage, to call together an Executive meeting of the Governing Council. Shepherd continued that when the Senate met on 10 December, 17 out of 18 members were present. He had submitted the resolutions passed by the Governing Council regarding re-admissions. The Senate had resolved that the "recommendations of the Discipline Committee be confirmed", but that the final resolution be referred back to the Council for its re-consideration.⁹³

This situation merely compounded vast problems which the riot had initiated and the whole tenor of missionary involvement in African education seemed to be at risk.

Kerr then wrote to Shepherd that he could not accept the view that the clauses of the resolution were to be considered as a series of resolutions. When, in the Council, it had been proposed to take the clauses separately, he as mover on behalf of the Committee asked to draft it, would not be responsible for truncating the resolution in any way. He went on to repudiate the Senate's suggestion that the last clause of the resolution implied that the Governing Council had no confidence in the Discipline Committee. A divergence of opinion had developed between the majority of the Discipline Committee and the

84. S.M., 12 December 1946, P.P.

majority of the Governing Council as to the policy of re-admitting students. The Governing Council had indicated, in its resolution, the policy which should be followed in dealing with applications for re-admission. Kerr stated that unless the policy of the Institution was to be laid down by the Senate rather than the Governing Council and even in opposition to that body, it was the Senate's duty, through its Discipline Committee, to re-examine its recommendations for re-admission in the light of discussion in the Council and of the suggestions in the last clause of the Council's resolution.

To Kerr, Shepherd's letter had suggested that a matter of principle was involved, but the main principle at issue now was, who held the final authority of the Institution. Kerr said that the facts were not disputable and that there were two classes of "delinquent" students: firstly, the 152 students convicted in the Magistrate's Court of being implicated in the riot on Wednesday 7 August and secondly, the 75 students who defied an order, and, demonstrating sympathy with those in prison, marched into Alice on Saturday 10 August. Of the first group 30 were recommended by the Discipline Committee for re-admission, of the second group none were to be re-admitted. In all it was recommended that 197 be permanently expelled. According to Kerr, it had been stated in the Council that the Discipline Committee had taken a resolution that none in the second group should be re-admitted and although this was disputed by other members of the Committee, it was clear to the Governing Council that there had been only a formal consideration of individual cases, because none of the 75 had been re-admitted.

Kerr believed it to be unlikely that 197 students admitted with good records in January had become so vicious by August as to justify that they be permanently expelled and, in any case, the conduct of most had been exemplary until the riot. Many had been only a short time in Lovedale and could not have developed "an inveterate antipathy to the authorities." Kerr did admit, however, that the investigation conducted by methods such as the Questionnaire, had disclosed disaffected students, but he said that many "thoughtless youths" had lost a year's study. To the parents the cost of this, which included travelling, was £25; in addition to which many had been fined £5 in court. Thus Governing Council wanted individual cases to be re-examined, in consultation with the heads of the schools and departments. This would be done with a view to permanently excluding only those students who had been proved to be ringleaders or who had been unsatisfactory students and the re-admission immediately, or after a period of suspension, of the majority of students, especially of those in the junior grades.

Kerr was emphatic that this Governing Council resolution should be read as an instruction to those responsible for determining the admissions for 1947; this represented a policy of maximum re-admission, not maximum expulsion. He argued that this was more in keeping with the traditions of Lovedale and the spirit of a missionary institution. It was a reasonable instruction to a subordinate body, involving a change in its approach to a difficult task; no committee of staff charged with a responsible duty was entitled to disregard the clear view of the Governing Council which had been arrived at after one and half days of discussion. Kerr advised Shepherd that as

the Principal he should consult with each head of school and each department regarding all applications received. He should also call for a report on the previous conduct of any students implicated in the disturbances, yet not definitely excluded as ringleaders and students with unsatisfactory class records and he should use his discretion regarding any applying, who on account of "youth, inexperience or mere thoughtlessness and on their promise of future good behaviour," might have their participation condoned.⁸⁵

Kerr's position was supported by R.W. Kilgour, the Lovedale Chaplain, who stated that the constitution, approved by the Foreign Mission Committee of the Church of Scotland, made it clear that

The Institution shall be under the control of a Governing Council ... The Council shall appoint or nominate for appointment the staff .. (86)

The Governing Council had issued an "instruction" to the Senate which was tantamount to an order and those members of staff who were unable to carry out the instruction or obey the order should be asked to consider the positions of their appointments and the Council should act against those who defied its authority.⁸⁷

85. Kerr to Shepherd, 17 December 1946, Cory MS 16,453 A(5)

86. Constitution of Governing Council clauses 11.1; 3; See Appendix A

87. R W Kilgour to Shepherd, 23 December 1946, Cory MS 16,453 A(5); Inquiry Evidence, R.W. Kilgour, 23 October 1946, Smit Papers 35/46.

Shepherd tended towards a position of stringency and he found support from Senator Welsh, Vice-Chairman of the Governing Council as well as the Chief Magistrate of the Transkei, V.M. de Villiers. Shepherd believed that the main argument for stricter measures was that these outbreaks had become so common - over twenty in the last two or three years - and leniency at other places had had no effect. He considered Henderson's views on the 1920 riot to be very important. Shepherd said that there was a sharp cleavage of opinion regarding the treatment of offenders, but that this was more manifest in the Governing Council than either the Senate or the Discipline Committee.⁸⁸

The policy adopted on re-admitting students, after the 1920 Riot, provides an interesting parallel. There Henderson had set a number of conditions which students would have to agree to before they were re-admitted to Lovedale. Most important of these, was that those students who were not ringleaders and whose conduct and character had been favourable, would be considered for re-admission. Students should then offer the Institution some form of reparation for the destruction that had been caused. In any case, those re-admitted would be on probation and would need to show that they had reformed themselves.⁸⁹

But with time Henderson's attitude seemed to harden. He wrote to W.J. Viljoen, Superintendent-General of Education in the Cape, that

88. Shepherd to Webber, 21 January 1947, Cory MS 16,453 A(6).

89. Henderson to Parents, Circular Letter, 2 July 1920, Cory MS 16,453 (A).

the incidence of rioting in African institutions needed to be seriously examined. He believed that it was time to take steps which would "render a repetition of these incidents so fraught with serious consequences to those taking part in them that they will, after perhaps one more trial of strength, come to an end." Henderson maintained that leniency and the fact that the penalties generally affected the parents, meant that these incidents were "lightly regarded by the student body." Rioting would only end when it was known by each student that involvement would mean immediate dismissal.

Henderson argued that all institutions should stand united against such actions. No students dismissed for involvement in a riot should be accepted by any of them.⁹⁰

Kerr, however, believed in Henderson's final approach: the policy of re-admitting all, except the proven ringleaders: he had shown a just sense of the strains that immature youths are generally subjected to when disorder breaks loose; as well as a regard for the essence of missionary endeavour, to "salvage" as many individuals as possible. His judgment was that where repentance or sincere regret could be presumed, leniency in the treatment of youth was always justified and

90. Henderson to Viljoen, 27 February 1929, Cory MS 16,453; *Outlook*, 1 February 1947, pp 25-26 and Shepherd (1940), *op.cit.*, pp 336-339. There is little information on the 1920 Riot. It is not mentioned in either the Governing Council or Senate Minutes. There is one slender volume in the central offices of the Reformed Presbyterian Church of Southern Africa, Umtata. This contains only the names and particulars of students involved. Then there is a slender file of correspondence in the Cory Library, Rhodes University.

that the risks involved were worthwhile. Kerr maintained that if severe punishment was an adequate safeguard, then the 1920 court sentences on the ringleaders should have been sufficient for all time. The sentences had been particularly harsh, ranging from £15 to £50 and three months imprisonment for the ringleaders,⁹¹ yet this had not prevented the present outbreak. Kerr disagreed that riots in African institutions had continued because students had not been made to suffer for their errors. He saw the causes further back in the African past. They arose out of the climate of opinion among Africans and more immediately in the home environment of the students.⁹²

To Kerr, the African mind had magnified current grievances. Thus the judgment of the youth being educated was bound to be distorted and for this they should not be held solely responsible. The youth would not respond to the fear of permanent expulsion. Nor would the irrevocable exclusion from educational facilities, as presently proposed, be either just or wise, considering the view point of Lovedale, the African community, or the country as a whole. Bearing in mind the comparative poverty of each African family and the loss which each "delinquent" had incurred it would be unlikely that harsher punishment would bring their folly home to them; but to follow the 1920 policy of magnanimity might win over the majority who were simply foolish and not violent. Kerr stated that he had occasionally been strict with some students; but though the policy of leniency had sometimes failed

91. Shepherd (1940), op.cit., p 338.

92. Kerr to Shepherd, 27 January 1947, Cory MS 16,453 A(1)

it had been justified in the majority of cases by the subsequent behaviour of those given a second chance. If the students were always well disciplined and grounded in Christian norms of behaviour, then there would no longer be any use for missionaries. It was John Tengo Jabavu, the Editor of Imvo Zabantsundu who had impressed on Kerr, when he had first arrived, the need for patience all the time.⁹³

Wilkie's views also had been more temperate, as he had been against proposals to permanently debar students from institutions, if they had been involved in riots.⁹⁴ His belief was that only the ringleaders should be refused to return to Lovedale because the aim of discipline was to restore as many students as possible to the institution.⁹⁵ Wilkie, however, welcomed the Commission of Inquiry and believed that with Mokitimi on it, it would be sympathetic yet not simply a "white-washing" affair. He believed that it was important to establish whether "any internal methods" had contributed to the unrest.⁹⁶

Meantime the Commission had already reported that it had found six major causes of the Lovedale Riot. There was a general state of unrest throughout the world and a growth in race consciousness that was not only evident in South Africa. Students also wanted to assert their freedom of action, but the colour bar and the economic hardships which most Africans faced gave them nothing to look forward to. The

93. Kerr to Shepherd, 27 January 1947, Cory MS 16,453 A(1)

94. Wilkie's Journal, 30 October 1940, Cory MS 9044.

95. Dougall to Kerr, 24 January 1947, Cory PR. 4088.

96. Wilkie to Kerr, 14 November 1946, Cory PR 4088.

Second World War had brought about vast changes in the traditional society of Africans with the breakdown of tribal and parental control: students, therefore, resented authority. Finally there were political influences both within and outside the Institution. This had taken the form of political propaganda, the distribution of inflammatory literature and undesirable contacts made during the vacations.⁹⁷

The Commission did not make any startling findings, nor did it attempt to rattle the Lovedale establishment. Its purpose was rather to show that there was feeling of deep concern and that a real attempt was being made to set matters right.

Nevertheless, the riot was a severe blow to Shepherd. It came at a bad time, as he told Dr Neil Macvicar, the medical pioneer, for he had not had furlough for eleven and a half years. During this time he had been responsible for the congregation as its Chaplain, the Director of the Press, the Editor of the South African Outlook, deeply involved in the Christian Council and also writing the history of Lovedale. In addition, he had succeeded to the Principalship without a break during the very difficult war and post-war period. Shepherd revealed that he was, in fact, wanting to give up the Principalship but to do this honourably. He requested Macvicar's views on two alternatives. Firstly, that the possibility of his resigning was put to the Commission of Inquiry who rejected it because they thought him in his

97. Inquiry, 30 November 1946, p 17, Cory MS 16,453 A(4).

right place; and withdrawal might have seemed like giving in to the forces of violence. Shepherd did not want it to seem as if he had resigned owing to pressure because he considered that he had done no wrong and that people were malicious in their attacks on him. Secondly, his resignation, within the next few months, would plunge Lovedale into a deeper crisis, because there seemed no ready successor. Macquarrie would only act from April to October while Shepherd was on leave, but would not be so keen if this meant acting in a vacancy. Shepherd had hoped to continue in the Lovedale tradition and do at least ten years as Principal.⁹⁸

Macvicar replied to Shepherd that he had handled the situation with "a wise combination of firmness and consideration together with prompt decisions." He believed that

The rapid closing of the classes was a master stroke. Remembering ... the history of the previous outbreak ... you made a very much better job of managing this outbreak ... You have no cause to reproach yourself (99)

An important factor to Macvicar was the universal food shortage caused by the war, with its local effects and the fact that this had been aggravated by a long drought. It was unfortunate when water had to be added to milk or to be substituted for it. Macvicar, who had done considerable pioneering work in African-related complaints, such as malnutrition, said that he would not be surprised if a Government

98. Shepherd to Macvicar, 31 December 1946, Cory MS 74,713 (J)

99. Macvicar to Shepherd, 21 September 1946, Cory MS 74,713 (J)

Commission found that many of the Institutions had been in the habit of providing their students with a diet that fell seriously short of the standard now considered essential for health and growth. The problem was - and it was a very serious one - that the institutions had been trying to run their catering cheaply in order to meet the poverty of the parents half-way.¹⁰⁰

But the most important point that Macvicar raised regarded the thinking within influential African circles and he asked whether missionary institutions were generally following a cautious but persevering policy of Africanizing their staffs. If this was not being done it might help to explain the attitude of African antagonism towards these institutions. He asked whether Africans as well as European candidates were considered for senior posts? And he added that responsibility put upon Africans would draw forth more and more character and capacity. Here he was thinking of men such as Donald Mtimkulu of Natal, a notable educationalist. It should be borne in mind that this was a major grievance which was frequently levelled at the so-called White liberal institutions.¹⁰¹

The impasse between the Governing Council and the Senate remained. At the Senate meeting on 13 February 1947, Shepherd recalled the resolutions of the Governing Council and the Senate decisions of the previous year. He said that nothing would be gained by further debate

100. Macvicar to Shepherd, 21 September 1946, Cory MS 74,713 (J); Matthews, *op.cit.*, pp 42-43.

101. Matthews, *op.cit.*, pp 43-44; Alan Paton, Apartheid and the Archbishop, (David Philip, Cape Town, 1973), pp 46-47.

in the Governing Council or its Executive. There were two points of view and as the Principal he felt impelled to do what he could to resolve the difficulties. Obviously compromise was needed. The position regarding numbers and categories was that 152 male students had been convicted in the Alice court; 77 were guilty of the week-end offences and 27 girls had been insubordinate. This was a total of 256 students. Of these 49 had been allowed to return in 1946: 35 men and 14 girls. So 207 cases still had to be dealt with. Of the 207 students, the following picture could be drawn: 20 had completed their courses; 25 had not answered the questionnaire or letters; 6 had intimated that they would not return and 28 had applied for certificates to go elsewhere. This was a total of 79, and reduced the number of cases to a residue of 128. After having held consultations regarding character and quality, he had proposed to re-admit another 41 students. So the number not to be re-admitted would be a total of 87. Shepherd intimated that he would proceed along these lines which he believed would be approved by the Governing Council to which a full report would be made.

The view was expressed that the Principal had the power to try to solve the deadlock and the power to say along what lines this should be done. No ill-feeling would remain should he act along the lines indicated and give an instruction accordingly. At the same time as some felt there should be no more re-admissions they could not by resolution support such a course. Nor did the Senate feel that it needed to pass a resolution empowering the Principal to take what action he deemed best as his power in this regard could not be questioned. None dissented from this view. Shepherd then intimated

that he would act along the lines mentioned.¹⁰² The Senate had, therefore, backed down in accepting that a greater number of students be re-admitted and so this policy which had created so much wrangling was somewhat defused.

This had boiled down to a conflict between two very different personalities. Kerr was benign, with an extensive experience in African Education, and he had a keen sense of socio-economic problems. Shepherd was also socially aware, but he had been forced to be hard through his youthful experiences and so, as shown above, he was unable to understand people who were being given education and who then rejected it. He had known what it was like to struggle and thought others should be prepared to do likewise.

Finally, what of the widespread feeling amongst missionaries that their work had been in vain? Shepherd must have felt this acutely. Yet the real test was Black opinion, which, while it had been critical of the Lovedale administration, nevertheless cherished the missionary model of education despite all its faults.¹⁰³ During the remaining nine years of Shepherd's Principalship there were no similar disturbances.¹⁰⁴

Although the system had been shaken it was still efficient; although

102. S.M., 13 February 1947, P.P.

103. Kuzwayo, op.cit., pp 94-95.

104. Shepherd (1971), op.cit., p 130.

there was widespread despondency there was still resilience. But what was the purpose? A former Lovedale student, Patience Mpati,¹⁰⁵ gave an answer to this when she wrote that

In your letter you say 'it makes one wonder sometimes whether one should give up working among Africans'. This makes me think deeply about this whole matter again. Now the heart is the seat of all good and bad in us. "Create a clean heart and renew a right spirit" within the African and all the storms of riotous feelings will perish. That will not be done by giving up. The prayers and work of a Christian must be like the persistent dropping of clean water on a big rock which does at last break with a great crash, and allows the water to run through easily.

To great men who have patience and 'stick it' is victory given and the coming of goodwill among men depends on their going on from strength to strength. Strength to endure will be given to those who determine to endure. It is a question of how we should spend the short time on earth which is "as grass": if we "give up" doing things the end of our days will come and it will be less glorious. Our blessings come by us and through us; we do not get our blessing as a result of the work of other people, so we must always look up and never to the right or left in following one vision.

I say these things to you, knowing that this very work has ruined your own health, but do you choose to save it now? What matters it if you die laying the foundation of this big house of which African people must be the bricks. Very often bricks and building materials are rough and raw and builders find it hard to shape them, and may even nearly die in doing it, but their very bones are the strong foundation which generations in the future will praise and bless. Now if all the builders should give up building because the stones are rough and the bricks are raw, where would be the crown, the glory and the Kingdom? Must we kill it all now, or is it not better to endure to the very end if by doing so we may help so much?

We do not live for ourselves, but in the light that leads us, we live for the sakes of others, even though the others' natures may be often against us.

105. A student at Lovedale in 1941. Patience Mpati was a student at Lovedale in 1941. Enrolment Book, Girls' School, 1941, R.P.C.

I believe that the Lord will bless your people and mine if we go on together. What would happen (we being the weaker) if you let our hand go on the road uphill when it becomes steeper, and there we go tumbling down the side of the hill to die at the bottom, while your people stand watching at the top, to continue your journey, never looking behind again ... What would our Father say to you? Would he not say 'Where is your brother and your sister?' And would you ever be happy again afterwards? (106)

106. Extract from letter by Patience Mpati, n.d. (October 1946?), Cory MS 14,714 (Q) (emphasis in original).

Chapter 5

CHURCH AND STATE:
THE EMERGENCE OF A NEW ORDER IN AFRICAN EDUCATION

When D.F. Malan's Nationalist Party came to power after the General Election of 26 May 1948, one of its first actions was to appoint a commission to investigate African Education. The Commission on Native Education, under the Chairmanship of W.W.M. Eiselen, Secretary for Native Affairs, was established to investigate the "principles and aims of Education" for Africans "as an independent race." Africans should receive an Education which would take into account "their past and present, their inherent racial qualities, their distinctive characteristics and aptitude, and their needs under ever changing social conditions."¹ The Report of the Eiselen Commission must be considered as one of the most important and controversial documents ever to have come out of this country. It was to give rise to the Bantu Education Act No 47 of 1953.

The Commission believed that the function of education was to "transmit the culture of a society from its more mature to its immature members and in so doing develop their powers."² The community and the culture of a people should be protected and the best means of achieving this was through education. Schools introduced

-
1. Report of the Commission on Native Education, 1949-1951, (Eiselen Report), U.G. 53/1951, para. 1; see above ch. 1.
 2. Ibid., para. 754.

from western society were not concerned with maintaining African culture rather they desired the "transmission of ideas, values attitudes and skills" which had never before been developed in African society and so were "not in harmony with its institutions."³

It was because of the "staggering power and glitter" of "western culture" that the educated African was turning away from his own society. The Commission maintained that if the African population was to be "happy and prosperous" then it would need a social organisation which consisted of religious, economic and political structures. These should be based on family life and in keeping with the demands of modern conditions. The Committee did not want the "constructive work already done" to be dismantled. It did, however, want "to stress the prime importance from an educational standpoint of carefully considered governmental action to assist the growth and development of social institutions which will be able to co-operate with, benefit from, and support the work of the schools." This was very important in the economic sphere, so as to enable the African child to practise what he had learnt and for his parents to carry some of the financial burden which would follow a re-ordering of the educational system.⁴

African development and education should go hand in hand. Education was more than mere schooling: to educate a society into making "a

3. Eiselen Report, para. 1; see above ch. 1.

4. Ibid.

tremendous cultural leap" as the African would have to do, the schooling of children, though very important, should be "regarded as only a part of a larger process." If school education was to be in harmony with social development it would need to be seen as just one of "the many educational agencies and processes which will lead the Bantu to better and fuller living."⁵

In re-evaluating the role that education should play in the life of the African, the Eiselen Commission was guided by certain principles. Education should be broadly conceived so that it could be effectively organized to provide schools "with a definite Christian character", in addition to adequate social institutions to harmonise with such schools. There should also be an efficient system to co-ordinate the planning, budgeting and administration which would be designed to develop sound social institutions and adequate schools. But this would mean that African education should come under a Union Government department.⁶

Education, however, would need to be co-ordinated with a definite and a carefully planned policy for the development of African societies. Such a policy should pay special, although not exclusive, attention to the economic development of the African. This would be particularly important owing to the rising costs of African social services. The increased emphasis which would be placed on the "mass of the Bantu" would "enable them to co-operate in the evolution of new social

5. Eiselen Report, para. 764.

6. Ibid., para. 766, a-b.

patterns and institutions." The Commission maintained that this was not an attempt to reduce educational facilities, rather it was a "new emphasis on 'education for all' in the social and school sense."⁷

Active steps would need to be taken "to produce literature of functional value in the Bantu languages." This was because these languages did not have the terminology to describe "modern scientific concepts" and their numerical systems were "clumsy and difficult to use." As education should serve an important social purpose, all available funds should be administered with maximum efficiency. As long as only some Africans were able to attend schools it would be necessary "to spread available moneys as far as is consistent with efficiency." So schools would be closely linked to "existing Bantu social institutions", and a friendly though not necessarily uncritical attitude maintained between the school and these institutions.⁸

The Eiselen Report went on to argue that the mother-tongue should be used as the medium of instruction during the primary school stage. The African languages would grow in importance as they evolved and thus would become important forms of communication. But the importance of this would lie in the positive contribution which the schools would be able to make towards the development of the African languages, for their own use as well as for traditional African courts and councils. The Commission believed that Africans should be employed as far as possible "to make the schools as Bantu in spirit as

7. Eiselen Report, para. 766, c-d.

8. Ibid., para. 766, e-g.

possible as well as to provide employment." Parents should also "have a share in the control and life of the schools." Thus children would realize that their parents and their schools were not competitors, but rather that they complemented one another. The schools would also educate the parents in certain social values. Finally the Eiselen Report argued that "the schools should provide for the maximum development of the Bantu individual, mentally, morally and spiritually."⁹

It was, however, to be in the Native Reserves that encouragement would be given to "the evolution of a progressive, modern and self-respecting Bantu order of life." The Commission believed that areas which were cosmopolitan and mixed made it particularly difficult "for the orderly and progressive development of the Bantu cultures." The Reserves should be developed so that there would "be a harmony between the schools and the way of life of the people." This would give scope for talent and ambition, which would attract Africans to the Reserves. If there could be economic and cultural development of the Reserves, those who came to labour centres would have a background rich enough to prevent their demoralisation.¹⁰

The Eiselen Report then turned to the reason why it was necessary to introduce Bantu Education. It believed that the Bantu child differed very little from the European one. Thus no special provision had to be made "in educational or basic aims." The principle of education,

9. Eiselen Report, para. 766, l-k.

10. Ibid., para. 770.

which applied to all children, regardless of race, was that it should lead them from the known to the unknown. Yet educational practice had to recognize that it had to deal with an African child, who had been "trained and conditioned in Bantu culture, endowed with a knowledge of a Bantu language and imbued with values, interests and behaviour patterns learned at the knee of a Bantu mother. These facts must dictate to a very large extent the content and methods of his early education".¹¹ Bantu Education was also important because after school the African child returned to his own community and when he reached maturity his concern would be for the development of his own people. So the aim of all African Education should be for the type of individual that would function most efficiently in African society.¹²

The Commission argued that the aim of Bantu education was two-fold. Firstly, as it affected the society as a whole, Bantu education should aim at "the development of a modern progressive culture, with social institutions which will be in harmony with one another and with the evolving conditions of life to be met in South Africa, and with the schools which must serve as effective agents in this process." That, secondly, Bantu education should aim at the development of the "character and intellect" of the individual and so the child would be equipped for his "future work and surroundings." In order to harmonise the views of society with those of the individual it would be "essential to consider the language of the pupils, their home conditions, their social and mental environment, their cultural traits

11. Eiselen Report, para. 773, (emphasis mine)

12. Ibid., paras, 774, 775.

and their future position and work in South Africa."¹³

The views put forward in the Eiselen Report were based on the theories of differentiation. The foremost influence was that of C.T. Loram, the prominent South African educationalist. His involvement in African education resulted in his serving on the Lovedale Governing Council. Considered one of the leading liberals of his day, he was chosen to be the first president of the South African Institute of Race Relations. In 1917 the publication of his book, The Education of the South African Native, was a major event in the secular debate on African Education.

The basis of Loram's argument was that the education of the Africans should be adapted to their background and to the larger situation in which their education was to take place. Loram believed that whilst education should serve society it should also adapt to change: it was not an innovating or a transforming force. Rather education was something passive that should reflect and accommodate the social order - it should not attempt to mould it. In South Africa, society was dominated by Whites, who would not relinquish their power; Africans, unable to develop their own civilization, would have to accept a subordinate role and status. The reason that Loram was against academic education was that he believed that Africans should only be educated according to the type of work they were likely to do. In this vein Loram had advocated that mathematics be dropped from the syllabus. He, nevertheless, proposed that the vernacular be the

13. Eiselen Report, para 765.

chief medium of instruction for the first two years, but that later the official languages be introduced. Loram, therefore, wanted to streamline the African into an education that would prepare him for life.¹⁴

Loram's views were to be political dynamite in the hands of the new Nationalist Government. They were particularly important because they emanated from an educationalist who was generally sympathetic to the missionary cause.

Thomas Jesse Jones, Chairman of the Phelps Stokes Commission of 1921, had coined the phrase "education for life" and "adaptation": Here he meant that education should be adapted to the particular needs of the individual in his environment. It was important that education should prepare the individual to work and to serve his community.¹⁵ Related to this was the idea of village education and the Jeanes model of school. Here education was to be geared solely to the life of the community and the emphasis was to be on technical training.¹⁶ This too was to be an important influence in the thinking of the Eiselen Commission.

The work of P.A.W. Cook was particularly important because he served on the Eiselen Commission. As an anthropologist, Cook had studied the

14. Loram, *op.cit.*, esp. chs. 1,2,6,10,11; for the educational debate see Shingler, *op.cit.*, ch. 14; for the American influence see R. Hunt Davis, "Charles T. Loram and the American Model for African Education in South Africa", in Kallaway (ed.), *op.cit.*, pp 108-121.

15. Jones, *op.cit.*, p 13.

16. Jeanes Conference Report, sect. 3; see above ch. 2.

Bomvana tribe of the Eastern Cape. He had stressed the importance of the social order in the health and well-being of the individual. To Cook missionary education had destroyed the ability of the individual to survive in his own society. This was because they had displaced the indigenous education which was central to African society. Christian education had failed because it did not meet the daily needs in the lives of the people. Mission education prepared the African for life in a society which did not exist and which could not be created.¹⁷

But it was Eiselen, himself, who as a social anthropologist, had established his reputation on the basis of his study of tribal education. He was one of the most important and influential of Afrikaner social theorists. Eiselen was something of an anomaly, however, as he was both scornful of liberal thought and unimpressed by the scientific findings on the educability of the African. The theory that Africans suffered from "arrested development" was adopted by social psychologists, such as M.L. Fick, who, after having conducted a series of intelligence tests, reached the conclusion that the African was inherently inferior to the White.¹⁸

17. Shingler, op.cit., pp 204-206.

18. M. L. Fick, The Educability of the South African Native, (South African Council for Educational and Social Research, Pretoria, 1939). Fick was a psychologist with the National Bureau for Educational and Social Research. This debate is covered in Malherbe (ed.), Educational Adaptions in a Changing Society: Report of the South African Education Conference held in Cape Town and Johannesburg in July 1934, under the auspices of The New Education Fellowship, (Juta, Cape Town, 1937), ch. 18; see above ch. 1 fn.13.

Eiselen's main concern, however, was for the future of the Africans; his belief that the passing of their customs would threaten their entire culture. African culture and language could not hold its own against the European onslaught. Thus African society and culture should be preserved through a policy of differentiation. He was concerned with culture rather than race and it was here that he wished to differentiate between Black and White.¹⁹

It was not to be long before Verwoerd embarked upon his onslaught on missionary education. His belief was that Africans were only capable of certain forms of labour. If an African was, therefore, unable to reach the level of attainment of Whites, he then did not need a comparable education system. This was the basic idea behind the introduction of Bantu Education.

Verwoerd, however, gave three reasons why it was necessary for African education to be taken out of the control of the Missions and placed under the Department of Native Affairs, as a separate system. Such a transfer would benefit not only the country but the "Bantu" themselves because the State would be able to control expenditure and the type of education that would be offered. It would promote better race relations as the "Bantu" would know where he stood in South Africa and so he would not aspire to positions which he knew he could never attain. Education should, from youth, create the "correct attitude" to life and thus it needed to be under the Department of Native

19. Personal communication, J.W. Macquarrie, 17 November 1987; Shingler, op.cit., pp 207-210.

Affairs.²⁰ Verwoerd maintained that

The attitude which we have adopted is that when the Native children in the country who will be our future farm labourers are educated it will be sensible to educate them in schools in the country so that they will be better farm labourers than they are now and that they will have the desire to be farm labourers and will not lose this desire. (21)

Verwoerd's own thinking on African education was most clearly put in a statement which he made before the Senate on 7 June 1954.

First was to be the attack on the financing of African education. This had always been a problematic area, giving rise to much debate, but since the passing of Hofmeyr's Native Education Finance Act of 1945, the financial logjam in African Education had been broken. Expenditure had consequently begun to increase steadily and from £1,894,000 in 1944/5 it had climbed to £8,500,000 by 1954. Of this £6,500,000 had come from general taxation and £2,000,000 from Native Taxes.²²

A coldly calculating Verwoerd desired "to find a method of financing which would form part of a comprehensive plan to provide the Bantu with an education not concentrated on the interests of the individual, but having as its purpose the progress of the community."²³ Here we have the essence of Verwoerd's "philosophy of

20. Senate Debates, 1953, Col 1288.

21. Ibid.

22. Bell, op.cit., pp 76-79

23. Bantu Education: Policy for the Immediate Future: A Statement by Dr H.F. Verwoerd, 7 June 1954 (Information Service of the Department of Native Affairs, 1954).

racial discrimination. It was his idea to move away from a close concentration on the individual needs of African pupils. It was not necessary to empathise with the individual, but rather to indoctrinate the mass of African pupils. Education was, therefore, to be grounded in the actual existence of the African communities. It was to be a form of communal education which would move the community along a set road and at a set pace. There were to be no delusions of grandeur: Africans would only be educated to the level that they were capable of attaining and they would never be able to reach the heights which were open to White South Africans. So it would seem that Verwoerd's belief in the inferiority of the African was in fact at variance with Eiselen's own views.

Yet contrary to this approach was to be the education of the Whites. Christian National Education was to be implemented with such vigour that great attention would be paid to the moulding of the individual and of the superior society in which he would form an integral part.²⁴ Black education, on the other hand, was to have the effect of instilling a grave sense of inferiority amongst Africans. This was because the individual would not occupy an equal place in society; he would be merely regarded as one member of a group. The psychological effects of these two streams of education were to be far reaching. Both were designed to indoctrinate; but Bantu education, through its communal emphasis, was a brilliant strategy which aimed to keep the African in perpetual servitude.

24. Shingler, *op.cit.*, ch. 11.

The Native Education Finance Act of 1945 had begun the process of moving African education squarely into the orbit of the Union Department of Education rather than Provincial control. It laid down that the allocation of funds to African education, via the general revenue, was to be controlled by this department rather than the Provinces.²⁵ Under the Bantu Education Act, however, the Native Affairs Department was to absorb African education. Thus was introduced the means by which the State sought to monopolise the education of Africans.

Verwoerd maintained that "there was no co-ordination of the interests of the school with those of the community" and further that "there was no co-ordination between the education given in the schools and the broad national policy." He believed that this meant that the "natural development from mission school to community school" could not take place.²⁶ Although these were Verwoerd's objections to the missionary influence (or at least some of them), he did not like the fact that "provincial authorities, who bore no financial responsibility and had no powers in regard to the promotion of Native interests, community development or control, were responsible for determining policy." To Verwoerd this meant that education in the four provinces did not consider "the community interests of the Bantu nor the general policy of the country nor the policies of the other three provinces." This had the effect for nationalist ideology that "there was no definite policy, no uniformity in planning and no co-

25. Bell, *op.cit.*, pp 76-79

26. Verwoerd, p 5.

ordination with other aspects of development."²⁷ It was this trilogy of ideas which Verwoerd saw as the great danger being posed by African missionary education.

It was to the past that Verwoerd looked in order to justify his envisaged educational changes. He believed that the Native Taxation and Development Act of 1925 had established two important principles. Firstly, it had accepted that the South African population was segregated between Black and White and that this implied that the African majority had to be largely responsible for finding the means of its own development. Secondly, that it was a sound educational policy to create a sense of responsibility amongst the Africans by making them pay towards their education and thereby making them realise that their development was their own concern and thus its continuity would be guaranteed.²⁸ The Native Education Finance Act of 1945 had discarded these provisions because they were educationally unsound. Hofmeyr, as Minister of Finance, had also been concerned at the practice of Black education being financed from the coffers of the poorest sector of the population.

Verwoerd believed that because African "schools did not form part of community service, education was not built up on community needs and its main purpose was not the promotion of community interests." To Verwoerd, the main objection was that African secondary education was identical to that followed in the White schools.²⁹ He believed that

27. Verwoerd, p 6.

28. Ibid.

29. Ibid., pp 6-7.

this had led to poor achievements by pupils most of whom, in any case, did not reach the secondary standards.³⁰

Missionary education was fundamentally flawed because it had not been controlled by a State Department and Verwoerd wanted to remedy this defect. The Missionaries had also been unsympathetic to the country's policy. Further Verwoerd believed, that Provincial control was ineffective because it could neither "co-ordinate the schools with other development services" nor bring uniformity into the schools which would be consistent with the country's policy.³¹ Nor did the Provinces have any direct financial stake in the schools. Verwoerd held that "a sound pedagogic maxim" had been sacrificed when there was a departure from the principle established by the Native Development Account of 1925 that Africans should contribute directly to education in order to receive any state subsidy. But most significantly, Verwoerd objected to the fact that "the curriculum (to a certain extent) and educational practice, by ignoring the segregation or 'apartheid' policy, was unable to prepare for service within the Bantu community." The central objection to Missionary education, however, was that

By blindly producing pupils trained on a European model, the vain hope was created among Natives that they could occupy posts within the European community despite the country's policy of "apartheid". This is what is meant by the creation of unhealthy "White collar ideals" and the causation of widespread frustration among the so-called educated Natives. (32)

30. Verwoerd, p 10.

31. Senate Debates, 1953 Col 1293

32. Verwoerd, *ibid.*, p 7.

So Verwoerd saw the Bantu Education Act as a panacea for these problems. He believed that Missionary education only benefited a small number of Africans and consequently served to alienate and divide the community. Bantu education would transform this limited function into a service which would benefit the entire community.³³

In order to reform this situation, the Bantu Education Act was designed to replace provincial control of African education by the Department of Native Affairs. This would achieve a "uniform educational policy" which would be consistent with the general policy of the country. Schools, under State supervision, would revert to the local control of African organizations. These would have to "learn to render for the community as a whole a service hitherto rendered by the mission churches for a section of the community only." The community school was replacing the mission school. The Department would need to control schools which served the community and the wider area. These would include institutions of higher education and especially the crucial area of teacher training. Verwoerd stated that his financial policy would need to be adhered to. This would mean that Africans would increasingly contribute towards the costs of their education. He concluded by stating that the "principle of a Native Development Account had been re-established in practice by the creation of the Bantu Education Account."³⁴

Verwoerd characterised African schools as being "within Bantu society

33. Verwoerd, p 7.

34. Ibid., pp 7-8.

but not of that society" and his goal, as has been stated above was "to transform them into real Bantu community schools." But this meant compliance with certain requirements which were deliberately designed to limit the focus and vision of African school children. Every African taxpayer would have to have equal access for his children to the fundamental educational facilities which could be provided with the available funds. This would mean that there would be education in Sub-standards A and B and possibly up to Standard II. This would include instruction in reading, writing and arithmetic through the vernacular, as well as an understanding of English and Afrikaans and the basics of Christianity. The money which would be contributed by both Black and White taxpayers should "be used to the best possible advantage for the greatest possible number." The African pupil should be fed "knowledge, skills and attitudes", whilst at school, which would be useful to him and similarly beneficial to his community. Thus the subject matter should be presented to him in a manner which was easy to understand and from which both he and his community could benefit. This meant that the standard of African education had to be lowered considerably. This was because the school should "equip him to meet the demands which the economic life of South Africa will impose upon him." The African teacher should become an integral figure in the development and progress of his community. He should not attempt to escape from his own community and so enmesh himself in White society, because when he failed in this endeavour he became frustrated and rebellious. This would lead to general dissatisfaction because such ambitions were not possible for Africans.³⁵

35. Verwoerd, pp 14-15.

The Bantu Education Act which came into force on 1 January 1954 was a revolutionary measure, designed as it was to educate the African along his own lines so that they would be forced to occupy the subservient positions in White society.³⁶

The position of the Church and particularly of Lovedale, towards Verwoerd's new order for African education must now be examined.

When the Report of the Eiselen Commission appeared, it came as a bitter blow to those engaged in Black education. It was generally foreseen that these recommendations would be the forerunners of a gravely different system of education. It created a sense of despondency and failure in the minds of many missionaries, similar to that which flowed from the 1946 Riot. The major difference was that it was realised that this change would be very difficult to undo and that it would tip the scales of the finely balanced racial equilibrium in South Africa. This would have the effect of increasing racial tension and so of further disrupting the educational process. Yet the strong sense of mission kept a feeling of hope alive. Shepherd put this general feeling to Smit when he wrote that he could

well understand how you sometimes feel as if all one's efforts are fruitless. All of us engaged in public work can hardly escape that feeling at times but it is a feeling that leads astray. After all, even the Founder of our Faith seemed to have failure written on His life, but temporal measures (measuring-rods) can assess things very imperfectly in the realm of the spirit. (37)

36. Statutes of the Union of South Africa, 1953, Act No 47, pp 258-276
 37. Shepherd to Smit, 21 December 1951, Cory P.R. 3682.

So there was some sense that there was light in the growing darkness. The recommendations of the Commission were also only slowly evolving into some form of Government legislation and thus the missionaries could still pursue their own goals and this meant that they felt a sense of purpose in what they were doing.

In November 1949, Kerr, representing the Christian Council of South Africa, had formed a Committee of sixteen members (many of whom had been chosen from Lovedale), which had drawn up a detailed memorandum to be presented as evidence before the Eiselen Commission.³⁸ Once the Report had been published, Kerr reported that this Committee would respond to the Commission's findings once these became known. It was also hoped to consolidate opposition to the Eiselen Report by joining with the Race Relations Conference so as to express a view of the Report's proposals which would represent the entire Eastern Province. There was also to be a meeting of the Heads of Institutions to consider the effects of this Report. Macquarrie, who had provided detailed evidence to the Eiselen Commission, pointed to the fallacy of the statistics as published in the Report. In some cases he argued that these could be used to show that great progress had in fact been made, whilst in the Report they were used to blacken the missionary achievement.³⁹

The national tensions building up within the country could not but be

38. G.C.M., 10 November 1949, P.P.

39. Ibid., 6 March 1952; Evidence by J.W. Macquarrie to Eiselen Commission, Private Possession of J.W. Macquarrie. See also Macquarrie "Has Missionary Education Failed?" in Wilson and Perrot, op.cit., pp 516-520.

felt in Lovedale. It was also the Lovedale Governing Council which was leading the attack on the recommendations of the Eiselen Commission. The Governing Council was an ideal platform from which to orchestrate this opposition because it was not only the major sounding board of educational opinion in the country but also a major form of black and liberal thinking. Lovedale was also forced to take a broader political stand in line with its opposition to the Nationalist Government's onslaught on Black education. This led Shepherd, as Chairman of the Executive of the Lovedale Governing Council, to make a statement referring to the activities in the vicinity of Lovedale of the African National Congress. This organization had launched its "defiance of unjust laws campaign" which had led to several arrests of Lovedale employees.⁴⁰

The local arrests and the political activity, said Shepherd, had naturally had an exciting effect on the students whose conduct, on the whole, had been satisfactory. There had, however, been some instances of students holding political gatherings. Bokwe, however, emphasized that the Congress had plainly stated that students, while attending a College or an Institution, should not become active in political matters. The Executive, therefore, agreed amongst other things that those employed by Lovedale who were imprisoned during the defiance campaign should be reinstated in their positions but not paid for the days that they were absent. It also agreed that the work of the Institution should be carried on in normal fashion; that rules as to

40. Lodge, *op.cit.*, ch. 2; Exec. G.C.M., 9 September 1952, P.P.; Walshe, *op.cit.*, pp 369-370.

bounds be maintained; and that the control of the Institution should continue normally and that it should not be linked to Congress activities.⁴¹

When the Heads of Institutions met in August 1953 the main question to be considered had been how it should react to State involvement in education. What was to be done? All that the Association of Heads could really do was to monitor the situation and await developments. The Executive of the Association was empowered to take whatever steps it felt to be appropriate. This would mean a far quicker Church response to any State action. It was also agreed that there should be some communication with the other Provincial Associations of Heads of Institutions in order that there might be consultation at Executive level. This would form a united Church stand and would also enable it to ascertain what type of service it could continue to render to African education. The information was scarce, but the Christian Council Committee led by Kerr was making a study of the implications of the Bantu Education Bill and of the general position of the Churches.⁴² Still, at the meeting of the Lovedale Governing Council in November 1953, the whole question of the future of African education was shrouded in the mists of Nationalist Party policy. Encouragement, however, was drawn from the appointment of F.J. de Villiers, as Under-Secretary for Native Education, as he was generally considered to be sympathetic towards the missionaries.

41. Exec. G.C.M., 9 September 1952, P.P.

42. A.H.I. Minutes, 27 August 1953, Cory MS 16,295

But by early 1954 the State had moved against African educational institutions and its intentions became clear when de Villiers made a detailed statement to the Heads of Institutions. These plans were designed to implement the most far-reaching changes ever envisaged for any educational body in this country. The State's thrust left little room for manoeuvre by the Church. De Villiers stated that under the new Department, institutions had two basic choices. Firstly, they could carry on very much as they were, as Church Institutions, looking to the Government for a subsidy. The Government would allow this, but the subsidy would not be more than 50 per cent and might be reduced at the Minister's discretion. Or, if the Minister considered it desirable, the institution might be closed down. Where a subsidy was provided teacher training would no longer be permitted.⁴³ This was tantamount to killing off all major private institutions for Africans. Lovedale, for instance, relied heavily on Government support to finance its many operations. Its major expenses were staff salaries and the industrial departments which were costly to operate. Only Catholic institutions could afford to forgo Government subsidisation because their members of staff were, in any case, paid low wages. But even they were largely to succumb to the Government onslaught.

The Churches, however, did have a second choice and this was to surrender either the schools or the whole institution to State control. If the Church chose to hand over only the Schools then the State would leave it free to run the hostels. But the Church would

43. A.H.I.Minutes, 25 March, 1954, Cory MS 16,295

also be free to pursue its religious work, including admission to the classroom for that purpose. The State would need to be given a seat on the Hostels' Committee and in return would give the Church representation on the Schools Committee. But the Church could choose to hand the whole institution over to State control and financing. It would, however, be able to continue its religious work unimpeded, with representation on the Governing Council and its Executive. But as yet the composition of these Councils had not yet been decided upon. The Department would probably rent the buildings from the Churches although this would have to be decided in the case of each individual institution. In some cases there might be an outright purchase, payment being made over a 5 to 10 year period.⁴⁴

De Villiers went on to state that certain Institutions would need to adapt to the new scheme of things. This was because it was planned to separate higher academic education from teacher-training, as well as the separation of sexes in schools. The State would require some institutions to revert solely to industrial training as it believed that this had been greatly neglected in the Cape. Some institutions would need to diversify into socio-economic centres. There would be schools for the blind, for the deaf, for technical training, for the training of school board secretaries, of shop assistants, clerks and typists. Some institutions located in White areas might have to be closed.⁴⁵ Thus the direct task of providing Africans with education was bound to be inhibited. The important task of teacher-training

44. A.H.I. Minutes, 25 March 1954, Cory MS 16,295

45. Ibid.

would only continue in Government controlled institutions.⁴⁶

This meant that the State would have a far greater opportunity of filtering its own attitudes into the Black schools if it could win the minds of prospective teachers. Poor teachers produce poor pupils. The Afrikaner had realised the value of the teacher in raising that Nation from the depression which had beset it after the Anglo-Boer War. The Afrikaans teacher had also been instrumental in instilling Nationalist beliefs of superiority into the hearts and minds of generations of pupils. This had led to an apartness and an isolation. The same could apply to Africans. If an idea of African inferiority and "arrested development" could be instilled into the Black child from infancy then would the threat to the Afrikaner not be less?

De Villiers then turned to more specific areas. Secondary schools with small boarding departments would become community institutions; in special cases these might become State and not Community Schools. It was estimated that the whole of 1955 would be taken up in negotiations with various institutions. There were over sixty very different institutions. This meant that there could be no question of changing the present system during 1954 and even in the light of further considerations the present intentions might be amended. On the control of the schools, de Villiers made it clear that the largest number would be Community Schools. Each of these would have a school committee consisting mainly of African parents, the Chief or Headman,

46. A.H.I. Minutes, 25 March 1954, Cory MS 16,295

with the Church, which had been in control represented on the Committee. The Committee's chief functions would be to put up and maintain buildings and to attend to the general upkeep of the Institution. It would also appoint teachers and pay them until the Department had ratified the appointments. The Department would, however, provide teachers' salaries, equipment, books and other requisites. There might be some assistance given with buildings in some cases, but as a rule the community would be responsible. The school committees would be represented on a School Board which would serve an area. Representation on this Board would be given to two Churches prominently engaged in work in that area. The School Boards would largely be composed of Africans. Whites would only be on these Boards as advisors and would not be able to exercise a vote. The idea was to train the African to take responsibility for his education. The School Boards would be the arbiters of employment and as such would be empowered to negotiate all contracts. There would be a "right of entry" to the schools which would be granted to anyone, delegated by the Churches, for religious instruction. Church sites would also be secure as the Department did not wish these "centres of evangelism" to disappear.⁴⁷

De Villiers then dealt with the question of teachers. This was crucial in propagating Nationalist Party philosophy and the State was not too happy with the preponderance of liberal English teachers in African Education. It was this Anglo-centric influence in Black

47. A.H.I.Minutes, 25 March 1954, Cory MS 16,295.

Education that Verwoerd particularly wanted to break down. White teachers would be seconded to the Government schools and would serve as civil servants in the same way as the Union Education Department teachers did. They would also be subject to transfer. White teachers would be needed for a long time especially in view of the fact that there was a large-scale plan for expansion in Black Education. Technical education was to make a quantum leap.⁴⁸ There were also far too many unqualified teachers in African Secondary Education.⁴⁹ The position of the White teacher was to become nothing more than that of a State employee. This was to have grave repercussions for the entire teaching profession. It also meant that teachers could often be appointed simply because they were sympathetic to the political cause of the day. There would be a small percentage of African teachers employed in Government schools and a large percentage in community schools. But these would be subject to approval by their own people.

An important meeting of the Lovedale Governing Council took place in April 1954 during which fifteen speakers participated in a lengthy debate on the Bantu Education Act. There was considerable support for Kerr's motion that a Committee of the Council should submit its opinion to the Bantu Education Division that State-aided institutions, such as Lovedale, should be allowed to continue as they had done in the past. Other points to emerge did not paint a very optimistic picture of future developments. It was emphasized that there was little hope of persuading the Government to change its mind in the

48. See above ch. 4.

49. A.H.I. Minutes, 25 March 1954, Cory MS 16,295.

case of Lovedale, but there should at least be co-operation with the Government and the offer to continue giving expert knowledge and advice which could not always be ignored. It would be more logical for any proposed change to be made first in the primary school and only later at higher levels. It was noted that similar changes in control had taken place in the hospitals and had resulted in greater comfort for the patients and staff without any decrease in the spiritual tone. It was a cause of deep concern that there was a growing sense of discontent and mistrust manifesting itself in the African people because they were not being consulted through their leaders but were rather "ruffled" by the State. Lovedale might profitably be used to measure the success or failure of the new scheme and so once again it could play a pioneering role in this educational revolution. There were very serious objections, from the teacher's point of view, to the "double shift" system which was suggested for the lower classes.⁵⁰ The Council finally stated that "South Africa's wealth is largely the product of African labour, so it is justice, not charity, which demands an ever increasing expenditure on Bantu Education." A committee to make recommendations to the Bantu Education Division along these lines was appointed and consisted of Shepherd, A.L. Barrett, R.T. Bokwe, Kerr, Macquarrie, B.B. Mdledle, J.P. Benyon, Head of the High School and S.G. Pitts, Governor of Healdtown.⁵¹

Lovedale at the outset, whilst condemning the Nationalist Government's

50. Macquarrie, "African Education Today: A Study of the Bantu Education Act and its Implementation" (unpublished article), p 32 ff.

51. G.C.M., 8 April 1954, P.P.

proposed changes, was prepared to adopt a pragmatic attitude. This had been its traditional course of action throughout its history. Lovedale had never overtly sought direct confrontation with the State. We must not, with hindsight, be too critical of its readiness to at least examine the Bantu education proposals. If these were to be forcefully applied no matter what reaction the Church might provide, then it would serve no purpose simply to close up operations and to cease all efforts at negotiation. Lovedale was prepared to adopt the liberal stand and to work as hard as possible at smoothing the sharp edges of the apartheid blade. It was acting from the premise that at least some liberal influence left in the schools was better than none at all. It must be stressed that the introduction of the Bantu Education Act created a deep sense of despair amongst missionary educators. It was hardly the means by which they wanted to cap their life's work. There was considerable soul-searching and a desire to act in the best way possible. But certainly no decisions were taken lightly and every avenue of escape was thoroughly pursued.⁵²

On 28 April 1954 the Executive Committees of the Associations of Heads of Native Institutions in the Cape, Transvaal and Natal, along with three representatives of the Orange Free State, met in Pretoria to form a joint stand on the Bantu Education Act. Shepherd chaired this meeting. After several hours of general discussion three major points emerged. The majority felt, firstly, that if subsidies were considerably cut it would be impossible to carry on as Church schools;

52. Paton, (1973), op.cit., ch. 27.

that if the schools were taken over by the State the Boarding Departments should go with them as divided control of students would create difficulties. There was, however, a division of opinion over whether "one-sex or two-sex institutions were best."⁵³ The meeting then drafted a series of questions which it proposed to put to the Under-Secretary for Bantu Education when it met him that afternoon.⁵⁴

The Lovedale Governing Council which had appointed a Committee to investigate the Bantu Education Act issued a lengthy statement which appeared in the South African Outlook. The Council recognised the inevitability of the introduction of a system of public education for primary schools as this was, in any case, long overdue. It warned, however, that if the Government wanted to integrate the missionary institutions into the new system great care would have to be taken so as to avoid damaging the organisation. These Institutions had become increasingly complex as missionary work among the Africans had developed. They also had a long and satisfying history and accordingly

They stand for groups of schools rather than single schools and have played a part in African education analogous to that played in English education by the great Public Schools and in the United States by colleges like Hampton and Tuskegee. They are all boarding schools and have covered the whole course of education as provided for the African from the infant school to the Senior or Leaving Certificate. One of their main functions has been the education and training of teachers for the primary schools. From

53. A.H.I.Minutes, 28 April 1954, Cory MS 16,295.

54. Ibid. These questions and the replies to them appear as Appendix C.

quite an early stage of their history most of them added some department or other of trade training, those that were most developed giving elementary training in agriculture and arts and crafts like carpentry and building, blacksmithing, tinsmithing, wagon making, shoemaking, tailoring, weaving, domestic arts, first aid, - all the services in fact which the African population, especially in the rural areas, might require and by means of which young men and women might be trained for socially useful and at the same time gainful occupations. An increasing demand for school books and reading matter right from the very start pointed to the need for African printers, so that several institutions were encouraged to develop printing and publishing departments and to provide for the training of apprentices and subsequently for the employment of journeymen. (55)

The statement went on to point out that more recently secondary and high schools had been incorporated into the institutions. These had improved the standards of education of the teaching profession and had added many "literate workers for government and commercial employment". The most advanced had been prepared for university entrance. Primary schools had also "been organised as model schools to serve for the practical demonstration of the most efficient methods of teaching for the benefit of the embryo teachers in the training schools." These institutions were "communities of people" that mirrored the type of society for which their pupils were being prepared with the emphasis on Church and school activities and daily occupations. These institutions had been "the main springs of African advancement in the last one hundred and fifty years."⁵⁶

The Governing Council's Committee was aimed at straightening the

55. Outlook, May 1954, p 68.

56. Ibid.

record which Verwoerd's political ramblings had obscured. But then it was Verwoerd's desire to destroy what the English-speaking missionary had created and to set the clock back so that Africans would no longer be able to compete on the same level as Whites. His was not a concern for justice or the rights of the missionary cause, but rather the desire to push the segregationist policy to its most logical point which was to break down a converging educational system and to introduce two streams - one of which was to educate for an inferior position in society.

The statement, in a further refutation of Verwoerdian theory, pointed out that although these institutions had been administered by the individual Churches, they were not "close corporations" and none of them limited their pupil intake to their own denomination.⁵⁷ They also attracted quality staff who were interested in the education and development of Africans, including well-qualified Africans. The contribution of these Institutions to African education resulted "from the combination of various schools and groups of pupils living together as a community". Thus each could get to know the other intimately and although they were destined to lead different lives, they shared in the common ideal and discipline of "the whole society of learners and teachers."⁵⁸

57. Tribal and religious affiliations of Lovedale students are recorded in the Enrolment Books. All churches were well represented. Enrolment Books, Reformed Presbyterian Church, Umtata.

58. Outlook, May 1954, p 69.

Although institutions, such as Lovedale, were being subsidised by the State, they had never adequately been recompensated for the services that they had performed. In the future much more generous support would be needed or these institutions would be forced to give up the task that they had "carried on to the great benefit of the African people and the easement of the public finances." A denouement such as this "would be a disaster, the full extent of which would only become apparent in subsequent years."

The Lovedale Governing Council contended that the Bantu Education Division should specially consider institutions which had been long-established and which were efficiently run. Lovedale did not simply want "to stand out and maintain itself as a church school", for it had long followed the practice of working in close co-operation with the Government. It was anticipated that this would be future policy. But the Governing Council believed that "not only what Lovedale has stood for but its very structure is worth preserving." It was, therefore, hoped that the Government would consider these factors.

As this matter really concerned the Africans, the Governing Council recommended that they be consulted at every opportunity. Those who had had a long experience in the administration of African education should also be consulted. The statement went on to suggest that some representative gathering be summoned and the proposed regulations laid before it, "before they assume final form and are put into operation." The Governing Council concluded its statement by suggesting that there be an interchange of teachers between provincial

Education Departments and the Bantu Education Department. This would facilitate the exchange of ideas and to a certain extent mitigate the effects of the separation of the Bantu Department from the Provincial or Union ones.⁵⁹

There was not only forceful criticism of the new Bantu Education Act by the missionary bodies involved in Black Education, but the new dispensation received widespread publicity in the Press, particularly coming under heavy fire from the liberal English-speaking newspapers. There was also fierce public debate within the newspapers as opinion was aired. One anonymous reader of the South African Outlook entitled his letter "The new Regime in Bantu Education". He claimed that amidst all the turmoil which had accompanied the Act, little attention had been given to the viewpoint of the White teacher in African Education. The writer elaborated from his own experience, stating that he had not come to South Africa to teach in a Black Institution desiring to produce "pseudo-Europeans" who would be "divorced in thought from their own people and yet apart from the educated people of other races." His aim had rather been to participate a little way in furthering the cause of African Education because "by training more and more Africans to train more and more of their fellows, the sum total of everyone's material wealth and spiritual happiness was bound to increase."⁶⁰

59. Outlook, May 1954, p 69.

60. Ibid.

The writer pointed to the fact that a racially differentiated system of education was designed to make the "intellectual subjects" available only to those Africans "who were fit for that type of study." This meant that the authorities could, therefore, bar anyone from progressing academically. The State had also indicated that no more male primary teachers were to be trained and those who were still given posts would be on the same salary scales as women. The writer discussed the Government point of view that primary school children responded better to women teachers, which was contrary to educational thought on the matter. In African schools in any case higher primary pupils tended to be considerably older than their White counterparts. The writer concluded that one was left with the uneasy feeling that men are being barred because they might talk politics, and women were easier to dragoon.⁶¹

This letter pointed out that the Africans were to be increasingly saddled with heavy educational bills, yet they lacked the opportunities to increase their earnings. It was also anomalous that communities were expected to provide the school buildings themselves and not simply the equipment. The buildings would also be inferior, hence there would be an immediate spin-off in downgrading the quality of education. A problem would also rise in the disparate economic realities which existed between communities such as the Transkei and the Transvaal. The writer also considered the Government's stress on "technical" as against academic education, stating that if this meant a growth of skilled artisans then it could be welcomed. But this

61. Outlook, May 1954, p 78.

would involve a complete reversal of Government and Trade Union policy in South Africa which would "result in the building-up of an African middle class, and a consequent increase in prosperity for all." But this was not what was envisaged. F.J. de Villiers had stated that technical education meant the "hotel trade and forestry", or Africans being trained to fill purely menial roles in South African industry. In any case technical education was three times as expensive as academic and so obviously was not what was envisaged. There was also a determined effort to push Afrikaans which the writer saw as probably the disappearance of English. This was "a deplorable prospect ... because of the cultural crime of cutting a people from the vast heritage in literature, bequeathed to mankind, which must for a long time yet be available only in English." There was also no justification for pressurising the large institutions into accepting Bantu education with the result that the Government would then be free to act against staff working in Black education.⁶²

The writer concluded that this Act was not the creation of a "benevolent government seeking to further the welfare of the African." It was "part and parcel of its apartheid policy, dictated by expedience and fear, and calculated, taken with its other legislation, to provoke just that holocaust it pretends to prevent."⁶³

The dilemma to which this writer referred was whether the Churches should clear out, thus playing into the hands of the Government, or

62. Outlook, May 1954, pp 78-79

63. Ibid.

stay in, and help bolster up a system blatantly un-Christian, selfish, and abhorrent, and seemingly designed to school, not to educate, children to a state of permanent subservience to the chosen race?⁶⁴

When Alexander Kerr addressed the Biennial Meeting of the Christian Council of South Africa he forcefully and bluntly repudiated the proposed new order in African education. He spoke from years of pioneering experience in the field and probably as the leading authority in the country on Black education. The Christian Council was primarily a missionary body and so the Bantu Education Act presented it with a fundamental problem. This was because it had always regarded the education of Africans as one of its prime concerns. Kerr argued, however, that missionary activity was a concomitant of education, health services and the general upliftment of a people according to set norms of society.⁶⁵

Any theoretical support of C.N.E. would also have to agree with this view. Kerr believed that such enterprises represented "an outstanding investment of initiative, energy and skill."⁶⁶

Kerr pointed to the fact that there had been considerable co-operation between the Church and the State in the education of Africans. He believed that this common undertaking for an underprivileged group has afforded an outstanding example of a combination of voluntary

64. Outlook, May 1954, pp 78-79-

65. Ibid., p 86.

66. Ibid.

community service and self-help, resting upon a reasonable basis of public support.⁶⁷

The impact of religious influence was of "incalculable educational significance." The institutions also gave the students a sense of belonging to a specific community, governed by particular standards.⁶⁸

Kerr pointed to the anomalous situation that, after 150 years, the Verwoerd Government was proposing to relieve the Church of a burden which for long had been recognized as one of the prime functions of a properly ordered State. It was accepted that voluntary societies could not cope with the vastness of an area like education. Still less could they cope with compulsory education; if that were to be introduced the nation "would be faced with an organizational problem of the first magnitude." Yet there was the experience within the country to deal with this problem. This development could be aided by the application of well-worn principles, of which one was in the spiritual realm and the Church had attempted to foster it. But this would be much more difficult to carry out in a climate of Church-State antagonism. Kerr focussed on the dilemma, that if compulsory schooling were to be introduced then only the State could carry this tremendous burden. But this should necessitate co-operation between Church and State as to the best means of embarking upon a programme of school expansion whilst conserving the spiritual values inherent in missionary education.⁶⁹

67. Outlook, 1 June 1954, p 86.

68. Ibid.

69. Ibid.

Although Kerr welcomed the expansion of African primary education and the fact that it would pass into the hands of African control, he doubted whether there would "be a sufficient number of knowledgeable and public spirited people to maintain the membership of local school committees or boards." Here Kerr adopted a pragmatic approach arguing that in such a case those who had had experience in African education should remain working within the system, "lest many of the values that have been established in the past be dissipated." This was because there was nothing hereditary about instruction and training; "what was won by one generation might easily be lost by the next." It was the duty of the missionary, therefore, to aid "the new and untried system of public education."⁷⁰

By making this declaration, Kerr was indicating the road along which the Church of Scotland would be moving. There was to be a pragmatic acceptance of the Bantu Education Act and its probing and far-reaching activities.

Kerr then went on to deal with the post-primary input in Black education. Here he noted the important role played by teacher-training, secondary and high schools. Teacher-training colleges were the flag ships of the entire educational process and had been in existence since the middle of the nineteenth century. To Kerr, education was basically a conjunction of a teacher and a pupil.⁷¹ The training of teachers was essential to Verwoerd in his bid to overturn the missionary control of African education because of their influence

70. Outlook, 1 June 1954, p 87.

71. Ibid.

in the classroom. A teacher schooled in a certain philosophy of life would impart these ideas to the pupils and thus there would be a chain reaction which would affect various groups within the community. Verwoerd was able to draw on Afrikaner experience: teachers had flooded this profession and consequently indoctrinated the youth into beliefs of White "baasskap" and African inferiority. The lack of English-speaking teachers had tragically meant that English school children became increasingly controlled by C.N.E. philosophy.⁷²

Kerr was equally aware of the importance of the instruction and training of prospective teachers. This meant that the teacher should be competent and able "to discharge the duties that fall to him as the guide of 'persons' in their own right, as well as 'citizens' of a state."⁷³ A State which claimed to be Christian, but which sought to destroy all vestiges of an alliance with the Church in an area as important as the country's teachers, was courting danger.

There would be a dearth of prospective teachers who would not realise this during their training, but later on in life would suffer from "a persistent mood of frustration and regret."⁷⁴

In fact the Bantu Education Act issued a challenge to the Church, that it should be prepared to financially support its educational endeavours. But what did this in effect mean? The government was

72. Shingler, op.cit., ch. 11.

73. Outlook, 1 June 1954, p 87.

74. Ibid.

responsible for the full cost of the salaries of teachers both within and without these institutions. It had laid down set salary scales for such teachers and had also added cost of living allowances. But Kerr pointed out that no Church could continue to maintain its teaching staff if its subsidy was cut by 50 or even 25 per cent. Nor did the Government list of staff members include all employees. The Church was already struggling to maintain the staff whom the Government was not prepared to subsidize and was being particularly hard hit by the obligatory payment of cost of living allowances.⁷⁵

Kerr was under no illusions: such conditions would destroy missionary institutions, unless fees were raised to such an extent that the African parent would be unable to pay. Such a policy would defeat the purpose of missionary education unless the Churches carried the financial burden, which was hardly practicable, as they lacked the resources to do so.⁷⁶

Given this it would have been impossible for the Church to continue to operate institutions on the scale of Lovedale, Healdtown or St Matthews. Lovedale, with its heavy commitment to vocational training, would have been particularly hard hit because this required a greater financial outlay.⁷⁷ Whilst the Press was very productive, it was regarded as a separate entity and all profits were ploughed back into the development of this sphere of industry.⁷⁸ The Church was, therefore, in dire straits and faced with a fundamental crisis of

75. Outlook, 1 June 1954, p 87.

76. Ibid.

77. See above ch. 3.

78. Ibid.

conscience. It did not like the thought of a new, repressive order being imposed on African education. Nor did it relish the thought that one and a half centuries of educational endeavour were to be brought to an end by legislative fiat. But what were the options? The climate in South Africa was one of deep depression. The Strijdom Government had great parliamentary power; Verwoerd was determined to press his segregationist beliefs in the face of all opposition. Liberals did not have the numbers to counter these attacks. Certainly the Catholic Church could choose to disregard the new order, but given the circumstances, one must appreciate more clearly the steps that men like Kerr and Shepherd were taking. It was not an easy road to move along and they both realised this. But had they decided to go it alone, it is doubtful whether Lovedale would have continued for very long as an educational institution.

The missionary institutions had made a unique contribution to the growth of African education and South African society as a whole, and could continue to do so in the future. In any case Kerr had travelled extensively amongst the missionary establishments of Africa and he said that none who had not done so could "be aware of the immense and sustained effort which the best of these represent." These were communities identified by unique characteristics which constituted "their main value as an educational centre." It was this quality which was remembered and held in esteem by students, both present and past and it was this set of values which the Government wished to destroy.⁷⁹

79. Outlook, 1 June 1954, p 88.

Finally Kerr addressed the question of divided control, which could be feasible under certain conditions. But missionary institutions were "so closely knit", because they operated farms, hospitals, clinics, housing and church property "that any suggestion of divided control would open the door to chaos."⁸⁰ Thus Kerr emphatically rejected any form of divided control of institutions.

Shepherd criticised Verwoerd's dogmatic approach in wanting to dissolve the Governing Councils and not according these members representation on the new councils that were to be set up. This would be destructive because the existing councils which were multiracial, embodied "a great deal of missionary and official educational experience" and so had been able to contribute to progress.⁸¹ It would be folly to dispense with bodies of such experience. The Lovedale Governing Council was not simply a meeting place for educationalists; it was one of the leading forums for liberal expression and opinion in the country. As such it contained a wide-range of prominent Black and White representatives.⁸² But the Council unlike the proposed School Committees or Boards was an elected body and this would have posed problems for the State.⁸³

The attitude of the Government was that Africans should manage their

80. *Outlook*, 1 June 1954, p 88.

81. *Outlook*, 1 July 1954, p 101; see also Macquarrie, "The New Order in Bantu Education" in *Africa South*, vol 1, No. 1 1956, pp 36-37

82. Interview, Prof J.W. Macquarrie, Somerset West, 20 April 1987.

83. Macquarrie (1956), op.cit., pp 36-37.

own educational system. Shepherd believed this to be a positive move, but drew attention to the contradiction in Government policy. Whilst on the one hand the Department of Bantu Education wanted to rid itself of white expertise in the Governing Councils, on the other, all of its highest posts were filled by Whites. If this were the case then it was inconceivable that White "help be jettisoned at other levels, especially in the management of such complex organizations as large missionary institutions."⁸⁴

It was the Government's motive to recruit Africans into the new system of education, so that it would appear that they were in control, whereas, in actual fact, the real rulers were the White inspectors, the departmental administrators and Verwoerd himself. Those inspectors who were considered to be too liberal were confronted with a dilemma: What should their response be to the creeping confines of Bantu Education? This picture, as it affected the Church's response, has already been painted. But the inspectorate were in a more difficult position, because the State was determined to crush all forms of liberal opposition. It was also set on a course of Afrikanerization of senior positions in African education. This was to have the effect of minimising liberal influence.⁸⁵

After what would seem to have been a deliberate delay, Eiselen, the Secretary for Native Affairs wrote to all missionary institutions. He

84. Outlook, 1 July 1954, p101; Macquarrie, *ibid.*, p 37.

85. Interview, Prof. J.W. Macquarrie, Somerset West, 20 April 1987.

drew attention to the fact that the transfer of African education was "part of a wider scheme of social development." This would "assist in the progress of the Native people in the form of self-sufficient and responsible communities."⁸⁶

It was the Department's intention to galvanize the "energies of the Bantu in the development of a healthy social and economic life of their own."⁸⁷ Eiselen then set a deadline of 1 June 1955 for agreement to be reached with the Government by each school, failing which all subsidies would be withdrawn and the State would make alternative arrangements for the training of students. In any event, the Department required all training schools to be transferred to its control by 1 July 1955. The training of all teachers would only be permitted in departmental schools.⁸⁸ It has been shown above how important the training of African teachers was to be in the overall scheme of the new order in Black education. Thus we can see why the Department wished to begin negotiating the transfer of teacher training schools as soon as was possible and at least by early August 1954 it would dispatch officials to each institution for that purpose.⁸⁹

86. Outlook, 1 September 1954, p 133. I have not been able to find the original of this letter.

87. Ibid.

88. Ibid.

89. Ibid., pp 136-7

The situation which now existed in African education was assuming the stature of a major national crisis. The Church was reeling under a full frontal attack from the State. On 7 September 1954, a meeting of the Association of Heads of Institutions took place to consider what options were left to the Church. On the whole, the gathering had been very representative except for the fact that the Dutch Reformed Church had stated that it was negotiating directly with the Government and the Roman Catholic Church had only sent an observer. The atmosphere held a hovering sense of gloom at the prospect that the end of an era was in sight. Shepherd was in the Chair and began by briefly outlining the Christian Council meeting which had taken place in Pretoria on 1 September. There had been considerable disagreement as to what policy the Church should adopt in the face of the onslaught by the State. It had been felt by some that an extension of time should be sought.

The Association of Heads then moved on to consider the various approaches open to them, the particular question being the control of the hostels. Here it was felt by some that the hostels might be retained with advantage if the Church were given a free hand. In this case, however, it would be essential that the Church which was in control should be completely responsible for the "pastoral oversight of students and staff." The meeting, therefore, resolved that religious instruction and the "pastoral care of students and staff" should be under the guidance of the Churches in control of the

institution.⁹⁰

Such an arrangement would, of course, have suited the State as it would have limited the financial outlay needed to take control of educational institutions. It would also have given some more credibility to State encroachment by appearing to be a compromise. To the Church too there would have been a measure of advantage as a certain amount of influence within the educational sphere would have been retained. Eiselen, however, had issued a clear proviso in this regard by stating that these arrangements would be revised by the Department if there was any difficulty in the control of schools which had been transferred to it.⁹¹ This could conceivably have been the case because there would have been two controlling bodies each of which was diametrically opposed to the other.

The Church, in any case, was not going to simply consume the crumbs which the State was prepared to offer it. The Association resolved that if any Church chose to retain the control of its hostels there were certain minimum conditions which it had to observe. The Church should retain the right to appoint hostel staff as well as to admit and to exclude students. In addition the Church would decide on the Boarding Fee and

90. A.H.I.Minutes, 7 September 1954, Cory MS 16,295

91. Outlook, 1 September 1954, p 135.

it would have "exclusive and sole disciplinary authority within hostel grounds and during hostel hours."⁹²

But, in general, the Association felt that it would be far from practicable for the Churches to retain control of the hostels when the schools were controlled by the Department.⁹³

The meeting then went on to consider the question of the principle underlying the Act. This was indeed to be a touchy issue and an attempt has been made throughout this discussion to bring out this point. There were some members who felt very keenly that the major question was whether there should be any co-operation with the Department in implementing the Act because of the principles which underlay it. Yet although there was a general feeling of anxiety regarding the principles of the Act, the meeting was divided on the question of whether it should co-operate with the State or not. There was a feeling amongst some of the Association's members that a simple statement should be made, which reiterated certain fundamental principles to which "Christian people must adhere in connection with the education of the African people." It was finally agreed that the Association of Heads of Institutions issue a statement to their Churches and Missions which basically rejected the provisions and

92. A.H.I.Minutes, 7 September 1954, Cory MS 16,295.

93. Ibid.

principles of Bantu Education. The Association claimed that it was "the duty of Christian people to provide Christian education for all men" and that the Churches had a duty "to safeguard Christian influence in the schools." But further "there should be no restriction other than that of ability in the educational advance of any man" and "that the standards of education and measurement of attainment should not be different for different racial groups within the same country."⁹² This statement, so incompatible with Government thinking, begs the question: could there ever be any real co-operation or sense of rapprochement between the Church and the State with regard to African education?

Next, a meeting of the Lovedale Governing Council took place on 15 September 1954. Again, the scene was set for a gloomy analysis of what was to be done. The Council accepted that the final decision rested with the Church in Scotland. But four possible alternatives came under discussion. The first was a straight transfer of all schools and hostels to the Government, so that the only missionary activities to continue would be in the Church, the Press, the Hospitals, the Farm and the Bible School. Or, secondly, the Church could hand over the schools, whilst retaining control of the hostels. The third option was to accept the Government's offer of a 75 per cent subsidy for teachers' salaries and allowances, but this would mean that teacher-training would need to be given up. The final choice was simply to run Lovedale as a private institution without any Government aid.

94. A.H.I.Minutes, 7 September 1954, Cory Ms 16,295; Eiselen Report, ch. 6.

The Government, however, had no intention of encouraging the existence of private institutions for Blacks. In the case of Adams College, the Government at first dragged its heels, delaying its response to an application to register as a private school. On a second attempt, the application was turned down, detailed reasons being given for this action.⁹⁵

It was realised that only the first two alternatives were really viable and whilst there was some support for the second of these, that of dual control, most of those present favoured the first choice, that of handing over all the schools and the hostels to the Government. This was then accepted by the Council. It was, however, emphasized by several speakers that this was accepted, not because the Government's scheme was felt to be right, but because they believed that it was the best that could be done under the circumstances. It was felt that any form of dual control would make discipline very difficult and might in fact prove to be disastrous. If the Institution was to retain control of the hostels it would have to formulate certain conditions, none of which would be acceptable to the Government.⁹⁶

Accordingly, the Lovedale Governing Council resolved to hand over the schools and hostels to the Government. It did, however, favour retaining ownership of all the present school buildings. Further, the school buildings, hostels and certain staff houses should be leased to

95. Joel Grant, Head of Adams College, to Kerr, 30 July 1956, Cory PR 4088. The full text of this important letter is included in Appendix D.

96. G.C.M., 15 September 1954, P.P.

the Government. The Council felt that in any discussions with the Inspectors all matters about education should be raised; not simply the work of the training school.⁹⁷

There was widespread condemnation of the imminent transfer of African education to the Department of Native Affairs. The Churches were generally severe in unequivocally rejecting all attempts by the State to subvert African education towards its own goals. The General Assembly of the Bantu Presbyterian Church of South Africa which was meeting at Zwelitsha, near King William's Town, from 23 to 29 September 1954 passed a lengthy resolution covering its attitude to the State control of education. The General Assembly regretted that the Government had embarked upon a scheme of education which seemed to "place emphasis on preparing pupils for a subordinate role in the country's life rather than in giving them the common culture of the Christian West." Whilst the Assembly welcomed "the more active participation of the African people in the controls of Bantu education", it believed that this could have been brought about "without displacing missionary management of existing schools, particularly as only one-third of Bantu children are in school." The General Assembly felt that the "Government should have concentrated its attention on making provision for those not in school, under a parallel system of Government and Mission Schools." Further the Assembly, adopting a pragmatic stance, called on its Ministers and those who had previously been involved in "educational administration

97. G.C.M., 15 September 1954, P.P.

to give all possible assistance in school boards and committees as they have opportunity where these boards and committees are established."⁹⁸

Support for the Government, however, came from the Nederduitse Hervormde of Gereformeerde Kerk, for it believed that the Government should "accept responsibility for the control of Native education." The Church, therefore, saw this as a "natural development" with a parallel in the apparent transfer of White schools from the Church to the State. It also welcomed the opportunity which the Act provided for the Natives themselves to accept responsibility for the education and rearing of their children, and the opportunity which the Church still had of retaining some of its institutions on certain conditions. Further, it applauded "the prospect created thereby of some education for tens of thousands of children, who would otherwise not have gone to school, and the assurance that the education of Native children will now be carried out on a definite basis according to a Union-wide policy."⁹⁹ The Commission did, however, urge the Government to create additional facilities for Blacks as well as the gradual provision in the lower and secondary schools for a more academic education for certain pupils.¹⁰⁰

98. Outlook, 1 November 1954, p 164. For further discussions of Church attitude see this article and the following one, Outlook, 1 December 1954, pp 181-182.

99. Outlook, 1 December 1954, p 181-2.

100. Ibid., For the official position of the Afrikaans Churches see "The Dutch Reformed Church and Bantu Education in South Africa" in Bantu : An Informal Publication of the Department of Native Affairs, No 8 August 1955, pp 15-26.

But under Shepherd, its editor, The South African Outlook continued to carry comment that was critical and Bull, its assistant editor, strove to adopt a pragmatic policy. An editorial which appeared in December 1954 perhaps best crystallised the enormity of the dilemma confronting the various churches in South Africa. This was the choice of having to accept the Bantu Education Act whilst not approving any of its principles or alternatively "of throwing on to the streets thousands of African children, many of whom, in all likelihood, would swell the numbers of juvenile delinquents."¹⁰¹

The Outlook regretted the decision of Ambrose Reeves, Bishop of Johannesburg, to close schools in the area of his diocese owing to the bad cases of juvenile delinquency largely resultant from the shortage of schooling facilities.¹⁰² Rather it chose to support Archbishop Clayton's views that he was "haunted by the fear" that if the missions refused to lease their school buildings, this would mean that large numbers of children would be thrown onto the streets. In the country they would lose all opportunities of instruction and so this meant that even "a rotten system of education" was "better than that which the young children pick up in a street."¹⁰³ A considerable body of African opinion, however, opposed this pragmatic stance, tending towards the position adopted by Ambrose Reeves.¹⁰⁴

101. Outlook, 1 December 1954, p 178.

102. Ibid. For Reeves's reasons see "Anglican Church and the Bantu education Act" in Forum 3(9) December 1954. See also Paton (1973), op.cit., p 236.

103. Outlook, 1 December 1954, p 178; see also Paton (1973) op.cit., p 235.

104. Karis and Carter (1977), op.cit., vol 3, doc 7a, pp 137-138

It was a difficult decision but under the circumstances and in the climate of crisis in education it was probably the most sensible solution.

Yet although the majority of the Churches were prepared to accept Bantu Education as being better than nothing, it was widely recognised by all who had had any involvement in African Education that the Government was closing the door to free thought and association. Thus Verwoerd embarked upon a massive propaganda campaign in an attempt to win African adherents to the new policy. Simple parables, paternalistic in nature, provided the substance of Verwoerd's salesmanship. One claim was that

Hitherto State money for Bantu education had gone to the churches which provided the education. Now the Government was going to put it directly into Bantu education. The Government could be compared to a cow which gave the milk, namely, the money, and the churches which received the money as the cow's first calf. When the second calf arrived, the first calf still sucked and the small calf suffered hunger. The small calf was Bantu education. When the owner of the cow wanted to see that the younger calf got the milk he placed a small piece of board with nails in it on the big calf's nose so that it could no longer suck. This board was the Bantu Education Act. If some of the churches, mostly the English churches, complained about it, the small calf should not also complain. The Afrikaans churches had long said that the Bantu parent must be master of his child's education, as the Act envisaged. The Afrikaans churches wanted to see that the rightful heir received his heritage.(105)

The Outlook greeted these sentiments as nothing but "a fantastic farrago of distortion." None with the experience or the factual

105. Quoted in Outlook, 1 December 1954, p 178; The Publication Bantu contains further examples of propaganda put out by the Department of Native Affairs.

knowledge would have been able to accept such views.¹⁰⁶ It was a terrible indictment of Strijdom's Nationalist Party Government that a senior Minister of State could make such a facile generalisation of one and a half centuries of Church involvement in African Education. Although Verwoerd was ignorant of the long history of African education and of the long role played by the Church in this sphere, there were those in his Department who were not and their silence condemned them just as Verwoerd's utterances condemned him.

By March 1955 the Lovedale Governing Council was again in session and the Bantu Education Act dominated its proceedings. The African members of the Council expressed their desire that the missionary influence should be retained. There was agreement on this and a long debate followed as to the best means of ensuring it. A large majority of members believed that this object would not be reached by retaining the hostels under the conditions laid down by the Department. It was agreed that Lovedale should attempt to exert its influence through the nomination of certain people of Christian character to the head of the boarding departments and the schools, as well as through its missionary agent.¹⁰⁷

A meeting with F.J. de Villiers had taken place in Umtata towards the middle of March 1954. This was followed in April by a special meeting of the Lovedale Governing Council to assess the position which confronted it. De Villiers had outlined the Departmental position

106. Ibid., Interviews, Prof J.W. Macquarrie, Somerset West 20 April 1987; Mrs R.M. White, Grahamstown, 1 October 1987, Mr R.G.S. Makalima, Alice, 30 January 1987.

107. G.C.M., 10 March 1955, P.P.

quite clearly. If the Church were to retain the hostels but give up the schools, then divided control would be inevitable. All Churches represented by the students of an Institution would, however, be given access to the schools. If the Church were to retain the hostels, it would have one representative on the school's Advisory Committee. There would also be two representatives of the Church as well as other interests, possibly from other churches. No guarantee against financial loss could be given to the Church, if it retained control of the hostels. The Department intended to simplify Institutions and the emphasis would be on day pupils and on girls training as primary school teachers.¹⁰⁸

A.L. Barrett, ex-Chief Native Commissioner for the Witwatersrand,¹⁰⁹ argued that the decision of what was to be done had already been made and: the "co-ordinating influence could not be retained, the Church could not accept responsibility for the hostels." Barrett maintained that every effort had been made to retain the missionary influence, but that this was no longer possible. Kerr supported this view, arguing that it had been hoped that the Government would be more liberal than its pronouncements had indicated, but these hopes had been dashed by De Villiers at the Umtata meeting. Since there was to be no co-operation between the Church and the State, it would make more educational sense to transfer both schools and hostels to the

108. G.C.M., 14 April 1955, P.P.

109. The Young-Barrett Committee had in 1935 slammed influx control, thereby repudiating the Stallard Doctrine. See T.R.H. Davenport and K.S. Hunt (eds) The Right to the Land, (David Philip, Cape Town, 1974), doc 112 p 71; see also Davenport (1987), op.cit., pp 527-528.

Government. The Missionary-in-Charge, the person who would succeed the Principal, would be able to look after the spiritual needs of the Presbyterians and any others who needed his help. The "Government had thrown away a priceless offer by the Churches", yet

The integrity of the teachers would probably prevent a complete collapse, but this day marked the end of a great tradition of missionary service to the Native people. (110)

Shepherd stressed that the Church was not leaving Lovedale. In fact it was conceivable that Lovedale might grow as a centre of missionary work with the continuance of its other activities. There would be as much Christian influence exerted as possible, even in the schools and the hostels. Shepherd believed that if in the future there were any changes for the better in African education, the organisation would still be intact to take over from the State.¹¹¹

Finally, the Lovedale Governing Council saw that it had no alternative but to hand over schools and hostels to the Government. Shepherd announced that there had been a slight improvement in the conditions regarding the date for the transfer. It might be possible to continue until the end of 1955 and if this happened the Government should be pressurised into giving a decision on certain points. The Government should make definite moves and send an independent valuator to Lovedale. It should also make it clear whether teachers should apply

110. G.C.M., 14 April 1955, P.P.

111. Ibid.

to come under the new Division and if this were the case what would happen to their contracts with the Cape Education Department and to their pension rights? The State needed to clear away the enveloping mists and to provide some clear answers. The Governing Council agreed to request that the other date for transfer of control be set at 1 January 1956.¹¹²

Tensions within South Africa during 1955 were reaching breaking point. Since 1952 the State's attitude to African education in South Africa had been obvious: it clearly desired to control this vitally important sphere of the National life. The growing tensions in education, however, were part of a broader socio-political onslaught against inter-racial mingling in South Africa. The Nationalist Party was clear: there was to be no further mixing of Black and White.

This, with the decision to transfer African education to a State Department, set the scene for bitter confrontation. This manifested itself in a widespread boycott of the schools which was seen as one of the only protests left open to the African. The A.N.C. had called on parents to keep their children away from school in order to protest against the Bantu Education Act. This had been decided by a special conference of the A.N.C. which had met in Port Elizabeth during the Easter week-end in 1955. A date was then to be decided upon by the National Executive and to be announced by the President-General, Albert Luthuli. The Congress decided, accordingly, to

112. G.C.M., 14 April 1955, P.P.

establish a national council which would formulate plans for alternative educational and cultural activities for all African children. When the boycott got under way this alternative structure of education would be implemented. Yet, on the Rand, the school boycott began without waiting for word from the A.N.C.'s National Executive.¹¹³

The situation was indeed critical and the Government in no mood to pander to any African grievances. Verwoerd was quite blunt: he announced that all children should return to school by 25 April, otherwise they would be debarred from receiving education at any school in the country. Boycotted schools might be closed for lengthy periods and funds transferred to other schools for educational development.

There seems to have been considerable intimidation which largely focussed on the events of Thursday 21 April, when a meeting of parents in the Western Johannesburg locations, amounting to roughly one thousand, decided to heed the Minister's warning and to send their children back to school on Monday 25. P.G. Vundla, a member of the Executive of the A.N.C. and Chairman of the Western Native Township Advisory Board, was one of those who supported this move. On the next day he was savagely attacked by about thirty men and eight women, all of whom called him a traitor for selling out to Government policies.

113. Karis and Carter (1977), *op.cit.*, pp 29-35, doc 8 pp 174-178; Lodge, *op.cit.*, ch. 5. See also Lodge "The Parents' School Boycott: Eastern Cape and East Rand Townships, 1955" in Kallaway, *op.cit.*, pp 265-295.

By 28 April, however, school attendances were returning to normal. But several hundred children who did not meet Verwoerd's deadline were being turned away from schools, not to be re-admitted. Verwoerd was in no frame of mind to compromise and his dogmatic attitude was criticised in the Outlook which requested that in "debarring any from further schooling the authorities would satisfy themselves that absence was not due to illness or intimidation."¹¹⁴ Verwoerd had certainly given birth to a young tiger which would slowly outgrow his own control. His policy was destined to create a rift in the land which was to grow deeper and deeper and which would lead to continual disturbances in African education. Lovedale, for instance, was to suffer a major disturbance every second year after the introduction of the Bantu Education Act.¹¹⁵

Within the African community, the tensions were destined to create major splits. The schools' boycott itself caused divisions as to the merits of the strategy. A.B. Xuma, a former President-General of the A.N.C., considered the boycott to be a negative plan, whilst calling for more positive action to counter any undesirable effects in African education. He believed that the reactions of sections of the African community indicated the seriousness of the situation and the deep sense of injury and frustration felt by his people.¹¹⁶

Xuma believed that once having protested "the people must pause, be

114. Outlook, 2 May 1955, p 69; Lodge, op.cit., ch 2.

115. Interview, Mrs R M White, 1 August 1987

116. Outlook, 2 May 1955, p 69.

calm, and reflect on the repercussions of a boycott." If the children were permanently withdrawn from the schools and if all participation in the system of Bantu Education was rejected then the Africans would lose the only effective weapons they had. It would, therefore, be better to abandon the idea of a boycott. Teachers, sub-inspectors and supervisors should "remain at their posts as allies of the people." The best possible representatives should be elected to these boards so that they could make sure that proper educational facilities were provided. Xuma pointed out that

If the boards are packed with self-seeking opportunists, and there are not a few, to the detriment of our children, the Africans and their leaders will have only themselves to blame.(117)

The African Press too came out against the boycott strategy. The Bantu World pointed to the inherent dangers in having thousands of school children wandering aimlessly around the streets. It also pointed out that the boycott leaders had tried to provide alternative schools, but that this attempt had failed and so they were powerless in controlling these children. Ilangalase-Natal also appealed that the new educational system be given a fair trial.¹¹⁸

The Outlook probably echoed the feeling amongst White liberals and particularly educationalists when it opposed the boycott. It believed in pragmatism approach as "decisions taken in the overheated

117. Quoted in Outlook, 2 May 1955, p 69.

118. Ibid.

atmosphere of a congressional gathering may be unwise if only because they cannot be put into practice." The A.N.C. did not have the financial resources to provide alternative educational facilities. And in any case, the Government could "check-mate" all such attempts. Finally most Africans outside certain urban areas were not members of the A.N.C. The Outlook argued that issues such as the educational boycott created lawless elements which the A.N.C. was unable to control.¹¹⁹

The onslaught on education was part of Verwoerd's broader strategy of divide and rule. The educational boycott played right into the hands of the Government tacticians. The Nationalist Party was looking to the future of White Afrikaner power in South Africa - even if their vision was a limited one. By breaking-up the established system of education they were able to move towards this goal. Given Churchill's view that the "empires of the future are the empires of the mind" it can be appreciated how crucial it was for Verwoerd to absorb African education into a State Department. D.L. Smit, writing to Shepherd on the eve of the Senate Bill, was quite blunt about the political and moral motivations of the South African Government. Yet, as he indicated this was simply part of the broader strategy to bring Nationalist Party domination to South Africa. Smit condemned this move as "another political fraud and another step towards a Fascist Republic." He believed that the country was being led by "a section of extremists" who had lost "all sense of decency." Smit hoped that

119. Outlook, 2 May 1955, p 70.

the people would begin to realise what lay behind Government legislation before it was too late.¹²⁰

This was not to be, however. There was too much political division amongst opponents of the Government and extreme action, such as the schools' boycott, merely served to alienate a large sector of the White population. The Nationalists, on the other hand, had a clear policy which appealed to many Whites. As a party they were united behind a common belief and ideology: Afrikaner superiority. They were also unscrupulous in their methods and were prepared to destroy all obstacles in their way. This was being illustrated in the State's clash with the Church over who should control African education. Yet despite stiff resistance, the State was set to come out a strong winner.

The Foreign Mission Committee (F.M.C.) of the Church of Scotland entered the fray to make known its attitude towards the Bantu Education Act and Government policy. The statement issued by the F.M.C. tactfully approved "the principle of responsibility underlying the Act. This was because "in accordance with the practice of civilised states ... the Government of South Africa should accept responsibility for the education of all its citizens." It also accepted and was appreciative of the fact "that in recent years the State has borne a large share of the cost of the education that was

120. Smit to Shepherd, 14 May 1955, Cory MS 14,726

being given through the Missions."¹²¹

But the F.M.C. disputed the implication that missionary education had failed to contribute towards the progress of the community because it had concentrated on the interests of the individual. Mission education had, in any case, produced considerable numbers of people who had assimilated the instructions given. By their "intellectual ability, workmanlike attainments and sound characters" the African products of mission institutions could compare to any racial group, even though they had had to cope with less favourable economic and social conditions. Such people "could have been used for the benefit of the entire South African community had the organisation of the State permitted their full employment in that wider service."¹²²

The F.M.C. went on to point out that although the Government intended to bring Africans into "the management and control" of their schools, this had been one of the aims of the missionary so long as it did not compromise educational standards.¹²³

But the F.M.C.'s major objection was that the Bantu Education Act was based upon a racial principle. It believed that as the economic life of South Africa was dependent on African co-operation; the time was past when they could be "treated as a completely separate community".

121. Outlook, 1 April 1955, p 54.

122. Ibid.

123. Ibid, pp 54-55

A Christian educational policy should "prepare the members of every social group to assume their full share of adult responsibility in the service of the country." Thus the F.M.C. could not subscribe to the Government view that the African had no say in the affairs of South Africa and only a subdued voice in the Native Reserves. Nor could the F.M.C. accept an educational policy whereby the African was to be trained for life in the reserves, totally excluded from the white community except to undertake "certain forms of labour." Such a policy was "contrary to the law of God"; it would prove disastrous.¹²⁴

The F.M.C. nevertheless called on the Bantu Presbyterian Church to use to the full the new system of education and to seek "within the law of the land the advancement of their people in all spheres, but chiefly in matters of Christian faith and life."¹²⁵

F.J. De Villiers attended a meeting of the Executive of the Lovedale Governing Council on 28 July 1955 in order to make clear the full intentions of the Government. He asked whether the Church's decision to hand over its hostels to the Department was an irrevocable one. It was made clear that the Church of Scotland had reluctantly decided to adopt this stance. With regard to the future policy that would be applied to Lovedale, De Villiers stated that only male students would be admitted to the Institution. St Matthews would become a girls' school. Lovedale would become the Industrial Training Centre for the Eastern Cape, the number of industrial boarders rising to a possible two hundred. Printing was not to be included in the industrial

124. *Outlook*, 1 April 1955, pp 54-55.

125. *Ibid.*

scheme, but the Department would probably maintain the present commitments if at least twelve apprentices were in training.¹²⁶ The commercial side of the High School would probably also be strengthened. In the Training School two male classes would be admitted yearly and they would be enrolled for the two-year Native Primary Higher Course. But if the Industrial Department increased considerably, it was possible that the Training School would be phased out in about five years time. Lovedale would then only have a High School and an Industrial School, and it would be a centre for the distribution of school requirements. Under the new order, all churches represented amongst the students would be accorded equal religious rights. Students would be able to enter Lovedale from the rural areas and the Mission, that was on ground adjoining a Native Territory, would be safe. Despite the fact that the Government had wanted to Africanise schools and that this was one of its major objectives in taking them over, De Villiers stated that the Department of Native Affairs did not approve of Africans acting as principals, even if this were only a temporary measure, as long as there were White members of staff.¹²⁷

Finally De Villiers expressed his appreciation of the work done by the Lovedale Missionaries during the past 130 years and the contribution that they had made towards Bantu Education. He stated that the change of control was in no sense a vote of no confidence in these missionaries. It should rather be seen as part of the Government's

126. See above ch. 3.

127. Exec.G.C.M., 28 July 1955, P.P.

general policy, which was to take control of the whole of Bantu Education. It was just unfortunate that institutions which had such good records and such high standards, such as Lovedale, should be asked to move aside. Bantu Education was moving forward. In the future, when an urban location was built, allowance would have to be made for adequate school accommodation. The Department would build 150 schools in urban areas. In the country areas, building would be subsidised on a pound for pound basis and doors, windows and roofs would be supplied by the Department. Private schools and unaided teachers would be absorbed by the Department and their salaries would be met.¹²⁸

Kerr replied that he had never been pessimistic about Bantu Education, but his one regret was that all voluntary effort on the part of the missions was now to be discarded. This encouraged the fear that certain aspects of mission work would not receive the same attention in the future. Kerr said that the Department could have had much voluntary help and at a much lower cost than was now the case. Shepherd associated himself with Kerr's sentiments adding that Lovedale's associations with De Villiers and those in his Department had always been happy. He stressed that in the future, just as it had done in the past, Lovedale would provide all the spiritual help it could to the students within the Institution. Shepherd believed that the "paramount purpose of Lovedale would always be the great concern of the missionary staff."¹²⁹

What is of concern here is what the projected future of Lovedale was

128. Exec. G.C.M., 28 July 1955, P.P.

129. Ibid.

to be. There was widespread national interest in this, in view of the fact that Lovedale was the most complex and most diverse educational institution for Blacks in the country. Its proximity to Fort Hare was also important because the two institutions were able to co-ordinate their educational and other activities and together they formed the most significant block of educated African opinion in the country. The two Institutions were also symbolic of Black achievement in South Africa. So inextricably the future of Lovedale was tied up with that of Fort Hare. Yet although the existence of Lovedale was now under threat, Fort Hare was set to continue its independence for another four years, until the State was ready to press ahead with its attack on liberal thinking at the tertiary level in the form of the University of Fort Hare Extension Act of 1959.

The Lovedale Governing Council met for the last time on 10 November 1955 and it resolved that from 31 December it would be dissolved and its powers and functions would pass to the South African Mission Council of the Church of Scotland. Kerr acknowledged the way in which Shepherd had managed the Institution and thanked the Council for the "unfailing spirit of harmony which had prevailed at its meetings."¹³⁰ Shepherd had intimated in November 1954 that he would be retiring once the Institution came under State control. He had stated on that occasion that the F.M.C. would soon have to consider the staff of all its institutions. In any case, by December 1955 the future organisation of Lovedale would be clear, and a fresh mind would be needed to deal with the difficulties of the years ahead.¹³¹

130. G.C.M., 10 November 1955, P.P.

131. Ibid.

CONCLUSION

The purpose of this study has been to illustrate the contribution made to African education by the Lovedale Missionary Institution. This has been done by placing Lovedale in the broader context of South African socio-political developments.

Lovedale was the embodiment of certain missionary ideals: the spreading of the Christian message, the moulding of character along Christian lines, education for life and high academic attainments. An attempt has been made to illustrate the debates which accompanied these ideals. Missionary thinking was not static and so at Lovedale educational policy did change. But whilst there was change there was also continuity as the missionary ideal always received priority.

A major theme which runs through education in Africa, is that of Church-State co-operation. Evidence of the importance of this emerged at the Le Zoute Conference. But the missionaries insisted upon the priority of religious teaching so that the ideals of the Christian Mission could be disseminated. The Conference also placed emphasis on village education, as promoted through the Jeanes Schools, whereby the African could be trained for the life that he would have to lead.

The American educationalist, Thomas Jesse Jones had, endorsed this type of education.

In South Africa Church-State co-operation lasted until the victory of the Nationalist Party in 1948. The Eiselen Commission was then

appointed to investigate African education. Many of the views expressed by the Commission were similar to those which had been put forward at the Le Zoute Conference. Although this was largely coincidental, Jesse Jones certainly exerted a major influence on the Commission. This study has attempted to show that what the Nationalist Party objected to was, in fact, part of the whole ethos of the Missionary ideal of education.

To emphasise this, a close examination was undertaken of vocational training. Here it was shown that Lovedale faced real difficulties owing to expense and employment. Vocational education required heavy financing because African parents were not in a position to cover all the costs, which, if too high, would have deterred students. Employment opportunities for Black artisans were also scarce. These were denied to them in the White cities and in their own areas, there was economic depression and consequently little chance of employment. But vocational training was pursued as it was crucial to the missionary ideal. Lovedale also believed that it was necessary to build up a Black artisan class who would be able to compete on an equal footing with their White compatriots.

It was in looking at the Lovedale Press that a social study of the Black printing industry could be attempted. This further illustrated the importance with which missionaries viewed vocational training. There was also inherent conflict in the training of Black printers because they would be able to compete against Whites.

The Press also served the fundamental missionary ideal of being able

to spread the Christian message. Yet the Press, combining as it did The South African Outlook, was able to make a powerful input into the socio-political debates of the country. In this respect Lovedale was in a particularly powerful position.

When Shepherd became the Director of the Press in 1932 he was destined to become one of the most influential figures in the production of African literature. His belief was that African authors should be encouraged to produce works of merit and that these books should be printed and bound by African workmen. Shepherd also took Press activities beyond the restricted sphere of religious literature into the wider field of secular publishing, but because the Press was so dominant in the Black school market, it was increasingly to aggravate the Nationalist Party Government.

This study has also attempted to examine various personalities and to see how they reacted to the situations in which they were placed. The major contrast here was between Wilkie and Shepherd. Wilkie sought a diplomatic settlement to conflict and so during his period at Lovedale there was considerable calm. Shepherd, however, had an aggressive personality and was not afraid of conflict. Thus his principalship was bound to be more turbulent.

The Lovedale Riot of 1946 provided a good example of conflict within the Institution and of the way in which different people reacted. Shepherd took a hard line because his artisan background meant that he could not understand students who revolted against those who were trying to provide them with education. Kerr, on the other hand,

adopted a more flexible approach and he clashed with Shepherd over the question of which students to re-admit to the Institution.

Violence and conflict was to become a constant theme in African education when the Nationalist Government passed the Bantu Education Act in 1953, and it was first to manifest itself in the Schools' Boycott of 1955.

The Bantu Education Act was to usher in a new order in African education. The Church was to be eased out from the sphere of African education, as the Native Affairs Department, under Verwoerd, realized that dominance in this area was crucial if it was to implement the apartheid policy of social discrimination.

This study has attempted to show the dilemma which faced the Church in its confrontation with the State: whether to co-operate with a system which they believed was fundamentally wrong or to have nothing to do with Government policy and in consequence let everything that they had built up over the years, fall to ruin? The choice was not an easy one and this study has merely attempted to present Lovedale's stance, without taking a moral position on the issue.

This study has attempted to show the importance of Lovedale's contribution to education in South Africa. This impact affected society at almost every level. Although the system of education suffered from the strains of a divided society it was able to survive because it was flexible and so would adapt with changing circumstances. It was this flexibility that would contribute to the

continuity of educational policy at Lovedale. Thus when the Bantu Education Act was introduced, Lovedale accepted the inevitability of the change and by encouraging its teachers to remain in the employment of the Department of Native Affairs, it hoped to keep alive the values and ideas for which it had striven during the previous one hundred and fifty years. In order to maintain stability, Lovedale felt that all control of the schools should be handed over to the State. The Lovedale Press would continue to publish African literature and to produce text books for African schools. The Church would also retain a Missionary-in-Charge to represent its continued interests in Lovedale and to attend to the spiritual needs of the students.

APPENDICESAPPENDIX A

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE LOVEDALE MISSIONARY INSTITUTION

(This constitution has been approved by the Foreign Mission Committee of the Church of Scotland.)

The Lovedale Missionary Institution shall be administered in accordance with the following constitution.

I. NAME AND OBJECT OF THE INSTITUTION

The Institution shall be called the Lovedale Missionary Institution. Its efforts shall be devoted to the uplifting of the Native and Coloured people of Africa by means of religious work, by general and specialised education, and by industrial training. The admission of students other than African shall be at the discretion of the Governing Council.

The Institution is a Christian organisation and all members of its staff shall be professing Christians, and of Missionary sympathy.

II. GOVERNING COUNCIL

1. The Institution shall be under the control of a Governing Council constituted in the following manner, and this body shall be designated the Lovedale Governing Council.

- a. The Institution shall be represented by the Principal, Vice-Principal, Head of High School, Head of Training School, the Minister of the Congregation, the Lady Superintendent of the Girls' School, Head of the Practising School, Vice-Superintendent of the Girls' School, Medical Superintendent of the Victoria Hospital, Boarding Master, a senior member of the Boys' Industrial School staff and the Head of the General Office. The election of two others shall be in the hands of the Governing Council, their appointment being for two years, one retiring each year.
- b. The Mission Council of the Church of Scotland shall appoint three members for a period of three years.
- c. The General Assembly of the Bantu Presbyterian Church shall appoint one member for a period of three years.
- d. His Excellency the Governor General in Council may appoint two members for a period of five years.
- e. The Superintendent General of Education of the Cape Province may appoint two members to the Council for a period of five years.

- f. The Executive Committee of the Governing Council shall nominate six members, men or women, who shall be chosen because of outstanding knowledge of affairs, business capacity, and sympathy with the Native people. These members shall be appointed with the approval of the Foreign Mission Committee of the Church of Scotland for a period of five years.
 - g. The Executive Committee of the Governing Council shall appoint two Native members to represent past students for a period of three years.
 - h. The Council shall from time to time appoint a Secretary who may or may not have the powers of a full member of the Council as the Council shall determine.
2. In the event of any of the bodies entitled to nominate or appoint a member failing to do so, the action of the other members forming the Council shall in no way be invalidated by such failure.
3. The Governing Council, subject to the approval of the Foreign Mission Committee shall frame the policy and arrange for the management of the Institution and determine courses of study and practical training, and shall be responsible for the finance. The Council shall appoint or nominate for appointment the staff, except that the appointment of the Principal of the Institution, the Minister of the Congregation, and the Lady Superintendent of the Girls' School shall be made by the Foreign Mission Committee of the Church of Scotland, after consultation with the Governing Council.
4. Members of the staff shall ordinarily obtain leave of absence from the Council. In cases of emergency leave may be granted by the Principal or the Executive Committee, subject where necessary to the regulations of the Department of Public Education.
5. The Governing Council may by vote of not less than three-fourths of the members present, subject to the approval of the Foreign Mission Committee amend or add to the provisions of this constitution, provided that (a) formal notice shall have been given of proposed alterations, and (b) such draft alterations shall have been sent to all members of the Council at least two months prior to the meeting.

III. PROCEDURE OF THE GOVERNING COUNCIL

- 1. The meetings of the Governing Council shall ordinarily be held at Lovedale. Ordinary meetings shall be held at least twice a year; special meetings shall also be held upon a requisition addressed to the chairman and signed by seven members of the Governing Council. Members of the Council shall receive at least fourteen days notice of the meetings. Seven shall form a quorum except for resolutions altering the Constitution, when fifteen shall form a quorum.

2. The first ordinary meeting of each year shall elect an Executive Committee of ten members who shall carry on the business of the Institution between the meetings of the Governing Council, subject to the instructions of the Council. The Executive Committee shall keep minutes of its meetings which shall be confirmed at the following meeting of the Council. The Council shall also at its first meeting of each year elect a Finance Committee and other committees as required.
3. The accounts of the Institution shall be made up to the 31st December of each year and an audited statement of the accounts shall be submitted to the first ordinary meeting of Council after that date.
4. At any special meeting of the Governing Council only such business as is mentioned in the notice calling the meeting shall be transacted.
5. The Principal shall ex-officio be chairman of the Governing Council and of all committees. He may appoint the Vice-Principal or a member of committee to act as his deputy on the committee. The first ordinary meeting of the Council in each year shall appoint a vice-chairman of the Governing Council.
6. The Chairman of the Council or committee shall have a deliberative as well as a casting vote.

IV. THE SENATE

1. Subject to the foregoing provisions the co-ordination of the work, discipline and recreation of the Institution shall be vested in the Senate consisting of
 - a. The Principal, Vice-Principal, heads of the Training School, High School, Practising School, Lady Superintendent of the Girls' School, Vice-Superintendent of the Girls' School, Minister of the Congregation, two representatives from the Boys' Industrial School elected by the heads of the various industrial departments, Boarding Master.
 - b. Eight other members of the staff elected at a meeting of all heads of Departments, teachers and instructors.
2. The meeting to elect members of Senate shall take place during the first fortnight of the first session. Appointments shall be for one year.
3. The Senate shall hold ordinary meetings at such intervals as the Senate shall determine. Special meetings for ad hoc business shall be held as the Principal or chairman shall determine. A special meeting shall also be held on receipt of a requisition signed by four members of the Senate.

4. Seven shall form a quorum in the Senate.
5. The Principal shall, when present, preside at all meetings of the Senate and in his absence the Vice-Principal.
6. Committees for the year shall be appointed at the first meeting for each year.
7. The Senate shall arrange for the establishing of a Students' Representative Council.

V. ACTIONS AT LAW

All actions and other proceedings at law to be instituted by or against the Lovedale Missionary Institution shall be instituted or brought in the name of the Chairman of the Lovedale Governing Council and all powers of attorneys, contracts and formal documents on behalf of the Institution shall be signed by the Chairman of the Governing Council.

The Chairman shall incur no personal responsibility in respect of such actions or other proceedings, and shall in his conduct therein observe all regulations and all directions given by the Governing Council on behalf of the Institution.

APPENDIX B

A complete list of Lovedale Press publications has never been made and it would be a mammoth task. Of the vast output of books, pamphlets and music, a brief selection of some of the more famous authors is listed here.

1. Dhlomo, H.I.E., The Girl Who Killed to Save, Nongqause the Liberator: a play (1935).
2. Dhlomo, R.R.R., An African Tragedy: a novel in English by a Zulu writer. (nd)
3. Jolobe, J.J.R., Poems of an African (1946).
4. Jordaan, A.C., Ingqumbo Yeminyanya (1938).
5. Mqhayi, S.E.K., U-Don Jadu: imbali yokukutaza u Manyano ne nqubela pambili (1951).
6. Plaatje, Sol T., Mhudi: an epic of South African Native life a hundred years ago (1930).
7. Sinxo, G.B., uNomsa: a novel (1944).

APPENDIX CTHE BANTU EDUCATION ACT
QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS(a) Primary Schools

Q.1 Will the Churches have the right to nominate or appoint Church representatives on Primary School Committees?

Answer: It has been recommended that they be allowed to nominate. No final decision has been taken.

Q.2 Will the employment contract of the teacher be with the School Board?

Answer: In the Community School, Yes. In Government Schools the Division will be the employer, and in Church Schools, the Church.

Q.3 How is it proposed to appoint or elect the Chairmen of the Primary School Committees?

Answer: The recommendation is that the Committees will elect their own officers. Existing machinery will be respected, especially where there is a Bantu authority. The chief or headman might be chairman, and the school principal could be appointed secretary.

Q.4 Do the two alternatives of handing over the Schools to Government control or retaining them on a subsidy of 50% of teachers' salaries apply to Primary Schools?

Answer: Yes, they apply to all except teacher-training schools. The % of subsidy is not yet fixed - it may be as high as 75%, but it will not exceed that figure.

Q.5 Does the new regulation regarding maintenance and equipment (Natal & Transvaal) apply to Primary Schools only?

Answer: Yes, for the present year. The figure of 30/- for Secondary Schools will stand for this year.

Q.6 Who will bear the cost of litigation involving the dismissal or disciplining of teachers?

Answer: The relevant authority - in a Community School the School Board; in a Government School the Government; in a Church School the Church. A Departmental Enquiry would still be required where a teacher was to be dismissed from the profession.

Q.7 How far does the Division of Bantu Education propose to safeguard the interests of the Churches in the appointment of teachers, and how is it proposed to achieve this?

Answer: Only through the Churches' representatives on School Committees, Boards, etc. The Church will have no direct control. Should the Church have a legitimate complaint concerning a teacher representations could be made to the Division which might, if the case justified it, withdraw its subsidy. The Churches were free to make representations to the Division in writing on this point.

(b) Institutions

Q.1 In the case of Churches electing to lease their buildings to the Division who will bear the cost of repairs and maintenance?

Answer: In Primary Schools the community is responsible for upkeep. In Institutions it will depend on the nature of the contract made, but where a full rental is paid the Church as landlord would be responsible. The contract might, however, provide for a lower rental with the Division responsible for repairs and maintenance.

Q.2 What period has the Division in mind with regard to the leasing of Church-owned School buildings?

Answer: No thought has as yet been given to this. The Native Trust may buy the buildings. "We are not as poor as you may think."

Q.3 From what source will funds be forthcoming for building expansion in the case of Institutions, and who will administer the funds?

Answer: Where the buildings are purchased the Division would be responsible. Funds are available. £215,000 were available for the current year. Where the Church leases to the Division the Church would be responsible and could then

secure a rent grant from the Government.

Q.4 To what extent does the Department propose to retain the very considerable European experience in Bantu Education? In respect of administration is it proposed to retain that experience on such bodies as Governing Councils, or what other means is contemplated? The Churches have interest far beyond the teaching of Scripture, and are concerned with actual teaching, both as to syllabuses and the kind of teacher to be produced in the Teacher Training Schools. What provision to safeguard such interests is proposed?

Answer: None, except insofar as the Churches are represented on the Advisory Councils for Institutions. Institutions will be controlled directly by the Regional authority. The Church may be allowed to nominate its representatives on that authority - the Churches would have two members, the rest would be appointed by the Department. A present principal (ordained) with teaching qualifications might be principal of an Institution under the new set-up. There will also be certain administrative posts to be filled. The Division would also wish to take over present boarding staffs. Syllabuses might take three years to finalise. Drafts would be published first for comment.

Q.5 In view of the fact that many Institutions have a national appeal and draw their students from all over the country, and in view of the fact that their Governing Councils comprise, inter alia, representatives of Government Departments, public bodies, past students, etc., may not such Governing Councils be retained in their present form?

Answer: It was intended to throw the responsibility in future onto the Bantu. Advisory Committees would be appointed consisting mainly of Bantu, with European experts to assist. Efficiency might drop for some years to come. There were probably not more than twelve such Governing Councils as had been described. Representations could be made in that regard.

Q.6 Is it the definite policy of the Division to:-
(a) have only one sex in each Institution?
(b) detach other departments from Training Schools?

Answer: (a) It is not yet a definite policy, but we regard it as desirable
(b) Yes, except that secondary schools may be integrated with Training Schools.

Q.7 Who is to be responsible for the selection and admission of students to Institutions and for handling fees etc. in this connection?

Answer: The Division. It will have its own officers for the handling of fees etc. Student-teachers will probably be selected early on the recommendation of the Circuit Inspector, and may possibly be allowed to choose their college. It is proposed to organise the training of teachers to meet needs. There may be a reduction in the number of Institutions training teachers. The Division hopes to send out a circular about August with regard to admissions for next year.

Q.8 In view of the fact that present staff, European and African, in the Institutions are very unsettled as the result of the uncertainty as to the future, cannot the Division give assurance that matters will be brought to finality very soon?

Answer: We do not wish to rush matters. About the end of June we shall sent out a circular to Church bodies concerned setting out clearly our intentions and policies. Then we shall give the Churches a year to decide what their own particular action is to be. Then after that we shall give the teachers twelve months also to make up their minds. You may assure the teachers that they will be protected for twelve months after the Church has decided. With the expansion that will take place in Bantu Education over the next 5 - 10 years better prospects are offered to Europeans than in European Education.

Q.9 Does the Division favour the private raising of funds for the expansion of Bantu Education?

Answer: The Division does not envisage that. But with under 40% of Bantu children in school there is a vast field for those with money. Private Schools may be established, and, in particular, there is great opportunity in the direction of Nursery Schools for children under six.

Q.10 Would the Division be prepared to meet a body representing the Roman Catholic Bishops, the Christian Council, and the Federale Sendingraad, in order to discuss with them the draft regulations and syllabuses for Bantu Education?

Answer: This would present difficulty. There will be 40 sets of regulations amounting to some 60 or 70 typed pages. The request should be submitted in writing.

APPENDIX D

Adams College
30 July, 1956

Dear Dr Kerr,

Just three months ago I wrote my last circular letter about Adams College. I said that we had not yet had a reply to our application for registration as a Private School. The reply has now arrived. Briefly, the Minister of Native Affairs has refused to grant us permission to operate as a Private School.

I propose giving the letter in full so that you may see for yourself the reasons given. I propose, too, adding a few comments:-

No. 24/302/6915/1

Department of Native Affairs, Bantu Education
Private Bag 212, Pretoria, 12.7.1956

The Secretary
Adams College Inc.
Adams Mission Station, Natal

Dear Madam,

1. With reference to your application for the registration of Adams High School and Adams Industrial School as private schools, dated 11th August 1955, I have to reply as follows:
2. After careful consideration the Honourable Minister has accepted the recommendation of the Native Affairs Commission that the registration of the schools connected with Adams College (Incorporated) as private schools, cannot be approved.
3. Among the reasons which led to this decision educational considerations carried the most weight. One is that it is considered essential that the Adams Training School, which was closed down last year, should be continued as a centre for teacher-training in this area, and should be re-opened at an early date. Since at present a training school can operate only as a government Bantu school, the associated schools - secondary, practising and industrial - must be classified either as community schools or as government Bantu schools.
4. The Minister also considers that the door has to be left open for the Bantu community concerned to assume responsibility for the management of their own schools and school hostels when they are

considered ready to do so. The classification of these particular schools as government Bantu schools will be a first step in that direction.

5. The Minister appreciated the Council's views in connection with preparing students for responsible leadership, but considers that leaders for any particular Bantu community should be produced from within by the community itself, in relation to its needs. A heterogenous collection of students from all over the country at any particular boarding institution must needs be unrelated to the development of community interests.
6. Incidentally it is also the Minister's view that European bodies which desire to establish and maintain private schools should be prepared to do so with funds from their own resources, and not the basis of increased school funds. In that Adams College will have to collect fees from the pupils enrolled, as least in part, it fails to comply with this policy.
7. Assuming that the American Board will be prepared to negotiate in the matter of making its buildings available for school purposes, the Minister envisages the following development of Adams Mission Station:
8. As from January 1957 the Training School will be reopened for the training of teachers, and the associated schools, together with the Training School, with possible reclassification at a later stage as Community schools under a Bantu school board.
9. The hostels will be conducted as Departmental hostels until such time as the Bantu school board may be considered ready to assume control.
10. Teachers now employed in these schools will be free to apply for appointment under the conditions of service published last year applicable to teachers in government Bantu schools.
11. The Under Secretary for Bantu Education expects to be in Durban August 1st, when he will be available for any further discussion the Council may consider necessary.

signed: F.J. de Villiers
for SECRETARY FOR NATIVE AFFAIRS

COMMENTS

- Para 1: Note the date of the letter acknowledged, namely 11 August, 1955. That was the second of our applications and we were informed that it had failed to reach its destination and so were called upon to submit yet another.
- Para 3: Compare this statement with the one made in December 1954 by the Secretary for Native Affairs when he declined our offer to continue to run our Teacher Training College until such

time as the Government could provide alternative arrangements on the grounds that they "would be able to make the necessary provision to maintain the flow of trained teachers without taking advantage of this offer."

Para 4: This door has been provided for in our Constitution. What is more, the responsibility we offer is real, for the African members of our Incorporation can assume responsibility when they desire it and not merely when "they are considered ready to do so."

Para 5: "A heterogeneous collection" - this apparently is one of our sins. What would South Africa be without its Huguenot, Scottish, English, American, and other heterogenous strains!

Para 6: We do not charge school fees, but in keeping with all other boarding establishments we charge a board fee. Moreover, even in some Government schools fees for post primary classes are charged.

What happens now? The answer is that Adams College Inc. ceases to be at the end of 1956; and in conformity with its constitution it hands back to the American Board Mission all its assets. The authorities of the American Board will thus then have to negotiate with the Government about the property etc. In all probability the American Board will take such steps as it can to preserve its Theological School and lease such buildings and such portion of the Campus as the Government will require. No doubt the College we know will be liquidated on the 31.12.56. The new college to be established in its place on the 1.1.57 will be a Government Bantu School. Should we call it Adams College?

What do Ida and I do - not to mention our two young folk, George and Madeline? The answer is that we do not know yet. In all probability a short break overseas early in 1957 is what we shall need before beginning our new life.

Though our life and work at Adams are drawing to a close, we are most mindful of the splendid support which we have received from so many. We thank you one and all, especially as it has enabled us to help a few more students a little longer than we might have done. Let me close with the words of Job:

"The Lord gave and the Lord has taken away.
Blessed be the name of the Lord."

BIBLIOGRAPHY

A) Bibliographical Essay

The primary sources which have provided the basis for this study of Lovedale are dispersed over a wide area and in many cases not housed in research libraries. The Umtata Offices of the Reformed Presbyterian Church in Southern Africa has a wealth of unsorted documentary material on Lovedale, crucial to any researcher. The difficulty was that this material had to be sorted through before it could be used. The strong-room beneath the Lovedale Press also contained fascinating documents, but again they were unsorted and in many cases simply piled on the floor. When the Press building was burnt down earlier this year, Rhodes University's Cory Library staff were able to rescue these papers and fortunately also to save most of them. Further material keeps cropping up and so it is difficult to stay abreast of the exact extent of the volume of Lovedale records.

Cory Library, Rhodes University, has the bulk of the documentary material on Lovedale and for any researcher interested in this area it is a rich goldmine. The Howard Pim Library, University of Fort Hare also contains a small quantity of papers on Lovedale, which because they are not sorted are not able to be seen by researchers.

The St Matthews Mission Papers are still housed in the mission house and are also unsorted. All attempts to go to St Matthews proved fruitless.

This study has been based largely on the use of primary material and the secondary sources written by the missionaries themselves. Of these, R.H.W. Shepherd's Lovedale South Africa: The Story of a Century

1841-1941 and his revised edition Lovedale South Africa: 1824-1955 have been most useful in providing the general background. They also gave an insight into missionary thinking as did J.H. Oldham and B.D. Gibson, The Remaking of Man in Africa and Edwin W. Smith, The Christian Mission in Africa. On the Lovedale Press the most important book is Shepherd's, Lovedale and Literature for the Bantu, combining, as it does, his views on African writing and publishing.

There are many works on education, but most important for providing insight into the philosophy behind Bantu Education is C.T. Loram's The Education of the South African Native. In understanding Black thinking, Z.K. Matthews Freedom for my People, is particularly useful. In understanding South African history as a whole, and, therefore, being able to place Lovedale in its proper context, the most useful work is T.R.H. Davenport's South Africa: a Modern History.

(B) Bibliographical Guides

Cory Library for Historical Research Register of Documents No. 28, Rhodes University, Grahamstown 1984

- Muller C.F.J.,
van Jaarsveld, F.A. and
T van Wijk (eds) - A Select Bibliography of South African History - a guide for historical research, (University of South Africa, Pretoria 1966).
- Muller C.F.J.,
van Jaarsveld, F.A. and
T van Wijk (eds) - Supplement to A Select Bibliography of South African History, (University of South Africa, Pretoria 1974).
- Muller, C.F.J.,
van Jaarsveld, F.A. and
M Boucher (eds) - South African History and Historians - a Bibliography, (University of South Africa, Pretoria 1979).

Index to the Manuscript Annexures and Printed Papers of the House of Assembly including Select Committee Reports and Bills and also to Principal Motions and Resolutions and Commission Reports 1910 - 1961, Government Printer, Pretoria 1963.

(C) Manuscript Sources

Albany Museum, Grahamstown

Cory Library for Historical Research, Rhodes University, GrahamstownPrivate Papers and Journals

R.H.W. Shepherd Papers	PR 3682, 3684, 3686, 3687, 3688
Alexander Kerr Papers	PR 4088, 4117, 4118, 4191
A.W. Wilkie's Journal	MS 9044

Minute Books and Related Correspondence

Association of Heads of Institutions	MS 16/295
Advisory Board for Native Education	MS 16/294
Lovedale Colportage Committee	MS 16/445
Lovedale Former Students Associations	MS 16/452
Lovedale Press Collection	MS 16/297, 16/436, 16/440, 16/441, 16/442
Lovedale Reports, 1930-1955	
Lovedale Riots	MS 16/453
Lovedale Senate vol.II	MS 16/451

William Cullen Library, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg

Calata Papers	File A/1729/D1
J. Howard Pim Papers	File A/1729/BE-42-115
South African Institute of Race Relations Papers	File AD/843/B37.5 File AD/843/B70.1.7

Reformed Presbyterian Church Offices, Umtata.

(This material was sorted by the writer and Prof. T.R.H. Davenport; much of it goes beyond the period of this study).

General

Inspectors' Reports, 1930-55
 Lovedale Bulletin, 1930-55
 Lovedale Enrolment Books, 1929-52
 Lovedale Financial Records, 1942-55
 Lovedale Riot, 1920
 Lovedale Pension Fund, 1949-55
 Lovedale Cost of Living Allowances, 1948-55
 Meeting of Heads of Institutions (Broad Policy Outlines)

Minutes and Related Documents

Finance Committee, 1942-55
 Health and Social Services Committee
 Press Sub-Committee Minutes, 1940-42, 1945-53

Private Possession of Writer

Minutes - Executive Governing Council, 1930-55
 Minutes - Governing Council, 1930-55
 Minutes - Lovedale Senate, 1930-47
 Minutes - Lovedale Literary Society

(D) Official Publications

Bantu Education: Policy for the Immediate Future: A Statement by Dr H.F. Verwoerd, 7 June 1954, (Information Service of the Department of Native Affairs, 1954).

Report of the Inter-departmental Committee on Native Education, 1935-36, U.G. 29-36

Report of the Commission on Native Education, 1949-51, U.G. 53-51

Report of the Commission on Technical and Vocational Education, U.G. 65/1948

Report of the Native Affairs Commission for 1936, U.G. 48/1937

Senate Debates 1952-1955, (Government Printer, Pretoria).

(E) Unofficial Publications

- | | |
|---------------------------------------|--|
| Bull, O.B. - | Training Africans for Trades: A Report on a visit to North America, (The Carnegie Visitor's Grant Committee, Pretoria 1935). |
| Carnegie Corporation -
of New York | Village Education in Africa: Report of the Inter-Territorial "Jeanes" Conference, Salisbury, S. Rhodesia May 27th - June 6th, 1935, (Lovedale Press 1935). |
| Horrell, M (Compiler) - | A Survey of Race Relations in South Africa 1954 - 1955, (South African Institute of Race Relations, Johannesburg 1955). |
| Horrell, M (Compiler) - | African Education: Some Origins, and Development until 1953, (South African Institute of Race Relations, Johannesburg 1963). |
| Jones, T.J. (ed) | - African Education Commission: Education in Africa - A Study of West, South, and Equatorial Africa, (Phelps-Stokes Fund, New York 1922). |

- Malherbe, E.G. (ed) - Educational Adaptions in a Changing Society: Report of the South African Education Conference held in Capetown and Johannesburg in July, 1934, (Juta, Cape Town 1937).

(F) Collected Documents

- Davenport, T.R.H. and - The Right to the Land: Documents on Southern
Hunt, K.S. (eds) African History, (David Philip, Cape Town 1974).
- Rose, Brian and - Document in South African Education, (Ad Donker,
Tunmer, Raymond Johannesburg 1975).

(G) Newspapers

Alice Times
Bantu: An Informal Publication of the Department of Native Affairs
The Christian Express
The Cape Times
Daily Dispatch
Eastern Province Herald
Forum
Rand Daily Mail
The South African Outlook
The Star

(H) Interviews and Letters

Prof J.T. Davidson, Alice, 30 January 1987
Prof J.W. Macquarrie, Somerset West, 6 October 1986, 20 April 1987,
17 November 1987
Mr R.G.S. Makalima, Alice, 30 January 1987, 28 October 1987
Prof A.C. Ross, Edinburgh University, 26 September 1986
Mrs R.M. White, Grahamstown, 30 September 1987, 1 October 1987

(I) Books and Journal Articles

- Ballinger, Margaret - From Union to Apartheid: A Trek to Isolation,
(Juta, Johannesburg 1969).
- Behr, A.L., et al - Education in South Africa, (J.L. van Schaik,
Pretoria 1966).
- Bozzoli, Belinda (ed) - Class, Community and Conflict: South African
Perspectives, (Ravan Press, Johannesburg 1987).
- Brookes, E.H. - The Colour Problems of South Africa: the
Phelps-Stokes Lectures for 1933, (Lovedale
Press 1934).
- Brookes, E.H. - The History of Native Policy in South Africa
from 1830 to the Present Day, (Nasionale
Pers, Cape Town 1924).

- Brookes, E.H. - A South African Pilgrimage: Autobiography, (Ravan Press, Johannesburg 1977).
- Burchell, D.E. - "African Higher Education and the establishment of the South African Native College, Fort Hare", S.A.H.J., 8 November 1976, 60-83
- Butler, Jeffrey, et al (eds) - Democratic Liberalism in South Africa: Its History and Prospect, (Wesleyan University Press, Connecticut 1987).
- Cochrane, James - Servants of Power: The Role of English-speaking Churches 1903-1930, (Ravan Press, Johannesburg 1987).
- Congers, Tim - The New Africa: A Study of the Life and Work of H.I.E. Dhlomo, (Ravan Press, Johannesburg 1985).
- Curtis, L - The Government of South Africa, vol.2, (C.N.A. Cape Town 1908).
- Davenport, T.R.H. - The Afrikaner Bond: The History of a South African Political Party 1880-1911, (Oxford University Press 1966).
- South Africa: A Modern History, (Macmillan, Johannesburg 3rd edn. 1987).
- Davies, Robert H. - Capital, State and White Labour in South Africa 1900-1960: An Historical Materialist Analysis of Class Formation and Class Relations, (Harvester Press, Brighton 1979).
- Davidson, Basil - Africa in Modern History: The Search for a New Society, (Penguin, Middlesex 1981).
- Dictionary of South African Biography -
- De Kock, W.J. (ed) - D.S.A.B., Vol.1. (Nasionale Boekhandel Bpk, Cape Town 1968).
- De Kock, W.J. and D.W. Kruger (eds) - D.S.A.B., Vol.2. (Tafelberg-Uitgewers Ltd., Cape Town 1972).
- Kruger, D.W. and C.J. Beyer (eds) - D.S.A.B., Vol.3. (Tafelberg-Uitgewers Ltd., Cape Town 1977).
- Beyers, C.J. (ed) - D.S.A.B., Vol.4. (Butterworths & Co., (SA) (Pty) Ltd 1981).
- Dodd, A.D. - Native Vocational Training: A Study of Conditions in South Africa 1652-1936, (Lovedale Press 1938).

- Dougall, J.W.C. - Religious Education in Africa: A Provisional Statement submitted for Criticism and Experiment, (International Missionary Council, London 1929).
- Du Plessis, J - A History of Christian Missions in South Africa, (Struik, Cape Town repd. 1965).
- Fick, M.L. - The Educability of the South African Native, (South African Council for Social and Educational Research, Pretoria 1939).
- Gannon, Margaret - "The Basle Mission Trading Company and British Colonial Policy in the Gold Coast, 1918-1928", J.A.H., 24, (1983), 503-515.
- Gardener, G.B.A. - Recent Developments in the South African Mission Field, (N.G.K. Uitgewers, Cape Town 1958).
- Gerhart, Gail M - Black Power in South Africa: The Evolution of an Ideology, (University of California Press, Los Angeles 1979).
- Hailey, Lord - An African Survey: A Study of Problems Arising in African South of the Sahara, (Oxford University Press London 1939).
- Hancock, W.K. - Smuts: The Fields of Force 1919-1950, Vol. 2, (Cambridge University Press 1968).
- Hellman, Ellen and Lever, Henry (eds) - Conflict and Progress: Fifty Years of Race Relations in South Africa, (Macmillan, Johannesburg 1979).
- Hellman, Ellen - Handbook on Race Relations in South Africa, (Oxford University Press, Cape Town 1949).
- Hoernle, R.F. Alfred - Race and Reason, (Witwatersrand University Press, Johannesburg 1945).
- South African Native Policy and the Liberal Spirit: the Phelps-Stokes Lectures for 1939, (University of Cape Town 1939).
- Ingham, Kenneth - Jan Christian Smuts: The Conscience of a South African, (St Martins Press, New York 1986).
- Jabavu, D.D.T. - The Black Problem: Papers and Addresses on Various Native Problems, (Lovedale Press 1920).
- Jones, Thomas Jesse - Four Essentials of Education, (Charles Scribner's, New York 1926).
- Jordan, A.C. - The Wrath of the Ancestors : A Novel, (Lovedale Press 1980 translated).
- Kallaway, Peter (ed) - Apartheid and Education: The Education of Black South Africans, (Ravan Press, Johannesburg 1984).

- Karis, Thomas and Carter, Gwendolen M (eds) - From Protest to Challenge: A Documentary History of African Politics in South Africa 1882-1964, vols. 2,3,4, (Hoover Institution Press, Stanford 1977).
- Kerr, Alexander - Fort Hare 1915-48: The Evolution of an African College, (Shuter & Shooter, Pietermaritzburg 1968).
- Kuzwayo, Ellen - Call Me Woman, (Ravan Press, Johannesburg 1985).
- Lodge, Tom - Black Politics in South Africa Since 1945, (Ravan Press, Johannesburg 1985).
- Long, B.K. - In Smuts' Camp (Oxford University Press 1945).
- Loram C.T. - The Education of the South African Native, (Longmans, London 1917).
- Macquarrie, J.W. - "The New Order in Bantu Education", Africa South, 1, Oct-Dec. 1956, 32-42.
- "Race and Education in South Africa", Phi Delta Kappan, vol. X4, no. 4, January 1960, 169-173.
- Majeke, Nosipho - The Role of the Missionaries in Conquest, (Society of Young South Africa, Johannesburg 1953).
- Malherbe, Ernst G. - Educational Adaptations in a Changing Society: Report of the South African Education conference held in Cape Town and Johannesburg in July 1934, under the auspices of The New Education Fellowship, (Juta, Johannesburg 1937).
- Education in South Africa, Vol. 1 - 1652-1922, (Juta, Cape Town 1925).
- Education in South Africa, Vol. 2 - 1923-1975, (Juta, Cape Town 1977).
- Matthews, Z.K. - Freedom for my People: Southern Africa 1901-1968, (David Philip, Cape Town 1981).
- McGregor, Andrew Murray - Blythwood Missionary Institution 1877-1977, (The South African Missionary Museum, King Williams Town 1977).
- McKerron, M.E. - A History of Education in South Africa 1652-1932, (J.L. van Schaik, Pretoria 1934).
- Murray, A.V. - The School in the Bush: A Critical Study of the Theory and Practice of Native Education in Africa, (Longmans, London 1929).
- Odendaal, Andre - Vukani Bantu! The Beginnings of Black Protest Political in South Africa to 1912, (David Philip, Cape Town 1984).

- Oldham, J.H. and Gibson, B.D. - The Remaking of Man in Africa, (Oxford University Press 1931).
- Paton, Alan - Apartheid and the Archbishop: The Life and Times of Geoffrey Clayton, (David Philip, Cape Town 1973).
- Hofmeyr, (Oxford University Press 1964).
- Towards the Mountain: An Autobiography, (David Philip, Cape Town 1980).
- Peires, Jeff - "The Lovedale Press: Literature for the Bantu Revisited", History in Africa, 6, (1979), 155-175.
- Pells, E.G. - 300 Years of Education in South Africa, (Juta, Cape Town 1954).
- Plaatje, Sol T. - Mhudi, (Quagga Press, Johannesburg 2nd edn. 1975).
- Rich, Paul B. - "The Appeals of Tuskegee: James Henderson, Lovedale and the Fortunes of South African Liberalism, 1906-1930", The International Journal of African Historical Studies, 20, 2 (1987), 271-291.
- White Power and the Liberal Conscience: Racial Segregation and South African Liberalism 1921-60, (Ravan Press, Johannesburg 1984).
- Rose, Brian (ed) - Education in Southern Africa, (Collier -Macmillan, London 1973).
- Roux, Edward - Time Longer than Rope: A History of the Black Man's Struggle for Freedom in South Africa, (University of Wisconsin Press, Madison 1964).
- Shepherd, R.H.W. - Lovedale and Literature for the Bantu: A Brief History and a Forecast, (Lovedale Press 1945).
- Lovedale South Africa: The Story of a Century 1841-1941, (Lovedale Press 1941).
- Lovedale South Africa 1824-1955, (Lovedale Press 1971).
- Smith, Edwin W. - Aggrey of Africa: A Study in Black and White, (Student Christian Movement Press, London 1932).
- The Blessed Missionaries: the Phelps Stokes Lectures for 1949, (Oxford University Press, Cape Town 1950).
- The Christian Mission in Africa: A Study Based on the Proceedings of the International Conference of Le Zoute, Belgium, (International Missionary Council, London 1926).
- Student Christian Movement - Christian Education in Africa and the East, (Student Christian Movement, London 1924).

- Taylor, J. Dexter (ed) - Christianity and the Natives of South Africa: SA Year-Book of South African Missions, (Lovedale Press 1928).
- Walshe, Peter - The Rise of African Nationalism in South Africa: the Arican National Congress 1912-1952, (C. Hurst, London 1982).
- Wells, James - Stewart of Lovedale, (Hodder and Stoughton, London 1928).
- Willan, Brian - Sol T. Plaatje: A Biography, (Ravan Press, Johannesburg 1984).
- Williams, Donovan (ed) - The Journal and Selected Writings of the Reverend Tiyo Soga, (Rhodes University Grahamstown Series, A. A. Balkema, Cape Town 1983).
- Umfundisi: A Biography of Tiyo Soga 1829-1871, (Lovedale Press 1978).
- Wilson, C.E. - "The Provision of a Christian Literature for Africa", International Review of Missions, (1926), 506-14.
- Wilson, Francis and - Outlook on a Century: South Africa 1870-1970, Perrot, Dominique (Lovedale Press - Spro-cas 1973).
- Wilson, Monica - Religion and the Transformation of Society: A Study in Social Change in Africa, (Cambridge University Press 1971).

(J) Unpublished Theses and Dissertations

- Bell, M.M.S. - The Politics of Administration: A Study of the Career of Dr D.L. Smit with Special Reference to his Work in the Department of Native Affairs 1934-1945, (unpub. M.A., Rhodes University 1978).
- Brock, S. - James Stewart and Lovedale: a Reappraisal of Missionary Attitudes and African Responses in the Eastern Cape, South Africa, (unpub. Ph.D, University of Edinburgh 1974-5).
- Burchell, D.E. - A History of the Lovedale Missionary Institution 1890-1930, (unpub. M.A., Natal University 1979).
- Davenport, T.R.H. - The Education of Africans in the Union, (unpub. paper, undated).
- Grundlingh, L.W.F. - The Participation of South African Blacks in the Second World War, (unpub. D.Litt et Phil, Rand Afrikaans University 1986).
- Hewson, L.A. - Healdtown: A Study of a Methodist Experiment in African Education, (unpub. Ph.D., Rhodes University 1959).
- Shingler, J.D. - Education and Political Order in South Africa, 1902 - 1961, (unpub. Ph.D., Yale University 1973).