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Title: 'Christian Compounds for Girls': Church Hostels for African Women
in Johannesburg, 1907-1970.

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'CHRISTIAN COMPOUNDS FOR GIRLS':

CHURCH HOSTELS FOR AFRICAN WOMEN IN JOHANNESBURG, 1907 - 1970.

Compounds in the mining industry gave Rand and Kimberley capitalists a vital means of industrial and police control of their labour force, as well as enabling them 'to provide amenities such as recreation and health supervision' (1), no less important for the smooth running of the mines. Local authorities adapted this idea in open compounds for casual labourers and, as Davenport has noted, 'it was a short step from the municipal compound to the "native hostel", which became a common feature of municipal locations in the larger centres under the stimulus of the Urban Areas Act of 1923.' (2)

This paper examines three hostels for African women which were established in Johannesburg by missionaries of the Anglican and Methodist Churches, and the American Board Mission. These hostels were, in a sense, attempts to set up Christian compounds for girls (3), centres of accommodation which would limit the free movement (especially at night) and supervise the employment of African females, most of whom were domestic servants. There were, however, key differences between these church efforts, which were duplicated in other large urban centres like Pretoria and Cape Town, and mine compounds. For one thing, 'recreation and health supervision' was a priority in church hostels on moral and religious grounds, rather than for reasons of industrial efficiency; that is, African women and girls were to be kept sexually chaste by means of safe accommodation, regular spiritual teaching, constructive use of leisure, and the personal supervision of a 'kindly Christian Matron', the moral purity and security of women being of intrinsic value in missionary eyes, though they also pointed out to whites whom they hoped to win over, the advantage of having healthy, decent female servants working in their homes and looking after their children. Secondly, hostels depended on voluntary applications. The residents were not all working in one industrial concern which compelled them to live in its compound; they could choose to come and go, though they might be asked to leave for breaking hostel rules. Nevertheless, the hostels evolved within a context of missionary thinking about the urbanisation of African women which had, certainly up to the 1930's, a decided bias towards compulsion, so that their characterisation as female Christian compounds is not altogether unwarranted.

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From the turn of the century (if not before), there is evidence that white officials regarded African women as morally corrupted by Johannesburg and in need of restraint. The Secretary of Native Affairs in the Transvaal told the South African Native

Affairs Commission that the townships attracted a 'certain class of undesirable women of loose character', while one Native Commissioner exclaimed that 'in a few years time the Native woman in the Transvaal will simply be a prostitute and nothing else.' (4) The freedom of African women from pass regulation was already regarded as undesirable in itself, while some whites were especially irked by cases of African men who had disguised themselves as women, thereby having 'the free run of the country.' (5)

The SANAC Report came out strongly in favour of the promotion of a class of African female domestics, its concern for the labour supply being manifest in its comment that this move would, especially in Natal and the Transvaal, 'release large numbers of men and boys for employment in occupations more suited to them.' (Most domestic servants in Johannesburg were African males, and this continued to be the position, though in decreasing proportions, into the 1930's.) However, as this work would expose African women to 'much temptation and the danger of moral ruin', employers must, the Commission stated, protect and care for the character of their servants; furthermore, if collective efforts to promote this aim appeared feasible, 'provision might be made for the formation of Societies which would undertake the duty of protecting female workers by securing suitable employment for them and providing them with homes or refuges while awaiting employment.' (6) The Commission's concern for moral protection probably stemmed from at least two factors: the need for social control in urban townships, and the desire to assuage the doubts of rural missionaries and conservative African parents about the polluting effects of the towns (misgivings which persisted for decades), lest these doubts stem the flow of needed servants. The Anglican Bishop Carter of Pretoria, for instance, had told how, in Zululand, 'we always tried to stop every single girl going to town if we possibly could, simply because they were not able to withstand the temptations. They are not accustomed to that sort of life.' As for Zulu parents they also objected to their daughters going to work, 'and quite rightly too.' (7)

When Deaconess Julia Gilpin came out to the Rand in 1907 with two other women to work for the Anglican Mission there supervised by the Community of the Resurrection it was precisely the attitudes shown in the SANAC Report which gave her hope for the development of contacts with the African women in domestic service whom she wished to reach. She reported in 1908 that the demand for mine labour made a substitution of women as domestic servants much more desirable, and to induce parents to let their daughters come, it would be necessary to bring women under the pass regulations and make employers provide decent accommodation. (The unsafe backyard sheds without locks where female servants were often housed, were to be a longstanding problem for they increased the women's vulnerability to local male servants, whose company they sought naturally, in their loneliness.) She and her helpers could do much good in such circumstances, the Deaconess explained, by means of a hostel for girls until they found situations, combined with a Registry office and dormitories for women not living with their employers. (8)

This stance was coupled with the view that women servants were the remedy for the current 'Black Peril' outrages on white women, while the objection that African girls needed training if they were not to be useless servants, was conveniently answered by the small Industrial School Deaconess Julia started that year. (9) It appears that the 'English Church Native Girls' Hostel' got going in 1908 too, in the house in Buxton Street, Doornfontein, where the women missionaries lived. It seems to have lapsed within a year or two, but was restarted in 1911 by another lady missionary, Theodora Williams, who set aside two rooms for women and girls from the country to sleep in. (10) Obscure though the precise beginnings of the hostel may be, the motivations behind it seem clear enough. Here was a practical and moral need which women missionaries could provide on behalf of African women, and with the government's encouragement. There was, in addition, a precedent for the Johannesburg hostel, no doubt known to the women: a hostel for African girls in service started by the Anglicans in Pietermaritzburg in 1884. (11)

In further explaining the philosophy surrounding the hostel's establishment, it is enlightening to compare this work with that done on a much larger scale among servants and other working girls in England. First of all, the preservation of female chastity was an important activity for religious women throughout the 19th century. Not only did 'rescue work' among prostitutes grow in importance and in its number of advocates, but there developed also, through the moral campaigning sparked off by the Contagious Diseases Act, a greater stress on preventive work to improve the conditions of life of the most vulnerable females (like country girls come to town) and to give them timely practical help. (12) Ellice Hopkins, an associate of Josephine Butler, founded Associations for the Care of Friendless Girls in the large towns, to get a hold on 'ignorant girls when first launched into the world', obviously to prevent their moral downfall or as she vividly explained it, to fence 'this terrible social precipice at the top rather than content ourselves with providing ambulances at the bottom.' (13)

Brian Harrison, in his fascinating study of the Girls' Friendly Society (GFS) (14), sees the shepherding of young working-class girls as more than an activity of purity-preservation. He argues that late 19th century family organisations in Britain like the GFS and the Mothers' Union were, as vehicles of social, religious and domestic discipline, essential sources of strength to the late Victorian Conservative revival. Both organisations were, like early Anglican women's religious communities, shot through with class division and structured deliberately on two tiers; thus the core of the operations of the GFS, which had nearly a quarter of a million members at its peak in 1913, was a semi-maternal relationship between an upper-class Anglican 'associate' and a virtuous, unmarried working-girl member who might be of any denomination. (15) The associate in no way sought to challenge existing social relations but 'aimed at transcending social class divisions through cultivating individual friendships.' (16) The Society acquired a servant-girl

image, from the days when most of its employed members were domestics (17), which it never shook off. It worked hard to help these members find positions through a network of registry offices, of which there were 48 by 1883, finding work for 4 000 girls a year, and linked with a Central Employment Office from 1905. (18) The Anglicans in South Africa never came near to matching such massive organisation, but it seems highly likely that familiarity with this work in England informed the thinking and planning of the women missionaries who came out to Johannesburg; besides, at least four of them belonged to the GFS. (19)

As hostels were seen, until the 1940's at any rate, primarily as providing safe accommodation for African female domestic servants, some idea of the dimensions of the task would be helpful. It is difficult to provide comprehensive figures as the early census reports grouped all 'non-European' women together but the following table provides a rough guide: (20)

YEAR	AFRICAN FEMALES IN JOHANNESBURG	WORKING AS DOMESTIC SERVANTS
1904	3 840	
1911	4 357	
1921	12 160	5 051
1936	60 992	22 391

Of the African women gainfully occupied in the Johannesburg municipal area in 1936, that is, not simply doing the housework for their own families, 91,56% were domestic servants.

* * *

As has been seen, the idea of hostels for African women was embedded in a cluster of issues relating to the urbanisation of African women (21), and although there is a certain artificiality in separating out aspects of a question usually raised simultaneously - the 'Black Peril', passes for women, regulation of female employment - it should help to clarify the development of missionary attitudes.

The awareness that the churches had to attempt to come to terms with the growing presence of an urban African female population was shown in the 1912 Commission of the General Missionary Conference on 'Native Girls in Town'. Questionnaires were sent out asking for details of the numbers of African Girls coming to the respondent's town annually to seek work, the kind of accommodation provided, church efforts to protect them from town temptations, the desirability of hostels, whether they should be organised as Labour Bureaux and Domestic Training

Schools and 'what would be the attitude of the better class natives themselves to such Institutions?' (22) As complete demoralisation in the Commission's opinion, threatened urban African girls, which in turn menaced the white population, the Conference resolved to 'urge upon the Government and Municipalities of our large towns, particularly those of Johannesburg and Kimberley, the establishment of Homes under the management of Christian ladies, assisted by Christian Native women, where Native girls may be received and cared for.' (23) Such homes were especially desirable for country girls seeking employment and it was hoped that initial African suspicions would be overcome so that they would 'gradually become more popular with the better class of Natives.' (24)

By this time, the 'Black Peril' argument in favour of female domestic servants was being revived with greater force as the increasing number of outrages on white women, especially on the Rand, was attributed at least in part to the 'houseboy' system. Africans replying to a questionnaire on the 'Black Peril' scare, circulated by the General Missionary Conference in 1911, expressed, first, a repugnance (which was to grow among urban and educated Africans) for the current, to them demeaning, sexual division of labour: 'Let no men be employed as domestic servants: in the kitchen, to mind babies, to wash clothes. Let these works be done by Native women ... Let Native men work outside and where other men are.' 'Men should be employed in their proper sphere.' (25) Secondly, white women were strongly condemned for undue familiarity, a charge which white men and the official commission on the subject levelled at them with equal severity. Sol Plaatje asserted, 'It is not very wrong to say that there are such things (especially in Johannesburg and Bulawayo) as assaults by White women upon Native males. There are more Potiphar's wives than we care to believe in Johannesburg tho' not many Josephs.' (26) However the many testimonies to the White Peril 'which has long overshadowed this country' as Olive Schreiner wrote, and 'exists for all dark-skinned women at the hands of white men' (27), meant that, were it even possible to find enough females to end the 'houseboy' system, the employment of African girls on any considerable scale might be even more dangerous. The Conference concluded that, for the protection of their own honour, white employers should shoulder responsibility for protecting their servants' honour:

We are of opinion that the price to be paid to secure a trustworthy class of Native female servants is arrangement for their accommodation within the houses of their employers under conditions which are healthy and which afford them protection from being led into evil. (28)

The Government's Commission investigating the assaults also concluded that only African women could be an effective substitute for the 'houseboy' and for a considerable supply, help in finding a place to stay and an employer should be provided. This again meant hostels.

Most Natives have a strong and rooted objection to the word "Hostel", which in their mind is connected with the pass office (to which they seem to have an unfortunate aversion), and which they regard as a sort of prison. The term "Home" should therefore be employed, and the use and advantage of such an institution should be explained and published in the native languages and made widely known. (29)

Most missionaries were never happy with the relative freedom of the urban African woman or girl from patriarchal or official restraint, but in attempting to suggest some form of control for moral reasons, they burnt their fingers more than once on African hostility at any undue compulsion to be applied to their womenfolk. Early in 1912, when special night passes for black women were mooted for Johannesburg, the Transvaal Missionary Association (TMA) indicated its approval; this was a needed check on women 'who loiter in the streets for evil purposes', and it was a 'positive danger to coloured and native women to be in the streets of Johannesburg after 9 p.m.' The TMA also suggested the standard safeguards for young girls: hostels and, 'with a view to their obtaining employment in respectable homes ...the formation of Labour Bureaux.' A mass meeting of African women passed resolutions opposing these schemes, much to the chagrin of the TMA, which felt some African leaders had been 'poisoning the minds' of the women against the Association, which had no desire to thrust a scheme on Africans against their will. (30) It should be noted that the Anglicans, both the women missionaries and the Synod, were strongly against passes for women at this time, though they had a battle convincing African church members on this point. (31)

Other blueprints, similar to the TMA's, emerged from groups on the Rand during World War I, a time of increasing Missionary concern about African urban housing, and the breakdown of parental authority and marital stability. The Union Committee on Native Housing pronounced passes for women to be 'altogether undesirable', no doubt largely because of the vociferous objections the black women of the Orange Free State had put up two years before, in 1913; but it was very concerned about the dangers young girls were exposed to in town, as well as about daughters leaving home without parental consent and married women deserting their husbands to come to town. Again the solution proposed was Labour Bureaux and Rest Houses under the Native Affairs Department, with existing hostels (which it preferred to call 'Homes', no doubt having taken the Assaults Commission's point) to be registered as Bureaux too. Employers would have to hire female servants through such Bureaux, while white female inspectors would check on the accommodation provided. (32)

Another plan, from an Anglican Women's Missionary Committee in 1917, foreshadowed suggestions of the 1920's. It proposed that the Native Affairs Department establish a central labour bureau near the railway station, under a missionary superintendent, to provide medical certificates and handle applications from prospective employers (who were advised to ask for and give

letters of commendation); and that missions be asked to establish girl's homes. Their suggested stipulation, 'that no native girl shall be allowed to leave her kraal to go into a town without a letter from her parents, chief or missionary, giving her permission to do so', and that this letter be shown before she could buy a railway ticket, was declared 'coercive and impracticable' by the Diocesan Board of Missions, which nevertheless by and large endorsed the scheme otherwise. (33) The suggested 'letter' was indeed potentially a travelling pass.

These schemes were the reflection of missionary awareness of changed urban conditions: the total female urban African population increased by 50,33% between 1911 and 1921, while African male numbers grew by only 7,1%. (34) Furthermore, the unattached, wage-earning African woman or girl, a new phenomenon, was clearly going to be an increasingly common figure on the urban scene. Hence the post-war efforts at hostel establishment. In 1919 the Congregationalist American Board started the Helping Hand Club for Native Girls in Hans Street, Fairview, providing hostel accommodation and general recreational facilities. The moving spirit in this venture, Mrs Clara Bridgman, shared her husband's keenness for the social application of the Gospel (he had secured Ray Phillips for the work which culminated in the Bantu Men's Social Centre). The Wesleyan Methodists felt pressured in the early 1920's by the Anglican and American Board examples, into actually executing their plans for a women's hostel, first mooted in 1916 for a site at Village Main, but pursued thus far with little success (35), because of the slenderness of resources and competing needs. However, the late start meant endless difficulties with the authorities over a central freehold site. Potential sites in Jenne and Troyeville were unusable because of colour clauses, while another alternative, Ferreirastown, was, as a notorious illicit liquor area, 'a very undesirable neighbourhood wherein to seek to develop a decent ideal of native life.' (36) The site finally purchased in President Street in 1924, the Methodists' fifth attempt, was vetoed by the City Council, which refused to pass the plans in view of the great outcry against African girls being housed in the town. (37) This was despite the representations of sympathisers like the Acting Director of Native Labour, who pointed out that domestic servants had always been a recognized exception to residential segregation, and that hostels in the locations, which were the Council's counter-suggestion, were useless to servants expected to be at work soon after 5 a.m. and not free to leave until 6 or 8 p.m. (38) It was only in 1934, after a former Primitive Methodist site in Wolbuter had become available through the union of the Methodist Churches, that a Methodist Hostel was started, with due plans and permission. (39)

Private hostels for women featured as a part of a complex plan put forward by the Johannesburg Joint Council of Europeans and Natives in March 1925. It aimed to deal with the uncontrolled influx of African women to town and to curb immorality without reintroducing passes for African women. Unattached African women, living in town on the proceeds of illicit liquor selling and prostitution, had been causing concern for some time,

to black men as well as white, so the Hertzog administration announced in December 1924 that, as from June 1st, 1925, the Night Pass Ordinance of 1902, requiring women to carry passes between 9 p.m. and 4 a.m. would be enforced in the Transvaal. A Joint Council deputation saw Hertzog on 20 January 1925; they conceded the need for control of disreputable women but asserted that night passes would affect not only domestic servants, but also cause hardship to respectable wives attending church and other meetings at night, at the same time reviving African resentment at the thought of police interference with their women. Hertzog agreed to suspend the notice pending the formulation of suitable alternative measures.

(40) What the Joint Council came up with, after four meetings in conjunction with five African Associations (the Transvaal ANC, and the ICU refused to participate in the Conference), was a highly complicated scheme to follow the expulsion of 'vagrant and immoral' women under the Urban Areas Act. It anchored African females to the control of parents or guardians, without whose permission local officials could not allow them to move to town; as a further prerequisite, both accommodation and employment had to be available, and here hostels, both existing private ones and contemplated ones under multiracial control, were a key element. The plan, unlike earlier ones, aimed to control the movement of African women, 'mainly through the Natives themselves and through those who are interested in their welfare'. Hostels would receive names of work-seekers from Native Record Offices; handle the women and girls' applications for work and those from prospective employers, who would only be allowed to hire servants through hostels and Record Offices; register service contracts, though African women would not have to carry copies; and provide suitable accommodation where the employers or locations could not. (41)

The scheme had a somewhat hostile reception. A.W.G. Champion, Chairman of the Transvaal Native Mine Clerks Association, which had been represented on the Joint Conference, said that the proposals were worse than the Pass Ordinance (42), and the Association later dissociated itself entirely from the plan.

(43) The Interdenominational Native Ministers' Association, also a Conference member, passed a resolution protesting against false reports that they had sanctioned passes for women (44), while R.W. Msimang objected that, instead of being an alternative it was a proposal for additional passes, and it was rather the causes of the influx - bad farm conditions, land shortage - that needed to be tackled. 'Leave the women alone for the time being.'

(45) The proposals were slightly amended to make it easier for women to get certificates to come to town (46), but despite the Joint Council's efforts, the Ordinance was enforced, though passes were only required from 10.30 p.m. However, in February 1926, the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court upheld the appeal of Mrs Helen Dithodi, and threw out the Ordinance as ultra vires. (47) This whole episode is of interest because several of the Anglican, Methodist and American Board Missionaries were members of the Joint Council in the 1920's, while the Chairman of the Joint Conference was the Anglican Bishop Karney and the Acting Chairman of the Joint Council for part

of 1925 was Ray Phillips: thus the views articulated at this time included those of leading figures in the churches running the only two hostels for women which were then in existence.

When the Night Pass Ordinance for Women was revived in Johannesburg through an administrative error, in June 1931, the Joint Council's representations to Government avoided the topic of hostels and labour bureaux, and called for an abolition of night passes for all Africans. (48) Perhaps the Council had learnt its lesson about the inadvisability of attempting to over-regulate the life and movements of African women: on the other hand, the 1925 type of scheme was no longer so necessary as the influx of women had begun to be regulated. It is interesting to note how the successive amendments to the Urban Areas Act brought control measures on the lines favoured by Council. After 1930, an African woman could not be refused admission to a town if her husband or father was there or if there was enough accommodation: this upheld male authority and made entry conditional on housing. (49) The 1937 Amendment required the permission not just of the urban authorities but also of the local native commissioner or magistrate, for African women to go to town, again a part fulfilment of what the Joint Council had pressed for over a decade earlier.

The desirability of hostels continued to be propagated, at Missionary and European-Bantu Conferences in the 1920's by Mrs Bridgman and Mrs Rheinallt Jones particularly, both of whom were involved in running the Helping Hand Club. (50) Hostels persist as a theme in white women's Christian endeavours into the late 1930's, although chiefly, it would appear, as a pious hope. Mrs Bridgman, as Convenor of the Committee on Women's Work for the Christian Council of South Africa, suggested among topics for study, 'The need for further Hostels for Native Girls in Urban Areas.' (51) She urged, at the second Council meeting in January 1937, that if denominational hostels were not feasible, owing largely to lack of funds, local missionary societies and churches should make a united effort to meet the need, while also pressuring local city councils to open municipal hostels under the supervision of women of 'high character and Christian principles', as the two such existing hostels owed their good work to suitable superintendents. (52) The housing of African girls in Johannesburg and the further provision of hostels in Durban and Pretoria were occupying Regional Women's Committees the following year. (53)

As the 1920's progressed, the white suburbs of Johannesburg spread further northwards, which decreased the utility of existing hostels, all near the town centre, to domestic servants, especially as the numbers requiring safe housing and recreational facilities was growing. The logical step was the provision of suburban hostels nearer the place of work, but missionaries and liberals were quite unable to overcome the conviction of ratepayers that such places would cause a depreciation in property values. The Helping Hand Club had had similar problems, but as Mrs Bridgman explained with evident satisfaction, local white women had come to realise its usefulness: 'The neighbours over the hedge circulated a petition against this "awful Kafir slum". The Ratepayers Association held stormy meetings of protest ... Nearly every one of the hundred women who signed

that petition have had a girl from the Helping Hand at one time or another.' (54) The northern suburbs were to prove more resilient. A woman approached Bishop Karney in 1924 with her proposals for a hostel, which were backed by the Medical Officer of Health and a local doctor, only to find, Karney wrote, that the neighbourhood housewives (it appears to have been in Orange Grove) were 'violently and rigidly against it.' He described how nearly every speaker at the packed public meeting in the suburb opposed the idea:

Some expressed a desire to uplift the Native and then went on to give a great many reasons why the Native should be kept down, and the Scheme has had to be left in abeyance. As I looked at the faces at that meeting I felt that the Devil was behind it all: the hard-faced women, the constant interjections, and the bitterness. It was quite impossible to reason with them - they insisted that we were trying to establish a Native Location among them. I told them over and over again that we were only catering for their own needs, but it hadn't the slightest effect. It was really an ugly thing to see a woman - whom one could not but suspect of having coloured blood in her own veins - sitting near the front, interjecting malignant remarks to a proposal that was designed at least partly to benefit her own children. (55)

In 1928 a plot of land was bought near Orchards for a similar effort, but again the upshot was a rowdy meeting and failure: for three hours, Karney faced a crowd shouting "Not in Norwood". (56)

The Johannesburg Joint Council had, in vain, recommended the establishment of an African women's hostel to the Municipality in 1923. (57) Similar requests were a staple of liberal and missionary conference resolutions; once the Johannesburg City Council acquired a Native Affairs Manager, plans for such a hostel went ahead. The buildings of a Miners' Training School, handed over free by the Government, were renovated and the Native Women's Hostel at Wolhuter, near George Goch station, opened on 30 July, 1930. It experienced problems in attracting residents, it would appear. In the first months, there were only 3 tenants, by 1931, 18 single women lived there, and the numbers climbed slowly year by year - 37 then 73, then 100 and finally in 1935-6, all 130 available beds were full. Probably the rents had been too high, for one thing: they were dropped from 12/6 per month in 1930 to 7/6 in 1938, which brought them more in line with what the church hostels charged. (58) The need for housing for single African males was much greater, and its provision was probably perceived as more of a priority: the Council had 3 000 men at Wemmer Barracks and 300 at Salisbury and Jubilee Comround by 1935, with 3 400 men at Wolhuter Men's Hostel by 1937. (59) Nevertheless, by the time World War II broke out, the Council was wanting, in addition to more single male accommodation, a hostel for 500 African Women, but the funds were diverted into armaments. Ironically, the Council had also found itself trapped by the factors which frustrated the Methodists fifteen years before - restrictive clauses in titles to land, and

political opposition to hostels from whites in neighbouring suburbs. (60)

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A regular feature of missionary outlines for the protection of African women in town was the suggestion of 'Labour Bureaux;' helping servants find work became an increasingly important task of the Johannesburg hostels in the 1930's. The Anglicans had done this on a small scale from the inception of their institution: in 1916, for example, 117 girls applied for work and about 30 proved suitable. (61) One missionary from the Transkei expounded on the mutual benefit to employer and servants of such a policy:

In order to safeguard the employers and encourage industrious Natives, a bureau in each place would be of the greatest use, where Natives trained for domestic service could be registered and the standards of wages fixed, so that dishonest, impertinent and "slack" servants could no longer easily get work as at present, while those of good conduct and experience could depend on earning an increasing wage. In this way an incentive to good work would be provided while employers would be guarded from having to take on anyone. It should also help the employer to realise the needs of the servant as the type provided him would partly depend on the conditions he provided. If each town could provide such a bureau and hostel, the present unfortunate position which has arisen between employers and Native servants (almost entirely through the failure of the white people to grasp the need of any organisation) would in time right itself and the towns be provided with a class of respectable, industrious Natives, happy in domestic service. (62)

This approach is reminiscent of Harrison's interesting assertion that the Girls' Friendly Society, by raising overall sexual standards, by making virtue feasible through its network of lodges, clubs and benefits, and by improving the status of domestic service, wanted to consolidate a female working class elite. (63)

As an example of incentives offered to 'industrious Natives', one might cite the 'character books' with a photograph and other particulars 'as a protection to the girls of good character', which the Society of Women Missionaries proposed to introduce, although in the end, only letters of recommendation were sent to the mistresses. (64) Then again, the Claremont Girls Club, also Anglican, offered young Cape Coloured domestic servants an interesting system of rewards for stability and perseverance in service: 'an annual certificate for each year spent with one mistress then at the end of five years they receive a watch.' (65) On the other side of the balance sheet, the Anglican Johannesburg Missionaries, in seeking 'situations', in the 1930's at least, did check on accommodation, amount of work and wages, thereby hoping to ensure suitable standards for the servants whom they assisted. From 1930-1935, the

Doornfontein Hostel worked in co-operation with the Helping Hand Club in running a domestic servant placement service, producing a joint handbill to advertise the fact. (66) Both charged a 5/- booking fee to mistresses (valid for three months) and insisted on references from the prospective servant. The Anglicans kept their Registry Office open four hours a day, and to it girls could apply for work. (67)

The Helping Hand Club had placed over 700 girls in domestic service by 1928 (68); the following year, 240 servants were placed in response to 460 applications from white women: in 1930-1931, the Club could only supply 316 girls when 650 were asked for. (69) This was indicative of the growing demand for competent female servants, itself a reflection of the burgeoning Johannesburg white population, its lower masculinity ratio and its rising expectations as regards standards of housewifery. These girls for whom jobs were found, were mostly non-residents. Then, in 1930, the Club started a small training school, offering a short, intensive course, in order 'to turn out every year some fifteen girls carefully trained in practical housework under earnest Christian influences.' (70) This venture shared key elements of the Anglican hostel's rationale: to equip African girls for the role which white society assigned them, and to strike a mutually beneficial bargain between servants and employers:

The principle underlying the training is as far as possible the original one which inspired the opening of the hostel - the desire to fit the girls for this new phase of changing conditions in their lives. [However an attempt was made] ... not only to teach the girls a livelihood, but to recognise that any true Christian education must include some introduction to ideas and activities which will lift above immediate drudgery. (71) We hope to help to solve the difficult problem of servants for the conscientious housewives who will give care and safe-housing if they can secure efficient, reliable maids. (72)

The Club was anxious for its servants to fulfil their obligations; as Mrs Rheinallt Jones, President of the Club (which had an undenominational committee) from 1932-43, explained, one of the things it tried to impress on its girls in training was 'that they must be as responsible about due notice as the male servants who have to have passes.' (73)

The Matron of the Methodist Hostel was receiving more enquiries for girls in mid-1935 than she could place (74): although a suggestion was made that the Hostel should train girls as the Helping Hand Club did (75), the Methodists' operation did not rise to such ambitious heights. Nevertheless, both Anglicans and Methodists were equipping African girls for better employment. The idea owed a good deal to pressure from African Christians, and what emerged in each case was a fairly prestigious boarding school under white teachers, all other mission education for girls being in black hands. The Methodist Domestic Science School at Kilnerton, near Pretoria, which opened in 1929, was three-quarters paid for by some £3 000 worth of shilling offerings collected annually from African women Manyano (Prayer Union) members. Mrs E. Kumalo, a Manyano official,

who had trained at an Industrial School in Natal, initiated the fund in 1915, wanting the girls of the Transvaal to 'also be trained for a fuller life' (76) By 1942, the School had 75 pupils, the maximum it could cope with (having had to turn some away), but very few were still on a purely domestic science course; a combination of the practical skills with some teaching subjects was proving a more useful course, bound to secure the girls a school post, and of more value in married life than the purely academic subjects. (77)

In the Anglican case, Deaconess Julia was made aware of the need of a school 'by Christian parents who were most anxious to obtain for their girls the advantage of a better training than could be gained in the little day-schools, where the teachers being always men there was little opportunity for the girls to learn such things as should fit them either for domestic service or to improve their own houses in the future.' (78) She started with 16 boarders in April 1908 and in 1909 the Industrial School, St Agnes, moved to new premises in Rosettenville, which was then out in the country south of Johannesburg, and became the C.R. headquarters from 1911. The head teacher had a stormy time initially putting her ideas of discipline and good behaviour into practice in the face of 'Flagrant lying, pilfering, cheating, dirty habits, falsely-accusing and indecent posturing', not to mention what appeared to her as work-shy pretentiousness:

They come to "College" - as they love to call the school - with extraordinary ideas as to what is proper to do in "College": picking up wood for fire, digging and hoeing meadows, sweeping and scrubbing, washing up, or laundry work - all of which they have to do at home, are at times fiercely resented when demanded at school. Then too, having come into contact usually with only the lowest kind of white civilization, there is much to be unlearned before we can get on. High-heeled shoes, low-cut blouses, drabbed silk skirts, tawdry lace, hair in curling pin fashion and cheap finery have all to be warred against, before ideas of "nice-ness" can enter. (79)

No doubt middle class teachers in Britain were expressing their exasperation at working class pupils in similar vein. St Agnes at this date appears to have been trying to impart very particular cultural views and norms of industry and 'ladylikeness', rather than a specifically Christian-flavoured academic education for girls: in asking for a staff member who was 'refined and a gentlewoman', Miss Oslar pleaded, 'It is what we are ourselves which teaches our girls most, refined, tidy, correct in speech, dainty and "nice" in habit, far far more than book learning or even holding Government Teachers Certificates.' (80)

The School took in washing in the early days, just as institutions like penitentiaries (mother-and-baby homes) in England set their inmates to laundry work to augment income; but 1910 saw a 'fresh outburst of grumbling against laundry for "white people" ' by a batch of rough older teenage girls, who all left the school within six months, saying they had to work too hard. (81) After the withdrawals relationships improved with signs of courtesy, pride in work, trust and affection . . .

from the girls, many of whom were younger, more teachable, and more easily subordinated. By 1912, there were 30 girls at the school, who were prepared, from that year, for standard VI, with laundry, cookery and needlework classes in addition. These skills need not lead only to 'service': the general ambition among the girls to own and know how to use a sewing machine (82) must have been related to the possibilities it opened up for independent seamstressing for private income, as well as personal dressmaking. But there were signs of individual success in 'service' too: one ex-pupil 'won her mistress' good opinion and talked so highly of the school that the lady came to tell us of her appreciation and express sympathy with our work.' (83) Just as the Methodist School increasingly de-emphasised the domestic training for servants, so St Agnes eventually outgrew its original purpose, amalgamating with St Peter's School in the early 1920's, when Alban Winter C.R., took it over to advance boys' secondary education. Presumably this was a reflection of the rising aspirations of those African parents who had sent their daughters to boarding schools. As a result, St Agnes became, by the 1930's, more of a boarding hostel for girls attending the secondary school, though it did have an Industrial Department offering training for less academic Boarders, or those wanting to take Domestic Science for the J.C. examination. (84) Its pupils in the 1920's were mostly daughters of clergy* to 'make fitting wives for educated native men' rather than become servants (85), but there were also some becoming nurses, teachers and even a nun at this time. (86)

Were missionaries, by teaching domestic skills, in fact giving servants an advantage in the labour market, or simply enabling white employers to get more and better work for less money? It does appear that Institution-trained girls could command a better wage. In 1932, according to one report, while the ordinary girls in Johannesburg might earn anything from £1.10 to £5, though generally between £2.10 and £3.10 per month, the institution girl could bring in £3 to £4. (87) This may have been a rather rosy picture, for a teacher at St Agnes wrote in 1931 of two girls in 'exceptionally good places' who, after the three-year Domestic Science Course, received their uniform, board and lodging, and £2.10 and £2.15 respectively a month. (88) If these figures were representative, the wages rose only slightly the following decade: a trained girl in 1940 could be sure of a good place at £2 or £2.5. (89) There were complaints however, about such girls: 'They can't work continuously for long hours. They won't turn their hands to rough work. They are slow... faddy about food ... don't "fit in" to a house ... are always wanting time off. They only want to do the "fancy" side of housework.' (90) The South African Institute of Race Relations, concerning itself with this question, pointed out that the complaints were partly due to the bad work conditions employers had been able to get away with in a market 'flooded with country girls'. The further grievance, that trained girls were 'impractical and wedded to the rather technical routine more suitable to an institution than a household whose utensils are usually few' (91), could perhaps be answered by placing such girls in more specialised jobs as cooks and housemaids, where their skills would be demonstrated. The Institute even mooted a scheme, which seems not to have materialized, for * and Church people 'who wish for better things', and tend

registering all trained girls with a central bureau to help them find jobs. Institution girls felt some dissatisfaction at being undervalued, too. One from Johannesburg complained of being 'at the mercy of the employer who determines the pay and defines the duties' while hundreds of other African girls were lowering the wage standards; she wanted to form an association to look after the interests of trained domestic servants as African teachers and nurses were doing for themselves. (92)

There was certainly a growing demand for qualified servants discernable as the 1930's progressed, a demand which the Municipal Employment Bureau, established in May 1938, found difficult to satisfy. Young black males, especially if born in town, no longer favoured such work, so that the pressure 'on the already inadequate supply of women' was increased. Very few of the better servants applied to the Bureau, probably put off by rumours that only bad employers used it. (93) The swing towards female servants was more marked the following year: employers applied to the Municipal Bureau for 1 465 female domestic servants and 920 male; 509 women and 359 men were so placed. To help raise the standard of efficiency, the Department's Housecraft Demonstrator started training 80 girls, 20 from each municipal township, for domestic work, in a course to take 12 to 18 months. (94) At this time, the Helping Hand Club's training school was full to overflowing, and situations were easily found for all who finished the course, the Superintendent receiving 'many letters and expressions of appreciation from mistresses.' (95) In 1942-3, the Club received over 200 requests for trained servants while, as the Registry no longer operated, it only had 10 to place. It could find jobs for 50 well-trained girls a month, especially as cooks and nursemaids, but was only able to train 35 at a time, at the most. (Two years later, the school closed because of staffing difficulties.) (96)

Missionaries, in sheltering, training and 'placing' African women servants, were obviously helping to oil the domestic wheels of white society. In the face of opposition, as in the attempts to start hostels in the northern suburbs, church leaders were eager to prove their utility to fellow whites, but they might well have argued in this fashion for convenience or effect, without regarding it as their prime motivation. The hostels undeniably offered a service to African women, which they were mostly happy to avail themselves of; but observers will emphasise differently which race benefitted most by the mediation of the missionaries.

* * *

Interesting glimpses of the type of African women who stayed in the three Johannesburg hostels over the years can be gleaned from the records. In each, there was a core of permanent residents and a fluctuating, but much larger number of 'casuals' who stayed for a few days while seeking work, or just wanted a bed for the night 'and the hostel knows them no more (and sometimes does not want to, for all sorts come knocking!)' (97) Travellers stranded late at night, concert parties and convention delegates also used the hostels. By the 1940's, the Church hostels could accommodate double the number in the Municipal Women's Hostel: the Methodists and the Anglicans ^{could} take about 60 each and the Helping Hand Club some 115, although the beginnings had been more modest - during World War I, the Anglicans had room for 12, from 1929 for 34, then 50 in 1935, while the Helping Hand Club accommodated 50 in 1930.

The Anglican women missionaries found initially that the very people for whom the hostel was intended, the young girls in the greatest moral danger, were staying away, at first because those who had run away from home to come to town would not care for the 'slight' restraint of missionary protection. (98) During the war years, they were being kept away by the irksome rules (they had to be in by 9 p.m. and help keep their own bedding and the hostel clean) and by the 'old women who sought a peaceful refuge' there and were 'selfish' and made it 'unpleasant' for the girls. (99) Many of these were 'respectable middle-aged women who come up from the Cape to work, and are perfectly horrified at the sordid conditions of the yards.' (100) Only when the older people were turned out, did the younger ones gradually come, no doubt recruited partly through the cards advertising the hostel displayed on eight Johannesburg and Reef stations, or the advertisements inserted in a few issues of Imvo and the Christian Express. (101) The hostel even became a 'favourite resort in the long holidays' for young schoolteachers (102), while there were also occasionally ex-prisoners among the residents, contacted through the classes and services held by missionaries at the prison. These women were helped to find work 'with a kind good mistress, with whom she will be safe from the temptations of the town', and came to the hostel with the request (as one missionary put it) 'Let me sleep here. I can't be good in that yard where I live.' (103) Some of the women were, already, in the war years, trying to supplement their income by doing laundry work, to the exasperation of the Anglican ladies, for whom what Harrison calls 'lecturing the poor into propriety' (104) seems to have been considered all too central a part of Christian work:

Of course these native women are used to living in a very dirty and unwholesome way in their own little hovels, and it is no easy task to teach them to be clean. But we feel they must learn to live more cleanly and nicely if they have the privilege of living at the mission, and particularly paying only 4/- a month for their lodging instead of £1 as they would pay in a yard. Some of them try to cheat us too, and take in washing, at the expense of our coal and water, though they know it is against the rules of the

Hostel. But one has to try and be patient, for if they were perfect, where would be the need of Missions? (105)

In the 1930's, while the Anglican Hostel Warden continued to deplore the fecklessness and excessive liberty of female servants (106), she insisted, 'It is a better type of girl who comes to our Hostel, who wants a place of safety and comfort, where she can feel at home and where she can receive her friends.' (107) She remarked on the rapid change in the type of resident. The inarticulate, bewildered girl from the country was by then a rare phenomenon, although even in 1933 the Mission had 'rescued' and, with the help of the Native Affairs Department, were going to send back home two country girls 'who were being taken to a bad house the very day they arrived by girls who were professing friendship and would have enticed them from the Hostel.' (108) African girls were now coming to domestic service much younger, and were more sophisticated and self-reliant altogether. 'They recommend one another to places or apply at the usual registry offices in town, or even insert advertisements in the daily papers. Most of them are naturally pleasure-loving and eagerly use the increasing number of opportunities for social life afforded by dances and concerts.' (109)

Although most of the residents of the Methodist Hostel in the 1930's were servants, some of them were supporting themselves by sewing and knitting. (110) Round 1930, the women and girls staying at the Helping Hand Club were a tribal mixture of Xhosa, Zulu and Sotho in about equal numbers, with a few Pondo and Fingoes, while the occupational breakdown was as follows:(111)

	1928-9	1930-31
Teachers	4	3
Laundresses/Charwomen	10	19
Nurse-girls	2	
General Servants/'kitchen girls'	'the rest'	11
Seamstresses		2

News items about the hostel residents - a birthday celebration, a tea party - featured from time to time in the social columns of the African press in the 1930's (112), and many of the women probably shared the aura of diligent respectability which surrounded those servants who wrote letters to the newspapers. Most of the girls in the Anglican Hostel were sending money away to support their babies or families in the country, (113) so they would have identified strongly with Rossie Khabela, who worked in Yeoville to send home £3 a month to her widowed mother and two sisters in Basutoland. She urged her 'sisters who come to this city as I came' to take courage, and 'also to deny the charges brought upon us Bantu girls that we left our homes to enjoy ourselves only in the City. We are not all like that. Some of us are trying our best to be of service to our people.' (114) Another servant wrote, 'Let us then save money for our ideal homes and help our parents instead of our false lovers.' (115) Bantu World obviously welcomed letters from servants encouraging one another to self-improvement and to

winning their mistresses' favour, although some complaints against unkind employers were printed. (116) The employers of Mabel Yobe (who contributed articles on baby care to the paper) 'even honoured' her by inviting her to family prayers or to join them in listening to the wireless but, the 'Women's Page' commented, with rather sanctimonious servility, 'Does this kindness spoil a sensible girl? No. Rather it makes her give to such Europeans of her very best. Rather than spoil her and make her think she is now equal with the whites, a sensible girl becomes more humble and more careful in her work.' (117)

The attitude of African women towards the hostels changed from initial suspicion in each case to real enthusiasm by the 1950's, when applicants were often daily turned away: by then many among the growing female town population, especially the educated, were desperate for the security and facilities which the hostels offered. The element of control did cause friction, as was evident in African opposition to missionary schemes involving hostels. The Pretoria Anglican hostel had to battle against African prejudice that it was ' "too much like prison," ... and still that cry can be heard today!' (118) The fierceness of the Methodist Hostel Matron caused tensions in the early years, as she struggled to get the girls to help her with cleaning, was unbending if they came back after closing time and tried to force three who refused to take work, to leave. (119) These clashes add plausibility to Ray Phillips's rather chilling melodramatic anecdote about how the 'white superintendent of a Native girls' hostel who has made herself unpopular because of repressive regulations, receives letters containing veiled threats of poisoning' and is awakened in the middle of the night by anonymous phone calls. (120) On the whole, however, the atmosphere within the hostels seems to have been friendly and co-operative.

The hostel ethos found support among those who favoured co-operation with whites, Selby Msimang and Umteteli advocating their encouragement. (121) Hostels had an appeal for 'respectable' African women, as an approving letter from a Rustenburg lady who had spent the night in the Pretoria hostel testifies:

I felt very proud of the Hostel girls' life. They are indeed saved from the Amalaitas and rude boys who always like to disturb the poor innocent girls in their rooms.

The matron of the Hostel does not allow the girls to speak any unkind word, whatever they say is yes, darling; no, darling or Dumela Morategi and so on. (122)

Douglas Zulu's winning entry in an essay competition in Umteteli in 1924 showed, in its advocacy of wholesome leisure, safe housing and suitable social contacts, how quickly missionary principles had been accepted and internalized by those who wanted to be respectable, 'progressive' urbanites. He warned a hypothetical girl cousin, coming to Johannesburg for the first time, to stay in the hostel at the Helning Hand Club.

An auntie of mine ... stays at the Club and she will put you in the way of things ... On taking up service see if

the room provided for your own use is inside your mistress' dwelling house; do not, under any circumstances, accept an outhouse near the kitchen boy's but rather put up at the Hostel ... Use your spare time in some sensible occupation, preferable at the Club. ... Good music, educative lectures and pictures, social and religious gatherings are all good and uplifting, but in attending these use your common sense and pick your companions carefully because on this particular point of company might be your undoing... Keep in as close touch with all Christian activities as you have done at home; then with your hands so full of work the Devil will have to display his "situations vacant" column to someone else. (123)

The hostels had always aimed to do more than merely provide a place to sleep. In all three, there were usually daily prayers, a week-night service, often taken by an African minister, and the girls were urged to attend their own church on Sunday (none of the hostels ever restricted residence to girls of a particular denomination, although there seems to have been little success in attracting 'heathen' girls). The Anglicans ran weekly cookery classes in the 1930's, but the girls were too tired and had too little time after their day's work to care for games or regular evening classes. (124) Red Cross courses were popular at the Anglican Hostel (125), and at the Helping Hand Club into the 1960's. These were open to non-residents, as was the Clubroom at the Helping Hand, for the hostel wardens were anxious to reach out to the hundreds more servants on whom their relatively small efforts were making no impact. The hostels also provided a central meeting place for groups like the Bantu Trained Nurses Association, the Women's Help Society and the Council of European and African Women.

The Anglicans were, by the 1930's, resigned to the fact that they had not succeeded in sheltering African girls from pre-marital sex and illegitimate babies. St Agnes girls found good domestic service jobs, but as one spinster missionary wrote with wistful bafflement, 'It seems that they are far too strong an attraction for the houseboys working in the neighbourhood. It is most frightfully puzzling to know how to improve matters in this respect.' (126) A former teacher at the school felt, 'It is a joy that they will come to us when they are in trouble and, the only thing seems to be, to make them love their babies and bring them up to do better. I try to collect baby clothes and help them in that way and I think that the knowledge that we love them and care does help them to get up again.' (127)

By the 1940's, the generation of missionaries and liberals for whom Christian hostels were a standard element in the approach to African female urbanisation, was beginning to die off; the hostels themselves gradually lost their almost exclusively domestic service flavour, as they came to reflect the changing pattern of African women's employment. An increasing number of residents in all three hostels were factory workers and typists in these years, with a sprinkling of nurses and social work students. By the 1950's most of those at the Helping Hand Club were machinists and pressers in clothing factories, although among the permanents there was also a coffee-cart owner who had been there 12 years, and a newspaper reporter. (128)

The Anglican hostel, known as St Martin's, closed in 1951, after some 40 years' service. The Methodists closed their hostel in 1956 for 'disciplinary and financial reasons' (129), but reopened in 1957 under an African woman social worker (the other hostels always had a white lady superintendent or warden, with perhaps an African Matron or assistant). The hostel was filled to capacity (58 residents) within three months and applicants were regularly turned away. Some thirty years after its inception, the hostel was finally closed in October 1966, because of the building of the East Rand motorway, and the inmates were moved to the Municipal hostel in Orlando West. An alternative site in Soweto was refused by the Hostel Committee, as 80% of the Wolhuter residents were employed in the factories around Kensington and the vicinity. (130) The Helping Hand Club endured the longest. In 1970, the year after its 50th anniversary, the residents, many of whom had went on hearing of the hostel's impending closure, because of the Group Areas Act, were gradually transferred to the Orlando West Hostel. (131)

Church hostels for African women in Johannesburg never succeeded in establishing themselves on the large scale that was hoped for in the 1920'S. Partly this was for financial reasons; even the three hostels which were founded, became heavily dependent on Municipal and government grants-in-aid. Secondly, compounds for men were a business proposition, serving the needs of capitalism which demanded large concentrations of strictly disciplined labour. The diffusion of the African female domestic labour force was more convenient for white employers, to most of whom safe housing, religious guidance and social amenities for their servants, were not a priority. Socialists and feminists have shown much interest recently in the role of the domestic labour of the housewife in the capitalist economy; the theme of this paper would be illumined by an analysis of the role of African domestic labour in South African Society. One unsophisticated observation in this regard would be that at times, the African woman's domestic labour helped to free her white mistress to take part in philanthropic efforts like hostels for domestic servants. (132)

Notes

I gratefully acknowledge assistance from the School of Oriental and African Studies and the Central Research Fund of London University, which helped to finance some of this research.

- (1) T.R.H. Davenport, South Africa: A Modern History (Johannesburg 1977) p, 355.
- (2) Ibid., p. 356.
- (3) I owe this apt phrase to Rev. J. Wing, General Secretary of the United Congregational Church of South Africa. Interview, 11/10/1977.
- (4) South African Native Affairs Commission (SANAC), Vol.IV Minutes of Evidence (Cape Town,1904), pp. 453, 459. Evidence of W. Windham and E.H. Hogge.
- (5) Ibid., p.866. Evidence of T.E. Mavrogordato of the CID.
- (6) SANAC, Vol. I, Report of the Commission (Cape Town, 1905), p. 83.
- (7) SANAC, Vol. IV, p. 776.
- (8) C.R. (Journal of the Community of the Resurrection) No. 21, 1908
- (9) C.R. No. 23 ↓ 1908. Letter from Latimer Fuller (then head of the Mission).
- (10) United Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (USPG) Series E (Original Missionary Reports), Johannesburg. From Agnes Beale, 3/1/1937. English Church Native Girls' Hostel, Doornfontein. 1908-1936 (pamphlet enclosure); Pretoria From Mrs Jones, December 1911.
- (11) C. Lewis and G. Edwards, Historical Records of the Church of the Province of South Africa (London, 1934), pp.366-7.
- (12) M.P. Hall and I.V. Howes, The Church in Social Work (London, 1965), p.23.
- (13) Quoted in ibid., p. 25
- (14) B. Harrison, 'For Church, Queen and Family: The Girls' Friendly Society 1874-1920', Past & Present, 61 (1973).
- (15) Ibid., p. 109.
- (16) Ibid., p. 113.
- (17) Ibid., p. 117. 57% of the employed members were servants in 1891
- (18) Ibid., p. 124.
- (19) See application forms in USPG Dossiers, 2285 Mrs C.M. Jones: 2292 Amy Kent: 2759 Mary Phillips; 1562 Frances Chilton.
- (20) Union of South Africa. Office of Census and Statistics, Pretoria. Third Census...1921 Report (Pretoria, 1924), Table CCCXXVII, 'Population Statistics for the Johannesburg Municipality and the Witwatersrand.' Sixth Census ... 1936. Vol.IX, Natives (Bantu) and other Non-European Races (Pretoria, 1942), xiii, xviii, p. 34.

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- (21) Seen again, for example, in a paper by A.R. Hands, 'Natives as House Servants', in University of the Witwatersrand. Historical Papers (Wits.), Church of the Province of South Africa (CPSA) AB 767 Pretoria Diocesan Board of Missions Minute Book, 4/2/1909.
- (22) Report of the Proceedings of the Fourth General Missionary Conference of South Africa (Cape Town, 1912), no. 107-8.
- (23) Ibid., p.27.
- (24) Ibid., p. 75.
- (25) Cory Library, Rhodes University, MS 14 847 General Missionary Conference of South Africa 4th, Cape Town, 1912. Commission VI - "The Black Peril". Replies of G. Kakaza, G. Tyamzashe.
- (26) Ibid., Reply of Sol Plaatje.
- (27) Ibid., Letters. O. Schreiner to J. Henderson, 26/12/1911.
- (28) Fourth General Missionary Conference, p.94.
- (29) Union of South Africa. Report of the Commission appointed to enquire into assaults on Women (1913), pp 27-8.
- (30) Report ...8th Annual Conference ... Transvaal Missionary Association 1912 (n.p.), pp. 29-31.
- (31) USPG Series E, Pretoria. From Mrs Jones, December 1911.
- (32) CPSA AB 767 Pretoria Diocesan Board of Missions, Minutes 26/4/1915.
- 'Report of the Union Committee on Native Housing.' The Committee consisted of seven missionary, temperance and Social service organisations, all grappling with Reef liquor and housing questions.
- (33) Ibid., 7.11..9.7. 'Suggested Scheme for the Protection of Native Girls in Towns.'
- (34) H.J. Simons, African Women. Their Legal Status in South Africa (London, 1968), p. 278. Of course, in absolute terms the number of males was usually at least double. The female increase for 1921-36 was even higher, at 142,3%.
- (35) Methodist Missionary Society (MMS), Transvaal and Swaziland District Correspondence (Tvl), Burnet to Haigh 13.9.1916, Goodwin to Burnet 11.8.1920, Bottrill to Burnet 11.7.1923.
- (36) MMS Tvl., Bottrill to Burnet 23.7.1923.
- (37) MMS Women's Work Rhodesia and Transvaal, Allcock to Miss Bradford, 20.11.1924, 18.2.1925.
- (38) Wits. South African Institute of Race Relations Papers (SAIRR) Johannesburg Joint Council. H.G. Falwasser to Municipal M.O.H., 12.5. 1925.
- (39) MMS Tvl., Allcock to Ayre, 28.2.1934
- (40) Wits. J.H. Pim Papers A881/B14 /45 Prime Minister's Private Secretary to Pim, 22.1.1925.
- (41) Umteteli wa Bantu, 28.3.1925. For earlier drafts see Wits. Pim Papers A881/B1 4/46 'African Women in Urban and Proclaimed Areas. Suggestions Supplementing the Native Urban Areas Act 1923,' and University of Cape Town Manuscripts Department, Forman Papers BC 581 C 5.6.6,7 'Native Women in the Towns.'

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- (37) MMS Women's Work Rhodesia and Transvaal, Allcock to Miss Bradford, 20.11.1924, 18.2.1925.
- (38) Wits. South African Institute of Race Relations Papers (SAIRR) Johannesburg Joint Council. H.G. Falwasser to Municipal M.O.H., 12.5. 1925.
- (39) MMS Tvl., Allcock to Ayre, 28.2.1934
- (40) Wits. J.H. Pim Papers A881/B14 /45 Prime Minister's Private Secretary to Pim, 22.1.1925.
- (41) Umteteli wa Bantu, 28.3.1925. For earlier drafts see Wits. Pim Papers A881/B1 4/46 'African Women in Urban and Proclaimed Areas. Suggestions Supplementing the Native Urban Areas Act 1923,' and University of Cape Town Manuscripts Department, Forman Papers BC 581 C 5.6.6,7 'Native Women in the Towns.'

- (42) Umteteli wa Bantu, 4.4.1925
- (43) Ibid., 9.5.1925
- (44) Ibid., 26.4.1925
- (45) Ibid., 11.4.1925
- (46) Ibid., 6.2. 1925
- (47) Ibid., 9.5.25
- (48) Ibid., 11.7.1931
- (49) The 1930 Amendment seems to have been due largely to representations from municipalities like Johannesburg, now responsible, under the Urban Areas Act, for the provision of housing, but unable to curb the influx of African women and children, with the result that 'no finality would be reached in providing accommodation.' Annual Report Native Affairs Department, in City of Johannesburg, Minute of the Mayor, 1927-8.
- (50) Mrs Bridgman, 'Social and Medical work for Native women and girls in urban areas', Report ... of the Seventh General Missionary Conference (Lovedale, 1928) pp. 62-5; Report of the National European-Bantu Conference 1929 (Lovedale, n.d.) pp. 22, 43, 208-9; Fifth National European-Bantu Conference. Bloemfontein ... 1933. Report. (Johannesburg) pp. 78-9.
- (51) Wits. South African Council of Churches Papers. AC 623/17/4 Christian Council of South Africa. Minutes of Executive Meeting, 14.10.1936.
- (52) Ibid., Minutes of Second Council Meeting, 21.1.1937.
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- (56) Wits. AB 838 Karney: circular letters, 19.4.1928.
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- (59) NENAD Reports, 1934-5, 1936-7.
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- (61) CPSA AB 767 Pretoria Diocesan Board of Missions. Report, 19
- (62) SWM Journal (Society of Women Missionaries), September 1917, pp. 14-15.
- (63) B. Harrison, op.cit., p. 124
- (64) SWM Journal, March 1921, n,5; October 1921, n.8.
- (65) Ibid., August 1929, p.3.
- (66) See specimen in Leeds Public Library Archives AT/C130 I am grateful to Brian Willan for letting me use his copies of material from the Arthington Trust papers.
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- (73) Wits. SAIRR. Rheinallt Jones Collection. Mrs E.B. Jones to Margaret Hlubi, 30.11.1934. The disadvantages of female servants, as far as employers were concerned, were that they tended to leave without notice and that employers lacked control over them.
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- (85) O. Victor, A Large Room (London, ? 1925), v. 17.
- (86) After Twenty years: 1922 Report of the Missionary Work of the Community of the Resurrection in the Southern Tvl, n.21.
- (87) 'South African Institute of Race Relations. The employment of Native girls trained in domestic service at Native Training Institutions', South African Outlook, 2.1 1932, p.8.
- (88) USPG Series E, Johannesburg. From May Brazier 29.12.1931.
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- (94) Ibid. 1939-40, pp. 198, 200-1.
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- (112) Umteteli wa Bantu, 14.1.1932 in 'Reef Gossin': Bantu World, 14.9.1935
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- (123) Umteteli wa Bantu, 26.1.1924.
- (124) SWM Journal, Apr. 1936, p.15.
- (125) St Martin's Hostel for Native Girls Doornfontein. Report for the year ended 30 June 1945. (This is the only report for the Anglican Hostel at the JPL.)
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- (127) Ibid., From Frances Chilton, 28.1.1935.
- (128) SWM Journal, Nov. 1944, p. 18. Helping Hand Club Reports 1941-3, 1950-1, 1954-5.
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