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THE PRIVATE EDUCATION OF ENGLISH-SPEAKING WHITES
IN SOUTH AFRICA

An historical and contemporary study of
Catholic schools and schools belonging
to the Conference of Headmasters and
Headmistresses.

by

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'This being our faith we do not think it sensible to expect any group of experts at the headquarters of central government to decide how schools are to be organised, what they should teach or how. To hell, we say, with the notion of letting philosopher-kings, bureaucrats, or still worse, politicians, design or run our educational set-up for us. Hurrah for untidiness! Let any number of governing bodies, parents associations, local authorities, and, above all, teachers, be involved in innumerable individual attempts to educate our young in ways that will give wings to the human spirit'.

- Sir John Maud

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PART 1

THE SCOPE AND NATURE OF PRIVATE EDUCATION IN SOUTH AFRICA

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CHAPTER I

THE NATURE OF PRIVATE EDUCATION IN SOUTH AFRICA

1. The Problem of Definition.

At the 1956 Conference of Headmasters and Headmistresses of Private Schools of South Africa a motion was introduced proposing that the term 'private school' in the title of the Conference should be replaced by that of 'independent school'. The motion was defeated on the grounds that such an alteration would be 'difficult and misleading'. (HMC, 1956(1)). This might well have been the case, but the proposer of this motion was no doubt aware that the term 'private school' was equally difficult and misleading.

The first problem with the term 'private school' is historical. South Africa was in the British sphere of influence for more than a century and a half and consequently education in South Africa in general and 'private' education in particular has owed a great deal to that influence.

During the 19th century it became increasingly common in Britain to classify schools which were not under any form of state control into one or other of two broad categories, private schools and public schools. A private school was a privately-owned establishment usually, if not always, run for profit; the term 'public school' grew in usage to denote, albeit vaguely, a school that was incorporated under statute at law. (Gathorne-Hardy, J., 1979, p.38).

In practice, of course, the term 'public school' is far more complex than that. Robert Birley has asserted that 'no-one can define a public school' (Bamford, T.W., 1967, p.302) and the work of Bamford (Bamford, T.W. 1967) and Honey (Honey, R. des., 1977) among others, bears this out. The best they can come up with is that it represents a group of schools which recognise each other as public schools on the basis of certain common features, including the fact that they are not run for personal gain, and on the basis of common association.

In recent times it has become common to define a 'public school' in the terms used by the Fleming Report, as one which is '..... represented on the Governing Bodies Association or the Headmasters' Conference', (Bamford, T.W., 1967, p. 302) but since as Robert Birley pointed out, '...87 or one-third are not independent and rather more than half the boys at these 211 schools are not at independent schools,' (HMC, 1966 (1)) then '...one can hardly imagine anything less helpful than that' (Bamford, T.W., 1967, p.302).

It was intended that South Africa too should have its 'public schools'. As R.F. Currey explains, some of '...the early foundations had been at pains to persuade parents and the public at large that they were not merely run on English public school lines, but were, so far as they could be made so, really English public schools transported to the southern hemisphere...'
(Currey, R.F., 1971). Some of them are indeed the contemporaries of some of the great public schools of Britain and might be seen

as part of the development of public schools rather than a mere imitation. (Currey, R.F., 1955 'p.7)

In South Africa, however, such schools became known as 'private schools' and the term 'private education' was used '...to describe all education that was not sponsored by the government even though much of this private education was 'public' in the English sense,' (Vietzen, S. 1973, p xiii).

This brings us to the second problem with the term 'private school', for although much of non-government education may originally have been 'public in the English sense', a great deal of it was not, and today the bulk of it is not.

Education that is not sponsored by the government includes the Roman Catholic schools which account for the largest single group of private schools in the Republic (Table 3 below).

It also includes the private proprietary establishments which would be termed 'private schools' in England - preparatory and

secondary schools run for private profit. It also includes a wide diversity of other types of schools such as experimental commercial colleges, correspondence colleges and schools that are somewhat disparagingly referred to as 'cram colleges', largely because they cater more specifically for coaching for the matriculation examination. To these must be added a number of 'ethnic' schools which cater for the Chinese, Japanese, Greek, German and Jewish communities. None of these is government-run, though some are government-aided, and hence they all fall within the umbrella term of 'private schools'.

The third problem, however, lies in the fact that for official purposes the term 'private school' is far more limited. It is quite clear from the definition laid down in the National Education Policy Act of 1967 that the State regards any school in receipt of state or provincial aid as a state school and, by implication, '... private schools are schools which receive no financial assistance from the state or provincial administrations,' (Malherbe, E.G., 1977, p.282).

It would appear that this definition has been the census usage since 1920. (Malherbe, E.G., 1977, p.282).

Schools in receipt of such state or provincial aid, however, do not regard themselves as state schools but as private schools and differentiate between 'independent' private schools and 'subsidised' private schools. All are, in this view, private schools. There is therefore a contradiction in the use of the term 'private school'.

This contradiction is compounded by the fact that not all private schools registered with the provincial authorities as private schools are recognised as such for statistical purposes. Private schools which cater for any form of vocational training or which do not write the public examinations which fall under the auspices of the Joint Matriculation Board are excluded. Officially, therefore, a private school is a school that is wholly independent of state funds and which provides primary and/or secondary education leading to one of the public examinations under the auspices of the Joint Matriculation Board.

On the basis of this definition it can be ascertained that in 1976 there were 150 independent private schools for whites in South Africa, catering for 42 614 pupils which represented 4.6% of the total white school-going population. (SA Statistics, 1978.)^{1.}

TABLE 1
PERCENTAGE OF WHITE PUPILS IN INDEPENDENT
PRIVATE SCHOOLS 1925-1975

Year	Total Pupils in 1000s	Pupils in Independent Private Schools in 1000s	% Private
1925	348	20	5,7
1930	370	19	5,1
1935	393	24	6,1
1940	418	27	6,5
1945	444	36	8,1
1950	505	37	7,3
1955	616	42	6,8
1960	713	47	6,6
1965	792	50	6,3
1970	869	47	5,4
1975	904	43	4,7

(Sources: Malherbe, E.G., 1977, p.719; SA Statistics, 1978.)

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1. 1976 has been chosen as the basis for comparison because it is the most recent year for which figures are available from all sources. The most recent official statistics are for 1977, for which no Catholic figures were obtainable.

A second official source gives the number of subsidised white private schools in 1976 as 77. These schools catered for 18563 pupils. (SA Yearbook, 1978.)

This would give a total of 227 white private schools in 1976 with a total enrolment of 61 177 pupils, representing 6,6% of the total white school-going population.

TABLE 2

WHITE PRIVATE SCHOOLS 1976

	No. of Schools	No. of Pupils	% of total white school-goers
Independent	150	42 614	4,6
Subsidised	<u>77</u>	<u>18 563</u>	<u>2</u>
Total	227	61 177	6,6

The scope and distribution of these private schools is indicated in Table 3.

TABLE 3

DISTRIBUTION OF WHITE PRIVATE SCHOOLS ACCORDING TO TYPES 1976

Type	Independent	Subsidised	Total
Roman Catholic	69	38	107
HMC (Other Churches & undenominational Christian)	25	27	52

Jewish	13	1	14
German	5	1	6
Chinese	1	2	3
Japanese	1	0	1
Greek	1	0	1
Experimental	3	0	3
Remedial	3	0	3
Undetermined*	<u>29</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>37</u>
	150	77	227

* The schools classified as 'Undetermined' include 'cram' colleges, private profit-making schools, and schools that are difficult to classify under the other categories.

It is possible that a few of the 'Undetermined' schools could be classified under one or other of the listed categories apart from HMC and Roman Catholic.

(Sources : Provincial Registers, 1976; ECAR statistics, 1974; Catholic Directory, 1976/7; HMC Report, 1976.)

It is evident from the above table that in 1976 the Roman Catholic schools represented the largest single group of white private schools. 46% of independent private schools and 23% of the total independent and subsidised private schools.

Taken together, the Roman Catholic and Conference schools accounted for 94 of the independent white private schools (63%) and 159 of the 227 independent and subsidised private schools (70%).

It is not as easy to determine the proportion of the pupils for which they currently cater. There is, at present, a gap in official Roman Catholic statistics between the last figures published in the Catholic Directory, which were those for 1974, and figures obtained from ECAR for 1979. As there are no government statistics for 1979 available, 1974 thus provides the best basis for comparison.

In 1974 there were 38 656 pupils in white-registered Catholic schools (Catholic Directory, 1976/7), and approximately 16 000 in Conference schools (HMC, 1974(1)). This represented a total of some 54 656 pupils in Catholic and Conference schools. In 1974 there was a total of 59 424 pupils in all private schools, independent and subsidised (SA Statistics, 1978 and SA Yearbook, 1976). On the basis of these figures it can be shown that in 1974 pupils enrolled at Catholic and Conference schools represented

92% of the total enrolment in all private schools and 6% of the total enrolment at white schools in South Africa.

It is suggested that this picture may have altered significantly by 1979 on account of the rapid decline in numbers of pupils at Roman Catholic schools. (Chapter 3 below.) In 1979 there were only 26 110 pupils in white-registered Catholic schools, which represents a drop in numbers of 12 546 from the 1974 figures. While the enrolments at Conference schools have increased slightly over this period, this increase would not be sufficient to offset a decline in the proportion of pupils catered for by these two groups of schools in comparison to other types of private schools, nor would it be sufficient to offset a decline in the proportion of pupils receiving private education in comparison to those in state schools. The exact nature of these changes is, however, not possible to determine until official figures become available.

It would still seem safe to assume, nevertheless, that a clear

majority of white children educated privately in South Africa are enrolled at Roman Catholic schools or at schools represented at the Conference of Headmasters and Headmistresses. In view of this, taking into consideration the extremely wide diversity of types of private schools, it has been decided here to make a study of private education for whites in South Africa only in terms of these two groups of schools. A further factor in favour of such a limitation is that, unlike the other types of private schools, Catholic and Conference schools, while different in many respects, nevertheless share a basic common feature in that they are all avowedly Christian foundations. In this way they share something of a common philosophy and certain common goals - a feature which they appear to be coming increasingly to recognise.

2. Roman Catholic and Conference Schools

As has been shown, the Roman Catholic schools account for the largest single group of private schools in the country. Their number, and the number of pupils for which they cater has,

however, dropped considerably since 1976 when the last official lists were published. In 1976 the provincial registers listed 107 Catholic schools but by 1980, a head count of these schools returned a figure of 83. Catholic Directory statistics put the 1976 figure as a much higher one and ECAR statistics for 1979 give the number as 145 schools. It should be noted, however, that the Catholic Directory and ECAR figures count primary and secondary departments of one school as two schools and include special schools and orphanages which have a teaching function. For government purposes and for the purposes of this survey primary and secondary departments of the same school are counted as one school and special schools and orphanages are excluded.

The 83 Catholic schools presently in operation are spread out over the four provinces with the highest number in the Transvaal and the smallest in the Orange Free State. Table 4 shows that there are 38 schools in the Transvaal, 30 in the Cape, 11 in

Natal, and 4 in the Orange Free State. Of these, 28 are purely primary schools, 52 primary and secondary, while 3 are purely secondary schools. 56 are entirely independent, while 27 receive some form of provincial subsidy. All schools in the Orange Free State, all but two in Natal and just under half of the Cape schools are subsidised. There is only one subsidised Catholic school in the Transvaal. (cf Appendix A.)

TABLE 4

GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF ROMAN CATHOLIC SCHOOLS, 1980.

Province	Primary	Primary/Secondary	Secondary	Total
Transvaal	11	27		38
Cape	15	12	3	30
Natal	2	9		11
O.F.S.		4		4

(Sources: ECAR; Superiors of teaching orders)

All Catholic schools are English-medium with one exception, St. Paulus Kloosterskool, Pretoria, which is the only convent catering for Afrikaans-speaking pupils.

These schools do not confine themselves to the education of Roman Catholics. Since their foundation in South Africa most

of these schools have catered for Christians of all denominations and for non-Christians as well, for, 'In the certainty that the Spirit is at work in every person, the Catholic school offers itself to all, non-Christians included,' (SACBC, 1977, p.32.). At present 58,9% of pupils in Roman Catholic schools are Roman Catholics and 41,1% are non-Catholics, (ECAR, 1979).

Similarly, all Roman Catholic children do not attend Catholic schools. Ever since the Second Vatican Council of 1962 Catholic parents are no longer under a 'grave obligation' to send their children to a Catholic school, and as early as 1968 '...it was becoming clear that the days of trying to provide Catholic schools for all Catholic children were over.' (Neal, M.A., 1972, p.7). By 1972 it was clear that '...Catholic schools have ceased to be the normal way in which Catholic children receive religious education,' (Zacharewicz, J., 1974, p. 18). This has led to a major effort to reach such children through catechism in their homes and in centres using religious and lay catechists. Nevertheless, the Church has no intention of abandoning the Catholic school for 'The absence of the Catholic school would

be a great loss for civilisation and for the natural and supernatural destiny of man,' (SACBC, 1977, p.9)

Although all these schools are white-registered, many of them are now 'open' in that they accept pupils from all racial groups subject to the limitations imposed by the authorities. Catholic spokesmen are reluctant to disclose the exact proportion of pupils of other races currently attending white-registered schools, but it is believed to be in the region of 10% of the total enrolment. The proportion varies considerably from school to school, with some schools accepting a relatively high proportion of pupils of other races and others which still have an entirely white enrolment.

Traditionally all Catholic schools catered for single-sex education, excepting in the very junior classes, and this

was laid down by Rome. Pope Pius XI, for example, stated in 1930 that co-education was 'false and harmful' (Towey, J., 1972, p.19). Vatican II, however, was silent on co-educational and two boys' senior schools, St. Conrad's Klerksdorp and the Sacred Heart College Observatory, Johannesburg, have merged with neighbouring convents. It seems likely that this trend will continue.

Initially the fee-paying Roman Catholic schools catered for both boarders and day scholars, while the free parochial schools were day schools. With the decline in the number of parents seeking boarding facilities for their children, most of these schools have closed their boarding establishments. The exceptions are mainly the few schools that are situated outside the major urban centres.

The majority of Catholic schools are fee-paying establishments

and the fees charged are relatively high when compared to the low cost of state education. Nevertheless, in the scale of the cost of private education in South Africa the fees charged by the Catholic schools are comparatively low. No overall scale of fees is available, but the indications are that they are substantially lower than those charged by the Conference schools, for example. Brother O'Neill (O'Neill, J.C., 1971, p.75) quotes figures which show that as long ago as 1967 the most expensive Catholic boys' school run by the Christian Brothers was still less expensive than the least expensive Conference school for boys and four times less expensive than the most expensive Conference school. The fees quoted for one of the Convent schools in the northern suburbs of Johannesburg in 1980 were R440 per annum for a girl in the matriculation class as compared to R855 for the least expensive Conference school for girls in the same area, and R1380 for the most expensive one.

All but two of the Roman Catholic schools are run by religious orders and congregations. The exceptions are St. Paul's in Johannesburg and St. Thomas More, Kloof, Natal. With the decline in the number of vocations to the religious orders it has become necessary to employ lay teachers in increasing numbers. 445 religious are currently working in white Catholic education, supplemented by 782 lay teachers (63,7%) (ECAR, 1979).

Nearly all the religious orders and congregations in South Africa are papal congregations, that is, they owe their allegiance not to the local bishop, but either directly or indirectly via their mother-houses, to Rome. In this way, a religious order has the final say in matters concerning the schools and for the allocation of religious to those schools. Principals are responsible for the appointment of lay staff.

Despite this, there are two central organisations in South Africa which provide for the mutual interests and common representation of the Catholic schools. The Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference has a portfolio for 'Education and Worship' held by one of the bishops. This bishop in turn chairs an education committee known as the Department of Schools. This acts as a general coordinating body for all Catholic schools in South Africa. Linked to this is the Education Council of Associated Religious or ECAR (formerly known as the Catholic Education Council) which acts as a coordinating body for schools run by religious orders. ECAR consists of the superiors of the teaching orders in South Africa, a representative of each regional Catholic Schools Association ², and the bishop in charge of the education portfolio of the Bishops' Conference.

2.

These associations consist of Catholic schools principals. The five regional associations are for the Western Cape, Eastern Cape, Johannesburg, Durban and Kimberley. Most schools run by religious are, since 1953, white-registered.

It meets annually and between meetings matters are entrusted to an elected executive committee. The Chairman and Secretary of this committee and one other member of ECAR are members of the Department of Schools.

The general aim of ECAR is '... to provide machinery for consultation and joint action in the field of education',

while its specific aims are :

- a) to foster the ideals of Catholic education with special reference to Christian formation following the policy of the Hierarchy, to collaborate with other Catholic bodies to this end and to promote similar collaboration among affiliated organisations;
- b) to promote cooperation between parent, past pupils, clergy and teachers in the education of youth;
- c) to promote the religious, intellectual and professional formation of religious and lay teachers through educational congresses, vacation courses, seminars, lectures and other appropriate means;
- d) to promote the welfare of Catholic educational institutions;
- e) to maintain a careful watch on educational trends, policies and legislation;
- f) to take active steps to preserve and promote the freedom of Catholic schools in regard to the administration, appointment of Principals and Staff and choice of curricula;

- g) to secure Catholic representation on public bodies concerned with education;
- h) To collaborate with other organisations in matters of common interest;
- i) to foster adult education where feasible.'
(ECAR constitution, Article 4.)

ECAR is thus a professional body which acts only ',...with due deference to the policy of the Hierarchy and the wishes of the Religious Superiors and all immediately concerned'
(ECAR constitution, Article 8).

The Catholic schools are thus linked to Rome by two channels: directly through their orders to the Sacred Congregation of Men and Women Religious and indirectly via ECAR and the Department of Schools to the Bishop' Conference and thereby to the Sacred Congregation for Catholic Education.

The schools belonging to the Conference of Headmasters and

Headmistresses are more diverse than the Catholic schools, but their membership of HMC is based on certain common factors such as the requirement that all members must make 'adequate provision for Christian teaching and corporate worship', that they are not run for private profit or gain, and that they are controlled by a 'duly constituted governing body' (HMC, 1968 (1)).

Though easier to determine than the number of Catholic schools, the number of Conference schools also varies according to source because some junior departments of schools which also have senior departments have individual representation on HMC, while others are merely represented by the Head of the senior department. On this basis there are 54 schools represented on the HMC, 23 of these schools are primary or 'preparatory' departments of secondary schools that have separate representation. There are 18 schools with both

primary and secondary departments and 13 purely secondary schools, although 7 of these have primary departments that have separate representation on the HMC. (cf Appendix B)

These schools are spread out over the four provinces with the largest number in the Transvaal and smallest in the Orange Free State. The Transvaal accounts for 20 schools, Natal 18, the Cape 15, and the Orange Free State 1. (Table 5.) There is an interesting difference here when this distribution is compared to that of the Catholic schools. There are nearly as many Conference schools in Natal as in the Transvaal and there are fewer in the Cape than in Natal. The distribution of Catholic schools is similar to the distribution of the white population; in the case of the HMC schools it is not. This is partly because Natal has offered and continues to offer a favourable provincial subsidy to private schools with the minimum of interference; it is also in part a reflection of the strong English orientation of the Conference schools.

Just under half the Conference schools receive some form of financial assistance from the provincial administrations (24 schools). All Conference schools in Natal, the only Conference school in the Orange Free State and 6 of the Transvaal schools are aided.

TABLE 5

GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF CONFERENCE SCHOOLS

Province	Primary	Primary/Secondary	Secondary	Total
Transvaal	9	6	5	20
Cape	7	4	4	16
Natal	6	8	4	18
OFS	1			1

(Source : APS, 1979 (2))

All these schools are English-medium and have been described as 'The development of a system that is English in origin and which has been adapted to South African conditions and requirements,' (HMC, 1969 (1)). It was in the main the schools of this group that were inspired by the models presented by the English Public School and the English private preparatory school. The Conference still maintains

contact with the HMC in England and from time to time prominent English public school educationists are invited to speak at conferences on educational or general matters. Some of the preparatory schools belonging to the Conference are also members of the Incorporated Association of Preparatory Schools of the United Kingdom (IAPS).

For official purposes all these schools, excepting for St. Barnabas College, are white-registered schools. St. Barnabas is registered as a 'coloured' school. All, however, are non-racial in theory, and many in practice. At present the enrolment of these schools is still predominantly white; pupils from other racial groups account for no more than about 2% of the total enrolment. As with the Catholic schools, the proportion varies from school to school; some schools have an all-white enrolment, while others have a small proportion of pupils of other races. Only Woodmead has at present a significantly high proportion of pupils who are not white.

It is a necessary qualification for membership that all Conference schools must have a Christian ethos and make provision for Christian teaching and worship. It is because of this religious basis that the Conference school can, like the Catholic school, express a particular philosophy of education and of life that is not possible in the state schools (cf. Chapter 11 below).

The majority of Conference schools are either Anglican (26) or Interdenominational (21). There is, however, a small group of Methodist schools (5), a Baptist school and a Presbyterian foundation. (cf Appendix B.)

Most if not all denominational schools expressly state in their prospectuses that they accept pupils of other denominations and even non-Christian pupils. Some of them, however, make it clear that these pupils will have to attend the services and religious instruction classes of the particular denomination to which the school belongs; others make special provision for pupils of other religious persuasions.

While the denominational schools have strong links with their respective churches they are usually completely autonomous in all matters apart from religious ones. In the case of some Anglican schools the local bishop is the visitor, has the right to appoint the head and/or has a seat on the Governing Body, but in all other matters apart from religious theory and practice the Church has no control over the schools.

The interdenominational schools '...regard themselves as being as fully committed to Christianity as the Church schools' (Wilson, W.D., 1961 (I)). Religious instruction and worship are either of an undenominational nature or else special provision is made for a number of different denominations whose members attend the school. In some cases both practices are apparent. Though traditionally most of these schools have catered for single-sex education, a small number of them are now co-educational. Most of these are preparatory

schools - St. Andrew's Preparatory, St. Andrew's School, Treverton Preparatory, Woodridge Preparatory, Uplands and Somerset House. Some senior schools are also co-educational throughout - Kingswood, Treverton, St. Martin's, St. Barnabas and Woodmead - while St. Andrew's College is co-educational from Standard 8 and Diocesan College and St. John's College are co-educational in their post-matriculation forms.

The Conference schools have always placed a great emphasis on boarding, partly because of their historical development and the size of the country, partly because this is in keeping with the tradition of the English public schools and partly because they have considered that boarding offers the best opportunities for the kind of education they wish to provide. Though there has been a noticeable decline in the number of boarders at most Conference schools, 48 of the 54 schools still offer boarding facilities, three (Hilton, Michaelhouse and Clifton Preparatory, Nottingham Road) are exclusively boarding schools, and boarders still account for 38,5% of the pupils attending Conference schools.

With the exception of resident clergy at some schools, the teachers at Conference schools are all lay teachers today, though Anglican religious orders did make a considerable contribution to some of the Anglican schools in the past. These schools aim at a very favourable ratio of staff to pupils; the average size of a class in 29 Conference schools providing this information in 1975 was 21 (HMC, 1975(2)).

The fees charged by the Conference schools today are high. The average annual fee for a day scholar in Standard 10 at a boys' school is currently R1188 and for a boarder R2248. The average annual fee for a day scholar at a girls' school is R935 and for a boarder, R1939.

Each Conference school '...is an independent entity under a self-elected governing body which is fully responsible for the broad policy affecting the school ... Headmasters and Headmistresses have been given full authority by the governing

body in the day to day administration of their schools, including such all-important matters as selection of staff, admission of pupils, discipline, teaching methods and curricula, (Wilson, W.D., 1961(1)).

Membership of the Conference of Headmasters and Headmistresses in no way prejudices the autonomy or independence of these schools. The Conference is essentially a professional body concerned with the mutual interests of the members and which serves as a forum for the exchange of views, the discussion of common problems and matters of common interest or concern, the formulation of broad policy statements and a means of providing common representation for members in the wider context. Membership is on an individual basis in that Heads rather than schools are admitted. The Conference holds an annual meeting that usually lasts a few days, and at that meeting an executive committee is elected which conducts business until the following meeting. It maintains a full-time secretariat which it shares with the Association of

of Private Schools. From time to time the Conference also sponsors visiting speakers and conferences of teachers on educational matters. It also runs an employment service in the form of a staff pool which puts prospective teachers and Heads in contact with each other.

The HMC, while making no distinction between subsidised and unsubsidised schools nevertheless only represents a certain type of school. The qualifications for membership restricts it to the Heads of a small group of schools which, despite their strong sense of individuality and independence of one another, have a certain homogeneity.

Closely linked to the HMC is the Association of Private Schools which in effect, acts as an executive body for the HMC.

Membership of APS is at present restricted to HMC members, though a few schools which are not members of HMC are represented in the Association by their Heads and a member of their

governing bodies. In this way the APS can concern itself with matters such as pensions, insurance schemes, the management of common funds such as the Teacher Development Fund, the creation of new funds of a similar type, and relations with the authorities and other educational bodies. This contact with other educational bodies has been facilitated to some extent by the presence of a representative of the Catholic Schools and of the Jewish schools at APS meetings. Business matters are attended to by an executive committee and by a permanent secretary who is also the secretary of HMC.

The Catholic and Conference schools, therefore, consist of a variety of schools or groups of schools linked together by co-ordinating bodies. In their internal organisation these schools or groups of schools are in a very real sense autonomous, their membership of the co-ordinating bodies not affecting their independence in any way.

How independent are these schools in the wider sense? Is it true, as the Spro-Cas Commission on Education asserted,

that 'The independence of Church and other private schools is...to some extent spurious?' (Spro-Cas, 1971, p.40).

Certainly the state, either in the form of the central government or the provincial administrations, has some control over private education. This control is both direct and indirect.

Direct control varies according to the province and according to whether or not the school receives a subsidy. There are, however, measures of control which affect all schools whether they receive a subsidy or not.

In the first place, any private school has to be registered with the provincial authorities who can refuse registration. They can also be deregistered if the school, in the opinion of these authorities, fails to meet certain basic minimum requirements in matters of health or teaching. All schools have to submit certain returns to the authorities concerning

enrolments, attendance and staffing.

Secondly, the schools must grant access to health and education inspectors who report to the authorities. Schools are also bound by provincial and national legislation which lay down the number of school days per year, the principle of mother-tongue instruction and which can control admission or, until recently, restrict admission of pupils who were not of the same racial group as the pupils for whom the school was classified. It is mainly because of this last form of control that the Spro-Cas report questioned the independence of the private schools.

Direct control does, however, go further than this in that, in theory at any rate, subsidised schools are required to follow the policy stated in the National Education Policy Act that education shall have a 'broad national character'.

Indirect control is largely the result of the public examination. While these schools do have freedom in their choice of

curricula and in the choice of the public examination to be written by their pupils, as well as flexibility within the prescribed curricula, this does of necessity influence teaching, particularly in the senior classes, in view of the requirements of the particular national or provincial examination. In this way, too, private schools have to comply with various exam-related structures that have been set up with the eye on the final certification process, the most recent of which is differentiated education.

The basic freedom required by private schools in order to retain the independence they consider necessary to their existence have been defined as '...the fullest freedom in the fields of religious worship and instruction...' and '...freedom in such matters as the appointment of principals, employment of staff, admission of pupils, choice of curricula and teaching methods,' (Standing Committee, 1961(2))³.

3. cf Also, ECAR Constitution, p 21 above.

In many respects these freedoms have remained intact. The most significant limitations are in connection with the admission of pupils, the requirement that subsidised private schools subscribe to the national education policy and the restrictions placed on the recruitment of staff from overseas through immigration procedures and as a result of problems with the official recognition of the qualifications of overseas staff. Apart from this, 'They are free to appoint their own heads and staff ... to take the public examination of their choice, to experiment within the prescribed curriculum, and to develop according to their own principles and educational philosophy,' (APS, 1979(2))

There is a final point, which Robert Birley raised at the Conference of Headmasters and Headmistresses in 1966. Political control aside, 'It is absurd to regard any independent school as really independent. It too is a part of society.'

The children at it are not merely its children. They are the children of parents who make up that society,' (HMC, 1966(1))

Private schools are generally more sensitive to public opinion than state schools because their very existence depends upon public support. In this way, their independence is also limited by the demands and expectations of the parents who support them. This is a subtle limitation, perhaps, but, as will be shown, it is an extremely important one.

CHAPTER II

THE PHILISOPHICAL BASES OF
CHRISTIAN PRIVATE EDUCATION

'The principle which is at the heart of the discussion of public and private education in a democracy is the principle that the primary right and responsibility for a child's education rests with his parents.' (Walsh, J.E., 1964, p.89)
It is primarily upon this principle that private enterprise in education in democratic countries bases its claim that private education has an inalienable right to exist.

It is this principle that is contained in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which declares that 'Parents have a prior right to choose the kind of education that shall be given to their children.' (Brownlie, I., 1967, p.149)

It is this principle which is laid down in the Declaration on Christian Education which was the product of the Second Vatican Council of the Roman Catholic Church when it states that 'The rights of the state in education are secondary and derived from parental delegation. Control over the education of their children belongs primarily to parents since they brought them into the world.' (Abbot, W., 1966,)

And it is upon this principle that the main agencies of private education in South Africa have based their defence

in the face of a growing state involvement in education.

'We believe that the freedom of parental choice is the basis of our schools and should receive unequivocal recognition...' declared the HMC in 1961. '...we believe that parents who are prepared, often at considerable hardship, to pay for this choice, have an inalienable right to exercise this choice.' (HMC, 1961 (2)).

'The basic truth,' wrote the Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference in the same year, 'is that the existence of schools and school education is merely an extension of the rights and duties of parents,' (SACBC, 1961), while the Methodist Church declared that 'In a democratic country it is a part of the strength of the whole nation that the parents shall have a vital interest in the education of their children....In particular we believe that parents should have the right to determine to which schools they will send their sons and daughters.' (Methodist Church, 1961).

None of these sources denies that the state has a right to involve itself in education for, as Walsh has said, 'The state may and does, in the interests of the public welfare, insist that children be educated,' (Walsh, J.E., 1964, p.89), and that '...if the state is to survive at all, if it is to make any progress and if it is to fulfill its essential

role...namely, to promote the common welfare, then it must see to it that each citizen receives...an education sufficient to make him an effective member of society. Furthermore, the state is ordinarily the only agency which has the regulatory and coercive power and the financial means to make sure that education is carried on,' (Walsh, J.E., 1964, p.9), but '...to say that the state rightfully insists that youngsters be educated is far different from saying that the state can direct how they are to be educated. This is an inalienable prerogative of the parents.' (Walsh, J.E., 1964, p.89)

There is a second argument for the right of private schools to exist in a democratic country. 'It is an essential condition of democracy that there should be diversity, not uniformity; choice not constraint; individuality not Gleichschaltung; acts of judgement, decisions of conscience, not a single pattern of opinion and behaviour imposed from above.' (Roberts, M., 1952).

From an educational point of view, '...be it ever so enlightened a central authority must tend towards standardisation and uniformity,' (Morton, D., 1944) for 'A government department of education with its head office, officials, inspectors and prescribed curricula must possess rare creative force if it is to avoid regimentation and uniformity.' (Moore, P.A., 1946).

Uniformity, standardisation and inflexibility necessarily limit freedom and initiative in education and to all this '...the relatively few private schools are a very desirable counterweight: they show what can be done by local control, they can develop their own tradition, they produce something different themselves.' In other words, 'Private enterprise is as necessary in education as in any other field of human endeavour. From private enterprise have come teachers and movements to influence state systems - Montessori, Helen Parkhurst's Dalton Plan, the prefect system, nursery schools, rugby football and organised games, native education in South Africa and Arnold, Sanderson and Neill...They create variety in education and for this alone they are worth preserving,' (Moore, P.A., 1946), and hence '...the country is going to be the better and the richer for having a wide variety of points of view, traditions and ultimate individuality.' (Morton, D., 1944).

It is not simply a matter of flexibility and initiative in education; apologists for private education see the danger of a uniform and universal state system as going deeper than this. Professor Michael Roberts of Rhodes University made it clear that he felt that 'uniform education is education for tyranny' when he addressed the HMC in 1952. In supporting this argument he quoted widely including the conclusion of the Spens Report on Education in England (1938)

that if a state has a monopoly of education it can '... turn the school and the teachers into mere instruments for its policies, vehicles for the dissemination of the ideas it approves and means for excluding from the minds of the young all the ideas of which it disapproves' (Roberts, M., 1952). As the Headmaster of St. Martin's School said in a speech in 1956, 'This is a political age...so we cannot expect anything controlled by the state to be at all independent of the ideologies of the group that happens to be in power.' (Stern, M.A., 1956).

The Declaration on Christian Education of the Second Vatican Council is equally adamant on this point: 'The State must keep in mind the principle of subsidiarity so that no kind of monopoly arises. For such a monopoly would mitigate against the native rights of the human person, the development and spread of culture itself, the peaceful association of citizens and the pluralism which exists today in very many societies.' (Zacharewicz, J., 1972, p.29).

The importance of private enterprise in education is, therefore, not merely educational: it is political and social for it acts as a safeguard of democracy. As economist Francis Wilson observed, '..there seems to be a direct correlation between individual freedom and the number of independent power bases - universities, trade unions, newspapers etc. - in society.' (Wilson, F., 1971).

There is, however, an important sense in which this second argument in favour of private education complements the first. Diversity may be 'an essential condition of democracy,' but diversity in education is also essential if the right of parental choice is to be exercised. If there were no alternative to the state schools, there would be no choice. As the Standing Committee of Associated Church Schools put it, 'It must be borne in mind that the freedom of the parent in regard to the education of his child is dependent upon the existence of a system of private schools.' ('Standing Committee, 1952 (2)'). This, therefore, also makes the existence of diversity in education desirable in a democratic society, particularly in a society as heterogeneous as that of South Africa for '...any theory of education, if it is to be complete and consistent, involves a theory of man and a theory of society and no one policy or educational philosophy can or should please everyone.' (Mackanick, S., 1975). The private schools can and do '...approach the problem of education from an entirely different starting point and drive towards a different goal to that of the normal departmental (state)...school.' (Tugman, C., 1937).

It is necessary, therefore, to ask two questions at this point: what is the philosophy of education espoused by the private school, and what is the philosophy of the state school in the South African context?

The first question may seem to be a particularly complex one for, as the Spro-Cas commission on education pointed out 'There is enormous diversity within this group of schools,' and 'With this diversity, any generalisations about church and other private schools must be made with care.' (Spro-Cas, 1971, p.40) Diversity, as has been shown, is part of the reason for the existence of these schools and such a conclusion is therefore not surprising. Despite this, it can be argued that in the case of the 'Church' schools at any rate such a diversity is in actual fact more apparent than real, for the philosophy of what we might call 'Christian education' lies at the root of their educational endeavours regardless of denominational differences.

As has been indicated, the majority of private schools in South Africa are either Roman Catholic schools, and therefore expressly Christian schools, or schools belonging to the Conference of Headmasters and Headmistresses. As one of the qualifications for membership of the Conference is '...that the school makes... adequate provision for Christian teaching and corporate worship (HMC, 1968 (1)) it becomes clear that the schools in this group are also Christian schools. A comparison of the respective philosophies of these two groups of schools should show that there is considerable similarity between them.

The starting point of the philosophy of Christian education espoused by the Roman Catholic schools is simple: education is part of the sacred mission of the Church received from Jesus Christ. Christ founded the Church 'To continue his work of salvation...' and it is the Church's duty to '...serve humanity until it reaches its fulness in Christ.' (SACBC, 1977, p.6). Consequently, 'Evangelisation is the mission of the Church; that is, she must proclaim the good news of salvation to all, generate new creatures in Christ through Baptism, and train them to live knowingly as children of God.' In this way, 'The Catholic school forms part of the saving mission of the Church, especially for education in the faith.' (SACBC, 1977, p.6).

The Church '...establishes her own schools because she considers them as a privileged means of promoting the formation of the whole man, since the school is a centre in which a specific concept of the world, of man, and of history is developed and conveyed.' (SACBC, 1977, p.6).

This 'specific concept' is one which is firmly based upon the teaching of Jesus Christ. 'Christ is the foundation of the whole educational enterprise in a Catholic school. His revelation gives new meaning to life and helps man to direct his thought, action and will according to the Gospel... principles of the Gospel in this manner become the educational norms since the school has them as its internal motivation and final goal.' (SACBC, 1977, p.14).

Such an education, however, is not dogmatic. 'The Catholic school is seen as a melting pot of rational knowledge and a knowledge of faith so that it can fulfil legitimate expectations of Christian and non-Christian parents who appreciate the value of education open to life and enlightened by the teaching of the Gospel. Christian education is definitely not a learning of Catholic dogma or an ordinary education with an additional dose of religious instruction with a Catholic bias...'. (Zacharewicz, J., 1972, p.15).

If then it has as its aim not dogmatic instruction, but the education of the 'whole man', '...the formation of the human person with respect to his ultimate goal and simultaneously with respect to the goal of those societies of which as a man he is a member, and in whose responsibilities, as an adult, he will share,' (Zacharewicz, J., 1972, p.21), it follows that 'It is the kind of education through which their lives can be penetrated with the spirit of Christ, while at the same time she offers her services to all people by promoting the full development of the human person, for the welfare of earthly society and the building of a world fashioned more humanly.' (Zacharewicz, J., 1972, p.7).

As a consequence of this belief in the education of the whole person it follows of necessity that 'According to a truly Catholic theory of education the teacher has to respect the human nature of each child, to develop latent powers, to foster individual gifts and individual vocation.' (O'Leary, M., 1943, p.54).

The individual is not an isolated entity however; he is part of society and is educated to take his place in that society. Catholic educators have a particular view of the type of society for which they are educating: '...the Catholic school is particularly sensitive to the call from every part of the world for a more just society and it tries to make its own contribution towards it. It does not stop at the courageous teaching of the demands of justice even in the face of local opposition, but tries to put these demands into practise in its own community in the daily life of the school.' (SACBC, 1977, p.21).

A further result of the belief in the education of the whole man is that while 'Individual subjects must be taught according to their own particular methods,' and 'It would be wrong to consider subject as mere adjuncts to faith or as a useful means of teaching apologetics,' for 'They enable the pupil to assimilate skills, knowledge and intellectual methods and moral and social attitudes,' nevertheless, 'Their aim is not merely the attainment of knowledge but the acquisition of values and the discovery of truth.' (SACBC, 1977, pp.15-16). Such values and truth are, of course, Christian values and Christian truth.

Thus, 'If like any other school the Catholic school has as its aim the critical communication of culture...it works

towards that goal guided by its Christian view of reality.'
(SACBC, 1977, p.15).

In this way, therefore, 'Its task is fundamentally a synthesis of culture and faith, and a synthesis of faith and life.'
(SACBC, 1977, 9.17).

The Catholic school then, has what might be termed a total view of education. 'A Christian cannot be satisfied with a mere pragmatic and materialistic education.' (Abbot, W., 1966,)
It is a holistic education, physical, intellectual, cultural, moral, social, spiritual. In the words of Pope Pius XI, it '...takes the whole aggregate of human life...in order to elevate, regulate and perfect it in accordance with the example and teaching of Jesus Christ.' (O'Leary, M., 1943, p. ix).

It is a philosophy which, as Zacharewicz has shown, would reject the naturalist philosophy of Rousseau or Spencer because they 'disregard the supernatural destiny of man which gives him true dignity and worth.' It would reject the philosophy of Dewey because of 'his pragmatic view of truth,' and it would reject a communist or nationalist philosophy of education because 'they make the state the primary aim of education.' (Zacharewicz, J., 1972, p.10).

The Catholic philosophy might seem authoritarian because it '...goes furthest in asserting the existence of absolute truth

and absolute moral standards to which the individual must conform.' (Dawson, C., 1961, p.106). Nevertheless it takes the view that 'Man is a free moral agent. He possesses freedom of choice and therefore is responsible for his actions,' (Zacharewicz, J., 1972, p.8), and that while these absolute truths and absolute moral standards are still regarded as absolute, the teaching that the child is to be given is not to be one of authoritarianism but '...that of leadership, involving true assistance and guidance.' (Zacharewicz, J., 1972, p.23).

The philosophical bases of Roman Catholic education have been defined by Rome and are thus clearly stated and easy to determine. This is not the case with the Conference schools. While many of them are church foundations they are autonomous bodies and have had to define and redefine their philosophy both individually and, to a lesser extent, collectively in the changing context of their environment. Despite this, their pronouncements on their basic ideals of education show a considerable agreement, not only among themselves but also with the philosophy of Christian education as defined by the Roman Catholic Church.

The Christian mission of education is recognised by these schools to a greater or lesser extent depending on their foundation. 'Through all its long history the Church has been consistent in shepherding the minds of men as well as their souls,' Bishop (later Archbishop) Selby-Taylor told the

Conference in 1962, and, '...this duty is still a part of the Church's ministry...the Church cannot abrogate its share of this task of incalculable importance. In South Africa the Church fulfils an important part of its responsibility through the private schools. Most of the schools which you represent were founded by the Church. And even those which were not the direct responsibility of one or other of the Christian churches, were founded by those who shared the same ideals of education.' (Selby-Taylor, R., 1962).

As Christian foundations the Conference schools '...believe in the centrality of God and that in Him alone we can find a meaning and purpose in life'. (HMC, 1966 (1)). Pupils should become '...thoughtful, disciplined Christians who will have the urge to put God in the centre of their lives, developing the gifts He has given them as far as possible, expressing their love for Him by serving Him in their fellow men...' (HMC, 1966 (1)).

The Conference as a whole endorsed these individual statements in its evidence to the parliamentary select committee on the National Education Advisory Council Bill in 1961. According to this document, the purpose of the Conference schools '... is not to provide merely a secular education including some Christian instruction, but to shape and determine the life and character both of the community and the individual on the basis of religious faith and practice...'. (HMC, 1961 (2)).

As all but one of the Conference schools subscribed to this statement, it may be taken as a fair reflection of their educational philosophy.

Flowing from this is the belief that education should be holistic. F.R. Snell, then Rector of Michaelhouse, told the Conference in 1940 that '...religion is concerned with the whole man and with his attitude towards life as a whole ...The nature of the Christian faith as something supplying both driving force and direction must become clear and also its immediate relevance to the general world situation.' (HMC, 1940 (1)). In 1962 W.D. Wilson spoke to the Conference about the way in which a religious education provided for the 'whole development' of the child. (Wilson, W.D., 1962). 'The aim of education,' wrote the Headmaster of St. John's in 1964, 'is the training of the whole man. In this the three parts of his nature are involved namely, spirit, mind and body. Adequate attention to the training of one or other of these parts will produce a life which will fail to achieve its potential.' (Yates, D., 1964). This belief in the education of the whole man is stated either explicitly or implicitly in the prospectuses of most of these schools.

A survey of the prospectuses also reveals the emphasis these schools place upon the development of the individual. This is a necessary corollary to a philosophy of education which

aims at the education of the whole man. As one Headmaster commented, '...we concern ourselves with the education, not of the group, but of the individual. Each individual is in himself a definite unit...'. (Yates, D., 1964).

There is very little here that is different from the expressions of Catholic educational philosophy discussed above. Whatever differences there may be between theory and practice, the theory appears to be more or less universal as far as all these schools are concerned. Both groups of schools have the centrality of God and the teachings of Christ as a starting point and this permeates and determines the scope and nature of the education they provide. Such education aims at the development of the whole man, body, mind and spirit, and such development is based upon a view of man and of society that is rooted in the Gospel. Stress is laid on the development of the individual rather than the group, not for himself alone, but for the benefit of society as a whole.

Such a philosophy of education, described by Christopher Dawson as 'Christian Humanism' (O'Leary, M., p.viii) can be regarded as representing the main tradition of Western education. Its roots go back to the thirteenth century when '...Christian theology came to terms with Greek

philosophy and made possible the civilisation to which we all belong.' (Birley, R., 1964, p.4). As far as possible the Christian school has attempted to maintain that balance between Christianity and humanism for, 'Christianity divorced from humanism ceases to influence the education system... while humanism divorced from Christianity becomes a sterile literary culture without the power to move the will and to form the character'. (O'Leary, M., 1943, p.viii).

To what extent does this philosophy differ from that of state education in South Africa? It is difficult to generalise about the philosophy of state education, but there are two main possibilities here. The first is that state education is characterised by what Zacharewicz called 'anomic atmosphere', that is, '...it has no moral or social influence as an institution'. (Zacharewicz, J., 1972, p.41). In this way state education, through maintaining religious, moral and social impartiality becomes narrowly vocational in the sense that it is geared to the mere transmission of knowledge and the teaching of intellectual and technical skills.

The second possibility is that state education may indeed have a philosophy, which is geared towards the political and social ideology of a particular ruling group. This was Robert Birley's view when he asserted that 'In any secular state the government, whatever form it takes, must

act according to some principles. On these it must decide what the secular needs of the community are and how they shall be met. Can it be expected to allow its children, in the schools and universities it maintains or helps to maintain, to be taught what contradicts these principles? Is there not even something cynical in allowing this to happen?' (Birley, R., 1964, p.16). Such ideals may be Christian, but in many cases they are not. Political ideologies have, by their very nature, tended to be worldly in that they are on the whole geared towards a particular view of society and the state.

In the case of state education in South Africa there does appear to be something of a philosophical basis contained in the National Education Policy Act of 1967 and subsequent proclamations, but the exact nature of this 'philosophy' has been much debated. The debate arises largely out of the use of the terms 'Christian' and 'National' to describe the principles upon which national education policy rests.

In 1948 an organisation called the Instituut vir Christelike-Nasionale Onderwys produced a policy for education called the Christelike-Nasionale Onderwysbeleid. The Instituut was affiliated to influential Federasie van Afrikaanse Kultuurvereniginge, an organisation generally recognised as the 'front' organisation of the elitist and exclusivist

Afrikaner Broederbond. The aims of the Broederbond, a secret organisation were 'The attainment of a healthy and progressive unanimity among all Afrikaners who strive for the welfare of the Afrikaner people, the kindling of national self-awareness in the Afrikaner, and the instilment of a love for his language, religion, traditions, country and people and the promotion of all the interests of the Afrikaner people' (Malherbe, E.G., 1977, p.664). These aims had, however, profound political implications, 'all the interests of the Afrikaner people' appeared to the movement to necessitate the acquisition of political power, and in 1934 Broeders were urged, 'Let us keep constantly in view the fact that our chief concern is whether Afrikanerdom will reach its eventual goal of domination (baasskap) in South Africa' (Malherbe, E.G., 1977, p.664).

By 1948 the National Party, whose aims and membership, particularly among the leaders, largely co-incided with those of the Broederbond, was in power. The Broederbond '...was the biggest single force that not only kept the Nationalist Government in power but also influenced that government in many of its decisions affecting the whole population of South Africa and not merely Afrikaners' (Malherbe, E.G., 1977, p.664). Policy in the sphere of education appeared to be one example of this. At the National Party's congress in November, 1948 the Christelike-

Nasionale Onderwysbeleid was adopted as the basis for the country's education system.

Among other things, the Beleid proposed that there should be four classes of schools in South Africa - for Afrikaans-speaking Europeans, for English-speaking Europeans, for Coloureds and for Africans. For all except the English-speakers it was 'explicitly laid down that the education supplied must be based on a Christian-National foundation' (Malherbe, E.G., pp.105-6). This Christianity was Calvinist-fundamentalism; the Nationalism, Afrikaner nationalism.

The question that arises is whether or not this policy came to underly state education in South Africa. According to Malherbe 'The protest against this narrow form of Christian-National Education was sufficiently strong to prevent its being introduced as official policy into the schools' (Malherbe, E.G., 1977, p. 106), but the National Education Policy Act of 1967 laid down that '...the education in schools is maintained, managed and controlled by a department of State...shall have a Christian character...' and that '...education shall have a broad national character' (Malherbe, E.G., 1977, p. 696).

Whether or not this referred to the concept of Christian-National Education as expressed in the 1948 Beleid, however, was hotly debated.

In 1971 the Minister of Education issued a proclamation defining these terms as follows :-

'Christian Character:

2.

The education in schools maintained, managed and controlled by a department of state (including a provincial administration) shall have a Christian character founded on the Bible and imprinted -

- (a) through religious instruction as a compulsory non-examination subject, subject to paragraph 3 below; and
- (b) through the spirit, and manner in which all teaching and education, as well as administration, are conducted.

3.

In the implementation of this policy in regard to the Christian character of education, the religious convictions of the parents and pupils shall be respected in regard to religious instruction and religious ceremonies.

'National Character:

4.

Education in schools maintained, managed and controlled or subsidised by a department of state (including a provincial administration) shall have a broad national character which shall be imprinted:

- (a) through the conscious expansion of every pupil's knowledge of the fatherland, embracing language and cultural heritage

history and traditions, national symbols, the diversity of the population, social and economic conditions, geographical diversity and national achievements: and

(b) by developing the knowledge in each pupil into understanding and appreciation by presenting it in a meaningful way where appropriate, in the teaching of the two official languages, national history of the fatherland, civics and geography in school teaching and further through the participation of pupils in national festivals, and the regular honoring of national symbols, so as to -

(i) inculcate a spirit of patriotism founded on loyalty and responsibility towards the fatherland, its soil and its natural resources;

(ii) enable every pupil to gain a balanced perspective; and

(iii) achieve a sense of unity and a spirit of co-operation.' (Malherbe, E.G.,

1977, pp. 147-148).

The relationship of this piece of legislation and its subsequent definitions to the 1948 Beleid is probably an academic question. It was denied in Parliament that this was an expression of CNE theory and as the Spro-Cas Education Commission reported, it is a question which is impossible to answer. 'There is no logical relationship between the broad general statements of the 1967 Act and the detailed ones of the 1948 CNE policy statement,' (Spro-Cas, 1971, p. 75)

yet, 'The current policy for education in South Africa does....bear some very significant marks of CNE thinking'. (Spro-Cas, 1971, p.78).

Whatever theory underlies it, the 1967 Act and subsequent proclamations do express a philosophy of a sort for state education in South Africa and the terms Christian and National are appropriate to describe it.

To many who believe in a Christian-humanist approach, however, there is something contradictory in the idea of Christian Nationalism. In their view, nationalism is not really compatible with Christianity. It is really only a view which sees the national destiny as being divinely ordered that can reconcile the two. As far as the Spro-Cas commission on education was concerned, 'The ...idea that God has given each nation its own particular function in the fulfilment of his plan...conflicts with a Biblical view of history as well as the nature of the Church.' (Spro-Cas, 1971, p.89).

The traditional Christian view follows that of St. Augustine in De Civitate Dei which maintains that 'What really matters in history...is not the transitory greatness of empires, but salvation or damnation in a world to come.' (Lowith, K., 1949, p.168). Certainly, 'According to Roman Catholic theory, if education is to be truly Christian, it must transcend narrow national interests and, in the words of

the Declaration (on Christian Education) pave the way to brotherly association with other peoples so that genuine unity and peace on earth may be promoted,' (Zacharewicz, J., 1972, p.22) and this view must surely be shared by most non-Calvinist Christian educators. It was certainly the view of Dr. R.F. Currey when he wrote, 'With the...principle that all true education must be based on a religious view of life...we must all be in full, heart-felt, utterly convinced agreement...(but if) to this Christian foundation there must be linked in some indissoluble way a mystical nationalism, we can only have deep misgivings, and the equally deep conviction that this view is fundamentally wrong.' (Currey, R.F., 1948,).

It would seem, therefore that the philosophical bases of Christian private education in South Africa are fundamentally different from those of state education. Both are 'Christian', but where the one is a universal, transcendent Christianity which requires that education shall be 'a synthesis of culture and faith, and a synthesis of faith and life'; the other is a Christianity that is drawn into the narrows of patriotism and the glorification of the State.

PART 11

THE HISTORY OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN CHRISTIAN PRIVATE SCHOOLS

CHAPTER 111

THE HISTORY OF ROMAN CATHOLIC EDUCATION IN SOUTH AFRICA

1. Foundations: 1850 - 1890

The story of the Catholic church in South Africa, and with it, Catholic education, began where permanent white settlement began, in Cape Town.

The Catholic church was a relative latecomer among the Christian denominations of this region. The first Catholic bishop, Raymond Griffith, arrived in April 1838, a hundred and eighty-six years since the arrival of Jan van Riebeeck and his party and thirty-two since the Second British Occupation.

Under the Dutch the Cape had been essentially a Protestant colony and indeed, during the late 17th century had served as a place of refuge for French Protestants fleeing from the all-Catholic France that Louis XIV considered so essential to his absolutism. The British occupation had brought an administration which rode on the crest of the wave of High Toryism and the Protestant Evangelical Revival and which represented a government that was moving slowly and fairly painfully towards Catholic emancipation in England itself.

As a consequence the Catholic population of the Cape was small. The total white population stood at 66 000 in 1832 (Pollock, N.,

Agnew, S., 1963, p.133.) and by the time Bishop Griffith took up his appointment six years later there were only 700 Catholics (Brown, W., 1960, p.10). Griffith's task was further complicated by the fact that they were spread out over hundreds of miles from Cape Town itself to the turbulent Eastern Frontier of the colony at the Great Fish River.

In keeping with the Roman Catholic practice that every parish priest should establish an elementary day school in his parish in order to provide Catholic education for Catholic children, Griffith opened a school in Cape Town at the end of 1838 which was advertised in the Cape Directory Advertiser at the end of 1838 the following year as the 'Mercantile and Classical Academy' which was '...under the immediate direction of the Right Reverend Dr Griffith with the Reverend Aidan Devereaux, late first Professor of St Peter's College, Wexford, as Principal, the Reverend George Corcoran and Mr Joseph Griffith as assistants' (Brown, W., 1960, p.32). At the same time the Bishop's sister opened a less ambitious school for girls. Though these schools were open to pupils of all religious persuasions, they failed to attract many non-Catholics in the predominantly Protestant environment in which they were founded.

The schools also suffered from a personnel problem. Bishop Griffith soon found the task of caring for so widespread a population impossible and so the two priests who staffed the school, Fathers Devereaux and Corcoran, were sent to found parishes in centres distant from Cape Town: Corcoran at Uitenhage

in 1840 and Devereaux at George in 1841. Even before this, the newly-ordained Father Murphy, who had accompanied the Bishop's party to South Africa, had gone to Grahamstown.

Each of these priests '...went to work on the model the bishop had established. A school of sorts for the children, a permanent church, were the first burdens to be undertaken'. (Brown, W., 1960, p.34). The description 'a school of sorts' is apt, for the parish priest, with the multitude of pastoral duties which he had to undertake single-handed in these isolated communities, could spare but little time for the provision of even the limited elementary education he aimed to give. Clearly, if Catholic education was to be placed on a sound footing the parish school was not equal to the task.

Griffith and his pioneer priests were aware of this. The solution lay in attracting nuns and brothers of teaching orders to South Africa to establish permanent schools which could be operated on a regular basis by specialist Catholic teachers. As early as 1839 Griffith purchased a site in Bouquet Street, Cape Town, for 'chapel, house, school, nunnery and seminary', (Irish Dominicans, 1963, p.46), but it was not to be occupied during his lifetime.

It may be of significance that it was Father Devereaux and not Bishop Griffith who succeeded in attracting the first teaching order to South Africa. Devereaux had spent most of his working life in the educational field, having been Vice Rector of the Irish College in Rome, then First Professor of St Peter's College

Wexford, Ireland, and, for a brief spell, Principal of the Mercantile and Classical Academy in Cape Town. In 1847 he learned of his appointment as the first Catholic bishop of the newly-created Eastern Vicariate of the Cape Colony and was consecrated by Griffith in 1848. His seat was to be Grahamstown, the administrative centre of the Eastern Frontier, and destined to become its religious and educational capital.

Shortly after his consecration Devereaux left for Europe. Not surprisingly, one of his intentions was to raise the standard of education in South Africa by recruiting teachers from one or other of the Catholic teaching orders. Pope Pius IX recommended him to the charity of the Catholics of Holland and Belgium, among whom Devereaux recruited several priests and three sisters and three postulants of the order of the Assumption. The superior of this group of sisters that set out for South Africa, Sister Mary Gertrude (Amelia de Henningsen) or Nôtre Mere as she is also known, was a member of the aristocracy who had '...an acquaintance with contemporary literary, scientific and religious opinion not likely to be met in other schools of the colony'. (Brown, W., 1960, p.45).

The foundation of the first Convent school in South Africa by the Assumptionist sisters in Grahamstown in January 1850 marks the real beginnings of Catholic education in this country. For some time to come the bulk of Catholic education would continue to be provided by the overburdened parish priests, but eventually teaching orders and congregations were to take charge of practically all Catholic education in South Africa thereby

giving it a sound and stable basis.

The Assumptionist sisters also set another pattern for Catholic education in this country. In Grahamstown they established not one school, but two. St Joseph's Free School was designed to take the place of the parish school and offer elementary education to all children without payment, while St Catherine's was a Convent High School, intended to provide secondary education for a fee. The fees from the latter helped towards the cost of maintaining the former. In some cases, however, the 'free' school and the Convent High School were simply two divisions of one school, elementary and secondary, housed in the same buildings. This in fact happened in the case of the Grahamstown schools of the Assumptionists, for by 1868 St Joseph's and a second 'free' school, the Sacred Heart Primary School which they had established in 1857, had been amalgamated into St Catherine's as one school.

That these schools were established in the most troubled region of white South Africa must have been immediately evident to the sisters. Shortly after their arrival the Eastern Frontier became engulfed in the 8th Frontier War (1850-1853). The Catholic church became a place of refuge for women and children and the sisters found themselves sleeping on the floor of the church while their mattresses were used as sandbags outside. 'For many weeks we spent night after night in the sanctuary of St Patrick's, devoured by fleas and kept awake by the crying of babies and the groaning of old people. It was not easy to

attend to the schools, crowded with children, after sleepless nights'. When night alarms were raised the inhabitants of Grahamstown witnessed the strange sight of the sisters ushering the children into the church led by Nôtre Mere wielding a cavalry sabre given to her by her brother. (Fuller, A.F.J., 1943, p.77).

It was a somewhat violent baptism for the first sisters in South Africa, but the schools survived and the work of the sisters during the war helped to relieve much of the suspicion and mistrust that had been evident on their arrival. The schools became so popular that many Protestants began sending their children to them. (Brown, W., 1960, p.46).

Bishop Devereaux did not neglect the education of boys, but for want of a teaching order of brothers, he established St Aidan's Seminary in 1858 with a young priest, Father James David Ricards, as principal. St Aidan's, closed since 1973, came to be recognised as one of the foremost boys' schools in the country while Ricards, a gifted scholar in both secular and spiritual matters, was to earn the historical distinction of being the man who confirmed Dr Atherstone's recognition of the first diamond discovered in South Africa, and who, as bishop of the Eastern Vicariate, was one of the most prominent figures in the establishment of Catholic education in this country during the 19th century.

Ricards was to become bishop of the Eastern District in 1869.

In the meantime Catholic education had taken a major step forward in the Western District.

On succeeding Bishop Griffith in Cape Town, Bishop Thomas Grimley found that 'there were no respectable male or female schools in the Western Cape'. (Brown, W., 1960, p.68). The two schools Griffith had founded were in a state of decay and Grimley, like Griffith and Devereaux, realised that if education in his vicariate were to be established on a stable basis it would be necessary to bring out teaching orders.

Since Grimley was a Dominican priest it is perhaps natural that he should have turned to the Dominican sisters for help in this respect. An Irishman, and bishop of a predominantly English-speaking Catholic population with a fair proportion of Irishmen in the regiments at the Cape, it is also not surprising that it was to the Irish Dominicans that he directed his appeal. Mother de Ricci Maher of the Mother-House at Cabra responded favourably and in August 1863 six sisters, led by Mother Dympna Kinsella, set sail for South Africa in the mailship 'Saxon'.

On the site in Boquet Street, purchased by Bishop Griffith in 1839, the sisters opened two schools in September and October 1863. The first was St Brigid's, intended as a 'poor' or 'free' school which incorporated the original girls' school that had been established by Bishop Griffith's sister. The second was St Mary's Convent High, the first 'superior' school for young ladies in the Western Cape. (Boner, K., 1976, p.187).

Bishop Grimley also concerned himself with the provision of education for boys. His attempts to persuade the Irish Christian Brothers to send brothers to the Cape to open a boys' school failed, so he had to follow the example of Griffith and Devereaux and establish his own school. Unfortunately, unlike Devereaux, he had no-one of the calibre of Ricards to run it. The school, known as the Josephian Institute, was staffed by two laymen who were neither reliable nor suitable. Grimley persisted in his efforts to attract teaching brothers to Cape Town. After much frustration he finally made a direct appeal to the Pope who referred him to the Cardinal Prefect of Propaganda who, in turn, arranged with the Superior-General of the Marist Brothers to send a party of brothers to the Cape.

The Marist Brothers had been founded in France in 1817 by Marcellin de Champagnat. With the decision to send brothers to South Africa the Marists embarked upon their first missionary venture in the teaching field. Since the first brothers at the Cape were assigned directly by Marist headquarters rather than by a particular house, they represented an assortment of nationalities: two Frenchmen, one Belgian, an Englishman and an Irishman. They arrived in Cape Town in 1867 and set up two schools, St Aloysius in Hatfield Street which was a 'poor' school, and St Joseph's Academy, which served as the fee-paying secondary school.

1867 also saw the establishment of the Irish Dominican sisters in the Eastern Vicariate. Bishop Moran, who had succeeded Bishop

Deveraux, invited the sisters of the Dominican convent of Sion Hill in Ireland to Port Elizabeth. By this time, largely on account of the growth of the wool industry, Port Elizabeth surpassed Cape Town as the major port of the colony. Its growing population was poorly supplied with schools of any kind. The six Irish Dominican sisters who arrived in 1867 helped to fill this need by opening St Mary's High School, now the Holy Rosary Convent, and St Joseph's Free School early in 1868. St Joseph's opened with 200 pupils and St Mary's with 6. Both schools prospered and the first girl to matriculate in Port Elizabeth was a pupil from St Mary's Convent High School. (Irish Dominicans, 1963, p.73).

The Irish Dominicans of Sion Hill in Port Elizabeth and those of Cabra in the Western Cape operated separately until 1938.

The first of these early congregations to throw out offshoots inside South Africa were the Irish Dominicans of the Western Cape. Their site in Bouquet Street proved too small to accommodate two schools, boarding facilities, a convent and a novitiate. In 1871 the grandfather of one of the sisters, Mr Edward Clear, bought a house and grounds out of the city at Wynberg which was designed to serve as a novitiate and boarding school. This was the origin of Springfield Convent and, in keeping with the practice, the sisters who went to Springfield also established an elementary free school known as St Anne's school.

Until 1875 the Cape Colony remained the only area of endeavour of Catholic teaching orders among whites in South Africa. Since 1836, however, it was no longer the only area of white settlement and since 1843, no longer the only British colony. In that year the British had annexed Natal, which had been a Voortrekker republic since 1838.

The majority of Voortrekkers left Natal after the annexation which meant that the white population was extremely small and economically unviable. As a consequence, various schemes of attracting settlers to Natal were initiated, with some success. Between 1848 and 1851 nearly 5 000 immigrants settled in Natal. Most of them were from the British Isles, but there were a few French-speaking immigrants from Mauritius.

In 1850 Bishop Devereaux sent Father Murphy to visit Natal to minister to and to help organise the Catholics of the new colony. Murphy's estimate of 400 Catholics in Durban and Pietermaritzburg alone seems to have been exaggerated. According to the first permanent priest, Father Sabon, there were in 1852 only about 200 Catholics in the entire Vicariate of Natal. (Brain, J.B., 1975, p.33). Apart from the Frenchmen, nearly all were Irish.

The Natal Vicariate, established in 1850, was vast. It stretched from the Kei River in the South to Quelimane in Mozambique in the north and as far west as Botswana. 'Of the twenty-six ecclesiastical territories in the Apostolic Delegation of

South Africa today (1952), twenty of them were originally in the Vicariate of Natal as erected in 1850...'. (Brady, J.E, 1952, p.45). The first bishop, Jean-Francois Allard OMI, arrived in 1852 to set up his seat in the capital of Pietermaritzburg.

Allard immediately set up a parochial school in Pietermaritzburg. This school, known as St Mary's, later became a convent school and, according to tradition, was the oldest girls' school in Natal. (Vietzen, S., 1973, p.66). The following year Allard sent Father Sabon to Durban where he established a second parochial school which also later became a convent school.

Allard also brought out the first teaching order to the Vicariate, but not to Natal itself, nor to work among whites. In 1864, at his invitation, a party of sisters of the Holy Family of Bordeaux went to Basutoland (now Lesotho) to work among the people of Moshoeshoe's mountain kingdom.

It was Allard's successor, Charles Constant Jolivet, who brought the first sisters to work among white Catholics in the vicariate.

Bishop Jolivet, though born in France, had spent most of his working life in England, and from 1867 had been Visitor to the Oblate Mission in British Columbia and Western Canada. On receiving his appointment as Vicar Apostolic of Natal in 1874, he returned to France and then to England, to recruit priests and nuns to accompany him to South Africa. Two priests, two lay

brothers and eleven sisters of the Holy Family of Bordeaux arrived in Durban with Jolivet in March 1875.

The sisters took over Father Sabon's school in Durban which by then was being run by a lady 'in a large house, intended by him to become some day the residence of teaching nuns'. (Brady, J.E., 1952, p.145). They also took over St Mary's in Pietermaritzburg. In addition to these two, which remained essentially elementary free schools, they established a convent high school in both cities. Fuller comments that the establishment of these schools occasioned a strong anti-Catholic reaction (Fuller, A.F.J., 1943, p.80), but despite this, Vietzen shows that the majority of pupils at the schools, some two-thirds in fact, were Protestant. (Vietzen, S., 1973, p.148). There was a demand for education and the Catholic schools were meeting it.

In addition to these schools, Jolivet reported that 'we have also built a residence for the Bishop and his clergy and we have set aside the main wing of the building for the education of boys...This college of the Oblate Fathers has only been a few months in existence, yet it is the most flourishing institution in the town...'. (Brady, J.E., 1952, p.152). Such were the beginnings of St Charles' Grammar School or St Charles College as it became known later under the Marist Brothers who took it over from the Oblate Fathers.

Bishop Jolivet's initial tour of his vicariate did not stop in Pietermaritzburg. By June 1875 he was in Bloemfontein where

Bishop Allard had already obtained a site for a convent on Greenhill. On June 5th Jolivet, for whom architecture was something of a hobby, handed over to the contractors the plans for the convent which he himself had drawn up. (Brain, J.E., 1975, p.143). The Holy Family sisters opened this school in 1876.

The following year Jolivet visited the Transvaal. Despite considerable hostility, the Catholic church had managed to make some tentative beginnings there at Potchefstroom and Pilgrim's Rest under the old Boer regime, but it was only with the British Annexation of 1877 that Jolivet went to the Transvaal and began to make provision for Catholic schools. Two months after the annexation he travelled to Pretoria and from there to the goldfields of the Eastern Transvaal. In Pretoria he acquired two sites, one for a church and the other for a school.

To run the school Jolivet appealed to his sister for help. She was a nun in the Loreto Convent in Ireland and in 1878 she arrived in South Africa with two other sisters to take up the work in Pretoria. Starting the convent in Pretoria was by no means an easy task considering the strong anti-Catholic feelings of many of the Boer inhabitants, and because in little more than a year the First Anglo-Boer War broke out, Pretoria was besieged and the convent commissioned as a place of refuge for the civilian population.

The diamond-mining centre of Kimberley in the new British colony of Griqualand West also fell within Jolivet's vicariate. The diamond-rush had brought a flood of immigrants to the diamond-fields, and these included a large number of Catholics, again mainly Irish. Jolivet had visited Kimberley on his first tour of his vicariate and as a direct result of this visit a convent school, known as St Francis Xavier School, and later as Convent High School Kimberley, was opened by the Holy Family sisters in 1879. The very origins of Kimberley meant that considerable initial difficulty was experienced by the sisters. The population fluctuated considerably while 'In the mad rush for treasure...there was very little time or thought given to God'. (Brady, J.E., 1952, p.120). Fuller records that the sisters were so plagued by burglaries that some of the men in the vicinity of the convent organised a regular night watch. (Fuller, A.F.J., 1943, p.79).

While Jolivet was laying the foundations of Catholic education in his vicariate, Bishop Ricards in the Eastern Cape was '...tireless in his efforts to carry out his great plans for education'. (Brady, J.E., 1952, p.158). In 1875 he succeeded in persuading the Society of Jesus (Jesuits) in England to take over St Aidan's in Grahamstown, of which he had been the first principal.

It was Ricards, too, who brought out the Dominican sisters of Augsburg to the Eastern Cape. In 1847 the area between the Keiskamma and Kei rivers was annexed as the crown colony of

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King William's Town could claim the most striking success in the work of the Catholic church in the education of whites in South Africa. (Brown, W., 1960, p.278). Their schools were to spread over the Eastern Cape, the Transvaal and Natal, while offshoots from the King William's Town Mother House were to found two new orders in South Africa.

Ricards was also successful in bringing the Marist brothers to the Eastern Cape. In 1879 they opened a free school for boys, St Augustine's, in Port Elizabeth. Three years later they opened a secondary school in the same town, known as St Patrick's school. Walmer. This was followed in 1884 with the opening of a boarding school, Our Lady of Good Hope College, at Uitenhage. This activity in Port Elizabeth was largely on account of the large numbers passing through the port on their way to and from the diamond fields.

In 1883 the King Dominicans began their long history of expansion by opening the Convent of the Sacred Heart in Albany Street East London.

In 1883 as well, the Catholic church made its first educational inroads into the Transkei.

The Transkei, or Kaffraria as it was then known, was part of the Natal vicariate but had received little attention on account of it being the territory of autonomous southern Nguni chiefs and having no settled European population apart from a few traders

and Protestant missionaries.

Jolivet's first priority was to minister to the Catholics in his vicariate and to support the existing mission in Lesotho, but he moved on to establish missions in other parts of the vicariate as well, notably at Mariannahill near Pinetown which was begun by Trappist monks in 1882. The first abbot, Francis Pfanner, wished to establish a congregation of nuns who would assist the monks in their work. Although he laid the foundation of such a congregation, the Missionary Sisters of the Precious Blood, he realised that it would take time to recruit and train these sisters so he asked Jolivet for permission to invite members of an existing congregation to help tide him over. With the bishop's blessing he invited the Holy Cross sisters of Menzingen, Switzerland, to send nuns to Mariannahill.

The Holy Cross congregation had been founded in 1844 for the express purpose of re-Christianising the education of women in Switzerland. Five sisters under Mother Pia Dieu agreed to accompany Pfanner to South Africa and arrived in Durban in 1883.

In the interim, however, Jolivet had decided to send the Holy Cross sisters to establish a new mission in the Transkei under the auspices of the Trappists.

During the 1870's the Transkei had become the focus of the expansion of European control from the Cape frontier. In 1878 the Cape government annexed 'Fingoland' and followed this in 1885 by incorporating all the territories of the Xhosa and Thembu

south of the Mthatha river, governing through a system of resident magistrates.

This region was '...studded with shops and mission churches and schools', (Wilson, M., & Thompson, L.M., 1972, p.259), and while the extension of colonial authority did not lead to white settlement on any great scale, the white population of traders, missionaries and officials increased while a growing farming community in the north, encouraged to settle there by Thembu paramount Ngangelizwe as a buffer against the Sotho, now came under colonial rule. The railway began to reach out from the East London line in the south towards Umtata and in the north-west towards Maclear.

North of the Mthatha river Governor Grey had, by agreement with the Mpondo chief Faku, settled the dispossessed Griqua of Adam Kok in 'Nomansland' in the foothills of the Drakensberg in 1861. This area became known thenceforward as Griqualand East. As had been the case in the Orange Free State, however, Kok was unable to control the sale of this land to white speculators and farmers, and by the time Griqualand East was annexed by the Cape in 1879 there was a substantial white population in the region.

The Holy Cross sisters had, therefore, not only a mission to establish but also had to provide for a growing European community. Umtata was chosen as the centre of the mission, but the sisters also opened a school for white children there in 1883.

The Holy Cross sisters were the only new congregation to come to South Africa between 1880 and 1890, but existing congregations continued to expand.

In Cape Town the Irish Dominicans opened two new schools in Somerset Road in 1883, St Patrick's school, an elementary free school, and the Sacred Heart High School.

In 1886 the first steps were taken to split up the unmanageable vicariate of Natal. These included the creation of a separate Prefecture for the Transvaal. At that time, the most flourishing Catholic community was the one at Potchefstroom, the original capital of the Transvaal and the first community in that region to have been visited by a Catholic priest. The first Prefect, the Reverend Monginoux, sought to provide this community with a school. He asked the Mother Superior of the Dominicans in King William's Town to send sisters to Potchefstroom to help him in this task. A group of sisters arrived in June 1886 and opened the school the following month.

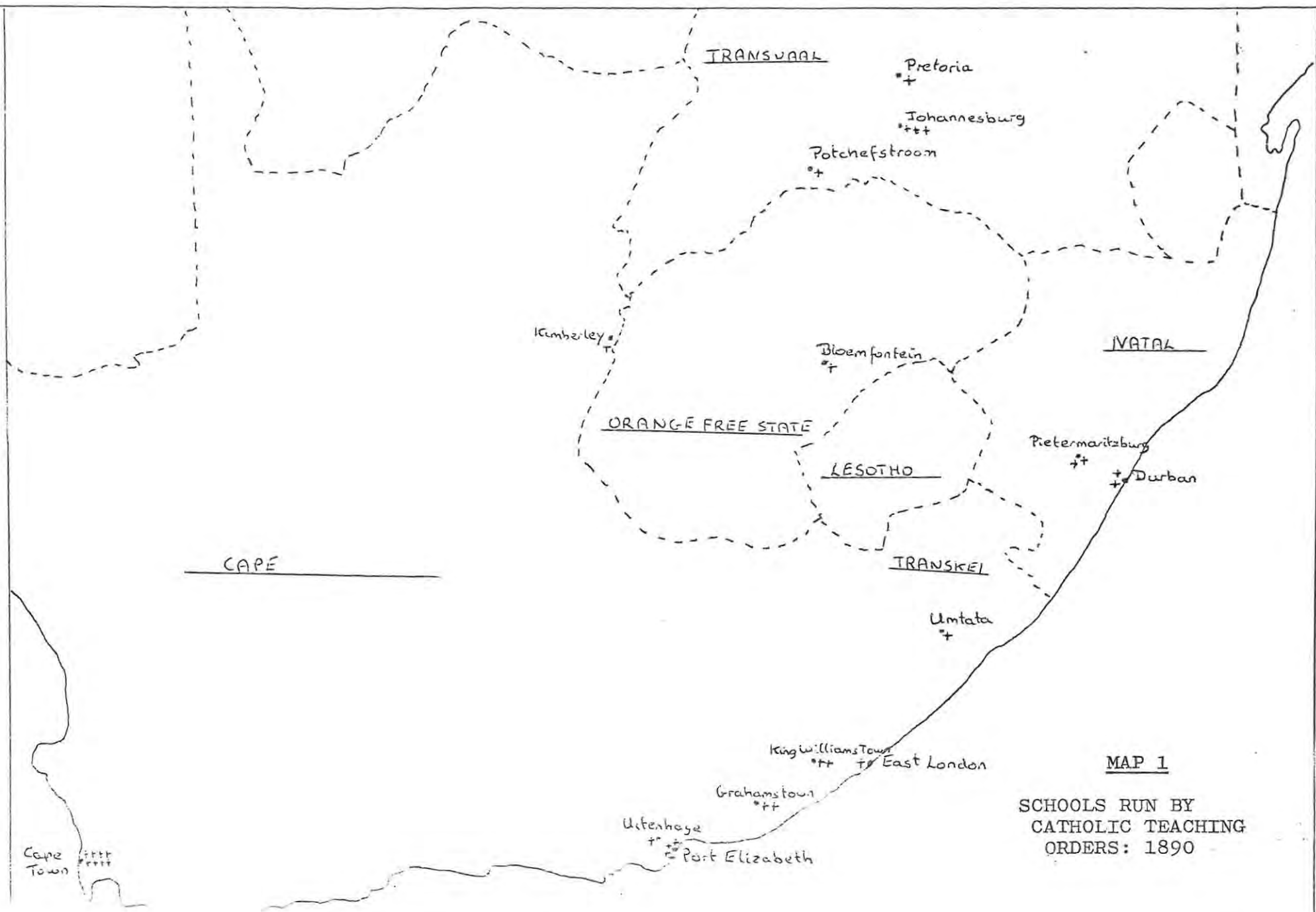
1886, however, was also the year of the discovery of the Reef. This occasioned a new gold-rush and a build-up of population in and around Johannesburg. It was soon clear that the wealth of the Witwatersrand would not easily be exhausted, nor would it be easily extracted. The mining-camp turned into a town; the tents gave way to more permanent buildings. In 1887 Bishop Jolivet and the Reverend Monginoux arranged with the Holy Family sisters to open a convent in End Street, which then was, quite literally, the

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MAP 1

SCHOOLS RUN BY
CATHOLIC TEACHING
ORDERS: 1890

eastern end of the town. In 1889 the sisters also opened a small free school in President Street.

The education of boys was not neglected and in October 1889 the Marist Brothers opened their first Johannesburg school, The Sacred Heart College, in Koch Street.

By 1890, therefore, the foundations of Catholic education had been laid in all the areas of southern Africa that were later to become the Union of South Africa. (See Map 1). In addition to the number of parish schools conducted by parish priests, there were 30 schools run by teaching orders: 23 for girls and 7 for boys. Of these, 18 were in the Cape, 4 in Natal, 5 in the Transvaal, and one each in the Orange Free State, Griqualand West and the Transkei. There was at least one school in each capital with the largest concentrations in Cape Town, in 'Settler Country' of the Eastern Cape and Natal settler country around Durban and Pietermaritzburg. Since 1850 seven orders of teaching sisters, one of teaching brothers and one of teaching priests had been brought out to South Africa to work in the field of white education.

2. Expansion: 1890 - 1910

During the last decade of the 19th century the establishment and expansion of Catholic schools gathered momentum, reaching a peak which continued into the first decade of the 20th century.

The rapid growth in the number of Catholic schools during this period can be ascribed to a number of factors. In the first place the European population doubled from 621 000 in 1890 to 1 280 000 in 1911. (Christopher, A.J., 1976, p.248). This was in part the result of natural increase but also of immigration, particularly in the case of the Transvaal. Figures compiled by Father J E Brady in the 1950's, now in the Catholic Church Collection, University of the Witwatersrand, indicate that the Catholic population followed this trend.

Population increase was directly linked to the economic development of the country. Despite a banking crisis in 1890, drought and rinderpest in the late 1890's and, more particularly, despite the Anglo-Boer War (1899-1902), the economic growth of South Africa, linked largely to gold, was rapid. As de Kock comments '...with the exception of a number of farmers who were permanently ruined by the ravages of war...the setback was only of a temporary nature, to be followed by even more rapid development than in the years preceding the war'. (de Kock, M.H., 1924, p.122).

The Catholic Church too was expanding rapidly in the southern part of Africa. Father Brady's figures show that in 1892 there were 4 bishops, 2 prefects and 126 priests; by 1922 there were 8 bishops, 4 prefects and 340 priests. In a time of plentiful vocations in Europe and South Africa the teaching orders were able to keep pace with this expansion.

It becomes clear from Map 2 that the main areas of expansion

during this period were the Eastern Cape and Border region and the Witwatersrand. This mirrors the economic importance and population density of these areas.

The Eastern Cape and Border region was the main wool-producing area of South Africa and until 1875 wool had been the major export of this country. According to Christopher (Christopher, A.J., 1976, p.58), wool remained the leading agricultural export in the late 19th and early 20th centuries and was exceeded in importance as an export commodity only by diamonds (after 1875) and gold (after 1886). This had led to a growing importance for the ports of the Eastern Cape, notably Port Elizabeth.

The discovery of diamonds had also had a major impact on the economic development of this region. The land route from the Eastern Cape ports of East London and Port Elizabeth to the diamond fields was the shortest. The main route was initially a 600-mile journey by ox-wagon from Port Elizabeth, and the volume of traffic in men and goods greatly added to the importance and prosperity of the country through which they passed. (Christopher, A.J., 1976, p.177). It also stimulated the building of railways, the main line from Port Elizabeth having reached Graaff-Reinet in 1879 and having joined the Cape Town-Kimberley line at de Aar in 1884. (Day, J.R., 1963, p.25).

Another factor lay in the population of the area. Between 1880 and 1911 the Eastern Cape and Border area was relatively densely populated by whites, averaging between 2,1 and 6 people per square

mile, with a growing concentration of over 6 people per square mile around Port Elizabeth, Grahamstown, East London and King William's Town. (Christopher, A.J., 1976, p.119). More relevant here is that on account of the settlement schemes of the 1820's and 1850's and of the Great Trek of 1836 this European population was predominantly English-speaking with a relatively high proportion of Catholics.

The new schools in this area were largely the work of existing orders working in South Africa, and most of the new convent schools were founded by the Dominicans of King William's Town. In 1894 they opened the Sacred Heart Convent at Graaff-Reinet at the request of Bishop Strobino who had retired there for health reasons. In effect it represented two schools housed in the same building for the sisters ran an elementary school in addition to the convent high school. In 1899 they established two further schools, Maris Stella Convent in East London, which served as a seaside holiday place for the sisters as well as an elementary day school, and the Convent of the Sacred Heart at Fort Beaufort. These were followed in 1903 with a school at Queenstown and in 1906 with one at Cradock.

The Assumptionists of Grahamstown established their first new school at Bedford in 1899; the Holy Cross sisters, seeking a more convenient situation for their mother-house, briefly opened a convent at Cambridge, East London in 1901, before abandoning it in favour of Aliwal North in 1907. In Port Elizabeth the Irish Dominicans took over an hotel on the old farm of Lord Charles

Somerset and opened it as St Dominic's Priory in 1901.

Apart from convent schools there was a new development in boys' schools with the arrival in 1904 of the de la Salle brothers at the invitation of Eastern Vicariate Bishop MacSherry. The brothers opened St Joseph's School, King William's Town in the same year.

Development in the rest of the Cape was by no means as marked. The most significant region was probably the Southern Cape, enriched by timber and the ostrich-feather boom. In 1895 Bishop MacSherry invited the Holy Cross sisters to establish a convent school at George. George had grown into the largest town in the Southern Cape and contained a flourishing Catholic community and the oldest Catholic church building in the country. From George the sisters expanded their activities to the ostrich centre of Oudtshoorn in 1902 and the port of Mossel Bay in 1904.

In the Western Cape the Irish Dominicans took over an existing parochial school at St Michael's church Rondebosch as St Michael's School in 1906.

The Northern Cape and Griqualand West saw new ventures by two congregations new to South Africa. In 1886 the Orange Free State, including Griqualand West, had been made into a separate vicariate under its first bishop, Anthony Gaughren. He was very much aware of the need for a boys' school in his vicariate, particularly to serve the Kimberley diamond-fields. For want of brothers to run such a school the Oblate Fathers ran a boys' school known as

St Leo's at Clocolan, but once the Irish Christian Brothers had agreed to come to South Africa in 1897 to start a school in Kimberley, St Leo's College closed and the Christian Brothers opened St Patrick's College, Kimberley.

Further north, Mafeking (now Mafikeng) was growing in importance as a major resting place on 'the road to the north' and, after the railway reached it in 1894, as a railway junction. Bishop Gaughren was requested by the Catholic inhabitants of the town and of neighbouring farms to establish a school there. He appealed to the Holy Family sisters for help, but their resources were stretched at this point. The superior of their Kimberley convent suggested that he approach the Sisters of Mercy in Strabane, Ireland. When the bishop visited Europe in 1897 he visited the convent at Strabane where his request was granted.

The reason for the rapid development of Catholic education on the Witwatersrand during these two decades is, of course, simple. The scope and nature of the mining on the Reef had led to a rapid growth in population and the development of towns east and west of Johannesburg itself.

During the last decade of the 19th century, however, most of the new developments in Catholic education in the Transvaal did not occur on the Witwatersrand, though they all had much to do with gold; the Reef was the focus of growth during the first decade of the 20th century.

Before the discovery of gold on the Reef the gold-mining region of the Transvaal had been in the Eastern Transvaal, initially at Pilgrim's Rest and then, after 1884, at Barberton as well. It was largely as a result of this gold-mining that when Bishop Jolivet paid a visit to the region in the early 1890's he found more Catholics living in Lydenburg than in Pretoria and they excluded those who had gone to Barberton.

Jolivet turned to the nuns of the Loreto Convent in Pretoria for help. In 1893 they opened a school in Lydenburg. In the same year, Father Aloysius Schoch, the new Prefect of the Transvaal, was in Europe making similar arrangements for the Catholics of Barberton. As a result of his endeavours six nuns of the Ursuline order from the convent of Sittard in Holland arrived in Lourenzo Marques in December 1895 to begin their long journey to Barberton by ox-wagon.

It was one of the few ill-fated ventures in Catholic education in South Africa in those early years. The great Rinderpest epidemic of 1897 brought about the ruin of many farmers and caused serious shortages of meat and milk. Numbers at the sisters' school dropped rapidly and the drop was increased by the outbreak of an unspecified illness among the inhabitants of Barberton, from which many died. In response to this the government ordered all the schools in the area to be closed. One of the sisters was taken seriously ill with malaria, a violent storm nearly washed away their house and all indications were that it would be best for them to leave as soon as possible.

On the eve of the Anglo-Boer War the Ursuline sisters began anew in Johannesburg at Number 1 Jorrissen Street Braamfontein.

In the meantime, the extent of the 'golden arc' of the gold-bearing reef that had given rise to Johannesburg was gradually being discovered and new mining communities sprang up away from Johannesburg itself. One of the earliest of these was at Klerksdorp and the King Dominicans from nearby Potchefstroom opened a school there in 1896. As so often happened in the case of the early Catholic schools, 'For many years the convent was the only English-medium school in the district. Parents were delighted to find that they could procure education locally for both their sons and daughters up to matriculation standard'. (Gouws, M., 1977, p.52). This convent is of historical interest for another reason. The preliminary meeting of the Boer leaders prior to their going to the peace negotiations at Vereeniging which ended the Anglo-Boer War in 1902 was held in its grounds. (Gouws, M., 1977, p.52).

In Johannesburg, the Holy Family sisters opened a new convent in Parktown in 1905 in what was then quite literally the wilderness on the edge of the forest on the north side of the town. The King Dominicans, who had founded a new congregation at Newcastle in Natal towards the end of the previous decade, established their first convent in the Transvaal on the south side of Johannesburg at La Rochelle in 1905, while the King Dominicans of King William's Town opened a school in the then fashionable suburb of Belgravia in 1908. In 1908 as well, the

Sisters of Mercy from Mafeking took over the Braamfontein convent from the Ursulines, and established another convent in Mayfair in the same year. The Ursulines, for their part, moved their headquarters to the West Rand where they founded St Ursula's in Krugersdorp in 1904.

On the East Rand, convents were opened by the Newcastle Dominicans in Germiston (St Catherine's) and Benoni (Holy Childhood Convent) in 1909.

One venture planned for Johannesburg was deflected. Bishop Gaughren invited the sisters of Notre Dame de Namur who were active in Rhodesia and further north, to open a teacher's training college in Johannesburg. Before this plan could come into operation the vicariate was once again split and Gaughren's control was limited to the Orange Free State. The sisters came, nonetheless, and he directed them to Kroonstad which he intended to make an educational centre. The sisters opened a day school and a boarding school there in 1907 but it became clear that it was the boarding school rather than the day school in that somewhat isolated centre that attracted the pupils and the day school was closed. Kroonstad was in a favourable position to attract boarders from the diamond-fields and the gold-fields and from the farms.

The development of the Witwatersrand did much to stimulate the economic development of other parts of the country, particularly Natal. Natal, in addition, had other important growth points. The

production of sugar-cane in the coastal regions of the north and the mining of coal in the interior were the most significant of these. The exploitation of the coalfields had had to await the arrival of the railway and it was not until 1886 that the first truckload of Natal coal arrived in Durban. The discovery of the Reef in 1886 and the subsequent growth of the Witwatersrand gave added impetus both to the mining of coal and to the development of the Natal railways.

The growth of the snake-like Natal line to the Transvaal combined with the associated development of coal-mining stimulated the growth of new towns such as Estcourt, Ladysmith, Dundee and Newcastle, and it is no co-incidence that the development of Catholic education in Natal followed the line of the railway through the coalfields towards the Transvaal border with a growing concentration around the flourishing port of Durban.

Directing this growth for most of this period was the indefatigable Bishop Jolivet. As part of his growing concern for mission work he invited the King Dominicans to his vicariate primarily to work among the Zulu people, but he intended that they should combine this with work among Catholic Europeans living in sugar country north of Durban. Eight sisters arrived in 1889 and opened both a Zulu school at Oakford and a European school, St Mary's, at Verulam in 1890.

Jolivet's plans, however, also extended to the coal-fields and the Dominican sisters at Oakford, with additional help from

overseas, established a convent at Newcastle in 1891 and at Dundee in 1898. The Oakford and Newcastle congregations became independent of the mother-house at King William's Town and of each other.

Jolivet was also concerned to establish hospitals in his vicariate and one of his intentions on his visits to Europe in 1885 and 1891 was to recruit sisters to run medical services. It was for this purpose that he brought out nine sisters of the Augustinian order from Pont l'Abbe in 1891. Arrangements for the hospital at Durban which he intended that they should run were as yet incomplete so the sisters were initially settled at Estcourt where they opened both hospital and school in 1892 under the leadership of Mother Therese de Jesus.

Further up the railway line Ladysmith had for some time been its terminus and with the splitting of the line in two directions, one to the Transvaal border and the other to the Orange Free State, Ladysmith became an important railway junction. The mayor of Ladysmith approached Mother Therese with a request for a hospital and school similar to those in Estcourt. She agreed and in 1895 the Augustinians opened a convent school and hospital there.

Apart from these two new orders in Natal, the Holy Family sisters, the original teaching order in the vicariate, were expanding their activities. The boarding establishment at their Convent High School in Durban became too large to be accommodated in the existing buildings and was consequently moved to the Berea where it became a

minimised.

There was, however, limited expansion in the Cape and the Transvaal on the part of orders already at work in these provinces.

In the Western Cape the Holy Cross sisters were invited to Cape Town in 1910 to work among the coloured people. In 1911 they took over a small 'coloured' school, St Monica's, in Parow, but found that the 'coloured' children there were largely white Portuguese and Italian immigrants. St Monica's functioned as a multi-racial school for some years but when, in 1918, the Influenza Epidemic resulted in an influx of coloured orphans to the school, it became entirely coloured and the whites were moved to a new school in Belville. The sisters also set up a convent high school for whites in Maitland in 1916.

The Irish Dominicans of the Western Cape, for their part, added to their existing free school in Rondebosch, St Michael's, a new but short-lived convent high school known as St Thomas's Private Secondary School, while the Marists established St Joseph's College in the same suburb in 1918.

Further east, the Assumptionists moved into the ever-growing city of Port Elizabeth, establishing a primary school at North End in 1914, known as the Sacred Heart Convent. They also took over St Augustine's, the Marist Brother's primary school, because the brothers were experiencing a staffing crisis on account of many of their members being called to the war front in Europe.

In the Transvaal, the Newcastle Dominicans opened St Pius' Convent in Pietersburg in 1913, which was the first convent school to serve the far northern region of the province. The Ursulines expanded their work on the West Rand by opening St Joseph's in Roodepoort in 1912 and returned to Johannesburg itself in 1914 where they opened St Angela's in Bezuidenhout Valley in the southern suburbs. In 1914, as well, Holy Family sisters from End Street Convent began a new convent in Yeoville.

The only other new venture during this period was in Natal where the Marist Brothers took over St Charles's Grammar School in Pietermaritzburg in 1914. As has been mentioned, this school had been started in 1876 by Father de Lacy OMI and was thus a well-established school by the time the brothers took it over and gave it the advantage of being run by a full-time teaching order.

From the mid-1920's until the outbreak of the Second World War in 1939 the provision of Catholic education again showed an upswing. Although not reaching the same level of rapid development as the 1890-1910 period, there was a marked increase in the number of Catholic schools so that by 1939 a further thirty-two new schools had been added.

Once again the Cape and the Transvaal accounted for most of this development, but for the first time a greater number of new schools were opened in the Transvaal than in the Cape. This reflects changes in the overall distribution of the population

for between 1930 and 1940 the population of the Transvaal came to exceed that of the Cape for the first time. (Christopher, A. J., 1976, p.248). This renewed activity in Catholic education can once again probably be linked to economic development and population growth. The white population increased from 1,5 million in 1921 to 2 million in 1939. Agriculture, industry and mining began new growth as '...the foundations were laid for the rapid industrial growth of the following decades'. (Wilson, M, & Thompson, L.M., 1972, p.30). The hardships brought about by the Great Depression of 1930-1933 proved to be short-lived and gave way to what Rostow called the 'take-off' into sustained economic growth'. (Wilson M., & Thompson, L.M., 1972, p.32).

In the Western Cape the Loreto sisters from Pretoria were invited to open a school which they did at Strand in 1925. Within two years they had also opened a school in Sea Point.

The Irish Dominicans established St Catherine's, Claremont in 1932 and St Joseph's, Simonstown in 1936. In the same year they joined with the Christian Brothers in running St Agnes's, a school for poor children in Woodstock.

The Christian Brothers had begun their work in Cape Town a year earlier when they founded St John's College in Greenpoint.

In the Eastern Cape the Assumptionists opened schools at Port Alfred and Somerset East in 1924, while the King Dominicans continued their expansion with St Dominic's Convent, Stutterheim

in 1929 and St Pius V Convent in Cambridge, East London, in 1933. The da la Salle brothers also expanded their work in this region by opening St Mark's Road School and St Anthony's College in East London in 1932 and 1934 respectively.

Much of the expansion in the Transvaal was naturally centred on the Witwatersrand, where the Marist Brothers opened their second Johannesburg school, the Sacred Heart College, in Observatory in 1926; The Mercy Sisters started St Theresa's in Rosebank to serve the new north of Johannesburg in 1930, and the Assumptionists opened a convent in Maryvale to the north-east of the city in the same year.

On the West Rand the Ursulines established the parochial school of St Peter and St Paul in Krugersdorp, while on the East Rand the Newcastle Dominicans opened St Dominic's Convent, Boksburg in 1923; the King Dominicans, convents in Springs (1930), Brakpan (1932) and Nigel (1935). The Christian Brothers provided the East Rand with its first boys' school in the form of St Aquinas College, Boksburg, in 1935.

The Witwatersrand was not, however, the only area of expansion in the Transvaal. In Pretoria Catholic schools were opened by the Christian Brothers in Hillcrest in 1922, the Mercy sisters in Capital Park in 1923, and the Loreto sisters in Hillcrest in 1924.

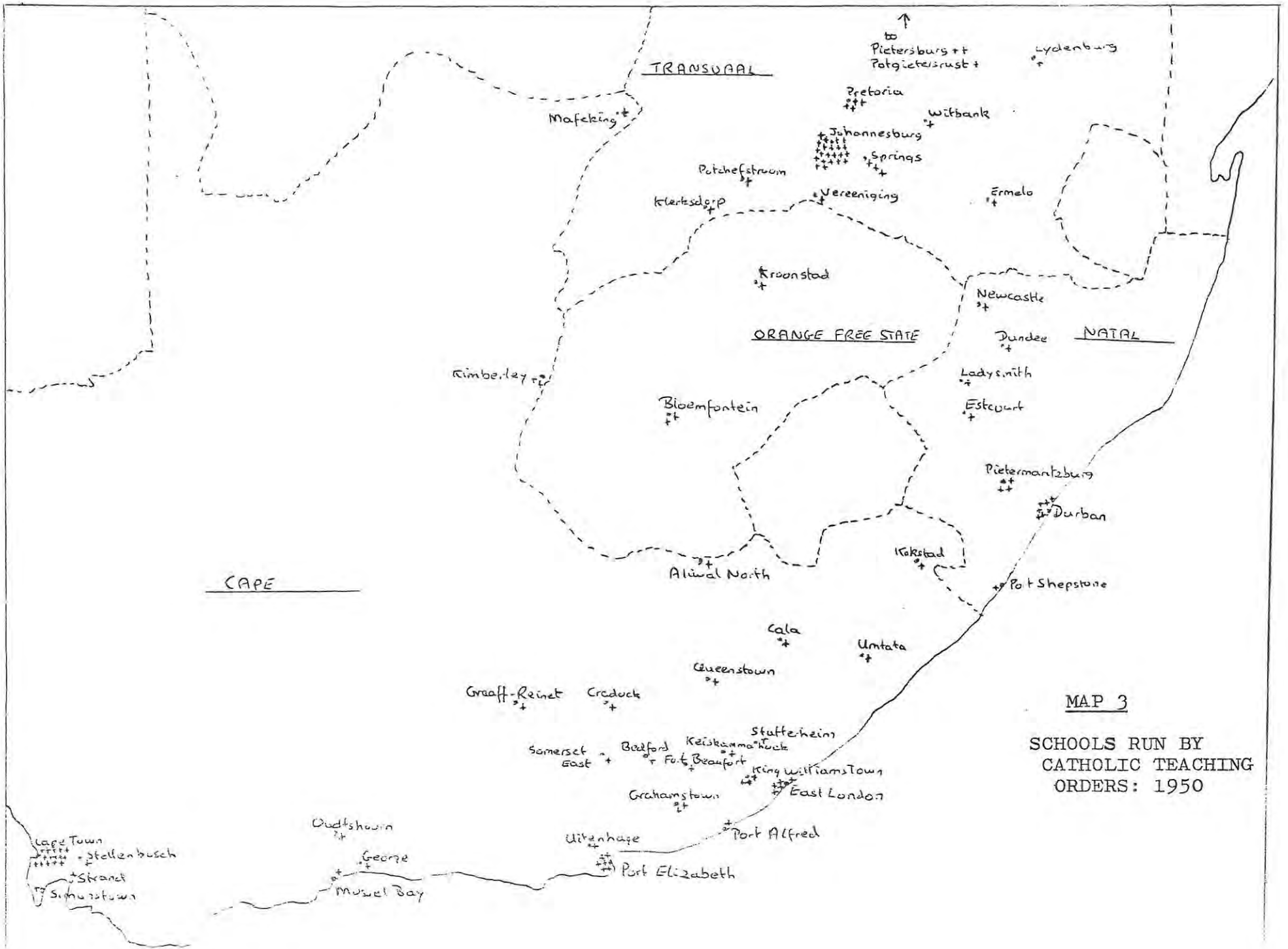
New areas of endeavour were opened up with the establishment of

the Convent of St Thomas Aquinas, Witbank, by the King Dominicans in 1924. The same order also started convents at Ermelo in 1927 and Potgietersrust in 1929.

In the far north a new order, the Brothers of Charity, opened the College of the Little Flower in Pietersburg in 1928. The Brothers of Charity had originally been invited by the Prefect of the Northern Transvaal, Monsignor van Nuffel, to enter the mission field, but during an exploratory visit by the Superior General of the order, Brother Philemon, in 1927, a delegation of white Catholic parents in Pietersburg approached him with a plea to start a school there for their sons. Thus the first party of ten brothers that arrived were divided: five went into missionary work at Doornspruit and five established the College of the Little Flower.

Apart from the Cape and the Transvaal, there were a few other scattered developments. In 1921 the Newcastle Dominicans opened a school at Port Shepstone on the south coast of Natal, while the Marist Brothers opened St Henry's College, Berea, Durban, in 1929. The Marists also expanded into the Orange Free State where they opened the short-lived St David's College in 1924. St David's was sold to the OFS education authorities in 1938 and the brothers turned their attentions to a new St David's College in Johannesburg.

Few Catholic schools were opened during or immediately after the Second World War. Between 1940 and 1949 only eight new schools



MAP 3
SCHOOLS RUN BY
CATHOLIC TEACHING
ORDERS: 1950

were established. Three of these were in the Cape: Aquinas College Stellenbosch (Irish Dominican) in 1941, St Patrick's Junior School, Mowbray (Irish Dominican) in 1943 and St Rose's, Keiskammahoek (King Dominican) in 1949.

In the Transvaal the Marist Brothers opened their largest South African school, St David's, Inanda, in 1940. A new congregation, the Missionary Sisters of Our Lady of the Holy Rosary, were invited to Johannesburg in 1940 where they began schools in Edenvale and Vereeniging the following year. In the south of Johannesburg the Assumptionists started a new convent school in Malvern in 1946.

Apart from these schools, the only other new development was the establishment of a Christian Brothers school in Bloemfontein in 1946, which filled the gap left by the departure of the Marist Brothers eight years earlier.

4. Expansion: 1950 - 1966

The sixteen years between 1950 and 1966 were to represent the climax of Catholic education in South Africa among the white population in terms of numbers of schools and the numbers of pupils in them.

Obviously the foundations that had been laid in Catholic education explained a great deal of this climax, but it also co-incided with

the 'Great Boom' in the South African economy during the early 1960's. One of the important factors in this boom was the growth in the European population, partly through natural increase and partly as a result of immigration from Europe. Industrial development on the Witwatersrand in particular, the opening of the Orange Free State gold-fields and the fourfold increase in South African trade served to create greater prosperity for the population in general and the white population in particular. With the economy experiencing an average real annual growth rate of 7% and per capita income maintaining an upward movement of well over 2% per annum; with an average annual white population growth rate of just under 2% (Wilson, M, & Thompson, L.M., 1972, pp.36-39), there was a growing need for education and money available to pay for private education.

As far as Catholic education was concerned, this manifested itself in both the numbers attending Catholic schools and the establishment of new schools.

The main pattern of growth that emerge during these years is that firstly, the Cape, with a population which, while increasing, was declining in proportion to the Transvaal, accounted for very little of the expansion. Only five new schools were opened: St Anne's, Walmer, Port Elizabeth (Irish Dominican), 1954; Holy Cross Convent, Brooklyn, Cape Town (Holy Cross), 1955; Santa Sabina School, Plumstead (Irish Dominican), 1956; Camps Bay Junior School, Camps Bay (Loreto), 1958; and St Anne's School, East

London (King Dominican), 1960. In actual fact, though, there was a decrease in the number of Catholic schools in the Cape as more schools closed than were opened.

Secondly, it was the Transvaal that was the focus of most of the growth, in particular the Pretoria-Witwatersrand-Vereeniging complex. In Johannesburg itself, the Holy Cross sisters opened their first and only Johannesburg school to the north of the city at Victory Park in 1954, and the de la Salle brothers followed with a boys' school next to it in 1957. In the same year the Sisters of Mercy started a new school in Craighall Park. In 1966 the Ursulines opened Brescia House in Bryanston. The only school to close was the old Marist college in Koch Street which transferred to a new site in Linmeyer under the name of the Marian College in 1966.

On the West Rand the Irish Dominicans opened St Catherine's Convent, Florida in 1957, while the de la Salle brothers opened a boys' school in Discovery in 1966.

The East Rand saw the opening of St Joseph's, Primrose, Germiston by the Newcastle Dominicans in 1956 and a Christian Brothers College in Springs in 1964.

Four schools opened in the Pretoria area: the Assumption Convent Primary in Pretoria North (Assumptionist) in 1952; Waterkloof Junior School (Loreto) in 1957; Queenshill Convent (Missionary Sisters of the Precious Blood) in 1961, and a unique venture in

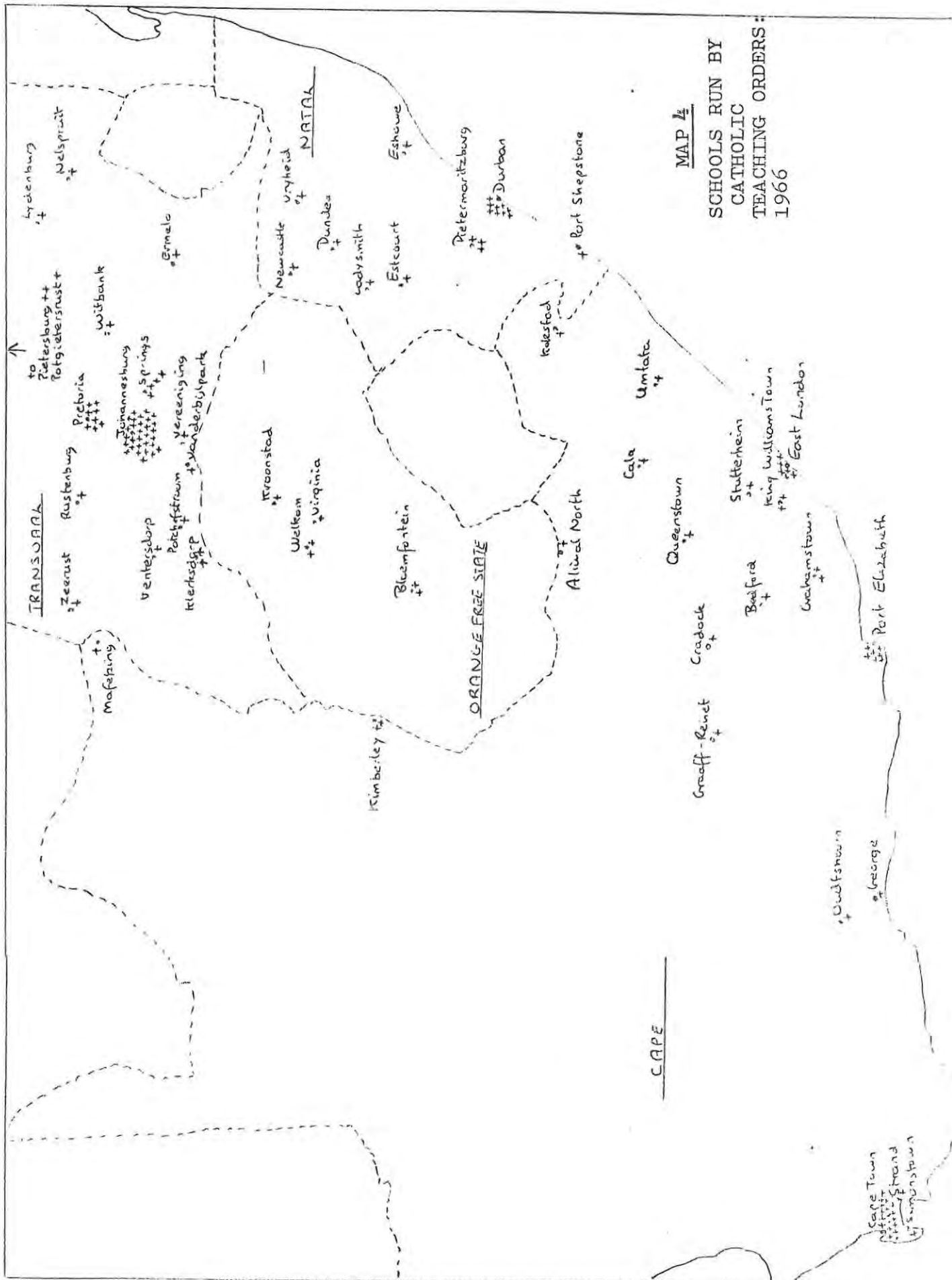
the form of the first convent for Afrikaans-speakers, St Paulus Kloosterskool (Irish Dominican) in 1962.

To the south of Johannesburg in the industrial centre of Vanderbijlpark, the Irish Dominicans took over an existing school from the Holy Rosary sisters in 1956 and ran it as the Sancta Maria Convent. On the goldfields of the Western Transvaal the Notre Dame sisters opened a school for white children at Venterspost after it had been closed to its original black community as a result of the Bantu Education Act of 1953. The Brothers of Charity moved into this region as well with the foundation of St Conrads College in Klerksdorp in 1965.

Outside the mining and industrial complex, the King Dominicans opened convents in Rustenburg in 1950 and Zeerust in 1951. These schools were, however, soon handed over to the Sisters of Charity of St Paul who had been invited to work in this region and who arrived in 1954 from the Selly Park Convent in Birmingham, England.

In the Orange Free State, the opening of Free State gold-fields created new needs for the Church in that region. With assistance from leading mining houses the Christian Brothers opened the Edmund Rice College in Welkom in 1950 and the King Dominicans, St Agnes Convent in the same town in 1951. For some years a third Catholic school, St Mary's Convent, also flourished in nearby Virginia.

In Natal there was an unusually high rate of growth in the number



MAP 4
SCHOOLS RUN BY
CATHOLIC
TEACHING ORDERS
1966

of Catholic schools during this period. Two new schools were established in Durban, the Assumption Convent High (Assumptionist) in Woodlands in 1952, and the Convent of Our Lady of Fatima by the Newcastle Dominicans in Durban North in 1956.

In addition, three new congregations entered the field of white education in Natal. The Missionary Sisters of the Precious Blood, which order had been founded in South Africa to assist the Trappist mission at Mariannhill, had worked exclusively among blacks, but the passage of the Bantu Education Act of 1953 resulted in a large number of white sisters being replaced by black teachers in these schools and thus a number of white sisters became available to work among white children. The first such venture was the Convent of Our Lady of Wisdom in Pinetown in 1956. The other, as mentioned, was in Pretoria.

In 1952 the Holy Childhood sisters arrived in Eshowe at the invitation of Bishop Bilgari and opened a primary school there in 1954. Neither the Holy Childhood sisters, nor the other new order in Natal, the Nardini sisters, were strictly a teaching order.

The Nardini sisters came from Germany at the request of the same bishop. They arrived in 1955 and opened their first and only convent in South Africa in Vryheid in 1956.

The climax was reached between 1965 and 1966. By 1966 there were

over 126 Catholic schools in the country when counted compositely and just under 200 according to Catholic Directory statistics where primary and secondary departments of the same school were counted as two separate schools. The total number of pupils in Catholic schools reached a record high of 45 662 in 1965 (Catholic Directory, 1966), almost double the number at Catholic schools in 1940.

5. Retraction: 1967 - 1980

At its very height in terms of schools and number of pupils in them, the fortunes of Catholic education were declining and the record numbers are deceptive. In real terms the contribution of the private schools was already declining in terms of the total school-going population. Malherbe shows that the private schools as a whole, of which the Catholic schools represented the major proportion, reached a peak in terms of the percentage of the total school-going population attending them during the war years, in 1944, in fact, when a record percentage of 8,3 of the total white school-going population was in private schools. By 1965 this had shrunk to 6,3% which was comparable to the early 1930's. (Malherbe, E.G., 1977, p.719). The point is that the number of school-going children increased rapidly during the boom years and the private schools either could not or did not keep up with this increase.

There is a second factor here as well. While a record number of

schools were opened between 1950 and 1966, a record number, thus far, also closed. During the entire century between 1850 and 1950 only thirteen Catholic schools run by teaching orders had closed; between 1950 and 1966 eleven were either closed or amalgamated with other schools.

These were indications of new forces working within Catholic education in South Africa; forces which were to result in the period after 1966 becoming a period of decline.

These forces were many-faceted. Chief among them was the decline in the number of religious. (see Chapter XII below). Closely allied to this were economic difficulties, partly because these schools were becoming ever more expensive to run and partly because costs were further increased by having to pay greater and greater amounts in salaries to lay teachers. Such rising costs were only offset to a limited extent by increased fees: Catholic schools did not increase fees out of proportion partly because of the tradition that Catholic education should be accessible to all Catholics and partly because high rises in fees would necessarily have led the less wealthy parents to seek other alternatives and thus cause a serious drop in numbers at the schools, making them less viable.

As it was the Catholic schools had to face a decline in numbers anyway. The reasons for this decline were varied. In the first place, the removal of the obligation on Catholic parents to send their children to Catholic schools no doubt had something to do

with it. Economic factors as well as a shift in values have also played a part. The 1970's have seen ever-increasing inflation and many families have had to or have chosen to sacrifice the privilege of private education in order to satisfy other, more material needs. The availability of free and educationally competitive, if not actually superior state schools has helped to re-inforce this. There is, of course, also some confusion between cause and effect here in that while there has been a decline in the number of pupils attending Catholic schools, there has also been a decline in the number of schools possible for them to attend, this often making secular alternatives unavoidable.

There has also been a re-assessment of priorities within the Catholic church itself which has led to a shift of emphasis away from white education and the traditional Catholic school. The 1972 Catholic Education Study commented unfavourably on the high proportion of religious employed in educational work among whites as compared to the small proportion working among blacks. (Neal, M.A., 1972). Steps taken to redress this imbalance contributed to the declining number of religious working in white education, already serious as a result of a lack of sufficient vocations. Similarly, the realisation that a high proportion of Catholic children no longer attended Catholic schools made it necessary to develop new educational programmes in the catechetical field which necessitated the withdrawal of teaching religious from the classroom.

There was, too, a weakness in the structure of Catholic education.

Schools were opened with no overall plan in mind and this resulted in unnecessary duplication in some cases and the opening of small, unviable schools in remote areas in others. In addition, the decline in certain areas can be traced to a general decline in these regions in terms of their economic prosperity and population. The Eastern Cape, where a multitude of small convents once flourished, is a good example of this.

It was not all simply a matter of closing down schools, however. A great deal of the decline in numbers of Catholic schools can be attributed to a process of rationalisation of resources. It is a logical step that instead of running two schools close together, both understaffed and half-empty, it would be better to run one full, well-staffed school. This has led to the merging of certain convents and to the merging of other convents with boys' schools. It has also led to the co-operation of members of different congregations in one school. Such steps were recommended by the Catholic Education Study of 1972 and in many cases they have been taken.

These were the forces at work between 1966 and 1980 when nearly fifty schools run by teaching orders in South Africa closed or were amalgamated with other schools. No new schools were opened during this period. The number of pupils dropped from the record 45 662 of 1965 to a mere 26 110 in 1979.

The area most affected was the Cape. This was in part the natural result of a shift in economic balance and population away from the

Cape to the Transvaal.

The Irish Dominicans and the Loreto sisters in the Western Cape rationalised their schools during the 1970's, closing or amalgamating four schools in Cape Town itself and one in Simonstown. The Notre Dame sisters closed their only Cape Town school, in Bergvliet, in 1972.

More readily apparent was the shrinkage of Catholic schools in the Eastern Cape. Port Elizabeth, with its growing industrial development, still maintains four Catholic schools and only two Catholic schools were closed during this period: St Anne's, Walmer, which was amalgamated with St Dominic's Priory, and the Sacred Heart Convent at Sydenham which the Assumptionists left in 1974.

East London, however, lost five of its original six schools. St Pius V, Cambridge, and Maris Stella Convent (King Dominican) closed in 1971, the Sacred Heart Convent, Hudson Park (King Dominican) in 1976, while the de la Salle brothers closed both their schools, the last one, St Anthony's, closing in 1979.

In Grahamstown, the famous St Aidan's closed in 1973. In the surrounding areas the end came fairly rapidly: Stutterheim and Cradock closed in 1967, Fort Beaufort in 1968, Graaff-Reinet in 1970, Queenstown in 1974, and Bedford in 1979. Even before this the convents in Port Alfred (1950), Mossel Bay (1951), Somerset East (1960) and Keiskammahoek (1965) had been closed, while the de la Salle Brothers closed their King William's Town school in 1957 and the Marists did the same at Uitenhage in 1951.

In the Transkei, which became independent in 1976, the Holy Cross sisters closed their white convent schools in Cala and Umtata, leaving only Kokstad which now falls into the province of Natal.

In the northern Cape, the Mercy sisters closed their convent at Mafeking in 1968, and the Holy Family Convent at Kimberley was closed the following year.

The second main area where schools were closed was the Transvaal. Here, some eleven schools, both on the Witwatersrand and beyond, closed their doors between 1966 and 1980. In Johannesburg, only one school, St Rose's, La Rochelle, closed outright (1979).

Yeoville Convent (Holy Family) and St Angela's, Bezuidenhout Valley (Ursuline) amalgamated with the Sacred Heart College, Observatory (Marist) in a co-educational and co-congregational venture in 1979. A few Reef schools closed outright: Brakpan (1973), Nigel (1976) and Primrose, Germiston (1977). The Holy Rosary Convent at Three Rivers in Vereeniging closed in 1972.

In Pretoria, the Waterkloof Junior School and the Queenshill Convent were amalgamated with Hillcrest to become one school, the Loreto Convent, Queenswood.

Further afield, convents were closed at Venterspost (1968), Potgietersrust (1969), Pietersburg (1970) and Potchefstroom (1972). In Klerksdorp the Dominican convent and St Conrad's College (Brothers of Charity) amalgamated in the late 1970's.

Natal too saw a large number of schools closed down during this period. Of the line of schools that had strung out along the railway, only St Dominic's Academy, Newcastle, remained by 1980. The schools at Estcourt, Ladysmith and Dundee all having closed.

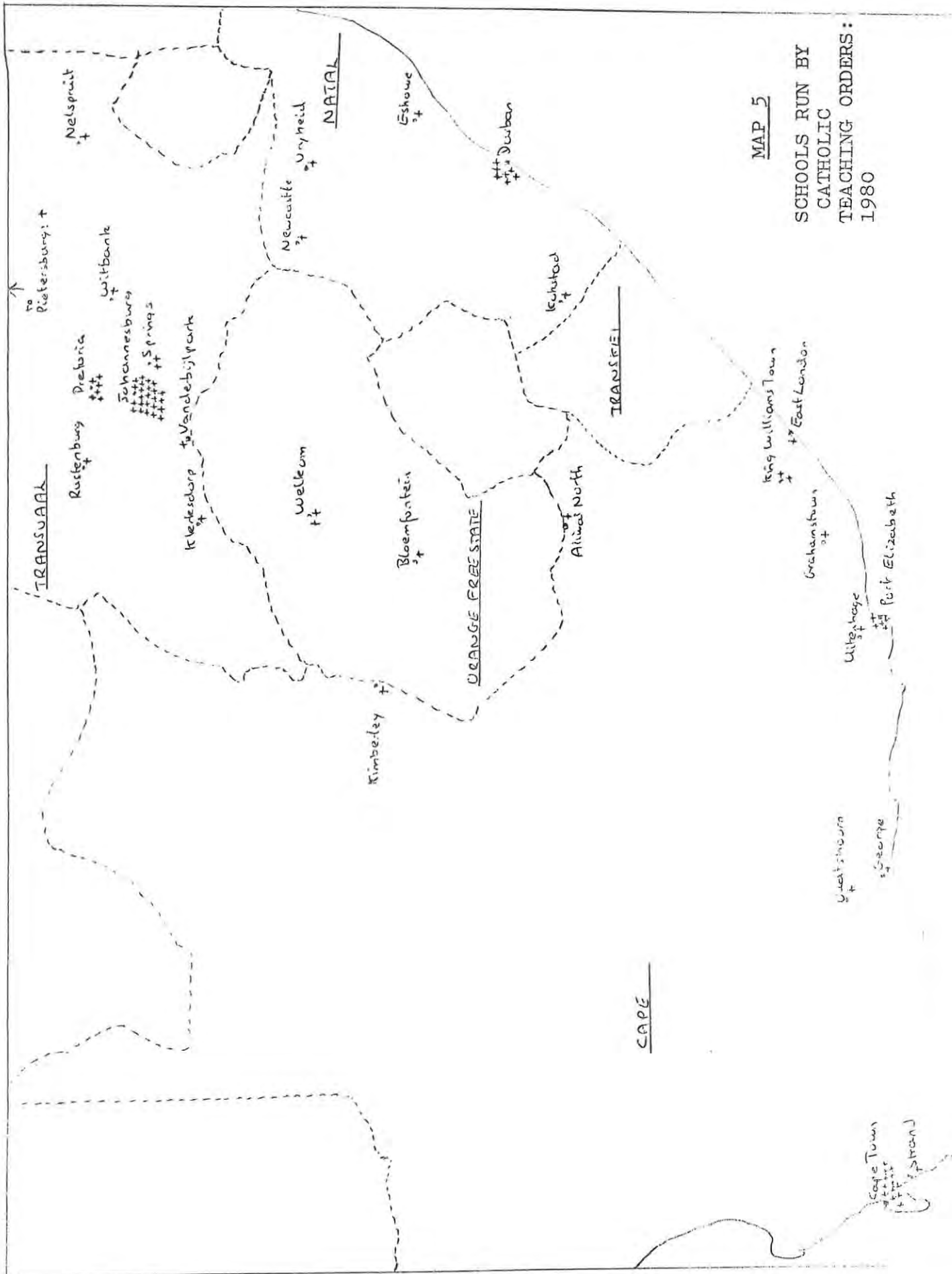
The little school run by the Newcastle Dominicans at Port Shepstone closed in 1971.

In Pietermaritzburg, where Catholic education had had its beginnings in that once-vast Natal vicariate, no Catholic schools remained by 1980. The Convent High School closed in 1972 and St Mary's Parochial in 1978. The end came when, in 1978, St Charles's Grammar School was handed over by the Marist Brothers to a governing body under whose control it became an interdenominational Conference school. In Durban St Agnes Parochial School and the Assumption Convent, Woodlands, closed in 1976 and 1979 respectively.

The Orange Free State, once part of the Natal vicariate, with its small English-speaking population had never been a major centre of Catholic education. Here too the schools began to close. Notre Dame Convent, Kroonstad, closed in 1974, followed by St Mary's Virginia. The oldest Catholic school in the OFS, Greenhill Convent, Bloemfontein, closed at the end of 1980.

The picture that emerges in 1980 is one of clusters of Catholic schools around the major economic and political centres with a handful of small convents in outlying districts, remnants of an earlier age when nearly every town with a fair-sized Catholic population had its convent school. (Map 5).

The shrinkage affected all congregations, and those which had spread the furthest were the most affected. The only order that to date has not at any time closed a white school in South Africa



MAP 5

SCHOOLS RUN BY
CATHOLIC
TEACHING ORDERS:
1980

Cape Town
Simon's Town
Strand

are the Christian Brothers. Their stability appears to have had something to do with the fact that their schools are all well-situated, they are all boys schools, which have always been few and far between in Catholic education in this country; their schools are of good repute, relatively stable financially and are run by an order that has had the most success among the various orders of brothers working in this country in recruiting novices.

Some congregations have ceased altogether to provide private schools for white children. These include the Notre Dame sisters and the Augustinians.

The story of Catholic education in South Africa is one of service. The sisters and brothers were invited here, came, established schools in order to serve the spiritual and educational needs of a particular Catholic community. As that community expanded, so further schools were provided; where it shrank, so schools were closed and others opened elsewhere. This state of balanced fluctuation, however, was sorely disturbed in the period following the Second World War as the Catholic population expanded to the extent where the schools were no longer able to meet its needs. In an age of declining religious life the teaching congregations found themselves hopelessly short of members; in an age of soaring inflation they and their potential supporters found themselves hopelessly short of money - all this in an environment that was rapidly changing, socially, politically, racially and spiritually. The needs of the Catholic community, particul

in the wake of Vatican II, also changed as did the Church's hitherto Anglo-centred view of that community. The declining number of teaching brothers and sisters had to spread their services further than the confines of the white school; had to serve the needs of others in addition to those who were privileged to attend such a school. The responses to the challenges of this changing environment will determine the future of Catholic education in this country.

CHAPTER 1V

THE HISTORY OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN CONFERENCE SCHOOLS

The Conference of Headmasters and Headmistresses of Private Schools of South Africa was formed in 1929. The original members were all Anglican schools and it is true to say that until recently the Anglican schools tended to dominate the organisation, originally in terms of numbers, and later in terms of both numbers and of their membership of the Standing Committee of Associated Church Schools which, from 1947 to 1972, acted as a non-official executive body for the HMC.

Despite this, however, the history of the HMC is not simply the history of Anglican education in South Africa, nor is the history of Anglican education that of the HMC.

The HMC was a comparatively late development in the history of private education for English-speaking whites in South Africa, which had existed for over a hundred years before the HMC was formed.

These schools had taken many forms: some were private profit-making ventures; some were church foundations; others were the work of groups of laymen who wished to establish a particular type of school for a particular reason.

For the greater part of the 19th century, private education was the norm and state education the exception. Initially, private

schools were largely for Dutch-speaking people, but as the English population grew, so schools were opened to serve its needs. Men and women, some reasonably able, some not, 'held school' for handfuls of pupils in front rooms and made something of a living thereby, but such schools were short-lived and unreliable. Some probably had a good reputation under a particularly able proprietor but this helped little when the proprietor died, for more often than not, so did the school.

More permanent were the schools connected with the churches, the Anglican church, the church of the 'Establishment', in particular. The English settler, coming from a country where '...the supervision of education was principally in the hands of the church', consequently, '...expected the church to give their children...education'. (Carter, M.W., 1954, p.7). In this way the Anglican church began to provide schools for the children of its members almost from the beginning of the Second British Occupation (1806). The first recorded school was in Burn Street, Cape Town, opened in 1808 by the military chaplain, Halloran, a bogus priest who, in 1810, was elevated to what was presumably the first Anglican secondary school, the Classical School in Cape Town.

As the number of British settlers increased, particularly after 1820, a priest was expected by the church to 'superintend the school in his district'. (Carter, M.W., 1954, p.8). This practice was also common among Wesleyan ministers as well.

In many ways these schools were similar to the Catholic parish schools and suffered from the same problems. Excepting for cases where a special schoolmaster was appointed, 'Schoolmaster priests were not successful because the clergy could undertake neither office satisfactorily'. (Carter, M.W., p.11). As in the case of Catholic education it became evident that other alternatives were necessary.

One possible alternative lay in state education or in state support for private schools, but when the colonial government established its Superintendent-General of Education in 1839 and its Department of Education in 1841, such support as it was prepared to give covered only the salaries of teachers and was dependent, among other things, upon religious instruction being of an undogmatic nature. This did not suit the Anglican clergy at all, particularly Robert Gray, who became the first Anglican bishop in 1847.

Gray saw the weakness of the parish schools and the unsatisfactory nature of the government grant. In addition, he was also concerned to establish schools which would provide more than a mere elementary education. Those Englishmen in Cape Town who sought good secondary education for their children had no choice, as Gray himself had no choice, but to send their sons and later their daughters, back to England for it.

Thus Gray is an important figure, not only because he founded the first surviving Anglican school in South Africa, but also

because he initiated two new types of school in South Africa, the cathedral grammar school and the 'public' school, both on the English model.

The first cathedral grammar school was that attached to St George's Cathedral in Cape Town and generally dates its origins back to 1848, though a school of sorts attached to the cathedral may have existed earlier and Rawlins argues that it did not become a proper grammar school until the 1850's. (Rawlins, G.E., 1961, p.44). Whatever the exact nature of its origins and even though it is no longer in operation near the cathedral, Bishop Gray was instrumental in its becoming a grammar school and it is the oldest school that is today a member of HMC and is the oldest surviving church school of any denomination on South African soil.

The 'public' school opened a year later, in 1849, at Gray's house, 'Protea', moving to a new site in Rondebosch in 1850. Known as the Diocesan Collegiate School, it was modelled on Radley, with the intention that it '...may hereafter become a great engine for the extension of the pure faith of Christ throughout that part of the African continent by the education of a body of devoted clergy and a pious and intelligent laity'. (Peacock, M.A., 1972, p.35). Diocesan College, or 'Bishops' as it became known, came to cater for not only secondary education, but for tertiary courses as well.

Bishops was something of an exception in those early years. The

only other Anglican foundation like it was St Andrew's College, Grahamstown, which was founded by the bishop of the Eastern province, John Armstrong, in 1855, as a school, theological college and mission. Like Bishops, St Andrew's also came to offer tertiary courses into the early 20th century.

Schools on the St George's pattern were more common. As the colonial government was paying more attention to elementary education, so the Anglican church began to channel its energies more into secondary education, usually in the form of cathedral or church grammar schools. These were established in Grahamstown (1849), Port Elizabeth (1850), George (1854), King William's Town (1862), Queenstown (1862), Claremont (1876) and East London (1890).

An interesting feature of these schools is their geographical situation. For the most part they are situated in the Eastern Cape and Border region, as was the case with the majority of Catholic schools at this time. Again, it was a case of catering for the largest concentration of English-speakers in the wealthiest part of the colony. On the whole they were established earlier than their Catholic counterparts in the same towns, and lasted a much shorter time. They catered for small local communities who were not obliged in terms of their faith to support such schools, though they were encouraged to do so, and in the early years there were few other alternatives anyhow. The fact that none of their number, apart from St Mark's School, George, survived to become a member of HMC is best explained by

these factors. As government schools began to appear in larger numbers and as transport improved and parents could send their children to better schools elsewhere, so support for these schools dropped, assisted, no doubt, in the early 20th century by a gradual decline in the population and economic prosperity of the Eastern Cape in which most of them were situated. In addition, staffing these schools posed something of a problem and they lacked the dedicated stability that the teaching congregations gave to the Catholic schools in the same towns.

Of the earliest schools, founded before 1870, the only ones that survived to become members of HMC were Anglican and the only Anglican schools which survived were the two 'public' schools, Bishops and St Andrew's, and two of the grammar schools, St George's and St Mark's. This is not necessarily a reflection on the efforts of the Protestant churches or other bodies or individuals to provide schools during this period. A higher proportion of pupils were privately educated then than is the case today, but as R F Currey commented, 'The infant mortality rate amongst South African schools in the 19th century was a grievously high one'. (Currey, R.F., 1955, p.24).

The final quarter of the 19th century with the rapid growth in the prosperity of the country resulting from the mineral discoveries and the consequent increase in its English-speaking population, which represented the most prosperous section of South African society, saw new initiatives in education on the part of the Anglicans and of other non-Catholic churches as well as by

individuals. On the whole these new initiatives had a higher survival rate and were geographically more widespread than earlier ventures.

In the Cape Province, the Anglican church again took the lead amongst non-catholic churches. The main new directions were in the education of girls. A second new initiative was that in the Cape two communities of Anglican nuns came to assist in providing this education. In the Western Cape the Community of All Saints established All Saints School, Wynberg in 1876 and took over the running of St Cyprian's which Bishop Gray had started in 1871, in 1877. Gray intended St Cyprian's to provide for girls what Bishops did for boys. In 1882, the sisters founded St Hilda's, a 'normal school' which became a centre for teacher training.

In the Eastern Cape the Community of the Resurrection opened a number of schools in Grahamstown: the Good Shepherd School for poorer children in 1883; St Peter's School for the wealthier children in 1884, a school which became an important centre for teacher training; in 1896 the sisters also took over the parish school of St Bartholomew. Outside Grahamstown they opened a school in King William's Town in 1894.

Of all these schools, only one, St Cyprian's, survived, to become the oldest girls' school to be a member of HMC, though St Peter's continued to serve as a teachers' training college into the 1970's.

Apart from these schools run by the sisters, however, the Anglican church also established two 'Diocesan' schools for girls attached to the cathedrals in Grahamstown (1874) and Umtata (1877). St Margaret's, Umtata closed in 1924, but DSG Grahamstown survived to become a member of HMC.

All these schools were secondary schools, but there was one important exception. St Andrew's Preparatory School was opened in Grahamstown to serve St Andrew's College. The Headmaster of St Andrew's College, John Espin, felt it undesirable to mix very young children with the adolescents and thus decided to start a small day school for the younger boys. The school opened in 1884 under a teacher from DSG, Mrs Battye. By an agreement reached in 1907, the Preparatory school has been run and financed entirely independently of the College.

The Anglican church was not the only non-Catholic church to have concerned itself with white education in the Cape during the 19th century. The Methodists, long active among black and white in the Eastern Province and beyond, also played a part. When Kingswood College was opened in Grahamstown in 1894, it was, on the one hand, a new school but, on the other, it was the heir to a long tradition of Methodist education in and around the city. Named after the college set up by John Wesley near Bristol in 1748 for the sons of Methodist ministers, Kingswood traced its traditions back to the Salem Academy founded in 1820 by William Shaw, Methodist minister to the 1820 Settlers. Of the many little private schools set up by the early settlers, the

Salem Academy, particularly under its first master, W H Matthews, was the most successful. The line then passes to Shaw College in Grahamstown, then the Wesleyan School in Grahamstown and finally to Kingswood itself.

The last quarter of the 19th century saw the development of non-Catholic private education in Natal on a significant scale. Here the Anglicans again seem to have been the most active, but the conflict between Bishop Gray and the first bishop of Natal, Bishop Colenso, saw the retardation of the Anglican effort in education in that region. Within a few years of Colenso's appointment in 1853 the Anglican church had opened elementary schools in Durban, Pietermaritzburg, Verulam, Pinetown, Ladysmith, Richmond and Greytown, and the first secondary school, St Andrew's Grammar School, also known as 'Dean Green's School', opened in Pietermaritzburg in 1856.

After the schism it was this same Dean Green who commented in 1869 that 'Years ago we had the education of the youth of the colony in our hands, but we let it slip'. (Carter, M.W., 1954, p.101). Under the new bishop, MacCrorie, an attempt was made to correct this situation. Once again elementary parish schools were established in Pietermaritzburg, Durban, Greytown, Estcourt, Umzinto, Verulam, Eshowe, Ladysmith, Newcastle and Richmond. These schools '...flourished for a time with the aid of a government grant, but were eventually absorbed into the state system as the parochial communities found it impossible to maintain them'. (Carter, M.W., 1954, p.105).

Provision of secondary education was more sparse. In 1869 a Diocesan school for girls was established in Richmond. Vietzen describes St Mary's College Richmond as 'unique' and as 'an undertaking ahead of its time'. (Vietzen, S., 1973, p.94). It was a custom-built school, it was a boarding school, it trained teachers, and it 'represented the first purposeful advance into girls' secondary education in Natal'. (Vietzen, S., 1973, p.121). For boys there was Bishop's College in Pietermaritzburg, set up in 1871 to replace the now-defunct Dean Green's Grammar School. The new school failed to attract many pupils, largely, according to Carter, because those who could afford the fees were the wealthy, and the wealthy were, on the whole, Colenso supporters. (Carter, M.W., 1954, p.105).

Dean Green's Grammar School and the Colenso supporters had an important legacy. The first head of that school, the Reverend William Orde Newnham had, despite, or perhaps because of the Colenso debacle, continued his educational work. In 1872 he opened what was clearly intended to be a 'public' school at Hilton. Perhaps Newnham, as a Colenso man, was able to attract the support that Bishop's College failed to attract, for Hilton College, as it became known, became one of Natal's leading boys' private schools while Bishop's College failed to survive as much as a decade.

Private secondary education for boys in Natal was consequently limited and it remained limited for many years. The most striking developments in Natal were in the field of secondary education

for girls.

At first sight this might seem strange, particularly when it is borne in mind that secondary education for girls was considered to be less necessary and where it existed, was far less rigorous than its male counterpart. This in itself, however, provides one of the reasons for the development of education for girls rather than for boys. Wealthy parents were still prepared to go to the expense of having their sons educated 'at home' in England at one of the public schools, but were not always prepared to make the same sacrifices for their daughters, nor did they consider it necessary to do so.

There were other reasons as well. In 1875 the Holy Family sisters opened their first Catholic convent high schools in Durban and Pietermaritzburg and consequently provided an opportunity for education for girls that was offered only by one other school, St Mary's at Richmond. The convents, as Vietzen comments, were 'meeting certain particular needs' and 'presented what they believed the people wanted' in terms of curriculum. (Vietzen, S., 1973, p.140). As mentioned earlier, the Catholic schools were usually open to non-Catholics and in the early years about two-thirds of the girls at these two convent schools were Protestant. (Vietzen, S., 1973, p.148).

The Protestants appear to have been far more concerned about this fact than the Catholics. The anti-Catholic movement that followed the arrival of the nuns has been mentioned, but it

went even further than the mere circulation of pamphlets such as 'Give the Cat the Cream to Guard', warning of the dangers of allowing Protestant children to be educated by Catholic nuns. The establishment of the first Catholic convent schools in Natal and the success of these schools spurred the Protestants to provide their own schools for their girls.

An Evangelical¹ Conference was held in Durban, prompted and attended by laymen from the Congregational, Presbyterian and Methodist churches, with the aim of establishing a Protestant school to which they could send their daughters. Vietzen records that all these men were professionals and businessmen and it was consequently an 'upper class' venture. (Vietzen, S ., 1973, p.209). The school, known as the Durban Young Ladies Collegiate Institute, opened officially in January 1878, and was closely modelled on the Cheltenham Ladies College. Today, known as Durban Girls College, it has the largest intake of all the HMC girls' schools.

In the same year a similar school was opened in Pietermaritzburg. Here the lead was taken by a group of Presbyterians, clergy and laymen, who formed an association encompassing all Protestant churches in order to open a 'High Class Evangelical Protestant Day and Boarding School...for the young ladies of Natal and Neighbouring Territories'. Originally known as Evangelical Ladies School, it is today called Girls Collegiate School and is a member of HMC. It was a success from the start. According to Vietzen, shortly after its opening, Girls Collegiate 'had the

best staff and highest standards in the colony'. (Vietzen, S., 1973, p.208).

The Anglicans were not slow to follow. Their prestige girls' school, St Mary's Richmond, had fallen upon hard times, particularly in view of a dispute between the lady principal, Miss Creswell, and the local parish priest, that resulted in Miss Creswell leaving the school and setting up a new one in Pietermaritzburg, taking some of the pupils with her. The Anglican bishop gave his blessing to Miss Creswell's new venture, which had the advantage of centrality, and in 1878 it became formally the diocesan school of St Anne's.

St Anne's set up 'branch' schools in Greytown and Durban in 1882 and in Port Shepstone in 1883, but these were extremely short-lived.

Certainly, by 1890 the provision of private secondary schools for boys in Natal lagged behind that for girls. Only two state schools went higher than standard seven, while of the private schools only Hilton regularly presented candidates for the public examination. None of them, apart from the Catholic St Charles's in Pietermaritzburg, were denominational. (Barrett, A.M., 1969, p.11).

It was this state of affairs that Canon J C Todd of the Anglican church sought to rectify when he opened St Michael's in Pietermaritzburg in 1896. In 1899 it was made a public school governed

by a permanent trust and moved to the site in Balgowan where, as Michaelhouse, it is at present.

Girls' schools continued to be the main focus of growth however. In 1897 the Anglicans opened yet another diocesan school in Pietermaritzburg, though with a different emphasis to the earlier ventures. The parish school of Pietermaritzburg, attached to the cathedral of St Saviour's, had proved to be a considerable success and there appeared to be a need to provide secondary education for some of the girls attending it whose parents could not afford the fees of the existing upper-class secondary establishments. To keep the fees low a congregation of nuns was brought in to run a new secondary school for girls. The sisters of St John the Divine opened this school, St John's, to enable the less affluent parents to give their daughters an equitable secondary education.

The Wesleyans also established a girls' school in Pietermaritzburg. It was initially a private venture on the part of two ladies, Miss Mason and Miss Lowe, in collaboration with the Wesleyan church, in 1898. Again it filled an important need, for Wesleyan parents had previously had the choice of sending their daughters either to the convent, the Presbyterian-orientated Girls Collegiate or to the Anglican St Anne's. The Wesleyan High School, or Epworth as it is now known, was an immediate success.

This account of the development of private education in Natal during the 19th century is of necessity incomplete. It does not

and cannot detail the many private proprietary ventures that flourished and died here in just the same way as they did in the Cape. An account of the history of HMC schools is essentially an account of the survivors and very few of these survived. It is interesting to note, however, that more of these 19th century private ventures developed into HMC schools in Natal than was the case in the Cape. Hilton, St Anne's and Epworth were all, initially at any rate, private proprietary schools which, either through the intervention of one of the churches or on the part of the parent body, developed sounder foundations that stood the test of time.

Private schools for English-speaking whites in the Orange Free State during the 19th century were limited in number on account of the small English-speaking population in that Boer Republic. Nevertheless, the four years of British rule between 1848 and 1854 as well as the close economic ties with the Cape colony did mean that there was a small English-speaking population and to serve their needs the Anglican church appointed Bishop Twells bishop of Bloemfontein in 1863. At this time there were few schools for the Dutch inhabitants of the OFS, let alone for the English ones. Twells established elementary parish schools at Smithfield and Fauresmith, and he also started a grammar school in Bloemfontein which was to be the forerunner of the more famous St Andrew's School. This school, known as the Diocesan Grammar School, opened in November 1863 under a Mr G Clegg, to provide 'the usual branches of a sound liberal education'. (Damant, D., 1963, p.12). The elementary schools

had a limited lifespan, Fauresmith closing in 1883 and Smithfield in 1888, but the Diocesan Grammar School prospered. Among its earliest pupils was John Brand, the son of the then President of the Orange Free State.

The discovery of diamonds increased the English-speaking population of the region. Although the diamond-fields were annexed by Britain in 1871, Anglican spiritual leadership continued to come from Bloemfontein. Bishop Webb Twells's successor, established a number of small elementary schools under local priests at the mining camps that became Kimberley, Beaconsfield and Barkly West. A girls' school, St Cyprian's, also flourished in Kimberley for a while under the direction of the sisters of the Community of St Michael and All Angels. St Cyprian's, opened in 1877, was closed during the Anglo-Boer War, and although it reopened in 1901, it failed to survive the first decade of the 20th century. The elementary schools closed or were handed over to the government before the end of the 19th century.

The Community of St Michael had, however, originally been brought out to work in Bloemfontein itself, and the work they began there had greater permanence. Bishop Webb had been concerned that while the Free State had a good Anglican boys' school, there was no comparable girls' school and he invited the sisters to Bloemfontein to start one. In 1874 they opened St Michael's, which was essentially a girls' high school. Associated with it was an elementary 'poor' school, St Michael's Day School, which was

designed to cater for the children of poorer parents who could not afford the fees of St Michael's itself. Also associated with it was a 'branch' school, St Michael's Harrismith, which was opened in 1878. The Day School, renamed St Gabriel's, closed in 1899 and the Harrismith school in 1903. The headmistress of St Michael's, Bloemfontein, however, was one of the foundation members of HMC, though the school, like St Andrew's, has recently left the Conference as it has been taken over by the Provincial education authorities.

Bishop Webb also tried to revive the Anglican elementary parish schools, starting such schools in Bloemfontein, Harrismith and Ficksburg. All floundered in the face of growing state education and none survived into the 20th century.

The history of private education in the Transvaal followed a similar pattern. The best recorded ventures were church schools, largely Anglican and Catholic.

Nearly all the early Anglican parishes opened elementary schools, beginning in Potchefstroom in 1866. By 1884 there were 13 such schools in operation, but none of them survived the century.

Attempts to set up secondary schools were more limited. In 1878 the bishop of Pretoria, Bishop Bousefield, opened a secondary school for boys, St Birinus, and one for girls, St Ethelreda's, in the capital. St Birinus closed in 1909, but St Ethelreda's, now St Mary's Diocesan School for Girls, survived to the present

with a continuity unbroken even by the Anglo-Boer War.

The opening up of the Witwatersrand created a new field for educational work on the part of both the churches and of private individuals who sought to or, through force of circumstances had to support themselves by keeping school. A new Anglican parish was created in 1887 and the first parish priest, the Reverend John Darragh, soon turned his attention to education. In 1887 he established two schools, one for boys and the other for girls, attached to the parish church of St Mary's. These were followed by a secondary school for girls, St Mary's College in 1888, and one for boys, St Michael's College, in 1890.

Under the regime of education superintendent Mansfelt, all these schools had their government subsidy withdrawn because they did not teach through the medium of Dutch. As the church could not afford the cost of running them without government aid, they either closed or, in the case of St Michael's and St Mary's, passed into private hands. St Michael's disappeared from the records but St Mary's continued, first in Doornfontein, then in Jeppestown, where it was handed back to the Diocese of Johannesburg in 1924 and finally, in 1934, moved to its present site in Waverley, north of the city.

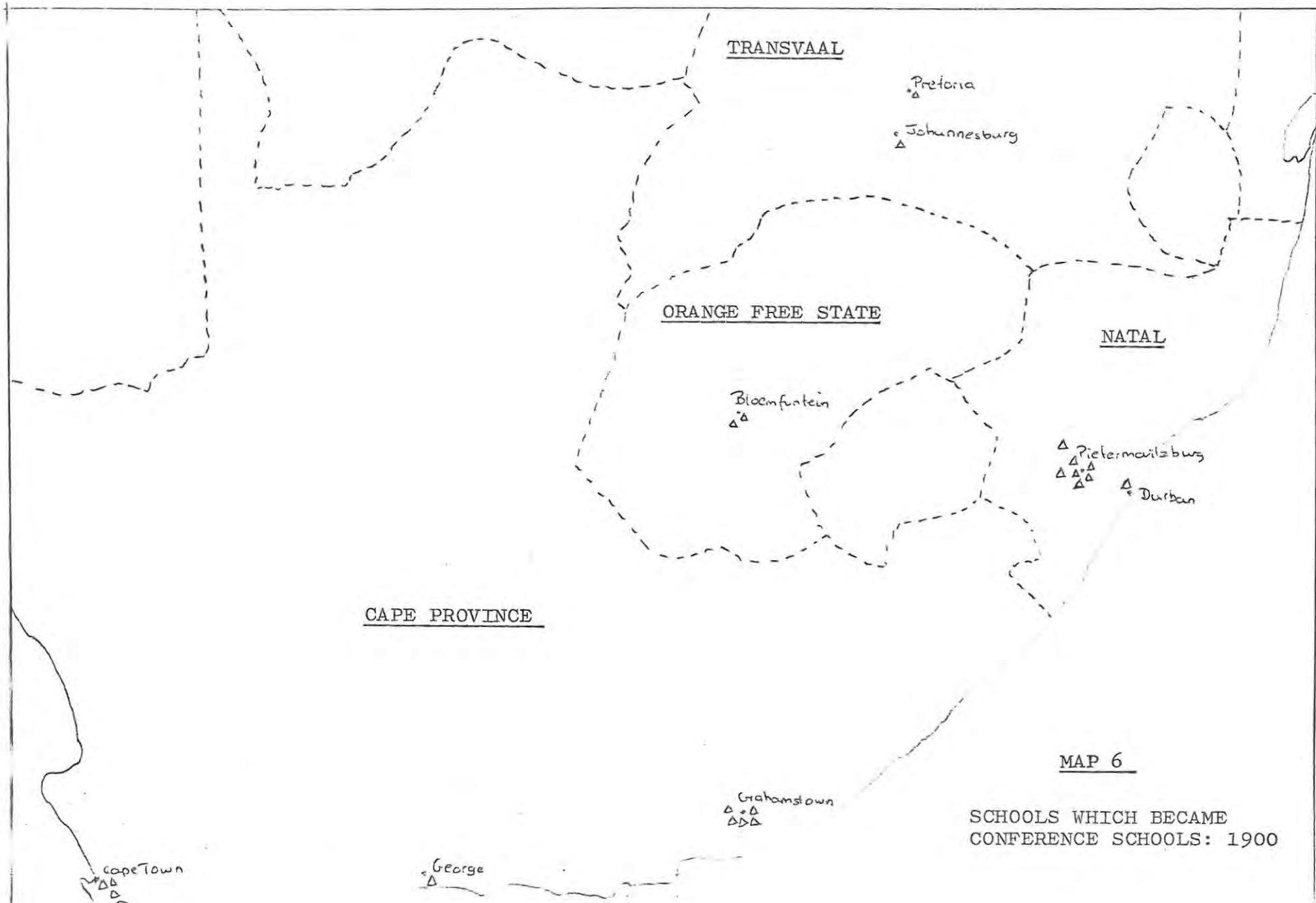
The sale of St Michael's, however, left Johannesburg without an Anglican boys' school of any description and with only one boys' secondary school at all, the Marist Brothers' College in Koch Street, which had found some favour with President Kruger.

In view of this, Darragh made a second attempt at running an Anglican boys' school in 1898 which operated in financially strained circumstances, first in the grounds of the cathedral and later on a site in Plein Street. This was St John's College which, although it closed during the Anglo-Boer War, was revived afterwards, moved to its present site in Houghton during the Milner regime, and became one of the first schools to be represented on the HMC. It is hard to resist the conclusion that the survival of St John's had much to do with the fact that at a time when it was struggling financially, as it had done since its foundation, the Community of the Resurrection agreed to step in and ran the school from 1906 until the end of 1934.

Some 20 of the multitude of private schools started during the 19th century survived to become members of HMC in the 20th. Most of these were associated with one or other of the major Protestant churches, the Anglican church in particular, and even the few exceptions had strong religious ties. It is probably true to say, with the exception of Hilton College and Durban Girls College, that schools which were founded and/or run under the auspices of one or other of the churches had a greater stability and a greater chance of survival than the many small private proprietary ventures that seldom outlived their original proprietors. Durban Girls High had been a co-operative venture and had the support of the Protestant churches while Hilton's success is probably best explained by the fact that it modelled itself strongly on British public school lines and had, from the beginning, the support of the wealthy Natal farmers who

sought such an education for their children but who were less able and less inclined than the business community to seek it overseas.

A second feature of these schools is that, apart from St Andrew's Preparatory, Grahamstown, they were all secondary schools. The growth of the state schools in the 19th century in the various colonies and republics had been primarily, though not exclusively, directed towards elementary education and the competition of state elementary education proved too strong for the many private schools that had originally provided it. By the turn of the century there was still a great shortage of secondary schools and that in itself had helped to ensure the continued support of the private secondary schools, some of which had already begun to establish considerable reputations. As private ventures, however, they had to charge relatively high fees which excluded all but the well-to-do, but this status as 'class' schools actually had much to do with their ability to withstand the competition of state secondary education in the 20th century. The parish schools, for example, had catered for rich and poor and there was no difficult transition here to free state schools. The secondary schools, on the other hand, had, for the most part catered for the rich alone and there was consequently something of a social superiority about them which the free state secondary schools, admitting children from all types of economic backgrounds, could not provide. Hence, state secondary schools were considered, in some circles, to be socially inferior and, for that matter, academically inferior as well.



The first thirty years of the 20th century, indeed, saw a continued growth of private schools but, interestingly enough, comparatively few of these were church schools. A second development of these years was the emergence of private preparatory schools, again on the English model, designed to feed the private secondary schools and catering for much the same kind of need among the wealthier section of the populace.

The two main areas of development during this period were the Transvaal and Natal, which co-incides with the distribution of the wealthier English-speakers.

Of the 11 private schools that were to become members of HMC that were founded in the Transvaal between 1900 and 1930, 8 were preparatory and only 3 secondary. The location of the Johannesburg schools is interesting, for they were situated in or near the new 'elite' suburbs to the north of the city: Parktown, Westcliff, Melrose. They included Parktown Preparatory School, now closed; St Katharine's Preparatory School, Parktown (1914); The Ridge Preparatory School, Westcliff (1919); Auckland Park Preparatory School (1921), and Pridwin Preparatory School, Melrose (1923). The other two preparatory schools in the Transvaal were also established in 'elite' areas: Waterkloof House Preparatory School (1923) was established by two teachers from Parktown Preparatory at the request of prominent Pretorians; Uplands Preparatory School, White River (1928), was opened by the sister of the Bishop of Lebombo for the children of the citrus farmers who came to the Eastern Transvaal in the wake of the First World War. Although all

these schools became non-profit-making companies later in their histories, they all began as private proprietary ventures. The only exception was St Dunstan's, Benoni, founded in 1918 to serve the East Rand as an Anglican primary day school. St Dunstan's, however, is no longer a member of HMC.

The three secondary schools were all girls' schools and were founded early in the century. Only one was a church foundation, St Margaret's School, which was opened and run by the East Grinstead sisters, a community of Anglican nuns, in 1901. The other two were profit-making ventures. St Andrew's School for Girls, now in Bedfordview, opened in 1902 in Esselen Street, Hospital Hill. It was the work of two ladies from the Cape who believed that with the end of the Boer War '...Johannesburg would once again be full of British parents crying out for an English education for their daughters, so that a school based on British ideas of education would not only supply a need, but could hardly fail to be a financial success'. (Neave, M.F., 1977, p.13).

In 1904 Rodean School was founded in Parktown, Johannesburg as an offshoot of Roedean School, Brighton, by two teachers from that school, Miss T Lawrence and Miss K M Earle. It clearly bore the stamp of the English Public School and was designed to serve as '...an educational institution for the daughters of the mine executives on the Reef who would otherwise have been sent aboard'. (Prospectus, 1978).

Of the private schools opened in Natal during this period, 6

became members of HMC, 3 preparatory schools and three secondary schools. Two of the preparatory schools, Highbury (1903) and Cordwalles (1923) were private profit-making establishments later taken over by companies, while Cordwalles was founded in 1912 by the bishop of Natal as a diocesan preparatory school to feed Michaelhouse.

Only one of the secondary schools, Wykeham School, was a purely private venture. It was founded in 1905 by Miss Mary Moore who was a teacher at St Anne's, and who left that school with some twenty pupils in order to found Wykeham. The other two schools were church schools, though they were founded by private individuals. A wealthy Anglican merchant, Mr Walter Butcher, provided the diocese with the gift of a school, St Mary's Diocesan School for Girls, Kloof, as a thanksgiving for peace in 1919. Sugar baron Sir J C Hulett offered his home on his tea estate, which he had vacated, to the Methodist church to which he belonged. It was his intention that it should be used as a boarding school for boys, and he paid for the initial expenses of establishing this school, Kearsney College, which opened in 1921.

Of the three Cape schools that joined the HMC which were founded during this period, only one appears to have been a private venture, again a preparatory school, Western Province Preparatory School, founded in 1913. The other two, both secondary, were Anglican foundations. St Winifred's School, George (1918) was a diocesan school for girls and counterpart to St Mark's in the

same town, while Herschel School, Claremont, was funded from the estate of the late J W Jagger and was attached to St Saviour's Church.

Many of these schools did not join the HMC at its foundation because they were still profit-making concerns and because most of them were not denominational, while the early HMC had a strong Anglican orientation. Most of them had joined by the end of the 1930's but a few, such as Clifton, Auckland Park, Uplands and St Andrew's School for Girls waited another decade before becoming eligible for or alternately, before becoming interested in, membership.

Since the establishment of the HMC in 1929, 13 new private schools have been established which have been represented on this body. Most were the product of the post-war boom, and most were situated in the Transvaal, primarily on the Witwatersrand.

These schools represent the whole spectrum: preparatory schools, secondary schools, church schools, interdenominational schools with the addition of a new, though very small, category of schools that moved away from traditional education to a greater or lesser extent. In comparison to other English-speaking countries, these have been very few indeed, at least as far as the current membership of the HMC is concerned.

The foundation of Kingsmead, a secondary school for girls in Melrose, Johannesburg, in 1934 was a private venture by Miss D V

Thompson of Rodean school for no other stated reason than that Miss Thompson '...wished to establish a school of my own'. (Thompson, D.V., undated).

To some extent that was also true of St Peter's, Rivonia, founded in 1950 by Stanley Dodson, the recently retired headmaster of St John's Preparatory. Despite its being a private enterprise, however, St Peter's was clearly intended to be an Anglican school and soon became an incorporated company and a member of HMC.

St Stithian's College, Randburg, was a Methodist school from the beginning. Though founded by private individuals it owed its origin to the fact that they favoured '...a greater emphasis on the teaching of Christian principles and thought that more should be done within schools to develop leaders in social matters'. (Mears, W.G.A., 1972, p.5). As these men, who established a trust to create such a school, were all Methodists, so the school was to be run as a Methodist school.

The Anglicans were responsible for three new schools in the Transvaal. In 1958 St Martin's School opened in Rosettenville south of Johannesburg. Established on the site of an African school which had been closed as a result of apartheid legislation, St Martin's was the product of the need that was felt for greater provision of private schools for boys in the Johannesburg area and because the high cost of existing private schools often made them prohibitive to many who sought the education they provided. St Martin's was intended as a school that could be afforded by

less affluent parents and in that way make a significant diversion from the 'elitist' nature of most non-Catholic private schools.

The foundation of St Alban's College in Pretoria in 1963 resultedv from slightly different considerations. The main reason appears to have been the lack of boarding schools for English-speaking boys from Pretoria and further north, and because there was a singular lack of Anglican schools in the Transvaal outside Johannesburg itself. The bishop of Pretoria appears to have initiated the moves towards the development of the school.

St Barnabas College opened in Westdene, Johannesburg, in 1963 as a singular departure from the norm of Anglican schools. It differed in that it was established for the coloured community rather than for whites and it laid much greater stress on its work in community service and compensatory education, though it retained the academic character of the traditional schools.

The most recent Transvaal foundation, Woodmead School, represents a further development. Founded in 1970 as an expression of the educational ideals of its first headmaster, M T S Krige, it is essentially a progressive school, both in its organisation and in its approach to learning.

Outside the Transvaal, the Cape saw the establishment of three new HMC schools after the War. In the Eastern Cape, Woodridge Preparatory School opened its doors at Thornhill near Port

Elizabeth. It was initially a private proprietary venture with a particular accent on 'outdoor education'. A college was added in 1965.

In 1948 Somerset House Preparatory School was opened in Somerset West. It owed its inspiration to the 'progressive' movement in education, in particular to the educational theories of Rudolf Steiner.

The third Cape school was Monterey Preparatory School which was founded on a more traditional basis in 1953 to feed the old Anglican colleges of Bishops and St Andrew's.

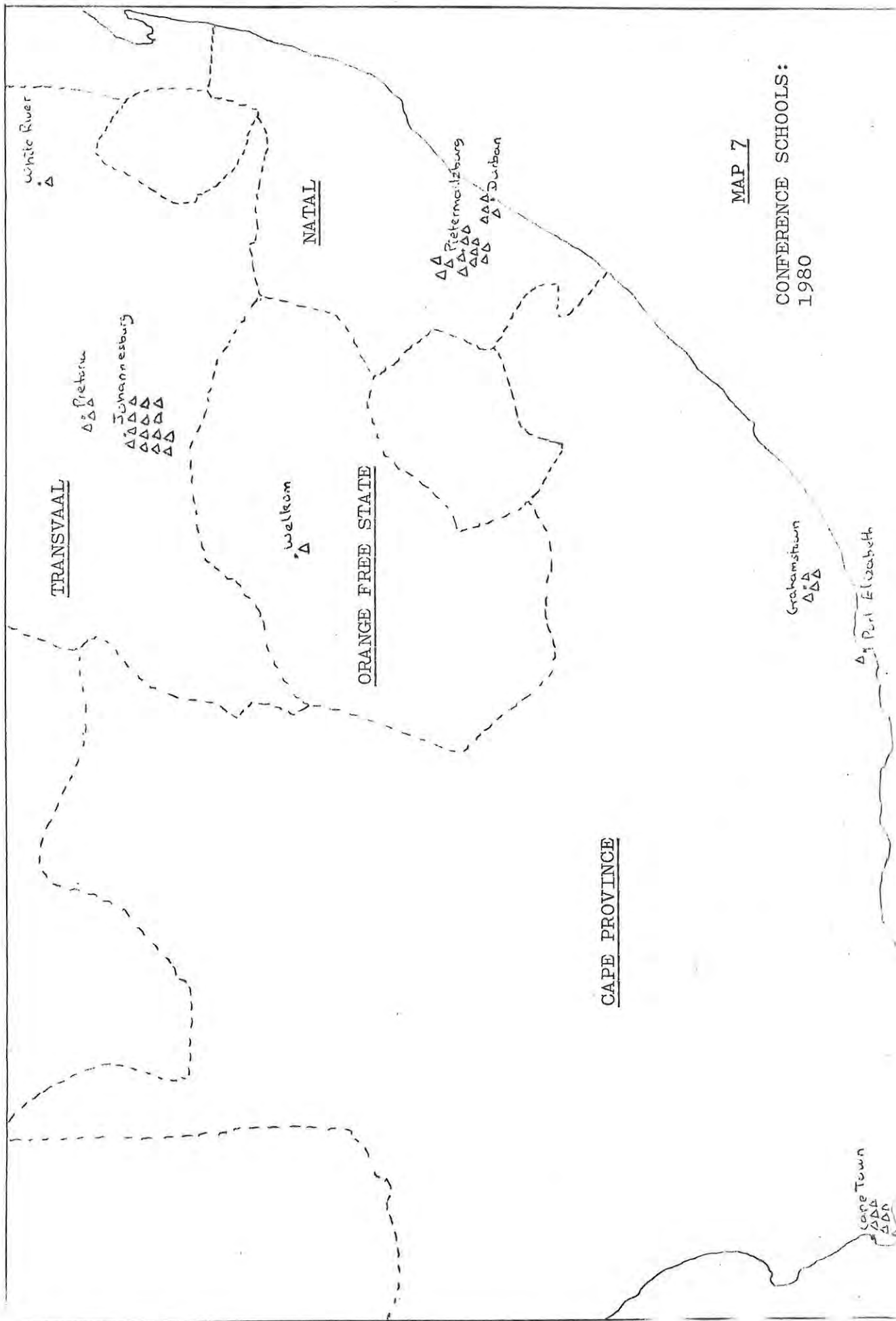
Three schools opened in Natal after 1929. Two new preparatory schools, Clifton Preparatory school , Nottingham Road and Cowan House Preparatory School, Hilton Road, were established during the 1940's. Clifton Preparatory was originally part of the original Clifton Preparatory in Durban, but during the War, in 1941, the boarders were moved to Nottingham Road. The two schools are still run by one board of governors. Cowan House, on the other hand, began as a private proprietary venture on the part of one David Black, presumably with the idea of feeding Hilton College. It was taken over by a trust during the 1960's.

Treverton began its life in 1939 as a Baptist foundation. Economic problems forced it to close in 1959, but it re-opened in 1964 as an interdenominational school.

In the Orange Free State the opening of the OFS gold-fields after the Second World War saw an influx of English-speakers to this region. The need was felt for an Anglican church school to serve this growing community. In 1963 St Andrew's School, Welkom, was opened with the generous assistance of two leading mining houses. A primary school only, it was originally attached to St Andrew's School in Bloemfontein until the latter became a state school in 1976.

Despite the many problems that these schools have experienced since the foundation of the HMC, few have actually closed. St Margaret's School, Johannesburg closed in 1939 after the Mother Superior of the East Grinstead sisters who ran the school refused to turn it into a feeder school for St Mary's, Waverley. The two schools went into competition rather than co-operation and St Margaret's closed in the face of it. The two Anglican schools at George, St Mark's and St Winifred's, badly situated and poorly supported, closed shortly after the Second World War. A handful of proprietary preparatory schools that had gone 'public' had either insufficient funds or support or both and closed down. These were Hill School, Pietersburg, Isipingo Beach Preparatory School, Kings School, Nottingham Road, and Parktown Preparatory School. Apart from Parktown School, the records of these schools have not been traced.

More recently, the HMC had seen the demise of three schools of far greater reputation and age. St Aidan's Grahamstown closed in 1973. St Andrew's School and St Michael's School, Bloemfontein, were



MAP 7
CONFERENCE SCHOOLS:
1980

taken over by the Orange Free State education authorities towards the end of the 1970's to be run as state schools, though allowed by specific agreement to be run in such a manner as would retain much of their traditional character. The main reason for the transfer of these schools appears to have been financial.

The number of schools represented on the HMC has in fact grown considerably since its inception in 1929 and is still growing. This was only partly because of the foundation of new schools; the increase has more to do with existing schools joining the Conference as they become either eligible for or interested in membership.

HMC figures, therefore, show a gradual increase in the number of pupils attending HMC schools. To a large extent this is the result of new schools joining the Conference, but not entirely. Many Conference schools have shown a continuous growth in numbers since the Second World War, flattening out as they reached what they considered to be their limits in the early 1970's.

As was mentioned earlier in the case of the Catholic schools, this is not an increase in a proportionate sense, the private school having declined in the percentage of the white school-going population for which they cater. The steady increase in numbers at Conference schools has only to a limited extent compensated for the loss of pupils at Catholic schools, and the high losses of

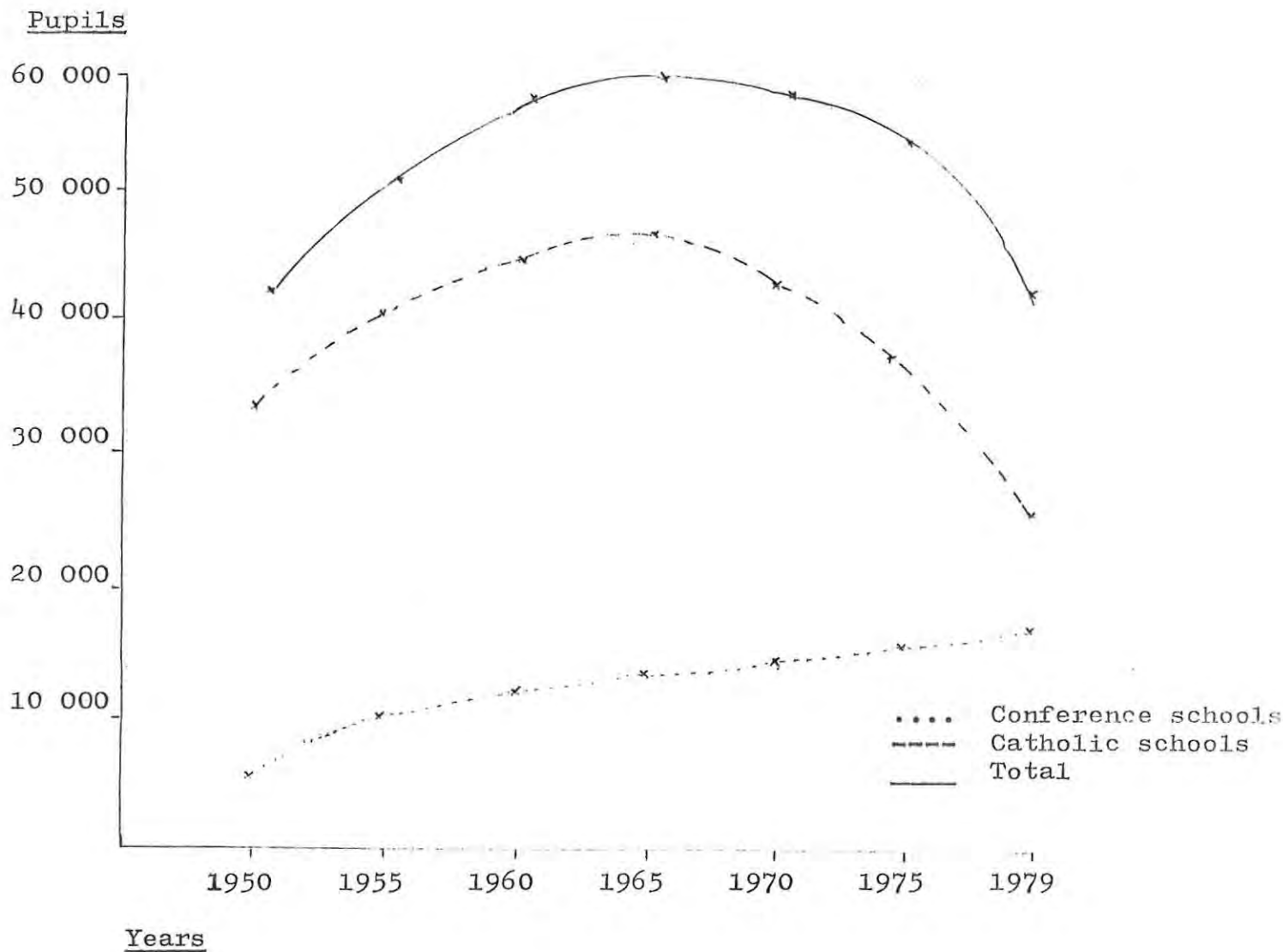


FIGURE 1:
NUMBER OF PUPILS AT CATHOLIC AND CONFERENCE SCHOOLS: 1950 - 1979

the Catholic schools has meant that the overall figures show a marked decline since 1965.

CHAPTER V

THE ORGANISATION OF THE PRIVATE SCHOOLS

The growth and development of private schools in South Africa was relatively haphazard. Most either flourished or died as individual ventures and there was no co-ordination and little co-operation between them during the 19th century even in the case of Catholic schools, where each teaching order worked independently, responsible either to the bishop of the diocese in which they worked or to their mother-houses in Europe or Ireland.

Co-operation between private schools was slow in developing. Its development can be broadly traced in three stages. The first stage, which occupies most of the 19th century, is one when, as mentioned, there was no co-operation. Between the various religious denominations, between the various profit-making schools, there was indeed considerable rivalry and competition. The second stage saw a gradual, hesitant, but definite co-operation between groups of schools of a similar nature, for example, between Catholic schools, between Anglican schools, between Methodist schools. This stage began after the turn of the century and proceeded up to the 1970's. The third stage is a recent development, though its roots go back a few decades, where there has been a growing co-operation among private schools as a whole, and the emergence of something which resembles an embryonic 'private school movement'.

As state education became more general and more efficient, so the growing competition threatened the survival of private schools and led them towards greater co-operation in order to maintain standards and to share ideas and problems. As economic and political pressures on the private schools increased, so the need for co-operation became even greater.

There have, however, been contradictory factors that have hampered co-operation and placed the private schools in something of a dilemma. They derived much strength from their autonomy and independence, but this very strength was also a very great weakness: '...in another aspect of power these schools are deficient. They rightly hold tenaciously to their individual independence and are not willing to sink their identities in an amorphous body. This is fundamental to the purpose and the concept of the private schools, but it undoubtedly reduces their effectiveness as a power bloc'. (Wilson, W.D., 1961(1)).

In 1963 the headmaster of St John's College, Deane Yates, pointed out that in the case of the HMC schools at any rate, their 'splendid isolation' had been 'actuated by a dread of anything that would interfere with the complete independence and individuality of each school'. (HMC, 1963). The problem was that this independence, '...if pushed to isolation...is highly dangerous. Autonomy needs to be complemented by an equally strong determination to maintain and strengthen the whole community of the private schools'. (Standing Committee, 1958(2)).

The threat to independence and individuality and a fear of potential bureaucratisation was not the only factor mitigating against closer co-operation. There was also a financial factor. Co-operation on anything but a voluntary basis, particularly where it might necessitate the maintenance of a permanent organisation or secretariat, involves expenses which the private schools in general and Catholic schools in particular have not really been able to afford. There have also been remnants of mutual suspicions between different groups, and the veiled expressions of fears that too close an association between certain groups might affect the standing or image of one or other of them.

These factors have, therefore, both limited the progress of co-operation and determined its nature.

Co-operation among the Catholic schools developed through two different channels. The one was through the bishops; the other through the voluntary actions of the teaching orders themselves.

In most cases the teaching orders were or became papal congregations as opposed to diocesan ones and hence did not fall under the direct authority of the bishops. The Bishops' Conference, therefore, while it was able to exercise a general co-ordinating function, had and has no real authority over the teaching orders. The record is unclear, but it would appear that the earliest equivalents of the Bishops' Conference developed during the 1920's. We read that in 1924 'the first regular meeting of Ordinaries'

was held at the initiative of the newly-appointed Apostolic Delegate, van Gijlswijk, 'to discuss their common problems and work out a concerted plan of action'. Subsequent such conferences in 1927, 1933 and 1938 resulted, among other things, in the formulation of a 'common policy in education'. (Brady, J.E., 1952, p.252). The Bishop's Conference in its present form probably did not develop until the appointment of the first archbishop in 1951. Once established, the Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference (SACBC) developed a number of separate portfolios with a bishop responsible for each one. One of these, the Commission for Education, Liturgy and Worship, was concerned, among many other things, with the Catholic schools. It was not until 1974 that this commission was sub-divided into a number of separate departments, one of them being the Department of Schools. The Department of Schools acts as a co-ordinating body and spokesman for all Catholic schools, black and white, parochial and congregational. As far as the teaching orders are concerned, actual decisions are taken independently by the orders themselves 'with due deference to the policy of the Hierarchy'. (ECAR Constitution, Article 8).

The earliest evidence of voluntary co-operation among the teaching orders themselves is contained in a letter in the possession of ECAR, written in 1914 by Father L Sormany OMI to 'The President of the Catholic Schools Conference' in Bloemfontein. Whether this conference was a permanent or semi-permanent organisation or a once-off meeting is not clear.

From this point on there is a long gap in the record, but no

regular association appears to have developed until the creation, after the Second World War, of the Catholic Education Council, now the Education Council of Associated Religious (ECAR). Evidence does, however, suggest that local and even national initiatives of the 1914 variety did occur but on a relatively unstructured and voluntary basis. The CEC and ECAR also had an entirely voluntary basis. ECAR has no professional administration and no statutory powers over any of its members. Decisions can only be taken 'with due deference to...the wishes of the Religious Superiors and all immediately concerned'. (ECAR constitution, Article 8).

In a sense, however, co-operation among Catholic schools was an easier development than it was for those schools now represented in the HMC if only by the unity of purpose, common faith and common place in a common ecclesiastical hierarchy that these Catholic schools had. The Conference schools were a far more diverse group, both in terms of their religious affiliations and practices and in terms of their character and educational practices. In addition, they were more fiercely independent and isolationist than the Catholic schools.

In view of this diversity, it is not surprising that the earliest forms of co-operation occurred between groups linked by some common factor, usually religious. It was most noticeable in the case of the Anglican schools but also noticeable in the case of the Methodists.

Under Anglican bishop Gray, a Diocesan Board of Education was established to 'exercise a general supervision over the educational work of the diocese', to 'administer and grant loans to church schools

from diocesan funds' and to 'organise and superintend the inspection of church schools'. (Carter, M.W., 1954, p.22). Similar boards were set up in each new diocese of the church. In 1891 the Provincial Synod constituted a Provincial Council of Education 'to communicate on all matters connected with education with the Diocesan Board of Education and the various educational authorities'. (Carter, M.W., 1954, p.23).

Nevertheless, the Diocesan Board and the Provincial Council held direct authority only over schools that were directly run by the diocese, which in practice meant the dwindling number of parish schools. The larger secondary schools, though still falling under its general auspices, became fully autonomous institutions. During the 20th century the role of the Provincial Council became largely linked with the administration of the Pan-Anglican Thank-Offering Fund. This fund had originated in England in 1908 from which the Church of the Province of South Africa received £24 000 'to be used for the support and advancement of education as carried out by the Church of the Province of South Africa'. (Tugman, C.C., 1952).

The Anglican secondary schools had other needs as they indicated at the second Conference of Church Schools in 1931. The report of this conference stated that '...among the forty or more members present at a meeting of the Provincial Council of Education there was only one practising European schoolmaster and...of the two and a half hours set aside for the meeting of the Council, over two hours were devoted to the apportionment of

available moneys and less than half an hour was devoted to the discussion of the welfare...of schools'. Concern was also expressed that the various European Anglican schools '...were not in a position, should the need arise, to speak authoritatively with one voice'. (HMC, 1931).

It had been because of this that the conference had met in the first place. In 1929 the Anglican Archbishop called a special conference of heads of church schools which had met under the chairmanship of the Reverend Canon Kettlewell, headmaster of St Andrew's College Grahamstown, at St Andrew's School in Bloemfontein. This conference unanimously voted to meet again in December 1930 when it adopted a constitution under the name of 'The Conference of Heads of Church Schools'.

The schools represented at this conference were St Andrew's College; Bishops; St John's College; St Mark's School Mbabane; St Andrew's School; Michaelhouse; St Peter's Diocesan, Bulawayo; St Michael's School; St Mary's DSG Pretoria; DSG Grahamstown; St Mary's DSG Kloof; St Mary's DSG Jeppestown; St Anne's DSG Hilton Road; St Winifred's DSG George, St Cyprian's; St George's, Windhoek; St George's Grammar School; Ruzawi School, Marandellas; St Dunstan's; Herschel; St John's School; St Andrew's Preparatory; Western Province Preparatory; Cordwalles; The Ridge Preparatory; Wykeham School.

It will be noticed that the above list includes a handful of private schools in Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe) and Swaziland. These

areas are no longer within the scope of the HMC as a result of political changes in the 1960's and 1970's.

At the third meeting of these schools in 1932 it was decided to broaden the Conference. 'It was obvious that the greater the number of schools that formed the Conference, the greater power for good it might be. There was nothing to be gained and everything to be lost by excluding private schools of a similar kind to the Conference simply because they did not want to be called church schools'. Thus the title was changed to the 'Conference of Headmasters and Headmistresses of Private Schools of Southern Africa' and the constitution was amended so as to include any private school so long as it was non-profit-making, controlled by a governing body and made 'adequate provision for Christian teaching and worship'. (HMC, 1932(1)).

A decade later it was beginning to become evident that this organisation was not enough. A cumbersome professional body with no permanent secretariat and a largely ineffectual executive, the HMC could not meet the new challenges. In a pamphlet entitled 'The Future of the South African Church Schools', R F Currey, Headmaster of St Andrew's College, wrote of the growing political threat posed by Afrikaner nationalism and stressed that '...the need for co-operation among us, leading perhaps to co-operative action, is real and urgent at this moment'. (Currey, R.F., 1942). In 1944 Natal HMC schools on their own local initiative decided 'as a result of recent legislation' to form an advisory body called the Natal Private

Association in which the governing bodies of the various HMC schools in Natal were represented to watch over the interests of private schools and, 'if possible, formulate a general policy'. (HMC, 1944(1)).

In 1944 as well the Anglican Archbishop set up a commission of enquiry in response to Currey's pamphlet to investigate the position of the Anglican church schools and to make recommendations for the future. This commission recommended the establishment of the Standing Committee of Associated Church Schools, representing the heads and a representative of each governing body of the six major Anglican schools, St John's, Bishops, St Andrew's College, St Andrew's School, St George's Grammar School and Michaelhouse.

The Standing Committee had no statutory powers, but it was small enough and influential enough to be highly important. Its functions ranged from the discussion of matters of common interest to '...watch and examine any move by Union, provincial or local authorities or other bodies or persons likely to affect the interest of all or any of the associated schools', (Archbishop's Commission, 1944), as well as to report to the associated schools 'in all matters of common interest' and 'to make public pronouncements on general educational policy'. (Standing Committee 1959(1)).

From its inception until 1958 the Standing Committee was chaired by Mr Justice Richard Feetham of whom it was said that 'under any

other chairman of those available at the time, the Standing Committee, if it had come to birth at all, would have been still-born'. (Standing Committee, 1964(1)).

The apparent success of this new body under its more than competent chairman was reflected by its growing relationship to the HMC. The HMC itself proved inadequate to meet the demand for efficient and quick action in the face of growing political threats. Consequently the practice grew that the Standing Committee was the 'policy-making elder brother of the HMC', (HMC, 1967(1)), and it held a watching brief for the majority of HMC schools. In the struggles with the Transvaal provincial authorities over the Education Ordinances between 1945 and 1953, the HMC was ably represented by the Standing Committee. (see Chapter VI below).

The new political challenges from the central government in the late 1950's and early 1960's prompted the Standing Committee to widen the basis of its membership and tighten its links with the HMC. By 1959, '...there was a growing feeling that outside pressures on the private schools were becoming stronger and that closer co-operation between all our schools was becoming essential'. (HMC, 1967(1)). In addition, the opinion had been expressed in the HMC that the Standing Committee was not adequate for such a role because it was not sufficiently representative of the HMC as a whole. The HMC called upon the Standing Committee to reconstitute itself as a full Governing Bodies Association of the HMC schools, but the Standing Committee considered that

'...at the moment, at any rate, it would not be possible...to undertake to form such an association'. (HMC, 1960(1)). It did not elaborate on its reasons. By way of compromise the Standing Committee broadened its membership to include representatives of the Anglican girls' Conference schools, of the Methodist schools and of the Conference as a whole.

The reasons for this apparent resistance on the part of the Standing Committee, though not expressly stated, are hinted at in a letter written by the new chairman of the Standing Committee, W D Wilson in 1960. He wrote, 'It has been suggested that a body parallel to this one (the Standing Committee) and presumably having some direct relationship with the Headmaster's Conference, should be established, which would be more truly representative of the Conference as a whole. This is a very reasonable suggestion and I do not think that this Committee or the Church schools should oppose it if there appears to be a real urge in that direction. But I doubt whether one should propagate this idea actively. The Conference schools are all extremely independent-minded and one of the great problems in the past has been to get them to work together at all. They will almost certainly resist anything which smacks of central control. Most... would be disinclined to contribute funds on any worthwhile scale. The administration and co-ordination of the two bodies presents problems. For instance, it is doubtful whether any of us would feel that we could face the additional work involved in the membership of yet another body'. He justified the continued position of the Standing Committee by arguing that the schools

represented on it '...include many of the most important in the country. Their interests on all matters affecting the general body of independent schools will be identified with those of independent schools which are not so well represented on the Standing Committee'. (Wilson, W.D., 1960).

This statement contains several interesting features. In the first place, Wilson assumes that if a new body were to be formed it would have to be in addition to the Standing Committee. The Standing Committee itself had originally been called upon by the HMC to form into a Governing Bodies Association. The creation of a parallel body was presumably an alternative suggestion given the Standing Committee's refusal. It is therefore clear that for whatever reasons, the Standing Committee would not entertain the idea of reconstituting itself, nor would it disband should another organisation be formed. The final sentence suggests a certain assumed superiority and vested interest on the part of the schools represented on the Standing Committee.

It is no doubt this vested interest that the calls for change meant to challenge. It was exactly this predominance of a small group of Anglican boys' schools that caused the Standing Committee to be considered in some HMC circles as not truly representative of the HMC and therefore not really suitable to act on its behalf. In addition, Wilson's comments also serve to illustrate some of the main problems that the private schools experienced in their search for co-operation.

Imperfect though their organisation may have been and as aware of these imperfections as many were, the private schools of the HMC were profoundly influenced by the events of the early 1960's which tested their organisation and served to bring them much closer together. As Wilson commented, 'As so often happens when people are attacked they are stimulated. In the case of the private schools these threats to what they stand for have led to an astonishing growth in their willingness to work together with others'. (Wilson, W.D., 1961(2)). The result was that '...whereas in the past they had existed in splendid isolation...now there was a much greater awareness of the strength of co-operation'. (HMC, 1963(1)). In the HMC chairman's report of 1966 we read that '...our schools have been coming closer together and can now be looked upon as a corporate body'. (HMC, 1966(1)).

As the level of co-operation increased, however, so the imperfections in organisation became more evident. The HMC first took steps to improve its own organisation. In 1966 it overhauled its executive in order to make it more effective. From 1966 as well, there were annual conferences instead of the previous biennial ones. In 1967 it revised its title and constitution to provide for the continued membership of the subsidised private schools which had been classified as state schools in the 1967 National Education Policy Act, thereby adapting their organisation to meet changed circumstances.

The Standing Committee proved to be not so adaptable. Despite the

lead that it had taken since 1945 in negotiations with the provincial authorities and the government on behalf of the HMC schools and the usefulness and qualified successes of these negotiations, it suffered from the limitations of its membership and became even less representative of HMC after 1967 when, on account of the differentiation between subsidised and unsubsidised private schools in the 1967 Act, it felt that '...it will not be possible, because of the lack of locus standi, for the Standing Committee to act for the subsidised schools in any approach they may wish to make to provincial or government authorities on matters affecting them only'. (Standing Committee, 1968(2)).

As a consequence, the desire to establish a Governing Bodies Association that could speak and act for the HMC schools on a more representative basis grew and the Standing Committee continued to prove reluctant to take the initiative in this direction. When it came, the initiative came from within the HMC. In February 1972 the first meeting of chairmen of governing bodies was held at St Andrew's School, Bedfordview with a view to setting up such a body. This was followed in October by a second meeting at Hilton College.

From these meetings there emerged the Association of Private Schools which incorporated both the idea of a governing bodies association as well as the practice of the Standing Committee where the heads of each school had been represented as well as the governing bodies. The Standing Committee agreed to merge in the new Association. Provision was made in the constitution for

regional associations to operate within the national association and in this way the Natal Private Schools Association was also absorbed into the new body.

Organisation is, however, still a problem for the private schools, Conference or Catholic. They have had some success in speaking and acting in concert through their various organisations at times of crisis. They have had some success in co-operative ventures such as insurance schemes and, in the case of the APS, pension schemes. Yet there have been areas where their relative isolation has weakened their position. As far as Catholic schools have been concerned, the autonomy of each order has resulted in an unco-ordinated strategy in the provision of schools, either in opening or closing them, which has resulted in unnecessary duplication and to unnecessary closures. This is a problem that ECAR is trying to solve.

As far as both groups are concerned, failure to co-operate to a greater extent in financial matters may well have been a serious weakness. In both cases there have been local initiatives here which have had some success, but wider co-operation has been lacking. Greater co-operation in the economic sphere might have led to a greater financial stability for the private schools.

This is also true in the educational sphere where, despite a growing co-operation in educational matters, the isolation of these schools has tended to limit innovation and the sharing of ideas, particularly outside the world of the private school.

It is evident, however, that during the last decade both groups of schools have greatly improved their organisation through the formation of APS for the Conference schools and ECAR for the Catholic schools. Co-operation between these two organisations has also increased over the years, partly because of a growing realisation of their common interests, partly as a result of shared experiences in the political environment, and partly because the churches generally favour a more tolerant approach to other denominations.

In 1946 we find the HMC was 'keeping in touch with all private schools including Roman Catholic schools' over the Transvaal Consolidating Education Ordinance (HMC, 1946(1); see Chapter VI below). When the new Draft Ordinance was promulgated in 1952, Roman Catholic and Conference school representatives met in Johannesburg with the idea of forming a common front against the measure. This plan for co-operation failed, however, as the governors of some of the Conference schools felt that '...they might antagonise the provincial authorities by identifying the interests of their schools with those of the Roman Catholic schools', because 'many Nationalists are specially hostile to the Roman Catholic schools'. (Feetham, R., 1953).

Despite this, some form of co-operation continued. In 1955 the Standing Committee of Associated Church Schools sponsored a special conference in Cape Town to discuss the position of private schools in the light of the political circumstances. Representatives of the Roman Catholic schools were invited to

this conference and delegates expressed the need for constant vigilance and resolved that all parties would 'keep in touch'. (Standing Committee, 1955(2)).

Nevertheless, as the chairman of the Witwatersrand Council of Education, Mr St John B Nitch commented five years later, there was '...no machinery for effective common action by the Roman Catholic schools and others, which for convenience...may be called the Protestant schools'. Again, the position appeared to be that 'Even if means to create such machinery were found, in view of the known attitude of the government towards the Roman Catholic schools, concerted action by the Roman Catholic and Protestant schools might prejudice the latter's case'. (Nitch, St J. B., 1960).

Thus the case of co-operation between the two largest groups of private schools also reflects a dilemma. While on the one hand they realised the need for and the importance of closer co-operation, on the other hand fears for the consequences of such co-operation hampered its development. The result was that while consultation did occur, it was tentative and informal. There was no attempt to create a common front for private education or even to establish any kind of permanent channel for mutual consultation and co-operation.

In the HMC, however, the 'Protestant' schools had an organisation that could be adapted to meet new needs. By the mid-1960's representatives of the Roman Catholic schools attended meetings

of the HMC and played an active part in the proceedings particularly towards the latter part of the 1970's when the Catholic schools took the initiative in moving towards 'open' schools. (See Chapter VII below).

The foundation of the APS provided an important opportunity for creating a more suitable vehicle for co-operation. At the first meeting that led to the formation of the association, in February 1972, there were two representatives of the Catholic schools and three of the Jewish schools present, and a section of the meeting quite clearly favoured the establishment of an association that would include the Catholic and Jewish schools and thus be fully representative of the private school movement as a whole. (Standing Committee, 1972(1)). It was clear by the second meeting in October, however, that the majority opinion favoured limiting the new association to the HMC schools only with some provision being made for permanent representation of the Catholic and Jewish schools as two groups. This was what was ultimately decided upon. Membership of the APS is limited to HMC schools with a representative from the Catholic schools and one from the Jewish schools.

To some it may have been a disappointment that such an opportunity for closer unity and the creation of a united organisation for the private schools as a whole had failed, but its failure has to be seen against the many practical problems involved; the need of the HMC for its own 'executive' organisation; the ingrained conservatism of many of these schools and their fear

of any possible loss of independence or character as a consequence of co-operation. In the second place, the issue is by no means closed. The way has been left open for the APS to change its constitution to allow for the full membership of other schools. Already associate membership has been extended to a few non-HMC schools and a sub-committee is currently investigating further changes. It may take time for such a development to take place, if, indeed, it is to take place, but in view of the difficulties experienced by these schools in co-operating amongst themselves, this is not surprising. The circumstances of the time are leading to increased consultation and co-operation behind the scenes and the opening of private schools to pupils of all races has been the most important single factor that has promoted this frequent contact between leading representatives of the Roman Catholic, Conference and Jewish schools in addition to the annual meetings of the HMC and APS.

Organisation, however, will be of the utmost importance in the future of private education in South Africa. It was not for nothing that the Headmaster of Westminster and past chairman of the British HMC, Dr John Rae, urged the South African HMC to work towards unity of all independent schools of South Africa regardless of religious or other persuasion. (HMC, 1980(1)).

PART 111

THE FACTORS AFFECTING THE DEVELOPMENT OF PRIVATE
EDUCATION IN SOUTH AFRICA

CHAPTER VI

THE POLITICAL FACTORS

'To pretend that education is not political,' wrote Francis Wilson, 'is simply naive.' (Wilson, F., 1976, p.4.)

While there may be not a few people involved in private education who would deny that it is in any way political, the very fact that its Christian orientation determines a particular view of man and of society necessarily makes it so, however unconscious this may be. Furthermore, private schools are part of a national education system and, while they may stand aside, they are essentially bound up with it and are no more independent from the lawmakers and bureaucrats than any other institution, should these people wish to turn their attention to private education.

Political factors have increased in importance as the state has become more centralised and bureaucratised and with the development of free and compulsory state education. In this way, private education in South Africa was less influenced by political factors in the 19th century than it has been in the 20th.

During the 19th century the western state was only beginning to play '...more than a fitful role in the provision and control of education. Before then education was generally

regarded as the concern of the Church.' (Birley, R., 1964, p.1.) It is therefore not surprising to find that during the early years of the 19th century education in South Africa was primarily in private, religious hands, although some support was given by the state after 1813 through the Bible and School Commission, composed largely of clergymen.

When the government did decide to take a more active interest in education it is significant that it did so for political rather than educational or social reasons. Free state schools were first established in South Africa in the 1820's as part of Governor Somerset's plan for Anglicising the predominantly Dutch population of the Cape. Six teachers, selected by the British government, opened free schools in 1822 in Graaff-Reinet, Uitenhage, George, Tulbagh, Stellenbosch and Caledon 'for the purpose of facilitating the acquirement of the English language to all classes of colonists'. (Rose, B., and Tunmer, R., 1975, p.97.) They were appointed without reference to the Bible and School Commission and their salaries were paid by the Colonial government.

It was Somerset, indeed, who weakened the influence of the Bible and School Commission, subjecting it more and more to his control. In this way he helped pave the way for

the development of a state-controlled 'system' of education.

This system, the so-called Herschel System, was introduced in 1839 with the establishment of the Cape Education Department under the control of a Superintendent-General of Education. This system provided for two types of schools to be maintained by the government and to be known as government schools - the First Class Schools were those in the larger centres which catered for both primary and secondary education, and the Second Class Schools in the smaller towns which provided elementary education only.

In actual fact few of these schools were particularly successful in the early years and the government soon began to place greater emphasis on offering financial support to privately-established schools so that the policy became '...to provide financial aid to approved schools rather than to own them.' (Rose, B., and Tunmer, R., 1975, p.94.)

In 1841 aid was offered to the mission schools run by various churches in rural areas and small villages for coloured children and the poorer white children. A further development took place in 1843 when financial assistance was offered to rural schools other than mission schools. These schools were known as Third Class Schools.

Such grants-in-aid were not offered without conditions, however, and for the Anglican and Catholic schools one of these conditions in particular was unacceptable. Grants to mission schools were only given on the basis that 'the Bible and only the Bible should be used for daily religious instruction' (Brown, W.E., 1960, p.126). Grants to Third Class Schools were only to be given provided that these schools were undenominational. Religious instruction could be given, but on a non-sectarian basis from which parents had the right to exempt their children.

As in England, therefore, state education was clearly intended to be secular and this secularisation of education provided the main focus of Church-State relations at the Cape, as it did in England, during the 19th century. As Birley commented, 'The Church had been working in this field for so long, that when the state eventually moved in to claim it as its own, a conflict was inevitable. An immense new battle-front appeared in the long struggle between Church and State.' (Birley, R., 1964, p.3).

Roman Catholic Bishop Moran declared that the condition attached to aid for mission schools was '...a tyrannical interference with religious liberty'. (Brown, W.E., 1960, p.127), and for the following twenty years the Catholic mission schools refused to accept a government grant. As far as the Anglican schools were concerned,

Lewin wrote that the conditions attached to aid '...led the Anglican leaders in the Cape to try to establish their own schools where denominational education would be given.' (Lewin, J.S., 1974, p.110).

The 'Herschel System', for all its defects, nevertheless pointed to the direction that the development of state education at the Cape was to take - centralisation and secularisation were its chief characteristics. Local circumstances and economic considerations meant that centralisation had to be postponed for some decades, but secularisation was there from the start and it had the effect of unconsciously stimulating while it consciously tried to discourage the growth of private denominational education.

The situation was fairly similar in Natal. No actual restrictions were placed on the development of private schools and, indeed, until 1877 the policy was to encourage private initiative by the provision of grants in aid of local effort. Nevertheless, a commission of 1873 reported in 1874 that this system '...had failed to establish and maintain good primary schools' (Malherbe, E.G., 1925, p.189), and it was decided to concentrate the resources of the government on the provision of such schools. Consequently, it was decided that '...no grant should be made to any school which could exist as well without it' (Malherbe, E.G., 1925, p.189), and the Natal government refused, after 1877,

to subsidise schools which catered for the wealthier classes, which most, though not all, the Anglican and Catholic schools did.

In the Orange Free State and the Transvaal political factors were more important, even in the 19th century. The reasons for this were historical. Both republics were the creation of the Voortrekkers and they were motivated by a Calvinist outlook and ethic. Unlike the Cape and Natal, therefore, the language, culture and religious outlook of the governments of the two republics were at variance with that of the English private schools.

The Bloemfontein Convention of 1854 led to a decline in English influence in the OFS and it was not until 1863 that an Anglican bishop was installed in Bloemfontein and an Anglican church school established. The first Roman Catholic school followed even later, in 1876.

In 1872 a comprehensive education law '...placed the Volksraad at the head of the education system, not only as the chief legislative, but also as the chief supervisory body.' (Malherbe, E.G., 1925, p.362.) Thus, as Lewin comments, '...the school was regarded as state property with teachers as state officials.' (Lewin, J.S., 1974, p.92). This did not preclude the existence of a private school, but if a private school wished to receive a grant from the Volksraad it had to adhere to certain conditions, one of which was that teachers '...should bear a good character, and be a

member of some Protestant Church.' (Malherbe, E.G., 1925, p.371.) This disadvantaged Anglican and Catholic schools, but after 1878 grants were made to these schools 'from time to time' (Lewin, J.S., 1974, p.167), though always less in terms of both quantity and frequency than the schools under the auspices of the Dutch Reformed Church.

Language was the other complicating factor here. Lewin writes that in the 1890's parental protest led the Volksraad to try to make Dutch the medium of instruction in all rural schools, and English and Dutch on a 50-50 basis in town schools. It was not clear whether or not this was meant to apply to private schools, but in practice it had no effect on either their position or their grants.

Political factors were even more important in the Transvaal. Until the presidency of T.F. Burghers (1872-1877) the law was such that 'Every religion other than that of the Dutch Reformed Church is forbidden in the Transvaal', (Welch, J.M., 1973, p.29) which made the establishment of any non-Dutch Reformed Christian private school quite out of the question.

It was the British annexation (1877-1882) that opened the way for Anglican and Catholic private schools in that part of the country. A British superintendent of education was appointed and financial aid was given to private schools '...which met the needs and desires of various groups who were dissatisfied with Burghers' state schools...' (Welch, J.M., 1973, p.31).

The annexation, however, was over by 1882 and a Boer government again ruled the Transvaal. A new Education Act was passed and Ds. S.J. du Toit was appointed as the Superintendent General of Education. All this was surprisingly advantageous to the private Church schools because 'Du Toit was thoroughly convinced that the basis of teaching should be religious, the dogmatic question being left to the discretion of the Church.' (Welch, J.M., 1973, p.42). The Education Act placed the responsibility for education on the shoulders of the parents and the state's role was restricted to providing financial support. The new constitution of the re-instated republic granted religious freedom and popular agitation against Catholic schools among rural Afrikaners found no favour with the Volksraad. (Welch, J.M., 1973, p.48).

By the time Du Toit was succeeded by Mansvelt in 1891, the situation in the Transvaal had changed. The Witwatersrand goldfields had attracted a large number of immigrants or 'uitlanders' as they were generally known, and they were proving to be a major political problem for the Kruger government. Alarmed by this, and by the growing influence of English language and values which accompanied the Uitlanders, the Volksraad stepped in hoping that through education they could make a '...definite attempt to preserve cultural and religious values.' (Lewin, J.S., 1974, p.63).

A new Education Act of 1892 was intended to achieve this. Financial aid was cut off from any school which did not use

Dutch as a medium of instruction which obviously adversely affected the English-medium private Church schools. Yet, while it was a hindrance to their development in one way, it also helped in another for these schools '...actively received more support as a result of the Mansvelt policy', (Lewin, J.S., 1974, p.142) as English-speakers were reluctant to send their children to a school where Dutch was used as a medium.

The Anglo-Boer War (1899-1902) had a considerable effect on private education in these two republics. A few schools, largely Catholic, were kept open, but the majority closed. After the war a number of them were simply not revived. Others, however, were, and found themselves under the new regime of Lord Milner. For Milner and many of his 'bright young men' there was an obvious value in Church schools, particularly those modelled on the English public school pattern, but they did not figure in their plans. Milner's aim was Anglicisation through state schools, also on the public school pattern, and there are indications that in the Transvaal there was some conflict between the Church and the Milner government on this issue. (Lawson, K., 1968, p.55).

In 1905 the Transvaal was granted responsible government and the Orange Free State followed in 1907. The elections placed political control predominantly in the hands of the

Afrikaans/Dutch community. Both new governments passed education acts which were to affect the position of private schools for some time to come. The Transvaal Education Act of 1907 contained a separate chapter on private schools which, while recognising the right of such schools to exist, required them to be registered with the authorities, to keep registers of staff and pupils, to submit certain returns to the Education departments, to admit inspectors, and if an inspector gave an adverse medical report, the Minister (later the Director) could demand alterations or even close down the school. The Act was neither particularly favourable to private schools, nor was it particularly unfavourable. The refusal of the government to grant subsidies (revised in 1916 in the case of non-profit-making private schools) made for financial hardship but on the other hand, the proscription of dogmatic religious instruction in state schools meant that there was an important role for private denominational schools in the Transvaal.

The Orange Free State Education Act of 1908 was more generous in its treatment of private education. While religious education in state schools was to be non-dogmatic, private schools catering for particular religious denominations were entitled to a government subsidy. In 1908 the OFS was the

colony which, in terms of its legislation, was the most favourable ground for the development of private schools, but its English-speaking population was small and the demand for Anglican and Catholic private education was limited.

In 1910 the four colonies were brought together under one government and administration in the Union of South Africa. Primary and secondary education was, however, left in the hands of the provincial authorities and thus, until the 1960's, the political factors which influenced private schools were largely exercised via the provincial administrations.

Until the 1940's the political influence was slight. Most provinces initiated new consolidating education ordinances which affected private schools, but which, on the whole, merely introduced the kind of general supervision provided for in the 1907 Transvaal Act and which required registration, the keeping of registers of enrolment, attendance and staff, the submission of certain returns and the maintenance of basic minimum standards, largely in terms of health regulations, which were to be checked by inspectors.

In the Transvaal, OFS and Natal, these ordinances were sympathetic to private schools in that in all cases they offered grants in aid to private schools that met certain requirements. Again, the OFS proved to be the most generous,

extending provincial pension rights to teachers in private schools. In the Cape, however, the Education Ordinance of 1921 made no provision for subsidies for private schools apart from the continuance of aid to certain Third Class Schools already in receipt of it. This was not surprising as most private Anglican schools and the higher class of Catholic schools had never received subsidies under the 19th century grants-in-aid system. In addition, the provision of state education in the Cape was in advance of that in the other provinces where the private schools were still filling a much-needed gap, particularly in the provision of secondary education.

During the first two-and-a-half decades of Union, therefore, provincial attitudes towards private education were sympathetic on the whole and there was little in the legislation or policy of the provincial authorities that significantly affected the independence of private schools.

This position began to change dramatically from the mid-1930's. The struggle between what Newell Stultz (Stultz, N.M., 1974) has called the forces of conciliation and the forces of nationalism assumed new dimensions with the emergence of the Purified National Party in 1934 and was given added emphasis by South Africa's participation in the Second World War. As far as education was concerned, this struggle centered around the issue of medium of instruction in schools. For the conciliationists, represented in parliament by the ruling United Party, full bilingualism was essential to unity. In

their view, true bilingualism could best be obtained by using the second language as a medium of instruction along with the mother-tongue at the secondary level, and by keeping the children of the two language groups together as much as possible. For the nationalists, exclusive and determined not to allow their language, culture and values to be swamped by the English, such an approach was quite out of the question. In their view English and Afrikaans children, while learning the others' language as a school subject, should be educated separately in their mother-tongues. To the nationalists, the 'dual-medium' approach advocated the conciliationists was the equivalent of threatening the very existence of the Afrikaner; to the conciliationists, the nationalist accent on a narrow racial exclusiveness threatened white unity in South Africa.

The medium of instruction in schools was one of the main issues in the parliamentary elections of 1943 which the United Party won with 89 seats to the National Party's 43. The United Party interpreted this victory as a mandate for the introduction of the dual-medium education they advocated. Stultz has shown, however, that it was a misleading result in that it was motivated by wartime patriotism at a time when the ranks of Afrikanerdom were divided. (Stultz, N.M., 1974).

After a lengthy parliamentary debate in 1944 ended with the adoption of a resolution calling for mother-tongue instruction in the early years and the use of the second language as a supplementary medium later on, the implementation of the dual-medium policy was left to the provinces. (Malherbe, E.G., 1977, pp.82-83).

Natal had already introduced the second language as a medium in 1942, but found it difficult to apply because of the lack of bilingual teachers. The Cape conducted an experiment in dual-medium instruction involving about 6 063 pupils, some of whom were at private schools. The Transvaal took the matter furthest by requiring in its New Consolidated Education Ordinance of 1945, that pupils learn both languages and that the second language should be introduced as a medium of instruction in the senior school on a more or less equal basis with the mother-tongue. This law applied to all schools, private schools included. (Malherbe, E.G., 1977, pp. 97-100).

No record could be found of the reaction of the Catholic schools to this measure, but the Conference schools, who were at this stage more effectively organised than their Catholic counterparts, came out strongly against it. The Conference expressed itself '...in favour of making all South African boys and girls in our schools bilingual,' but was nevertheless '...emphatically of the opinion that not only is external compulsion unnecessary to achieve

bilingualism, but that it would be most detrimental to the declared policy of the government in its efforts to encourage racial unity and mutual understanding'. (HMC, 1944 (1)). It set out its reasons in a memorandum which declared that it '...severely deprecates any attempt to compel a dual-medium education at this stage or to compel it within a prescribed period,' because voluntary methods were more effective, because there were some doubts about the efficacy of dual-medium instruction as a method for achieving bilingualism and other methods were working well, and also because it represented an interference in the freedom of schools and was impractical because of the lack of suitably qualified teachers. It also claimed that such compulsion generated hostility and, as a party-political measure could be and would be revoked by the National Party if it came to power and education would become 'a mere shuttlecock.' (HMC, 1944 (1)).

The HMC was supported in its stand by a wide range of public opinion. The Transvaal Teachers Association called for the total repeal of the ordinance. (HMC, 1946 (1)). The Union Review summed up the feelings of many when it wrote that '... we know of no other democratic country in which children are compelled to receive half their education in another people's language'. (Union Review, 1946). An even more hostile reaction came from the National Party minority in the Transvaal Provincial Council and from Afrikaner organisations such as the FAK.

The dual-medium struggle, apart from bringing education into the political arena, also revealed two further ominous political developments as far as the private schools were concerned.

The first of these was related to the Transvaal Ordinance. When it had first appeared in 1944 it was a much wider measure than merely a language ordinance. Its regulations as regards private schools appear to have derived in part from the findings of the Report of the Transvaal Education Commission of 1939 which had recommended the ending of subsidies to private schools, compulsory registration and the conferring of powers on the Director of Education which would grant him discretion over registration based on considerations such as 'qualification of teachers, syllabus, inspection, adoption of medium clauses in the Ordinance and Regulations, suitability of buildings and control of School Attendance'. (Transvaal Education Commission, 1939, p.104.).

Evidence submitted to the Commission suggested that the encouragement of private schools would lead to a reduction in the numbers in Provincial schools, and the Commission's feeling was that private schools had retarded the development of state schools for this reason. It was also suggested that subsidising private schools was in direct conflict with the policy of centralisation recommended by a majority of witnesses. Doubts were also expressed about the willingness of the private schools to subscribe to the language policy of

the ruling party and because the children at such schools '...do not get a South African national outlook on affairs,' because 'They live on an island, with a large percentage of teachers from overseas, taking overseas examinations in many cases and usually following an overseas school calendar' (Transvaal Education Commission, 1939, pp.102-103).

The Draft Ordinance consequently contained a chapter on the private schools (Chapter 11) which applied to all private schools whether subsidised or not, and which alarmed the representatives of these schools. It '...proposed to give the Director of Education power to close a private school which did not meet with his approval or refuse permission for the establishment of a new one. The qualification of teachers, the curriculum, the premises and the equipment would all be subject to his inspection, and the failure to conform with his requirements would be severè.' (The Star, Editorial, 8.12.45).

The most disturbing feature of it was the wide arbitrary and discretionary power it conferred upon the Director of Education : '...permission to establish or continue a private school is at the arbitrary decision of the Director of Education. There is no control over or limit to the powers of a government inspector to enter and inspect the school and pupils. And if the inspector is pleased to assert

that a school is conducted in a manner calculated, calculated by him that is, to be 'detrimental to the physical, moral or mental welfare of the pupils' the Administrator can summarily have the school closed.' (Union Review, 1946). This was the main criticism of the ordinance contained in the HMC memorandum dealing with it: '...We cannot agree to any one man's being given autocratic powers to refuse to register a private school, or refuse to transfer the registration of an existing one...We feel most emphatically that good reason ought to be given for such refusal and that there should be the right of appeal.' (HMC, 1944 (1)).

A measure such as this, it was feared, had profound implications because 'There are inspectors who might consider that an insufficient regard for Afrikanerism or South African Nationalism or Broederbondism was "detrimental to the mental or moral welfare of the pupils" and against the most outrageous or racial or politically biased judgement there is no appeal ...Even permission to establish a private school is dependent upon the Director of Education's approval. His approval is required of the qualifications of teachers and the nature of the curricula and neither the qualifications nor the curricula are specified. A Pretoria bureaucrat can invent these at his sweet will and vary them from time to time and from school to school. He can refuse to endorse a teacher not born in South Africa. He can refuse to recognise a British or any overseas teaching certificate or degree. There is nothing in this legislation to prevent him from requiring every teacher to be an Afrikaner ...The Director's notion

of a satisfactory curriculum might involve devoting twice as many hours to teaching Afrikaans as to teaching English, or twice as many to teaching South African history as English or European history...In brief, it confers upon a single bureaucrat who might be friend, neutral or undisguised enemy, power over the scholastic and religious life of our children, equal, as one of our most distinguished Headmasters has said, to those of Hitler...'. (Union Review, 1946).

The Draft Ordinance, therefore, threatened what the private schools considered to be their essential freedoms.

In the end, it was dropped and only the language provisions (cf above) were passed as the Consolidating Education Ordinance of 1945. There was considerable opposition to it apart from that of the private schools and even the Transvaal Director of Education was opposed to some of it, including the chapter of the private schools. (The Star, 30.1.46.).

It was, however, only the beginning. It was the first measure to substantially have threatened the freedom of the private schools and it was by no means the last. There was a visible and growing trend towards centralisation and control through legislation granting discretionary powers.

There was another visible trend as well: hostility towards the private schools on the part of Afrikaner nationalists and fear of Afrikaner nationalism on the part of the private schools. This was the second ominous political development that

emerged at the time of the struggle over dual-medium education.

During the debate on dual-medium policy, 'English medium private schools formed one of the main targets of attack by the Nationalist speakers.' (Malherbe, E.G., 1977, p.87). R.F. Currey then Head of St. Andrew's Grahamstown, commented that 'Most of us were attacked by name and the House saw the strange spectacle of an Afrikaner Minister of Education, (J.H. Hofmeyr) himself neither educated in our schools nor belonging to our Church, defending the Church schools against the Opposition attacks with an ability and understanding... for which we may feel very grateful.' (Currey, R.F., 1945). Nor were the attacks at all subtle. Transvaal National Party leader and later Prime Minister J.G. Strydom, for example, was reported as having said that '...when we get to power we shall deal with schools like Bishops and St. Andrew's'. (Standing Committee, 1955 (2)). As Currey analysed the situation, 'These groups have decided for themselves that the private schools represent an ideal and outlook which is hostile to their own ideals and outlook, and therefore these schools in particular are to be regarded as enemies to be opposed at every point, whose power and influence are to be curtailed by every means that ingenuity can devise and whose elimination would be a matter for rejoicing.' (Currey, R.F., 1945). This he felt would be done gradually, step by step, until the last vestiges of independence had disappeared, to '...white-ant our defences and then present us with a situation that has gone so far that recovery is impossible.' (Currey, R.F., 1945).

These feelings were shared by other Heads who gave evidence to the Archbishop's Commission on Church Schools 1944/5, notably H. Kidd of Bishops (Kidd, H., 1945) and S.H. Clarke of St. John's (Clarke, S.H., 1945.³)

The circumstances of the Second World War also helped to increase the fear of Afrikaner nationalism on the part of the private schools. To many, there seemed to be some uncomfortable parallels between Afrikaner nationalism and the nationalism of Hitler's Germany. The vociferous opposition to the war voiced by Afrikaner nationalists and the activities of Afrikaner neo-Nazi organisations such as the New Order and Ossewa-Brandwag only served to compound this view. To the private schools, the threat of the National Party went much further than 'apartheid'; it threatened the very principles of democratic freedom on which their existence depended and on which they believed the future of the country depended. Before them all was the prospect that 'South African Nazism must make its great and final bid at the next elections.' (Kidd, H., 1945).

The National Party that Dr. Malan led into the 1948 elections had silenced most of the more fanatical elements, and those who had courted Nazism were in disgrace on account of their association with a foreign ideology. It was, nevertheless,

3. For further details concerning this Commission see

as it had always been, more than a party; to the Nationalists, 'die party is die volk en die volk is die party,' and their victory was not merely a party-political victory, but was seen by them as a people inheriting their right. 'Today,' said Dr. Malan on the day of the victory, 'South Africa belongs to us once more. May God grant that we may keep it so.' (Parker, G., and Pfukani, F., p.213). The National Party had come to power with the intention of reshaping South Africa in accordance with its own view of the Divine Destiny of 'die Volk'. The 'Age of the Generals'⁴ had ended; the 'Age of the Social Engineers'⁵ had begun.

The worst fears of the private schools appeared to have been realised. 'The ideological background of what is envisaged in the South Africa of the future is Calvinist,' the Anglican Archbishop told the HMC in 1950. 'The private schools are among the institutions which stand in the way of the realisation of this idea...The private schools of the country are strongholds of English culture, where the English language is dominant and where there is a good deal of diluted liberalism taught; or else they are strongholds of Roman Catholicism where the ideologies are certainly not Calvinist. I believe that there is no place for them in the South Africa of the future as envisaged by our present rulers.' (HMC, 1950(1)).

4. The title of D.W. Kruger's book on the period 1910-1948.

5. This phrase was coined by T.R.H. Davenport (Davenport, T.R.H., 1977, p.257.)

In 1954 the Chairman of the Governing Body of Diocesan College reported back to this body after a tour of South African Conference schools. He quoted an 'eminent educational and economic authority' who had said that '...the antagonism to private schools varies in the different provinces. It is strongest and most deep-seated in the Transvaal where their disappearance is a matter of time. In the OFS they are likely to survive longer. In the Cape they will be tolerated for some time to come and in Natal they will be endured possibly for another generation.' (McIntyre, D., 1954.) The threats were no longer possibilities they seemed to be imminent.

Whether it was the realities of holding political power that led to the moderation of the National Party's apparent attitude towards private schools; whether it was that their insistence upon the fact that South Africa was a democratic country made an attack on legitimate private enterprise in education undesirable; whether the fact that the majority of private schools were religious foundations and an attack on them would have been seen as an attack on the Churches and on religious freedom in South Africa; whether it was because the private schools were simply not significant enough in their view to warrant the risk of attacking them; whether the Nationalists were not, in fact, as hostile to private schools as they had been represented as being, or whatever other factors may have been involved, private schools did not suffer the expected extinction under the National Party government. There was certainly a growing control exercised over them, but such control was apparently not intended to represent a gradual suffocation.

To those who feared that such a gradual suffocation would happen, however, the growing control was often interpreted in this way and individual politicians were not above making statements that helped to support such interpretations.

The earliest indication of a new attitude was the refusal of a Cabinet Minister in 1950 to register St. Mark's (Diocesan) School, George, under Section 21 of the Companies Act. While this appears to have been merely the over-zealousness of a man new to his job, and was not indicative of future policy, the refusal caused alarm in Conference school circles, particularly in view of the reasons the Minister gave for his refusal. He had turned the application down because '...he was not entirely satisfied that private schools could be said to serve a national purpose,' and '...he did not feel...that it could be said that such registrations were in the public interest'. (Standing Committee, 1950(2)).

More serious, however, were developments in the Transvaal. Here a new Language Amendment Ordinance was passed in 1952. It was the first piece of Nationalist legislation to affect the private schools. It not surprisingly revoked the Ordinance of 1945 and introduced mother-tongue instruction throughout all Transvaal schools, state and private. In a sense it was an incursion into the independence of the private schools because in laying down that schools had to be single-medium and that pupils had to receive their education in their mother-tongue, it restricted the power of the private schools to admit such pupils as they wished to admit; Afrikaans-speaking pupils had to be excluded from English-medium private schools. Consequently

the private schools challenged this ordinance in the Transvaal division of the Supreme Court which ruled that it was invalid in the case of private schools. The Appeal Court, however, overturned this ruling. In its judgement the measure did apply to private schools and the Transvaal authorities began taking steps to ensure that it was complied with. In 1953 a departmental inspector ordered twelve pupils to be removed from the Christian Brother's College in Pretoria on the grounds that they were Afrikaans-speaking. The parents appealed to the Administrator and they were allowed to stay. (Towey, J., 1972, p.90.) Nevertheless, the principle was on the provincial statute book and would be extended to become part of national legislation in 1967.

More serious than the Language Amendment Ordinance, however, was the Transvaal Draft Consolidating Education Ordinance which also appeared in 1952. The Draft Ordinance contained a chapter on private schools which '...closely resembled the corresponding chapter of the 1944 Draft but in some respects went even further in providing for the exercise of control over private schools.' (Standing Committee, 1953(2)). As in the case of the 1944 Draft, the Director of Education had the discretionary power to grant or refuse appointment of teachers, the curriculum, the accommodation and the equipment and besides this, the following are also subject to his approval: the manner of recording school attendance and the school calendar.' The Director, inspectors of education and medical inspectors had the right of entry and on the strength of an

adverse report the Administrator could order that matters be remedied within a specified time or could cancel the registration of the school. Provincial grants were to be frozen at the existing amount and no new grants would be provided. (Standing Committee, 1952(2)).

Once again, though the freezing of the grants was considered to be unsympathetic and designed to discourage private education in the Transvaal, the main criticism of the Ordinance by the private schools was that the powers conferred on the Director were too wide, too vaguely defined and too discretionary. 'It is clear from a careful reading of the Draft Ordinance that the effect of the latter will be to place all private schools at the mercy of the Provincial authorities. There will be no safeguards against the misuse or abuse of discretionary powers and there will be no appeal against the exercise of such powers.....' (Standing Committee, 1952(3)).

What also alarmed the private schools was the spirit of the debate in the provincial council that accompanied the Ordinance. While the Administrator differentiated between private schools which '...are great public utility institutions' and 'mushroom institutions trying to be grouped under the same heading', he nevertheless followed, by now, a fairly predictable line of argument in supporting the freezing of grants by declaring, amidst cheers from the floor, that 'No public money should be paid for schools that are not thoroughly South African orientated'. Other members took the issue further. Dr. A.D. Wassenaar, MEC, declared that '...with us there must be no doubt at all that government schools are the best for our children. There is

also the advantage that there can be a greater degree of uniformity in our schools and that no different policies in different directions will be applied and that no difference in thought will result...it was made clear yesterday that private schools no longer have a claim to existence...Private schools are only a relic today, a relic of former times when quite different circumstances prevailed...' (Standing Committee, 1952(4)).

Dr. Wassenaar's two main points, that private schools have no claim to existence and that state schools have a monopoly of education for the sake of uniformity in administration and uniformity of thought, created considerable cause for alarm. R.F. Currey, the most adamant of those who had warned against these very possibilities ten years earlier, made it clear at a special conference of heads of private schools (including representatives of Catholic schools) in Cape Town in 1955 that he believed the danger to have been '...at least as great as it has ever been', but now he felt that extinction was not the aim. They '...probably do not want to get rid of us,' but the indications were that '...they do want to hedge us about so that we cannot be what we are and what we set out to be.' (Standing Committee, 1955(2)).

The Draft Ordinance provoked a storm of protest from other sources as well, but for other reasons, and was referred to a select committee to which the private schools submitted both oral and written evidence. The Select Committee produced a

revised draft which was then further revised before it was placed again before the provincial council. The revisions to the private schools chapter were considered by the Standing Committee of Associated Church schools to 'constitute slight improvements' but still left the Director with powers which were considered far too arbitrary and far too wide. (Standing Committee, 1953(2)). It passed all reading in the council and became law towards the end of 1953.

It appears that the Administrator had been genuine in the distinction he had made between the established private schools and the 'mushroom schools' for in the application the law was far less harsh than it was in the letter. (Feetham,R., 1959).

Relations in other provinces during the 1950's, despite a new consolidating ordinance in the Cape in 1954, were reported to be satisfactory. (Standing Committee, 1955(2)). As always, they were the most satisfactory in Natal. In 1956 the Administrator of Natal opened the annual Conference of Headmasters and Headmistresses where he paid '...a warm tribute to the private schools of Natal...and assured them that in the department of education in Natal they had the best of friends and supporters.' (HMC, 1956(1)). The crisis had passed, but both Roman Catholic and Conference schools had determined a course of constant vigilance. (Standing Committee, 1955(2)).

It is no doubt as a result of this vigilance that private school sources began to report new developments at the national level.

At a private schools conference in Cape Town in 1958 an unidentified speaker declared that '...there are strong a priori grounds for the likelihood of an attack on the private schools', and quoted the former Minister of National Education M.C. de Wet Nel, then Minister of Native Affairs, as having said that '...the time has arrived to give South Africa a purposeful national education policy so the present divergent policies can be altered. What we need is a National Education Act so that the great educational principles which are in the interests of South Africa could be entrenched ...In South Africa there is no room for a petty, selfish and sectional approach to educational problems...' (Standing Committee, (1958(2))).

Then, in 1959, the Secretary of the Christian Education Movement spoke to the School's Chaplain's Conference about 'the recent outcry' that had arisen from a statement by the Prime Minister, Dr. Verwoerd. The essence of this statement was that 'There would be uniformity in the sphere of education. It could not be otherwise because the nation could maintain only one ideal in this sphere...The government would lay down in legislation what would be expected of education in South Africa.' (Rose, B., & Tunmer, R., 1975, p.60.).

Such rumblings were not without foundation. During the parliamentary session of 1961 the National Education Advisory Council Bill was precipitately introduced, being read for the first time in April prior to publication. The Bill provided for the establishment of a national council of between seven and twelve members to be appointed by the Minister of Education. The members of the council were to serve in a full-time capacity for a period not

exceeding five years and their function was to '...advise the Minister generally in regard to the policy to be adopted in connection with the education of white persons'. From this council the Minister could appoint committees '...to carry out ...investigation at any school as the Minister may on writing direct in connection with any matter affecting the basic principles of education'. Such a committee '...shall have access to any school, and may demand from any person exercising authority in relation to such school such information and documents and such other assistance as the committee may require for the purposes of the investigation'. (Rose, B., & Tunmer, R., 1975, pp.60-1.). The Bill was to apply to all state schools and to all private schools receiving a subsidy from state or provincial sources.

This piece of legislation, more than any other, aroused the defences of the private schools. As they saw it, it was an attack on the basic principles of independence and academic freedom by bringing about a greater degree of bureaucratic and arbitrary control. When the government announced that it was to be postponed to the following session and that a select committee would be appointed the private schools busied themselves preparing their evidence for this committee - evidence which contained some of the most important statements of policy and principle that they had yet made.

The Conference schools declared that 'The chief matter of principle in the Bill which causes us concern is that it will inevitably have the effect of centralising the control of

education...' for, if the Minister is to give effect to the advice of the Advisory Committee, '...he must take to himself powers which at present he does not possess...If the advice is to have any effect it must be continuously implemented and, consequently, education must be continuously supervised by the central authority. There is reason to expect, therefore, that unless the Council is to remain ineffectual there will be a steadily increasing degree of centralised control of education...'. (HMC, 1961(2)). The Conference was of the opinion that 'It would appear that the conception of an Advisory Council in the Bill is that of a body whose function will be to secure uniformity of policy as well as practice in the schools...In a developing country such as ours where individual enterprise and vision may well tend to stifle educational enterprise and experiment...'. (HMC, 1961(2)). Because the Bill extended to subsidised private schools it was seen as representing a serious weakening of their freedom. Similar opinions were expressed by the Methodist Church and Catholic Bishops' Conference. In addition, the Methodists voiced a more direct political fear: 'Certain recent trends make us fearful of too much governmental and bureaucratic regulation in education. Recent attempts to distort history, to pro-seletyse a particular political view point in education... seem to us very strong reasons why the private schools should be left free to provide the necessary counterweight to a government system of education.' (Methodist Church, 1961.).

The Bill, as revised by the Select Committee, became law in 1962. Certain significant changes had been made to the original measure.

The size of the council was increased to a minimum of fifteen members who had to have 'distinguished themselves in the field of education.' Members would be largely serving in a part-time capacity, with the exception of an executive of a maximum of five members. Nevertheless, some of the original features remained untouched. The power to investigate individual schools was still given to the Council and the functions of the council were deepened. Among other things, the council's task was to determine 'the broad fundamental principles of sound education for the country as a whole' (Rose, B., & Tunmer, R., 1975, pp. 62-63.). In the opinion of the HMC, the revised Bill was an improvement on its original, but it felt that 'Some of the dangerous features remain, notably the wide powers of the Minister of Education. On the other hand certain points stressed in the memorandum of evidence submitted by your representatives to the Select Committee and further pressed in oral evidence have been met. The Act emphasises the purely advisory, non-executive functions of the Council. The numbers of the Council have been enlarged and it would appear that the number of full-time members will not amount to more than one-third of the total. There is some hope, therefore, that the Council will be less bureaucratic than was originally feared and that room may be found for those actually engaged in education.' (HMC, 1962(2)).

In 1963, Mr. Osler, one of the HMC members who had been appointed to the Council, told the Conference that '...he was

happy to say that when the Act was passed...it guaranteed all the safeguards that could be expected in a democratic country... the Council is obliged to work through the democratic processes of consultation, co-ordination and advice in order to achieve reform...he knew that the Council was regarded by many people as a move to dominate education in this country, but assured the meeting that his experience had been very far from that.' (HMC, 1963(1)). At the same meeting, another Headmaster commented that '...at this moment...there would seem to be a change in the attitude of the authorities responsible for education in the Republic towards private schools and a greater acknowledgement of them as a fundamental factor in the educational system of the Republic...'. (HMC, 1963(1)). This was re-emphasised at the 1964 Conference, which reported that 'In the past few years it has seemed that private schools are being considered a vital and necessary part of the educational system of the Republic...' (HMC, 1964(1)). In 1969 Mr. Justice Kannemeyer told the Conference that 'I feel that we have become perhaps oversensitive in our fears for the future of private schools; of the political climate in which we live...two decades have passed (since the Archbishop of Cape Town warned of the imminent attack on private schools) and we still exist much as we did...'. (HMC, 1969(1)).

It was in this atmosphere that the next major piece of national legislation, the National Education Policy Act of 1967, was introduced. Surprisingly perhaps, it seems to have caused far less concern among private schools than the National Education Advisory Council Bill, despite the provision that the Minister

of National Education can '...determine the general policy which is to be pursued in respect of education in schools...' (HMC, 1967 (1)), and that for the purposes of the Act the definition of school included subsidised private schools. There was surprisingly little reaction to the requirement that such education should have 'a broad national character' and that the legal opinion sought by the HMC indicated that '...the Minister may well interpret this in such a way as to require the propagation of a particular point of view' and that '...the effect of Section 2 of the Act will be to impose a major degree of state control upon any private school which accepts a government or provincial subsidy...'. (HMC, 1967(1)). In comparison to the reaction to earlier measures there seems almost a degree of acceptance of a measure which was described by a leading South African educationist as '...reminiscent of the chauvinistic regulations and richtlinien issued under the early Nazi regime....'. (Malherbe, E.G., 1977, p. 148).

The greatest concern it seems to have caused was to the HMC because the constitution of the Conference required members to be free from external control and the legal opinion quoted above advised that subsidised private schools would have to be excluded as the Act made them no longer free from state control. The constitution was consequently revised in order to continue to provide for the membership of the Heads of such schools. (HMC, 1968(1)).

It is not easy to theorise on the reasons for this lack of criticism of this Act from a group of schools that had been consistent and vigilant in their opposition to any legislation that affected their freedom. Certainly, it did not affect those schools which did not receive a subsidy, but that had not prevented opposition in the past. It may have been a reaction against the over-reaction in the past when measures had been strongly fought against and had not in practice realised the fears that had accompanied their passage. It may have been the result of better understanding between the private schools and the government and provincial administrations that served to alleviate fears and caused the private schools to prefer co-operation to conflict. It may have been because national and international conditions led to a greater sympathy for education with 'a broad national character.' It may have been because some of the more vocal champions of freedom were no longer active in the private school movement. It may have been simple acceptance of the inevitable, or it may have been that a majority of people engaged in private education believed that there were other, far more important, values in private education than those threatened by the Act.

This latter possibility seems to be given some support by a survey conducted by A.J. Rivet-Carnac among Heads of Conference Schools in 1971. The purpose of the survey was to prepare publicity material and Heads were asked to respond to a number of questions, one of which was 'What are the advantages of

private education?' Their replies are discussed in detail in Chapter XI, but it is relevant to note here that among the advantages mentioned by the Heads, freedom from ideological control and the provision of a liberal education is ranked low in the list of priorities if the degree of consensus is a valid criterion on which to base such a reading. Only 26% of respondents made some reference to this feature of private education as being one of its advantages and, according to the degree of consensus, it ranked a low eleventh in a list of fifteen 'advantages'. (Rivet-Carnac, A.J., 1971).

A final factor, however, is that this apparent lack of reaction on the part of the private schools was equally true of the public as a whole. '...in contrast to the considerable protests in 1962...there was comparatively little public response to the 1967 Act'. (Rose, B., & Tunmer, R., 1975, p.73). The authors do not, however, analyse the reasons for this phenomenon.

It therefore remains something of an anomaly that the one piece of legislation which struck at the heart of the philosophy of private education in South Africa should have gone so completely unchallenged by those who in the past had taken such a strong stand on their rights and freedoms.

The most recent piece of legislation, the 1976 Act creating the South African Teachers Council for Whites, was a measure that had been feared since the 1940's. The HMC at any rate had always been in favour of such a body in principle, but had been concerned at the possibility of restrictions that might be placed on the employment of teachers, particularly teachers from overseas,

should such a body be established.

The South African Teachers Council for Whites had the power to register teachers, to investigate complaints, charges or allegations of a contravention of the professional code of ethics and to take action against any guilty party, action which might include being struck off the register. This was important because '...no person who is not registered or provisionally registered shall be appointed in a full-time permanent capacity'. (Section 20). For the purposes of this Act, the definition of a school included private schools in receipt of a subsidy.

In order to qualify for registration, however, a teacher's qualifications had to be recognised. The recognition of qualifications was not a power given to the Council - it remained in the hands of the bureaucracy in the form of the Committee of Education Heads.

The HMC expressed serious reservations concerning the Act. In the first place, they did not like the control over qualifications by the Committee of Education Heads and the fact that the minimum qualification for a South African teacher as defined by this body was matriculation and a three-year teachers diploma. The private schools have always employed a high proportion of staff who were trained outside South Africa and this meant that '... overseas teachers who completed diploma courses in the United Kingdom...were not acceptable as being qualified in South Africa.' (HMC, 1977(1)).

There were, however, other reasons for reservation. As the HMC expressed it,

- '1. Unlike registration with other professional councils in South Africa...the South African Teachers Council for Whites is racially exclusive...
2. The criteria for the evaluation of qualifications of teachers are determined not by the professional Council but by an employer body.
3. The distinction drawn between state subsidised and non-subsidised schools has resulted in anomalous situations in respect of teachers with identical qualifications and service in Conference schools. Moreover, insistence on unqualified teachers obtaining a recognised teaching qualification within a given period will lead to considerable hardship for certain teachers who have given years of competent and devoted service.' (HMC, 1977(1)).

Finally, because only officially recognised teacher associations had representation on the Council and the private schools did not have any teacher associations at all, the private schools were not represented on the Council.

The South African Teachers Council for Whites Act followed the trend that had been evident since the 1960's. With the increasing centralisation and uniformity that state education came to impose, the private schools had the choice: where they have accepted provincial aid, they have increasingly been drawn into the state system; where they have elected to remain wholly independent, their independence has not been subject to a great deal of erosion.

There has, however, been a second trend in the political factors affecting private education, which emerged during the 1960's as well. This is the question of the position of the private schools in the apartheid state. This, of course, is more than purely a political issue; it has social, economic and religious

perspectives, all of which warrant close analysis.

CHAPTER VII

RACE AND THE PRIVATE SCHOOLS

The roots of Roman Catholic and other Church education in South Africa are European and English. That they have developed and flourished in the south of Africa is the result of historical developments which lie beyond the scope of this work. The fact remains, however, that the European population in South Africa is comparatively small and the environment in which education has developed has been characterised by the pluralism in race, language, culture and class which has had a vital if not a determining role in the history of this country.

In the 17th and 18th centuries, education given by Europeans was essentially, though by no means exclusively, for Europeans. Where others were educated, they were largely slaves and Cape Khoikhoi.¹ In the 19th century the great missionary fervour saw education provided by Europeans for Africans in mission stations from the Eastern Frontier of the Cape Colony to the heart of Central Africa. In the same way as the churches were primarily responsible for initiating the education of Europeans in South Africa, so were they responsible for initiating education for other races. The difference lay in the fact that the state began

1. Also known as Hottentots. This latter term is becoming less acceptable today on account of its derogatory connotations.

to concern itself with European education very early on in the 19th century while the 20th century was already half over before it turned its full attention to the education of other racial groups to any significant extent.

While the churches provided education for all racial groups in South Africa, such education was, on the whole, given separately. This is understandable in view of the differing nature, needs and geographical location of the peoples to whom they ministered, but it is also understandable in terms of the attitude of European superiority which prevailed during the 19th century.

There were, of course, exceptions. Some of the mission schools, particularly in outlying parts of the colony, had a mixed population in attendance. Morica Wilson records that 'In 1883 there were 6 000 whites in the same class rooms as 32 000 Coloured children, and in 1891 a third of the total number of white children at school in the Cape Colony attended mission schools in which there was no colour bar'. (Wilson, M., & Thompson, L.M., 1969, p.261). Even some of the central schools accepted pupils of all races. In 1848, for example, the Anglican St. George's Grammar School in Cape Town had 54 pupils on the roll of whom 43 were European, 4 African and 7 Khoikhoi or of mixed blood. (Peacock, H.H.E., 1959).

It would appear that neither the Anglican nor the Catholic Church had any formal racial barriers in their schools, but as these racial barriers became more and more a feature of South African society they tended to become racially exclusive as well. 'We have never formally imposed a colour bar,' wrote R.F. Currey in 1947, 'we have found it in existence and have taken it for granted'. (Currey, R.F., 1947). In 1957 the South African Catholic Bishops' Conference commented that 'The practice of segregation, though not officially recognised by our churches, characterises nevertheless many of our church societies, our schools, seminaries, convents, hospitals and the social life of our people'. (ECAR, 1977(2)).

This situation was 'taken for granted' for the first forty years of the 20th century, but the Second World War was to alter the situation. The Atlantic Charter, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the independence of India and Asia, the Cold War and the rise of mass African nationalism in colonial Africa all had a powerful impact on South Africa. Racial tensions increased after the War and the Smuts government failed singularly to come to terms with them or to take a lead in solving them. The National Party opposition, determined to maintain European, and more specifically Afrikaner, control as a guarantee for survival, coined the phrase, and later the grand plan of 'apartheid' - a slogan which helped it to victory in the 1948 general election and which came to determine the socio-political environment in

South Africa since that victory.

The late 1940's were, therefore, a time of racial and political upheaval in South Africa. Sensing the changing environment, R.F. Currey brought implications for Anglican Church schools to the attention of the Standing Committee of Associated Church Schools in 1947 in a memorandum in which he declared that '...a stage has been reached where it is at any rate doubtful whether we should, or can, continue to act in this completely unreflective manner in the most vital of all questions affecting South Africans. Some of the Associated Church schools have had to face the hideously difficult questions that arise when Asiatics who are Christians ... apply for admission for their sons as pupils... It is no wild flight of fancy to suggest that the day is coming when some philanthropist will make application for the admission of the son of an African clergyman, against whom no exception could be taken on personal grounds...And when that day comes the school selected for this trial will indeed be upon the horns of a dilemma. It may ... refuse the boy simply and solely on the grounds of colour. And if it does that it will be difficult to see how it can be altogether successful in meeting the charge of hypocrisy. Alternatively, it will agree to accept the boy - with consequences so startling that they can be left to the imagination'. (Currey, R.F., 1947).

Currey had arrived at the core of the problem: on the one hand, to refuse a pupil on the grounds of colour would be contrary to Christian teaching; on the other, admission would have profound implications for the school as there

was likely to be considerable opposition from the parents and possible withdrawal of pupils which would have been critical to the school's continued existence. Already, in 1946, the admission of a Chinese boy to Michaelhouse had caused the resignation of a member of the Governing Body and the condemnation of the Pietermaritzburg branch of the Old Boys Association, (Barrett, A.M., 1969 p.143) and in his memorandum Currey reported having faced a similar situation at St. Andrew's Grahamstown, where it had been decided to refuse admission to the coloured child of a European father. (Currey, R.F., 1947).

The admission of pupils of other races was, therefore, infrequent and limited. Before the Second World War Bishops had admitted the sons of the Agent-General for India and St. Cyprian's had admitted Japanese girls. After the War, the admission of Chinese and later Japanese pupils to Catholic and Conference schools was fairly common, although the number of such pupils was small. The admission of African, Coloured and Indian pupils was, however, an entirely different matter. The application for a coloured child to enrol at St. Andrew's has been mentioned. It is doubtful that there were many other such cases, if indeed there were any.

Currey's memorandum, however, suggested the possibility of such applications occurring in the future. It also suggested

that while the Anglican church schools should '...acknowledge the ultimate equality, in value, of all men before God, irrespective of the colour of their skin', he did not feel '...that the time has yet arrived, or is likely to arrive within this generation, when the advantages which are undoubtedly to be gained from the admission of suitable and selected African and Coloured boys as ordinary members of the schools would outweigh the damage that would be done by the disturbances and opposition which their admission would undoubtedly provoke'. It proved to be a prophetic statement for, taking a generation as thirty-three years, it was to be virtually a generation before the Conference schools opened their doors to pupils of other races.

Currey's immediate solution in 1947 was to increase awareness that '...there is a clear duty laid upon the authorities of the Associated Church Schools to inculcate in all boys committed to their care a due sense of the vital importance to South Africa of a proper attitude towards race relations and of the social responsibility in this matter borne by them as Europeans belonging to the more privileged section of the community.' (Currey, R.F., 1947).

While no record of the Standing Committee's reactions to these proposals could be found, this policy characterised the general attitude of most Church schools, Catholics included, for the next two decades.

The situation, however, became much more complex during these two decades. The advent of the National Party government and the implementation of apartheid added a further factor to the dilemma of the church schools in that the admission of pupils other than Europeans became illegal. Thus, to the conflict between Christian principle and social reality was added the conflict between Christian principle and the law. In addition, situations which required the serious consideration of the problem of facing these conflicts did in fact arise.

The entrenchment of apartheid, decolonisation in Africa and the growing challenge of African nationalism in South Africa focussed the attentions of South Africans and of the international community on racial issues.

As far as the private schools were concerned, the challenge began in the churches. In 1957 the Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference declared of segregation in the Church and in its institutions, 'In the light of Christian teaching this cannot be tolerated for ever'. (ECAR, 1977(2)). Little was done about this, however, and it was the Anglican, rather than the Catholic school which faced the strongest challenges on this issue during the 1960's.

In January 1958 an attack by the Anglican Archbishop of Cape Town on 'certain unchristian aspects of apartheid' led to a counter-attack by Foreign Affairs Minister, Eric Louw, in which he challenged that the Archbishop's sincerity would be

tested by the admission of pupils other than Europeans into Church schools. (Harker, H., 1964). The Archbishop replied that he was prevented by law from taking such a step and appealed to the government to remove legislation which prevented the admission of pupils who were not classified as white to Anglican schools. If these laws were repealed, then he pledged '...that I will use my influence to find a modus vivendi'. (Harker, H., 1964).

The government's reply was delivered by Interior Minister Dr. Eben Dönges at a public meeting in February. Dönges claimed that it was not illegal for Indians and Coloureds to be admitted to private schools and challenged the Archbishop to persuade school governing bodies to apply for permits for the admission of such pupils. The matter, he said, '...would then be given due consideration and interested people and bodies such as parents and Old Boys' Unions could give evidence at a public hearing'. (Harker, H., 1964). It would appear that the government was confident that public opinion would favour excluding such pupils, thereby vindicating the government and embarrassing the Archbishop.

It is also possible that the government realised as the Archbishop was then forced to admit, that the Anglican authorities had no power or right to force the Anglican schools to do anything of this nature. This is not to say that they did not try to use what influence they had. It

was largely as a result of this confrontation with the government that the Cape Town Diocesan Synod of the Anglican Church resolved in December 1958 that 'This Synod urges the Church Schools, none of which has any racial provision in its charter, to make educational provision for the children of other than white parents'. (Harker, H., 1964).

This resolution, therefore, re-opened the issue for the Anglican Church schools. The Chairman of the Standing Committee of Associated Church Schools, W.D. Wilson, while declaring his sympathy with the Synod resolution nevertheless wondered '... whether the schools would be prepared to go so far as to agree among themselves without making any public statement that if, when they received applications for admission to the school from parents of non-European children who were, in the school's opinion, fitted for admission to the schools, applications for exemption from the provisions of the appropriate Act would be made'. (Wilson, W.D., 1960). Legal opinion was sought on the admission of pupils of other races which made it clear that such action was unlawful in terms of the Bantu Education Act of 1953, the Group Areas Act of 1957 and various provincial ordinances. (Webber, Wentzel et al, 1961). Consequently, the general response from the Anglican schools to the Synod's resolution was that it was 'praiseworthy but unrealistic in the light of government policy and current legislation'. (Wilson, F., 1966).

At the Cape Town Diocesan Synod of 1959 the Archbishop expressed

sympathy for this point of view saying that '...we cannot expect the Church schools to do more at this stage except work for a change of heart throughout the country.'

(Harker, H., 1964).

Some Churchmen and Church groups, however, remained adamant on the issue. In 1961, for example, the Archdeacon of Johannesburg the Rev. F. Newth, warned the Governing Body of St. Dunstan's Memorial School, Benoni, that 'If...the Governors decide that non-European children are to be barred from the school, it means that there is a clear conflict between the school and the Anglican Church...'. (Newth, F.J., 1961).

Then, in 1963, a group of students at the University of Cape Town who were all ex-pupils of Anglican private schools, and who styled themselves 'The Church Schools Action Group', produced a document entitled 'The Challenge to Church Schools' which was sponsored by the Anglican Archbishop, Joost de Blank, and four priests (all of whom later became bishops): the Revs. Knapp-Fisher, Savage, Zulu and Selby-Taylor, (later Archbishop as well). Two prominent academics, Professor Monica Wilson and Professor Z.K. Matthews, as well as Advocate D. Molteno also sponsored the document.

The students declared that '...the Church schools should be producing men and women who have a sincere intellectual foundation for their faith, who lead sincere devotional lives and who have a proper realisation of the social implications of the Christian doctrine of love. However, there is an increasing number of people connected with these schools who have sincere doubts as to whether they are fulfilling their

proper function'. The failure was twofold: 'Their failure to teach their pupils the social implications of Christian belief...' and 'Their racially exclusive character'. Declaring that 'The failure of Church schools to open their doors to people of all races is indefensible', the document called on these schools 'To provide a sounder intellectual foundation to our faith; more emphasis on the social implications of Christianity; more provision for inter-racial worship, sport, work-groups and debates; integration at staff and students level'. (Church Schools Action Group, 1963).

Whatever the source of these criticisms, they were criticisms which the Church schools could hardly ignore. The reaction to the document was, however, substantially the same as that which had greeted the resolution of the Cape Town Diocesan Synod in 1958. Serious consideration could and should be given to the criticisms but the demand that the schools integrate at staff and student level was 'praiseworthy but unrealistic at present'. (Wilson, F., 1966; Standing Committee, 1964(1)). This is also borne out by the comments eight Heads gave to the Reverend Hugh Harker when he was preparing his address for an Anglican Students' Conference at Modderpoort in 1964.

More interesting are the explanations which they gave for their attitude. While agreeing with the spirit of the document, one Head said of those who wished the Church schools to integrate that '...if we are to believe that these are a

majority in these schools then we are deluding ourselves.

"During the past two or three years as the white laager has become more of an established fact, the conservatism in our schools has been strengthened rather than weakened...to assume the offensive at the moment with the very limited support we have would betray our cause rather than advance it. In fact we would be overwhelmed by the opposition from within our ranks. A move along the lines suggested in the memorandum is, therefore, unrealistic and, in my reading of the position, illegal'. Another Head stated that 'It is my hope that at some time in the future all the Church schools will be multiracial, but that day must await the advent of a multiracial society. We must not lag behind, but we must not destroy ourselves before the time is ripe to take a lead. I am convinced that if we try to integrate now we would supply the government with the excuse that many of its supporters seek to destroy us completely ...'. A third found himself '...forced not to admit non-Europeans at this stage because the vast bulk of white Anglicans, are against such integration. Many Church schools operate on small financial margins; the loss of a fair proportion of pupils could...cause a school to close down as bankrupt... I do not think a Church school Principal or Governor can be accused of cowardice or apostasy if he refuses to place the future of his school in jeopardy by opening its doors to all races'. Similar opinion to these three were expressed by the other Heads. (Harker, H., 1964).

Many of them indicated, however, that the Church schools were doing their best to promote better race relations in general. Evidence for such a standpoint was provided by the School Chaplains' Conference of 1959 which detailed these activities in Anglican Church schools. These were: 'Two clubs for coloured boys; two clubs for African boys; building and other practical work at missions in Swaziland and Zululand by boys from four of the schools; a feeding scheme in an African location through which 800 African children are fed three times a week; two Indian Sunday Schools; gardening and other practical work in an institution for the Bantu aged; a night school for Africans. In addition, boys from two schools are taken on regular tours of African townships and slum areas. Three schools have a definite scheme for assisting individual African boys financially in their education. There is a Bantu social study group at one school where boys have the opportunity of hearing African speakers, and a discussion group on race relations at another. Two schools provide instruction in Zulu by African teachers...Two schools have had African preachers...Three schools have had concerts by African entertainers'. (Schools Chaplains' Conference, 1959). While all this might sound very limited and paternalistic in 1980, it needs to be set in the context of 1959.

These were not the only ventures. In 1963 a new Anglican school was opened West of Johannesburg to provide a first-class academic education for Coloured children. This school,

St. Barnabas College, was committed '...to the poor and disadvantaged' and its character was clearly community orientated. At the same time, it aimed to give an academic education equal to anything that could be found in the 'White' Church schools.

The other development was the establishment of a multiracial school in Swaziland. Apparently the St. Martin' School, Rosettenville, had planned to develop such a school in Swaziland but the responsibility of St. Martin's had proved big enough to prevent it. The first Headmaster of St. Martin's, Michael Stern and the Senior Master, Gordon Milne, consequently embarked upon their own venture. In a letter to parents announcing their resignations Stern and Milne explained that 'For a long time we have wanted to run a school that is open to all races, faiths and creeds. We would very much like to have made St. Martin's that school, but this, as you know, is not possible in South Africa'. (Stern, M.A., 1962). Their school, Waterford, opened in 1963. A second venture of a similar nature was undertaken in Botswana in 1970 at Maru a Pula by Deane Yates, the ex-Headmaster of St. John's College, Johannesburg.

Roman Catholic sources do not refer to this issue during these years to the same extent but it should, nevertheless be borne in mind that many Catholic orders and congregations which ran white schools also ran schools for Africans and Coloureds and that in this way there was perhaps a greater

degree of contact on account of the communication between and the movement of members of staff. Some of the white schools help to support schools run by their congregations for other races. In addition, though no details are available, Catholic schools tended to be more community and service orientated again, presumably primarily on account of their being run by religious. Groups such as the Legion of Mary in convent schools were active in community work among all poor and underprivileged sections of the community and it is suggested, though it cannot be proved, that the contribution of these schools, though humble and unrecorded, was probably considerable in producing men and women who, in the words of 'The Challenge to Church Schools' had '...a proper realisation of the social implications of the Christian doctrine of love'.

The question of the admission of pupils of all races was, as mentioned, largely centered around the Anglican schools during the 1960's. Towards the end of this decade it again became something of a crisis. In 1965, Mr. J.S. Thomas, a Coloured warden in the Anglican Church applied to have his son admitted to St. George's Grammar School and his daughter to Herschel. It was clearly a deliberate test case. (Sunday Times, 30.1.66.). The Governing Body of St. George's voted by a narrow margin to refuse admission, while the Governors of Herschel agreed to the admission of the girl provided that she passed an entrance examination, which she failed. The refusal of the boy led to the Provincial Synod of the Anglican Church passing a resolution calling on all Anglican schools not

to exclude any pupil on racial grounds. Armed with this support, Thomas re-applied to St. George's to be refused an application form in view of the previous decision not to admit the boy. (Sunday Times, 30.1.66).

In the outcry that followed, the Anglican schools came under heavy fire from clergymen and laymen who supported the Synod's resolution, while there was considerable soul-searching among the schools themselves. Among the harsher criticisms were those of Francis Wilson, one of the authors of 'The Challenge to the Church Schools', who quoted that document in a hard-hitting article in the Anglican magazine Seek in March, 1966. 'The Church in Africa,' he quoted the memorandum as saying, 'is being heavily compromised by the existence of institutions like the Church schools which practise racial exclusion. So long as they continue in their present pattern, these institutions will be millstones round the neck of the Church'. He wrote of '...the chilling spectacle of the Governing Council of the school attached to the Cathedral of Cape Town refusing admittance to a young boy, of a churchwarden, solely on account of the colour of his skin', and suggested that the Church might take measures such as those taken by the Roman Catholic Church in the American south where three 'prominent laymen' who opposed the desegregation of schools were excommunicated. (Wilson, F., 1966).

An editorial in an earlier edition of Seek tried to take a more moderate approach. After quoting the Bishop of Zululand

as having said that '...any institution connected with the Church must be loyal to the principles enunciated by that Church...if a school is willing to admit a pupil and the State forbids it, that is one thing; for any Church organisation to forbid such admission is something completely different', the editor then commented that '...this approach, right though it is in principle, is less easy to apply in practice...'. He was less certain about how the growing dispute between Church and Church schools should be resolved: 'Should there be an educational UDI or should the Church claim such establishments traitors to the cause?' (Seek, January, 1966).

The dilemma of the Church schools was summarised by Frank Robb in his address to the HMC in 1967: 'It would be wrong and foolish if, in the pursuit of pure idealism, we were to overlook the realities of the racial situation. Equally it would be wrong if we failed actively to apply the principles of social justice throughout the country'. (HMC, 1967(1)).

At the heart of the dispute 'there was a great deal of confusion about the relationship of the Anglican Church with the so-called Church schools', (Tugman, C.C., 1965), and it was partly to clear up this confusion that the Anglican Archbishop appointed a commission to investigate:

- a) What is a school claiming association with the Anglican Church, and
- b) the extent to which it ought to be answerable to the professed faith of the Church'

The commission investigated the constitutions of twenty-four Anglican schools and reached the conclusion that 'The

connection between the school and the Church is...not one of legal or factual control', nevertheless, '...the essential characteristic of an English Church school is that it is a school obliged under its constitution to work in association with the Church of the Province in regard to religious instruction in the school'. Consequently, 'Insofar as the Church of the Province...lays down any ruling upon a matter of faith or doctrine or manner of worship, a Church school would be obliged to observe any such ruling...Further than this we do not think a Council or Board of Governors can be expected to go'.

The commission concluded that provided a school '...actively gives such religious instruction in accordance with the faith and doctrine of the Church of the Province we consider that it could continue to claim an association with the Anglican Church even though its Governing Body found itself unable to comply with some request or even demand from a Provincial Synod in regard to a question of ordinary management such as the admission of scholars'. (Archbishop's Commission, 1968).

In spite of this finding, the problem continued. In 1969 the Board of Governors of the Diocesan College, Rondebosch, refused admission to the son of the Reverend Clive MacBride, a coloured Anglican priest. The Cape Diocesan Synod condemned the action. The conflict between principle and reality, between Church and Church schools, seemed insoluble.

The mood was, however, changing. By the 1970's there was a more pragmatic approach towards apartheid evident in government circles and a growing awareness in the country as a whole that rigid separation would not be economically possible and was not, at any rate, in the best interests of the country. The lowest common denominator in all this was economic, but there were those, including a number of Nationalists, who began to see that the survival of the white man in South Africa depended upon a change of heart. Taking into consideration those who had always advocated a different line for similar or totally different reasons, including most of the major Christian churches, the environment became more conducive to change.

To some extent the process was actively started by the government whose 'outward' policy in Black Africa had led to the accreditation of black diplomats in South Africa. The children of these diplomats were permitted to attend private schools. The first was the six-year-old daughter of the Malawian ambassador, Chipo Kachingwe, who was enrolled at Loreto Convent, Hillcrest, Pretoria in 1971. In all this, however, there was something of an anomaly. If the schools could accept the children of black people from outside South Africa, then surely it was not logical that their facilities should be denied to the country's own black people who had far greater need of them?

In addition, there was the problem of counter-witness. The

'Challenge to the Church Schools', the document produced by the Church Schools Action Group in 1963, had warned that 'The failure of the Church schools hinders the work of Christ in Africa. Many people reject Christianity because they feel the Church is being hypocritical'. (Church Schools Action Group. 1963). A contributor to the Roman Catholic newspaper 'The Southern Cross' declared in 1972 that '...to maintain in full view of the vast majority of its members an institution which is contrary to the spirit of Christianity and which, by its co-operation with the existing order, gives grave scandal, both inside and outside the Church'. (Zacharewicz, J., 1972, p.48).

These changing attitudes were quite clearly reflected in 'The South African Catholic Education Study' conducted by Sister Augusta Neal in 1972 at the request of the Southern African Catholic Bishops Conference and the Catholic Education Council. The study ranged fairly widely over issues such as finance, staffing and the provision of schools as well as surveying the attitudes of clergy, religious congregations and lay people to Catholic education in South Africa. The racial question, however, figured fairly prominently in the report. Sister Neal found that 70% of religious engaged in education worked in white schools whereas the whites only represented 30% of the Catholic population. 'The schools in their present distribution of 70% for 30% and 30% for 70% do not reflect the presence of the Church in society according to its present commitment to the development of people'. (Neal, M.A., 1972, p.7).

Among its recommendations, the report suggested opening white schools to pupils of all races. Integration in the schools had thus become urgent, but it had also become possible.

According to Archbishop Hurley, 'The issue of Catholic school integration became a practical and real one only in 1973 when the Peace and Justice Committee of the Archdiocese of Cape Town, after discussions with Catholic educators on March 3rd...submitted their conclusions of these discussions (to Cardinal McCann and to the SACBC). The conclusions called for a test case on integration in a Catholic school'. (ECAR, 1976). The Chairman of the Commission for Catholic Education, Liturgy and Catechism of the Bishops' Conference referred the matter to ECAR which, in 1974, responded with a resolution '...that a request be made to the Southern African Bishops' Conference to foster a more vigorous programme of racial reconciliation and undertakes to do all in its power to... promote the programme in so far as it affects Catholic schools'. (ECAR, 1976).

In 1973 the newly-formed Association of Private Schools obtained a new legal opinion on the admission of pupils of all races. It was a long and involved opinion but the main conclusion was that while it was clearly illegal to admit Africans, it might be possible to admit Coloureds and Indians provided that the necessary permits were obtained. The Anglican Archbishop then applied to the government to 'accept suitably qualified coloured children as scholars' in a number

of Anglican schools. (ECAR, 1976).

In July 1974, the SACBC set up the Department of Schools. At its first meeting, segregation in schools was declared to be '...becoming more and more of an embarrassment to the Church in general and religious in particular'. (ECAR, 1975). ECAR Secretary, Sister Louis Michael, was called upon to prepare a position paper.

It is clear that the religious orders fully supported these moves. In 1975 the National Council of Religious, representing all religious working in South Africa including those working in education, adopted the following resolution: 'That the time has come for those Catholic schools which have hitherto accepted only white pupils to give a practical Christian witness to social justice by admitting non-white Christians into their schools'. (ECAR, 1976). The Irish Dominican sisters of Springfield Convent, Cape Town, announced that they were to give practical effect to this by admitting a number of coloured pupils in 1976. Irish Dominican Schools in the Eastern Cape followed suit: both the Holy Rosary Convent and St. Dominic's Priory in Port Elizabeth were reported as having admitted pupils who were not white in January 1976. (Eastern Province Herald, 20.1.76.).

In April, 1976, the Department of Schools resolved that '...an approach be made to the Government with a view to negotiation as soon as possible. This is considered the first and most

vital step, for it is only in the light of the Government's reaction to the Church's intention to go ahead with the policy of integration that all subsequent steps can be finalised'. (ECAR, 1977(5)).

Later in 1976, representatives of the Roman Catholic schools presented a report of their activities in this field to the Conference of Headmasters and Headmistresses. The Conference expressed admiration for what had been achieved by the Catholics and resolved unanimously that 'This Conference requests the Association of Private Schools to take immediate and urgent steps to appoint a special commission to investigate from every possible angle the admission of all pupils irrespective of race to our schools'. (HMC, 1976(1)). The Anglican Archbishop of Cape Town took the case to the Government on behalf of the Conference schools, while the Catholic bishops continued their negotiations. The outcome of the negotiations was by no means a foregone conclusion. In December the Minister of Bantu Education, M.C. Botha, declared emphatically that 'It is not the intention of the Government to change its education policy or application thereof in respect of different population groups or to consider a change'. (Sunday Tribune, 12.12.76). Botha, however, was part of the old guard and was nearing retirement; there were other opinions within the cabinet. By April, 1977, ECAR was able to report that 'The Government and its supporters are divided on the question of open schools and there are indications that the Government will permit open schools'. (ECAR, 1977(3)).

Such indications were clearly important. The legal opinion given to the Department of Schools by Advocate J.A. d'Oliviera advised that '...such attendance could take place under the authority of a permit. The question was one of policy not of law'. (ECAR, 1977(5)). The law gave the government sufficient discretionary power to grant permission for pupils of other races to attend white-registered private schools; the question was whether the cabinet would agree to grant the necessary permits to make it possible.

In 1977 some Catholic schools again went ahead and granted admission to pupils of other races without official sanction; the Conference schools adopted a more cautious approach and waited. The Minister of Education was prepared to accept that pupils admitted illegally by the Catholic schools need not be withdrawn and later in the year suggested that they might enrol further such pupils for 1978 provided that the numbers were not higher than those of 1977 and that there was no undue publicity. (ECAR, 1977(4)). Then, in December, 1977, the cabinet reached a decision that was communicated to all private schools. Pupils of all races, including Africans, could be admitted under 'exceptional circumstances' and permission should be sought from the Director of Education in each province.

Both Catholic and Conference sources indicate that in the Cape and Natal the Directors were sympathetic and that despite technical problems there was considerable co-operation. In the Cape in particular, the Education Department showed

considerable interest in the 'experiment'. (HMC, 1978(1)).

391 pupils of other racial groups were admitted to Cape private schools in 1978. (The Star, 17.1.79).

In both cases the provincial authorities expressed gratitude for the constraint and co-operation shown by the private schools in this matter.

In the Transvaal, however, the Administrator, Sybrand van Niekerk, proved to be intransigent. To him, apparently, 'exceptional circumstances' meant only 'highly exceptional circumstances' and the admission of pupils of all races was made difficult. In 1979, at a time when the Cape authorities had allowed more than 400 pupils of other racial groups to enrol at white-registered private schools, van Niekerk in the Transvaal approved 4 of the 219 applications that had been submitted to him. (Eastern Province Herald, 24.1.79). The Catholic schools, committed to open admission, enrolled about 200 pupils regardless, while a spokesman for the Conference schools said that '...until the Transvaal and the Orange Free State authorities changed their policies, the decision for private schools in these provinces to admit other races was "a matter of conscience"'. (Eastern Province Herald, 5.9.79). St. Barnabas College, St. Peter's Preparatory, St. Stithian's College and Woodmead decided to admit pupils of other races, while other Conference schools in the Transvaal continued their cautious 'wait and see' approach. (Eastern Province Herald, 5.9.79).

A further boost for open schools came with the Education and Training Act of 1979. There had, since 1977, been some concern that despite the cabinet decision, the admission of Africans to white-registered private schools was illegal in terms of a variety of legislation and would not stand up in a court of law. The Education and Training Act in sub-section 8 (3) (d) gave the provincial administrations the legal right to grant permission for the admission of African pupils to white schools registered with the province.

The opening of Catholic and Conference schools to pupils of all races was not, however, purely a political problem; it was a social, economic and cultural problem as well. In the first place, as Deane Yates, Headmaster of Maru a Pula in Botswana and onetime Head of St. John's College, pointed out to the HMC in 1980, the opening of private schools needs to be seen 'not as the end of the story but the beginning...if the aim is to accelerate social change through a multiracial environment in schools...then this must be a continuous process. A token or nominal enrolment of other races involving a handful of children would have dangerous side effects'. (HMC, 1980(1)). He expanded on this by saying that 'the education of a child of one race, if he is in relative isolation among the children of another race, will prise him away from his own people. It will not...remould him into the likeness of the race which is fostering him...he will be neither fish nor fowl and, when he reaches manhood, he will find it difficult, if not impossible, to identify himself with his own people whom he is committed to

serving...)). Such a solution would, in his view, be 'potentially more dangerous and harmful than the principle and practice of uniracial education'. (HMC, 1980(1)).

He went on to say that 'It is not the aim in a non-racial school to mould and stamp the children of other races into the mould and stamp of the white man, nor vice versa. Rather a non-racial community ought to consist of a reasonable proportion of all the races...'. (HMC, 1980(1)).

It was not, however, simply a problem of the proportion of the various races in the school.. Education in white schools '...is devised and planned from an exclusively white/western perspective...'. (ECAR, 1978(2)). When the Catholic Resource Team, established to prepare Catholic schools for open admission, met with the Black Priests Solidarity Group, the latter made it clear that in view of this, changes were necessary, in particular in the field of African Studies, so that there might be a 'mutual sharing of cultural riches.' (ECAR, 1977(3)). Sister Brigid Flanagan, secretary of the Department of Schools, told Major Superiors of teaching orders that 'We need the introduction of a completely new educational policy and programme which will include black cultural values as well as white in such a way that black pupils will not merely be assimilated into the existing system but that they will remain authentic blacks enriched by western culture...'. (ECAR, 1977(1)). Consequently the Catholic schools are spending a considerable sum of money to re-orientate teachers

different principles here: the Catholics provide financial aid for blacks; the Conference schools make no special provision.

The open school is a new and dynamic feature of South African education. It is still in its infancy and conclusions are almost impossible to draw. While few hold that they represent the solution to the problem of the educational, social, economic and political inequalities in South Africa, it is one of the major contributions that these schools have made to education in this country. As the Catholic Resource Team commented, the open schools, '...are in a unique position to provide a model for future South African schools'. (ECAR, 1977(3)).

Deane Yates put it more forcefully. What has happened in private schools in South Africa, he observed, '...is so profound in its importance as to be epoch-making'. In admitting pupils who are not white the private schools '...have set an example and taken a lead as a result of which they have become the instruments of social change. They are postulating that children of all races can grow up and be educated together: they are postulating too that it is on a multi-racial basis that the society of Southern Africa ought ultimately to be founded and in so doing they imply that the alternative of separate development is not immutable, but rather, at the least rating that it has been found wanting'. (HMC, 1980(1)).

CHAPTER VIII

THE ECONOMICS OF PRIVATE EDUCATION

The greatest problem that the private schools have had to face has been financial. In the early days when money was required to provide ever more buildings to house the rapidly growing numbers it was often hard to find. More serious, however, was the ever-increasing need to compete with growing state education as far as facilities, equipment and more particularly, the salaries offered to teachers were concerned. More recently a vital need to provide more bursaries has added to the financial difficulties of the private schools.

In view of their dependence upon private funds the private schools are particularly vulnerable to economic adversity in the country as a whole. 'Financial stringency is endemic in the private school movement,' wrote W D Wilson in 1961, 'Few if any of the private schools have not been on the brink of financial ruin at one time or another'. (Wilson, W.D., 1961(2)). Lack of endowment and the ever-increasing cost of providing education has placed these schools in a financially precarious position even during their more healthy periods.

Certain schools are more vulnerable than others. Girls' schools are particularly so for '...when money is tighter the girls have to stand down for their brothers'. (HMC, 1966(1)). Small schools find it extremely difficult to cope with a drop in numbers and more recently boarding schools have also become susceptible, partly because of a general trend away from boarding, but also because boarding is the most expensive form of private schooling.

How has private education been financed?

The cost of founding these ventures was usually met by individual proprietors or by the Church. Anglican diocesan schools were financed initially by the diocese in which they were established. In the case of the Catholic schools, the diocese usually bore the initial cost of establishing a school but was later re-imbursed by the religious congregation concerned once the school was running. (Brown, W.E., 1960, p.134). As the congregation expanded, the profits from a number of schools could be pooled in order to finance a new venture. In this way the mother-house assisted the daughter-houses.

The costs of capital expansion were met either by raising a loan, which appears to have been the usual method, though the loan may have been interest-free or low-interest depending on the source; or by obtaining a loan or grant from diocesan funds or church agencies. The most operative agencies in the field of education during the 19th century were the Anglican Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (SPG) and the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge (SPCK). During the early 20th century Anglican schools were also assisted by small grants and loans from the Pan-Anglican Thank-Offering Fund which was administered by the Provincial Council of Education of the Anglican Church. (Carter, M.W., 1955, p.15).

Towards the end of the 19th century, however, the mineral revolution in South Africa generated new wealth in this country, saw the creation of many great personal fortunes and of many wealthy and powerful mining houses. This was an important

development as far as the private schools were concerned because the mining houses and the mining industry were dominated by English-speakers and it was primarily from the wealthy English-speakers that their support came. In this way, therefore, wealthy individuals made considerable grants and loans to private schools either while they were alive, as was the case with diamond magnate Thomas Cullinan who gave substantial assistance to St John's College, or after they died when trusts were set up from their estates for educational purposes. The Rhodes Trust, Abe Bailey Trust, Beit Trust, Ernest Oppenheimer Trust and the estate of J W Jagger all made significant contributions to private education. On the whole, however, the Catholic schools have not received the same degree of support from these sources as have the Conference schools.

The mining houses also contributed in a number of ways to private education in South Africa. In some cases they made direct contributions to individual schools; in others, to a central fund such as the Industrial Fund for Assistance to Private Schools, and in other cases to educational organisations not specifically connected to private schools but which have nevertheless given assistance to them.

One such organisation was the Witwatersrand Council of Education which has made a significant contribution to private education in Johannesburg, Catholic and Conference. The list of schools assisted by the Council with grants and loans at one time or another and usually on a number of occasions, is impressive. (Horton, J.W., 1968, pp.75-92). In addition, Horton shows how the Council came to the aid of private schools during the Depression

years when they were at their most vulnerable, and not only saved some of them, but actually helped them to expand. (Hobton, J.W., 1968, p.82).

Another 20th century development has been the growth of individual and combined attempts in order to raise money for the purposes of capital expansion, and then in order to create trust funds. The pages of the individual histories of private schools in South Africa are filled with details of numerous special funds for the building of a new chapel, a new boarding house, a new classroom block and so on. Appeals for contributions to these funds were made largely to parents and past pupils.

In the mid-1950's a movement began among Conference schools and some Catholic schools to establish trust funds. Again the appeals were directed at past pupils and parents. As far as the Conference schools were concerned, W.D. Wilson recorded in 1961 that 'The results of these appeals were truly remarkable. Gifts totalled between R4 million and R4,5 million. Financial institutions were not approached, which makes it even more remarkable.' (Wilson, W.D., 1961(2)). Brother O'Neill wrote that a similar venture, the Christian Brothers Foundation Trust, initiated in 1965, had reached R228 672 of its projected target of R300 000, while an Associated Trust for schools run by the Christian Brothers, the Dominican Sisters and the Notre Dame Sisters had been launched in 1963 to raise money for capital expenditure. (O'Neill, J.C., 1971, pp.83-84; p.91).

These two Catholic trusts are indicative of two other developments in the financing of private education which characterised the 1960's. The first lies in the combined efforts of schools to

raise money and administer funds on a joint basis; the second is the use by the Christian Brothers Foundation Trust of a professional fund-raising company.

The first use of a professional company to raise funds seems to have been used by St Martin's Society in 1956 for the purpose of establishing St Martin's School, Rosettenville. The fund-raising was organised and planned by an American company. (St Martin's School, 1956).

The earliest attempt to bring together a group of schools to undertake a joint fund-raising campaign and the joint administration of funds accruing from it seems to have been made by R F Currey, Headmaster of St Andrew's College, in 1944. He drew up a plan for joint financial action on the part of the six Anglican boys' schools for submission to the Archbishop's Commission in 1944/5. The plan was rejected, partly through fears of loss of autonomy and partly because some schools had already embarked upon their own fund-raising plans. (Currey, R.F., 1971).

In 1958, however, the Conference schools in the Eastern Cape, St Andrew's Preparatory, St Andrew's College and DSG in Grahamstown formed the United Schools Trust to 'raise and administer a fund on a common basis', (United Schools Trust, 1958). Again a professional fund-raising organisation was used for this project. After consultation with the United Schools Trust a similar venture, the Four Schools Trust, was launched in the Western Cape in the same year. The four affiliated schools were St Cyprian's, Herschel, St George's Grammar and the Diocesan College. (Thompson, D., 1971 p.151).

The developments in education, particularly in the field of science, placed financial demands on all private schools that individual appeals, trusts and local joint action could not meet. While these ventures were continued, and still continue, a new form of financing private education developed - the creation of a national fund supported by contributions resulting from an appeal to industry.

The idea came from England where industrial firms had established a fund for assistance to science education in public schools. The Headmaster of Diocesan College, H Kidd, appears to have begun the investigations as to the feasibility of a similar fund in South Africa. 'I think it is well worth going into,' he wrote in 1957, 'since most of these firms have subsidiaries in the Union and the needs of our own private schools are just as great'. (Kidd, H., 1957).

The Conference schools decided that the Standing Committee of Associated Church Schools was in the best position to undertake the formation of such a fund. W D Wilson, Chairman of Anglo-American and of the Standing Committee was reported to be 'keenly interested' in the project as was Mr Harry Oppenheimer. (Currey, R.F., 1958). At a meeting in May 1958 W D Wilson called for thorough research and an assessment committee was appointed to conduct it. Following the report of this committee the Industrial Fund for Assistance to Private Schools was launched under the leadership of Oppenheimer.

The fund made two appeals to industry. The first raised R579 910, which was used to finance new facilities for the teaching of science

at thirteen senior boys' Conference schools. One of these schools, St Aidan's, Grahamstown, was also a Catholic school.

The second appeal to industry raised a further R373 132 in order to give similar assistance to thirteen senior girls' Conference schools and to create a teacher development scheme. (Industrial Fund, 1965).

The Roman Catholic schools created their own commission to assess the need for science facilities in Catholic boys' schools and the report of this commission was submitted to the trustees of the Industrial Fund in 1964. '...Sympathetic though the trustees were to this report they felt that they could not make a further appeal to industry to help the Catholic boys schools'. (Industrial Fund, 1966). They agreed, however, to give these schools R100 000 that had recently been withdrawn from the teacher development programme provided that the Catholic schools raised a minimum of R100 000 for themselves.

The Teacher Development Programme arose out of the Industrial Fund. A circular from the Fund in 1966 indicated that 'It had been the growing concern of all interested in education over the past years that the inadequacy of the supply of qualified teachers is becoming ever more serious in South Africa...As well as the increasing shortage of teachers is the fact that, with the needs of the modern industrial and commercial world ever expanding, many more specialist teachers are required'. (Industrial Fund, 1966). The second appeal to industry had, therefore, been designed in part to raise money for a staff development scheme. R100 000 was set aside for this purpose to be used in providing overseas travelling

fellowships for senior members of staff, overseas visitorships for heads of schools, financial support for the exchange of teachers with overseas schools, bursaries to teachers who wished to study further and for the financing of subject or special conferences. The R100 000 was to spent within five years.

The Standing Committee found itself unable to spend the R100 000 in this period and also believed that the scheme should be placed on a more permanent footing by investing the lump sum and spending only the interest. (Standing Committee, 1966(2)). The trustees did not agree to this, but did agree to prolong the programme by withdrawing the lump sum and instead allowing the money to come from the repayments on the loans granted to the schools by the Industrial fund. It was calculated that this would make R14 000 available annually and would ensure the continuance of the scheme for at least fifteen years. It is still in operation and the money is expected to last for some time yet.

The financial needs of the Conference schools were, however, sufficiently great to receive the attention of the newly-formed Association of Private Schools in 1974. The APS proposed that a second appeal should be made to industry. (HMC, 1974(1)). A questionnaire was sent out to all Heads in 1974 seeking their views on how such a fund could or should be used. The replies were diverse, ranging from computer education to the creation of a special school for gifted children. (APS, 1974). The current view, however, appears to be that the two most important areas of need are the provision of bursaries and the making available of funds for educational experimentation. To date the project has not

formally been launched and is still in the planning stages, but negotiations are proceeding and the Witwatersrand Council of Education has agreed to lead the appeal. (Clarke, G.C., 1979).

The Roman Catholic schools have also broadened the basis of their financial arrangements. Their priority has been the provision of bursaries and in meeting the challenge of the open schools. Since 1953 part of the proceeds of the Bishop's Lenten Appeal have been used on a national basis for the provision of bursaries. The establishment of the open schools in 1977 led to the creation of an Open School Bursary Fund in 1977/8 which was to a large extent financed by the German bishops and by a German Catholic organisation, Misereor. The fund stood at R60 000 in 1978 and 'steps would be taken to bring it up to R100 000 by the end of the year'. (ECAR, 1978(1)). Misereor also provided 80 000DM to finance the African Studies Project to be run by SACHED on behalf of the Catholic schools. (ECAR, 1978(1)).

In general, it is true to say that Catholic schools have, on the whole been less endowed than have the Conference schools. In general they have catered for a less wealthy group of parents, have received less benefit from commerce and industry, and they have shared their profits - the wealthier schools run by a particular congregation have helped to pay for the running of the poorer schools catering for less privileged pupils.

The whole question of financing private education is, however, closely tied up with the attitude of the state towards it. Private schools are and always have been adamant that they are entitled to state subsidies. The most constant argument put forward to support

this point of view is that parents of private school pupils are in effect 'taxed twice' - 'Like all other parents they too contribute in the form of taxation to the maintenance of provincial institutions. Nevertheless...they receive no benefit in return and, on the contrary, see fit to incur additional expense to themselves by contributing towards the maintenance of the private schools to which they send their children'. (Waterkloof House, 1953). Or, as Catholic Bishop Boyle put it when he opened de la Salle College in Victory Park, Johannesburg, 'We pay our taxes to support state schools and then have to pay fees in our private schools'. (Towey, J., 1972, p.79).

A second argument is that the state '...should recognise its debt to the parents of our boys and girls at least to the extent of the expense that would fall on the state if these boys and girls were sent to government schools'. (Snell, F.R., 1945). Private schools save the state money and should be compensated for this.

There is a third argument. If private schools have a democratic right to exist, then a society which '...leaves the support of private schools to doubly taxed private individuals puts the private schools at a serious financial disadvantage', and when 'so great is this disadvantage that such a society runs the danger of losing its private schools altogether', then, by an indirect process such a society is interfering with such a right. (Walsh, J., 1964, p.93).

There are two main problems as far as subsidies are concerned. The first is their availability; the second is the decision whether or not to accept them when they are available.

The choice of accepting or refusing state aid is complicated by the view that it is '...impossible to accept state aid without in some measure imperilling independence', (Archbishop's Commission, 1944/5), or, 'If we go out of our way to accept subsidies we are bartering away our independence and our claim to independence'. (Standing Committee, 1955(2)). State aid usually comes with strings attached. In some cases these strings are pulled and in some cases they are not. The safest principle to adopt was indicated by the Archbishop's Commission on Church Schools of 1944/5 which was appointed to enquire into the future of the Anglican church schools. This principle was that '...in cases where a Government grant is accepted, it should not be so employed that it could, at any time, be relinquished and not be regarded as a permanent source of income'. (Archbishop's Commission, 1944/5).

There seems little doubt that all private schools have needed and have wanted subsidies, but there remains a strong body of opinion, justified to some extent in terms of recent legislation, that the acceptance of a subsidy would mean a real loss of autonomy.

The availability of subsidies has varied from time to time and from province to province. In the 19th century subsidies were the order of the day in the Cape, where the early education system was based on a system of 'grants-in-aid-of-local-effort', but the condition that these grants would only be given provided that

religious instruction given in the schools was non-dogmatic made them unacceptable to Anglican and Catholic churches alike. Their schools, therefore, refused grants, although the Catholics did manage to reach a compromise with the second Cape Superintendent of Education, Dr Langham Dale, whereby certain Catholic schools were accorded a 'privileged status' and given a grant, albeit lower than the one received by the secular schools. (Brown, W.E., 1960, p.35). Catholic schools in receipt of such grants were usually the parish schools, the so-called 'free' or 'poor' schools.

The colonial government of Natal followed this system of grants-in-aid but, unlike the Cape, there was no requirement that education should be non-dogmatic. In 1877, however, subsidies to the schools of the 'wealthier classes' were abolished and this meant that apart from two Roman Catholic parochial schools all went without a subsidy. (Vietzen, S., 1973, p.10).

In the Orange Free State subsidies to private schools of denominations other than Dutch Reformed were introduced in 1878 at a fixed sum, lower than that received by the Dutch Reformed schools.

Transvaal private schools began to receive subsidies during the 1880's on the condition that they opened the day with a prayer and Bible reading and taught Dutch as a subject. This assistance was described as having been 'liberal', but most of the Catholic and other church schools lost their subsidies in 1891 when Mansvelt added the new condition that all higher standards were to use Dutch as a medium of instruction.

Under the Milner regime, no subsidies were given to private schools in the OFS and Transvaal but the 1908 Orange Free State Education Act provided for subsidies to private schools which have continued ever since, while the Transvaal Education Act Further Amendment Ordinance of 1916 re-introduced subsidies for private schools in that province provided that they were not run for profit, were open to inspection and submitted certain returns.

All grants-in-aid in the Cape were abolished by the Consolidating Education Ordinance of 1921 excepting for the 'third class' schools. As only the third class Catholic schools were receiving them, this measure made no difference as far as the church schools were concerned.

Natal re-introduced subsidies in the Education Ordinance of 1942 'subject to such conditions as may be prescribed by the regulations or in any special case as the Administrator may determine', (Sub-section 22 Clause 3(a)). The Transvaal froze subsidies in the Consolidating Ordinance of 1953. Schools in receipt of subsidies at the time would continue to receive their portion of the R35 000 per annum that the provincial authorities froze for this purpose. This subsidy today, therefore, is not very substantial.

In 1979 the Cape re-introduced subsidies to private schools. The amount of the subsidy is not stipulated but at present it stands at R100 per pupil per annum, provided that such a pupil is a South African citizen and his/her parents reside in the Cape Province. It is not yet clear whether acceptance will imperil

autonomy to any significant extent, nor is it known how many schools have accepted it or are likely to accept it.

The Orange Free State has, therefore, been the only province that has consistently provided subsidies to private schools throughout the 20th century. Such subsidies have been generous and have been increased from time to time. Aid has not, however, been given without a fair degree of departmental control being exercised over schools which receive it. (Clarke, S.H., 1945; HMC, 1969(1)).

Natal has proved to be the most generous provider of aid and the least exacting. A subsidy of approximately R250 per pupil per annum currently increases the revenue of a school of 400 pupils by a substantial R100 000 per annum. Although the conditions attached involve a number of arbitrary and discretionary powers on the part of the Administrator, relations between the Natal private schools and the Natal provincial administration has long been cordial, apart from routine matters the strings have never been pulled, and there is no reason to believe that this situation will change in the near future.

The majority of private schools in South Africa are, however, located in the Cape and Transvaal. There can be little doubt that subsidies would be of considerable assistance to these schools. But even if they were offered, as in the Cape they have now been offered, the dilemma of whether or not to accept them would remain.

When it comes to day to day running costs, though, the most important source of revenue is not a subsidy but fees. All private

schools, apart from a handful of former 'third class' Catholic schools in the Cape, are fee-paying schools and most try to or have to meet their running costs from their fees. The fees at Catholic schools are comparatively low, largely on account of the fact that these schools have been staffed by religious congregations whose members claim no salaries and also because buildings, adornments and school grounds tend to be kept to a minimum. The financial pressure caused to the Catholic schools as a result of having to pay more and more in salaries to secular staff in view of the declining number of religious has in no small way contributed to the closing down of Catholic schools.

Yet the case of the Catholic schools well illustrates the core of the problem. In order to survive, private schools have to charge high fees, simply to enable them to meet their running costs. While some, including some Conference schools, notably St Martin's, can attempt and have attempted to reduce these running costs by maintaining simple buildings and limited grounds, even the least expensive of them cannot compete with free state education as far as costs are concerned. This has tended to limit the potential clientele of the private schools and has affected the type of education they provide.

In the first place, therefore, all private schools lay themselves open to the charge of being elitist schools in that only the wealthier members of the community can afford them, and secondly, their dependence upon fees for their running costs has laid them open to a dependence upon a certain number of pupils for their income, and hence they are dependent upon what Robert Birley termed 'the economics of the marginal boy'. (HMC, 1966(1)).

CHAPTER IX

ELITISM AND THE 'ECONOMICS OF THE MARGINAL BOY'

Elitism is nothing new in private education; most contemporary private schools were founded with the express intention of being elitist schools.

Private education developed in South Africa at a time when the concept of education for all was still going through its growing pains and largely confined, such as it was, to elementary education. Indeed, in the Victorian period, men were still agonising over what Disraeli called 'the two nations' and whether education for all was even desirable, particularly if all education were to be of a similar nature. (Birley, R., 1964, pp.9-13). It is therefore not surprising that while mission schools providing elementary education were open to all by virtue of their being free, private secondary schools in South Africa were specifically designed to cater for the 'upper levels' of society. For the most part, as will be shown, it is these secondary schools that have survived.

Most of the 19th and early 20th century Anglican foundations were expressly opened for 'the sons (and daughters) of Christian gentlemen' on the English public school model in order to provide an alternative for such people who would otherwise have sent their children to England to be educated. We read, for example, how Michaelhouse was initially 'dedicated to the ideal of Christian gentlemen', (Barrett, A.M., 1969, p.18); Rodean school was founded in 1904 specifically '...for daughters of the mining executives on the Reef who would otherwise have been sent abroad'.

(Rodean School, 1978). Even as late as 1964 'The aims of St Stithian's are to produce educated Christian gentlemen'. (Mears, W.G.A., 1964).

While parochial schools did offer education to poorer children, the provision of this type of education passed largely to the state and Vietzen's observation that in Natal 'Government schools catered for the less privileged colonists requiring only an elementary education', was generally true of the country as a whole. (Vietzen, S., 1973, p.).

Even the Roman Catholic Church, which held that '...one of the first duties of every parish priest is to establish a day school in order that Catholic children might receive Catholic education from their earliest years', (Vietzen, S., 1973, p.67), differentiated between rich and poor. According to Fuller, the original idea was '...that all Catholic children would attend the parish school for primary education', and that the Convent High of the parish was exclusively for those who could afford secondary schooling for their children. (Fuller, A.F.J., 1943, pp.10-11). This system was, however, short-lived. 'Class distinction was very much alive among the English colonists of the Eastern Province and Natal. The sisters, who at first were all from Europe, accepted class distinction as a matter of course; and so, before very long, primary departments were opened in every Convent High School to receive the children of the "better class"...'. (Fuller, A.F.J., 1943, p.9). Again, in most cases the parish schools became government schools or subsidised schools and thus the Catholic Convent schools, along with the other Church

schools, became primarily the schools of the more affluent.

The concept that private education was necessary for social reasons and that state education was socially as well as academically inferior is, therefore, rooted in 19th century class consciousness. That it has survived as an unfortunate relic in the 20th century will become clear later. One thing is fairly certain - social consciousness has been among the most important reasons for the support of private education in South Africa, and hence for its continued existence.

For the schools themselves, however, it has become a source of considerable embarrassment. While the older churches may well have accepted and perpetuated class distinction before the First World War, it became increasingly a matter for concern after it. As far as church education in South Africa was concerned, the awareness grew that the moral and spiritual training offered in Christian schools was as important and as valuable to the poor as it was to the rich.

The Conference schools, with higher costs than the Catholic schools, were particularly affected by this problem. It has been a matter of concern to them for much of this century. At the first meeting of the Conference in 1929 it was resolved that 'the Provincial Board of Education (of the Anglican Church) be asked to enquire exhaustively into means for making possible for Christian parents of moderate incomes to provide education for their children at Church schools...'. (HMC, 1929(1)). In 1942, the Rev Cecil Tugman, Head of St George's Grammar and secretary to the Provincial Council

of Education of the Anglican Church wrote that 'I see two alternatives before the private schools. First, to co-operate with the (Provincial) Department and by their help be enabled to maintain our schools at a price within the range of the average man, or second, failing such co-operation, to raise fees and become the rather unhappy servants of the very wealthy, ekeing out a precarious existence as 'caste' schools'. (Tugman, C.G., 1944).

In his evidence to the Archbishop's Commission on Church schools of 1944/5, F R Snell, Rector of Michaelhouse, commented that '...if the value of our schools were generally recognised, it should follow that no boy should necessarily be excluded from them solely by the inability of his parents to pay the fees'. (Snell, F.R., 1945). In 1958 the main address at a special conference of Heads in Cape Town maintained that 'They are...largely open to the just charge of being class schools'. (Standing Committee, 1958(2)).

By the 1970's these opinions were being expressed in much stronger terms. Francis Wilson declared that '...independent schools are a bad thing if they become by and large ghettos of privilege for the very rich'. (Wilson, F., 1971). R G Slater, Headmaster of Hilton, stated that '...we have no desire to become a country club for the pampered children of privileged homes'. (Slater, R.G., 1971). G D Dods, Headmaster of St George's Grammar, was of the opinion that '...we dare not lay ourselves open to the justifiable criticism that we only cater for sections of society'. (Dods, G.D., 1971).

Despite lower fees and more liberal assistance to needy pupils the Roman Catholic schools have not escaped the same problem, notably in recent years. The Catholic Education Study reported in 1972 that 'If the Catholic schools keep going for as long as possible they will even more rapidly than now become private schools for the upper classes and those socially mobile people who want an alternative to government schools'. (Neal, M.A., 1972). In 1974 Sister Genevieve of the Catholic Education Council (now ECAR) told the HMC that 'Owing to rising school fees our private schools find themselves catering more and more for the already privileged who can afford to meet expenses...'. (HMC, 1974(1)). The document 'The Catholic School', produced by the Sacred Congregation for Education in Rome in 1977, commented that 'In some countries, because of local laws and economic conditions, the Catholic schools run the risk of giving counter-witness by admitting a majority of children from wealthier families'. (SACBC, 1977, p.21).

The realisation of the problem is one thing; finding a solution is another. The most obvious one, and the one that has been under consideration for almost as long as has the concern over wealth, has been the provision of bursaries. The fact that the problem of exclusion of all but the better-off remains a problem and is still a major point of criticism of the private schools, particularly the Conference schools, as they enter the 1980's indicates how limited the success of the attempts to solve the problem in this way have been.

Most Conference schools offer a certain number of bursaries to deserving pupils and reductions in fees to certain categories of pupils. These categories vary, but generally they include siblings,

the children of teachers at other Conference schools and the children of clergymen. This provision is at present limited, however, and even in the most generous of cases pupils receiving some form of financial assistance are unlikely to account for more than 25% of the total enrolment.

The Catholic schools have always been more flexible in granting reductions of fees. There is always a reduction, and sometimes an increasing reduction for each child of the same family attending the school, while fees are often substantially reduced or even waived in certain deserving cases of need. Compassionate reductions, however, must of necessity be limited if the school is to continue to function and have become more difficult to grant as the number of religious has dropped and running costs are pushed ever-higher by the need to pay more and more teachers salaries. An important step, however, been the creation of the Open Schools Fund which provides bursaries for deserving children of lower income groups with particular reference to the black community.

The reasons for this failure to provide a sufficient number of bursaries to open the private schools to all on the basis of merit lies largely in the economic position of the schools themselves. Their financial position has not made it possible for them to generate the money necessary for such a task and has also tied them to the wealthier people on account of their need for the fees they pay. If bursaries are to be provided on anything like an adequate scale, the money will have to be generated by sources other than the schools themselves.

The implications of the high fees, the lack of bursaries and the strained financial position of the schools themselves are considerable. Unsubsidised schools and the Conference schools in particular depend for their existence upon the 'economics of the marginal boy'. Robert Birley explained this phrase to mean that '...a school built for, say, 300 pupils is in a satisfactory financial position if it has 300 and is in a difficult position if the numbers drop to 290'. (HMC, 1966(1)). The private schools are the product of private enterprise and the 'economics of the marginal boy' makes them particularly sensitive to public opinion and what might be styled in crude commercial terms as 'the market'. This means, as the Headmistress of DSG Grahamstown put it in 1966, '...the necessity of having to watch where the money is coming from and to ensure its continuance. Accordingly policy has to be continually held up against the question "What will the parents say?"...We are always in a position of having to sell ourselves which is not only crippling but demoralising. "I dare not" has to wait upon "I would"'. (HMC, 1966(1)).

At the heart of the problem there lies an apparant discrepancy between the philosophy of the schools themselves and the type of education they wish to provide in accordance with that philosophy, and the outlook of the parents who send their children to the schools and their expectations of what the schools should provide. The 'economics of the marginal boy' makes the schools necessarily sensitive to the demands of the parents. This was well-illustrated during the 1960's by the Conference schools' reluctance to admit

pupils of other races for fear that parents would withdraw their children.

No scientific study has been conducted into the reasons why parents support private schools and the indications are that there would probably be as many reasons as there are parents. Mr Graham Clarke, APS/HMC secretary, mentioned a survey that had been conducted some years ago at Rodean school in Johannesburg to try to establish some basic set of reasons for parental support. The results were totally inconclusive. (Clarke, G.C., 1979). Informed guesses are, however, very similar in their assessments of these reasons and show very little variation over a period of fifty years.

Again the Conference schools are a more complex problem than the Catholic schools. The requirement of the Catholic church before Vatican 11 that every Catholic child should be in a Catholic school made religion the prime reason for parental support of Catholic schools. Even in 1972 the majority of respondents to the survey conducted by the Catholic Education Study felt that the Catholic school should be supported because of its religious and moral training. (Neal, M.A., 1972, p.8). It should be noted, however, that the respondents included teachers, clergy and parents. that only 18% of those surveyed replied and that the proportion of parents to teachers and clergy among those who did reply is not known. The decline in the number of pupils seeking education in Catholic schools and the rise in the proportion of non-Catholic pupils suggests that the reasons for parental support of Catholic

may be more complex and varied than this survey would suggest. This is particularly likely in the case of the convent schools where the 19th century tradition that '...a convent school was the appropriate place for a girl of a well-bred family to be educated', (Vietzen, S., 1973, p.149), has to some extent lingered on.

The reasons for parental support of the Conference schools have been variously assessed over the years. In 1940 F R Snell, Rector of Michaelhouse, told the HMC that he believed the support for Conference schools was due to the fact that 'Some parents desire to secure, or conversely to avoid, certain company for their children. The basis of differentiation may be social, racial or economic'. The other reason was 'A real or fancied inferiority of the state schools'. (HMC, 1940(1)). In 1966 the Headmistress of DSG Grahamstown, some of whose remarks in this connection have already been mentioned, explained that 'Because of the size of our fees our doors are barred to some girls whose parents would honestly like them to receive the kind of education which we would like to be giving. Instead we take those who come to us for very different reasons'. She illustrated this by quoting from a discussion she had had with some of her senior girls in which she had asked them why they thought parents should send their children to private schools. The reply was 'So that we should meet the right sort of people'. As far as this Headmistress was concerned, 'This is surely only an echo of what they hear their parents say. One father told me he was sending his daughter to DSG so that she might meet the right sort of boys, so these are really the kind of children

we are getting'. What the parents want, she continued, is that the school should '...never do anything which could remotely be thought of as improper and that it should get their daughters through examinations'. (HMC, 1966(1)).

In 1979 the Secretary of APS/HMC was of the opinion that one of the main reasons why parents send their children to private schools was '...a not insignificant social aspect', in that children are sent there to mix with the right sort of people but also because of a superior social status attached to having children educated at private schools'. (Clarke, G.C., 1979).

The only independent study was conducted by the Spro-Cas Education Commission in 1972. Their broad assessment of the reasons for the support of private schools was that 'Some white parents are anxious that their children should learn in a school which is committed to a particular religious denomination. Others send their children to private schools to follow a family tradition. Others do not want their children to be taught through syllabuses which they believe reflect CNE philosophy or by teachers who are adherents of such a philosophy... Some look for better teaching or smaller classes, while others are more concerned with the "useful" social contacts their children will make. Yet others hope that their children will imitate acceptable accents or receive good games coaching'. (Spro-Cas, 1972, p.41).

The differing expectations of parents and the very real need to cater for them to at least some extent have had some important

results. In the first place, they have affected the public image that these schools project. In a book entitled 'Public Schools and Private Practice' published in 1963, John Wilson, himself a master at an English public school, analysed the nature of the image projected by the English public schools and the discrepancy between this image and the real nature and aims of these schools. Some of the features he analyses as being essential to the public image of the public school are not dissimilar to those which have been presented by their South African counterparts, the Conference schools. The image has changed somewhat over the past seventeen years, but it may be relevant to look at it first in the context of the 1960's and then to look at the public image that is currently being presented.

Public image is conveyed through brochures, prospectuses, school magazines and school histories. In the early 1960's, Wilson found that the English public schools projected, through these channels, the academic nature of the schools, their examination successes, the success of their products in obtaining scholarships and the impression that the staffs were composed of 'intellectual heavyweights'. The sporting side was also given prominence. This is also true of the Conference schools in South Africa whose prospectuses stressed their academic nature, whose public pronouncements emphasised their academic results, and whose histories almost inevitably contain a chapter, or at least a list of the Springboks they had produced. In both cases, stress was laid on the age of the schools and the aesthetic magnificence of their buildings and estates.

The accent in South Africa has shifted somewhat to even greater stress on the type of education they provide. Examination results are still very important, but new factors such as the smaller classes, favourable pupil-teacher ratio and the freedom to experiment appear to be frequently stressed as well. Something of the old image remains, however.

It would seem significant, though, that the underlying philosophy and Christian character of the schools do not appear to have a prominent place in the public image.

Wilson commented that '...this is in my view not the fault of the schools themselves, but of their clientele. From the economic point of view...the public schools are business firms... They have to advertise, to attract clients, to make the sort of public appearances which are expected and approved'. (Wilson, J., 1963, p.26).

Yet such a public image may very well attract the wrong kind of people for the wrong kind of reasons and conversely, may discourage the right kind of people who have the right kind of reasons for seeking private education. It also leads, as Wilson suggested, to a conflict between the public image and the private practice; between the ethos (or lack of it) of the parents and the ethos of the school.

That this has happened and that it has had important effects is fairly evident, if only in a negative way, in the form of

criticisms that these schools have not succeeded in achieving their basic aims; that they achieve the aims of the parents is proved by their continued support. The main speaker at a special conference of heads of private schools in Cape Town in 1958 indicated that '...after a century of endeavour the volume of leadership produced by the private schools has not been what might have been expected'. (Standing Committee, 1958(2)). In the same year the Anglican Archbishop of Cape Town expressed the opinion that 'In the narrow vocational field I am disappointed to discover so few ordinands (from Conference schools) and in public life generally it seems to me that old boys of our great schools have, on the whole, contributed very little. Only too often it would appear that membership of these schools has been regarded as a private privilege and not as a training for public service'. (de Blank, J., 1958). In 1959, Canon Peacock, Headmaster of St George's Grammar, commented that '...when a school is regarded as a snob school one often finds in place of the Christian Gospel and the Christian virtues of faith, hope and charity, a mixture of Greek stoicism and pelagianism with its attendant virtues of courage, leadership and stiff-upper-lipism'. (Peacock, H.H.E., 1959).

In addressing the HMC in 1967, Mr Frank Robb explained that 'The true value of our schools is best tested by looking at our old boys and girls ten years after they have left. We shall find much to be proud of but no room for complacency...It is the ideal of service which is lacking...Cannot we convince them that the drama of life is enriched through the ideal of service rather than through advancement in business or the professions?' (HMC, L967 (1)).

In 1975 Dr Roger Jarvis, first a pupil then a teacher at a Conference school, asked whether '...they will be training leaders in the future with a spirit of service to and a feeling of obligation towards South Africa or just leaders who will be the ones to earn more money than their counterparts?' (Jarvis, R.K., 1975). Professor Calvin Cook told the Conference in 1977 that 'In the present climate our scholars are brought up to keep privilege going', and that the success of the private schools should be judged '...not by the material success of their products, but by the number of priests, ministers, saints and even martyrs they produce'. (HMC, 1977(1)).

The image presented by the Catholic schools has been in a far lower key. School prospectuses, with few exceptions, are simple by comparison to the glossy, illustrated productions of the Conference schools and their information is kept more or less to essentials. The image has, however, shifted over the past fifty years. Prospectuses from the 1930's and 1940's tended to accent the 'physical and moral training' of pupils with little or no mention of religious training, even in the curriculum. This was either because it was simply implicit in the nature of Catholic schools that such religious education would be given and it was understood as being implicit by the community at large, or, the other alternative is that mention of religion was excluded in case fears of Catholic proselytism might put off prospective non-Catholic parents or draw undue attention from anti-Catholic sources.

By the 1960's the stated aims of Catholic schools began to become

more clearly Christian. Many convent schools, for example, stated in their prospectuses that they aimed 'to give a sound Christian education', and even where this was not stated, Christian Doctrine and Religious Knowledge were at least listed as being part of the curriculum.

Very little attempt is made to claim excellence in education as is the case of the Conference schools, or to illustrate the buildings or facilities of the schools. Centenary publications reflect on the image of service rather than success and it is not surprising to find greater stress laid on past pupils who have taken religious orders than on past pupils who have been prominent in other fields.

The fact that despite this there is evidence that the ethos of the Catholic school has to some extent been diminished by parental attitudes may seem a little surprising.

The Catholic Education Study of 1972 found that the awareness of the importance of the development of social consciousness in Catholic schools was low. (Neal, M.A., 1972, p.10). A similar opinion is evident from the correspondence over the merits and demerits of Catholic schools that appeared in the Catholic magazine the 'Southern Cross' in 1972. One of the correspondents, for example, claimed that Catholic schools '...are not doing anything notable in the manner of social formation and that they are turning out citizens who are not equipped to challenge the gross injustices of our social, political and economic systems'. (Zacharewicz, J., 1972, p.48).

As part of his 1972 dissertation, Zacharewicz also conducted a survey among matriculants at four senior Catholic boys' schools in Johannesburg. The survey consisted of a number of statements to which the boys were required to respond. On the basis of their responses Zacharewicz tried to determine the prevailing attitudes towards Catholic education among a section of those receiving it. One of his main comments regarding these attitudes was that 'It was surprising to find no explicit reference in the reasons for the involvement of the Church in education to the social teaching of the Church on personal obligation towards others, towards the poor, the needy and the oppressed. This suggests that none of the pupils gave a reason which indicated that the Church should involve itself in education to promote social justice. Instead the pupils concentrated on the Church's role in producing good individual Catholics, but not Catholics who would express themselves as socially-minded Christians with a personal obligation towards others'. (Zacharewicz, J., 1972, p.81).

It is suggested that there are many reasons for this and that the 'economics of the marginal boy' is only one factor, and possibly not as important a factor in the case of the Catholic schools as it is in the Conference schools. Catholic schools are part of a determined and defined structure that, while it cannot protect them from economic adversity, can offer at least some protection against becoming too heavily influenced by the wishes and demands of parents.

There are, however, a number of other problems. In the Catholic

schools, rising fees have led to a more limited clientele which, being relatively wealthy and socially mobile, may differ in outlook to the schools themselves.¹ Secondly, the decline in the numbers of religious at Catholic schools must, of necessity, affect the ethos, however aware Catholic educationists are of the problem, and however much they may be trying to ensure that lay teachers share their ideals and outlook.

Thirdly, the ethos is necessarily affected by the world outside the schools. The homes from which the children come influences the corporate outlook of the pupils. Changing religious attitudes in the community as a whole must be important in influencing the ethos of the private schools, Catholic and Conference.

¹The principal of a convent school in the northern suburbs of Johannesburg stated that parental attitudes were the biggest stumbling-block in her efforts to develop a greater social consciousness among her pupils.

CHAPTER X

RELIGION IN THE CHRISTIAN PRIVATE SCHOOL

The underlying purpose of the Christian private schools has always been religious. From the time when Anglican Bishop Robert Gray declared in 1850 that his Diocesan College was to be '...a great engine for the extension of the pure faith of Christ throughout this part of the African continent', (Church Schools Action Group, 1963); when Catholic Bishop Thomas Grimley declared in 1868 that '...the battle of the Church is to be fought in the school room', (Boner, K., 1980, p.224), from the 19th century to the present, 'To have a spiritual foundation...must be the first and minimum requirement of a private school. That is its biggest *raison d'être* and its greatest advantage over state schools'. (Stern, M.A., 1956).

To a greater or lesser extent all the private schools with which this thesis is concerned believe in a Christian-humanist philosophy of education, teach the Christian faith, encourage its practice and aim to create an environment in which it can flourish. Of all the goals to which these schools aspire, the religious one is the most important, but it is also the most difficult to attain.

'For more than two centuries,' wrote Catholic scholar Christopher Dawson in 1961, 'Western civilisation has been losing contact with the religious traditions on which it was originally founded and devoting all its energies to the conquest of the world by economic and scientific techniques...'. (Dawson, C., 1961, p.169). It has meant, in his view, '...a world of make-believe in which the figures of the cinema and the cartoon-strip appear more real than

the figures of the Gospel; in which the artificial cycle of wage-earning and spending has divorced men from direct contact with the life of the earth and its natural cycle of labour and harvest; and in which birth and death and sickness and poverty no longer bring men face to face with ultimate realities, but only bring them into closer dependence upon the State and its bureaucracies, so that every human need can be met by filling in the appropriate form'. (Dawson, C., 1961, p.175). Allowing for the degree of generalisation here, Dawson's point is at base a valid and universal one. In addition to it, he also contends that a majority of people in his country, England, were 'indifferent' to religion. (Dawson, C., 1961, p.172). That this is substantially true in South Africa as well is born out by a survey conducted by The Star in 1973 which showed that not more than 5% of English-speaking whites actually 'practised' Christianity, presumably in the sense of going to church. (Lewin, J.S.J., 1974, p.183). Long before this, the Anglican Archbishop of Cape Town told the HMC that '...the weakness of the English-speaking section of this country is that it lacks faith'. (HMC, 1950(1)).

The implications for the Christian private schools are twofold. In the first place, it means that '...so many of the boys and girls come from homes where there is no faith'. (HMC, 1950(1)). This is particularly true of Conference schools but even the Catholic schools are not immune, largely in the case of the non-Catholic pupils.

For the Conference schools, though, it has been a problem of long standing. Margaret Snell of the Christian Education Movement found in 1940 that only between 20% and 30% of pupils attending girls' Conference schools came from homes where religion was practised. (HMC, 1940(1)). The proportion of children from similar homes today is certainly far lower than this. (Clarke, G.C., 1979). Consequently, A M Barrett's finding that at Michaelhouse 'Christianity seemed foreign to the lives of many boys', would seem to be of fairly general application (Barrett, A.M., 1969, p.182), and the 1940 assessment made by Margaret Snell that '...the religious life of the school has to be created almost from zero', (HMC, 1940(L)), is even more the case forty years later.

The second implication is that the majority of parents who send their children to these schools are not sending them there on account of their religious convictions. This is fairly evident from the discussion on the reasons for the support for private schools in Chapter IX above. All this is not to say that there may not be a great deal that is attractive to parents about the Christian environment aimed at by these schools, particularly in its moral values, discipline and respectability, but the religious nature of the schools is not, as such, the main reason for parental support.

This in turn means that the Conference schools, for example, '...are constantly being confronted with a demand for education that is purely utilitarian. The only concern of parents is that their children should matriculate or acquire some technical skill in order that they may 'get on' in life...'. (Selby-Taylor, R., 1962)

Dr Jarvis found in 1975 that 'The small sample of South African parents I encountered during my brief visit (to South Africa) were not really interested in the education little Johnny was getting, but whether he could beat the system of examinations pertaining thereto', and that 'I did not find any questions being raised by parents about the quality of their childrens' education in any absolute sense'. (Jarvis, R.K., 1975). Under these conditions, as Selby-Taylor pointed out, '...spiritual training becomes more difficult'. (Selby-Taylor, R., 1962).

Catholic schools have been less affected by this, particularly because a far higher proportion of parents support them for religious reasons and a far higher number of pupils come from homes where religion is practised than is the case with the Conference schools. Nevertheless, the growing proportion of non-Catholic children and the decline in the numbers of Catholics seeking education for their children in private Catholic schools are partially indicative that the problem of religious indifference is extending to these schools as well. In any event, they have not been immune to the march of secularism and materialism. In 1972 Towey commented that 'In recent years all brothers are finding that the most important single task of their apostolate - formal teaching of religion - has become the most difficult...'. (Towey, J., 1972, p.99). The reason for this was, he felt, that 'The teaching of religion is in competition, sometimes desperate competition, with other value-forming influences in the lives of their pupils'. (Towey J., 1972, p.100). Such other influences tend to be secular and

materialistic.

The home environment of the pupils and the 'indifferent' attitude of society towards religion is, however, only one aspect of the problem. Private schools have experienced difficulty in obtaining staff who are practising Christians. This problem will be investigated in some depth in Chapter XII below, where it will also be shown that the result has been that it has become difficult to create the necessary environment within the school itself. In the Conference schools it has often meant that 'religion, for many, falls low in the order of priorities. Games, the intellect, a variety of past-times, some wholesome and others not, all have priority'. (Wilson, W.D., 1960).

Another problem is that in some of these schools the tendency has been, as John Wilson found in English public schools, that religion is used '...as a social re-inforcement for the discipline and moral system as a whole'. (Wilson, J., 1963, p.70). Margaret Snell found this to be true in her 1940 survey of girls' Conference schools. (HMC, 1940(1)). It is a serious problem in that such an environment presents a distorted view of religion and religious practice and identifies it with a system of discipline and artificial rules that are likely to be rejected by a substantial number of pupils in their adolescent years.

Further difficulties have been experienced in the teaching of religion in Conference schools. In 1950 the Archbishop of Cape

Town told the Conference that their schools must '...get the very best people you can to represent religion in your schools', (HMC, 1950(1)), and it appears that the teaching of religion has been far from adequate. In 1940, Margaret Snell found that in the girls' Conference schools there was a '...lack of application of the critical faculty in relation to religious teaching', and '...an inability to make the vital link between religion and life'. (HMC, 1940(1)). Dr Edgar Brookes told the Conference in 1956 that 'We have to learn much more than we have learned what it means to be a Christian. So much of our teaching still fastens on the rational and conscious life and forgets the unconscious depths which it is impossible to control'. (HMC, 1956(1)). In 1960 W D Wilson wrote that '...limited progress has as yet been achieved in finding out how best to help boys and girls to become Christians in a permanent sense or, perhaps almost as important, how to avoid preventing boys and girls for all time from becoming Christians'. (Wilson, W.D., 1960).

In 1967 Frank Robb told the Conference that 'Religious teaching in many schools today is, to say the least of it, anaemic and irrelevant to living...A reluctance to shift from the great facade of doctrine to the simple faith of the love of God could mean the failure of these schools in the spiritual field'. (HMC, 1967(1)). Francis Wilson, at the same conference, said that, 'It seems to me that the theological training given in our schools is totally inadequate...theological training must be made far more relevant and it must move right to the centre of the work of the Church schools'. (HMC, 1967(1)). In 1972 the Anglican Bishop of Johannesburg suggested to the Standing

Committee of Associated Church Schools that in Anglican schools '...the worship, religious teaching and general attitude towards the Christian faith is extremely traditional'. (Stradling, L., 1972).

Problems in the teaching of religion have also affected the Catholic schools. In 1967, Mother Xavier Rountree told the HMC that Catholic priests and teachers '...were disturbed at the number of young people who, on leaving school, dropped their religion with algebra, geometry and the rest...The Christian message was not getting across to them'. (HMC, 1967(1)). She felt that the new directions in Christian teaching taken by the Second Vatican Council were changing this situation.

Vatican II's Declaration on Christian Education certainly did point to new directions. As Zacharewicz commented, 'The most distinctive characteristic of the Declaration is...the insistence upon the integration of Christian education into the whole pattern of human life in all its aspects. It affirms that Catholic education is part of the present world for the present world, not merely a preparation for the life to come...'. (Zacharewicz, J., 1972, p.1). In his view it introduced a new focus on what is dynamic rather than static. In this it attempted to meet some of the greatest problems of teaching religion in schools as indicated also by the comments on religion in the Conference schools.

The fact that 'Our concern now has to be less with Christian doctrine and more with Christian living...', (Towey, J, 1972, p.100),

did cause some difficulties. Towey summarises the reaction among the brothers: 'Some feel an acute sense of their inadequacy for the task...Some endeavour to compensate for this lack of competence by dismissing the new approach as unpractical, off-beat, avant-garde or dangerous. Others refuse to admit this problem and are unwilling to take advantage of the opportunities offered by re-training and further education. Others, again, accept the challenge and take personal initiatives to master new developments in theology and the teaching of religion'. Time and experience have, however, helped to find a balance between old and new and to solve some of the problems caused by the new approaches to religious education in Catholic schools.

It is clear that religious teaching and the creation of a religious atmosphere, however difficult, is vital for all these schools if they are to be what they aim to be and achieve what they aim to achieve. For, '...unless you can turn out boys and girls with faith all your efforts will be in vain', (HMC, 1950(1)), and 'unless in some way...the soul is brought to stand in some real sense before God and to realise its need of God, we have failed'. (HMC, 1967(1)).

CHAPTER XI

EDUCATIONAL PERSPECTIVES

1. The 19th Century

The religious nature of the Christian private schools has to some extent helped to shape their view of education, but the social environment, parental expectation in particular, has been a powerful factor in determining the kind of education they offer.

19th century private education reflected the environment in which it developed. At a time when secondary education was only for the wealthy and when the growing wealthy and influential middle-class was demanding it for their children, the nature of that education tended to reflect their outlooks and interests.

Education in private boys' secondary schools during the 19th century tended to follow its English counterpart. Academic excellence counted for very little initially. What mattered was a 'liberal' education that would develop the mind and character, particularly the character. It was the ideal of the gentleman to which many of the schools aspired, though often they added the term 'Christian' to qualify the type of gentleman they wished to produce.

The first Headmaster of Hilton, we are told, 'impressed as all wise schoolmasters of his generation were by the example of Dr Arnold, his object was to train boys to be gentlemen of

honour more than to make them distinguished scholars'. (Hattersley, A.F., 1945, p.27). Of Michaelhouse, A M Barrett wrote that 'In the early days the emphasis was strongly on the physical and even the third headmaster, A W S Brown (retired, 1917) unhesitatingly put character before intellect'. (Barrett, A.M., 1969, p.52).

The curriculum of such schools, as was the case with the English public schools of the 19th century, was consequently strictly non-utilitarian and 'liberal' was interpreted to a point often close to irrelevancy. The curriculum was heavily rooted in the classics, subjects which were studied more because the discipline involved in studying them was thought to be beneficial to the development of character than that they had anything of value to impart. Herman Charles Bosman's essay on Latin in the school curriculum epitomises, while it gently satirises, the attitude towards the classics in general and Latin in particular that permeated 19th century private school education and which survived well into the 20th: 'The study of Latin builds character. If you have Latin throughout your school years, and you have enough of it, you will never, in later life, become decadent...And no matter how checkered your life may be; a thorough grounding in Latin during the formative years will pull you through every subsequent vicissitude'. (Bosman, H.C., 1964, pp.56-7).

The study of the classics was important for other reasons. There was a strong element of tradition involved - the classics had

been the substance of education for 1500 years and it would have taken more far-sighted men than Victorian schoolmasters to have questioned that it should have been otherwise. In addition, in South Africa, as in England, university entrance depended upon a pass in Latin at matriculation level until some time after the turn of the century.

Apart from the classics, the typical private school curriculum for the bulk of the 19th century included modern languages - more particularly English, French and Italian, which were taught in much the same way as Latin with all its declensions and conjugations. A smattering of History, Geography, the use of globes and usually some arithmetic and geometry accompanied these studies.

The curriculum, however, was only a small part of the process of education, and only a small part of the process of developing a gentleman. As the century progressed, the Arnoldian goal of producing 'Christian gentlemen' gave way to '...a type exhibiting qualities of manliness, leadership, and the ability to play various team games involving balls of various sizes'. (Honey, R.de S., 1975, p.23). The ethos became one of what E C Mack termed 'muscular Christianity' (Simon, B., & Bradley, I., 1975, p.11). This was epitomised by the comment of Natal's Anglican bishop Baines on Michaelhouse in 1899. He stated that the school was dedicated to 'the ideal of the Christian gentleman...with the emphasis especially on zeal and strength rather than on gentleness and sensitivity'. (Barrett, A.M., 1969, p.18).

Equally important was the environment of the school itself. The boys' private school was essentially a boarding school following the English model complete with all the trappings of the house system, the prefect system and fagging. School uniform copied the collars, caps, boaters and blazers of Eton, Harrow and Rugby, despite the obvious differences in the climate. The schools were little communities within themselves with their own cultures and sub-cultures, geographically as well as socially isolated. It was assumed that this was as appropriate to South Africa as it was to England and certainly it was considered a 'proper' education in the minds of the parents who patronised the schools. The legacy it left created anomalies in the South African private school movement in the later 20th century.

The physical environment of the schools was also considered important in the South African context and it was as true of South African boys' private schools as it was of English public schools that '...the assumed superiority of the education provided at these schools should be matched at least by the magnificence of their buildings and estates'. (Simon, B., & Bradley, I., 1975, p.94).

In most of these aspects the South African private boys' schools changed very little until well into the 20th century. Curriculum development was, however, one exception. Curriculum development took to main forms: on the one hand there was a growing parental demand which the schools had to meet for their sons to be

presented for, and to pass, public examinations.

On the other hand, there was the growing importance of Science. A J Meadows and W H Brookes showed that in England, 'Curriculum development in Victorian public schools can be viewed in one light as a record of the progress made in undermining the entrenched position of the classics'. (Simon, B., & Bradley, I., 1975, p.96). The position was similar, though not identical, in South Africa. It was Science and the necessity for a scientific knowledge in an increasingly technological world that led to a breaking down of the predominance of the classics in the curriculum. Honey comments that 'Classics never achieved here (South Africa) the dominance they maintained in England and gave way earlier and more readily to new subjects...than in England', (Honey, R. de S., 1972, p.19); but the private schools remained bastions of the classics. Most senior boys' Conference schools kept Latin as a compulsory subject for at least two decades after the Second World War, though long before that Science had taken its place alongside, in many cases also as a compulsory subject.

For most of the 19th century, education for girls beyond the most elementary level was very different from that of their brothers and future husbands. For them, secondary education consisted largely of acquiring 'accomplishments' - a type of finishing-school approach. For much of the century, serious education was considered unnecessary for girls, whose function in life was to marry, rear and raise children and run a home.

If she was of a wealthy background, as many if not most were, then the likelihood of her having servants to help with the running of the home would leave her with considerable leisure time on her hands which it was felt should be gainfully employed in suitably feminine past-times. Such an education was, in Vietzen's words, 'determined by its need to make its victims attractive and socially acceptable'. (Vietzen, S., 1973, p.9).

The content of such an education might involve a good deal of drawing and painting, music (singing and pianoforte), needlework, embroidery and other domestic arts, together with English composition and conversational French. A few afforded opportunities for the study of little Arithmetic, History or Geography. In many cases these courses were offered a la carte.

Most active in the field of education for girls in the 19th century were the Catholic schools. Vietzen's research describes their work aptly: 'There was the social class consciousness, the emphasis on practical as well as so-called academic subjects, the attention to religious and moral training, the awareness of charitable duties, all under the devoted if restricted supervision of nuns'. (Vietzen, S., 1973, p.136).

Even as late as 1904 the renowned and much-respected Catholic educationist, Dr F C Kolbe, summed up the education offered by the convent schools in the following terms: 'We demand from our girls (1) a considerable amount of time and thought bestowed on the educational aspect of religion, (2) a great deal of time and

energy to be devoted to music, (3) a respectable knowledge of painting or other art-works, (4) a competence in needlework'. (Boner, K., 1980, p.269).

It was a fairly representative picture. 'Only a tiny minority of the girls in Catholic, Anglican or undenominational schools with which he (Dr Kolbe) came into contact, ever reached matriculation level, many foundering on the rocks of Mathematics, Latin, or other reputedly male disciplines'. (Boner, K., 1980, p.266).

It was not that education for girls was considered to be unimportant. Indeed, it was of 'infinite importance for the reason that these girls will be the future mothers of the country and to their influence we must look for the moulding of the coming generations'. (Leith, M., 1973, p.59). In this way it was 'vocational' education in a sense that boys' education was not.

The activities of the famed Miss Beale and Miss Buss in England during the second half of the 19th century did not pass without influencing girls' education in South Africa. Miss Beale's Cheltenham Ladies College provided a model for the Girls Collegiate School in Pietermaritzburg and the Durban Young Ladies Collegiate Institute, both founded in 1878, where, for the first time, anything like a meaningful academic curriculum was offered for girls.

By the end of the century, the movement towards a more academic

direction in education for girls was evident. Even though the first convent girls to matriculate in the Western Cape only did so at Springfield Convent in 1891, the nuns were aware of the need 'to conform to the public demands for successful examination results, even if certain feminine arts were abandoned in the process'. (Boner, K., 1980, p.270). Dr Kolbe, deeply involved in Catholic education in the Western Cape, despite his expressed reservations, instituted 'male' subjects such as Latin and Science in the curricula of convent high schools in this region.

2. The 20th Century

The patterns evident in private education towards the closing decades of the 19th century continued well into the 20th.

The curricula of boys' private schools before the Second World War and even after it to some extent, reflected the balance between the classics and Science that had been growing during the latter part of the 19th century. A fairly typical curriculum was this one from the Diocesan College in 1941: subjects in the senior school included English, Afrikaans or Greek, Latin, History or Greek, Geography, Mathematics and Science. Science consisted of Physics, Chemistry and Biology. It was a fairly spartan curriculum, but a very 'proper' one in the context of the 1940's when private educationists, particularly in the Conference schools, were viewing with alarm the growth of 'soft

options' in the matriculation examination. Not all private boys' schools in the 1940's offered Greek, and a few, the Christian Brothers' schools for example, provided a marginally broader curriculum with the addition of drawing, vocal and instrumental music, though these appear to have been the exception rather than the rule. Music was more often than not an optional extra that could be taken along with woodwork, elocution and boxing.

The schools' perception of their aims was relatively varied during the 1940's. There remained the 19th century goals of gentlemanliness, although the concept of what a gentleman was had shifted somewhat as is evident from the Christian Brothers' prospectus for their Kimberley school in 1940, which aimed at 'The moral training of the pupils and the formation of habits of regularity and industry, as well as of true gentlemanliness'. It is interesting to note how in this mining-town, the Protestant work ethic had become part of the aims of Catholic education and the concept of gentlemanliness.

Only the Jesuits at St Aidan's, the only exclusively Catholic school in the country, had really direct aims that tended to foreshadow the type of educational aims that would be expressed by most of the private schools in later years. Their aims were, '...training the character, mind and power of application in a fully Christian atmosphere'.

Others, such as St Andrew's College, did not really find it necessary to give any statement of aims at all. Their 1941

prospectus simply stated that St Andrew's '...may properly be described as a South African school on English public school lines'. In the minds of the school authorities, and presumably in those of the parents, that said everything.

The development of girls' education up to the Second World War reflected the conflict between the traditional 'social education' that characterised the 19th century, and the growing demand for academic education. Most schools offered a two-stream division of courses: academic and non-academic, the latter focussing on the 'domestic arts'. In some cases a third, commercial stream, was also offered.

The curricula also reflected this conflict. While most schools provided the same 'academic' courses as the boys' schools: English, Afrikaans, Latin, History, Geography, Mathematics and Arithmetic, there were a great many important differences. The teaching of French was almost universal in girls' schools and other modern languages such as German and Italian were often also included. Physical Science was a comparative rarity - Natural Science was considered more appropriate. Biology was seldom offered, whereas Botany was very common. Only three schools offered Greek: Durban Girls College, St Cyprian's and Rodean.

In addition, the curricula of these girls' schools was far broader than anything the boys' schools offered. Needlework was

was a standard compulsory in the lower forms of the senior schools, while a range of culturals, nearly always involving drawing, class singing and sometimes musical appreciation, were included in the curriculum.

Many schools also stated that they paid particular attention to 'speech training' and ' deportment' and subjects such as drill, Swedish drill, gymnastics and elocution were to be found in the curriculum of most schools. Most girls, too, had courses in Physiology and Hygiene.

To complement or supplement the curriculum, a wide range of extras were offered, far wider than anything offered at boys' schools. For an additional fee, girls could opt for learning a musical instrument, usually the piano or violin, painting, ballet dancing, ballroom dancing and in some cases, horse riding. Elocution was sometimes included in the list of extras and sometimes as a compulsory subject. Whichever way, it was always offered.

The broadest curriculum offered by a girls' private school during the 1940's was that of St Cyprian's. It included Religious Training, English, History, Geography, Mathematics, Arithmetic, Latin, Greek, French, Afrikaans, German, Italian, General Science, Nature Study, Biology, Physics, Chemistry, Physiology, Hygiene, First Aid, Home Nursing, Domestic Science, Cookery, Laundry, Housewifery, Drawing, Painting, Handwork, Needlework, Embroidery, Dressmaking, Class Singing, Aural Training, Musical Appreciation, Swedish Drill and Country Dancing. On top of this

there were also extras offered in Speech and Drama, Instrumental Music, Art, Bookkeeping, Commercial Arithmetic, Shorthand and typing, Dancing, Fencing and Swimming. Presumably many of the subjects listed here were choices rather than compulsory subjects, but it does tend to reflect the breadth of the education that girls' schools were aiming at before the Second World War and, in its very breadth, points to a strong possibility of a lack of depth.

The breadth of the curricula also reflected the dilemma of the girls' schools as to exactly what they should be offering. Some were still quite blatantly concerned with social education, such as the now-defunct St Winifred's in Parktown which, in its 1939 prospectus declared that the school 'aims at providing the conditions of a broad general culture as a preparation for life: and though stress is laid on accurate scholarship, success at exams is regarded as rather incidental than essential to the school work'. In other cases the 'vocational' aspect of girls' education was still evident. St Mary's DSG Pretoria, for example, claimed in 1941 that its object was 'to provide a thorough and practical education for girls on religious lines'. Girls Convent High School Ladysmith aimed to provide 'a through (sic liberal and useful education for girls'.

Most of the convent schools stated their aims along lines similar to those of St Pius' Convent Pietersburg in the early 1940's: 'to attend with the greatest care to the physical and moral training of the children...'. Some went a little further. The

Holy Rosary Convent, Port Elizabeth, in its 1941 prospectus indicated that 'special attention is given to the moral training, manners and refinement of pupils'. At the Convent High School Graaff-Reinet, 'Every attention is paid to the cultivation of good manners and deportment'. At St Dominic's Academy, Newcastle, in 1941, the main purpose was to see that children were 'trained to habits of obedience, truthfulness, order, simplicity and reserve'.

The overall impression, therefore, is that despite advances made in the provision of academic subjects for girls at private schools, the general outlook remained fairly set in the latter part of the 19th century, right up to the Second World War. The social and vocational aspects of education were still predominant at the majority of such schools. Only a few took a potentially different line. Kingsmead (1941) declared that its aim was 'to provide a first-class education'. St Mary's Waverley (1946) also saw its object as providing 'a first-class education' but added that it would be given 'on the broadest possible lines'. Girls' Collegiate, Pietermaritzburg, (1941) provided 'a first-rate education on modern lines', while one or two Conference schools followed the example of a few of the boys schools and simply declared, as did Durban Girls College in 1947, that 'The school is organised on the lines of the best girls Public Schools in England'. If that were so, however, the best girls public schools in England still held to a fairly traditional view of girls education for Durban Girls College laid particular stress 'on the formation of character by moral

and religious training, and fitting girls for the practical business and duties of life'.

Since the Second World War the gap between education for boys and education for girls has narrowed.

Education for boys has become less spartan with the addition of more cultural subjects into the curriculum and matriculation options such as Art and Music. The demise of Latin has, on the whole been slow and at some of the more traditional boys' schools it is by no means dead, and survived as a compulsory subject into the 1970's. The provision of excellent science facilities at senior boys' Conference schools by the Industrial Fund has meant a growing accent on as well as opportunity for the study of Physics, Chemistry and Physical Science. Some schools have even begun to meet the challenge of the age of the microchip with opportunities for studies in computer science.

Education for girls has seen the academic emphasis move more clearly centre-stage until the 'soft' or 'feminine' options have gradually given way to an education in many ways similar to that received by boys. The wide curricula of the pre-war period have been pared down to the essentials, and while the differences remain in the form of subjects such as Domestic Science and a tendency for fewer girls to take scientific subjects or Mathematics, preferring options such as Biology, Geography and French, the girls' schools no longer provide a curriculum of studies as clearly distinct from that of their male counter-

-parts.

Today the private schools, for girls or for boys, regard themselves as academic institutions whose courses of study lead to the matriculation examination. On the whole they do not cater for any kind of practical or vocational training.

Not only is the education academic, but it has been part of the development of these schools that they have had to endeavour to provide an education at best superior to and at least equivalent to that of the state schools. Few see it to be a particularly important focus, but many see it as a necessity born out competition for pupils and the right of the parents to get the kind of compensation they might expect for the high fees they pay.

The Conference schools have been of the opinion that unless they can be excellent in education their cause is lost. 'We must provide an academic education superior to that of the government schools as a first necessity...Without public support any private school must remain stagnant or retrogress, and I am sure that public support will only follow if the school delivers the academic goods'. (Harrison, E.L., 1953). This has been difficult for financial reasons but, 'Dependent as they are wholly or mainly on their own resources, they have left nothing undone to achieve academic efficiency and material development...they are dependent for their existence upon those who use them and...the parents who pay them to educate their children expect and demand high standards'. (Standing

Committee, 1961(2)). In this way, 'Academic excellence is a dominant objective of the private schools', (de Lisle, M., 1976, p.74), because they '...have to maintain a high standard of excellence in order to survive'. (Clarke, G.C., 1979).

Catholic schools have put more faith in the religious nature of their schools attracting pupils, but it has, nonetheless, been necessary to maintain a standard of facilities and teaching at least comparable to those of the state schools. As Sister Mary Linscott wrote of the Notre Dame convent in Kroonstad, '...it was a private establishment because it was de nominational and it therefore needed to establish a good reputation. The education offered must not only be good, it must be seen to be good. In South Africa the obvious field for this demonstration was academic, as the country has always been examination conscious and tended to judge a school by its list of results'. (Linscott, M., 1966, p.222). That this has been true of Catholic education in South Africa as a whole is indicated by other sources. 'If we are to fulfil a definite role, we must be in the vanguard of educational progress'. (Paola, L.J., 1967, p.8).

Schools that have been unable to meet the challenge financially or which have failed to attract sufficient pupils or simply have not had the staff to run them, have closed. 'Schools to be retained', however, must be, according to the Association of Teaching Brothers and Women Religious, '...of the highest possible quality, thoroughly Christian and characterised by excellence in every department'. (Welch, J.M., 1973, p.95).

Two surveys conducted in the early 1970's best indicate the current educational profiles of the two groups of schools, Conference and Catholic.

As far as the Conference schools are concerned, A J Rivet-Carnac's questionnaire of 1971 was not really a survey. Its purpose was to obtain information that would be used for a publicity campaign to be conducted by the Rand Daily Mail. Heads of Conference schools were asked to state their views on 'What are the advantages of private education?' and to supply certain information concerning finance and funds. These replies came in the form of letters which were filed. The campaign itself apparently came to naught.

The writer then analysed the views of the 19 Heads who replied, selecting 18 categories of 'advantages' mentioned in the replies. These were then ranked according to degree of consensus which was calculated by the number of Heads who made specific reference to a particular advantage. The results are shown in Table 6.

It is clear from the survey that Heads of Conference schools saw the advantages of private schools in terms of the philosophy of Christian humanism analysed in Chapter 11 above. The first seven items reflect the importance of the religious basis, educating by environment, the education of the whole person and a broad or 'liberal' education catering for a wide area of development. The more obvious advantages, at least in

TABLE 6

ADVANTAGES OF CONFERENCE SCHOOLS

<u>Advantage</u>	<u>Consensus</u>	<u>%</u>
Religious basis of schools	12	63
Freedom to experiment	11	58
Nature of staff	11	58
Small classes/individual attention	10	53
Freedom from outside interference/ Autonomy of Heads	8	42
Wider education	8	42
Educating the whole person	6	32
Boarding facilities	6	32
Better discipline	6	32
School as a total community	6	32
Preservation of English heritage	5	26
Freedom from ideological control	5	26
Sporting opportunities	3	16
Producing leaders	3	16
Superior academic standards	2	11
Good facilities	2	11
Beautiful buildings	2	11
Good pupil material	2	11

(Source: Rivet-Carnac, A.J., 1971)

in popular opinion - academic standards, facilities, leadership etc rank very low when the private schools take a private look at themselves.

This is reflected in the aims of the schools as stated in their current prospectuses. Despite impressions that emerge from other parts of the text, few statements of aims actually stress academic excellence. On the whole they tend to focus on the breadth and depth of the education they provide, the Christian basis, the belief that independent schools produce independent people, and the development of the whole person. Typical samples include:

- to provide both breadth and depth in a liberal curriculum - St Martin's, 1978,
- to train pupils as individual whole persons in body, mind and spirit - Woodridge, 1978,
- to provide...a soundly-based liberal education in the Christian tradition - St Stithian's, 1978,
- to enable and encourage every boy to fulfil himself by developing wide interests - Michaelhouse, 1978,
- to teach pupils to think independently and to act responsibly so that each girl may preserve the freedom to obey her conscience and the judgement to direct her actions - St John's Diocesan, 1978.

According to the tradition of these schools, education of the whole person has been achieved through a much wider process than merely the curriculum. Traditionally nearly all of the schools were and still are boarding schools, and as boarding schools were able to create a total environment in which to educate for a substantial part of the year. There were strict regulations on outings and visits, most schools allowing only day outings

with parents or approved friends or relatives at weekends, and in many cases these were limited to certain designated Sundays in the year.

Within this environment, life was regulated. The rationale behind this is reflected in the following explanation from an ex-Headmaster of St Stithian's College: 'A small number of boys with undue leisure soon disturb the public peace. Consequently it was of first importance that the small number of boarders at St Stithian's should have as little leisure as possible'. (Mears, W.G.A., 1972, p.30). There were, however, sounder reasons than this 'Devil-finds-work-for-idle-hands' approach. John Wilson expressed these fairly clearly in 1963: 'Particularly for the adolescent, a community is an essential channel for the loyalty, energy and self-expression of its individual members. Without such a community he finds himself presented with an almost infinite number of different values, aims, behaviour patterns and possibilities for living: and it is hence no wonder that a decline in corporate religion accompanied by a similar decline in other corporate activities have made neurosis so common in our society that we can take it for granted'. (Wilson, J., 1963, p.57).

The total environment of the private school can, therefore, provide a community and a corporate life that can supply both direction and directedness to the adolescent child. It has other implications, however, in that over-regulation can have some negative effects. To consider the nature of the regulation in a boarding school community, it might be relevant to examine a

'typical' day in a boarding school at a time when boarding was still very much the norm. The example comes from Highbury Preparatory school in its 1963 prospectus.

6.20 Bath and dress
6.45 Cocoa
7.00 Preparation
7.35 Breakfast
8.15 Morning Assembly and Prayers
8.30 School
10.45 Light lunch: Tea(cocoa), bread and butter
11.15 School
1.30 Dinner
2.15 School
3.00 Games
4.30 Bread and butter
5.15 Free preparation and society meetings
6.15 Supper
7.00 Preparation
7.30 Bath and bed
8.30 Lights Out

Apart from the heavy reliance upon bread and butter, the picture that such a timetable presents is one of complete regulation of hours so that the only free choices open to a pupil appear to be between 5.15 and 6.15, and even then it would appear that the child must at least be active in some structured activity.

Such a routine indicates two things. The first is the totality of the environment in this type of boarding school. The second is that it conflicts somewhat with the freedom and initiative that many schools suggest it is their aim to develop.

The accent on the totality of the environment is characteristic of the 19th century English public schools and it has survived. To some extent it is still conceived of as being essential.

'Private schools', wrote M de Lisle, Head of St Martin's, 'depend on careful discipline and organisation for their vitality

and happiness'. (de Lisle, M., 1976, p.72).

The decline in boarding at these schools has placed them in something of a dilemma. As the Secretary of APS/HMC expressed it, 'it is much more difficult in a day school for day pupils to fulfil all the objectives that private schools seek to achieve'. (Clarke, G.C., 1979).

In order to meet this challenge, boarding has become more flexible in order to attempt to offset its declining attraction. Many schools are far more liberal in making provision for visits and outings than they were two decades ago. Weekly boarding has also been instituted in some schools, where pupils remain at the school from Monday to Friday but return home over weekends.

As far as adjusting to the growing number of day pupils is concerned, one solution has been to design a timetable that keeps the children at the school for as long as possible, through, for example, the development of the integrated day. Here, lessons are held until fairly late in the afternoons, but sporting activities, etc, take place during the morning and/or early afternoon. In other cases, pupils are required to take part in afternoon extra-curricular activities. Parents are often made fully aware of this. In its 1980 prospectus, for example, St Stithian's Preparatory school notifies prospective parents that 'A Preparatory School boy can lead a full and varied life at the school and, if he does the work required of him, there is little time for out of school activities'.

The second aspect of the accent on a total environment, the tendency to discourage initiative, is less easy to illustrate. In a study of English public schools in 1942, F H Spencer showed how the discipline of the community was such that it was not geared towards producing leaders. (Spencer, F.H., 1942, p.19).

The fact that South African private schools have not produced an outstanding number of pupils who have played a leading role in the community is illustrated by Michael Ashley's research in 1971. He found that private schools contributed 13% of the holders of the top positions that he analysed. He concluded that 'This 13% does not represent a contribution to the elite which is disproportionately large'. (Ashley, M., 1971).

Few of the private schools would consider that their aims included the production of leaders (Cf Table 7 above), but it is arguable that important qualities of leadership are suppressed by the degree of regulation and organisation evident in the system. It is a system which, in addition, '...restricts the energies of non-academic boys, for these energies are blunted by being faced with unsuitable tasks. It represses intellectual aggression and criticism by presenting boys with a ready-made pattern of values which they are exhorted to accept. Typical... products have many excellent qualities...But they are not critical and one could hardly say that they are filled with a love of reform or humanitarian feelings'. (Wilson, J., 1963, pp.112-113).

Of course, there have been many changes since the 1960's, and in many cases the rigidities of the school environment have been considerably relaxed. There is at least one school which takes a wholly different view of school organisation and allows pupils far greater freedom of choice, far greater responsibility and far greater participation in establishing the regulations and norms of the school. Such a school, is, however, regarded as 'progressive' and in most, tradition dies hard.

The opportunities that a total environment creates for a broad education, however, are many and provide a strong contrast to the average state school. Despite a tendency in boys' schools to place a heavy accent on sport, in keeping with the 19th century tradition of athleticism and the outdoor orientation of South African society, most private schools offer an impressive range of cultural and scientific societies in which pupils can develop their talents, their interests, their personalities and which afford unique opportunities for the seeds of life-long education and education for leisure. A survey of the prospectuses of Conference schools for 1978 shows that most offer the traditional debating, drama, music, choir, chess, philately etc, and many offer even more. Hilton, for example, has over 20 clubs and societies including Foreign Affairs, a French Circle, Conservation and the Hilton Press. Diocesan College runs in excess of 30 clubs and societies; Michaelhouse nearly 40. 15 such clubs and societies appears to be about the average in the Conference schools, many of which are directed and run by the pupils themselves. Such activities are the

particular strength of the total environment of the Conference schools.

The best indication of the educational profile of the Catholic schools is afforded by the Catholic Education Study of 1972. As part of this study, a survey was conducted among 1109 persons including parents, religious and lay teachers, and clergy. Its main purpose was to determine current attitudes towards Catholic education in South Africa and therefore does not detail its nature. In addition, the low percentage of respondents (18%) somewhat weakens the results as being representative of attitudes towards Catholic education among those involved in it.

The first series of items was geared towards assessing the level of satisfaction with the schools. The replies indicated a high level of satisfaction. Recognition that the schools have a quality not found in government schools is acclaimed by 89%. That they give the kind of moral education needed was agreed by 88% of those responding. 84% would encourage attendance at Catholic schools. Only 36%, however, found them academically superior. (Neal, M.A., 1972, p.8).

The second series of items asked respondents to compare the adequacy of the Catholic schools with the government schools. Here, '...the agreements reveal a satisfaction with Catholic schools where they teach religion, develop a concern for others, develop a personal moral discipline, respect for virtues of truthfulness and good manners, a moderate interest in social

concern. Clearly and generally little difference is noted in capacity to teach, develop intellectual abilities, creativity, career preparation, university preparation, subject matter mastery or sportsmanship'. (Neal, M.A., 1972, p.9).

When compared to the 1971 survey of the Conference schools above, it is clear, that as far as both surveys can be considered reliable, both groups of schools view their function in the same way. Despite having to maintain a good standard of teaching, academic standards are not the major focus from the schools' private point of view. What they stand for is the education of the whole person with the emphasis on his development as a human being.

The Catholic schools have come increasingly to work in the tradition of the day school rather than the total environment of the boarding school. This is a post-war development for, while Catholic day schools have always played a major role in Catholic education, Catholic boarding schools represented the cream of the Catholic schools before, and even for some time after the Second World War.

The environment in such a boarding schools could be as totalitarian as that of their Conference counterparts if not even more so. Though the regulations for visits and outings are not mentioned in most of the brief prospectuses of this period, it is clear that regulation was very much the order of the day. Very many, if not most, schools stated specifically in their prospectuses that pupils' correspondence was subject

to inspection by the school authorities. The influence of the disciplined community of nuns and monks who ran these schools extended to the schools themselves which were, after all, extensions of the religious community and the source of recruits to it. The Girls Convent High School, Ladysmith, included a somewhat indicative comment in its 1941 prospectus when it headed its clothing list with the title 'Trousseau for Boarders'.

The Catholic day school, however, is by no means the same kind of environment, particularly in more recent times when even the bulk of the staff is no longer in religious orders. A few of the boys' schools tend towards the Conference school view of education as a fairly regulated and extended system, but on the whole the school day ends at much the same time as that of the state schools. There is usually the inclusion of a compulsory afternoon or two afternoons sport per week and most, if not all, provide opportunities for extra-curricular activities outside of school hours on a purely voluntary basis. Such activities might include the usual drama, debating etc; optional extra courses such as elocution, dancing or music while opportunities for social service exist in most if not all cases.

The education provided by the South African white English-speaking private schools tends on the whole to be conservative, and the few exceptions exist outside the two main-streams of Catholic and Conference schools.

Such conservatism might seem surprising in view of the much-

vaunted freedom of initiative and experimentation that ranks so highly in the conception that many of these schools have of their roles.

Private schools have had to be warned against the possibility of surviving '...in the same way as the ceolocanth which...only managed to avoid extinction or adaptation by remaining deep down at the bottom of the sea', (HMC, 1966(1)), and from becoming '...tradition-bound in the sense that we become anachronisms in the space-age', for, 'the failure to accept new ideas and to keep abreast of modern theory would mean that the private schools would become but stagnant pools in the educational pattern'. (HMC, 1967(1)).

As far as the Conference schools have been concerned, some response is evident from a survey of the agendas for the conferences which began in 1929 with discussions on such educational matters as 'the prefect system', 'games', and 'flagging', and in 1930 of 'syllabus of Church on Bible teaching', 'possibility of co-operation in Divinity exams', 'public examinations' and 'the time for beginning Catechism', but which, by the 1970's, were including lectures, seminars and discussions on matters such as educational technology, the gifted child, Orff Schulerwerk, creativity and the teaching of African languages'. (HMC, 1929(1)-1978(1)).

Yet there is also criticism that such a response has not been adequate. In 1967 Francis Wilson urged the Conference schools to adopt a curriculum more applicable to the multi-cultural

environment of South Africa rather than the English public school model that they followed. Classical languages could be replaced by African languages; classical literature by African literature; classical culture by African culture and history. Geography needed to take into account African problems such as migratory labour, poverty and slums. (HMC, 1967(1)).

It would not appear that the private schools were then ready for such a step, but ten years later the opening of these schools to pupils of all races has made a consideration of multi-cultural education essential, and a sincere beginning has been made by the Catholic schools through their African Studies Project. The Conference schools as a body have made no such move as this, though individual schools are at work on adaptations. Liberal-minded men such as Francis Wilson may well argue that all this and more should have happened much earlier, as indeed it might have, but even thirteen years later the tentative moves made are well in advance of anything yet produced by the state system. The development of a multi-cultural approach to education at the primary and secondary level in South Africa could well be the biggest single contribution the private schools have ever made to education in this country.

This aside, there are other things that may attract the critic's eye. Honey had some fairly incisive comments to make in 1975 when comparing South African private schools with English public schools. 'South African schools', he commented, 'are

falling behind the post-Victorian British public schools in counter-acting the anti-intellectualism which has accompanied the games cult, in seeking to cultivate by aesthetic and social work experience, qualities of sensitivity, compassion and social concern in preference to those of manliness and leadership. Conformity is no longer the obvious quality bred in English public schoolboys of today, whereas in South African schools there are heavy sanctions against non-conformity'. This was particularly the case with Conference school headmasters who were 'caught up in a career structure which put a high premium on 'safeness' and stolidity. South African headmasters as a group show a conservatism, a resistance to innovation and a craven sensitivity to criticism which would have made Arnold despair'. (Honey, R., de S., 1975, pp.74-75).

It is, of course, only partly a traditional conservatism that has led to a prolongation of athleticism and the more Roman values in the Conference schools in particular, and the failure to develop adequately 'qualities of sensitivity, compassion and social concern' are bound up with more complicated issues such as the staff and the 'economics of the marginal boy'. Nevertheless, the opinion expressed here by Honey indicates that in some important respects the South African private schools have been slow to change despite their freedom of action which makes it far more possible for them to do so than is the case with state schools.

And what of their freedom to experiment in more modest ways? What

developments in education have the private schools themselves initiated?

Opinions have been expressed in respect of the Conference schools that they have been '...dangerously static, not boldly exercising their vaunted freedom to experiment'. (Standing Committee, 1958(2)). In 1975 Dr Roger Jarvis felt that the schools were '...slipping behind through inaction', and that 'If the private schools, with their greater freedom, cannot try new approaches, then who can?' (Jarvis, R.K., 1975).

The private schools have, however, made some contribution to educational innovation. The Conference schools have pioneered the post-matriculation form which, however difficult it is to adapt to South African conditions, has tried to bridge the gap between school and university and to compensate for the narrow, exam-orientated education that is given to pupils during their matriculation year. They have also pioneered the 'New' Mathematics and Nuffield Science; the British Council Schools History Project and computer education. As mentioned, Catholic schools in particular stand to make a valuable contribution through their African Studies Project, and all private schools with a significant multi-racial element provide unique opportunities for research and development arising out of the many educational problems and challenges involved in multi-cultural education.

One of the dangers, however, is that all too often private schools work within confines that are too narrow. While contacts between

them have improved considerably over the years, Robert Birley's observation that '...such experiments will not affect as they should the general education of the country unless the links between the independent and provincial schools are a good deal closer than they are now', (HMC, 1966(1)), still has a ring of truth about it. Perhaps it was the level of political hostility during the 1940's and 1950's that has led to '...the width of the gap between independent and the government or provincial schools of this country'. (HMC, 1966(1)). Whatever the reason, the result is a certain barrier through which ideas flow hesitantly.

There have been important developments, however, even in this direction. On the one hand, private schools have initiated conferences and projects in which teachers from state schools have been invited to participate; on the other, and this is more generally the case, membership of provincial teachers' associations has given many private school teachers a channel of communication and an opportunity for stimulation that would be difficult to provide in the context of the private school alone.

Behind all this, the inherent conflict between a traditional conservatism and a very real appreciation of the freedom to innovate remains. The virtue of this conflict is that innovation will be tempered with moderation. Its danger is that such a conflict can result in immobility which would neutralise the educational value of independence.

CHAPTER X11

STAFFING THE PRIVATE SCHOOLS

It is evident from the earlier discussions on religion and education in the private schools that the quality of the staff of these schools is an essential element in the work they set out to do. Yet, second only to finance, obtaining sufficient suitable staff is the largest problem with which they have to deal.

The problem of personnel has its roots in two main characteristics of the private schools, Conference or Catholic. The first is that historically, both groups of schools have recruited a large number of staff from overseas sources; the second is that their philosophy demands a particular type of teacher.

For schools such as the older Conference schools that were part of the English public school movement or which were inspired by it, it was natural that for some time they looked to England the home of the public school, to provide their staff. In these schools '...it was long taken for granted that every member of staff would be a graduate from the United Kingdom and usually from Oxford or Cambridge', (Currey, R.F., 1971), for, as the Chairman of the Witwatersrand Council of Education commented in 1960, '...to maintain the traditions which they are upholding they require to have people with first-hand experience of those traditions'. (Nitch, St J., B, 1960). Apart from mere traditionalism, however, it was felt that 'South Africa is a country of small European population and there is a danger that our educational services may suffer from inbreeding...We want

our staff to have had wide experience...the wider the better'. (Lawson, K., 1968, p.306).

This did not mean that all Conference school teachers were recruited overseas even in the 'public' schools. During the 1940's and 1950's, for example, the Headmaster of St John's College followed a policy of recruiting half his staff locally and half from overseas (Lawson, K., 1968, p.251). Nevertheless, the supply of staff from overseas was considered important and considerable concern was expressed when it began to dry up.

It would appear that this began to occur in the late 1950's and early 1960's and had much to do with the political problems of South Africa at that time and the severing of ties with the British Commonwealth. At the 1960 Conference it was reported that 'Everyone present was perturbed about the increasing difficulty of obtaining suitable staff'. (HMC, 1960(1)).

In 1961 W D Wilson explained that '...it is quite apparent that we are going to have to rely more and more on our own products, not only to fill (our) ranks but to generate new ideas and to maintain teaching standards'. (Wilson, W.D., 1961(1)).

In the same year R F Currey, who had been investigating the problem, wrote to the Archbishop of Cape Town that 'The present position is alarming in the extreme, and at no point is the educational and spiritual laager into which we are now entering so restricted and so depressing as it is at this particular point. Men no longer want to come to South Africa and the fathers and mothers of the young women who want to come will not allow them to do so'. (Currey, R.F., 1961).

The recruitment of staff locally, however, was something of a problem. In the HMC report of 1963 a new headmaster of a new Conference school expressed concern at the difficulty he had had in obtaining staff. 'He said that there were good students in the training colleges who would like to teach in the private schools but that the system pertaining at the moment made it impossible for them to do so'. This was because the education of trainee teachers in South Africa was financed by the provincial education departments on the basis of a contract which bound the student to teach in a state school for three years and which guaranteed them employment. 'This contract could be broken by a cash repayment but there were those students who considered the contract morally binding'. (HMC, 1963(1)). Proposals to provide bursaries for these students to undertake their training independently of the provincial contract or to persuade the provincial authorities to recognise three years service in a private school as an equivalent repayment of the contract were aborted. The only successful project was the Teacher Development Programme founded by the Industrial Fund (Cf Chapter VIII above) which offered bursaries to enable South African-born and South African-trained teachers to gain experience overseas.

The reluctance of provincial authorities to recognise overseas teacher's qualifications has enabled the private schools to obtain the services of often highly qualified teachers who might otherwise have entered government service. Recently, the political crisis in Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) has helped them to recruit a number of refugee teachers whose qualifications are

likewise not recognised by the state.

The shortage of South African teachers willing or able to work in the private schools nevertheless remains a problem. The compulsory registration of teachers under the South African Teachers Council for Whites Act is a further threat to those schools receiving subsidies, as many teachers working in them without local teaching qualifications, including senior staff in some cases, are potentially illegal in terms of the Act. (Cf Chapter VI above).

The problem is compounded by the fact that it is not merely a question of the recruitment of staff, but of the recruitment of suitable staff.

As early as 1938, the Headmaster of Bishops told the Conference that 'There are difficulties in staffing Conference schools with sufficient men and women who are devout, practising Christians'. (HMC, 1938(1)). The other problem lay in the intellectual abilities academic qualifications of the staff. As R F Currey told the OFS Commission of Enquiry in 1946, '...we would prefer to see the men who come to us as teachers devoting their student years to the acquiring of learning and intellectual discipline of a general academic character rather than to specialised professional training...between teachers of thirty-five years and upwards it is the man or woman with the deeper and wider based intellectual training who is incomparably the more stimulating, inspiring and literally edifying teacher'. (Currey, R.F., 1946). Such highly qualified men and women,

however, often sought careers outside school teaching.

In 1961 W D Wilson expressed the opinion that '...by far the most vital factor is the quality and number of teachers coming forward to serve the schools'. (Wilson, W.D., 1961(1)). This was particularly because '...to a very large extent the aims and objectives are achieved not so much by the subjects and by their content as by the character and personality of the teacher'. (Mears, W.G.A., 1964). It is a character and personality which leads them to '...devote themselves wholeheartedly to their vocation and to identify themselves with their schools without thought of time off'. (Brookes, R., 1971). It is clear from the replies to Rivet-Carnac's questionnaire in 1971 that the quality of the staff was considered vital. In answering the question 'What are the advantages of private schools?' 58% stressed the nature of their staff and on the basis of degree of consensus, this ranked second to their religious basis in the list of advantages. (Rivet-Carnac, A.J., 1971; Cf Chapter XII above).

The teacher in the Conference school is required to consider his position not as a job, but as a vocation. These men and women must be '...prepared and want to give the whole of their working lives to education in the broadest sense of education as the private schools profess to educate'. (Clarke, G.C., 1979).

Recruitment of such staff is therefore far more difficult than simply the recruitment of staff per se. The Conference schools, for their part, offer some attractive benefits, often in the

form of housing where the school is a boarding school, and the Conference school teachers have a freedom of thought and action as well as a freedom from red tape and bureaucratic indifference which are essential if there is to be much satisfaction in teaching. Greater responsibility is also offered to the Conference school teacher at an earlier age at many schools because, '...as a result of the house system, more junior members of staff achieve administrative experience and can make a contribution through their individual talents'. (Wilson, W.D., 1961(1)). Another factor favourable to the recruitment of 'suitable staff' is that many schools are able to attract some of their old boys and girls who have gone into teaching.

On the negative side, however, there is still some truth in the remark R F Currey made as long ago as 1942, that in these schools '...men settle down to spend their whole professional careers within the world of a single school. Promotion means waiting for dead men's shoes and it is not surprising that men of ability and devotion grow unhappy in their work'. (Currey, R.F., 1942). Important improvements to this situation have been made, such as the Teacher Development Programme; the creation of a common pension fund, which facilitates the mobility of staff between schools, and the decreasing number of overseas appointments, particularly to senior positions. In 1942 virtually all senior appointments were given to teachers recruited from overseas and in some schools the first South African Heads were not appointed until the late 1960's.

The question of the recruitment of suitable staff remains vital.

If the achievement of the aims and objectives of these schools rests upon attracting the right sort of men and women to teach in them, then if the wrong sort of men and women teach in them these aims and objectives would suffer. This has been and remains a cause for some concern for, while the academic qualifications of the teachers has been and is comparatively high, the creation of the kind of spiritual environment necessary for the kind of education the schools aim to provide has to some extent been affected. Margaret Snell discovered in her investigation of girls' Conference schools forty years ago that 'Frequently the bulk of the staff do not contribute to the creation of a corporate religious life, and in some cases are even a positive hindrance'. (HMC, 1940(1)). W D Wilson echoed this twenty years later when he claimed that the Conference schools were not '...Christian communities in the sense that those in control of them, including Governors, Headmasters and Headmistresses, masters and mistresses and administrative staff are all practising Christians!'. (Wilson, W.D., 1960). If they are not Christian communities in this sense, however, it must of necessity mean that there will be a diminution of the philosophical principles according to which they educate.

The Roman Catholic schools were originally staffed by brothers and sisters from Europe and Ireland and, to a lesser extent, from England. They were all, initially, largely dependent upon their mother-houses in those countries for the provision of new staff. It was the policy of religious orders and congregations to recruit young men and women from local sources thereby making themselves self-sufficient in the long term.

Local recruits initially received their training within the school or schools run by their chosen congregation and later at certain Catholic schools which had a teacher-training function. In time, of course, they came to attend universities and provincial teacher-training institutions. Despite the urgings of Dr F C Kolbe in the late 19th and early 20th centuries no specifically Catholic tertiary institutions developed in South Africa as happened in certain other countries. (Boner, K., 1980, pp.147-149).

The recruitment of a sufficient number of sisters and brothers to the Catholic teaching orders was not an easy task. South Africa has a small European population and an even smaller European Catholic population. At the last census (1970) Catholics numbered only 304 840 in a total white population of 3 726 540. (SA Statistics, 1978). While there have been 'a large number of vocations in South Africa', nevertheless, 'the gross number of Catholics in South Africa is so small that it would be unrealistic to think that the country can provide all the personnel necessary to maintain all our schools'. (ECAR, 1966). By 1966 there was 'a world crisis in vocations', and 'sources of supply in Europe are drying up and, in some cases, have already dried up. The number of religious coming to work here is disturbingly lower than that of a few years ago'. (ECAR, 1966). Local vocations were also declining: 'The number of young men and women willing to enter a religious life is decreasing at a time when the number of children who have to be educated is increasing'. (Towey, J., 1972, p.65).

This can be illustrated by the Christian Brothers. Towey, in his dissertation of 1972, described the Christian Brothers as having had the greatest success of all the teaching brothers in South Africa in the recruitment of white South African youth for the order. (Towey, J., 1972, p.74). Yet in 1967 O'Neill gave the following figures for South African vocations among the Christian Brothers:

TABLE 7

VOCATIONS TO CHRISTIAN BROTHERS 1949-1967

Years	Entered	Final Vows
1949-53	22	12
1954-58	41	12
1958-63	38	5
1964-67	34	0

(Source: O'Neill, J.C., 1971, p.92).

The trend is self-evident. It was re-inforced by the Catholic Education Study of 1972. Here it was found that vocations were declining in 67% of religious orders, had been very low in 25% for the past ten years, and was rising in only 5% of orders. (Neal, M.A., 1972, p.5). It is obvious, therefore, that there is already a decline in the number of religious working in South Africa and that, in view of the decline in the number of vocations, this decline is in fact accelerating. Table 9 indicates the trends in the number of all religious working in South Africa over the past forty years. It includes religious working in all fields, not only in education, but it does point to the general position. It should be noted, however, that the serious decline in the number of vocations during the 1960's and 1970's does not show up in these figures, but is

likely to be reflected as a major drop in total numbers a generation hence.

TABLE 8

NUMBER OF WHITE CATHOLIC RELIGIOUS IN SOUTH AFRICA
1940-1975

Year	Brothers	Sisters	Total
1940	527	3485	4012
1945	467	3222	3689
1950	416	3309	3725
1955	485	3861	4346
1960	505	3887	4392
1965	559	3880	4439
1970	547	3883	4430
1975	470	3475	3945

(Source: Catholic Directory, 1941-1977).

The decline in the number of religious has led to serious problems for the Catholic schools. The obvious solution has been to employ more lay staff. The Catholic Education Study indicated that the ratio of religious to lay teachers was 50:50 in 1972. The pattern for the future was indicated by the fact that 70% of the teachers in Catholic schools under 30 years of age were lay teachers. (Neal, M.A., 1972, p.5). At present the figure stands at 63,7% lay teachers. (ECAR, 1979).

The implications are two-fold. On the one hand, the increasing employment of lay teachers has led to ever-increasing costs which in turn have made a number of schools uneconomical and has forced them to close; on the other, it has led to the necessity of charging higher fees and thereby excluding the less wealthy pupils.

There is even a third implication in that in view of the importance of 'educating by environment' the decline in the number of religious has led to the danger of a change in the nature of that environment. The Association of Teaching Brothers and Women Religious was adamant that if lay teachers were to be employed, this was to be done '...on the understanding that they should be integrated as far as possible into the system', (Welch, J.M., 1973, p.95), for, 'It is essential that each member of the school community adopts a common view, a common outlook on life based on adherence to a set of values in which he believes'. (SACBC, 1977, p.13). The maintenance of the control of schools in the hands of religious helps to ensure that the ethos and atmosphere of the schools is maintained and, because of this, the problem is not as severe as it is in Conference schools. The danger, however, remains.

Recruitment of lay staff is difficult. The Catholic schools cannot, on the whole, offer the same attractions to teachers as can the Conference schools and in some cases even the salaries are lower, though it would appear that every attempt is made to pay salaries in accordance with state salary scales. Such factors may help guarantee that lay teachers who are attracted to Catholic schools are attracted for the right reasons but, on the other hand, it poses a considerable problem in recruiting sufficient such people.

The religious orders and congregations have been the mainstay of Catholic education in South Africa since its inception. The

decline in their numbers has the most serious implications
for the Catholic schools in South Africa.

PART 1V

PROSPECTS

CHAPTER XIII

PROSPECTS

'I feel sometimes,' said Robert Birley in 1966, 'that there is nowhere in the world where independent schools have greater opportunities and more difficult duties than in this country of South Africa'. The social, economic and political problems of this country presented opportunities and challenges that placed a special responsibility as well as special problems in the way of the private schools. As he saw it, the main task of these schools would be '...to prepare the children for the problems that will lie before them in a society with several races living together in one state...make them ready for the imaginative leap which will be necessary if these ideals are to be fulfilled in spheres where they have lain for so long dormant because of the established conventions of society'. He felt that there was 'a real failing of social obligations in this country and I should regard it as one of the duties of the independent schools to endeavour to put that right'. (HMC, 1966(1)).

A decade and a half later the opportunities have, in Birley's terms, grown even greater and so have the difficulties. The South African state education system is currently in a state of growing disorder. Black, Coloured and Indian pupils have rejected the apartheid philosophy of inferiority on which their education has been based and the poor quality of the education

they have received. Sporadic but persistent boycotts and violence has characterised education in these communities since the eruption of the Soweto Riots in 1976. State education for whites is also experiencing difficulties, particularly in the conservative Afrikaner bastion of the Transvaal. The shortage of teachers is growing ever more critical with wide-spread resignations and fewer and fewer young people prepared to enter the profession. Male teachers and teachers in the fields of Mathematics and Science are in particularly short supply. Over this system too the dead hand of bureaucracy and ideology stifles efficiency, innovation and positive growth.

The political situation, too, has changed from 1966. Today South Africa stands alone as the last white-ruled state in Africa with immense internal and external pressure for change. The granite face of apartheid has undoubtedly cracked, with one cabinet minister even having gone so far as to deliver its obituary, but no-one, including the government, seems clear as to what can or will replace it. In such a state of flux and uncertainty education is vital, for without the training of the young to make the kind of imaginative leap that Birley speaks of, the outlook for society as a whole must be bleak. Here again the independent schools have a duty and an opportunity in so far as they are in a position to provide such education. The state schools do not appear to be in such a position. The response of the politicians and bureaucrats to the challenge of the future has, on the whole, been the development of the

dangerous sterility of a war psychosis in the schools, particularly through Youth Preparedness and the Veld Schools.

Yet the challenge is also in part a universal one. For those who share, even in part, the view of philosopher Karl Jaspers that 'Today we stand poised on the razor's edge. We have to choose: to plunge into the abyss of man's lostness...or the leap to authentic man and his boundless opportunities through self-transformation'. (Jaspers, K., 1969, p.124); for such people, education has a function to help the young mind make an even greater 'imaginative leap' than the peculiar circumstances of South African society require. The extent to which this 'abyss of man's lostness' is reflected in Kierkegaard's thesis that '...we had forgotten what it means to exist, and what inwardness signifies', (Kierkegaard, S., 1968, p.223); the extent to which 'The moral weakness of our time results from the fact that older values and codes of uprightness no longer grip the men and women of the corporate era, nor have they been replaced by new values and codes which would lend moral meaning and sanction to the corporate routines they must now follow', (Mills, C.W., 1956, p.244); this is the extent of the 'imaginative leap' modern educators need to help their pupils to meet. As Professor Reid explained to the HMC in 1980, '...it is the peculiar opportunity of the educator and still more especially of the school teacher to recognise what will give a particular child direction...and by his teaching and his example to promote the gaining of direction, of directedness'. (HMC, 1980(1)). It is this directedness that will make possible

the greater 'imaginative leap' into the future.

The question as to whether state education, with its bureaucrats and hierarchies; its political ideologies and spiritual neutrality is capable of meeting this challenge is not the subject of analysis in this thesis. Its subject is the independent school and more particularly the independent Christian school. Its contention is that the independent school, with its traditions of liberal education, its philosophy of Christian humanism and its expressed aim of educating the whole man, with its very independence of systems of mass education, is in a unique position and has a unique opportunity to undertake such a task and, through its justifications for its own existence, a moral responsibility to do so.

This is the essence of its independence. It may lay claim to high academic standards and good matriculation results; it may stress its freedom to experiment; it may make much of the individual attention its pupils receive, but there is little here that a good state school cannot provide - independence is not necessarily a prerequisite for such achievements. The essence lies in the education of the whole person; in 'the innumerable attempts to educate our young in ways that will give wings to the human spirit' (HMC, 1960(1)); in the way 'the soul is brought to stand in some real sense before God and to realise its need of God' (HMC, 1967(1)); in the sense that on this basis young men and women will be able to make the

imaginative leap across the 'abyss of man's lostness'. This is the essence.

It is the essence of what these schools are in a position to achieve and what, through their underlying and expressed philosophy, they set out to achieve. Yet what is the extent of this achievement? How far has the essence been diluted, the goals confused?

It is not possible to make a qualitative scientific analysis of the quality of the lives of the products of the private schools, nor has this thesis set out to do so. It has contended that the role of the private schools is unique, essential and invaluable in what they are in a position to do, have tried to do and to some extent have succeeded in doing, but it has also contended that economic, social, religious, logistical and educational factors have led to a weakening of purpose, a misdirection of effort, a gap between theory and practice. This has affected the Conference schools more than it has the Catholic schools, but there is a paradox here in that it has helped to secure for the Conference schools a higher survival rate than has been the case with the Catholic schools; thus while on the one hand these factors have threatened the essence of the schools, on the other they have threatened their survival.

The material existence of few of these schools is particularly secure. The high cost of running them, the difficulties of

staffing them, remain a serious problem, particularly for the Catholic schools. Nevertheless it is probably true to say that as long as there is a demand for education outside the state system, and at present that demand is a growing one; for as long as the state permits independent schools their democratic right to exist, and there is no reason at present to suggest that it will not; for so long there will be independent schools in South Africa, and the existing schools can adapt and re-adjust to the circumstances of the present just as they have done in the past. As long as there is a demand they will survive.

But the nature of that demand is a problem. The schools have limited options. The bulk of their running costs have to be covered by school fees: the running costs are high, hence the fees are high. They will get even higher. In an address to the HMC in 1980, Professor Niven estimated that, given the present rate of inflation, the minimum fees for Conference school education would be in the region of R3220 per year by 1985, while the maximum would be in the region of R4020. By 1990, a decade from now, the minimum fees would have risen to R5190, the maximum to R6500. (HMC, 1980(1)).

Such high fees result in a limited clientele and a potential oversensitivity to the demands and expectations of the parents who pay these fees. The parental outlook of the rich and the would-be-rich is generally materialistic and their expectations of

of the private schools are generally concerned with material results. Where they look for anything beyond these, it is usually a matter of the right type of social environment in which they can imbibe the right type of social graces and the right type of middle-class attitudes. Thus the public image of the schools all too often tends to reflect what such parents want to hear, with particular stress on academic excellence and individual attention. The danger is that these things may come to rank too highly in the scale of values. If the private school becomes a place where the children of the rich can get an excellent academic education and cultivate the right friends and the right behaviour and nothing more, then there is every reason to question the value of its existence.

This was well-illustrated in an address given by Professor J Reid to the HMC in 1980. It is worth quoting at some length, for it deals plainly with this question of values. 'If you preach that it is more difficult for a rich man to enter heaven than for a camel to go through the needle's eye,' he said, 'and then quite patently approve and envy a R45 000 Mercedes Benz, you cast away the benefit and really teach, by example, hypocrisy. If you contribute to the keeping out of your school an English-speaking Christian child because he is brown, you cut away your teaching of humility and tolerance and brotherhood, and you really teach how to live with two standards. If you do not care for your neighbour, who may be poor and black and a servant...while you teach the parable of the Good Samaritan, then you really teach how to bluff oneself.'

If your Christian services are uninspiring, ceremonial, treated almost as just another period, while preaching the need for Christian people to join together in praising their God, you are undermining his Creation...If you choose staff only for their skill as classroom teachers and sports instructors and leave out the Christian commitment, you are putting your money where your real thoughts are. If you describe the hoped-for benefits of attending your school...and do not emphasise first and foremost the Christian challenge, you really teach an upside-down scale of values'. (HMC, 1980(1)).

The problem is threefold: it is a question of economics, it is a question of educational orientation and it is a question of priorities and values.

These problems are not new ones. For most of this century the private schools as a whole have been concerned at the prospect of becoming 'country clubs for the pampered children of the privileged', but the economic difficulties are legion. If school fees are reduced in any significant way to make it possible for less wealthy children to attend private schools, how would the shortfall in income be covered? And it is not sufficient to provide bursaries for a handful of children from less privileged backgrounds. They will be out of place in the monied social environment of the school and their education may consequently serve to disorientate them rather than contribute something of permanent value to their personal development. If the problem of elitism is to be avoided, then

this has to be done on a large scale, and if it is to be done on a large scale the problem of making good the shortfall in income becomes prohibitive.

This is particularly relevant in the light of the decision of the private schools to open their doors to pupils of all races. This is undoubtedly the most important step they have taken in recent years, and one of the most important single steps they have ever taken. It is a bold move in the context of modern South African society, torn as it is by racial division. It represents a vision of the society of the future that is sadly lacking in most of white South Africa and one which is wholly in keeping with the Christian philosophy which these schools espouse, but it does not end here. White private schools already suffer from the charges of elitism in white society; what are the implications if the opening of these schools merely extends such elitism to black society as well? To what extent have these schools investigated the social and educational problems and implications of creating a genuinely multi-racial community within themselves? To what extent is the opening of white private schools a real commitment to an open society, and to what extent is it merely a paternalistic gesture? To what extent will the necessity to provide compensatory education and financial assistance to some black pupils result in reverse discrimination?

It is too early for there to be any thorough findings to answer these questions and too early to make any valid comment on the

ways in which they are being answered. The commitment seems genuine. The private schools have taken an irrevocable step: they have fully identified themselves with multi-racial alternatives. The success or failure of the open school has become the success or failure of private education in South Africa, at least in its essence.

The economics of the open school is, therefore, only one of its problems, but it is nonetheless a relevant one, and it has a corollary: if a school is genuinely to be 'open', then surely it is open to all regardless of race, colour, creed or economic circumstances?

This again comes back to the question of providing the opportunities for the genuine opening of the private school by making good some of the obvious shortfall in income that would result. What solutions are there?

Provincial subsidies are in part a solution, but there are major qualifications. Subsidies are unavailable in the Transvaal where the largest number of private schools are situated. In Natal they are generous, in the Cape, less so, but there is always the question of the strings attached. In Natal these strings have never been pulled while the position in the Cape is of too recent an origin to assess, but they are there, particularly in view of the 1967 National Education Policy Act where a school in receipt of a subsidy is deemed to be a state school and is required, in theory at any rate, to implement a

Christian and National Education Policy, repugnant to its very philosophy. The South African Teachers Council For Whites Act follows the same definition, thus requiring staff at these schools to be registered, thereby interfering with the often-stated freedom of a private school headmaster to employ whomsoever he chooses. Furthermore, there is always the possibility, remote though it may be, that a subsidy, once given, can always be withdrawn.

All this places the private school in a dilemma. It has to choose between alleviating its financial burdens with a subsidy and thereby opening the door to state intervention and possible loss of independence, or rejecting the subsidy and increasing its fees, with all the implications that that carries.

It is probably unlikely under the present political circumstances that much can be done to remove the suspicion with which subsidies are viewed. The traditional approach of some of these schools, whereby subsidies are not made a part of essential revenue but are viewed as a kind of 'bonus' without which the school could, if necessary, survive, is probably the safest one, opportunist though it may seem. There are problems, however, for many schools are not that well-endowed that they could easily do without the subsidy, while for those which are, while the subsidies contribute towards the financial security of the school they do not bring about any significant reduction in fees. Further, there are those who would welcome subsidies in order to help them keep the fees low and who, through choice,

or perhaps even through conscience, would make the subsidy part of essential revenue.

A second possibility, which might be seen as a necessity, was raised by Professor Niven in his address to the HMC earlier this year. He urged the HMC schools to reduce their capital costs to a minimum, particularly in regard to new building construction. He stressed the importance of making the maximum use of available space and rationalising facilities. Groups of schools could, for example, share certain facilities, sporting, technological and educational. (HMC, 1980(1)). This makes a good deal of sense. Instead of each school straining its resources to provide expensive facilities and equipment, this could be done on a regional basis. Obviously, the greater the number of schools participating in such a project, the more effectively it could work.

A third possibility is the creation of a substantial central fund that could be drawn upon for capital projects and for the provision of bursaries on a national basis. The enormity of this need would necessitate the investment of a considerable amount of money in such a fund which it would be impossible for the private schools to raise by themselves. An undertaking along the lines of the Industrial Fund is certainly a strong possibility and is, indeed, currently being worked out, but it would also appear that such a fund would have to be larger than that established for the provision of science facilities, and, if it is to be used for bursaries, more permanent. It would also be

strengthened by a further move which might seem fraught with difficulties but nonetheless might be worth pursuing: a greater sharing of resources among the schools themselves.

The point is simply that the larger the fund, the greater the interest and the greater the amount of money available for the use of the schools as a whole. Two of the more prominent figures in private education expressed themselves strongly on this issue. Nearly a hundred years ago Catholic educationist F C Kolbe stated 'I have been voicing the demand for over fifty years; and have always been appealing for concerted action especially for a combined Educational Fund'. (Boner, K., 1980, p.252). As far as the Conference schools were concerned, R F Currey expressed his great disappointment that his proposed scheme for a sharing of financial resources among the six Anglican schools on the Standing Committee had not come to fruition. As late as 1971, he remained convinced that their failure to work together in this field had been a real one. (Currey, R.F., 1971).

Such developments have never happened. Certainly they are extremely sensitive ones. By far the greatest problem would appear to be that private schools have not yet reached a stage where such large-scale and intimate co-operation would be possible. Local initiatives such as the United Schools Trust, the Four Schools Trust and the Associated Trust of the Christian Brothers, Dominicans and Notre Dame sisters have, however, begun to show at least part of the way in this regard. The fear of

loss of independence is very real, however, as is the fear of bureaucratisation, and a large-scale development along these lines would not come easily. In addition, parochial loyalty is a very real factor, and while past pupils and parents might be very willing to contribute substantial sums to St X's or St Y's, they would no doubt be less willing to contribute to an amorphous fund for a private school 'movement'.

Then, of course, such a suggestion has socialist overtones in that the richer schools would be helping the poorer ones, but the question must be asked whether the most important consideration should be the greater development of a few individual schools, ornamental fishponds and all, or the promotion of an educational and spiritual ideal as a whole.

Even such a solution would no doubt only be partial. Economic problems and the problems of elitism are likely to be relatively persistent, even if they can be alleviated to some extent. This, therefore, places an additional emphasis on the educational and spiritual orientation of the private school. It is essential that economic and social privilege should be accompanied by a sense of responsibility.

Certainly, the education given at these schools should be excellent. They have opportunities for providing a broader basis and a quality that many of the state schools do not, at present at any rate, possess. They have an opportunity for educational innovation and experimentation unhampered by

bureaucratic considerations. There is every reason to expect to find the independent schools at the forefront of educational progress in this country. There is also every reason for the private school to offer superior education and every reason to avoid offering something that is inferior. Few parents would wish their children to be educationally deprived and pay for the privilege. In addition, if the schools are to move away from race, colour, creed and economic circumstances as qualifications for admission, then it would seem that ability would have to be used more and more as a basis for selection.

But it does not end there. Frank Robb's assertion that in the case of the Conference schools, 'it is the ideal of service that is lacking' (HMC, 1967(1)), is a telling one which demands serious consideration. A private school cannot afford to become an island of self-interested privilege, whatever the colour of its pupils. The development of a sense of social responsibility and service must be paramount in the context in which they work and in terms of the ideals in which they believe.

The development of such a sense of responsibility and service depends to a large extent on the environment which the school creates. Professor Reid's comments on the values inherent in this environment have been quoted above, but a few further observations might be made at this point.

In the first place, a very large part of this environment rests

upon the nature of the staff. Both Conference and Catholic schools face serious challenges in this direction. It is essential that they attract the right kind of people with the right kind of values if this process of educating by environment is to succeed. Given the general shortage of teachers, even though this affects the private schools far less than it does the state schools, this is not easy. It will probably be necessary to create a sense of community of purpose within the schools themselves through staff development programmes, possibly organised by an inter-school staff development team which could assist in the propagation of ideas and the interpretation of curricula; the discussion of the teacher's role, of moral and ethical problems. It might also be assisted by more frequent contact between teachers in these schools as well as in the development of a corporate teachers' association which, while not intended to encourage isolation from contacts outside the world of the private school, might nevertheless help to contribute to a greater sense of community within it.

Such a teachers' association might also, in the end, be a solution to another problem connected with staff recruitment. It seems possible that in the future the private schools may have to make some form of accommodation with the South African Teachers' Council for Whites, and the creation of such a teachers' association, although rejected at present, might be the best means of gaining some form of representation. If the SATCW develops to the point where it exercises significant muscle over the recognition of teachers' qualifications, then

some form of accommodation with it may well be necessary for the private schools, despite their very valid rejection of its all-white character.

A second problem connected with education by environment is that, by and large, it is becoming less and less possible to create the kind of total environment that was deemed to be an essential ingredient of such an education. The day school rather than the boarding school is becoming more and more the norm, and private schools will have to modify their approaches to suit the day school situation. This will not be easy, but it will be essential.

Equally problematical is the rapidly changing environment outside the school itself. A school which retains its essential Christian philosophy must find itself less and less in harmony with the background of its pupils. It is a challenge to which they will have to come more and more to adjust their own environment without at the same time sacrificing their principles.

A great deal of what has been said here hinges on the willingness and the ability of the private schools to co-operate even more closely than they do at present. Indeed, it has been one of the main conclusions of this thesis that these schools, different though they may all be, unique though they may all be, have more in common than such differences might indicate. And the problems that they share in common are not the most important bases for co-operation. More important is the philosophy in which they believe, the ideals which they share,

the goals which they seek to reach.

These ideals need to be propagated. They need to be propagated within and amongst the schools themselves, and they need to be propagated more widely. The private school movement as a whole may very well need to adopt a more positive, less retiring position; not in respect of advertising their matriculation results or the successes of their past pupils in the business, professional or sporting world; not in the sense of boasting the qualities of their pupils; it is the ideals themselves that need to be propagated because they represent something stable and purposeful in an unstable country in an unstable world where the danger of plunging into 'the abyss of mans' lostness' is all too real. They cannot afford to stand aloof from the educational debates of our time. Their spokesmen need to be seen and heard and active in the media, on public bodies and at public gatherings. They need to be part of the search for educational alternatives. They need to do this, not because they have to advertise the material successes of their schools, but because they represent an educational ideal that they should believe is valid, relevant, immediate and urgent, or they should not be involved in it. Their convictions, their courage, their ideals should be an inspiration to a bewildered public.

Perhaps even more important is the quality of the lives of the men and women who pass through these schools. It is here that the ideals are realised or not. The quality of the lives and minds of these people will depend to a large extent on the

quality of their education in the broadest possible sense. The quality of this education depends in turn upon the priorities and values of the schools. As the Archbishop of Cape Town told parents and pupils at St Cyprian's in 1958, 'If the principles held at a Church school are right, I do not fear greatly for the practice'. (de Blank, J., 1958).

It is probably simplistic to assume that the reason for a large number of parents not sending their children to private schools is economic, important though such considerations undoubtedly are. It is also a question of values; a question of how people consider it worthwhile to spend their money. Parental assertions that one kind of education is as good as another so why pay extra reflects either ignorance or misplaced values on the part of the parents or a failure on the part of the private schools to prove that such an assertion is not valid. It is probably a combination of both. Many parents might well benefit from rethinking their values; many schools may well need to rethink their priorities.

APPENDIX A

ROMAN CATHOLIC SCHOOLS IN SOUTH AFRICA: 1980

Cape Province

Primary Schools:

St Aloysius School, Cape Town, Marist Brothers, A
St Brigid's, Cape Town, Irish Dominican, A
Sacred Heart Convent, Lower Plumstead, Irish Dominican, A
St Michael's, Rondebosch, Irish Dominican, A
St Agnes's, Woodstock, Irish Dominican, A
Holy Cross Convent, Belville, Holy Cross
Holy Cross Convent, Brooklyn, Holy Cross
St Joseph's Primary, Oudtshoorn, Holy Cross, A
Holy Cross Convent, George, Holy Cross, A
Mater Admirabilis, Uitenhage, Irish Dominican, A
St Eugene's, Port Elizabeth, Irish Dominican, A
St Joseph's, Port Elizabeth, Irish Dominican, A
Assumption Convent, Grahamstown, Assumptionist, A
St Anne's School, East London, King Dominican
Hillcrescent School, King William's Town, King Dominican, A

Primary and Secondary Schools:

St John's, Green Point, Christian Brothers
St Joseph's College, Rondebosch, Marist Brothers
Springfield Convent, Wynberg, Irish Dominican
Loreto Convent, Sea Point, Loreto IBVM
Loreto Convent, Strand, Loreto IBVM
Maris Stella Convent, Port Elizabeth, Irish Dominican
Holy Rosary Convent, Port Elizabeth, Irish Dominican
St Dominic's Priory, Walmer, Port Elizabeth, Irish Dominican
St Patrick's College, Walmer, Port Elizabeth, Marist Brothers
Sacred Heart Convent, King William's Town, King Dominican
Holy Cross Convent, Aliwal North, Holy Cross
St Patrick's College, Kimberley, Christian Brothers

Secondary Schools:

Holy Cross Convent, Maitland, Holy Cross
St Mary's Convent, Cape Town, Irish Dominican
Star of the Sea, St James, Irish Dominican

Natal

Primary Schools:

St Patrick's Primary School, Kokstad, Holy Cross, A
Holy Childhood Convent, Eshowe, Holy Childhood

Primary and Secondary Schools:

Maris Stella Convent, Berea, Holy Family, A
Our Lady of Fatima School, Durban, Newcastle Dominican, A
St Henry's College, Durban, Marist Brothers, A
Convent High School, Glenmore, Holy Family, A
St Mary's, Verulam, Oakford Dominicans, A
Our Lady of Wisdom, Pinetown, Sisters of the Precious Blood, A
St Thomas More School, Kloof, Parochial, A
St Dominic's Academy, Newcastle, Newcastle Dominican, A
Nardini Convent, Vryheid, Franciscan Sisters of the Holy Family

Orange Free State

Primary and Secondary Schools:

Christian Brothers College, Bloemfontein, Christian Brothers, A
St Agnes's Convent, Welkom, King Dominican, A
Edmund Rice College, Welkom, Christian Brothers, A

Transvaal

Primary Schools:

Assumption Convent, Pretoria North, Assumptionist
St Paulus Kloosterskool, Pretoria, Irish Dominican
Our Lady of Mercy Convent, Craighall Park, Sisters of Mercy
Assumption Convent, Malvern, Assumptionist

St Paul's, Orchards, Johannesburg, Parochial, A
St Catherine's, Germiston, Newcastle Dominican
Sacred Heart Convent, Belgravia, King Dominican
Benoni Convent, Benoni, Newcastle Dominican
Sancta Maria Convent, Vanderbijlpark, Irish Dominican
St Ursula's, Krugersdorp, Ursuline
St Peter's, Nelspruit, Franciscans of the Immaculate Conception

Primary and Secondary Schools:

Loreto Convent, Skinner Street, Pretoria, Loreto IBVM
Loreto Convent, Queenswood, Loreto, IBVM
Iona Convent, Capital Park, Pretoria, Sisters of Mercy
Mount Edmund College, Silverton, Pretoria, Christian Brothers
Marian College, Linmeyer, Johannesburg, Marist Brothers
Sacred Heart College, Observatory, Marist Brothers
Brescia House, Bryanston, Ursuline
Convent of Mercy, Mayfair, Sisters of Mercy
St Theresa's Convent, Rosebank, Sisters of Mercy
St David's College, Inanda, Marist Brothers
Holy Cross Convent, Victory Park, Holy Cross
de la Salle College, Victory Park, de la Salle Brothers
Parktown Convent, Parktown, Holy Family
McCaughey House, Parktown West, Sisters of Mercy
St John Bosco, Daleside, Salesians of Don Bosco
Holy Rosary Convent, Edenvale, Holy Rosary
St Benedict's College, Bedfordview, Oblate Fathers
Convent High School, Boksburg, Newcastle Dominican
St Aquinas College, Boksburg, Christian Brothers
Our Lady of Mercy, Springs, King Dominican
St Brendan's College, Springs, Christian Brothers
St Catherine's, Florida, Irish Dominicans
de la Salle College, Discovery, de la Salle Brothers
Assumption Convent, Maryvale, Johannesburg, Assumptionist
St Conrad's, Klerksdorp, Brothers of Charity
Selly Park Convent, Rustenburg, Sisters of Charity
St Thomas Aquinas, Witbank, King Dominican
College of the Little Flower, Pietersburg, Brothers of Charity

A - aided/subsidised school

Kindergartens, special schools and orphanages have not been included in this list.

Schools run by the Oblate Fathers, the Salesians and parochial schools have been included in this list, but are not shown on maps 1 - 5.

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APPENDIX B

CONFERENCE SCHOOLS IN SOUTH AFRICA: 1980

Cape Province

Primary Schools:

Diocesan College Preparatory, Rondebosch, Boys, CPSA
Western Province Preparatory, Claremont, Boys, CPSA
St George's Grammar School Preparatory, Mowbray, Boys, CPSA
St George's Preparatory, Port Elizabeth, Boys, I
St Andrew's Preparatory, Grahamstown, Boys, CPSA
Woodridge Preparatory, Thornhill, Co-ed, I
Somerset House Preparatory, Somerset West, Boys, I

Primary and Secondary Schools:

Kingswood College, Grahamstown, Co-ed, M
Diocesan School for Girls, Grahamstown, Girls, CPSA
Herschel, Claremont, Girls, CPSA
St Cyprian's, Capetown, Girls, CPSA

Secondary Schools:

*Diocesan College, Rondebosch, Boys, CPSA
*St Andrew's College, Grahamstown, Boys, CPSA
*St George's Grammar School, Mowbray, Boys, CPSA
*Woodridge College, Thornhill, Boys, I

Natal

Primary Schools:

Clifton Preparatory, Durban, Boys, I, A
Clifton Preparatory, Nottingham Road, Boys, I, A
Cordwalles, Pietermaritzburg, Boys, CPSA, A
Cowan House Preparatory, Hilton, Boys, I, A
Highbury Preparatory, Hillcrest, Boys, I, A

Treverton Preparatory, Mooi River, Boys, I, A

Primary and Secondary Schools:

Durban Girls College, Durban, Girls, P, A

St Mary's DSG, Kloof, Girls, CPSA, A

St Charles's College, Pietermaritzburg, Boys, I, A

Epworth, Pietermaritzburg, Girls, M, A

Girls Collegiate, Pietermaritzburg, Girls, I, A

St John's, Pietermaritzburg, Girls, CPSA, A

Wykeham School, Pietermaritzburg, Girls, I, A

St Anne's, Hilton, Girls, CPSA, A

Secondary Schools:

Hilton College, Hilton, Boys, I, A

Kearsney College, Botha's Hill, Boys, M, A

Michaelhouse, Balgowan, Boys, CPSA, A

*Treverton College, Mooi River, Boys, I, A

Orange Free State

Primary Schools:

St Andrew's School, Welkom, Co-ed, CPSA, A

Transvaal

Primary Schools:

Pridwin, Melrose, Johannesburg, Boys, I

The Ridge, Westcliff, Boys, I, A

St John's Preparatory, Houghton, Boys, CPSA

St Katharine's, Parktown, Girls, I

St Stithian's Preparatory, Randburg, Boys, M

Auckland Park Preparatory, Auckland Park, Co-ed, I, A

St Peter's, Rivonia, Boys, CPSA

Waterkloof House, Pretoria, Boys, I

Uplands Preparatory, White River, Co-ed, CPSA, A

Primary and Secondary Schools:

St Martin's, Rosettenville, Johannesburg, Co-ed, CPSA
Kingsmead, Melrose, Girls, I, A
Rodean, Parktown, Girls, I, A
St Mary's, Waverley, Girls, CPSA
St Andrew's School, Bedfordview, Girls, I, A
St Mary's DSG, Pretoria, Girls, CPSA

Secondary Schools:

St Alban's College, Pretoria, Boys, CPSA
*St John's College, Houghton, Boys, CPSA
St Barnabas College, Westdene, Co-ed, CPSA
Woodmead, Bryamston, Co-ed, I
*St Stithian's College, Randburg, Boys, M

A - aided/subsidised

CPSA - Church of the Province of South Africa (Anglican)

M - Methodist

P - Presbyterian

I - Interdenominational

* - Indicates that this school has a primary department
represented separately on HMC and hence appears elsewhere
on this list

APPENDIX C

ROMAN CATHOLIC TEACHING ORDERS IN SOUTH AFRICA

The Order of the Assumption

The Assumptionists were founded in Paris by Abbe Caubelot in 1840 as a specialist teaching order.

It was from one of the daughter-houses in Belgium that Bishop Devereaux recruited the first sisters who accompanied him from Antwerp to Port Elizabeth in 1880 to open the first South African convent in Grahamstown.

Schools:

St Catherine's, Grahamstown, 1850
St Joseph's Free School, Grahamstown, 1850-1868
Sacred Heart School, Grahamstown, 1857-1868
Convent High School, Bedford, 1899-1979
Convent High School, Port Alfred, 1920-1950
Convent High School, Somerset East, 1924-1960
Assumption Convent High, Maryvale, Jhb., 1939
Assumption Convent High, Malvern, JHb., 1946
Assumption Convent High, Durban, 1952-1979
Assumption Convent Primary, Pretoria North, 1952
St Augustine's, Port Elizabeth, 1918

Augustinian Sisters of the Mercy of Jesus

The congregation of the Mercy of Jesus had its origins in the Nursing Sisters in Dieppe, and was probably in existence towards the close of the 12th century, following the Augustinian rule. Most of the early records from Dieppe were destroyed, but the congregation itself flourished and spread to many other towns in France, especially in Brittany. In 1639 the first sisters went to Canada.

More than two-hundred years after the Canadian mission, the first sisters came to South Africa. Bishop Jolivet brought them to

Natal in 1891 for the purpose of opening hospitals. By 1894 they had already recruited two novices on South African soil.

Schools:

Convent High School Estcourt, 1892-1966(?)

Convent High School, Ladysmith, 1895-1966

Brothers of Charity

Canon Peter Joseph Triest was the founder of the Brothers of Charity. His work spanned the dissolution of religious houses in Belgium during the French Revolution and their restoration under Napoleon. The foundation of the order in 1807, was the direct result of the need to staff the Home for the Aged at Byloke, Ghent, of which he had been appointed director and which had fallen upon hard times under secular control. He drew up a rule for the order which was formally approved by the local bishop in 1809.

Their main work was initially among the poor, the aged and the mentally ill, but education began as a sideline. Gradually it became more important and the Brothers began opening schools in Belgium. Their first foundation outside Belgium was at Montreal, Canada in 1865 followed by the United States, Ireland, Holland and Zaire.

The Brothers came to South Africa in 1928 at the request of Monsignor van Nuffel, to work in the missionaru field in the Northern Transvaal.

Schools:

College of the Little Flower, Pietersburg, 1928

St Conrad's College, Klerksdorp, 1965

Christian Brothers

Good education in Ireland in the 19th century was limited to an upper strata of society catered for by Anglican and Protestant schools. The foundation of the Christian Brothers by Edmund Rice, approved by the pope in 1820, was designed to provide education

for poor Catholic children. The brotherhood started in Waterford and spread, despite its being outlawed between 1829 (Catholic Relief Act) and 1922.

The brothers came to South Africa in 1897 to open a school for the Catholics at Kimberley at the request of Bishop Anthony Guaghren.

Schools:

St Patrick's College, Kimberley, 1897
CBC Pretoria, 1922 (now called Mount Edmund College)
St Aquinas College, Boksburg, 1935
St John's College, Green Point, 1935
St Agnes Parochial, Woodstock, 1936
CBC Bloemfontein, 1946
Edmund Rice College, Welkom, 1950
St Brendan's College, Springs, 1964

The Daughters of St Ursula - Ursulines

The Ursulines were founded by Angela Merici, who was born in Desenzano, Italy. The 'institute' that she founded in 1535 for the education of young girls appears to have been in part the result of a vision. The name of the order was also a result of a vision in which the 5th century martyr St Ursula appeared to Angela Merici while she was praying for blessing upon her order.

At that time the religious life for women tended to be contemplative; a withdrawal from the world. Angela Merici's order was thus an innovation in that its expressed intention was to go out into the world and teach.

The Ursulines arrived in South Africa in 1896 at the request of the Prefect Apostolic of the Transvaal, and opened their first convent at Barberton.

Schools:

Barberton Convent, 1896-1907
Braamfontein Convent, Johannesburg, 1899-1907 (to
Sisters of Mercy)
St Ursula's, Krugersdorp, 1904

St Joseph's, Roodepoort, 1912-1966 (to de la Salle)
St Angela's, Bezuidenhout Valley, Jhb, 1914- 1980
(to Sacred Heart College)
St Peter and St Paul, Krugersdorp, 1920 (now
(part of St Ursula's)
Brescia House, Bryanston, 1966

de la Salle Brothers

The de la Salle Brothers took their name from their founder who established a community of brothers in Paris in 1684 to provide a Christian education to children. The initial brothers were recruited from among the teachers in the charity schools. The order received papal recognition in 1725.

The de la Salle brothers were outlawed in France during the French Revolution, but were recalled after Napoleon had signed the Concordat with Pope Pius VII. in 1802.

The brothers came to South Africa in 1904 at the invitation of Bishop MacSherry, and opened their first school in King William's Town.

Schools:

St Joseph's School, King William's Town, 1904-1957
St Marks Road School, East London, 1932-1953
de la Salle College, Vincent, East London, 1953-
197?
St Anthony's, East London, 1939-1979
de la Salle College, Victory Park, Jhb, 1957
de la Salle College, Discovery, 1966

The Dominicans

The Dominican orders owe their origins to Dominic de Guzman, a 13th century Spanish nobleman who responded to a request from Pope Innocent III to combat the Albigensian heresy in Europe. St Dominic laid great stress on education as a means of combatting heresy and apart from the order of preachers that he

established for this purpose, he also established a convent of nuns at Prouille in France. The nuns took an active role in converting and instructing heretics and in educating young people. From their house at Prouille the Dominican nuns spread all over Europe and the British Isles.

The South African Dominicans:

1. The King Dominicans

The Dominicans of King William's Town, who acquired the title of the 'King' Dominicans, came originally from the convent of St Ursula in Augsburg, Bavaria, Germany. This convent had begun as a Beguinage in 1335. A Beguinage (named after Lambert de Begue, d.1177) was a semi-religious institution for poorer persons who were free to leave and marry if they so wished. In 1394 the convent became affiliated to the Third Order of St Dominic and took the form of a full religious institution. The order was banned in 1802 but restored in 1828, after which it began with zeal to undertake educational work.

The first nuns arrived in King William's Town in 1877 under the supervision of Bishop Ricards.

Schools:

- Sacred Heart Convent, King William's Town, 1878
- Hillcrescent School, King William's Town, 1878
- Sacred Heart Convent, East London, 1883-1976
- St Anne's School, East London, 1955
- Convent of the Sacred Heart, Potchefstroom,
1886-1972
- Convent of the Sacred Heart, Klerksdorp, 1896 -
1980 (now St Conrad's College)
- Convent of the Sacred Heart, Graaff-Reinet,
1894-1970
- Convent of the Sacred Heart, Fort Beaufort,
1899-1968
- Maris Stella, East London, 1899-1971
- Convent of the Sacred Heart, Queenstown, 1903-
1974
- Convent of the Sacred Heart, Cradock, 1906-1967

Springfield Convent, Wynberg, 1871
Sacred Heart Convent, Somerset Rd, 1883-1977 (now
incorporated in Star of the Sea)
St Patrick's School, Somerset Rd, 1883-1927 (then
incorporated into Sacred Heart)
St Anne's Primary School, Wynberg, 1896-1971 (now
incorporated into Santa Sabina)
St Dominic's Priory, Port Elizabeth, 1900
St Michael's, Rondebosch, 1906
Star of the Sea, St James, 1908
St Thomas's Private Secondary School, Rondebosch,
exact dates not known. Closed
before World War II.
St Catherine's, Claremont, 1932-1971
St Joseph's, Simonstown, 1936-1973
Aquinas Convent, Stellenbosch, 1941-1959
St Patrick's Junior, Mowbray, 1943
St Anne's, Walmer, Port Elizabeth, 1954-1979 (now
incorporated into St Dominic's)
Sancta Maria, Vanderbijlpark, 1956
Santa Sabina, Plumstead, 1956
St Catherine's, Florida, 1957
St Paulus Kloosterskool, Pretoria, 1962

3. Oakford Dominicans

The King Dominicans who started a school for Zulu children at Oakford and a white school in Verulam in 1889 formed an independent order working within the Natal vicariate.

Schools:

St Mary's Convent, Verulam, 1890

4. Newcastle Dominicans

The Newcastle Dominicans was an offshoot of the Oakford congregation which also became an independent South Africa congregation.

Schools:

Convent School, Newcastle, 1891 (absorbed

into St Dominic's Academy)

Holy Rosary Convent, Dundee, 1898-1972

St Dominic's Academy, Newcastle, 1909

St Rose's, La Rochelle, Jhb, 1905-1979

Holy Childhood Convent, Benoni, 1909

St Catherine's, Germiston, 1909

St Pius, Pietersburg, 1913-1970

St Dominic's, Boksburg, 1923

St Dominic's, Port Shepstone, 1921-1971

Our Lady of Fatima, Durban North, 1956

St Joseph's, Primrose, Germiston, 1956-1977

Franciscan Sisters of the Holy Family of Mellersdorf (Nardini)

The Nardini sisters took their abbreviated name from their founder, Father, Dr Paul Josef Nardini. In 1851 he was appointed parish priest of Pirmasens, an industrial town on the Rhine, where the typical social evils of the Industrial Revolution were very much evident. Dr Nardini saw his first duty as alleviating the lot of the neglected children, the poor, and the sick. He set up a house in Pirmasens and after the initial sisters were withdrawn by their superior in 1855 he began a new order with two novices he had recruited. It was to follow the rule of the Third Order of St Francis. The full title was created after the sisters had moved to an old Benedictine monastery in Mellersdorf near Regensburg in 1869 in which they established a new mother-house.

Bishop Bilgari of the diocese of Eshowe had his early education in one of the sisters' orphanages. He invited them to open a convent school in his diocese in 1956.

Schools:

Nardini Convent, Vryheid, 1956

Holy Cross Sisters of Menzingen

The main purpose behind the foundation of the Holy Cross congregation in 1844 was the need that was felt by the Catholic

Church to rechristianise the education of women in Europe. The Church found itself having to come to grips with the radical secularism of a revolutionary age and resolved to fight this through the education of youth. The specific function of the Holy Cross sisters was the education of Catholic children in the Volksschule in Switzerland.

They came to South Africa in 1883 at the request of Abbot Pfanner of the Trappist mission at Marianhill. On their arrival they found that Bishop Jolivet had plans for them to start their work in the Transkei.

Schools:

Umtata, 1883-1966

Cala, 1894-1967

Kokstad, 1894

George, 1895

Cambridge, East London, 1901-1907

Oudtshoorn, 1902

Mossel Bay, 1904-1951

Aliwal North, 1907

Belville, 1911

Maitland, 1916

Victory Park, Jhb, 1954

Brooklyn, Cape Town, 1955

The Holy Family of Bordeaux

Father Pierre-Bienvenu Noailles founded the congregation of the Holy Family of Nazareth in May 1820 to work in his native province of Bordeaux. The congregation was initially divided into a number of branches for teaching, nursing, running orphanages, farming, contemplation etc. The rule was finally approved by the pope in 1903 when the branches were reduced to four.

The Holy Family sisters came to South Africa initially in 1864 at the request of Bishop Allard, to work in the missionary field at Roma, Lesotho. They began their first white schools

under Bishop Jolivet in 1875 in Pietermaritzburg and Durban.

Schools:

St Mary's, Pietermaritzburg, 1875-1978
Convent High, Pietermaritzburg, 1875-1972
St Joseph's, Durban, 1875-1969 (now incorporated into Glenmore)
Convent High School, Durban (now Glenmore), 1875
Greenhill Convent, Bloemfontein, 1876-1980
Convent High School, Kimberley, 1878-1969
End St Convent, Jhb, 1887-1966
President St Parochial, Jhb, 1889-1949
St Agnes, Durban (Greyville), 1904-1976
Parktown Convent, Jhb, 1905
Maris Stella, Berea, Durban, 1899

Institute of the Blessed Virgin Mary (Loreto)

The institute was founded in St Omer, Flanders, in 1609 by Mary Ward. It was intended to be the female counterpart of the Jesuit order which had been established to spearhead the educational drive of the Counter-Reformation.

The sisters who came to South Africa were from the Irish branch of the institute which had been established in Rathfarnham in the early 19th century by Mother Theresa Ball. She called the convent Loreto after the Holy Shrine of Loreto in Italy, and henceforward the Irish sisters were known as the Loreto sisters while retaining the official title and rule of the original Institute of the Blessed Virgin Mary.

The sisters who came to Pretoria in 1878 at the request of Bishop Jolivet came from the convent at Navan in Ireland which had been founded from the original house at Rathfarnham. They were led by Jolivet's sister, Mother Margaret Mary.

Schools:

Skinner St, Pretoria, 1878
Lydenburg, 1893-1969
Hillcrest, Pretoria, 1924 (now incorporated into Queenshill)

Strand, 1925

Sea Point, 1927

Waterkloof Junior School, Pretoria, 1957-1973 (now
incorporated into Queenshill)

Camps Bay Junior School, Camps Bay, 1958-1970 (now
incorporated into Strand)

Queenshill, Queenswood Pretoria, 1961

Missionary Sisters of Our Lady of the Holy Rosary

The congregation of the Missionary Sisters of the Holy Rosary was founded in 1924 at Killeshandra, Ireland, by Bishop Shanahan for the purpose of missionary work in Southern Nigeria, where their work began in 1928. By the 1960's there were 22 mission centres there with schools, hospitals and clinics.

In 1940 they responded to an invitation to work in South Africa and opened a small school in Edenvale in 1941. They have also been involved in hospital services.

Schools:

Holy Rosary Convent, Edenvale, 1941

Holy Rosary Convent, Vereeniging, 1941-1973

For some time the sisters also ran the Sancta Maria
Convent, Vanderbijlpark before
handing it over to the Irish
Dominicans in 1956

Marist Brothers

Marcellin Champagnat had begun the Society of Mary while he was still a student at the Theological Seminary in Lyons during the late Napoleonic era. The society aimed at the salvation of souls through missionary work and teaching. The society was transformed into an order of brothers after Champagnat had taken up his first post in La Valla and had been shocked by the high level of illiteracy there. The Society of Mary was amalgamated with other similar societies into a fully-fledged teaching order. The main object of the new order was to provide schooling in isolated rural parishes. The Marists

were expelled from France in 1903 and set up their new headquarters in Rome. They only returned to France on the eve of the Second World War in 1939.

South Africa was their first area of missionary teaching work. They came to Cape Town in 1867 at the request of Bishop Grimley.

Schools:

- St Aloysius, Cape Town, 1867
- St Joseph's Academy, Cape Town, 1867-1953 (then incorporated into St Joseph's College)
- St Augustine's, Port Elizabeth, 1879-1918 (then taken over by Assumptionists)
- St Patrick's School, Walmer, Port Elizabeth, 1882
- Our Lady of Good Hope College, Uitenhage, 1884-1951
- St Charles's, Pietermaritzburg, 1914-1978 (now an interdenominational HMC school)
- Marist School, Cala, 1905-1916
- Sacred Heart College, Johannesburg, 1889-1965
- St Joseph's College, Rondebosch, 1918
- St David's, Bloemfontein, 1924-1938
- Sacred Heart College, Observatory, JHB, 1926
- St Henry's College, Durban, 1929
- St David's College, Inanda, Jhb, 1940
- Marian College, Linmeyer, Jhb, 1966 (formerly the Sacred Heart College, Koch St)

Missionary Sisters of the Precious Blood

The Missionary Sisters of the Precious Blood were essentially a South African missionary congregation. They were founded by Abbot Francis Pfanner in 1883 to assist his monks in their work among the Zulu people at the Trappist mission of Mariannahill (founded 1882).

The original five recruits came from Europe. They followed a rule established by the Abbot himself and which was approved by Rome in 1885.

The sisters worked predominantly among the Zulus on the various mission stations in Natal, but later spread to Transkei, Zimbabwe,

Kenya, Tanzania, Zaire, Europe and America.

Their entry into the field of white education in South Africa came after the Bantu Education Act of 1953 caused some of the sisters to be replaced by black teachers at the mission schools.

Schools:

Our Lady of Wisdom, Pinetown, 1953

Queenshill Convent, Pretoria, 1961 (taken over
by Loreto sisters in 1975)

Servants of the Holy Infancy of Jesus (Holy Childhood)

The Holy Childhood sisters are a German congregation, the Dienerinnen der Heiligen Kindheit Jesu, founded in Wurzburg in 1855 by Antonia Weir for the main purpose of rehabilitating wayward women.

They were invited to South Africa by Bishop Bilgari in 1952 to work in the Diocese of Eshowe.

Schools:

Holy Childhood Convent, Eshowe, 1953

Sisters of Charity of St Paul the Apostle

In 1847, Dr Tandy, parish priest of Banbury, England, acting on the advice of Bishop, later Cardinal, Wiseman, made an appeal to the Sisters of Charity of St Paul at Chartres, France, for two sisters to start an entirely independent English order at Banbury. Thus, though the English sisters of Charity were a new congregation in 1847, they had much older antecedents. Their work was largely in the field of education but also included nursing and social services.

In 1954 eight sisters came to the Transvaal at the request of Archbishop Garner of Pretoria. As well as providing teaching and nursing services at the Modimong mission, they have been involved in education for white children.

Schools:

St Mary's, Zeerust, 1955-1970

Selly Park Convent, Rustenburg, 1966

Sisters of Mercy

Founded by Elizabeth Catherine McAuley who was born into a wealthy Catholic family in Dublin, Ireland, on 29th September, 1787. The congregation began as a lay society of ladies who spent a few hours a day teaching and whose work was supervised by the local bishop. The society grew increasingly to lead a religious and monastic life and was formally constituted into a religious order in 1829.

The Sisters of Mercy came to South Africa at the request of the Rev Father Park OMI working in Bechuanaland. Eight sisters opened the first Mercy convent in Mafeking in 1897.

Schools:

Mafeking, 1898-1968

Braamfontein, 1908 (now McAuley House, Parktown West).

Mayfair, 1908

Iona Convent, Pretoria, 1923

St Theresa's, Rosebank, Jhb, 1930

Craighall Park, 1957

Sisters of Notre Dame de Namur

Despite the name, the Notre Dame congregation was actually founded in Amiens in the 19th century by Julie Billiart, a peasant from Picardy, and Viscountess Francois de Bourbon in whose brother's house in Amiens the crippled Julie was hidden during the French Revolution. Viscountess Francois herself was sentenced to death during the Revolution but was saved from the guillotine by the fall of Robespierre. After the Revolution the two women worked to establish an order of teaching sisters. Between 1804 and 1816 nineteen schools were established centred on Namur in Belgium.

The Notre Dame sisters came to South Africa from elsewhere in Africa rather than, as was usual, from Europe. They arrived from Rhodesia in 1903 at the invitation of Bishop Gaughren to open their first convent and school in the Orange Free State.

Schools:

Kroonstad, 1903-1974

Venterspost, 1958-1968

Bergvliet, Constantia, ? - 1972

Note

This list of congregations and schools is not exhaustive. Only primary and secondary schools for white children have been listed. Many of these congregations have also assisted in the running of parish schools and some have run and still run kindergartens, special schools and orphanages which have not been included here. A couple of convent schools have also not been traced. Occasional references have been found to extinct convents at De Aar and Fishhoek, but no information could be obtained on these.

The congregation that ran St Mary's, Virginia, during the 1960's has also not been identified. In addition, since further information could not be obtained from the Franciscan Sisters of the Immaculate Conception, who run St Peter's School, Nelspruit, they were not included in the above summaries. This has also been the case with the Salesians, who ran at least four schools for whites of which there remains only St John Bosco College, Daleside.

The lists in Annexures A and C as well as the information in Chapter 111 have been compiled from a number of different and often conflicting sources. Written histories, provincial lists, lists from ECAR and the Department of Schools have all been used and the information has been checked with the teaching orders themselves by letter, telephone or personal interview. The information is thus as accurate as possible, but it is hoped that persons associated with individual schools that may have

been omitted from these lists or from the history in Chapter
111 will forgive the oversight.

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- 1.1 Collection of the Association of Private Schools and Conference of Headmasters and Headmistresses (APS/HMC)
 - Papers of the Standing Committee of Associated Church Schools, 1947-1973
 - Papers of the Conference of Headmasters and Headmistresses, 1929-1980
 - Papers of the Association of Private Schools, 1973-1979

- 1.2 Archives of the Church of the Province of South Africa, University of the Witwatersrand
 - Standing Committee of Associated Church Schools, Records 1947-1971
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 - Bishop Reeves Papers, 1949-1962
 - St John's College, Records 1907-1964
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 - St Mary's Cathedral, Records
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- 1.3 Collection of the Education Council of Associated Religious (ECAR)
 - Papers of the Department of Schools 1974-1979 (miscellaneous)
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- 1.4 Catholic Church Collection, University of the Witwatersrand
 - Miscellaneous manuscripts and statistics collected by Father J Brady OMI pertaining to religious congregations in South Africa

- 1.5 Methodist Church Archives, Cory Library, Rhodes University
 - Miscellaneous papers concerning Kingswood College

- 1.6 Harold Strange Collection, Johannesburg Public Library
 - Prospectuses of Catholic and Conference schools ranging from 1936 to the present. The prospectuses of the following schools were consulted:
 - Assumption Convent, Grahamstown
 - Assumption Convent, Maryvale
 - Auckland Park Preparatory School, Johannesburg
 - Christian Brothers College, Kimberley
 - Clifton Preparatory School, Nottingham Road
 - Convent High School, Graaff-Reinet
 - Convent High School, Pietermaritzburg

Cordwalles Preparatory School, Balgowan
Diocesan College, Rondebosch
DSG, Grahamstown
Durban Girls College
Epworth School, Pietermaritzburg
Girls Collegiate School, Pietermaritzburg
Highbury Preparatory School, Durban
Hilton College, Hilton Road
Holy Family Convent, Yeoville
Holy Rosary Convent, Port Elizabeth
Kingsmead School, Melrose
Kings School, Nottingham Road
Kingswood College, Grahamstown
Loreto Convent, Skinner Street Pretoria
Maris Stella Convent, Durban
Mercy Convent, Mayfair
Oakford Priory, Verulam
Parktown Convent, Parktown
Pridwin Preparatory School, Melrose
The Ridge Preparatory School, Westcliff
Rodean School, Johannesburg
Sacred Heart College, Observatory
Sacred Heart Convent, East London
Sacred Heart Convent, Ermelo
Sacred Heart Convent, Klerksdorp
Sacred Heart Convent, Potchefstroom
Somerset House Preparatory School, Somerset West
Springfield Convent, Wynberg
St Aidans College, Grahamstown
St Albans College, Pretoria
St Andrews College, Grahamstown
St Andrews School, Bloemfontein
St Andrews School, Welkom
St Annes Diocesan School for Girls, Hilton Road
St Barnabas College, Westdene
St Charles College, Pietermaritzburg
St Cyprians School, Cape Town
St Davids College, Inanda
St Dominics Academy, Newcastle
St Dominics Convent, Boksburg
St Dunstons Memorial School, Benoni
St Georges Grammar School, Mowbray
St Johns College, Houghton
St Johns High School, Scottsville
St Katharines School, Parktown
St Marks Diocesan, George
St Martins School, Rosettenville
St Marys DSG, Pretoria
St Marys School, Waverley
St Michaels School, Bloemfontein
St Patricks College, Walmer
St Peters Preparatory School, Rivonia
St Pius Convent, Pietersburg
St Stithians College, Randburg
St Winifreds Diocesan, George
St Winifreds School for Girls, Parktown

Waterkloof House Preparatory School, Pretoria
Western Province Preparatory School, Claremont
Woodridge Preparatory School, Thornhill
Wykeham School, Pietermaritzburg

2. INTERVIEWS AND CORRESPONDENCE

Mr G C L Clarke, Secretary of Association of Private Schools
and Conference of Headmasters and Headmistresses
Sr Columba, Augustinian Convent, Estcourt
Sr Columba, Missionary Sisters of the Precious Blood, Pinetown
Sr E C Holzhaus, Reginal Superior, Holy Rosary Convent,
Edenvale
Br Jude, Chairman of Education Council of Associated
Religious and Brother Provincial of Marist Brothers
Sr Louis Michael, Secretary of Education Council of
Associated Religious
Sr Majella, Regional Councillor, St Mary's Convent, Cape Town
Sr Marie Andre and Sr Anne Julie, Sisters of Notre Dame de
Namur, Kroonstad and Johannesburg
Br Patrick, District Superior, Brothers of Charity, Klerksdorp
Sr I Rauscher, Principal, Nardini Convent School, Vryheid
Sr M Salvatore, St Dominics Academy, Newcastle
Sr Sebastian, Assumption Convent, Grahamstown
Sr M Theolind, Regional Superior, Holy Childhood Convent,
Eshowe
Sr Vianney, Sister Superior, Selly Park Convent, Rustenburg

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