# THE DEVELOPMENT OF BANTU EDUCATION IN SOUTH AFRICA: 1652 TO 1954

by

ANDREW LEONIE

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Approved:

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Head, Major Department

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Chairman, Examining Committee

_____

Dean, Graduate Division

MONTANA STATE COLLEGE
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# VITA

Andrew Leonie was born in Krugersdorp, South Africa, on March 25, 1922, and is a citizen of the United States of America.

Mr. Leonie's parents, Spencina (Drake) Leonie and Andrew Peter John Leonie, reside in South Africa where Mr. Leonie senior is employed as a gold-mining engineer.

In December, 1950, Andrew Leonie married Norma Lou Rhodes, who was born in Colorado and educated in California; she holds an M.S. degree in Sociology. They have one son, Andrew Leonie III, who is 12 years old.

Andrew Leonie attended and matriculated from the Krugersdorp High School in the Republic of South Africa. He holds the matriculation Exemption Certificate issued by the Joint Matriculation Board of the University of South Africa, and, also, the University Matriculation certificate of the Scottish Universities Board, Edinburgh, Scotland.

After completing two years of undergraduate work with a double major, botany and zoology, at the University of Pretoria, South Africa, he came to the United States. In Washington, D. C., he attended Columbia Union College, where he completed a B.A. degree in biology and chemistry.

In 1953 Mr. Leonie and his family returned to South Africa to serve as teachers in first a secondary and then a Bantu teacher training college. He taught mathematics, biology, and chemistry and directed school building programs.

On returning to the United States in 1958, Mr. Leonie was employed by Milo Academy in Oregon as a science and chemistry teacher. In 1959 he attended the University of Oregon and in 1960 was granted a Master of Science degree in biology (physiology).

During the same year he transferred to Montana where he assumed the duties of school principal at Mt. Ellis Academy. He attended Montana State College from 1960 to 1964, following a doctoral program in education.

Mr. Leonie is presently employed as Associate Professor of Education at Walla Walla College, College Place, Washington. He is a member of the Comparative Education Society, and Phi Delta Kappa. He is interested in the social services of the nation, is an active Kiwanian, and finds diversion in the piano and painting.

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## ABSTRACT

The purpose of this inquiry was to examine the development and nature of the national (post-1954) Bantu educational system in South Africa. The problem resolved itself into three parts:

1. an understanding of the background of Bantu education through the development of the South African multiracial society;
2. an understanding of the nature of colonial (pre-1954) Bantu education through its historical development;
3. an understanding of the nature of the national Bantu educational system through its historical development.

The historical method was used in securing the data, and the research was limited to the development of elementary and secondary Bantu education in South Africa from 1652 to 1954.

Conclusions drawn from the study were:

1. Colonial Bantu education lacked defined objectives with respect to curriculum and administration, except that it purposed to Christianize the Bantu.
2. The educational thinking found within the colonial Bantu educational system was not child-centered or Bantu-centered and not planned for the Bantu populace.
3. The educators of the colonial Bantu educational system did, however, demonstrate a desire to educate the Bantu peoples.
4. The national Bantu educational system is a culturally based system, making of education a Bantu national institution.
5. The national Bantu educational system is a child-centered system.
6. It is designed to fit the apparent needs of the Bantu child growing up in a developing Bantu society.
7. And, it is a system designed around the usage of the mother tongue as a medium of instruction which its formulators believe facilitates better learning.

# CHAPTER I

## INTRODUCTION

Educational systems reflect the destinies of nations. They also are vehicles which carry cultures over the roads of environment to habitats of societal change. Changes in education evoke change in environment, change in environment also changes the direction of education, and all these changes become vital instruments which bring forth cultural and societal changes; thus, today's school is the tool shaping the man of tomorrow.

Since World War II education has enjoyed much change and progress. Countries, both large and small, have restructured, reorganized and improved their educational systems to fit their needs; UNESCO has made a significant contribution in the education of preliterate peoples, by giving assistance and direction in the setting up of educational systems for these "new" nations; the United States of America has desegregated her schools; Britain has made education accessable to all with ability and aptitude; France has extended compulsory education to sixteen years; Germany has liberalized her thinking on education; and Russia has geared her education for the elimination of illiteracy.

Along with the major powers, smaller countries have also experienced changes in their education. Some post-war emergent nations without any educational system devised their own, others revised previously

adopted colonial systems to fit their cultural needs.

Africa, the land of many new nations, found herself in an educational dilemma when the colonial powers made their exits. But today these nations of Africa have adopted education as a task force that will conquer illiteracy, superstition, and backwardness. For some of these nations the present end of education is nationalism, for others it is for cultural and economic growth, but for all it means progress.

This dissertation is a study of the structures and philosophies of the South African pre-1954 Bantu educational system (colonial system) and those events that led up to Act 47 of 1953 when a new Bantu educational system (national system) was installed for the Bantu peoples in South Africa by the South African government. This is an attempt to provide those insights into Bantu education necessary for a better understanding of Bantu education in South Africa.

The writer begins by tracing the historical development of South Africa during the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries showing the evolution of the South African multiracial society, and thereby creating a historical backdrop for the study of Bantu education. Out of this historical setting the writer described Bantu education as it developed from 1652 to 1954. The date 1954 is used as a division point between what the writer calls the colonial system of Bantu education and the national system of Bantu education, for it was in 1954 that steps were

taken by the government to remodel Bantu education.

The opportunity to make changes in Bantu education was brought about by the most significant historical event in Bantu education, when Act 47 of 1953 was passed by parliament placing Bantu education under the direction and within a division of the central government.

Multiracial South Africa consists of three million Whites, nine and one-half million Bantu, more than one million Coloreds (those of mixed blood) and over one-third of a million Asians.[1] Presently it is receiving much international attention because of its political policies which are founded upon the doctrine of apartheid. Apartheid is an Afrikaans (South African Dutch) word which when translated literally means "apart" or "separate." To most Americans it means a fanatical approach to a system of racial segregation.

The South African government indicates on the other hand that apartheid is a plan of racial separation for the purpose of separate development:

> The objectives of South Africa's policy of separate development are to safeguard the identity and nationhood of the White and the Bantu peoples and to provide for the progress of the emerging Bantu towards (a) self-government, (b) autonomy, and (c) independence, each in its own "homeland"--the territory originally settled by people of that particular group. Thus the policy aims at viable

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[1] Union of South Africa, State of the Union Year Book for South Africa 1959-1960, p. 57.

> and self-sufficient Bantu societies enabling all people, wherever they may live and work, to be actively associated with the cultural and political life of their own nation. By gradually withdrawing trusteeship over the emerging Bantu peoples (many of whom are still in a primitive phase) as the Bantu national states are established, the most explosive element in South Africa's political make-up, conflicting nationalism, can be avoided.[2]

According to the critics of South African politics, the new Bantu educational system was not established for the benefit of the Bantu peoples; but is an institution planned for the propagation of the ideology of apartheid. Whether this is so or not is debatable. Reverend Reeves writing in 1956, called the Bantu Education Act a "piece of racial legislation."[3]

Carter in discussing the Bantu attitude on education says the Bantu believes in universal education but in a universal education which is standard for all, and that general education for White and Black should be alike.[4]

Shortly after the 1953 legislation of the Bantu Education Act, the Bantu peoples also demonstrated fears about it. They feared that the very

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[2]Union of South Africa, Information Service, South Africa in Fact, n.d., unnumbered pp.

[3]Reeves, R. A., "Church and State in South Africa," Africa South, vol. 1, no. 1., December, 1956, p. 11.

[4]Carter, G. M., The Politics of Inequality in South Africa Since 1958, p. 109.

label now attached to their education was planned to make it inferior[5] and that the syllabi of the new system would stress vocational education at the expense of academic education.[6] These fears on the part of some Bantu parents precipitated an unsuccessful boycott of government schools by some Bantu groups in April, 1955.[7]

Education to the Bantu is of vital importance. The psychologist de Ridder says:

> It is the supreme desire of the vast majority of urban (Bantu) parents to give their children the opportunity of an education. . . Educational achievement is synonymous with success.[8]

Tabata, an ardent antagonist of the apartheid policy in South Africa, condemns Bantu education on the basis that to him its function appears to be pointed in the direction of racism and suppression of the Bantu.[9] Again this point of view is open for debate. This study does not make any attempt to evaluate the Bantu educational system in terms of those political

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[5]"Why So Much Smoke?" editorial, The Bantu World, March 26, 1955.

[6]Carter, G. M., op. cit., p. 109.

[7]Feit, Edward, South Africa, 1962, p. 51.

[8]de Ridder, J. C., The Personality of the Urban African in South Africa, 1961, p. 87.

[9]Tabata, I. B., Education for Barbarism in South Africa, 1960, pp. 16-29.

implications that may surround it.

Richard Greenough, writing in a UNESCO report on African education, does indicate that education in Africa must be African and culturally based:

> Education has a strategic position in the battle for progress. If it is to fulfil its many functions satisfactorily, education in Africa must be African; that is, it must rest on a foundation of African culture and be based on the special requirements of African progress in all fields.[10]

It was the personal desire of the writer to fulfil two aims in producing this dissertation: first, that this thesis be a volume of knowledge which will enlighten those scholars who seek to know more about Bantu education in South Africa. Second, that the information included be of practical value to the educator working with preliterate peoples.

## Statement of the Problem

The chief problem of this study was to determine the factors of the movements and influences in the development of the national Bantu educational system (post-1954) which is presently in use in the Republic of South Africa. The problem resolved itself into three definite parts:

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[10]Greenough, Richard, Africa Calls, 1961, p. 33.

1. An understanding of the background of Bantu education through the history of South Africa during the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries.

2. An understanding of the nature of the colonial Bantu educational system through its historical development.

3. An understanding of the development and nature of the national Bantu educational system culminating with the Bantu Education Act 47 of 1953.

## Procedures

Three basic procedures were employed in securing the data for this investigation. They were:

1. A review of the available literature consisting of South African governmental documents and pamphlets; UNESCO reports, South African archival documents; South African, UNESCO, and American books, periodicals, and newspapers; and publications of South African anthropological and cultural organizations.

2. Personal interviews with U. S. Office of Education officials, South African embassy and consular officials, and educators in the field of comparative education.

3. Letters of inquiry to Whites and Bantu of various stations.

All translations from Afrikaans or Dutch publications were made by the writer.

## Limitations

In 1652 education was introduced to the South African aborigine and in 1954 education for the Bantu was nationalized. This study was limited to the development of Bantu education in South Africa from 1652 to 1954 as is characterized by what is commonly considered community education or elementary and secondary education. The study was further limited to:

1. The evolution of the South African multiracial society through exploration by the White man and migration of the Bantu into South Africa.

2. The factors which influenced the development of colonial education (1652-1954) and a description of its character, the structures, organizational changes, and the evolving of syllabi.

3. The factors which influenced the development of national Bantu education (post-1954) through commission reports, parliamentary and legal procedures showing the character, structure, organization and implementation.

## Definitions

Since most people are not acquainted with the national structure of the South African society and the practice of education within its communities it became necessary to define the unfamiliar terms used in this study.

Bantu. Bantu is a collective name for one of the principal indigenous racial groupings of peoples on the African continent. The following statement defines the Bantu group in terms of a description of their habitat:

> With the exception of a few tribes, people of the Bantu group inhabit the whole area south of an imaginary line drawn from the bulge of the West African coast and passing south of Nigeria eastwards through French Equatorial Africa to Lake Albert, then swinging southwards to the lower end of Lake Victoria and thence crookedly eastward through Tanganyika to the mouth of the Tana River on the east coast.[11]

Bushmen. The Bushmen are the race of people which anthropologists believe occupied most of the sub-continent of Africa until about a hundred years before the discovery of the southern tip of the African continent by the Europeans in 1486.[12] The Bushmen are recognized as being the true aborigines of Southern Africa.[13] Bushmen lived as vagabond

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[11] Digest of South African Affairs, vol. 3, no. 8, April 16, 1956, p. 3.

[12] Burkitt, P., South Africa's Past in Stone and Paint, n.d., pp. 15-25.

[13] Union of South Africa, Government Paper No. 41, 1926, p. 19.

hunters;[14] they had no knowledge of soil cultivation, but lived by their hunting, and the eating of honey, wild plants, and locusts.[15] Later the Bushmen were involved in bloody clashes with other African tribes and the White man.[16]

Colored. The colored people are a group with mixed blood living in the Republic of South Africa. According to Du Preez[17] the first racial groups that the colonists or settlers contacted (1652) were the Bushmen and Hottentots. It was soon discovered that these individuals were not satisfactory for labor and in 1657 importation of slaves from Malaya, Madagascar, and East Africa began. A mixing of Hottentots, slaves, and colonists occurred, and a new group called the Cape Colored emerged, using the language of the colonists.

Hottentots. The Hottentots are those tribes that were in possession of the land at the time the Dutch arrived at the Cape in 1652.[18] They readily traded with the Dutch settlers, bartering cattle for the White man's

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[14]Schapera, I., The Khoisan Peoples of South Africa: Bushmen and Hottentots, 1930, chaps. 5, 6, 8.

[15]Theal, G. M., South Africa, 1894, p. 2.

[16]Ibid.

[17]Du Preez, A. B., Inside the South African Crucible, 1959, p. 32.

[18]Van Riebeeck, Jan, Dagverhaal, December 10, 1652.

iron, copper, beads, and tobacco.[19] The Hottentots soon learned to speak some Dutch and assisted the Dutch settlers with the transportation of building materials.[20] As the Cape Colony developed the settlers at times engaged in war with the Hottentots,[21] but it was not these wars that almost annihilated the Hottentots. For in 1713, a disasterous epidemic of smallpox broke out in the Cape, causing many deaths among the Whites and the slave population, and almost wiping out the Hottentots.[22]

Griquas. The Griquas are the descendants of a Hottentot tribe that was known by different names. The Chariquriqua, Charinqurina, and Chariquas.[23] Today most of the Griquas are found in the area of Kokstad, Natal.[24]

Native. The term "native" is commonly used as an equivalent to the word Bantu. In South Africa the term "native" is not used when referring to the White, Coloreds, Asians, or any race other than the aboriginal

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[19]Ibid., December 6, 1652, and May 6, 1660.

[20]Ibid., June 15, 1652.

[21]Ibid., April 7, 1674.

[22]Dutch East India Company, Dagregister, 1652-1798, May 10, 1713.

[23]Van Riebeeck Society, The Early Cape Hottentots, n.d., (citing the writings of Olfert Dapper et al.).

[24]Halford, S. J., The Griquas of Griqualand, n.d., p. 203.

races or tribes.[25]

Whites or Europeans. The White or European group consists principally of two stocks--the Dutch and the Anglo-Saxon. Other European nationalities represented in lesser numbers are also classified under this grouping.

Asians or Indians. Asians or Indians are defined as the descendants of Indians from Madras or South India now living in South Africa. In 1860 in the province of Natal, under the pressure of sugar planters, the British and Indian governments opened the way for Indian immigration to Natal. These agricultural workers belonged to the "untouchable" class and lived in a state of semi-starvation in their homeland. After serving their work contracts in Natal, they were given the choice either to stay in South Africa or return home to Madras or Southern India. This choice to them meant freedom. Freedom from the rigid caste system and from starvation caused them to choose to stay. Today there are over 350,000 Asians residing in South Africa.[26]

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[25]Union of South Africa, Statutes of the Union of South Africa, 1953, Act. 1, sect. 5.

[26]Union of South Africa, State of the Union Year-Book . . . , op. cit., p. 70.

Education. The grade levels of the educational systems discussed in this dissertation do not go beyond the secondary school. It is clearly defined in the Education Act No. 47 of 1953 as:

> "Education" means education other than "higher education" within the meaning of section seventeen of the Financial Relations Consolidation and Amendment Act, 1945, (Act No. 38 of 1945).[27]

Philosophy. The term philosophy as used in this report not only refers to those basic theories upon which the educational systems were structured, but is also a summary of that thinking and those principles which harmonize educational theory and educational practice.

Colonial Bantu Education. When using the phrase colonial Bantu education reference is arbitrarily made to Bantu education as it existed prior to 1954 in the Republic of South Africa.

National Bantu Education. The national Bantu educational system is the educational system which is presently employed by the Bantu in the Republic of South Africa. This system of education is based upon the Bantu culture and is nationalistic in spirit; it was put into operation in 1954.

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[27]Union of South Africa, Statutes of the Union . . . , op. cit., p. 258.

The preceding definitions in giving a knowledge of the Bushmen, Hottentot, Bantu, and Whites and their relationships will help the reader to better understand the development of South Africa from its earliest settlement to the twentieth century. Chapter two describes the development of South Africa and includes a map of this new country indicating its expanse.[28]

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[28]See Figure 1. This map is an edited copy of a map in "Education for the Bantu of South Africa," Lantern, vol. 11, no. 1, July-September, 1961. The editing by the writer was done to especially indicate pertinent areas and places discussed in the text.

# CHAPTER II

## A HISTORY OF SOUTH AFRICA DURING THE SEVENTEENTH, EIGHTEENTH, AND NINETEENTH CENTURIES

From its earliest beginnings South Africa, as shown in Figure 1, was a country of many complexities and differences, and before one can begin to understand the educational practices for the Bantu in South Africa, one should have a basic knowledge of its peoples, their origins, and the relationships that exist among those who inhabit that country.

The South Africa of today is very different from what it was before the advent of Christ, when man first scrutinized its shores. Today it is a modern and progressive country made up of many kinds of peoples who call it their home. Not only is it financially progressive and wealthy, but is also a country very concerned about its cultural and educational development. Education is important to all South Africans regardless of their race or color.

To provide a historical background for the study of education, a description of the country's development was made by surveying the history of South Africa (1652-1900) paying special attention to the following important aspects: (1) the exploration of South Africa by the White man, (2) the Bantu migration into Southern Africa, and (3) the developing of a multiracial society.

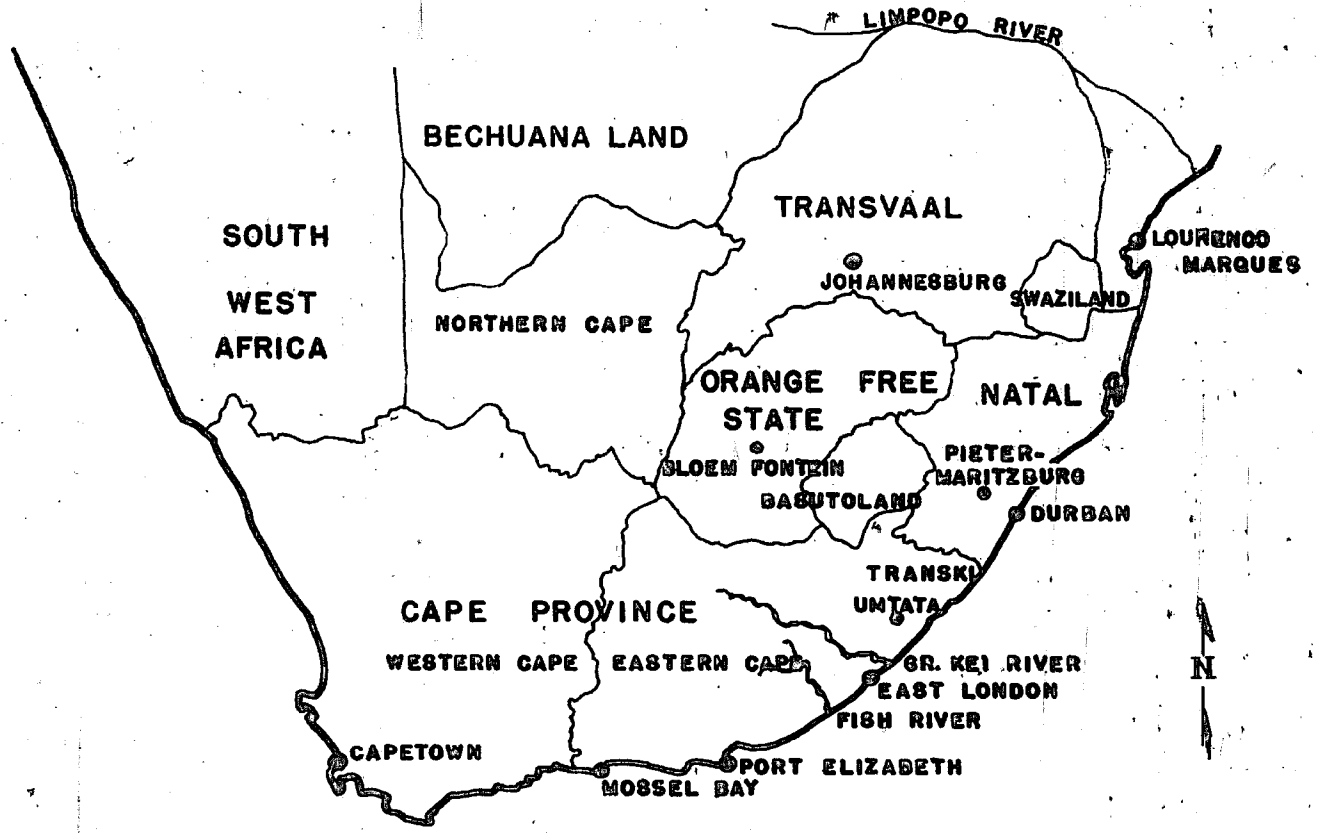


FIGURE I. MAP OF THE REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

## Exploration of South Africa by the White Man

Six hundred years before the birth of Christ, Pharoah Necho commissioned his royal ships to explore the South African coasts.[1] His royal fleet sailed from the Red Sea, through the Indian Ocean, swung around the African tip to the Atlantic, and returned to Egypt after a three-year voyage. For the next two thousand years South Africa basked unperturbed under her sunny skies. Prince Henry the Navigator in the year 1434 sent out an expedition from Portugal to seek a new route to India, the land of silks and spice.[2] This expedition from Portugal rounded Cape Bojador but never arrived in India, yet, paved the way for the finding of a new sea-route to India.[3]

In 1486 Bartholomew Diaz, officer in command of two small vessels, was instructed by the King of Portugal to find a way to India via the extremity of South Africa.[4] Diaz and his men rounded the Cape and anchored at Algoa Bay in September, 1486, but since his weary crew could

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[1]Punt, W., and Ploeger, J., "Age-old Republican Ideal Realized," South African Panorama, May, 1961.

[2]Fairbridge, Dorothea, A History of South Africa, 1917, pp. 16-17.

[3]Ibid., p. 17.

[4]Halford, S. J., The Griquas of Griqualand, n.d., p. 1; Theal, G. M., South Africa, 1894, p. 8.

gather no information from the aborigines about India, they turned about and sailed back to Portugal.[5]

Vasco da Gama, another Portuguese, sailed in 1497 via the same route as did Diaz, becoming the first navigator to complete the voyage to India.[6] One hundred years later, around 1600, the British, the Dutch and the French began to make use of this sea route to India which da Gama had discovered.[7]

Among the first contacts between the White man and the aborigines for the purpose of trading were those made by da Gama, Antonio de Saldanha in 1503, and Francisco d'Almeida in 1509.[8] But it was the Dutch traders who first recognized that the Cape would make a valuable supply station for their trading ships plying the waters between Holland and India.[9] In 1619 the directors of the English East India Company

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[5]"As he passed the huge headland he named it Cabo de Los Tormentos (Cape of Storms). This appellation was changed by his royal master to the more auspicious title of Boa Esperanza (Good Hope) from the prospect it offered of finding the much desired maritime route to the East Indies." (Halford, op. cit., p. 1.)

[6]Union of South Africa, Information Service, South Africa's Heritage, 1652-1952, 1952. Cited hereafter as Union of South Africa, South . . . .

[7]Ibid.

[8]Theal, op. cit., pp. 12-14.

[9]Union of South Africa, South . . . , op. cit.

approached the Council of Seventeen of Holland for permission to build a fort and refreshment station at the Cape, but were turned down.[10]

For some years no attempt was made to make use of the Cape as a place of settlement. But toward the end of the year 1651 two ships and a yacht under the direction of Jan van Riebeeck left Holland for the Cape of Good Hope.[11] Van Riebeeck and his party of 70 to 80 people arrived at Table Bay on April 5, 1652.[12] From this first group of Dutch settlers a council was elected which became the first "government" to be established at the Cape.[13] Immediately friendly communication was established with the nomadic tribes living at the Cape whom the Dutch called Hottentots.[14] A quantity of brass wire, tobacco, and copper, brought from Holland, was used by the Cape settlers to barter with the Hottentots for cattle and sheep.[15] The commander, Van Riebeeck, conducted the trading with the Hottentots personally so as to be certain of keeping peace with

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[10]Theal, op. cit., p. 20.

[11]Halford, op. cit., pp. 4-5.

[12]Ibid.

[13]Ibid.

[14]Ibid.

[15]Theal, op. cit., p. 27.

them.[16] No trading could be done with the Bantu races, since they had not yet entered South Africa.[17] This quotation from South Africa's Heritage clearly indicates that the Dutch settlers did not use the Bantu as servants but brought their own slaves to the Cape:

> Authorities are agreed that it is not know, even to within a few hundred years, when the Bantu began entering the Union, but that it was a very gradual process. It seems unlikely that they travelled much beyond the Kei River when the Dutch made their first settlement at the Cape.
>
> All the Bantu were originally organized in tribes, each with its own chief, sub-chiefs and councillors. They possessed complicated social systems and, as distinct from the Hottentots and Bushmen, were dependent upon both cattle and agriculture.
>
> The Dutch who settled there brought their own slaves, mostly from the East Indies.[18]

In 1688, 200 Huguenots arrived at the Cape from France and were responsible for the creation of flourishing vineyards[19] which added to the prosperity of the Cape. By 1687 the burgher or landowner population at the Cape had grown to 573 individuals.[20]

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[16] Ibid.

[17] Union of South Africa, South . . . , op. cit.

[18] Ibid.

[19] Ibid.

[20] Hofmeyer, J. H., South Africa, 1952, p. 27.

Without any resistance the Cape changed hands in 1795 when the British took it over from the Dutch East India Company.[21] This taking over of the Cape by the British was a planned arrangement between England and the Prince of Orange of the Netherlands. When the French Revolutionary forces had captured the Netherlands the Prince of Orange who fled to England suggested that England take over the Cape before the French laid hands on it.[22]

Britain held the Cape for seven years, after which she returned it to the Batavian Republic for three years. reoccupying it again in 1806.[23]

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[21] "At three o'clock in the afternoon of Wednesday, the 16th of September 1795, fourteen hundred British soldiers under General Craig arrived at the Castle and drew up on the open ground in front. The Dutch troops marched out with colours flying and drums beating, passed by the English, and laid down their arms, surrendering as prisoners of war. In the evening General Clarke arrived with two thousand infantry and a train of artillery.

Thus ended the rule of the Dutch East India Company in South Africa after an occupation of little over a hundred and forty-three years." (Theal, op. cit., pp. 110-111.)

[22] Fairbridge, op. cit., pp. 117-121.

[23] "For seven years the British held it as a caretaker administration in the name of the exiled Prince. They handed it back as part of a short-lived settlement in 1802; but seized it again in 1806, when the Batavian Republic was allied to France, and held it until the virtual end of the Napoleonic Empire in 1814. Britain then received from Holland a formal cession of the Cape and British Guiana." (Union of South Africa, South . . . , op. cit.)

Although the governments at the Cape changed often, the colony still made progress.

The eighteenth century was a period of enlightenment in the world, and among the treasures given to mankind during this enlightened era was the gift of philanthropic interest. The flame of philanthropy and missionary zeal burned not only in Europe, but it also smoldered at the Cape; and the voice of the zealous missionary liberalist did much to guide and influence British lawmakers. It was during the British reign at the Cape that the Abolitions Act of 1807 was passed by the Parliament of Great Britain.[24] By 1833 the Cape slaves were emancipated, which gave rise to much dissatisfaction among the colonists. This can be cited as one of the underlying causes of the mass migration of Dutch colonists from the Cape, known as the Great Trek.[25]

Although the British endeavored to compensate the slaveowners who freed their slaves, the action did not cover up the government's unwillingness to prosecute those aborigines who raided the colonists' farms

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[24]Hofmeyer, op. cit., p. 57; Brady, Alexander, Democracy in the Dominions, 1947, p. 352.

[25]Hofmeyer, op. cit., pp. 57-59.

and livestock.[26] Moreover, some of the Cape ordinances and laws such as Ordinance 50 of 1828, were most irritating to the colonists' inner beliefs. This Ordinance, promulgated at the Cape, placed the "Hottentots and other free people of color" on an equal level with the Europeans as far as the law was concerned.[27] The Charters of Justice of 1827 and 1832, which were adopted by the Cape Colony government, definitely made no distinction between the inhabitants of the Cape Colony on the basis of race or color.[28] This attitude on the part of the government was most disconcerting for the farmers.

A clear reaction against the "equality" Cape laws is found in the words of Karel Trichard, a Dutch spokesman and one of the leaders of the

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[26]"In addition to this new irritant in Boer-British relations, there were other factors--alleged undercompensation of slave-owners and failure of the British government to prosecute the troublesome and costly wars against the south-coast Kaffirs, who often made livestock raids and burned property of the Dutch frontier farmers. He (the Boer) became determined to found in the north a community remote from an unsympathetic government with liberal ideas, hated rights for the Black man, and novel administrative methods." (Dvorin, E. P., Racial Separation in South Africa, 1952, p. 12, citing Brady, Alexander, Democracy in the Dominions, p. 364.)

[27]Cape Government Gazette, Ordinance 50 of 1828, July 25, 1828.

[28]Eybers, G. W., Select Constitutional Documents Illustrating South African History 1795-1910, London, 1918.

Great Trek, when he gave as the reason for the Great Trek "the setting on an equal footing of the blacks and the whites."[29]

Filled with resentment toward the British government at the Cape, the Dutch colonists planned a mass exodus from the Colony into the interior of the southern part of the continent of Africa. The emigration from the Cape Colony which resulted in the Dutch founding their own states is shown by Dvorin in the following statement:

> The emigration of 1837, known as the Great Trek, resulted in Natal being established as the first Boer or Trekker independent state. This was followed by the founding of the Orange Free State and the Transvaal (or South African Republic).[30]

The Great Trek was no picnic. The Trekkers suffered attacks by the native tribes, and only after much bloodshed did these Trekkers find places of settlement. The "South African Heritage" discusses the trials and tribulations of the advancing colonists with much detail and vividness:

> The first group, under the leadership of Louis Trichardt, advanced up to near the Limpopo (river) before deciding to trek to Delagoa Bay in what is today Portuguese Africa or Mozambique.

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[29]"de aanstaande nieuwe gang van zaken . . . de gelijkstelling van kleurlingen met die blanken" (quoted by Preller, G., Voortrekkermense Deel II, Nasionale Pers, Kaapstad, 1920, p. 4).

[30]Dvorin, op. cit., p. 12.

The second trek, under Hans van Rensburg was massacred by Native tribes. A third company, under Andries Hendrik Potgieter, left the Cape Colony in 1836. This contingent also ran the risk of extermination, but was saved by the victory which Potgieter won at Vegkop, Orange Free State. The contingents' ranks were strengthened by a trek under Gert Maritz, who joined them.

In 1837 two more trek companies left the Cape--one under Piet Uys, and the other under the leadership of Piet Retief. In order to get a harbour at their disposal, Retief wished to settle in Natal. Retief's negotiations with the Zulu King, Dingaan, about the cession of a piece of territory led to his death and that of 78 of his men, by the assegais of Dingaan's tribesmen. Dingaan followed up this murder of Retief with a merciless attack on the unsuspecting trek laager (encampment.)

After Andries Pretorius with his company had joined the remainder of that of Retief's force, Dingaan was punished for his deeds with the famous victory at Blood River on December 16, 1838.

Along this difficult road of hardship, sacrifice, loss of life and bloodshed, the interior of South Africa was thus opened for White civilization.[31]

It must also be remembered that while the Dutch trekking was in progress, and even before this, much exploring in Africa had been conducted by missionaries and hunters.[32] Southern Africa, a vast country with much potential, now became a paradise for the colonizers and their

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[31]Union of South Africa, South . . . , op. cit.

[32]de Kock, W. J., "Die Trek Voor Die Groot Trek," Lantern, vol. 6, no. 4, June, 1957.

families, which led to the formation of new states.

The South African Republic was established in 1839 and was recognized as an independent state by Britain in 1852 at the Sand River Convention.[33] The Republic of the Orange Free State received her recognition as an independent state by the Bloemfontein Convention in 1854.[34] Immediately after the Blood River battle of 1838 Natal became a Boer republic, but was short-lived.[35] In 1843 the Republic of Natal submitted to the British forces who had landed at Durban in 1842. Two years after submission Natal became part and parcel of the Cape Colony as a province.[36] What peace there now was in South Africa was brought to an end with the outbreak of hostilities between the Boers and British in 1899.[37] This war involved the Republic of the Orange Free State and the Transvaal Republic against the British forces of the Cape Colony and Natal. As a result of the peace Treaty of Vereeniging, signed on May 31, 1902, the Transvaal and Orange Free State became British colonies.[38]

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[33]Union of South Africa, South . . . , op. cit.

[34]Ibid.

[35]Hofmeyer, op. cit., pp. 104-108.

[36]Ibid., p. 70.

[37]Fairbridge, op. cit., p. 288.

[38]Hofmeyer, op. cit., pp. 104-108.

The greatest event to occur in South African history was the establishment of the Union of South Africa on May 31, 1910.[39] It was the South Africa Act passed with Royal Assent on September 20, 1909, that unified the colonies as The Union of South Africa,[40] ending the major period of exploration.

This country, the Union of South Africa (also known as the Republic of South Africa), today stands as a monument to those pioneers and adventure-seekers who first trod her sun-baked veld.

## Bantu Migration into Southern Africa

The story of the Bantu migration into South Africa during the days of the White man's exploration into the country is fascinating. In the beginning most of the aboriginal peoples of Africa living south of the equator belonged to the same language family group.[41] The word stem ntu which means "a person" is common to all the languages of the southern Africans.[42] The plural form of ntu in Zulu and Xhosa which is abantu had long been used

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[39]Fairbridge, op. cit., p. 312.

[40]Ibid.

[41]South African Bureau of Racial Affairs, Bantu Education, 1955, p.6.

[42]Ibid.

to distinguish the Zulu and Xhosa from the other African tribes, the Hottentot, and the Bushman.[43] Presently, however, the term Bantu refers to the whole indigenous black population of South Africa.[44]

Although these aboriginal people of Africa show some similarity in their language form and even physical features, they do not constitute a racial unit.[45] Around A.D. 900 the Bantu separated[46] into three major groups:[47] the Thonga, who moved toward the Indian Ocean coast; the Shona, who remained inland in the area of Southern Rhodesia; and the Nguni, who moved southward.[48] When the Nguni reached the Limpopo River they separated into groups and went in different directions becoming the present Zulu, Swazi, Xhosa, Ndebele, and Fingo tribes.[49]

There is not much known about the origins and development of the Sotho-Tswana tribes; it is conjectured that they moved down into

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[43] Ibid.

[44] Ibid.

[45] Ibid.

[46] See Figure 2. References are Naude, L. C., South Africa a Western Society, a speech given before the Rotary Club of Chicago, June 20, 1961, n. pub.; Digest of South African Affairs, vol. 3, no. 8, April 16, 1956.

[47] Birkby, Carel, Native Life in South Africa, n.d., pp. 4-5.

[48] Ibid.

[49] Ibid.

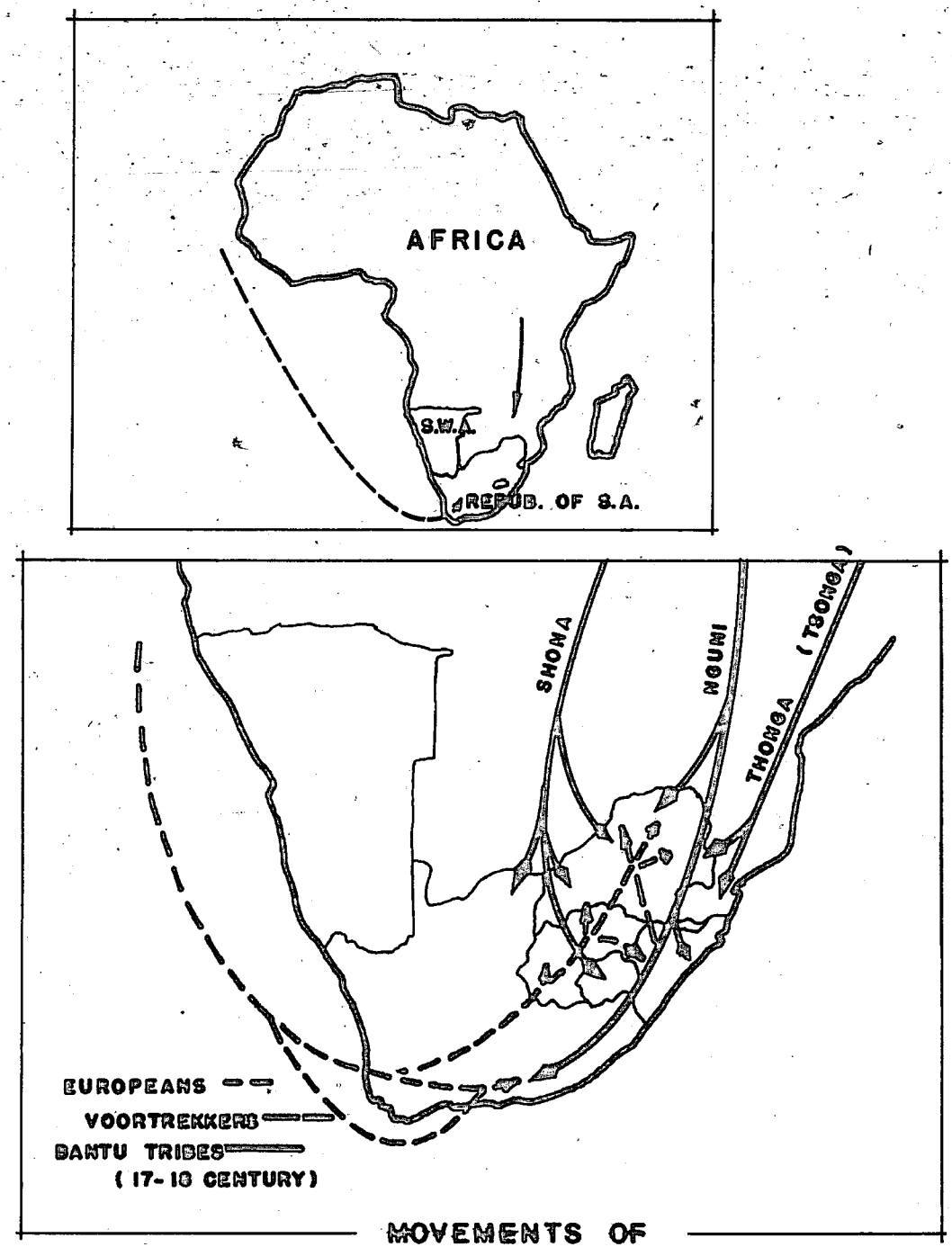


FIGURE 2 MOVEMENTS OF MIGRATING PEOPLES IN SOUTH AFRICA

Bechuanaland, there splitting into tribes.[50] These tribes now peopled the borders of the Kalahari, and edged on into Basutoland, driving the Bushmen out and thus founding the southern Sotho, commonly known as the Basuto nation.[51]

According to Birkby the Zulu nation was aggressive and war-like and through its militaristic activities wiped out or subjugated many peaceful tribes; he colorfully describes the movements of the Zulus:

> The Zulu built an irresistible military machine in Natal in the early decades of the nineteenth century and drove fugitive tribes farther south before them, while other relentless columns swung northwest and north again under filerbustering leader Mzilikazi, who cut a swathe of havoc into Rhodesia, his warriors overrunning the placid pastoral Shona. He built the 'Matabele' nation on the serfdom of the Shona, after which he was known as 'The Lion of the North'. The Sotho called them Matabele and they are generally known by this name in Rhodesia.
>
> Similarly when the two captains Soshangane and Zaangendaba fled north from Shaka (the Zulu chief) into Portuguese East Africa, they subdued the Thonga. The captains then split up. The former founded the Shangaans who later settled in the region of the Kruger National Park (north-eastern Transvaal). The latter continued northwards to Nyasaland and his descendants speak a Zulu dialect to this day.[52]

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[50] Ibid.

[51] Ibid.

[52] Ibid.

Today's seven distinct Bantu ethnic groups--the Xhosa, Zulu, Southern Sotho, Tswana, Northern Sotho, Tsonga, and Venda--are as much settlers of South Africa as are the Whites.[53] When Van Riebeeck landed at the Cape the south-moving Bantu hordes were more than 1000 miles north of it,[54] leaving behind them footprints that trail through the famed Zimbabwe ruins;[55] but like the White settlers made Southern Africa their home.

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[53]Union of South Africa, Vocational Education in South Africa, (Fact Paper 45), October, 1957, p. 6.

[54]When the founder-fathers landed from the Dromedaries at Cape Town there was not a Bantu nearer than 1,000 miles away . . . Their progress from the Congo and northeast Africa, during the first ten centuries of the Christian era, has been traced, defining a constant advance to reap where others had sown.

From the east coast which looked out on Arabia and India they rolled down like a black miasmic vapour over the land, responding to the smell of other people's prosperity as it reached their broad nostrils. Masses of dry-stone ruins mark where they found, and destroyed, earlier civilized people; geologists have traced their predatory march in the ashes and debris that tell the tale of the passage of medieval Bantu down to and through the centre of the continent. They have deciphered from the 1,000-year-old remains the advance of the Mashonas to the area north of the Zambesi where ruins of ancient buildings, block-houses and excavations testify to a pre-Bantu occupation which the marauding savages from the north exterminated. Signs of this Kaffirisation chart the Bantu advance on every post of civilization and it is possible that had their search for the fabulous if not fabled King Solomon's mines succeeded, it would have halted there long enough to spare the infant South Africa the terrors of a series of Kaffir wars. (Allighan, Garry, Curtain-up on South Africa, 1960, pp. 144-145.

[55]Birkby, op. cit., p. 5.

Through exploration and migration into South Africa by Whites and Blacks there came to be established a multiracial society.

## The Making of a Multiracial Society

The Whites trekking northward did not contact the south-moving Bantu until more than one hundred years after Van Riebeeck's arrival at th Cape in 1652.[56] It was in 1770 when the Boers moved eastward to the Mossel Bay area that contact first occurred with the approaching Xhosa.[5] Peace agreements were made between the Colony's Governor Van Pletten-berg and the Xhosa chiefs in 1780 when the Fish River[58] was established as a boundary separating the Bantu and colonists.[59] However, in Septer ber, 1779, the Xhosas crossed the Fish River, marauding, stealing cattle causing the farmers to withdraw to safety.[60]

The raids of the Xhosas crossing the Fish River continued, but in the winter of 1779 when another crossing was made, the colonists used

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[56]Pienaar, S., South Africa, 1960, pp. 5-6.

[57]Allighan, op. cit., pp. 146-147.

[58]See Figure 2.

[59]Theal, op. cit., pp. 87-88.

[60]Ibid., p. 89.

force to expel them from the colony.[61] This battle between the Xhosas and colonists lasted two months, ending the First Kaffir War of 1779.[62] In 1789 the Xhosas again poured across the river ransacking farms of Hottentot and White farmers, who barely escaped with their lives.[63] Boer commandos stood their ground and were ready to fight, but received orders from Cape Town that they should not attack the retreating Xhosas.[64] The Boers withdrew from their posts without recovering their cattle, but were indignant and almost rebellious against the Cape Government.[65] This skirmish between the Xhosas and the Cape Boers in 1789 ended what is known as the Second Kaffir war.[66] Matters on the Fish River frontier continued to worsen gradually, almost up to the beginning of the nineteenth century.

The Eastern Cape frontier was now almost continually in a state of havoc due to the cattle stealing, murdering, and burning of the colonists'

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[61] Ibid., pp. 89-90.

[62] Ibid., p. 90.

[63] Ibid., p. 99.

[64] Ibid., pp. 99-100.

[65] Ibid., p. 100.

[66] Ibid., pp. 99-101.

homes, wagons, and barns.[67] This state of affairs caused successive Kaffir wars to follow with the last ending in 1846.[68] Fear of the natives, apathy of the English to their problems, and the liberalistic policies of the Cape Government brought the colonists to the place where they decided to trek out of the Cape.[69]

Early contacts between the Bantu and the Whites were made by hunters and traders and through frontier wars, but the Great Trek brought about the first mass contact.[70] Many authorities also believe that the Great Trek was the tool in the hand of history which saved the Bantu tribes from self-extermination, for to the Trekkers fell the important mission of settling tribal differences and bringing about a lasting peace among

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[67]"In July, 1799, the combined Kaffirs and Hottentots swept over the Zourveld, murdering men, women and children, burning the farm houses and carrying off cattle, wagons, and ammunition." . . . The Third Kaffir War.

". . . 1812 . . ." The Fourth Kaffir War.

". . . 1818 . . ." The Fifth Kaffir War.

". . . 1834 . . ." The Sixth Kaffir War.

". . . 1846 . . ." The War of the Axe or the Seventh Kaffir War. (Fairbridge, op. cit., pp. 138, 171, 183, 200, 210.)

[68]Ibid., p. 210.

[69]MaCrone, I. D., Race Attitudes in South Africa, Historical, Experimental and Psychological Studies, 1937, p. 136; Muller, C. F. J. Die Britse Owerheid en die Groot Trek, 1949, pp. 66-68.

[70]Du Preez, A. B., Inside the South African Crucible, 1959, p. 35.

the Bantu.[71]

Not only did the contact between the Whites and the Bantu prevent the extinction of the Bantu, but it held out for him a different and new way of life. The Bantu male who previously had been soldier and cattle breeder, and whose wife cultivated the soil for the family, now was faced with the White man's economic system,[72] as opposed to his barter system. The nomadic life of the Bantu now ceased and from the White man he learned the Western way of cattle farming and disease prevention.[73] The White man's worship was different from his ancestral rituals. His way of government was also different from that of the tribal

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[71]"As the Whites moved North from the Southern point of Africa and the Bantu moved South from the North contacts increased and deepened. The first contacts from the White side came through hunter, cattle farmers and finally the Great Trek in 1838.

Bantu tribes, which regularly raided and plundered one another often plundered the White settlers who retaliated by sending military expeditions to punish the raiders. These conflicts between White and Bantu continued till about 1880 by which time the Bantu had learned to respect frontier agreements. At this time the largest part of Natal, Free State and Transvaal, whither the Whites had trekked, was the scene of desolation as a result of cruel internecine conflict and plundering by the Bantu. Whole regions were littered by Bantu skeletons. It has been computed that in the vicinity of Basutoland alone more than 500,000 Bantu were devoured by cannibal tribes about this time. Only White intervention and protection during the Great Trek saved numbers of tribes from wholesale extermination. It was one of the important tasks of the White settlers in the country to bring about lasting peace amongst the Bantu." (Ibid.)

[72]Ibid., p. 43.

[73]Ibid., pp. 43-44.

Bantu chiefs.[74] Now within the same geographic bounds the White men with the more mature culture came into contact with the Black culture still in its infancy.[75] Strauss in the following statement indicates that with the urbanization and industrialization of South Africa by the White settlers, the primitive Bantu culture progressively underwent change:

> The whole life's pattern, way of life, the system of values and norms, language, in short is the culture of the Western white group and differs radically from that of the Black aborigines in Africa. With the coming and establishment of the Whites in Africa the two cultures now lived within the same geographic and state boundaries. Some kind of influencing was unavoidable, but it was essentially the Western civilization and culture that influenced the more primitive pattern . . . Unless the absorption of a culture, acculturation, occurs very rapidly it brings about deculturation which means that frustration overtakes the social order and disturbances occur within the personalities of those individuals in the society. This contact with the White man

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[74]"Pressure was exerted on the Bantu to break with superstitution, animism, witchcraft and kindred ideas. But little headway was made because the Bantu is exceptionally conservative. In his tribal state the Bantu never possessed private ground. The chief controlled all tribal ground and distributed it to families for cultivation. To prevent the Bantu from becoming landless, the White government found it necessary to establish Bantu Trust Areas and to stipulate that no Whites should own ground there. Increasing economic pressure, however, made the development of the Bantu areas to the point of maximum production a vital necessity for feeding the population. Teams of trained Bantu agriculturalists under the guidance of White supervisors have endeavoured to improve Bantu agricultural and grazing methods but it is a tedious, disappointing and heartbreaking task." (Ibid.)

[75]Strauss, Johan, "Die Mens in Menslike Verhoudinge in Afrika," Tydskrif vir Rasse-aangeleenthede, vol. 14, no. 4, n.d., p. 234.

caused the early aborigines to become sociologically and psycologically confused.[76] (translation)

Strauss sees the Bantu emerging as a confused individual. Hutt emphasizes the fact, though, that the Bantu within this new environment is gradually absorbing the Western social heritage:

> The Europeans brought the social heritage of western civilization to South Africa, . . . the primitive people gradually absorbed the heritage of civilization of which their masters had some possession.[77]

About the rate of the Bantu's westernization, which some say has been a speedy process, Allighan says:

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[76]"Die hele lewenspatroon, lewenswyse, die sisteem van wardes en norme, taal, kortweg die kultuur van hierdie Westerse, blanke groep verskil radikaal van die' van die swart inboorlinge van Afrika. Met die koms en vestiging van die blankes in Afrika, het die twee verskillende samelewings in kontak met mekaar gekom, deurdat die mense in die onderskeie samelewings binne dieselfde staatkundige en geografiese grense moes woon. Wedersydse beinvloeding was derhalwe onvermydelik, maar dit was veral die Westerse beskawing en kultuur wat die meer primitiewe Afrika-patroon sou beinvloed . . . Kultuuroorname, akkulturasie, indien dit snel geskied (soos wat in sommige Afrikagebiede gepoog is) bring dekulturasie tot stand wat beteken 'n verwarring in die maatskaplike orde en steurnis in die persoonlikhede van individue as lede van samelewing. Hierdie kontak met die blankes het enersyds die oorspronklike swart Afrika-inboorlinge, sosiologies-sielkundig gesproke, ontwrig en verwar." (Ibid., pp. 233-234.).

[77]Ziervogel, C., The Coloured People and the Race Problem, n.d. p. 11, (quoting Prof. W. H. Hutt).

> Less than 100 years ago, Bantu savages were marching on Afrikaners, breathing fire and slaughter, shrieking unintelligible war-cries, bloodlust frothing in their uncivilized minds. Less than 300 years ago, Bantu tribes were making their first contact with White men and the White man's civilization. Three hundred years is an eyelid flash compared with the time it has taken other peoples to become civilized. . . . For only half a century South Africa has been self-governed but the improvement, advancement and degree of social emancipation of the Bantu that has been achieved in that short time denudes . . . all people of the right to condemn.[78]

The contrasting cultures within this multiracial society become very evident. The White explorer and settler from Europe brought with him his European culture, his language, his religion, manners and formal education. This was new and unknown to the aborigine. The tribal native is one who lives close to native magic, who exhibits a trusting belief in ancestral spirit worship, and who is an ardent supporter of the initiation schools where emerging adolescents of the tribe are taught the meanings of tribal folklore.

While the European has accepted the school as a tool to perpetuate his society the tribal native looks upon his home, the place where his progenitors lived, as the cradle of his nationality and language. For the Zulu the home is the basis of the Zulu nation's social structure. The

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[78]Allighan, op. cit., p. 155.

father is the ruler of his home and his children are his subjects--ruled with much sympathy and understanding, but with severe strictness.

The home or kraal is the place where the young receive their education. The child does not receive formal book learning, but out in the veld the boys learn how to be responsible and trustworthy as they watch over their parents' cattle and goats. Here too, the boy discovers the secrets of nature. He learns the names of insects, plants, trees, rocks, rivers and mountains. He learns about the uses of lumber and the benefits derived from the clouds and rain for farming purposes. Out of his hunting experiences he gains an understanding and knowledge about the anatomy of birds and animals.

As the young grow older they practice those specialities of trades which are passed down to them on a father-to-son basis. Some of the Zulu trades are: blacksmithing, woodcarving and basketweaving.

The girls are taught by their mothers. They are instructed how to tend and care for babies, prepare and plan for meals plus other household duties and yard chores.

Schapera, in writing about the Tswana peoples,[79] says that the education of the Tswana young rests with the elders. The girls learn how

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[79]Schapera, I., A Handbook of Tswana Law and Custom, 1955, pp. 175-184.

to stamp corn, cook, care for the babies of the kraal, and clean and repair the homesteads. The young boys do tasks about the home for their mother and when older help father with the building of huts, hunting, ploughing and cattle herding. With the tribe all that the children earn or even obtain as gifts belong to the parents. Failure to obey parents calls for severe punishment.

The Tswana children are taught to honor and obey their parents. They are taught rules of etiquette, hygiene, not to swear, not to tell lies, not to steal, and the older ones are taught about sex.[80] Formerly their scanty dress was chiefly made of skins--but today through the influence of the White man's western ways this picture has changed.

In this multiracial South Africa today there still is the "old" and the "new". It is a country where native traditions and folklore still cling to the hills, the trees and the soil. It is also a land of metropolises with their skyscrapers, subways, factories, cathedrals, schools and universities. It is a country where education for the White man means social, political and economic security; while education for the Bantu is a reticent releasing of traditions that do not fit a modern society, of learning about new ways and cultures, and of accepting that which means

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[80] Ibid.

Bantu growth and development--thus giving the Bantu security and stability.

## Summary

The White and Black peoples entered the doorways into South Africa where newcomers were always invited to make her soils their own. One hundred years after the Dutch arrival in 1652 the southerly migrating Bantu made contact with the northbound exploring Whites.[81] The coexistence of these ancestral Whites and Blacks was not always peaceful and such conflict was one of the causes of the Great Trek. However, after many years of social contact and exchange of cultural influence a better understanding has developed within this multiracial society. Through the Bantu's contact with the Whites his social development advanced towards what might be called "westernization." In the study of the evolution of the South African society one also finds a parallel development of education for the communities of the society. The education used by the Bantu peoples is referred to as Bantu education.

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[81]See Figure 2.

# CHAPTER III

## HISTORY AND NATURE OF COLONIAL BANTU EDUCATION: 1652-1954

The development of the Bantu educational system that evolved within the South African multiracial society exhibited many problems about which one can ask many questions.

The White man's background and ideas about education belong to that which surrounds a formalized system with its classrooms, teachers and the 3 R's; but for the Bantu, education was an informal matter. He was accustomed to a traditional system where the home and parental tutorage was all that was necessary for the developing child. Each was faced with the other's culture and customs. Which customs and habits should or could be shared? What about the differences between their traditional views on education?

Education which is closely knit into the cultural fabric of any nation, is brought forth out of the social, political, spiritual and economic attitudes of a society. Likewise, education for the Bantu in South Africa evolved with the progressive development of the country's cultural attitudes and beliefs. Education for the Bantu began first under the strong influence of the Dutch settlers, then under the British Colonial power, and later under the four provinces of the Union of South Africa.

A problem in this study was to determine what the educational

situation for the Bantu peoples in South Africa was like from 1652 to 1954. The materials considered in this problem fell into the following two sections: (1) factors influencing the development of colonial Bantu education, and (2) the character of the colonial educational system.

## Factors Influencing the Development of Bantu Education

With the arrival of the Dutch in southern Africa in 1652 came South Africa's first educational system and, regardless of how inadequate it was, it laid the foundation of a system for the people's intellectual growth. After the settlement of the Cape by the Dutch immigrants, various missionary societies also migrated to the Cape to establish their work. These clergy soon discovered that in order to preach it became necessary first to teach--and because of this they introduced formal education as part of their evangelistic work. The British colonial influence also had a direct bearing on the development of Bantu schools. As the country expanded, emerging with its provincial system, the educational facilities for the child evolved. Each province directed its own Bantu educational programs, which in some cases lacked foresight and planning. In the development of Bantu education considered there were five distinct influences: (1) early Dutch influence, (2) influence of the missionaries, (3) British colonialism, (4) educational

attitudes of Natal, Transvaal, and the Orange Free State, and (5) the educational provisions made with the establishment of the Union of South Africa.

Early Dutch Influence. The Dutch settlers at the Cape showed a great interest in educating the non-Whites.[1] The interest shown in educational planning for the aborigines, by the Dutch East India Company soon after its establishment at the Cape, is easily understood when it is realized that universal education was one of the cardinal principles of the reformation.[2] Coetzee illustrates further that not only did the Dutch feel obligated to educate the heathen, but they were sure it had to be done in the mother tongue of the aborigine:

> The interest of the Dutch colonizers in the education and evangelizing of the non-Whites at the Cape must not surprise us. In 1648 Holland ended a long and difficult struggle with Spain principally over the freedom of religion. Universal education was a cardinal principle of the Reformation and every protestant counted it his and her duty to provide every child with a Christian education. In Holland there was a great interest in the propagating of Christian education. The Hollanders during this time endeavored to bring the gospel and education to those different nations and aboriginal races

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[1]Coetzee, J. C., et al., Onderwys in Suid-Afrika, 1958, pp. 381-382.

[2]Ibid.

with whom they had trade relations. Thus in the "objectives" of the Dutch East India Company was the ruling that the Reformed Christian religion should be taught to the heathen at the Cape. Previously in 1624 the synod of the Church of the Netherlands ruled that preachers and ministers-of-the-sick should teach all heathen the fundamentals of Christianity in their mother-tongue, whether it be Portuguese, Malay, Chinese or whatever.[3] (translation)

When Van Riebeeck held a Political Council meeting on April 8, 1652, on his ship the Dromedaris, he expressed in a prayer his intention to bring Christianity to the heathen at the Cape.[4]

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[3] "Hierdie belangstelling van die Hollandse volkstigters in die opvoeding en evangelisering van die Nie-blanks aan die Kaap moet ons nie verbaas nie. In 1648 het Holland's langdurige en moeilike stryd met Spanje juis hoofsaaklik oor die vryheid van die geloof, beeindig. Universele onderwys was 'n kardinale beginsel van die Hervorming en elke protestant het dit as sy heilige plig beskou om elke kind 'n godsdienstige opvoeding to besorg. In Holland was daar veral groot belangstelling in die propageer van godsdiensonderwys. Die Hollanders het dan ook in daardie tyd hulle beywer om die evangelie en die onderwys tuis te bring aan die verskillende nasies en inboorlingrasse waarmee hulle in hulle handelsbetrekkinge, en in hulle koloniale besittings in die vreemde toe doen gekry het. Trouens, in die oktrooi van die Nederlandse Oos-Indiese Kompanjie is die verpligting neergele dat die Gereformeerde Christelike geloof onder die heidene aan die Kaap versprei sal word. Reeds in 1624 het die sinode van die Kerk van die Nederlande besluit dat predikante en sieketrooster hulle moet beywer om die grondslae van die Christelike geloof bekend to stel aan die heidene in die Hollandse besittings, en wel in hulle moedertaal, hetsy Portugees, maleis, Chinees of wat ook al." (Ibid.).

[4] Van Riebeeck, Jan., Dagverhaal, Deel I, 1884, pp. 9-10.

Immediately on landing at the Cape Van Riebeeck and a minister-of-the-sick named Wylant attempted to teach some of the Hottentots how to read and write,[5] but because of the undisciplined lives of the Hottentot, Wylant found them almost unteachable.[6] One thing is important and should be recognized--the Dutch were immediately and seriously concerned about the education of the peoples residing in their colony.[7] Although instruction given the aborigines was based on the principle of making Christians of the heathen, pupils were still taught the basics of reading.[8]

By 1662 the Political Council departed from the idea of having a minister-of-the-sick act as the teacher and appointed Daniel Engelgraaf as South Africa's first official lay-teacher.[9]

It should be noted too, that the early Cape schools were integrated for the different races since it is recorded that the school in progress

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[5]Spoelstra, C., Bouwstoffen voor de geschiedenis der Nederduitsch Gereformeerde Kerken in Zuid-Afrika, vol. 1, n.d., p. 4.

[6]Ibid.

[7]De Bruyn, C. A. L. van Troostenburg, De Hervormde Kerk in Nederlandsch Oost Indie onder de Oost-Indische Compagnie, 1602-1795, 1884, pp. 528-529.

[8]Dutch East India Company, Dagregister, 1652-1789, November 30, 1663, p. 495.

[9]Ibid., September 13, 1662, p. 805.

in 1663 under teacher Back was open to all children regardless of race or color.[10] In 1664 the Political Council reported that those Hottentot children attending school had already acquired some knowledge of the Dutch language.[11]

In 1666 the Cape Church Council urged the Political Council to insist that all the slave children be sent to school.[12] Although the Dutch desired to make education and the teaching of Christianity available to the aborigines and their slaves, by 1671 there were only twelve slave children attending school.[13] During this time the idea of integrated schools for Whites and non-Whites changed, and in 1676 the Cape Church Council suggested that it would be more expedient if a separate and special school were established for the slave children in the slave quarter.[14] The Political Council at the Cape thought the suggestion of separate

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[10]Fouche, L., "Onze Eerste Scholen", De Unie, 6de Jaargange, no. 1, Julie 1910, p. 16.

[11]Cape, Politieke Raad Here XVII, Uitgaande Brieven, 1662-1667, April 15, 1664, p. 654.

[12]Spoelstra, op. cit., vol. 2, n.d., p. 257.

[13]Cape, Memorien en Instructien, 1657-1795, pp. 276-278.

[14]Cape, Kerkraad Kaapstad, Resolutien, 1665-1695, December 27, 1676.

schools wise, but voted that the most apt non-White children continue in the then existing integrated school, in the meantime provision was made for a non-White person to become equipped to teach the non-White children.[15]

In 1685, through the interest and work of Commissioner Hendrik Adrian van Rheede the first separate school for Whites and non-Whites was established.[16] This slave school of the Dutch East India Company consisted of 60 boys and girls who were taught separately, the boys by a half-breed Jan Pasqual, and the girls by a freed female slave, Margaret.[17]

In considering the influence of the Dutch East India Company on education at the Cape, it is interesting to piece together the pattern of the early school curriculum and administration. From the Dagregister of July 25, 1685, it appears that Commissioner van Rheede gave these instructions to the teachers:[18] (1) the teacher's day was to be from 8

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[15]Cape, Raad van Politie, Resolutiën, 1674-1678, December 28, 1676, p. 169.

[16]van Rheede, H. A., Instructiën voor Com. S. van der Stel, n.d., p. 53.

[17]Ibid., p. 56.

[18]Dutch East India Company, op. cit., July 25, 1685, pp. 132-134.

o'clock in the morning to 4 o'clock in the afternoon; (2) he had to instruct the children in the precepts of the Christian faith; (3) it was his duty to take them personally to church; (4) the older children had to be taught how to sing hymns which causes one to assume they learned to read and write; (5) the children were to be taught obedience and how to be respectful; (6) there must also have been some kind of memory work since the teacher was expected to listen to lessons twice a day; (7) and the parson had orders to inspect the school twice a week for its progress.

There is evidence to show that by 1700 some sort of public school system existed. The report of the Raad van Politie of July 12, 1707, states that public schools were under the control of an education commission called the Scholarch, whose functioning was supervised by the Cape Governor and his Council.[19] By 1737 education in the Cape had expanded so that there were now four public schools,[20] and when the Scholarch investigated the slave schools in 1779 they found 84 pupils in attendance.[21]

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[19]Cape, Raad van Politie, Resolutien, 1700-1710, no. 7, (July 12, 1707), p. 279.

[20]Cape, Raad van Politie, Resolutien, 1737-1738, no. 30, (October 15, 1737), p. 304.

[21]Cape, Raad van Politie, Resolutien, September 2, 1779, p. 369.

Apparently the purpose for segregating the White and non-White children was to facilitate better learning.[22] Those non-Whites who were able to meet the same standard of work as the Whites could apparently continue in the same school as the Whites,[23] for when Borcherds visited the Cape area from 1793 to 1796 he reported some non-White children were attending schools established only for Whites.[24] Borcherds' findings confirm what the political Council had in mind when it voted that those non-Whites who met the educational standards could remain in the White schools.[25]

Early Bantu education at the Cape can be characterized as: (1) universal education for all, regardless of color or race, and that this was a Christian obligation;[26] (2) pupils to be taught in their mother-tongue;[27]

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[22]Cape, Kerkraad Kaapstad, op. cit.

[23]Cape, Raad van Politie, Resolutiën, 1674-1678, op. cit., p. 169.

[24]Coetzee, et al., op. cit., p. 385.

[25]Cape, Raad van Politie, Resolutiën, 1674-1678, op. cit., p. 169.

[26]Coetzee, et al., op. cit., p. 381.

[27]Ibid., p. 382.

(3) separation of non-White children from White children if it facilitated better learning;[28] (4) control of schools by an especially chosen education commission responsible to the government;[29] and (5) an establishment of a public school system for all by the local government.[30]

During the time (1652-1806) that the Dutch ruled the Cape, the missionary influence along with that of the government became the embryonic basis out of which evolved a system of education for the non-Whites.

Influence of the missionary. It was the missionary who first recognized the educational needs of the Bantu for it was he who felt it necessary to first teach the Bantu to read and write before they could have any appreciation for the Bible and Christianity.[31] The strength of this influence is brought out by Macmillian, who indicates that the missionary was the greatest force for change in the Bantu's life,[32] and that present

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[28]Cape, Kerkraad Kaapstad, op. cit.; Cape, Raad van Politie, Resolutiën, 1674-1678, op. cit., p. 169.

[29]Cape, Raad van Politie, Resolutiën, 1700-1710, op. cit., p. 279.

[30]Cape, Raad van Politie, Resolutiën, 1737-1738, op. cit., p. 304.

[31]South African Bureau of Racial Affairs, Bantu Education, 1955, p. 7.

[32]Macmillian, W. M., Bantu, Boer and Briton: The Making of the South African Problem, 1929, p. 310.

Bantu thought and practices bear out the influence of the missionary as a controlling factor in Bantu education.[33] The Church of the Netherlands resolved in 1624 that ministers and comforters-of-the-sick were to teach the heathen peoples in overseas countries the basic tenets of Christian doctrine; furthermore the instructions also suggested this be done in the natives' mother tongue.[34]

During the first decade of the Dutch settlement at the Cape the spiritual and social-welfare care of the colonists and non-Whites were also under the direction of the comforters-of-the-sick, since no regular ministers were available.[35] In his work as teacher the comforter-of-the-sick made a real attempt to teach the three R's.[36] The impression is given that the most important phase of any missionary endeavor is education.

The Moravian Society of missionaries was the first protestant church organization to plan and organize foreign mission work.[37] It

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[33] Ibid.

[34] Coetzee, et al., op. cit., pp. 381-382.

[35] van Broekhuizen, H. D., Die Wordingsgeskiedenis van die Hollandse Kerke in Suid Afrika, 1652-1804, 1922, pp. 5-25.

[36] McKerron, M. E., A History of Education in South Africa, 1934, p. 156.

[37] Hutton, J. E., A History of the Moravian Church, 2nd ed., 1909, p. 246.

was in 1737 when Schmidt, a Moravian missionary, first arrived at the Cape to set up a mission station.[38]

Schmidt built his first mission station at Soetemelksvlei, but shortly thereafter moved down river to Baviaanskloof, which later became known as Genadendal.[39] Missionary Schmidt served at Baviaanskloof for six years teaching the Hottentots the fundamentals of agriculture, religion, and the Dutch language;[40] but in 1743 he was expelled from the Cape, thus ending the work there until it was again re-established in 1792.[41] Three missionaries, Hendrik Marisveld van Gouda, Daniel Schwinn, and Christian Küknel were the men now sent to the Cape to re-establish the work at Baviaanskloof; they were not only to teach the Gospel, but also to provide classroom education for the Hottentots.[42]

The missionaries commenced their tasks under much opposition

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[38]Macmillian, op. cit., p. 309.

[39]du Plessis, J., A History of Christian Mission in South Africa, 1911, p. 54.

[40]Schneider, H G, Genadenthal, die eerste evangelische Missionstation in Afrika, 1892, pp. 12-24.

[41]Du Toit, P. S., Onderwys aan die Kaap onder die Kompanje, 1652-1795, n.d., p. 187.

[42]Cape, Raad van Politie, Resolutiën, December 12, 1792, p. 946.

on the part of the Dutch settlers.[43] However, Von Bouchenroeder, after stopping at the mission settlement in 1803, explained that the missionaries were doing good work in teaching and training the Hottentot youth in the art of reading, writing, and housecraft:

> The brothers are teaching the Hottentots the Gospel, reading and writing, and the wives of the missionaries are teaching the Hottentot girls to sew, knit and do other household duties. School is held daily and church two or three times per week.[44] (translation)

The educational work that was being done at Baviaanskloof was of such a quality that it aroused the attention of many, including De Mist who was a member of an investigations committee sent to report on the conditions at the Cape.[45] He was so excited with what he saw that he recommended to the Governor and his council that they give the Moravian

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[43]Van Riebeeck Society, Travels in Southern Africa in the Years 1803-1806, vol. 1, no. 10, n.d., p. 188.

[44]"De Broeders onderwijzen de Hottentotten in den godsdienst, het lezen en schrijven, en de vrouwen der Zendelingen onderrigten de Hottentotsche meisjes in het naaijen, breijen en andere huislijke werkzaamheden. Dagelijks wordt er school gehouden en twee of driemaal per week kerk." (Von Bouchenroeder, B. F., Reizen in de Binnelanden van Zuid-Afrika gedaan in den jare 1803, 1806, p. 93.)

[45]du Toit, P. S , Onderwys aan die Kaap onder die Bataafse Republiek, 1803-1806, 1944, p. 1.

Mission a gift of 250 Rijksdalers for their work in educating and civilizing the Hottentots.[46]

Hutton speaks very favorably about the work done by the Moravian missionaries, stating that they gave more than religion by aiming to organize a developing society in such a way that it might grow to be independent.[47] After the British occupation Governor Cradock wrote in 1814 that the colonists spoke highly of Baviaanskloof now called Genadendal.[48] The Hottentots there were taught agriculture and were inspired with a community attitude that caused them to accept the dignity of labor, they were also given an understanding of discipline and the need for forming regular habits of living.[49] Almost sixty years after the establishment of the Moravian Missionary Society the London Missionary Society was founded.

The London Missionary Society was established in 1795,[50] with its principal aim to uplift the backward and oppressed peoples of foreign

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[46]Bataafsche Republiek, Raad van Politie, Resolutiën, no. 7, May 1, 1804, p. 1607.

[47]Hutton, op. cit., pp. 213-214.

[48]Theal, G. M., Records of the Cape Colony, vol. 4, 1892-1902, pp. 412-413.

[49]Von Bouchenroeder, op. cit., p. 95.

[50]Halevy, E., A History of the English People in 1815, 1937, p. 339.

lands. The first group of missionaries of this society arrived at the Cape in 1799, consisting of the Messrs. van der Kemp, Kichere, Edwards, and Edmonds.[51]

These missionaries were sincere, but apparently did not make much progress, for on May 31, 1803, Governor Janssens communicated with van der Kemp suggesting that the state of affairs at the mission needed change:

> The situation in which you find yourself with the Hottentots at your school cannot proceed any longer in this manner. Without work, and without the land bringing forth produce a man cannot exist.[52] (translation)

Governor Janssens did make a new site available to the London Society missionaries,[53] but stipulated fourteen points for the operation of the new mission station; one of which stated that the responsibility of the missionaries of the institution was to exercise control over and

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[51] du Plessis, op. cit., p. 102.

[52] "De situatie waarin Uu zich met de Hottentotten my Uwe school zijende bevind kan niet langer op deise onwisse voet blijven als het thans is. Zoner werk, en duo zonder voortbrengselen van den grond, kunnen de menschen niet leeven." (Theal, G. M., Belangrijke Historische Dokumenten over Zuid-Afrika, vol. 3, 1911, p. 235. Quoting a letter from Janssens to van der Kemp, May 31, 1803.)

[53] Ibid.

educate the Hottentots.[54] It appears that the London Missionary Society did not have a very positive educational program, although some of the work done among the Griquas by these missionaries did show some educational direction. Backhouse, while visiting Griquatown in 1839, found a little school, neat and tidy, and also that the pupils were taught Dutch, Sechuana, and arithmetic, and could read the Bible.[55] It appears, however, that the education offered here did not meet the usual requirements of an educational program--that of strengthening and developing a society. This was not evident for by 1903 the Griquas as a nation were almost non-existent.[56] The South African Native Affairs Commission of 1905 found that the Griquas were entirely impoverished, but still were a great church-going people evidencing some fruits from the toil of the missionary.[57]

The South African Missionary Society was established in 1799, three years after the London Missionary Society, becoming South Africa's

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[54] Ibid.

[55] Backhouse, J., A Narrative of a Visit to the Mauritius and South Africa, 1844, p. 447.

[56] Cape Government, Cape Government Paper No. 12, 1904, p. 11.

[57] South Africa, Report of the South African Native Affairs Commission, 1903-1905, vol. 2, pp. 1099, 1118.

first indigenous missionary society.[58] In 1788 some devout colonists felt that some of their time should be devoted to the Christianizing and educating of the heathen peoples, and this led to the organizing of the society.[59] The work prospered at the Cape under the leadership of Maanenberg, who was appointed the first missionary of the society and later joined by le Roux.[60]

In 1804 the Society occupied its own building named Het Groote Oefeningshuis (translated: The Great Exercise-house) which was established in Cape Town where slaves could receive a general elementary education as well as instruction in religion.[61] The religious and educational work of the South African Missionary Society continued successfully and other sister institutions were established at Rodezand, Stellenbosch, Wellington, Graaf-Reinet, and in Bechuanaland.[62]

The Rhenish Missionary Society did an extensive work at the Cape,

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[58]Bataafsche Republiek, Resolutiën van der Raad van Politie, no. 6, March 21, 1804, p. 1065.

[59]Nederduitsch Zuid-Afrikaansch Tijdschrift, 1824, p. 25.

[60]Spoelstra, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 480.

[61]Nederduitsch Zuid-Afrikaansch Tijdschrift, 1824, p. 26.

[62]Vos, M. C., Merkwaardige Verhaal, Aangaande het Leven en Lotgevallen van Michiel Christian Vos, 1824, pp. 252-253.

especially during the years of 1843 to 1846, principally for the slaves who by now were released.[63] Luckhoff, one of the Rhenish missionaries opened a day school for slave children when the government slave school closed in 1832,[64] and by 1842 this mission school had grown to 408 pupils. It was also financially supported by the government.[65] During the same year Luckhoff established a night school for adults.[66] Classes for its 260 enrolees were held four nights a week during which time they were taught to read and write.[67] The work of the Rhenish Society flourished as it continued to educate and train the ex-slaves and aboriginal peoples of Southern Africa.

The Wesleyan Missionary Society made its debut in April, 1816, through the arrival of Barnabas Shaw at Cape Town.[68] He was not

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[63]Von Rohden, L., Geschicte der Rheinischen Missiongesell-Schaft, 1888, pp. 118-121.

[64]Stellenbosch School Committee, Schools and Patriotic Fund, letter to Colonial Secretary, July 3, 1832.

[65]Ibid.

[66]Ibid.

[67]Ibid.

[68]Shaw, Barnabas, Memorials of South Africa, 1840, pp. 76-77.

received very well by the Governor, Lord Charles Somerset, but was not discouraged.[69] On October 23, 1816, he arrived at Leiliefontein in Namaqualand and there established the first Wesleyan mission station and school.[70] By 1823 another school had been established in Cape Town by the Wesleyans.[71]

Many other mission organizations continued to make entrance to the stage of education in Southern Africa. It is reported that just before the establishment of the Union of South Africa in 1910 there were 699 mission schools in the Cape Colony.[72] Among these were the Paris Evangelical Missionary Society, that concentrated on religious and educational work among the Basutos and Bechuanas; and the Berlin Missionary Society also established its work among the Bechuanas and Transvaal native tribes.[73] The Glasgow Missionary Society was a very zealous society and is remembered for its establishment of the Lovedale Institution, which has supplied Africa with some of its ablest non-White teachers and

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[69] Ibid., pp. 78, 91.

[70] Ibid., p. 91.

[71] Theal, Records . . . , op. cit., vol. 35, p. 364.

[72] British Government, Official Document No. 7, 1909, p. 3.

[73] du Plessis, op. cit., pp. 189-221.

pastors.[74]

Thus, all indications are that the work of the missionaries did much to affect the development of Bantu education in South Africa. The historical evolutionary development of Bantu education can be separated into four sequential stages:

1. Purely church responsibility and control until 1854;
2. Recognition and subsidizing by colonial and later provincial governments, 1854-1925;
3. Joint control by the Department of Native Affairs and provincial government; and
4. Bantu-Education since 1954.[75] (translation)

This summary by Smith indicates that the devoted work of the missionary continued for many decades in South Africa. Perhaps the greatest

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[74]Shepherd, H. H. W., Lovedale, South Africa: The Story of a Century, n.d., pam.

[75](a) Suiwer kerklike verantwoordelikheid en beheer tot 1854;
(b) Erkenning en subsidiëring deur die koloniale en later provinsiale owerheid 1854-1925;
(c) Gesamentlike beheer deur die Departement van Natureelesake en die provinsiale owerheid 1925-1944;
(d) Gesamentlike beheer deur die Departement van Unie-Onderwys en die provinsialle owerheid; en
(e) Bantoe-Onderwys sedert 1954." (Smith, P. E. S., "Die Opvoedkundige, Sosiale en Geestalike Ontwikkeling van die Transkei," Tydskrif vir Rasse-aangeleentheid; vol. 14, no. 2, pp. 83-84.)

single contribution made to the advancement of Bantu education by the missionary was that he learned and recorded the native languages.[76]

Governmental recognition and appreciation of the social uplife work performed by the missionary is indicated by the assistance such endeavors received. In 1841 some financial grants were offered by the Cape Government to those mission schools that used English as the medium of instruction.[77] In 1854 the Cape Government under Sir George Grey passed the Ordinance of 1854 which provided government subsidies for mission schools;[78] and in 1856, 1878, and 1903 respectively, Natal, Free State, and the Transvaal followed the example of the Cape Colony and also passed ordinances to provide subsidies for mission schools.[79] However, in 1925 the Union Government of South Africa relieved each province of much of its financial responsibility towards Bantu education, and also took over some of the financial burden of teacher salaries from the churches.[80]

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[76]"Education for the Bantu of South Africa", Lantern, vol. 11, no. 1, July-September, 1961, pp. 65-96.

[77]Union of South Africa, Report of Interdepartmental Committee on Native Education, 1935-1936, (U.G. 29/1936), p. 9.

[78]"Education for the Bantu of South Africa", op. cit., pp. 65-96.

[79]Ibid.

[80]South African Bureau of Racial Affairs, op. cit., pp. 13-14.

The missions were still financially responsible for the furniture and equipment of their schools, but later the Union Government also relieved them of this; and eventually extended its help to the providing of books and rents for school buildings.[81] The system of Bantu education finally became church directed and government financed.

British Colonialism. Immediately after the re-occupation of the Cape by the British in 1806 the Earl of Caledon, the newly appointed governor, revealed his anxiety over the general ignorance of the slaves.[82] In 1809 a school commission report indicated that there was great need for a well organized free school for the needy at the Cape.[83] The report further suggested that the new Colonial Government provide financial aid for the establishment of new schools.[84] But not until 1811, when Governor J. Cradock replaced Caledon, was any serious thought given to public education in the colony.[85]

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[81] Ibid.

[82] Theal, Records . . . , op. cit., vol. 6, p. 271.

[83] "Report of School Commission," Colonial Office Letter Book, no. 45, 1809.

[84] Ibid.

[85] Theal, Records . . . , op. cit., vol. 8, p. 500.

The interest in education shown by Governor Cradock during his administration is indicated by these governmental actions: (1) in 1812 sanction of the erection of an English-medium school for slaves;[86] (2) in 1813 founding of the Bible and School Commission because of his leanings toward free schools for the poor;[87] (3) the commission's establishment in the colony of an educational system similar to that of Bell and Lancaster of England for the benefit of the Poor children of the Cape;[88] and (4) establishment of a "common fund" to provide free schools for the poor.[89] Shortly after these actions Cradock was succeeded by Lord Charles Somerset, who arrived at the Cape in 1814 to take over his duties as Governor.[90]

During Somerset's stay at the Cape Lieutenant Bird, who was Secretary to the Colonial Government, made many valuable suggestions to reform slave education.[91] One proposal Bird made which was not readily accepted by the Colonists was that two schools be built in Cape Town and

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[86] Colonial Office Letter Book, nos. 30, 32.

[87] Cape Town Gazette, no. 390, July 1, 1813.

[88] Ibid., no. 391, July 8, 1813.

[89] Theal, Records . . . , op. cit., vol. 9, p. 218.

[90] Theal, G. M., South Africa, 1894, p. 148.

[91] Theal, Records . . . , op. cit., vol. 18, p. 376.

all slave children six years old or more be forced to attend these schools.[92] It was also suggested that their daily provisions should be supplied by their masters, and that they remain in school until their twelfth year.[93]

On July 5, 1822, a proclamation was issued that the English language was to be the official language of the Colony.[94] For this purpose six British teachers were brought to the Cape to teach English, writing, arithmetic, music and religion.[95] According to Rose-Innes, one of the imported teachers, these English Schools were accessible only to the White colonists.[96] This, therefore, re-established the idea of segregation, with Whites and non-Whites attending separate schools.[97] Somerset's interest in education caused him on August 1, 1823, to state

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[92]Ibid., pp. 376-377.

[93]Ibid., p. 377.

[94]Cape Town Gazette, no. 860, 5 July, 1822..

[95]Theal, Records . . . , op. cit., vol. 14, pp. 97, 98, 253.

[96]Rose-Innes, J., Memorandum, addressed to the Honourable Secretary to the Government on the subject of Elementary Education at the Cape of Good Hope, June 22, 1844, p. 7.

[97]Stellenbosch School Committee, op. cit.

by proclamation that all non-Whites, the Hottentot and the Bantu, who were Christians should go to the Free Schools in their areas.[98]

The Free schools were first established by Cradock in 1813.[99] By 1824 these schools were common to the outlying districts and operated on the Lancastrian monitorial system.[100] Of the twenty six such Free Schools in 1827, two were completely non-White schools with the medium of instruction being Dutch.[101] In spite of Somerset's attitude and endeavor the progress of education for the non-White population was irregular and fell somewhat short of his aspirations. The report of the 1831 Commission of Enquiry illustrated the failures of Somerset's educational program.[102] It stated that educational opportunities for the slaves needing elementary education were available for them in Cape Town, Graaf-Reinet, Uitenhage, and Stellenbosch, but needed much improvement; in the districts and on the farms still greater changes in slave education were necessary.[103] Yet, from 1834 to 1839 not much was done by the Colonial powers for

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[98] Theal, Records . . . , op. cit., vol. 16, p. 174-176.

[99] Rose-Innes, op. cit., p. 8.

[100] Ibid.

[101] Ibid.

[102] Theal, Records . . . , op. cit., vol. 35, pp. 378-380.

[103] Ibid., p. 379.

non-White education.

An outstanding achievement in the history of Cape education was the installing of James Rose-Innes as its first Superintendent-General of Education in 1839.[104] The old Bible and School Commission was dissolved and a new school system was inaugurated.[105] The school system now consisted of two types of schools: the First Class School, which provided an elementary and secondary curriculum; and the Second Class School, which provided only an elementary curriculum.[106]

With the establishment of the new system of education came certain aims and objectives. Instruction on the elementary level was to be free and universal.[107] In 1842 the office of the Superintendent General of Education listed instructions which stated that the government's plan was for all schools to be available for all classes of people.[108] With these resolutions of 1842 desegregated schools again came into existence.

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[104] De Zuid-Afrikaan, May 31, 1839.

[105] Coetzee, et al., op. cit., p. 410.

[106] Ibid.

[107] Cape Government, Parliamentary Paper G. 24, 1863, appendix V, no. 23.

[108] Ibid., no. 28.

June 10, 1844, marked another milestone in the progress of education in the Cape. On that date a memorandum was issued by the Superintendent-General of Education stating that under certain conditions mission schools would receive government grants.[109]

The conditions for receiving these grants were:

(a) grants of from £15 to £30 per annum exclusively to support the teacher or teachers, provided that a satisfactory standard was maintained;

(b) inspection of these schools by the Superintendent-General of Education;

(c) religious instruction, limited to the scriptures for all pupils in these schools, which (schools) should be accessible to all;

(d) the English language to form a branch of instruction in all schools thus aided, and where possible it should be used as the colloquial language of the school;

(e) the instruction of pupils in secular subjects according to the elementary course in Government Schools.[110]

Because of these regulations the teachers received better salaries and in this way better teachers were attracted.

Sir George Gray became the Governor of the Cape in 1854.[111] He

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[109]Union of South Africa, U.G. 29/1936, op. cit., p. 9.

[110]Ibid.

[111]Fairbridge, Dorothea, A History of South Africa, 1917; p. 243.

believed that in order to raise the Bantu's living standards the young had to be trained in the art of daily living. Pells describes Grey's attitude:

> Grey planned to continue Smith's policy of civilizing the Natives by distributing spades and plough-shares, and by introducing civilized institutions among them. But Grey knew that the best way to raise the standard of living and civilize the morals of a people is by training the young. He induced the Cape Government to allocate grants for six schools of handicraft and agriculture, to be called, like Lovedale, 'Institutions'.[112]

Up to this date little had been done by the colonial government for Bantu education,[113] but in 1854 a move was made to terminate the use of the European syllabus in schools for the Bantu. About the need for this change Pells says:

> So divorced was Native education from Native policy in general that the European primary school syllabus was imposed upon native schools without any account being taken of the needs and possibilities of native life.[114]

Illustrative of the Imperial Government's interest in native education, is its giving in 1857 of an annual sum for native education that

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[112]Pells, E. G., 300 Years of Education in South Africa, n.d., p. 131.

[113]Coetzee, et. al., op. cit., p. 411.

[114]Pells, op. cit., p. 135.

amounted to almost £10,000.[115] In 1861 a Native Commission was established to enquire into native education in the Cape, which later developed into the Department of Native Education for the Cape Province.[116]

One of the most outstanding pieces of legislation passed in the Cape was the Education Act of 1865. This Act included clauses that governed the allocation of monies to mission schools.[117] All schools receiving grants and subsidies were to be inspected by the Superintendent-General of Education;[118] and all such grants were to be used only for the purpose of teacher's salaries.[119] By this Act it is evident that the Government increased its controlling power over Native Education. These few clauses in the Act of 1865 made up the only piece of legislation on Native education until the passing of the Act of Union in 1910.[120]

Dale, who succeeded Rose-Innes, was followed by Dr. Thomas

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[115] Waters, M. W., Our Native Land, bk. 2, n.d., p. 95.

[116] Ibid.

[117] Cape of Good Hope, Education Act of 1865 and Regulations, pp. 1-3.

[118] Ibid., pp. 2, 7.

[119] Ibid.

[120] Pells, op. cit., p. 132.

Muir as Superintendent-General of Education in 1892.[121] One of the first tasks Muir assumed after receiving the post of Superintendent-General of Education was to take out of school those White children who were attending mission schools for the non-White.[122] This policy of Muir for the separation of Whites and non-Whites in the Cape schools became a precedent for future policies on school segregation. In 1911 the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court of South Africa ruled in favor of separation of Whites and non-Whites in schools in South Africa.[123]

It has been clearly established that the British Colonial Government at the Cape exerted a strong influence on native education. The first government legislation concerning education for the natives was made by the Cape Colonial Government, and many others followed; commissions were appointed to look into the special needs of native schools; a Department of Native Education was established at the Cape; and the

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[121] Ibid., p. 134.

[122] Cape Government, Parliament Papers and Reports, "Votes and Proceedings of Parliament: Resolutions on the Education of Poor White Children," 1893, p. 757.

[123] South African Law Reports, Möller vs. Keimoes School Committee and Others, 1911, pp. 639-700.

British Parliament allotted an annual sum for native education. Though the government continued to work through the established church-operated schools, because a religious training was considered necessary, assistance was given in organization, supervision, and finance.

Educational attitudes of the Provinces: Natal, Transvaal, and the Orange Free State. Bantu education in Natal commenced with the arrival of Captain Allan Gardiner who in 1835 began his mission activities there.[124] On September 7, 1839, the Raad der Representaten, or the first Voortrekker Council, granted the request of an American missionary, Dr. Adams, that he be provided with some land to establish a mission school in Natal.[125] In August, 1840, another agreement was made with the missionaries Adams, Grout, and Lindly to go to Panda and there erect an institution.[126]

The Council of Representatives of the Voortrekkers of Natal in no way opposed missionary activities among the Zulus in Natal, as long as

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[124]Coetzee, et al., op. cit., p. 415.

[125]Natal Colony, Besluiten van die Raad der Representaten van het Volk, Notulen, September 7, 1839, August 5, 1840.

[126]Ibid.

the natives were taught to subjugate themselves to the authorities and the laws of the land;[127] this same principle also formed the basis for the attitudes of the Transvaal and Orange Free State toward missionary education. Later, Natal followed the example of the Cape Colony to give missionary endeavors free rein in the realm of native education, and by proclamation, in 1856, began assisting this kind of education with state funds.[128] The Orange Free State followed the idea of subsidizing missions in 1878, and the Transvaal in 1903.[129]

By 1850 the American missionaries had made much progress; they had established twelve stations and schools,[130] and by this time had developed the first Zulu readers.[131]

Interest in native education grew in Natal. In 1856 Ordinance Number 2 was passed by the government of Natal, stating that the

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[127]Preller, G. S., Voortrekker Wetgewing: Notule van die Natalse Volksraad 1839-1845, 1924, p. 104.

[128]"Education for the Bantu of South Africa," op. cit., pp. 65-96.

[129]Ibid.

[130]Pells, op. cit., p. 118.

[131]Coetzee, et al., op. cit., p. 415.

teaching of trades courses and religion had to be done through the medium of English;[132] and, a select committee appointed by the Legislative Council reported that the Bantu must receive an English education.[133] But, by actions passed in 1884 Natal proceeded to revise its Bantu school curriculum to make it different from the curriculum of the Whites.[134] Reading and writing were to be taught in Zulu, the Native language, and whatever principles of life were taught were to be done in terms of the Zulu culture.[135] The first departmental syllabus and curriculum for native schools was developed and published in 1886,[136] but in 1887 there was a reversion back to the curriculum used for the Whites.[137] This curriculum remained in use until C. T. Loram[138] was appointed as chief inspector of Native education in Natal.[139] Loram and his assistants

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[132]Natal Colony, Laws of Natal 1836-1855. vol. 2, (A.C. 634), Ordinance No. 2, 1856.

[133]Natal Colony, Select Committee of the Legislative Council for Natal, (Education Department 5/1), September 2, 1858.

[134]Natal Colony, Law Number 1 of 1884.

[135]Ibid.

[136]Coetzee, et al., op. cit., p. 416.

[137]Loram, C. T., The Education of the South African Native, 1917, p. 58.

[138]Dr. C. T. Loram was appointed Chief-inspector of the Native Education Department in 1918. (Coetzee, et al., op. cit., p. 424.)

[139]Natal Province, Education Department, Report of Superintendent of Education 1918, p. 3.

developed for Natal a curriculum for native education which included courses in tribal history and geography.[140] It should be remembered that the first inspector of native education was appointed in 1885; and that the office of the Superintendent of Education took over in 1894 the directing of native education, with the parliament of Natal providing monies for its support.[141] The system of Bantu education developed by Natal up to 1910, and beyond, was superior to any education offered the Bantu by either the Orange Free State or Transvaal.

Transvaal native education found its beginnings in the philanthropic interest shown by the missionary for the unschooled tribes of its territory. Pastor P. Huet of Natal heard about the concern expressed by the Lydenburg Republic relative to the natives living there; he visited the area in 1858, and spent much time preaching and teaching the Coloreds and Blacks.[142] Following Huet came the influence of Frans Lion Cachet, who, as chairman of the church synod held in Natal in 1861, became responsible for organizing an association for the spreading of the Gospel in the Transvaal.[143] Another of the early missionary-settlers in the

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[140] Ibid., pp. 46-47.

[141] Coetzee, et al., op. cit., p. 416.

[142] De Kerkbode, May, 1858, p. 402.

[143] Gerdener, G. B. A., 'n Eeu van Genade, 1838-1938, 1938, p. 24.

Transvaal was Alexander McKidd who, accompanied by his wife, established a mission station at Goedgedacht in the Zoutpansberg area in 1862.[144]

Very few of the early mission stations provided formal schooling for the natives.[145] When such schools were established they did not receive any monetary subsidies from the Transvaal Government, then known as the Zuid-Afrikaanse Republiek.[146] Only after the first British occupation[147] did the Transvaal government grant each mission school £30 per year.[148] These mission school grants stimulated the advancement and growth of church schools. By 1890 John Darragh, an Anglican missionary,

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[144] De Kerkbode, March, 1865, p. 327.

[145] Jeppe, Fred, Transvaal Book Almanac and Directory, 1877-1881, pp. 135-138.

[146] South African Government, Government Gazette, March 4, 1879.

[147] "Sir Theophilus Shepstone, who had won distinction by his administration of native affairs in Natal, was appointed 'Special Commissioner to enquire respecting certain disturbances which have taken place in the territories adjoining the colony of Natal'. He was given secret instructions authorizing him to annex the South African Republic. On the 12th of April, 1877, he exercised that authority." (Hofmeyer, J. H., South Africa, 1952, p. 85.)

[148] South African Government, Government Gazette, March 4, 1879.

had set up five schools in Johannesburg,[149] and in 1891 he established a school especially for poor children.[150] This institution was intended for White children only and was ruled so by its regulations,[151] and because Darragh allowed non-White children to attend, he lost all subsidies from the Education Department of the Zuid-Afrikaanse Republic.[152]

The Transvaal Education Department reported in 1908 that after 1900 education for the Coloreds belonged to the state, while native education remained with the missionaries who continued to receive state aid for the support of their schools.[153] It was not until 1904 that native education came under the supervision of the Transvaal Education Department,[154] but was still operated and directed by the missionaries who now

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[149]Suid Afrikansch Republiek, Onderwys Department, File 7, "Darragh to Superintendent of Education," April 24, 1890.

[150]Ibid., File 8, September 24, 1891.

[151]"Deze school is bestemd voor der armste klasse van Hollandsch of Engelsch sprekend kinderen, slechts inboorlingen of naturellen uitsluitende." (Suid Afrikansch Republiek, Onderwys Department, File 13, "Huishoudelike Bepalinge voor het Perseverance School," October 28, 1891, para. 1.)

[152]Suid Afrikansch Republiek, Onderwys Department, File 223, "G. A. Ode to J. T. Darragh," pp. 378-392.

[153]Transvaal, Transvaal Education Department Report, 1908, (T. G. 5), pp. 27-30.

[154]Ibid., 1903, pp. 62-63.

received provincial subsidies.[155] Provincial or state-aid to mission schools brought about some state controls, such as the prescribing of courses and curricula for the schools.[156] Another educational report given in 1910 stated that the syllabus for Bantu education was rather similar to that used for the Whites, but it appeared that the natives made very little progress under that kind of curriculum.[157]

Although the progress of Bantu education in the Transvaal was slow and somewhat inefficient it had less hazardous problems than did the Bantu education in the Orange Free State. The origins of Bantu education in the Orange Free State is found, like that in Natal and the Transvaal, to be part of the endeavors of the early missionary. In 1823 one of the first mission stations in the Orange Free State was established

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[155] Ibid., 1907, pp. 39-41.

[156] W. E. C. Clarke, the newly appointed Superintendent of Native Education announced: "The secular education of the native races must depend upon the initiative of the different religious agencies, whose main purpose is to Christianize them and to elevate their moral condition. . . . The attitude that meanwhile appears best for the Government to adopt--is to accept the existing organization, to prescribe a certain course of elementary and industrial instruction, and to subsidize and thereby to control, their instruction by means of a system of inspection and quarterly grants." (Ibid., p. 40.)

[157] Ibid., 1910, June 30, 1910, p. 84.

at Philipolis.[158] During the 1830's many other such mission stations were established, but the missionaries found progress slow and difficult because the struggles between the Boers and Basutos created attitudes of animosity between the Black man and the White man.[159]

The new Republic of the Orange Free State, inaugurated on March 11, 1854, did not have the finances to do much for native education, thus it left the financing and directing of native education to the missionary societies.[160] Inspectors' reports show that the Bantu education curriculum included religion, English, Dutch, and Bantu languages.[161] Later the Republican government of the Orange Free State did attempt to subsidize some mission schools,[162] but the outbreak of the Anglo-Boer War on October 12, 1899,[163] brought all Bantu education to a standstill.[164] This interim period continued until cessation of hostilities, which took place formally on May 31, 1902, when the peace

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[158]Coetzee, et al., op. cit., p. 420.

[159]Ibid.

[160]Ibid., p. 421.

[161]Ibid.

[162]Ibid.

[163]Fairbridge, op. cit., p. 288.

[164]Coetzee, et al., op. cit., p. 421.

treaty was signed,[165] and the Orange Free State became a colony.

In 1903 the director of education for the new colony of the Orange Free State moved in the direction of having colony monies made available for Bantu education.[166] A 1903 ordinance made provision for the establishment of Bantu public schools and the subsidizing of mission schools; but the colony still left almost all the responsibility for Bantu education in the hands of the churches. By 1910 only one state school for Bantu children was in operation.[167] Engelbrecht clearly identifies the kind of educational system employed for the Bantu in the colony of the Orange Free State, prior to its becoming a province in 1910, as similar to that used for the Whites.[168] The reason for using a similar curricula was

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[165]"A conference of the Transvaal and Orange Free State leaders was held, followed by a meeting in Pretoria on April 12th, between Lord Milner and Lord Kitchner on the one side and Presidents Steyn and Schalk Burger, Generals Botha, de Wet and de la Rey on the other. No final agreement was arrived at, however, until the meeting of Vereeniging, where sixty representatives of the Boers assembled in May and appointed a special commission to treat for peace. On May 19th this commission met Lord Milner and Kitchener at Pretoria and, as a result of the Vereeniging Conference, articles of peace were signed on May 31, 1902." (Fairbridge, op. cit., p. 297.)

[166]Coetzee, et al., op. cit., p. 423.

[167]Ibid.

[168]Engelbrecht, I. Z., Apartheid en Skool-Opvoeding in Suid-Afrika 1652-1956, Thesis, University of Potchefstroom, 1959, pp. 252-253.

based on a belief that this would assist the Bantu in adopting the culture of the White man.[169]

The provincial governments differed in their approach to and interest in native education. Natal was the most progressive and adapted the European syllabus to suit native needs. On the other hand the Transvaal Republic and the Orange Free State were so busy establishing and stabilizing their own governments, that they had little time or funds to do much for native education, and were glad to leave the job in the hands of the churches. These provincial governments firmly believed that the civilizing of the natives could best be accomplished in a religious environment as was created in the mission school. However, each showed sufficient interest in the education of its native young by accepting full responsibility for their education at the time of union in 1910.

Educational provisions made with the establishment of the Union of South Africa. From the information studied thus far it is quite evident that the different missionary societies laid the foundations for the development of an educational system for the Bantu in South Africa, and their services did not depreciate after the union of the four colonies.

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[169] "Soortgelyke en gesamentlike skoolopvoeding van blank en nie-blank het nog altyd hoofsaaklik gedien om die nie-blanke by die beskawing van die blanke te laat aanpas." (Ibid., p. 255).

The unification of the four colonies into the Union of South Africa was based on the provisions of the constitution as promulgated by the South Africa Act of 1909.[170] This same act, the South Africa Act of 1909, through provisions of Article 85 entrusted primary and secondary education to the Provincial Authorities, freeing them from any interference from the Union or central Government.[171] Moreover, the provinces were now held responsible for teacher training; for certain kinds of agricultural education; and education for the mentally retarded, physically handicapped, and those with other disabilities.[172]

The Transvaal province established its first Bantu public school in 1908, Natal its first in 1919.[173] By 1920 free primary education for the

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[170]"The colonies of the Cape of Good Hope, Natal, the Transvaal, and the Orange River Colony are to be united by Royal Proclamation in a legislative union. The Government and Parliament are to have full power within the limits of the Colonies, but the King is to appoint a Governor-General." (Union of South Africa, Official Year Book, Synopsis of the principal clauses of the South Africa Act, 1909, and amendments, Part II, "The Union" sections 4-7, p. 26).

[171]Ibid., "Powers of Provincial Councils," section 85-91, pp. 29, 218.

[172]Union of South Africa, Information Service, South Africa 1910-1960, 1960, unnumbered pp.

[173]"Education for the Bantu of South Africa," op. cit., pp. 65-96.

Bantu was introduced in the Cape, and a 50 per cent book and equipment subsidy was added.[174]

Before 1925 each province bore the total cost of Bantu education within its own area. But, the Native Development Fund of 1925 was incorporated, which now received a portion of the monies collected in the form of Bantu taxation by the central government.[175] These funds plus other grants from the central government were now used to finance Bantu education.[176] The Cape Times newspaper pointed to this strange arrangement of affairs--with the central government financing Bantu education but without any controlling powers--in this comment:

> It is doubtful whether the present system can be defended. It is never a good thing to have divided responsibility, with one authority spending the money provided by another which has only nominal control over its disbursements . . . as is the feature and defect of the present system.[177]

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[174] Ibid.

[175] "According to Act 21 of 1925 (The Native Taxation and Development Act), Bantu Education was to be financed from a Native Development Fund, and developed beyond the level attained in 1921/1922 from direct taxes contributed by the Bantu." Union of South Africa, Summary of the Report of the Commission for the Socio-Economic Development of the Bantu Areas within the Union of South Africa. (U.G. 61/1955), p. 23.

[176] "Education for the Bantu of South Africa," op. cit., pp. 65-96.

[177] Cape Times, August 5, 1953.

Yet, regardless of how inadequate the administration's arrangements were, there was a tremendous drive for more and better schools for the Bantu. An example of this attitude for progress is illustrated by the work done by numerous and various commissions.

A Commission, appointed by the provincial administration of the Cape in 1919, looked into what the needs of native education were and how the school curriculum should be adapted to meet these needs.[178] The results of its report recommended that greater stress should be placed on vocational training; old native art and hand work; agriculture; and stricter emphasis on moral instruction, hygiene, and civics.[179] Jessie Jones, an American social scientist, summarized these recommendations as:

> 1. Scope and aim of native education should be limited only by the capacity of the student to benefit thereby.
> 2. A prime object is to afford greater facilities for vocational and practical training.
> 3. Agriculture and domestic economy should be provided in every standard above standard VI (8th grade).
> 4. Revive old native industries such as pottery, basket-making and mat and hat weaving.
> 5. Compulsory subjects: Religious and moral instruction, hygiene, civics, courses in agriculture, domestic, and industrial training.[180]

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[178] Jones, T. J., Education in Africa, 1922, pp. 193-194.

[179] Ibid.

[180] Ibid.

The report of this commission certainly had its influence. In 1921 a Chief Inspector of Native Education was appointed,[181] which followed Ordinance 26 of 1920, making native education free in the Cape and giving the provincial administration that financial responsibility pertaining to salaries and school supplies.[182]

Another step forward in the advancement of Bantu education was made when the Inter-Departmental Commission on Native Education was called in 1935 to investigate Bantu education in the Union of South Africa.[183] One of the duties assigned the Commission was to study the possibility of the Union Government taking over the full administration of Native education in the Union, since it already had taken over much of the financial responsibility.[184]

After much study the commission recommended that: the Union Government take over total control of Bantu education, the financial

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[181] Pells, E. G., The Story of Education in South Africa, 1938, p. 131.

[182] Ibid.

[183] Union of South Africa, U.G. 29/1936, op. cit., p. 5.

[184] "Whether in view of the extent to which the Union Government has assumed financial responsibility for Native education, it should take over the administration from the Province, and if so, in what way Native education should be administered." (Ibid.); Union of South Africa, U.G. 61/1955, op. cit., p. 23.

responsibility and administrative functions.[185] Although the commission made this kind of recommendation there was no immediate transference of the control of Bantu Education to the Ministry of Education of the central government. A previous arrangement with the Native Affairs department of the central government, whereby it supplied the funds for Bantu education with the provincial governments exercising administrative control, remained until 1945.[186] During that year Bantu education was brought under joint control of the provincial governments and the Department of Education, Arts and Science of the Union Government.[187] By this change the financing of Bantu education was taken out of the hands of the Native Affairs Department, and policy making and planning of Bantu education now came directly under the Minister of Education. In carrying out these duties the Minister of Education worked closely with an advisory board on Bantu education which was established in terms of Act No. 29 of 1945.[188] The

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[185] Ibid., p. 65, para. 331.

[186] Union of South Africa, Report of the Commission on Native Education 1949-51, (U. G. 53/1951), para. 163.

[187] Ibid.; The Department of Education, Arts and Science is synonomous with the Ministry of Education.

[188] Union of South Africa, Union Gazette Extraordinary, November 29, 1945, p. 31.

Union Advisory Board of Native Education advised both the Union Government and Provincial governments on the maintenance and improvement of Bantu education.[189]

Of Bantu education, during the colonial period, one might say that it was never a stabilized system, but changed as the work done by commissions and committees came up with new ideas and findings. Although it was not stable or uniform, it did have purpose and it is evident that with each change some progress was achieved.

## The Character of the Colonial Bantu Educational System

Although the character of the colonial Bantu educational system was concerned with educational thinking and curricular structure, much investigation of the historical development of the educational system was necessary to reveal its true educational philosophies and structures. A Brief outline of the development of the colonial Bantu educational system is given by the South African Bureau of Racial Affairs in its summation of the Report of the Native Commission of 1949-1951:

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[189]Union of South Africa, U.G. 53/1951, op. cit., para. 581.

1. Church responsibility and control to about 1850.
2. Recognition and subsidizing by colonial, republican, and afterwards, provincial authorities (1850-1925).
3. Joint control by the Department of Native Affairs[190] and provincial governments (since 1925-1944).
4. Joint control by the Department of Education[191] and the provincial governments (since 1945).[192] (translation)

These sequential changes of responsibility and control of Bantu education seem to have been governed by the direction of the financial needs of this educational system.[193] The churches, overwhelmed with financial struggles, called in the help of the provincial governments to assist them in supporting Bantu education. The provincial governments, after accepting the responsibility in assisting the churches with funds,

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[190]Department of Native Affairs - a state department of the central government controlling Bantu affairs.

[191]Department of Education - a state department of the central government controlling all education other than academic-elementary and secondary education.

[192]"(a) Suiwer kerklike verantwoordelikheid en beheer tot ongeveer 1850.
(b) Erkenning en subsidiering deur koloniale, republikense en - daarna - provinsiale owerhede (1850-1925).
(c) Gesamentlike beheer deur die Department van Naturellesake en provinsiale owerhede (1925-1944).
(d) Gesamentlike beheer deur die Department van Onderwys en die provinsiale owerhede (vanaf 1945)." (South African Bureau of Racial Affairs, Samevatting van die verslag van die Naturelleonderwyskommissie, 1949-1951, p. 4.)

[193]Ibid.

in 1923 found this financial burden too great for them to handle and placed it upon the shoulders of the Department of Native Affairs of the central government.[194] The funds available to this department became inadequate for the growing needs of Bantu education and in 1945 its financing was transferred to the Department of Education of the central government.[195] Money now used by the Department of Education for distribution to the provinces for the use of Bantu education had to be voted by Parliament.[196]

This unstable state of financing Bantu education certainly is evidence of the fact that no apparent clearly defined objectives, aims, or philosophy of Bantu education were used as guidelines in constructing for it a path of development and progress.[197] With the five legislative and administrative governments (the Union Government and the four provinces) controlling Bantu education, there was little co-ordination; progress and development depended mainly upon impulsive planning.[198] The Union

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[194] Ibid.

[195] Ibid., p. 5.

[196] Ibid.

[197] Union of South Africa, U.G. 53/1951, op. cit., para. 563.

[198] Ibid., para. 574-5.

Advisory Board on Native Education functioning without specified educational aims and objectives, except in the general concept of improving educational facilities for the Bantu, acted as its name indicates in a purely advisory capacity.[199] It becomes, therefore, a difficult task to state any one aim or objective which might have formed the basis for the colonial Bantu educational system.

The character of the colonial system of Bantu education was revealed through each developmental phase of the system which brought about the evolution of the framework and structure of its curriculum, and societal involvement.

The framework and structure. The framework and structure of the colonial Bantu educational system varied from one province to another, and from its beginning in 1652 until 1954 underwent considerable metamorphosis. Instead of giving in detail each curricular change that occurred in the educational development prior to 1954, only the most pertinent factors depicting structural changes which marked a trend in the development of the system are given in this study. This scheme did not necessarily follow chronologically the order of the evolution, but brings to the fore the basic high points of the framework and structure of the Bantu

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[199] Ibid., para. 581.

educational system as it developed up to 1954.

Jones, of the 1922 Phelps-Stokes Fund, comparing the structures of the educational systems in the four provinces found that Bantu education in Natal surpassed the others in planning and quality. He summarized his findings:

> The Cape Province is fairly liberal in financial provision for Native schools, but that its conventional requirements have excluded some educational elements of vital importance to the Native people; that Natal has within the past few years organized a system of school activities and a type of supervision worthy of adoption anywhere in Africa; that the Transvaal is beginning to plan for more effective education of the Natives, but that hitherto the public attitude has been largely that of indifference; and that the Orange Free State can hardly be said to have made a beginning.[200]

By the time of the appearance of the Jones report in 1922, Natal Bantu education had developed in structure to the place where the system took into consideration the basic needs of the Bantu more than did any other Province.[201] The curriculum was structured around the needs of the child by placing emphasis on hygiene, gardening, and Bantu crafts.[202]

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[200]Jones, op. cit., p. 220-221.

[201]Ibid., p. 197.

[202]Ibid.

Hygiene was taught through the medium of the mother tongue, Zulu.[203] Some of the manual arts taught were sewing, grass-work, cane-work, gardening, carpentry, cooking, laundering and dressmaking.[204] Of the total scheduled school time, one-fifth of the time spent was allocated to manual arts.[205]

The educational system of the Cape continued from 1873 to 1921 with very little change. It stressed reading, writing, arithmetic and other courses offered in the British school system.[206] The system was very rigid, making it impossible to offer any courses such as hygiene and gardening.[207] However, in 1922, on the recommendation of the Commission of 1919, efforts were put forth to restructure the curriculum for Bantu elementary schools.[208] This restructured framework clearly described by Lekhela in his summary of the 1922 primary school curriculum indicated how this curriculum was to meet what was called the needs of the Bantu child:

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[203] Ibid.

[204] Ibid.

[205] Ibid.

[206] Ibid., pp. 193-194.

[207] Ibid., p. 193.

[208] Pells, E. G., 300 Years of Education in South Africa, 1938, p. 138.

> Whereas subjects such as Arithmetic, English, Dutch, History, Geography, etc., remained basically the same in both European and Bantu schools, provision was made for the compulsory teaching of the vernacular in all the primary classes of the Bantu schools. Further Hygiene and Handwork, with a bias toward Bantu arts and crafts, were introduced. Gardening and elementary Agriculture for the boys, and simple Housecraft in addition to needlework for the girls wherever possible, were also to be taught in the Bantu schools.[209]

This newly structured system, aimed at fulfilling the needs of the Bantu child, experienced many difficulties. Because of the geographic situation of many schools, agriculture could not be taught;[210] and the instituting of mother-tongue instruction in the first four grades never became a reality because of a lack of literature as well as indecision on the part of supervisors. English remained for the most part the medium of instruction.[211]

Elementary schooling consisted of the lower primary course, which was the first four grades; and the higher primary course, a four year course which followed the lower primary course. Elementary schooling thus was completed with the eighth year.[212]

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[209] Lekhela, E. P., The Development of Bantu Education in the North-Western Cape 1840-1947, M. Ed. Thesis, University of South Africa, 1958, p. 155.

[210] Ibid.

[211] Ibid., p. 156.

[212] Pells, 300 Years . . . , op. cit., p. 138.

In 1927 the syllabus of the eight-year primary school was again revised. It differed from the previous syllabus in that it excluded agriculture, housecraft, and Dutch; but, included Afrikaans, manual training, and music. This 1927 syllabus consisted of these subjects: Religious and moral instruction, a Bantu language, one official language (either English or Afrikaans), manual and industrial training, arithmetic, geography, nature study, history, music, and drill and games.[213]

In 1924 it was found that the Orange Free State had almost as many Bantu school curricula as it did schools.[214] The Standard VI (equivalent to eighth grade in American schools) examination was instituted in 1925. In 1928 mother-tongue instruction up to and including Standard II (American fourth grade) was compulsory.[215] In 1934 the syllabus for the Bantu primary school education was again revised by the Orange Free State provincial council.[216]

For the Transvaal Bantu schools the school curriculum underwent its first major change in 1915; when at this time it was suggested that

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[213] Lekhela, op. cit., p. 157.

[214] Coetzee, et al., op. cit., p. 426.

[215] Ibid.

[216] Ibid.

the primary school syllabus should extend to Standard IV (American grade six) and that the mother tongue be used as the medium of instruction.[217] In 1928 this syllabus was developed further to extend to Standard VI, and during this same year the first state-supported secondary school was established.[218]

In 1915 curriculum for Bantu education in the Transvaal, according to Coetzee, was structured around the following kind of educational thinking: that religion and moral training aimed to instil habits of decency, obedience, neatness, honesty, politeness, industriousness, self-control, and temperance was essential; that physical training with an understanding of self-respect produced a better person; that social training, including citizenship and the understanding of law-making especially as it concerned the Bantu should be known, and that industrial training, which is adapted to the community should be part of a child's instruction.[219]

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[217] Ibid., p. 425.

[218] Ibid.

[219] "(i) Godsdiens – en sedelike opleiding met die oog op die aankweking van gewoontes van sindelikheid, gehoorsaamheid, netheid, eerlikheid, beleefdheid, vlyt, selfbeheersing, matigheid en kuisheid;

(ii) Liggaamsopvoeding, met inbegrip van persoonlike sindelikheid;

(iii) Maatskaplike opleiding, insluitende burgerplig en kennis van wetgewing wat veral die Naturelle raak;

(iv) Nywerheidsopleiding wat by die omgewing aanpas." (Ibid.).

A total picture of the final structure and framework of Bantu education prior to 1954 is given in the Report of the Inter-departmental Commission on Native Education of 1935-1936.[220] The educational system it described was rather similar for primary and secondary schools in all four provinces.[221] Apparently, by 1935, just before the outbreak of the Second World War, organization towards a uniformity in Bantu education was made in the Union of South Africa. What once was a loose and unrelated system, slowly developed into what might be called a Bantu Educational System. A clearer picture of the framework and structure of this colonial Bantu educational system may be gained from Figure 3, which is a graphic illustration of the system.[222]

This schematic diagram indicates that the elementary school consisted of eight grades--Sub A followed by Sub B, and six Standards. Because of the dropouts standard II was looked upon as a sort of terminal

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[220]Union of South Africa, U.G. 29/1936, op. cit.

[221]Ibid.

[222]Figure 3. Structure and Framework of the Colonial Bantu Educational System. To construct Figure 3, source materials from the following references were used: Cape of Good Hope, Report of the Superintendent General of Education, year ending, December 31, 1937; Coetzee, et al., op. cit.; Dodd, A. D., Native Vocational Training, 1938; Union of South Africa, U.G. 29/1936, op. cit.; Union of South Africa, U.G. 53/1951, op. cit.

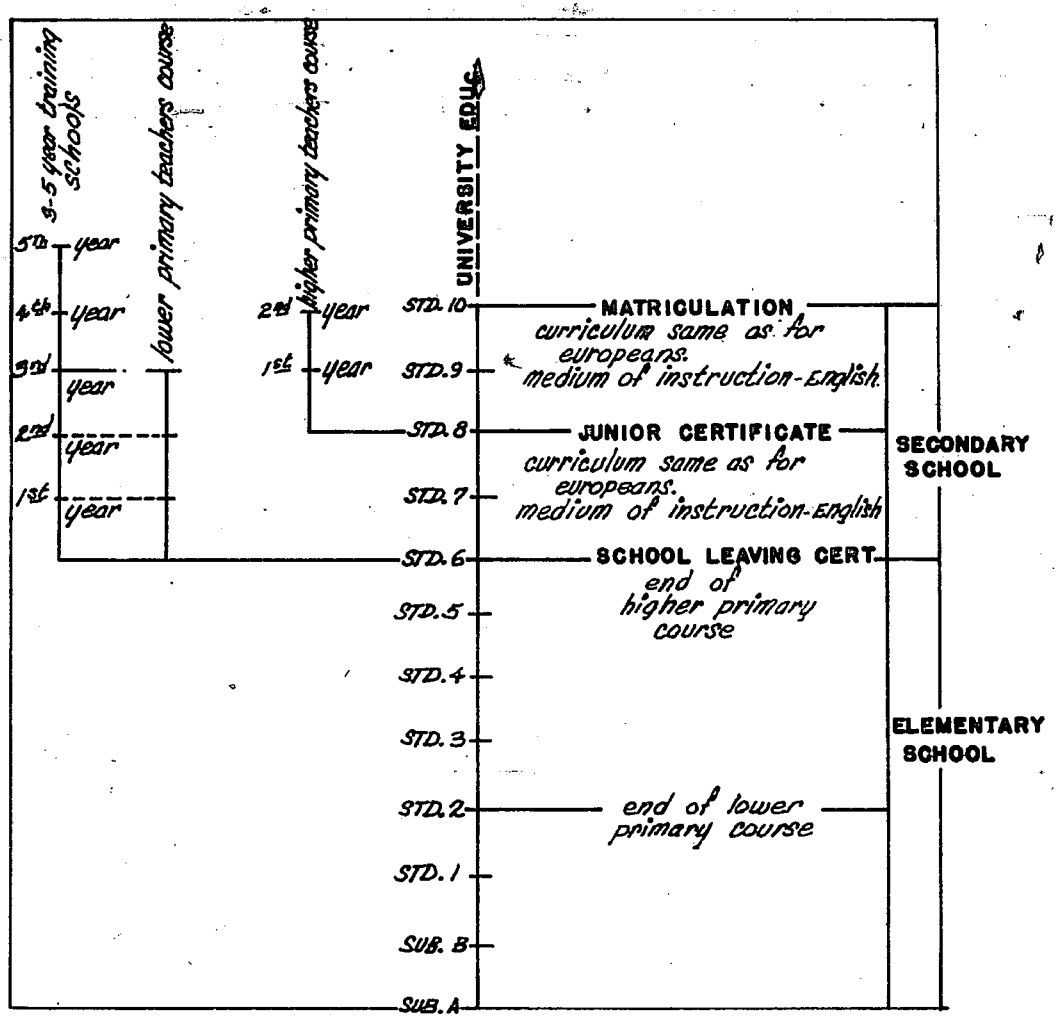


FIGURE 3. STRUCTURE AND FRAMEWORK OF THE COLONIAL BANTU EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

point for many. The first four grades up through Standard II were called the Lower Primary Course. Standard VI was completed by writing the School-Leaving Examination, giving the successful pupil entrance into high school, the three-year Lower Primary Teacher's Training Course, or the three or five-year courses offered by the Training Schools.

High School covered four years of study; it was identical to the European system using English as the medium of instruction. The completion of Standard VIII or Junior Certificate public examination, which for many was terminal, gave the student entrance to the two-year Higher Primary Teacher's Course. Those who continued with secondary school and completed Standard X, or Matriculation public examination, gained entrance into institutions of higher learning.

The structure of the Bantu educational system remained rather constant from 1935 to 1954. During this period it seemed to find some direction, but in actuality still experienced many adversities such as inadequate funds and buildings, understaffed schools, over-crowding, and lack of equipment. This situation was possibly the prime factor which led to apathy in regard to establishing an educationally sound curriculum and system of Bantu education. Since the control of education was shared by different administrative bodies, no one aim or purpose for Bantu education could be identified, suggesting that this kind of

organization could have been another deterrent in the evolutionary development and progress of Bantu education prior to 1954. The multi-control of Bantu education which apparently operated without the specific guidance of explicit aims or objectives possibly created many sociological problems for the Bantu child.

The societal involvement. The chief sociological implications of the colonial Bantu educational system can best be understood by citing published evaluations of that system in terms of what it did or did not do for the Bantu child. No effort was made to make a detailed study of cultural changes the Bantu society underwent due to education.

Pells makes the observation that the colonial educational system did not provide education ample or broad enough for the needs of the Bantu populace:

> Less than a quarter of the native children between the ages of six and sixteen are in school. Well over a million native children never see the inside of a school. In the case of those who go to school, the time spent and the work done there is so meagre as to amount to no education at all. For well over half of them their schooling terminates in the sub-standards! Most of the remaining forty odd percent, do reach standard two. But only half a percent, of those who attend school, attain to standard six!
>
> The position today (1938), therefore, is that only one in every thousand native children receives a fair elementary education.
>
> Native education as yet fails therefore to make the native

literate.[223]

The 1949 Commission reported the following class distribution of pupils as a percentage of the total enrolment:[224]

| | |
|---|---|
| Sub-Standards | 49.9% |
| Standards I and II | 25.3% |
| Standards III and IV | 14.6% |
| Standards V and VI | 7.6% |
| Standards VII and VIII | 2.4% |
| Standards IX and X | 0.2% |

This state of inadequate educational planning for the total school population certainly did not do much for the Bantu child or the Bantu society. It is suggested by some that the reason for this condition in Bantu education was the lack of finances. Yet, on the other hand, while European children received their education free, the Bantu child was required to pay school fees.[225]

The Bantu economic earning level was much lower than that of the White man. Many Bantu and their families, which are generally larger than the White man's, lived below the bread-line; and struggled to maintain a simple existence. The state of affairs surely could have dampened

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[223]Pells, The Story . . . , op. cit., p. 133.

[224]Union of South Africa, U.G. 53/1951, op. cit., pp. 51-134.

[225]Pells, The Story . . . op. cit., p. 38.

any incentive to finance their children's schooling. Many parents were disillusioned, for they were anxious for their children to have an education. Others were not concerned.

The Bantu actually paid for their schooling in two ways--in the direct form of school fees, and indirectly through taxation.[226] But,

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[226]"A profound change was brought about by the promulgation of the Native Taxation and Development Act in 1925, which changed the taxation of the Bantu from provincial to a Union matter and made the provision of funds for Bantu education the entire responsibility of the Central Government."

The most important change, however, was the acceptance, by implication, of the principle that any future extension of Bantu education should be financed out of direct taxation paid by the Bantu.

Accordingly, the Native Development Account was created, which since 1936 became known as the S. A. Native Trust Fund. Besides the maintenance, extension and improvement of educational facilities, this fund also had to finance the advancement of other welfare services for the Bantu.

Into this general Development Fund (Later called the South African Native Trust Fund) an amount of £340,000 was paid annually from the Consolidated Revenue Fund--this was an amount equal to the expenditure on Bantu education in 1921-22.

The General Development Fund also annually received one-fifth of the revenue derived from the general tax levied on the Bantu and the proportion of the general tax paid to the Development Fund was increased from time to time until finally, in 1943, the whole of it was appropriated to this end." (Union of South Africa, Education for more and more Bantu, Fact paper 88, February 1961, pp. 3-4.)

still the need for educational improvements exceeded the provisions provided to fulfil such needs, for soon population growth became a factor too. The urban population of the Bantu for the period between 1921 and 1946 multiplied by three times, and overcrowding, shortage of housing, lack of adequate employment--which oft times forced both parents and older schoolage children to find work--led to the neglect of the young which produced problems in juvenile delinquency.[227]

This condition of juvenile delinquency found among the Bantu children could be blamed on the socio-economic structure and the colonial educational system of the Bantu in South Africa. There were educators who understood the needs of the Bantu people and whose hearts were atuned to their needs and cries for reforms and changes. Many Bantu voiced their convictions to governmental agencies and

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227 "Urbanization

The Urbanization of the Bantu which during these years was taking place at a rapid pace (from 1921 to 1946 the number of Bantu in cities had risen from about 587,000 to 1,794,000), was accompanied by the usual maladjustments such as overcrowding, shortage of housing and the breakdown of family control. To combat neglect of children and juvenile delinquency there was a consequent cry for more schools in urban areas.

Eventually the desire and need for education by the Bantu grew far more rapidly than the available funds could cope with, and more rapidly than could be afforded by the general tax of the Bantu as reflected by the following figures:

recommended an educational system that would form a part of the Bantu

227 continued.

| Year | General Tax of Bantu | Development Fund (S.A.N.T.) | Expenditure on Bantu Education |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1926 | £1,116,740 | £ 573,348 | £ 452,800 |
| 1936 | 1,282,515 | 888,017 | 742,001 |
| 1941 | 1,397,564 | 1,271,709 | 1,278,759 |
| 1942 | 1,383,358 | 1,492,789 | 1,506,209 |
| 1943 | 1,443,869 | 1,783,869 | 1,708,684 |
| 1944 | 1,459,831 | 1,799,831 | 2,055,798 |

The following rates of increase reflecting certain features of development during these years (1925-1944) are significant:

Rate of increase of Bantu population . . . . . 1.96 per cent

Rate of increase of Bantu pupils at school . . . 5.3 per cent

Rate of increase of urban Bantu population . . . . . 4.6 per cent

Rate of increase of general tax of Bantu . . . . . 1.54 per cent

Rate of increase of expenditure on Bantu Education . . . . . 8.7 per cent

community life, giving Bantu parents also some part in the guidance and

227 continued. "Rate of increase. From these figures it is evident that the rate of increase in expenditure on Bantu education was more than five times as rapid as the increase in the funds derived from the general tax on the Bantu.

This meant that the application of the principle implied in the 1925 Act, namely that any extension of educational facilities for the Bantu should be financed out of direct taxation on the Bantu, would have to be discontinued unless this taxation was raised considerably.

Act No. 29 of 1945 marked the abandonment of this system and introduced a revolutionary change in the financing of Bantu education. All the funds required for Bantu education by the Provincial Administration were to be drawn direct from the Consolidated Revenue Fund and were no longer dependent on the general tax paid by the Bantu. The estimates were to be placed on the votes of the Union Department of Education, Arts and Science.

The immediate result of this new system was a spectacular increase in the expenditure on Bantu education. The following table shows how this rise took place:

| Year | Expenditure on Bantu education | No. of pupils | Per capita costs |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1945 | £ 2,248,529 | 587,586 | £ 3.82 |
| 1946 | 2,610,673 | 640,638 | 4.08 |
| 1947 | 3,657,701 | 670,515 | 5.46 |
| 1948 | 4,283,625 | 723,039 | 5.93 |
| 1949 | 4,894,101 | 759,137 | 6.45 |
| 1950 | 5,072,044 | 746,324 | 6.80 |
| 1951 | 5,882,689 | 768,739 | 7.65 |
| 1952 | 6,617,668 | 814,076 | 8.13 |

control of their schools.[228] Not much was done but some changes were wrought and monies to be expended on Bantu education were increased.[229] But these slight changes were not sufficient to cope with the increasing needs of the Bantu child and his society.[230]

Many of the Bantu living in urban areas, although to some extent detribalized, still strongly held to the Bantu cultural pattern of life. One reason for this situation could be that although he was surrounded by the White man's education and way of life, he still had to answer for himself the question, how much of the White man's way of life should or could he adopt? The structure of the South African society is such that although he should become highly educated, and accept the White man's

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227 continued.

| Year | Expenditure on Bantu education | No. of pupils | Per capita costs |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1953 | 5,904,792 | 858,079 | 6.88 |
| 1954 | 8,016,247 | 938,211 | 8.54 |

(Ibid., p. 4).

[228]South African Bureau of Racial Affairs, Bantu . . . , op. cit. pp. 2-3.

[229]See footnote chart, p. 103.

[230]Union of South Africa, U.G. 53/1951, op. cit., paras. 570-575.

way of life, still this would not assure him of the same social status level as that of the White man. Should he endeavor to achieve this level it might also make of him an outcast within his own tribal society. Such attitudes created fears that are deep and obvious.

Authorities indicate that the bonds of tribal attitudes are not loosely knit and when the customs of a tribal society are shattered the society suffers frustration,[231] and this societal frustration could be a deterrent in the progressive development of a preliterate people. Thus it becomes tremendously important that an educational system for an underdeveloped people guard against any such societal damage.

The colonial Bantu educational system did make a beginning in the provision of education for the Bantu races of South Africa, but apparently was not fully adequate.

## Summary

Education for the Bantu in South Africa prior to 1954 was largely determined by the historical development of the country. The Dutch settlers who arrived in South Africa in 1652 came to that remote country to establish new lives under religious freedom and to bring the flame of

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[231] Mandelbaum, D. G., "Social Groupings," in Man, Culture, and Society, p. 296, edited by H. L. Shapiro, 1960.

Christianity lighted by the reformation to the heathen of this new world. The settlers were dedicated to their task and immediately established educational institutions, using education as a tool in Christianizing the aborigines of the Cape.

The missionary filled with enthusiasm to evangelize sought out the dark continent and, like the early settlers, worked with the governments to bring a Christian education to the African. Missionary endeavors became a mighty force, planting in the soils of South Africa flourishing schools bringing to the Bantu peoples Christianity, agricultural knowledge, and lessons in reading and writing.

During the time of the British Colonial occupation the missionary was still expected to continue with his work of education for the Bantu, but now received some financial assistance from the Colonial Office. English became the medium of instruction through which the school was to Christianize the Bantu and Europeanize him.

The work of the missionary continued with similar aims in the Republics of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State. After the Boer War of 1899, and at the time of Union in 1910, education for the Bantu was placed under the supervision of the four provinces--Transvaal, Orange Free State, Natal, and the Cape--but it was left with missionary societies to direct its operation.

The colonial Bantu educational system belonged to a period of uncertainty. During this time the educational system underwent many structural changes governed by the vacillating opinions and thinking of those directing it. Education was to bring to the Bantu the ways of the White man--the White man's customs, the White man's language, and the White man's moral code. All this was done without considering the pride of the Bantu in that which is Bantu. No plan was followed by the missionary or the government which took into account the Bantu society as a whole and the need for the preservation of its traditions or culture. Bantu nationalism or Bantu growth was not espoused.

The schools were very similar to the White schools. The eight grades of elementary school consisted of two divisions, the lower primary and the higher primary. With the completion of the elementary school the pupil gained entrance to either the trade school or the high school which also followed the European school syllabus. The duration of the high school course was four years. School attendance was not compulsory, and parents had no understanding of the educational system and enjoyed no say in its organization. In most cases the school facilities were inadequate, yet these pupils attending school were required to pay school fees.

This European-like educational system was a foreign institution

to the young child living in his tribal habitat; apparently something that threatened to detribalize him. De-tribalization was not readily accepted by the Bantu for it meant insecurity, so, for societal protection the Bantu shrank from formal education. From all evidence the pre-1954 colonial system of Bantu education never reached the masses. The colonial Bantu educational system did, however, set the stage for educational enquiry which paved the way for a rather controversial change and restructuring of Bantu education. This evolutionary change in the educational philosophy and planning was so different from the earlier Bantu educational system that the writer thought an investigation was imperative.

## CHAPTER IV

## EVOLUTION OF THE BANTU EDUCATION ACT 47 OF 1953: ITS CRITIQUES AND IMPLEMENTATION

Bantu education in South Africa, after traveling a vicissitudinous route, arrived at a place in the 1950's where its curriculum, objectives and aims were very different from those in its earlier beginnings. In 1952 less than 700,000 Bantu children of an approximate two and one-half million were receiving an education.[1] Under a new organization the school enrolment increased considerably. By 1962 almost 1,700,000 Bantu children were in school.[2] This great increase in the availability of education to the Bantu child did not come about by some fortuitous vote in Parliament, but by a careful study and planning for Bantu education.

The development of the national Bantu educational system preceding the passage of Act 47 of 1953 by the South African Parliament was centered in the report of the Commission on Native Education 1949-1951, parliamentary debates on Bantu education, and Act 47 of 1953 nationalizing Bantu education. After the passage of Act 47 vociferous criticisms

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[1] Union of South Africa, South Africa 1910-1960, 1960, unnumbered pp.

[2] South African Digest, October 3, 1963, p. 3.

were levelled at the newly proposed Bantu educational system which was implemented in 1954.

Report of the Commission on Native Education

It appears that under the colonial system education was available to only a few, and did very little to bring about community growth for the Bantu in South Africa. The South African Bureau of Racial Affairs described the situation:

> Experience thus began to indicate that the development of the Bantu community as a whole was not taking place. Education was limited to the minority.
>
> Instead of pointing a new way of life for the community, the school had in many cases become a symbol of tribal disunity, of a tribal split into sections differing according to the religion taught by the various missionary schools, and according to the level of education of each section. Such schools provided an "escape" for pupils who wished to dodge their responsibilities to their own community.[3]

Moreover, the Union Government recognized with what effort the Western countries were competing for economic stability and security; and if it was to be successful in this race something had to be done about the education of the Bantu.[4] Du Preez quoting Stewart's view that the

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[3]South African Bureau of Racial Affairs, Bantu Education, 1955, p. 8.

[4]Union of South Africa, Government Paper No. 14, 1944, pp. 94-95 para. 111.

Bantu be educated for self-realization, says:

> "Deep down in him, the Bantu has the raw material, his own unique personality for civilization, but he has always been without the motive power for its development. The White man's contribution is to provide the motive power, to set in motion the process, not for the Europeanization of the Bantu, but for his self realization."[5]

The cry for change in Bantu education did not only come from the onlooker; but as far back as 1924 the African National Congress, a Bantu protestant political group, urged the government of the Union of South Africa to place Bantu education under the direct control of the government.[6] It also requested that the government plan a more desirable system of Bantu education for the Bantu, one which would be adapted to the different and pragmatic needs of the Bantu people.[7]

According to the South African Bureau of Racial Affairs it was the 1932 Native Economic Commission Report that eventually awakened the South African government to the urgency of its obligation to Bantu education. The following excerpt (translated) from the Bureau of Racial Affairs

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[5] Du Preez, A. B., Inside the South African Crucible, 1959, p. 47.

[6] South African Bureau of Racial Affairs, Bantu Education, op. cit., pp. 39-40.

[7] Ibid., p. 39.

indicates the government's response:

In the renowned report of 1932 the Native Economic Commission indicated that the government's expenditure on Bantu education in 1930 was £618,000 for only one-fifth of the children of school-going age. It further indicated that if all the children were to attend school the cost would surpass £3,000,000.

In this connection the Commission expressed itself as follows:

> "It would be unqualified optimism to expect that the funds necessary to provide education for all the Bantu children or even a majority of them would be available for the present system."

Eighteen years later the expenditure for forty percent of the Bantu children between seven and fourteen years had reached four and one-half million pounds. In 1948 the expense for Bantu education would have exceeded £11,000,000.

Since the system (of education) to which the Native Economic Commission referred had undergone no principal changes, one can conclude that large scale development and growth of Bantu education, in an unguided form, would continue. It was on the grounds of this argument that the government in 1948, on recommendation of minister Stals, decided to set into operation a Bantu Education Commission whose duty it would be to, first establish what benefit the Bantu was deriving from the present system (colonial), and second what benefit the country in general received from the system.[8]

The task-outline given to the Commission at the time of its appointment in 1949 reads as follows:

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[8]South African Bureau of Racial Affairs, Samevatting van die Verslag van die Naturelleonderwyskommissie, 1949-1951, p. 1.

(1) The formulation of the principles and aims of education for Natives as an independent race, in which their past and present, their inherent racial qualities, their distinctive characteristics and aptitudes, and their needs under the ever-changing social conditions are taken into consideration;

(2) The extent to which the existing primary, secondary and vocational educational system for Natives and the training of Native teachers should be modified in respect of the content and form of syllabuses, in order to conform to the proposed principles and aims, and to prepare Natives more effectively for their future occupations;

(3) The organization and administration of the various branches of Native education;

(4) The basis on which such education should be financed;

(5) Such other aspects of Native education as may be related to the preceding.[9] (translation).

The Commission which was appointed on the 19th of January, 1949 consisted of the following: Dr. W. W. M. Eiselen, then professor of social anthropology at the University of Pretoria, as chairman; Professors J. de W. Keyter, A. H. Murray; doctors P. A W. Cook, G. B. Gardener and Messers M. D. C. de Wet Nel, M. P., W. A. Hofmeyer and J. MacLeod, as members.[10]

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[9] Ibid.

[10] Hartshorne, K. B., Native Education in the Union of South Africa, South African Institute of Race Relations, 1953, p. 1.; Union of South Africa, Report of the Commission on Native Education, 1949-1951, (U.G. 53/1951), p. 7.

At the first meeting of the Commission on February 10, 1949, it was decided to construct a questionnaire which was to be submitted to church bodies, education departments, universities, teachers' associations and principals of Bantu educational institutions.[11] The Commission also collected data from organizations and persons of all levels and walks of life within the Bantu society such as: chiefs, teachers, public servants, parents and those from town and rural areas.[12] The Commission visited factories, housing projects, agricultural settlements, and finally, a three-man team of the Commission visited the native protectorates in South Africa (Basutoland, Swaziland and Bechuanaland) while a team consisting of two members and the chairman visited Southern and Northern Rhodesia, Nyasaland, Tanganyika, Kenya and the Belgian Congo.[13]

The report published by the Commission consists of three sections. The first section gives a detailed and comprehensive description and the sociological implications of the colonial Bantu Educational

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[11] Ibid.; See appendix A.

[12] Ibid.

[13] Ibid.

system.[14] In the second section the Commission makes an actual analysis of the colonial educational system[15] and in the third section recommendations are made in an attempt to solve those problems the Commission uncovered.[16]

Instead of reporting in detail on the three sections of the Report of the Commission on Native Education the writer chose to summarize briefly two outcomes of the Commissions' work: (1) the Commissions' philosophy on Bantu education and (2) the structure of the National Bantu educational system.

The Eiselen Commission's philosophy on Bantu education. Education as outlined by the 1949 Commission, also sometimes called the Eiselen Commission, was used as an instrument to form the basis for the formulation of the post-1954 Bantu educational system. This commission was appointed to enquire thoroughly into every area of education for the Bantu.[17] The construction of this new national Bantu education system,

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[14]Union of South Africa, U.G. 53/1951, op. cit., paras. 16-544.

[15]Ibid., paras. 545-753.

[16]Ibid., paras. 754-1044.

[17]Republic of South Africa, Department of Bantu Education, Bantu Education, (B.E. 221/61), 1961, p. 7.

according to government sources, was not in the hands of the politician, but its framework and structure were developed and outlined by the 1949 Commission on Bantu Education whose reports and suggestions were adopted by the Union Government.[18]

Eiselen insisted that the trusteeship of the Bantu which lay in the hands of the White man should include the obligation to guide and direct the Bantu preliterate peoples to that self-realization found on higher levels of culture.[19] Therefore, he suggested, that community life should be functionally linked to formal education, taking the individual out of his primitive state onto western cultural levels.[20] This education, however, should not be restricted or one-sided, it must enable free development in many areas in order to lead the Bantu individual to personal self-realization.[21]

Eiselen set forth a three point program for the functioning of the new national (post-1954) educational system:

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[18]Union of South Africa, Report of the Commission on Native Education, op. cit.

[19]Eiselen, W. W. M., "An Architect of Apartheid," Bantu, vol. 7, no. 8, August 1960, p. 460.

[20]Ibid.

[21]Ibid.

> Firstly, only the State possessed the necessary authority to assume this task of linking Bantu education with the traditional rulers of the Bantu. Secondly, constructive educational work could only be properly carried out in the Bantu areas, where the ceiling on achievement and development created by the European competition did not exist. Thirdly, the full development of Bantu cultural capacity called for the creation of an urban economy and of industries in the Native Areas, where ample manpower was available.[22]

The statement is evidence of the fact that according to the new educational philosophy Bantu education and Bantu development lie in a juxtaposition, and this idea became the very basis for both the educational philosophy and structure of the national Bantu educational system.

To better understand the basic thinking of the national system of education no plan could serve better than to quote directly from the Eiselen Report of the Native Education Commission of 1949-51 which embodies the idea that education must be of the Bantu, by the Bantu and for the Bantu. Paragraph 772 of this Eiselen Report says:

> The Bantu child comes to school with a basic physical and psychological endowment which differs so far as the Commissioners have been able to determine from the evidence set before them, so slightly, if at all, from that of the European child that no special provision has to be made in educational theory or basic aims. The now universally accepted principle of leading the child in his education from the known and familiar to the unknown and the unfamiliar, has been applied equally in the case of the Bantu

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[22] Ibid.

child as with children of any other social group. But educational practice must recognize that it has to deal with a Bantu child, i.e., a child trained and conditioned in Bantu culture, endowed with a knowledge of a Bantu language and imbued with values, interests and behaviour patterns learned at the knee of a Bantu mother. These facts must dictate to a large extent the content and methods of his early education.[23]

Paragraph 764 of the Eiselen Report stresses the importance of considering Bantu education and Bantu development as one process:

> It is evident, therefore, that Bantu development and Bantu education must be largely synonymous terms. Education is more than a matter of schooling; indeed, in the education of a society to make a tremendous cultural leap such as the South African Bantu are called upon to make, the schooling of children, though of the utmost importance, must be regarded as only a part of a larger process. School education, if it is to be co-ordinated and in harmony with social development, must be seen as one of the many educational agencies and processes which will lead the Bantu to better and fuller living.[24]

A general summation of the national educational aims are formally described in paragraph 765:

> (a) From the viewpoint of the whole society the aim of Bantu education is the development of modern progressive culture, with social institutions which will be in harmony with one another and with

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[23] Union of South Africa, U.G. 53/1951, op. cit., para. 772.

[24] Ibid., para. 764.

the evolving conditions of life to be met in South Africa, and with the schools which must serve as effective agents in this process of development.

(b) From the viewpoint of the individual the aims of Bantu education are the development of character and intellect, and the equipping of the child for his future work and surroundings. To harmonize the individual and social viewpoints as stated above, it is essential to consider the language of the pupils, their home conditions, their social and mental environment, their cultural traits and their future position and work in South Africa.[25]

Paragraph 766 discussed the principles that should direct the course that Bantu education should take. These principles are that--Bantu schools should have a Christianizing influence on the young; schools should be linked with Bantu social institutions; schools should be made compulsory for all; governmental control being necessary, but provision should also be made for parental participation through local school boards and committees; and that the mother-tongue should be the language of instruction. Mother-tongue instruction poses problems, however, which are more than administrative, for a process of language development relative to modern Western terminology and literature must first be established if progress is to be made in mother-tongue instruction. The use of Bantu teachers, said Eiselen, who understand the Bantu child would be a practicable method for transferring concepts from teacher to

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[25] Ibid., para. 765.

pupil, but this would call for a larger staff of trained Bantu teachers.

Paragraph 766 of the report continues:

> Principles which should direct the future course of Bantu education are quoted here in extenso:
>
> (a) Education must be broadly conceived so that it can be organized effectively to provide not only adequate schools with a definite Christian character but also adequate social institutions to harmonize with such schools of Christian orientation;
>
> (b) to secure efficient and thorough co-ordination of planning, budgeting and administration designed to develop sound social institutions and adequate schools, education should be the care of a Union Government department;
>
> (c) education must be co-ordinated with a definite and carefully planned policy for the development of Bantu societies. Such policy should pay special but not exclusive attention to the economic development of the Bantu. This matter is of particular importance in view of the rising costs of social services to the Bantu;
>
> (d) increased emphasis must be placed on the education of the mass of the Bantu to enable them to co-operate in the evolution of new social patterns and institutions. This does not mean a curtailment of the present facilities for education but a new emphasis on the importance of education for all, in both the "social" and the purely "school" sense;
>
> (e) active steps must be taken to produce literature of functional value in the Bantu languages. At present these languages lack a terminology for describing modern scientific concepts, and their numerical systems are clumsy and difficult to use. It should not be difficult, however, to overcome these difficulties;
>
> (f) bearing in mind the very great social need for education it is imperative that the not unlimited funds available for Bantu education should be administered with the maximum efficiency.

So long as only a proportion of the Bantu are able to attend schools it must be of major importance to spread available money as far as is consistent with efficiency;

(g) schools must be linked as closely as possible with existing Bantu social institutions, and a friendly though not necessarily uncritical attitude maintained between the school and these institutions;

(h) the mother tongue should be used as the medium of instruction for at least the duration of the primary school. As the literary treasure of the Bantu languages are developed and their importance as means of communication increases, they should in increasing measure be recognized as media of instruction. The importance of this lies in the positive contribution which the schools can make in the development of the Bantu languages both for their own use and for other institutions of Bantu life, e.g., Bantu Courts and Councils.

(i) Bantu personnel should be used to the maximum to make the schools as Bantu in spirit as possible, as well as to provide employment;

(j) Bantu parents should as far as is practicable have a share in the control and life of the schools. It is only in this way that children will realize that their parents and the schools are not competitors but that they are complementary. Similarly the schools will educate the parents in certain social values;

(k) the schools should provide for the maximum development of the Bantu individual, mentally, morally and spiritually.[26]

After discussing what the aims of Bantu education should be and indicating how these principles could be applied, the Commission continued at length to explain why Bantu education needed to be of a special

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[26] Ibid., para. 766.

nature to fit the needs of the Bantu child. The child steeped in his Bantu culture, along with his interest in his natural habitat and mother tongue language usage needed an educational system peculiar to him.[27]

In paragraphs 803 to 851 the Commission reported such changes as it deemed necessary to improve education for the Bantu peoples. It suggested that Bantu education be departmentalized under the central government, and in making this recommendation outlined a system for its administration and also a structure of Bantu education that fitted its underlying philosophies, aims and objectives.[28]

The structure of the proposed national Bantu educational system. Paragraphs 846-887 of the Eiselen Commission outlines the basic framework and structure for a new Bantu educational system. The description presented here of the national Bantu educational system in South Africa corresponds in detail with the outline given by the Eiselen Committee in its report to parliament. The following types of schools make up the complete system:

1. Lower primary schools,
2. Higher primary schools,

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[27] Ibid., para. 772-778.

[28] Ibid., paras. 803-851.

3. Secondary schools,

4. Teacher training schools,

5. Vocational schools,

6. Technical schools,

7. Schools for the handicapped, and

8. Chieftains' schools.[29]

The place and position that each school holds within the framework and structure of the national system of Bantu education is graphically represented in Figure 4, which illustrates what educational services are provided by the Department of Bantu Education.[30]

The lower primary course consists of four years of schoolwork, commencing with Grade I and ending with the completion of Standard II (see Figure 4). Promotion in the lower primary school is automatic, provided the pupil shows a satisfactory attendance record. His first formal examination is given at the end of Standard II.[31] On satisfactorily completing this examination the pupil is promoted to Standard III, the

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[29]Ibid., paras. 846-887; "Education for the Bantu of South Africa," Lantern, vol. 11, no. 1, 1961, unnumbered pp.; See appendix B.

[30]Figure 4. Structure and Framework of the National Bantu Educational System. In order to construct this figure source materials from the following references were used: Union of South Africa, U.G. 53/1951, op. cit.; Republic of South Africa, B.E. 221/61, op. cit.

[31]See Figure 4.

higher primary school.[32]

At its National Conference held July, 1952, the South African Institute of Race Relations reported that it disagreed with the "automatic promotion" plan during the four years of the lower primary school, and suggested this be done for the first two years only, or in Grades I and II.[33] The attitude of the Department of Bantu Education on this argument is that the main purpose of education at this level is for the pupil to acquire skills in reading, writing, and arithmetic, make a beginning with the study of the official languages, and enjoy training in handicrafts.[34]

The medium of instruction during these four grades of the lower primary school is the mother tongue language.[35] The syllabus for the lower primary school includes: instruction in religion, which is void of denominational dogma; one Bantu language, the mother tongue; the two official languages, English and Afrikaans; arithmetic; environment study;[36]

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[32]"Education for the Bantu of South Africa," op. cit.

[33]Ibid.

[34]South African Institute of Race Relations, Record of Proceedings of National Conference, July, 1952, p. 13, para. 77.

[35]"Education for the Bantu of South Africa," op. cit.

[36]Environment study--aimed to cultivate social consciousness and a sense of responsibility in the Bantu child, an introductory course in Social Studies. (Republic of South Africa, Department of Bantu Education, Syllabus for Lower Primary Teachers Course, (B.E. 705), 1962, p. 51).

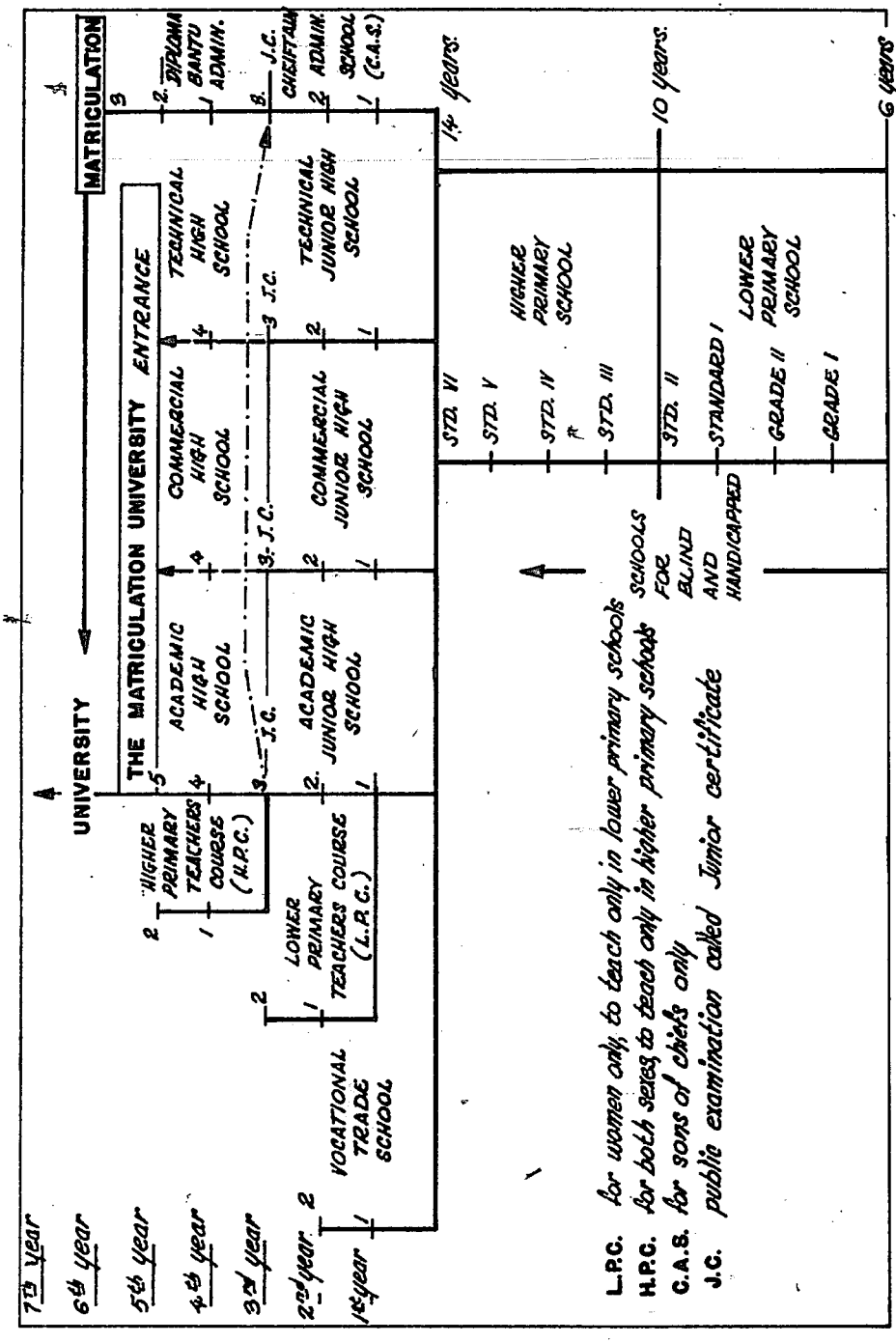


FIGURE 4. STRUCTURE AND FRAMEWORK OF THE NATIONAL BANTU EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM.

hygiene and physical education; singing; handwriting; needlework for the girls and handwork for the boys; and gardening.[37]

The higher primary school commences with Standard III and continues for four years, or until the completion of Standard VI (as shown in Figure 4).[38] The syllabus structure is the same as for the lower primary school, including mother tongue instruction, except for some additions and adjustments.[39] Tree planting and soil conservation for the boys, and

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[37] Republic of South Africa, B.E. 221/61, op. cit., p. 10.

[38] Figure 4.

[39] . . . .

TIME DISTRIBUTION

| Subject | Medium | Time per week |
|---|---|---|
| Assembly and Devotions | Vernacular | 5 x 10 = 50 minutes |
| Religions Instruction | Vernacular | 4 x 25 = 100 minutes |
| Afrikaans | Afrikaans | 6 x 30<br>1 x 25 = 205 minutes |
| English | English | 6 x 30<br>1 x 25 = 205 minutes |
| Vernacular | Vernacular | 6 x 30 = 180 minutes |
| Arithmetic | Vernacular | 6 x 30 = 180 minutes |
| Social Studies | Vernacular | 5 x 30 = 150 minutes |
| Health Education | Vernacular | 4 x 25 = 100 minutes |
| Nature Study | Vernacular | 2 x 30 = 60 minutes |
| Singing | Vernacular | 2 x 30 = 60 minutes |
| Needlework (girls), Standards II-VI | | |
| Tree Planting and Soil Conservation (boys) Standards III-VI | Vernacular | 2 x 60 = 120 minutes |

homecraft for the girls, and nature study are new additions whilst social studies is substituted for environment study.[40] At the end of the sixth standard an examination is given which consists of two sections: one section is administered by the school and the other by the Department of Bantu Education.[41]

Passes are according to scholastic proficiency, and the pupil successfully completing the Standard VI examination receives one of two certificates admitting him to post-primary courses.[42] Those who finish with a "first" or "second grade" pass, receive a Standard VI Continuation Certificate and can proceed to a secondary school or training school.[43] Those pupils who pass the examination, but with a "third grade" or minimum proficiency pass, are issued a Standard VI School-Leaving Certificate,

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Handwork A (boys and girls) Standards III-VI or<br>Handwork B (boys), Standards V-VI<br>Homecraft (girls), Standards V-VI | Vernacular | 2 x 60 = 120 minutes |
| Gardening (boys and girls), Standard III-VI | Vernacular | 2 x 60 = 120 minutes |
| Total | | 1,650 min. per wk. |

(Union of South Africa, Department of Bantu Education, The Higher Primary School Course, 1956, p. 7.)

[40] Republic of South Africa, B.E. 221/61, op. cit., p. 10.

[41] Ibid.

[42] "Education for the Bantu of South Africa," op. cit.

[43] Ibid.

which gives them entrance to the vocational school.[44]

With the Standard VI Continuation Certificate in hand the pupil may choose among six areas of education:[45] (1) the academic junior high school, (2) the commercial junior high school, (3) the technical junior high school, (4) the lower primary teacher-training school, (5) the chieftain school, and (6) the vocational school.

The Academic Junior High School with its general junior certificate course is like the commercial and technical junior high schools in providing a three-year course with departmental examinations given at the completion of the courses.[46] The syllabus of the general junior certificate course consists of: non-examination subjects--religious instruction, physical education, music and singing; and examination subjects--a Bantu language which is the pupil's mother-tongue, English, Afrikaans, social studies, general arithmetic or mathematics; and two subjects elected from Latin, mathematics (if this had not been taken), agriculture, woodwork, arts and crafts, homecraft or any other approved subject; and a natural science chosen from general science, physical

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[44] Ibid.

[45] Figure 4.

[46] Republic of South Africa, B.E. 221/61, op. cit., p. 10.

science, or biology.[47] Of this list of courses the Bantu language, English, Afrikaans, social studies, and general arithmetic or mathematics are compulsory, each covering the three year school period.[48]

The Commercial Junior High School follows the commercial and clerical junior certificate course which is basically the same as the general course, except, instead of choosing two subjects from a list of electives, three must be chosen.[49] The optional subjects are: book-keeping, commerce, typing, shorthand, commercial arithmetic and a natural science.[50]

The syllabus of the Technical Junior High School is similar to the syllabus of the general junior certificate course in the section of non-examination subjects, Bantu language, Afrikaans, arithmetic, and social studies.[51] There are two exceptions: instead of general science the theory of a technical subject is chosen, and workshop practice makes the seventh subject.[52]

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[47] Ibid.

[48] "Education for the Bantu of South Africa," op. cit.

[49] Republic of South Africa, B.E. 221/61, op. cit., p. 11.

[50] Ibid.

[51] Ibid.

[52] Ibid.

Further changes appear in the second and third years. During the second and third years the mother tongue and two official languages are still continued; but, the subject workshop-calculation replaces general arithmetic, and the previously chosen technical theory subject and workshop practices are continued.[53] The examinations of academic subjects are administered by the schools while the examinations of the technical subjects are set by the Department.[54]

As shown in Figure 4, the Lower Primary Teacher's Course is a two-year course having as its entrance qualifications the successful completion of the first year of the general junior certificate course.[55] Entrance to primary teacher training is limited to female students only, who when certified are able to teach just in the lower primary schools.[56]

In this way the great shortage of primary school teachers can be remedied.[57] The government limited this particular teacher-training

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[53]Ibid.; ". . . technical subjects are listed as: building construction, joinery, carpentry and cabinet-making, drawing and drafting, electrotechnics, and general mechanics." (Ibid., p. 10)

[54]Ibid.

[55]Figure 4.

[56]Republic of South Africa, B.E. 705, op. cit., p. 2.

[57]"Education for the Bantu of South Africa," op. cit.

course to females because it believes that they are better suited for the teaching of young children than are men, thus, this reserves lower primary teaching positions for women.[58]

The schedule of subjects for the course is divided into three groups. Group I includes: principles of education, child study, general principles of lower primary school teaching, school organization, blackboard work and handwriting, teaching aids, and practical teaching.[59] Group II includes: three languages--Afrikaans, English and a Bantu language--and arithmetic.[60] The last group, Group III, consists of religious instruction, environment study, music and singing, gardening, needlework, and arts and crafts.[61]

The Vocational Training Course, extends over a two-year period and has as its entrance requirement the Standard VI Completion Certificate.[62] In addition to two compulsory subjects, religion and arithmetic or bookkeeping, the pupils may choose one of the following subjects:

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[58] Ibid.

[59] Republic of South Africa, B.E. 705, op. cit., p. 2.

[60] Ibid.

[61] Ibid.

[62] Union of South Africa, B.E 221/61, op. cit., p. 12.

concreting, bricklaying and plastering, cabinetmaking and joinery, plumbing and sheet-metal work, general mechanics, leatherwork and upholstery, electricity and home-wiring, or tailoring.[63]

The examinations in the academic subjects are set by the Department while those in the practical subjects are conducted by the schools.[64]

Courses for the sons of chiefs and headmen also were instituted and thus developed the Chieftain Schools.[65] The first three years of the chieftain's course is academic in nature and, like the other academic courses, requires a Standard VI certificate for entrance.[66] This course consists of the regular general junior certificate syllabus, but expands to include subjects in Bantu administration.[67] On completion of this three-year course the student may continue two more years, and include with the regular academic subjects the subjects Bantu administration and Bantu law.[68] Upon completion of this course a two-year diploma in Bantu administration is awarded.[69] An additional year beyond this point

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[63] Ibid.

[64] Ibid.

[65] Ibid.

[66] Ibid.

[67] Ibid.

[68] Ibid.

[69] Ibid.

of study prepares the student for the Matriculation examination or University Entrance Certificate.[70]

On completing the junior high school course work a pupil may proceed directly to the Senior High School and there prepare for the Matriculation examination.[71] But, two other choices are also available to the holders of the General Junior Certificate: they may either proceed to the chieftain's school and there continue with the two-year Bantu Administration Diploma, or attend the Higher Primary Teacher's Training School which is a two year training course.[72] The higher primary teacher's course is similar to the lower primary teacher's course except that more emphasis is placed upon the classroom work and organization of the higher grades.[73] This course is for both men and women.[74]

The Matriculation or University Entrance certificate course extends two years beyond the completion of the junior high school certificate.[75] The usual path toward matriculation, which is the door to university entrance, is via the academic junior high school; but the two-year commercial

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[70] Ibid.

[71] Ibid.

[72] Ibid.; See Figure 4.

[73] Republic of South Africa, B.E. 221/61, op. cit., p. 12.

[74] Ibid.

[75] Figure 4.

high school courses and the two-year technical high school courses will do the same for the pupil as long as the subjects he takes meet those requirements as laid down by the matriculation board.[76] The final matriculation examination is prepared and administered by the Joint Matriculation Board or the Department of Education Arts and Sciences.[77]

The Report of the Commission was published in 1951 and the South African Parliament gave full study to it and used it as the basis for the Bantu Education Act 47 of 1953.[78] The proposal of a new Bantu educational system for the Bantu peoples brought about much controversy. This is revealed in the parliamentary debates that ensued after introduction of the subject in Parliament.

## Parliamentary Debates on Bantu Education

In 1953 the controversy concerning changes in Bantu education moved to the floor of the House Assembly for debate. During the

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[76] "Education for the Bantu of South Africa," op. cit.; Republic of South Africa, B.E. 221/61, op. cit., p. 10.

[77] Ibid.; Joint Matriculation Board is an examining body instituted by the South African Universities which also prescribe courses for University entrance. (University of South Africa, Calendar, 1960-1961, p. 15).

[78] "Education for the Bantu of South Africa," op. cit.

Parliamentary debates many pertinent ideas were expressed by the members of both major parties on the proposed changes in Bantu Education. The first reading of the Bantu Education Bill took place on August 11, 1953[79] and was very brief. On September 17, 1953 it was read for the second time[80] when more discussion and debate ensued on the floor of Parliament.

Dr. Verwoerd, then Minister of Native Affairs, introduced the Bantu Education Bill reading that the control of native education be placed under the Ministry of Native Affairs, a department under the central government of the Union of South Africa.[81] Outlined here in the shortest summary are the reasons that were given by the Minister for presenting the bill:

1. The government of South Africa had a specific interest in the country and its Bantu peoples.
2. If Bantu education were handled by the Central Government for the community welfare of the Bantu that racial relations would be improved.

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[79]Union of South Africa, Debates of the House of Assembly, vol. 82, 1953, col. 1306.

[80]Ibid., vol. 83, col. 3575.

[81]Ibid.

3. The Bantu appreciated education, but not some of the other government services (e.g. conservation); but if the government directed education it could through it develop Bantu interest in these other community services.

4. The Central Government controlled the financing of Bantu education and the Provincial governments the policy-making, a state of affairs that was most inefficient.

5. There would be more uniformity and direction in Bantu education policies if separated from the control of four different provinces.

6. That the Bantu who benefit from education should share in its responsibility. They should be co-responsible in controls and co-responsible in its financing, and the only way to make the parents financially responsible is by taxation which is already in the hands of the Central Government - if education were coupled to the Central Government it would assist in the area of the parents responsibility.

7. The Union Government planned that the Bantu should progressively take over much of the administrative control of their own services as planned with them by the Central Government. Education is such a service and it would alleviate confusion if it were under the control of Central Government.[82]

After the presentation of his arguments for the Bill, which are similar to those outlined in the Eiselen report, the Minister expressed his own views on Bantu education. He stated that there were particular educational principles which were common to all types of education. But in practice there were differences which revolved around the problem of

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[82] Ibid., col. 3575-3585; material in ( ) by the writer.

whether or not education should be culturally based:

> What is the use of subjecting a Native child to a curriculum which in the first instance is traditionally European, in which one learns of the Kings of England and how much wheat Canada has exported and through which our children are taught these general facts as a means of building up a fount of knowledge? . . . In other words, your teaching should begin where all education should begin, namely with the known facts or common knowledge. The common knowledge of the White child is different from that of the Bantu child . . . It is therefore . . . correct to say that Bantu education must of necessity be different, because it has as its starting point other sources and other kinds of knowledge . . . One should therefore not confuse fundamental principles of education which may be similar for all people, with the practical form which positively differs for different people.[83]

This lengthy discussion was followed by a vigorous debate in the House. Much of the argumentation revolved around the constitutionality of the proposal for the Central Government to take over the policy-making powers of the Provincial Councils in the area of Bantu education. Dr. D. L. Smit quoted Act 45 of 1935, which provides that:

> Parliament shall not abridge the powers conferred on the Provincial Councils except by petition to Parliament by the Provincial Councils.[84]

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[83] Ibid., col. 3585.

[84] Ibid., col. 3592.

Dr. Smit continued quite a debate with the Minister, stating that the Bill would be resented by the Bantu people and cause confusion and dissatisfaction in native affairs; furthermore, that the procedure advocated was not legally right to relieve the Provincial Councils from their vested powers. He also feared that placing Bantu education under the jurisdiction of the Native Affairs Department would give the Minister too much power.[85]

Mr. Maree, arguing on the side of the Minister, got involved with Bantu education itself. He stated that the then present system of Bantu education achieved only to destroy the Bantu culture, and to make of the Bantu an imitation Westerner; he quoted to give evidence for his premise from Ojike's book My Africa:

> The missionaries induced us to ape their Western culture in nearly all respects. And what clever apers we Africans have been! . . . The curriculum had little to do with our own history and customs. We were fed stories of English heroes and English traditions. The first biography I learned was Lord Nelson. I mocked my father's religion as "heathen" thinking that this was inferior to the White man's. It will take decades, perhaps a centure, to re-educate the African into holding a proper balance between his culture and that of the West. He has been terribly mis-educated![86]

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[85] Ibid., col. 3598.

[86] Ibid., col. 3613.

This approach of Maree seemed to direct the arguments of the Members in the direction of content for Bantu education relative to Bantu development.

Mrs. Ballinger, a native representative, illustrated her viewpoint by stating that the idea of transference of Bantu education to the Central Government was not new, and had been discussed previously in the 1930's. She insisted that the reason for the Bill was for Bantu education to fit the government policy of apartheid, and this was the fear of the Bantu people.[87] Dr. Jonker, stressed his point that since the Bantu and the White man live in the same country they should be educated to serve each other, and therefore have the same kind of education.[88] He was sure that the argument for mother tongue instruction was only a plan of the government to keep the Bantu out of such employment where English and Afrikaans was needed.[89] Member of the House, Mr. Moore, gave another point of view on the argument of differences. He suggested that there was greater difference between the urban Bantu child and the rural Bantu child than between an urban Bantu child and an urban White

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[87] Ibid., col. 3620-3626.

[88] Ibid., col. 3646.

[89] Ibid., col. 3650.

child. According to his logic, it was not the race difference that mattered but the environmental difference, and the problem to be considered was the lack of teachers; teachers who were able to do their job.[90]

Mr. De Wet Nel, speaking for the government party gave his reasons for the importance of the Bill:

> This Bill is important because . . . it will . . . bridge that disastrous gap which exists between the Bantu and education, between the school and his community. In the future the school will no longer be a strange institution to the native. As a result of this Bill, the native will feel that the school is his own national possession, and he will appreciate the school, and the school will play a real role in the life of the native. We have every right to expect that the native in the future will regard his education in that way, and that that education will permeate practically every facet of Bantu life, so that all spheres of Bantu life will be able to share in the great and beautiful principles of education. . . . Native education will no longer be a loose cog in the life of the Bantu as the position is today, but that native education will be the main cog that native education will be the driving force in the whole development process of the civilizing machinery of the native population.[91]

As the arguments proceeded it was interesting to note that the idea of whether or not the schools should be race segregated never was discussed and apartheid rarely entered the picture. A possible reason

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[90] Ibid., col. 3668.

[91] Ibid., col. 4045.

for this is that segregation of schools in South Africa is the accepted policy of both the major political parties. The main charge brought against the government by the opposition party was that it was legally unconstitutional to take Bantu education from the Provinces. The government party argued for the cultural preservation and development of the Bantu peoples, and a hastening to self-administration.

During the third reading of the Bill, after having gone through the committee stage, the Minister gave a final briefing and produced evidence that the United Party under General Smuts in 1939, after reviewing the 1935 Native Affairs Commission report, desired to transfer Bantu education to the Central government. A memorandum from the Smuts government was read:

> In January 1939 the government contemplated legislation for the transfer of Native education to the Department of Native Affairs and the matter was submitted to the Provincial Consultive Committee.[92]

Literature indicates that this was never followed through, because of interference of the Second World War. But, on September 29, 1953, by a Parliamentary vote of 79:47[93] Bantu Education was transferred directly

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[92] Ibid., col. 4430.

[93] Ibid., col. 4432-4433.

to the Department of Native Affairs of the Union Government to operate under the direction of the Minister of Native Affairs, and any policy-making control of Bantu Education held by the provinces was not transferred to this department of the central government.[94]

Act 47 of 1953: Nationalization of Bantu Education

The Bantu Education Act 47 of 1953 was signed into law by the Governor-General of the Union of South Africa and assented to on October 5, 1953.[95] The Act consists of eighteen sections which are

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[94]1. In this Act, unless the context otherwise indicates--
(ii) "Department" means Department of Native Affairs.
(iv) "Minister" means the Minister of Native Affairs.

2. As from the date of commencement of this act--
(a) the control of native education shall be vested in the Government of the Union subject to the provisions of the Act;
(b) there shall cease to be vested in the executive committee of a province any powers, authorities and functions, and the provincial council of a province shall cease to be competent to make ordinances in relation to native education;

3. It shall be the function of the Department under direction and control of the Minister. . . . (Union of South Africa, Statutes of the Union of South Africa, 1953, Act 47 of 1953, pp. 258-260.

[95]Ibid., p. 238.

briefly summarized as follows:

Section 1 consists of a list of definitions and becomes the glossary of the script of Act 47.[96]

Section 2 transfers the control of native education from the provincial administrations to the Union Government.[97]

Section 3 outlines the function of the Department of Native Affairs and duties of the Minister of Native Affairs.[98]

Sections 4 and 5 provide for the transference of provincial employees involved with Bantu education to the service of the Union Government.[99]

Sections 6, 7 and 8 provide for financial assistance to Bantu community schools, the establishment of government Bantu schools and for financial aid to government approved schools. Schools are approved by the minister.[100]

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[96] Ibid.

[97] Ibid.

[98] Ibid., p. 260.

[99] Ibid.

[100] Ibid., pp. 262-264.

Section 9 makes it impossible for a Bantu school to operate unless it is registered with the government.[101]

Sections 10 and 11 discuss the conditions of appointment and service and retirement benefits of the teachers teaching in government Bantu schools, and also the regulations for the transference of teachers pension funds from the provincial governments to the central government.[102]

Sections 12, 13 and 14 provide for: "active participation by the Bantu people in the control and management of Government Bantu schools"; the transfer of property, movable or immovable, used by the provincial departments of education for native education to the central government; the Minister to "expropriate any land required for the purposes of a Government Bantu school."[103]

Section 15. Paragraph one is quoted in extenso since it deals with the regulatory qualifications of the minister:

> (a) prescribing, subject to the laws governing the public service, the powers and duties of the Secretary and any other officer or employee of the Department in connection with the administration of native education;

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[101] Ibid.

[102] Ibid., pp. 266-268.

[103] Ibid., pp. 268-270.

(b) prescribing the conditions of appointment and service, including the rights, duties and privileges, of teachers in Government Bantu schools;

(c) prescribing a code of discipline for teachers in Government Bantu schools, the punishments which may be imposed for, and the procedure to be followed in connection with, any contravention of or failure to comply with the provisions of such code, and the circumstances in which the services of any such teacher may be terminated;

(d) prescribing courses of training or instruction in Government Bantu schools and the fees, if any, payable in respect of such courses or any examination held by or under the supervision or control of the Department;

(e) prescribing the medium of instruction in Government Bantu schools;

(f) prescribing the conditions governing the establishment, control and maintenance of any hostel, school clinic, or other accessory to a Government Bantu school;

(g) relating to the admission of pupils or students to, the control, and treatment of pupils or students at, and the discharge of pupils or students from, any Government Bantu school;

(h) providing for the medical examination of teachers, pupils of students in Government Bantu schools, including the particulars to be contained in medical certificates;

(i) providing for the control of funds collected for any Government Bantu school;

(j) providing for religious instruction in Government Bantu schools;

(k) prescribing the circumstances in which the suspension or expulsion of any pupil or student from any Government Bantu school may take place or any other punishment may be administered or imposed;

(l) prescribing the conditions under which Bantu community schools may be subsidized or assisted under section six;

(m) providing the the approval of State-aided native schools, under section eight, and prescribing the conditions under which grants-in-aid may be made;

(n) providing for the registration of Bantu community schools or other native schools;

(o) providing for the award of bursaries to Bantu pupils or students and prescribing the conditions under which such bursaries may be awarded;

(p) providing for the establishment of an advisory board or advisory boards on Bantu education for the Union and prescribing the constitution, duties, powers, privileges and functions of such a board and the fees and allowances, if any, payable to any member of a board who is not in the full-time employment of the State;

(q) providing for the constitution, duties, powers, privileges and functions of regional, local and domestic councils, boards or other bodies or the duties, powers, privileges and functions of any Bantu authority or native council to whom the control and management of a Government Bantu school is entrusted and prescribing the fees and allowances, if any, payable to any members thereof who are not in the full-time employment of the State;

(r) providing, subject to the approval of the Minister of Finance, for the establishment and management of a pension or provident fund or scheme for teachers in Government Bantu schools to be administered by the Commissioner of Pensions and prescribing the contributions to be made to such fund or scheme out of moneys appropriated by Parliament and by teachers;

(s) providing generally for any other matter relating to the establishment, maintenance, management and council of Government Bantu schools or which the Minister may deem necessary or expedient to prescribe for achieving the purposes of this

Act, the generality of the powers conferred by this paragraph not being limited by the provisions of the preceding paragraphs.[104]

Section 16 is an amendment of section 85 of the South Africa Act, 1909. It places the words "and native education" after the words "higher education" in paragraph three.

Section 17 repealed the Native Education Finance Act, 1945 (Act No. 29 of 1945).

Section 18 gave the title to the new Act: Bantu Education Act, 1953.

On the 12th of May, 1959, an amendment to the Bantu Education Act, 1953 was assented to and signed by the Governor-General. This amendment known as the Bantu Education Amendment Act, 1959, in section one, authorized the separation of the department of Native Education from the department of Native Affairs and formed it into an independent department with cabinet status.[106] Since this enactment all education

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[104] Ibid., p. 207.

[105] Ibid., p. 276.

[106] Union of South Africa, Act to Amend the Bantu Education Act, 1953, no. 33/1959, p. 1.

for the Bantu in South Africa is governed by the Department of Bantu Education of the central government.[107]

## General Critiques of the Parliamentary Debates and Bantu Education Act 47 of 1953

Carter, in reviewing the debates in Parliament and the Bantu Education Act 47 of 1953, proceeds with a rather insightful conclusion:

> The fundamental issue was the role of the African in South African life and how to fit him for it. Here the Nationalists themselves desired two conflicting goals: The development of the South African economy, which necessarily demanded African labor above the unskilled level, and the development of the Reserves in a tribal tradition. The opposition feared that the Bantu Education Act would be used to hamper, if not ultimately prevent, the first objective. At the same time, the United Party (opposition party) had sympathy with the second purpose, provided it did not lead to the sacrifice of the first one. Thus, the difference between the United Party and the Nationalists was a combination of factors: Whether to weigh most heavily the urbanized or the tribalized African; whether continuity of administration in the schools was important enough to outweigh giving the African community a more decisive role; whether the traditional mission and provincial supervision of African education would not have the interest of the Bantu more at heart than the Department of Native Affairs.[108]

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[107] Ibid.

[108] Carter, G. M., The Politics of Inequality in South Africa Since 1948, 1958, pp. 105-106.

At the time of passage of the Bantu Education Act fear and concern were expressed by some teachers and religious organizations.[109] There were those who felt that the Act would become a legal means for the government to incorporate a slave system, and others said it would place emphasis on preparing pupils for a subordinate role in the country's life and not give them a western culture.[110] There were also those who predicted it would lead the Bantu to demand higher wages if he were called upon to help support his own educational system.[111] The Dutch Reformed Churches, however, were in full agreement with the government's plan and willingly transferred their mission schools to the government.[112] The Methodist Church, during the parliamentary debates demonstrated its fears about the Act and the "new" Bantu Educational system, but, after observing that some of the fears were not being realized, proceeded to give the government's experiment a fair chance.[113] Some schools continued as they had before; the Seventh-day Adventists who never had requested government subsidies, and the Roman Catholic Church who

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[109] Ibid., p. 106.

[110] Ibid.

[111] Ibid.

[112] Ibid.

[113] Ibid.

decided to finance its own schools.[114]

It becomes rather apparent, as one studies the literature, that there was an antagonistic feeling within the churches against the Bantu Education Act at the time of its outset. This attitude arose from the fact that financial bankrupcy now stared many previously subsidized church schools in the face. Those who depended most on government financial-aid were the bitterest while those who were, and who could be, independent from government aid apparently accepted the new changes in Bantu education as a challenge. As to what authorities said about the new syllabus for Bantu education after its installation, Carter comments:

> The most important changes from the former provincial syllabi were the increase of mother-tongue instruction and the allocation of more time to Afrikaans. History, geography, and civics were grouped together in a single subject called 'environment studies'. Religious instruction was allotted even more time than previously. P. A. Moore, the United Party expert on education, declared that there was 'nothing inferior' about this new syllabus, and other authorities agreed it was 'quite reasonable'. The Institute of Race Relations similarly found the syllabus educationally sound although it felt more time should have been devoted to health and hygiene. It also drew attention to the need for thorough teacher training and refresher courses. An African teacher pointed out that to introduce both English and Afrikaans so early in the syllabus would crowd other subjects. . . . On the whole, however,

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[114] Ibid.

the comments on the new syllabus showed that one of the major causes of concern about the Bantu Education Act had been successfully met.[115]

It is also significant to note that the inconsequential boycotts by the African National Congress, whose president then was Albert Lethuli, against Act 47 of 1953 was planned prior to the issuing of the draft syllabi for the schools.[116] The failure of these boycotts weakened and lowered the status of the African National Congress but apparently strengthened the position of the Department of Native Affairs in its job of implementing the Bantu educational system. As the Department proceeded to place its plans into operation it found that in order to make Bantu education effectual, Bantu education needed to stand alone as an independent department.

## Implementation of the National Bantu Education System

The implementation of this newly structured system of Bantu education called for many new plans of administrative reorganization. On October 20, 1958, the new Department of Bantu Education established by parliamentary vote (Bantu Education Amendment Act, 1959) gave the Minister of Bantu Education legislative and policy-making duties in the

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[115] Ibid., p. 108; see appendix D.

[116] Ibid.

realm of Bantu Education.[117] Figure 5 indicates the division of duties within the Department of Bantu Education, each office functioning directly under the Minister.[118]

The deputy-secretary, assisted by two under-secretaries, takes care of the general management of the Department of Bantu Education with each under-secretary assuming different responsibilities, one the professional area of education and the other the administration.[119] The professional division is subdivided into two departments; one is an advisory division and the other an administrative division for professional services. The professional advisory division is responsible for: general planning, language research,[120] psychological and guidance service[121]

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[117]See Figure 5. The organization of the Department of Bantu Education; The source material used to construct this chart is found in the following reference: Republic of South Africa, B.E. 221/61, op. cit.

[118]See Figure 5.

[119]Republic of South Africa, B.E. 221/61, op. cit., p. 8.

[120]"The activities of this section comprises the revision and formulation of orthographies, the creation of suitable subject terminology where necessary, as well as the preparation of publications in the Bantu languages. The Department furthermore encourages publishers by means of a subsidy scheme to publish class books in the different languages." (Ibid., p. 13)

[121]"An inspector-psychologist is in charge of this section. He is assisted by a number of Bantu testing officers, is responsible for the conducting of standardized scholastic, intelligence and prognostic tests.

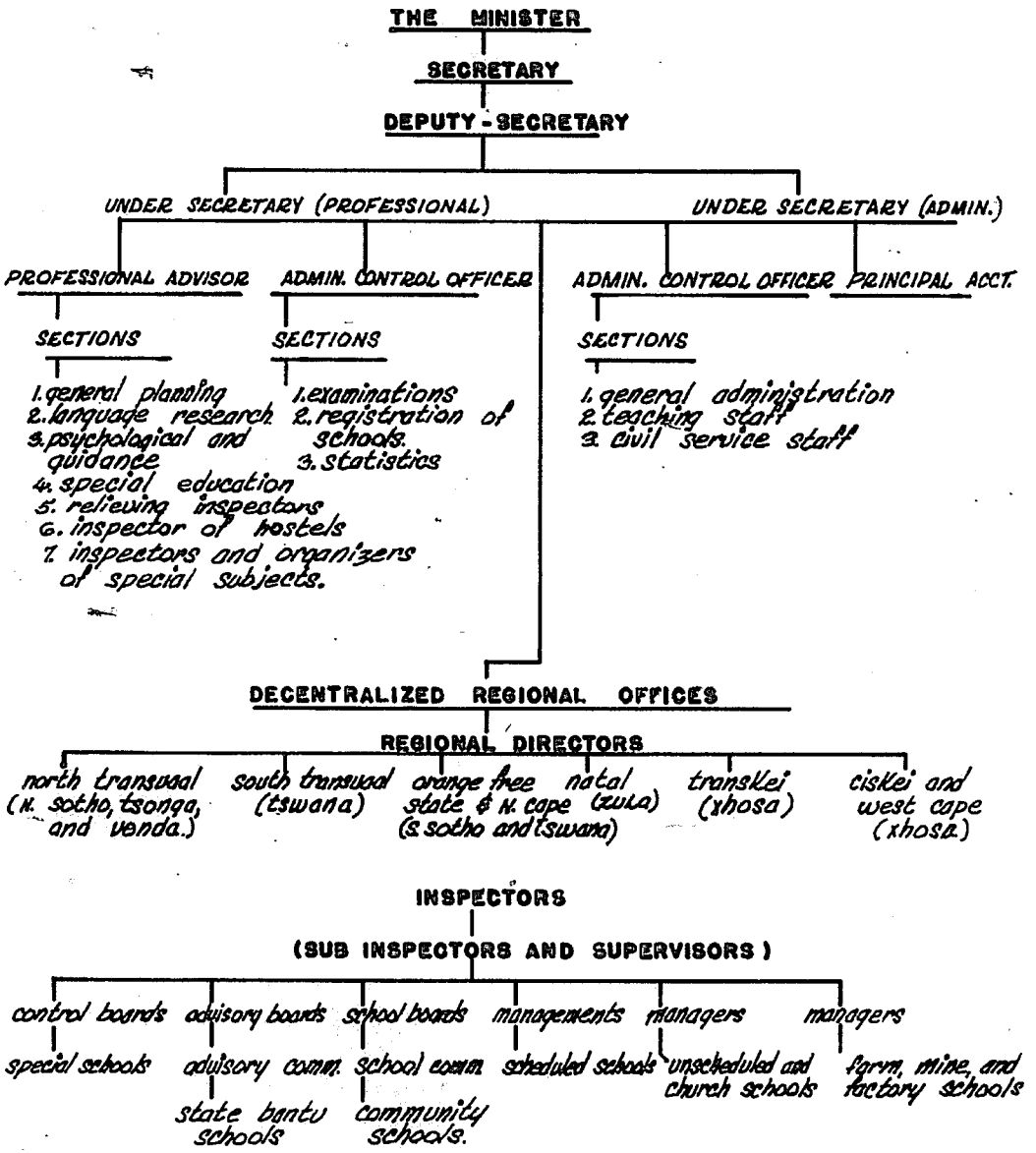


**FIGURE 5. ORGANIZATION OF DEPARTMENT OF BANTU EDUCATION**

with an inspector psychologist, special education[122] with its inspectors of special education, relieving staff of inspectors, staff of inspectors for hostels, and staffs of inspectors and organizers for special subjects.[123]

The other subdivision, the professional administrative office, is responsible for three sections of administration: (1) the examinations section which directs the program of external examinations; (2) registration of schools; and (3) the statistics service of the department, which accumulates, files and supplies the department with statistics on the growth and development of Bantu education in the Republic.

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The results of these tests are processed and interpreted, and then made available to the teachers. This section . . . also undertakes research in the field of vocational guidance and gives guidance to teachers in this respect." (Ibid.)

[122]"Special education . . .
(1) Special teachers' courses . . .
(2) Courses for the sons of Chiefs and Headman . . .
(3) Education for the physically handicapped Bantu children . . . the deaf and the blind . . .
(4) Vocational training course . . . special schools candidates may choose one of the following: Concreting, Bricklaying and Plastering; Cabinetmaking and Joinery; Plumbing and Sheetmetal Work; General Mechanics; Leatherwork and Upholstery; Electricians and House Wiring; Tailoring." (Ibid., pp. 11-12.)

[123]The special subjects are: "Religious instruction, vocational and technical education, arts and crafts, agriculture, music and singing, homecrafts and needlework and woodwork. The inspectorate advises, the Department, gives guidance and counsel to teachers, and does in inspection of the various subjects." (Ibid., pp. 8, 13.)

The under-secretary of the administration, as shown in Figure 5, is responsible for two subdivisions: the administrative control, and accounts and stores. The subdivision of administrative control consists of three sections: (1) general administration, (2) teaching staff, salaries and appointments, and (3) the civil service clerical staff.[124]

Although the system of Bantu education is highly centralized, provision is made for the decentralization of its powers, duties, and functions; the pattern for this decentralization is based on ethnic differences and local community circumstances.[125] Under the supervision of both under-secretaries of Bantu education are six regional offices.[126] These regional offices are spotted throughout the Republic of South Africa, each serving specific ethnic groups.[127] In the Northern Transvaal the regional office services the Northern Sotho, Tsonga, and Venda peoples; in the Southern Transvaal it serves mainly the Tawana tribe; in the Orange Free State and Northern Cape the needs of the Southern Sotho and Tawana are met; the Natal office serves the Zulu nation; and that in the Transkei the

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[124]Figure 5.

[125]Republic of South Africa, B.E. 221/61, op. cit., p. 8.

[126]Ibid., p. 5.

[127]Ibid.

Xhosas; and in the Ciskei and Western Cape the regional office serves the Xhosas who reside in that area.[128]

Each regional education office has its own director, a qualified individual (European) who directs a team of educators in his region. These teams of educators consist of the special subject organizers and the school inspectors who in turn direct teams of sub-inspectors (Bantu) and supervisors (Bantu) for the region.[129] All these personnel officers of the regional education office are trained professional educators.[130] The school inspectors, sub-inspectors and supervisors now become responsible for education on a local level.[131] The inspectors with the other regional officers not only supervise and inspect the schools, but supply educational leadership and direction to: the control boards that direct the functions of special schools at a local level;[132] the advisory boards and committees that direct the state Bantu schools; and the local school boards and committees that control the local community schools.[133]

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[128] Ibid.

[129] Ibid., p. 15.

[130] Ibid., p. 5.

[131] See Figure 5.

[132] Republic of South Africa, B.E. 221/61, op. cit., p. 8-13.

[133] "State Bantu schools are controlled direct by the Department and

Counsel and direction is also given those managements and managers who are responsible for the scheduled schools; unaided or unsubsidized church schools; and farm, mine, and factory schools.[134] This elaborate

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are fully subsidized. A number of teacher training schools, secondary and vocational training schools, as well as a few schools situated on Government-owned property, fall under this category.

Community schools are subsidized by the Government in respect of teachers' salaries, buildings and equipment, but fall under the local supervision of Bantu school committees consisting of seven to eleven members. A group of community schools within any particular area and language group, having common interests, are controlled by a Bantu school board consisting of ten members. Seven-tenths of all schools qualify at present for this category and they are attended by 80 per cent of the total school population." (Ibid., p. 9.)

[134]"Farm, mine and factory schools are established by the owners of farms, mines and factories respectively on their properties for the benefit of the children of their bona fide employees. These schools receive financial aid from the Department and the owner or his authorized representative acts as manager of the school.

Scheduled schools include a small number of schools which have not yet been classified, e.g. Santa (T.B center) and hospital schools, and which for purposes of and administration control are managed by approved bodies or persons.

Unaided schools, i.e. schools which receive no subsidies from the State.

There are a number of private schools in each region which are registered with the Department but receive no subsidy. These include the remaining mission schools (mainly Roman Catholic and Seventh-day Adventist) as well as a small number of private community schools which are waiting approval for subsidy. All private schools are controlled and financed by their owners.

system not only attempts to bring education to the masses of all ethnic groups, but also gives professional and administrative opportunities to the Bantu within the organization of the system.

The reorganization of the educational system also involved changes in its financial structure. South Africa Act 47 of 1953 repealed the old Finance Act of 1945,[135] and a new financial scheme was installed whereby Bantu education required that certain monies come from the Bantu themselves, and the balance from the consolidated revenue or general revenue funds.[136] The proportionate responsibility in existence at the present stands at R13,000,000 (one Rand equals one dollar and thirty-five cents, approximately) annually from consolidated revenue plus eighty per cent of the direct general taxation paid by the Bantu themselves.[137] During the first eight years in which the post-1954 system of Bantu education

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Schools boards are authorized to establish evening schools and continuation classes at community schools, thereby giving Bantu adults an opportunity to receive education. These schools are mostly self-supporting and candidates enter privately for departmental examinations.

All schools, irrespective of their category, must register with the Department, follow the departmental syllabuses and are subject to inspection by the official inspectorate." (Ibid., pp. 9-10.)

[135]Union of South Africa, Statutes of the Union of South Africa 1953, Article 17, p. 276.

[136]"Education for the Bantu of South Africa," op. cit.

[137]Ibid.

was in existence, R160,000,000 was expended on Bantu education--more than twice the amount spent on Bantu education prior to 1954.[138] It appears, now, from the literature studied that there is much evidence to indicate that education for the Bantu in South Africa has enjoyed continued growth and progress since the inception of the national educational system for the Bantu.

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[138] Ibid.

# CHAPTER V

## SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The major problem of this study was to determine the factors of the movements and influences in the development of the national Bantu educational system (post-1954). In proceeding with the study it became necessary to secure data from: a review of the available literature on Bantu education; personal interviews with educators of comparative education, U. S. Office of Education officials, and South African embassy officials; and by corresponding with Whites and Bantu in South Africa.

The major aspects of this study were the development of elementary and secondary Bantu education from 1652 to 1954 and the evolution of the South African multiracial society as it related to education.

### Summary

For centuries South Africa basked under sunny skies preparing its plains and valleys as a place of habitation for its new and different peoples. The Dutch settled at the Cape in 1652 and one hundred years later, while moving north in exploration of Southern Africa, made contact with the southerly migrating Bantu. The early contacts between Black and White were not always peaceful; however, after many years of social

contact and exchange of cultural influences their relationship today is amicable. These races make up the basic components of the multiracial nation now residing in South Africa.

Not only did the early Dutch settlers seek a new country, but were dedicated to the task of bringing Christianity to the "heathen" aborigines of Southern Africa. Missionaries also entered South Africa during the time of its early settlement. They found that in order to bring Christianity to the natives it became necessary to educate them; thus education became the tool for the Christianization of the natives (Bantu) in South Africa.

The country developed through varied trials by experiencing many social and political changes. The early Dutch government of the Cape colony established in 1652 was replaced by a British colonial government in 1806 out of which there emerged a responsible form of government. Finally in 1910 when the Natal, Transvaal, Cape and Free State were unified, the country became a dominion within the British Empire and was known as the Union of South Africa. Presently, South Africa is known as the Republic of South Africa. As the country developed and changed in political ideologies, so its programs for the Bantu peoples changed with corresponding developments in Bantu education.

Bantu education before 1910, which was controlled by the

missionary and sometimes subsidized by the governments, did not insist upon mother-tongue instruction and the curriculum consisted mainly of courses in reading, writing, agriculture, and religion. This type of educational work by the missionary continued through the time of the Transvaal and Orange Free State Republics. After the signing of the peace treaty of Boer War in 1902, the provinces administered Bantu education differently but all showed a definite interest in Bantu education from the provincial level. At the time of Union in 1910, education for the Bantu was officially placed, through provisions in the South Africa Act, under the direction of the four provinces--Transvaal, Orange Free State, Natal, and Cape. Each province administered teacher training programs for the Bantu and even established Bantu public schools, but continued to supervise the missionary schools. The provinces completely subsidized Bantu education up to 1925, when the Native Development Fund was incorporated by the central government to assist with the financing of Bantu education. Bantu education became: government financed, province supervised and missionary directed. This arrangement was unique. It is very apparent that each religious organization followed its own methods to attain its objectives for the Christianization of the Bantu and at the same time give the Bantu child an education.

The curricula of the colonial Bantu educational system (pre-1954)

were much like that of the White schools. The elementary school curriculum consisted of eight grades which were equally divided into two parts, the lower primary and the higher primary. After successfully completing the elementary school the pupil could gain entrance to the high school or trade school which followed the syllabus used for the Whites. Parents had no responsible local control, schools were inadequate, many teachers were untrained, and compulsory attendance was not a requirement. The Bantu people themselves, as well as educators, demonstrated much unhappiness with the kind of education provided for their young.

In 1932 the Native Economic Commission reported to the South African government suggesting it set up a committee for the study of Bantu education. A Commission was appointed on the 19th of January, 1949, under the directorship of Dr. W. W. M. Eiselen, and met for the first time on February 10, 1949. After an extensive research on the history and development of the Bantu culture in South Africa and in other African countries the Commission made its report. The most significant outcomes of the Commission's work were: (1) it established a child-centered philosophy for Bantu education which had nationalistic leanings and (2) it structured a new system of Bantu education that was culturally based but becomes identical to the White system at the matriculation level. It

stated that Bantu education should be taken away from the provincial governments and placed under the direction of the Native Affairs Department of the central government, thus centralizing Bantu education. 'The Commission in reporting that Bantu education should be based on the cultural heritage of the Bantu society evidenced its viewpoint that education should be employed to raise the Bantu status level, not by imposing Western civilization upon the Bantu culture but by allowing the Bantu society to progress toward full development through education in terms of its own culture.

The proposed Bantu educational system according to the Eiselen Commission is as follows: The primary school, covering an eight-year period, is divided into two equal divisions making up the lower primary division and the higher primary division. The vernacular or mother tongue is used as a medium of instruction in the primary school, which according to Eiselen facilitated the learning process for the child. The primary school syllabus includes handicraft, environmental studies, local geography, and South African and Bantu history in addition to the usual arithmetic, writing, reading, music, physical education, Afrikaans, English, vernacular, nature study, and religion.

After the completion of primary school the pupil may enter one of five kinds of schools. These schools are: the academic junior high

school, commercial junior high school, technical junior high school, vocational school, and the chieftain school. The junior high schools cover a three-year period, and the senior high school a two-year period. Examinations at the end of the senior high school are set by an external examining body, the education department, as are the final examinations in the junior high school, the commercial junior high school, and the technical junior high school. Along with the other schools is the chieftain school, a high school established to provide special training for the sons of chiefs. Five years of high school education are normally provided in the chieftain school and one additional year qualifies the student to sit for the university entrance matriculation examination.

This proposed Bantu system of education was used as a basis for the parliamentary debate which ensued when the Bill for transference of Bantu education to the Department of Native Affairs was introduced by Minister Verwoerd in 1953. There was much debate, but on October 5, 1953 the Bantu Education Act 47 of 1953 was signed into law. On October 20, 1958 Parliament voted to take Bantu education out of the Department of Native Affairs to form the Department of Bantu Education with cabinet status. This action of Parliament was assented to and signed by the Governor General on May 12, 1959.

At the time of its inception the Bantu Education Act 47 of 1953

was criticized by many church groups and even by some of the Bantu themselves. As some of the fears against the system were not realized, and as the Bantu discovered the plans of the government for the education of their young by observing its implementation and progress, there was more and more acceptance of the system. Today more than twice as much has been spent on Bantu education since 1954 than was spent through all the years previous to that date.

## Conclusion

From the study of the evolution and development of Bantu education in South Africa it becomes clear that out of the forming of the multiracial society with its different cultures there was a distinct influence of one culture upon the other. It appears that the White culture had a greater influence upon the tribal cultures than the tribal cultures had upon the White culture. The White culture shared its religious beliefs thereby Christianizing the Bantu. The White man recorded and made of the spoken Bantu language a written language. He assisted the Bantu in producing vernacular literature, prose and poetry. Furthermore, from attempts to share his educational practices with his Bantu neighbors both groups gained much understanding of each other's culture.

A description of the Colonial Bantu educational system evokes

the following conclusions:

1. From its beginnings (1652) to 1954 the Bantu educational system appears to have had a lack of defined objectives with respect to curriculum and administration; its evolutionary development was haphazard, except that it was purposed to give the Bantu some kind of education primarily for Christianization.

2. The educational thinking found within the colonial system did not appear to have been child-centered or Bantu-centered. It certainly was not an educational system for the Bantu populace.

3. One does, however, get the impression that regardless of what the colonial Bantu educational system accomplished or did not accomplish there apparently was a sincere desire on the part of those involved with the education of the aborigines to do their 'best' for the education of the Bantu young.

A further expression of this attitude is observed through the work done for the Bantu after 1954 and is evidenced in the evolutionary development of national Bantu educational system. In conclusion, one may observe that after scientific evaluation of Bantu development and the colonial system of education the authors of the national education system felt it a moral obligation to make of Bantu education:

1. a culturally based system, thereby attempting to make it a

national institution;

2. a child-centered education;

3. a system designed to fit the needs of the Bantu child growing up in a developing Bantu society;

4. a system designed around the usage of the mother tongue as the medium of instruction which, it was believed, would facilitate better learning.

The formulation of the national Bantu educational system appears to be a conscious attempt by its proponents to meet those inadequacies observed by them in the colonial Bantu educational system.

# APPENDIX

## APPENDIX

A. Questionnaire on Native Education (U.G. 53/1951). Questionnaire used by the Eiselen Commission.

1. What do you consider should be the guiding principles and aims of Native education?
2. Is it correct to regard the Native as a separate and independent race?
3. What do you understand by the "racial characteristics" of the Native?
4. What are the special qualities and aptitudes of the Native?
5. In what way has the social heritage of the Native been determined by the characteristics referred to above?
6. What do you consider the most important changes at present taking place in the social conditions of the Native?
7. In terms of your answers to questions 1-6, please give seriatim, your views on the manner in which these factors should determine the principles and objectives of Native education.
8. Referring to Item 2 of the terms of reference, what do you understand by the "future careers" of the Native in South Africa?
9. (1) What do you consider the chief defects of the present system of--
   (a) primary schools;
   (b) secondary schools;
   (c) industrial schools;
   (d) teacher training colleges; and
   (e) university training.

   (2) What measures do you suggest for effecting the necessary changes with special reference to the content and form of the syllabuses?

   (3) To what extent do these measures agree with the general principles you have recommended in answers to questions 1-7 above?
10. What, in your opinion, should be the place and nature of religious education in the curriculum?
11. What, in your opinion, should be the place and nature of manual training in Native schools, especially with regard to--
    (1) the use the Native, after leaving school, makes of his manual training; and
    (2) the transfer of skills acquired in school to the Native

community?

12. Do you regard the organization of the present--
    (1) primary schools;
    (2) secondary schools;
    (3) industrial schools;
    (4) teacher training colleges;
    (5) university training
    as satisfactory, considered from the viewpoint of--
        (a) selection and admission of pupils;
        (b) co-ordination of schools;
        (c) duration of complete school courses;
        (d) the role which these courses are called upon to play in the life of the Native:
        (e) school attendance;
        (f) the school calendar;
        (g) examinations;
        (h) qualifications, race and sex of teachers;
        (i) methods;
        (j) inspection;
        (k) boarding facilities.

13. Is the administration of the present--
    (1) primary schools;
    (2) secondary schools;
    (3) industrial schools;
    (4) teacher training colleges; and
    (5) university training
    satisfactory considered from the viewpoint of--
        (a) the establishment of schools;
        (b) the effective distribution of schools;
        (c) local control of schools;
        (d) control of teachers (conditions of service and discipline);
        (e) provision of school requisites;
        (f) buildings;
        (g) fees;
        (h) procedure for the payment of teachers.

14. What is your opinion concerning the control of schools by the provincial education departments, bearing in mind--
    (1) the desirability or otherwise of uniformity of practice, regulations and syllabuses;
    (2) the geographic and ethnic distribution of the Native peoples;

(3) differences between the provinces in respect of pensions leave privileges, school requisites, etc.

15. What are your views as to the basis on which Native education should be financed, having regard to the share which the Administration (Union and Provincial), the churches or missionary societies, and the Native himself should have therein?

16. What are your views concerning the following points which may have been dealt with incidentally under previous headings, but which seem to merit specific attention:--
    (1) Adult education.
    (2) The desirability of differentiating between the education given in different areas (Native reserves, rural areas and urban areas).
    (3) The education and preparation of chiefs and leaders.
    (4) Continuation study facilities for teachers, including libraries.
    (5) The desirability of differentiating Government, community, tribal and church schools in regard to subsidies.
    (6) Compulsory education in general or in specified areas.
    (7) The training of Natives to occupy responsible positions in their own communities.
    (8) The co-ordination of work of an educational nature carried out by State departments (e.g. Health, Native Affairs, Social Welfare, Justice).
    (9) The education of leaders and the task of the university in this respect.
    (10) The use of the mother tongue as medium of instruction.
    (11) The future role of Native languages in education and in the community.
    (12) The possible grouping or amalgamation of Native languages.
    (13) The place of the official languages in the Native school curriculum.
    (14) The relapse into illiteracy--its incidence and prevention.

17. Any other matters you wish to raise.[1]

B. In Extenso Summary of Paragraphs 846 and 848 to 887 of the Report

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[1]Union of South Africa, Report of the Commission on Native Education, 1949-1951, U.G. 53/1951), p. 182.

(U.G. 53/1951).

846. In connection with the following setting-out we refer to Diagram F in which the various types of schools are indicated which we consider necessary for Bantu education. At the same time the approximate age groups which are to be served by the various groups are also given.

Pre-School Education (Ages 1 to 6 Years)

848. In view of the serious need for education facilities of the most elementary nature for children of school age which are still unsatisfied, your Commission is of the opinion that the expansion of this service should be continued only with the utmost circumspection and be confined to the large urban areas.

849. We are satisfied that the present policy of State-aid to these schools, as well as the part which religious bodies, and municipalities should play, call for careful investigation.

850. In order to put this service on a sound basis and to co-ordinate it with the other needs of Bantu development, your Commission recommends that all creches and nursery schools should fall under the proposed Department of Bantu Education, and that special attention be devoted to the following matters of policy in conjunction with the Bantu Local Authority:--

(a) The effective distribution of such schools.
(b) Approval of bodies, and conditions governing the erection and maintenance of such schools.
(c) Proper control-measures in respect of the size of the schools, buildings, staff, facilities, conditions of admission of children, school fees and inspection.
(d) The training and service conditions of teachers so as to make adequate provision for the particular requirements of Bantu infants.
(e) The participation of parents in the local management of schools.
(f) The subsidization of the schools.

## Lower Primary Schools (Ages 7-10 Years)

851. These schools would concentrate on the tool subjects (three R's) and would to a large extent cover the work at present done in the Sub-standards and in Standards I and II. Promotion would be automatic provided an adequate attendance by the pupil can be shown (say at least 150 attendances during the school year). Admission would be limited in each class to a number of pupils with which the teacher could cope satisfactorily. It should be emphasized that the ideal to be aimed at in these schools should be that every pupil admitted to Sub-standard A will remain in school until he or she has completed Standard II. Some means should therefore be devised by the authorities whereby, while admissions will remain voluntary, attendance could be made compulsory. In one of the territories north of the Union the parents enter into a contract to send the pupil, once he or she is enrolled, to attend school regularly for the next four years; breach of this contract is subject to penalties.

852. At the end of the lower primary school course pupils should be tested in order to determine whether they have made sufficient progress to be able to benefit by the following course.

853. While the main purpose of the lower primary school should be, as indicated, the acquiring of the technical skills of reading, writing and number work, a beginning should be made with the teaching of at least one official language on a purely utilitarian basis, i.e. as a medium of oral expression of thought to be used in contacts with the European section of the population. Manipulation skills should be developed and where possible an interest in the soil and in the observation of natural phenomena stimulated. Recreational subjects emphasizing self-activity would naturally have a place in the curriculum and a carefully graded scheme of religious instruction suitable to the pupils' stage of mental development should be taught. Practical hygiene should also be impressed on the pupils.

## Higher Primary Schools (Age 11-14 Years)

854. For the first two years in these schools education should continue along the lines laid down for the lower school. The pupils' interest in subjects such as history and geography should now be developed. Teaching of one official language should include reading and writing of simple letters and a beginning might be made with the teaching of the second official language on a practical and oral basis. Other subjects in the lower school may be further developed and increased attention should be given to the teaching of manipulative skills and (where possible) gardening and agriculture.

855. After completion of the Standard IV stage (average age 12 years) a careful study of the pupil's aptitudes should enable the teacher, in consultation with the Inspector of Schools, to determine whether the pupil concerned would benefit by a continuation of the more academic education or whether his education for the following two years should have a more practical basis.

856. At this stage, therefore, two classes will be formed, one with a more academic and the other with a more vocational bias. It should be clearly understood that manipulative skills and agriculture will still be taught in the academic classes and academic subjects in the classes with a vocational bias, but the proportion of time spent on subjects would vary according to the nature of the bias given to the syllabus proposed. In practice it would probably mean that while the academic group would devote two-thirds of their time to academic and one-third to practical subjects, the position in the vocational group would be reversed to one-third for academic and two-thirds for vocational subjects.

857. At the end of the higher primary school course two Standard VI examinations will be conducted, one with an academic, the other with a vocational bias.

858. Possession of either certificate would entitle a pupil to proceed to any of the post primary courses provided by the Department, though the natural assumption would be that the pupil

with academic bias would enter high, polytechnic or training schools, while the pupil with vocational bias would find his way into vocational schools.

## High Schools (Ages 15-19 Years)

859. The High School course would, for the present, take five years. This would consist of a training period of three years ending with the Junior Certificate, and a further two years ending with the Matriculation or Senior Certificate Examination.

860. The concensus of opinion seems to be that the average Bantu pupil after passing Standard VI requires an extra year to reach the standard of knowledge demanded by the Junior Certificate examination. It would appear to us that the almost exclusive use of a foreign language as medium of instruction in the secondary school is largely responsible for this retardation.

861. In the Junior Certificate Examination provision should be made for a number of optional subjects. At this stage it might be useful to limit the choice to (a) an academic course (b) a course with vocational bias.

862. The academic course would be taken by those students who intend--

(a) to secure at the Senior Certificate stage a matriculation exemption enabling them to proceed to a university;
(b) to proceed to a training school after completion of the Junior Certificate Examination to secure a teacher's certificate;
(c) to enter a polytechnic school to quality for admission to the civil service or for clerical and administrative work in commerce and industry.

863. The course with vocational or technical bias would be provided for such students as had followed a similar course in the primary school. It would lead to more advance work in vocational schools of which the ultimate aim would be the production of artisans of various types (e.g. carpenters, masons, tailors,

mechanics). It would also secure admission to the training schools with a view to training teachers for the practical subjects.

864. The two-year matriculation course would similarly offer the two alternative courses, academic and vocational (or technical).

865. The academic course should be so arranged that it would provide a matriculation exemption to successful candidates who wish to proceed to a university or to take a post matriculation course of teacher training for teaching in high, secondary and higher primary schools.

866. The technical course would not grant matriculation exemption but would qualify the successful candidate to proceed to post-matriculation teacher training with a view to teaching vocational and technical subjects in higher primary, secondary and high schools. It would also secure admission to post-matriculation technical training of post-matriculation standard.

## Training Schools

867. In these schools the following training courses should be provided:--

Bantu Primary Lower Certificate.--A three-year course of training, the entrance qualification being a Standard VI Certificate. The syllabus for the first year should be largely academic, but an introductory course in the methods of teaching might be introduced. Every effort should be made to weed out unsuitable students at this stage.

868. The courses in the second and third years should aim at producing a teacher who can be employed more particularly in the lower primary schools. Great emphasis should therefore be placed on the principles and methods of teaching the "tool" subjects in their initial stages.

869. Bantu Primary Higher Certificate.--This would be a two-year course after Junior Certificate, and would aim largely at training the teachers necessary for the higher primary school. In the first year the general principles and methods of education would be taught but in the second year there would be some specialization in so far as females would have to be trained specially for the work in Standards III and IV while males would normally be trained for teaching the upper classes (V and VI). The latter group should also receive special training in organization and school management.

870. A specialized third year course must be offered in certain training schools. Such course might include: Language teaching; history and geography, handicrafts, physical training, agriculture, and, for women, needlework and domestic science.

## Post-Matriculation Teacher Training

871. These students will be trained in a separate post-graduate diploma course or a course connected with a degree to provide the staff required for secondary and high schools. Such courses might be conducted by existing universities and colleges, which cater specially for Bantu students, with a subsidy from the Department of Bantu Education. The possibility of establishing a number of institutions especially for this purpose merits consideration.

## Vocational Schools

872. These schools have in the past been started and conducted by various bodies interested in Bantu education, with or without subsidy from the Education Departments.

873. Little attention was paid to the demand for the types of artisans trained, with the result that much money has been wasted in training artisans who can find no employment as such and gradually drift into other spheres of labour. Your Commission

is of the opinion that the Department of Bantu Education should in future provide these facilities and that as a first step a careful survey should be made of the actual and potential avenues of employment for the products of such vocational schools. Under Union control uniform standards of admission could be applied and a uniform course of instruction be drawn up. Students could also be diverted more easily to courses offering more ready employment.

874. Agricultural schools should be established in close collaboration with the Department of Bantu Technical Services to ensure a course which would fit the students to play a part not only as agricultural demonstrators but also as foremen or handymen on farms and as independent agriculturists in the reserves and on Trust land.

## Polytechnic Schools

875. The main purpose of these schools would be to give the Bantu student the necessary training to enable him to enter various avenues of employment in the civil service and in commerce and industry, thereby diverting from the teaching profession numbers of those who enter it simply because there is no other avenue of employment open to them. The establishment of these schools should be preceded by a thorough exploration of the possibilities of employment in clerical and administrative work by Bantu youths with a Junior or Senior Certificate. Once the potential demand has been determined syllabi could be drawn up which would produce the desired product.

## Other Forms of Post-Matriculation Education

876. All types of post-matriculation training, even though this be undertaken by universities or university colleges, should be planned in conjunction with the development plans. For this reason the subsidization of these institutions should be undertaken

and controlled by the Department of Bantu Education, which will be responsible for the effective spending of public funds.

877. Specialized forms of Bantu education, which should be subsidized and conducted by the Department or some other body to which it has delegated its powers, are dealt with in the following paragraphs:--

## In-Service Training

878. Your Commission feels very strongly that one of the great weaknesses of Bantu education lies in the fact that the Bantu teacher, having completed his course of training, is launched into a community where intellectual contacts are few and far between. He falls into a rut and soon forgets a lot of what he has been taught at the training school. The obvious cure would be a system of refresher courses and in-service training which would be compulsory for every teacher for a fixed period, and which would be recognized as ordinary service. These courses should be included functionally in the education system by the introduction of three efficiency barriers in the salary scale. To progress beyond such a barrier a teacher would have to attend a special course for from four to six weeks and pass an ad hoc examination. Such in-service training examinations should be conducted by the regional education authorities, but particulars with regard to the nature and duration of the courses should be determined by the Examinations Committee and Research Division of the Bantu Department of Education.

## Continuation Classes and Adult Education

879. Except for a few attempts by municipalities and welfare bodies, financed by the Departments of Union Education and Social Welfare, little has hitherto been done in this field. Local and Regional Authorities should conduct a careful survey of the position, enquire into the needs and should where it

appears necessary subsidize and control the schools established for this purpose. In this connection the aforementioned authorities will ensure that the available funds are not applied wastefully but that efficient methods, which have been specially developed for adult education, are employed.

## Special Schools

880. There is but little provision at present for the education of physical deviates amongst the Bantu. We would recommend strongly that institutions be established in the larger centres of the Bantu population and in the Reserves which would provide for the education of the blind, the deaf and dumb, cripples and epileptics.

881. Regarding the education of mentally deviate Bantu children practically nothing has so far been done. This matter, together with all its implications requires further investigation. (See the Report of the Committee appointed to enquire into this matter.)

## Reformatories and Institutions Under The Children's Act

882. With the increasing incidence of juvenile delinquency among the Bantu population it is a matter of urgency that further provision should be made for the education of juvenile behaviour deviates, if possible, before they have clashed with the law. For juvenile delinquents extended facilities should be provided for effective rehabilitation to prevent them being sent to gaol where it is obviously a more difficult task to train them as useful citizens.

883. Your Commission recommends that all institutions functioning under the Children's Act (No. 31 of 1937), should be brought under the Union Department of Bantu Education. This will include hostels and places of safe custody at present falling under the Department of Social Welfare.

## Volunteer Camp Training Centres

884. We wish to advocate strongly the institution of a system of volunteer camp training centres more or less on the lines of the special service battalion and the old Physical Training Brigade to cope with large numbers of normal children, who for one reason or another have left school early, or have never been to school but who are still too young to find permanent employment. It is felt that application for admission to these camps should be voluntary, but that pupils seeking admission must be prepared to remain in such camps for a prescribed period. The aim of such camps should be--

(a) to improve the educational qualifications of such pupils;
(b) to teach them to earn their living with their hands;
(c) to give guidance to pupils in regard to the types of employment for which they are suited and the avenues open to them; and
(d) to provide a reservoir of skilled and semi-skilled labour for prospective employers.

## Private Schools (Not Subsidized By The Government)

885. Your Commission would point out that quite a number of these schools is at present in existence (cf. figures in Chapter V). We would further draw attention to the fact that these private schools fall into two groups, viz., private schools which are private only temporarily, as they have been established in the hope that they will soon receive Government aid; and private schools which have been founded because the body concerned desired, for religious or other reasons, to train children in a special manner.

886. As regards the first category your Commission is of the opinion that they should be allowed to continue as a temporary measure, until such time as the Bantu Local Authorities have been established and function properly. Thereafter the authorities will have to decide in consultation with the Department of Education to what extent and under what conditions

the schools will be included in the educational system. Private schools will in any case have to comply with the conditions governing approval, registration, curricula, inspection, etc.

887. Regarding the second category of private schools, where religious or other considerations motivated the establishment of the schools, your Commission would recommend that the whole matter be examined by the Local and Regional Authorities in consultation with the Department of Education in order to decide the extent to which such institutions should be allowed, officially recognized and subsidized. In the meantime all institutions which have already been established should continue to exist under the same conditions as other private schools. In Chapter XII, paragraph 985, further recommendations are made in this regard.[2]

C. Report on Present Scope of Bantu Education.

In 1948 only 5,200 schools were open to Bantu children in South Africa; since inauguration of the post-1954 program of Bantu education, the figure has risen to 8,300 Bantu schools.[3] (This too, has increased work opportunities in the trades for those Bantu who are builders.)

Pupil enrolment has also experienced an extraordinary increase under the new Bantu educational system. The 1954 Bantu population of the Union of South Africa was 8,836,000 and twenty per cent of this total fell within the 7-14 year age group, or primary school age group.[4] With

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[2]Ibid., paras. 846, 848-887.

[3]South African Digest, October 3, 1963, p. 3.

[4]Union of South Africa, Education for More and More Bantu, (Fact Paper 88), February, 1961, p. 8.

the schools having only 800,000 available places in school, this meant that the possible attendance could reach only forty-five per cent of the 7-14 year age group.[5] By 1960 the total primary school-age group had increased to 2,161,560; and the places available to this group ran approximately 1,458,000, or sixty-seven per cent of the possible attendance.[6]

A breakdown of the sixty-seven per cent of the possible attendance by area reveals that in the Bantu Reserves the figure is eighty-one per cent of the possible attendance; in the urban areas it is ninety-five per cent; and on the European farms the figure stands at twenty-five per cent of the possible attendance.[7]

These figures place the availability of schools for Bantu children in the farm areas very low; during 1957 and 1960 the number of farm schools had increased by 350 schools, increasing from 1400 schools in 1957 to 1750 schools in 1960, and an enrolment increase of twenty per cent during the same period.[8]

There is still much room for growth, not only in the farm school

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[5]Ibid.

[6]Ibid., p. 18.

[7]Ibid., p. 8.

[8]Ibid., p. 9.

program, but in the total program. In 1953 the Bantu school enrolment in the Union of South Africa stood at 859,995 pupils,[9] and by 1962 the enrolment had soared to 1,700,000 pupils.[10]

Very recent estimates indicate that eighty-three per cent of the 7-14 years age-group of the Bantu are in school today and of those Bantu youth between 7 and 20 years of age, eighty per cent are literate.[11]

In 1948 7,000 teachers were employed in the educational system for the Bantu.[12] By 1955 this figure had moved to 22,218,[13] and in 1961 it had risen to 27,828.[14] A recent statement (1962) on the number of teachers employed in the Bantu system of education shows a working force of 29,000 teachers.[15]

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[9]Republic of South Africa, Annual Report for the Calendar Year of 1961, (R.P. 26/1963), p. 10.

[10]South African Digest, op. cit., p. 2.

[11]Ibid.

[12]Ibid.

[13]Union of South Africa, Official Year Book, No. 29, 1956-57, p. 237.

[14]Republic of South Africa, Department of Bantu Education, Bantu Education, (B.E. 221/61), 1961, p. 209.

[15]South African Digest, op. cit., p. 2.

To satisfy the need in its program of teacher training, the Bantu Education Department now supervises forty-two teacher-training schools.[16] Twenty-one of these schools offer training in the lower and higher primary teacher courses; sixteen offer the lower primary teachers course, and five the training course for higher primary teachers.[17] Four training centers prepare teachers desirous of teaching in the Special Schools.[18]

D. Report on Present Attitudes of some South Africans (Bantu and White) on the Present Bantu Education.

Letters were sent by the writer to South African Bantus and Europeans from many walks of life asking their personal opinions to pertinent questions on Bantu education. The individuals were chosen at random since it was desired to have opinions from people with varying perspectives. Many replies were received from such persons as: medical practitioners, college professors, newspaper editors, bankers, teachers, school inspectors, one college president and others.[19]

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[16]Republic of South Africa, Annual Report for the Calendar Year of 1961, op. cit., p. 2.

[17]Ibid.

[18]Ibid.

[19]Some respondents asked that their names not be used with their responses, and it was for this reason the writer excluded all names.

To the question: What is your personal attitude toward the present Bantu educational system?

A school inspector favoring the use of the vernacular as a medium of instruction replied:

> As a person who grew up with Bantu Education since childhood, being the son of a missionary, I can only say that the correct attitude of the authorities towards educational problems of the Bantu is responsible for the quick development which took place during the last 15 years. I fully agree with the principles of education as applied in Bantu Education. By using the vernacular as medium of instruction the Bantu child gets the opportunity to think and to understand logically.

A leading banker in stating his attitude indicated that the new curriculum better suited the needs of the Bantu child:

> The present Bantu educational system is in several ways a markedly better one than that in operation prior to its introduction; in particular, the curriculum is better suited to the needs of the African child, while the appointment of teachers is now in the hands of the Africans themselves, and a more solid organization is accordingly called into being, which enjoys direct support from the people it serves.
>
> There is no doubt that the present system has been designed and produced by people dedicated to the education of the Bantu and much of the misrepresentation locally and abroad, which accompanied introduction of the system, has disappeared.

A college professor evaluated the present Bantu educational system as superior to the previous system saying:

> The present Bantu Educational system is pedagogically sound and in that sense an improvement on the former system based on the White man's culture and following the syllabuses of the four separate provinces.

A similar evaluation was made by a university rector who gave his view this way:

> I regard the Bantu Educational System (the new system) as a great improvement on the previous situation.

An inspector of Bantu education in giving his support to the present system replied:

> I whole-heartedly approve of and support the present system of Bantu Education, for the simple reason that it represents a sincere and honest attempt at consolidating and properly organizing the whole concern, which used to be a missionary enterprise without specific aims, uniformity of approach or effective organization.

Another inspector, feeling that mother-tongue instruction facilitates learning said:

> It is my considered opinion that our present education system, based on mother tongue instruction in the primary school, has enabled our pupils to absorb knowledge much more readily and intelligently than before.

To the question: Do you think it is assisting the Bantu child to better fit into both his own and world societies?

A minister feeling that the educational training for the Bantu child would assist him to adjust to world society replied:

> I do think the Bantu child is fitting better into his own society and there is no reason why he should not adjust himself in world society. The American has his own culture distinctions and fits into world society at the same time. It is no different with the Bantu or the European for that matter.

A Bantu editor, however, felt that the use of the mother tongue would handicap the pupil:

> Yes, but could do that better. Note that essentially Bantu Educational aims at a local product. Children nurtured in the medium of a local language throughout their Education would be handicapped on the world scene.

A Bantu school inspector, noting that since the system facilitates learning, the Bantu child would be better fitted for the world society, said:

> The Bantu child is now learning to think and reason in his own language. He first of all learns about his own society and gradually the circle is widened until it includes the whole world, so he must fit into both his own world and world societies with greater ease.

A Bantu medical doctor said he did not feel the system of education assisted the child at all:

> It may be said in so far as the child is taught through the vernacular medium he is better fitted to work in his own community. This still remains to be proved. It is a fact that whereas in the year 1953/4 there were 938,211 children in school, there were as many as 1,513,371 by 1960/1. But when it is realized that of the 37,414 pupils who commenced Std. VI in the year 1956, only 878 reached Std. X, the position changes.
>
> I believe that Bantu education has only limited use in helping to fit into world society.

Another Bantu school inspector felt that through the system of education the child was less handicapped for progress and thus was better fitted for the world society. He said:

> The child is not handicapped by being taught through the mother tongue. It still learns enough English and Afrikaans to be able to use these official languages where necessary. In addition, the child is not frustrated by being taught in a foreign language which it does not understand when first going to school. Just imagine an English speaking American child living in an American society being forced to go to school and being taught through a Chinese medium from the first school year about things which are of interest to the Chinese more than the American. This was more or less the position of the Bantu child before the vernacular was introduced as medium of instruction in the primary school.

To the question: Will this system raise the economic and social standards of the Bantu more effectively than did the previous educational system?

A Bantu newspaper man, feeling that both the previous and new

Bantu educational systems were inadequate said:

> The previous system itself was still far from ideal. Other influences are making an impact on the Economic and Social standards of the African e.g. Economic and Industrial upsurge in the country, etc. I would have preferred the former, which was capable of adaptation, and was more outward looking.

A church leader replying that the economic and social standard had recently been greatly raised said:

> That the economic and social standards of the Bantu have been raised more within the last three years than was true in probably the previous 10 years.

An inspector of schools expressed his views that because of education the Bantu now had the inclination to raise his own standards:

> As more Bantu children are educated, the Bantu as a whole obtain a better understanding of society. More of them take interest in raising their standard of living, more can be considered for posts where they should be able to read and write. More are trained for specialized posts in their own areas as well as in European areas. More get higher wages because they can do work which they cannot do without education.

A banker, suggesting that the effectiveness of this system is not easily evaluated, said:

> It is difficult at this stage to say whether the system will raise economic and social standards of the Bantu more effectively

than the previous educational system did; the outcome depends largely on the extent to which the scholar becomes able to use the "European" languages (English and Afrikaans), which form the gateway to progress in the cities.

To the question: How effectively does the Bantu child learn under this sytem as compared with the old system of education?

A college president in comparing the old system of education with the new system relative to learning felt that if mother tongue instruction was successful in other countries it would also be for the Bantu:

> The Bantu child being taught in his mother tongue is at a greater advantage than one who formerly was taught mainly in English half way through Primary School.
>
> That mother tongue instruction can be a success has been proved efficacious in the history of the Afrikaans language in the last half century. It is effective in Germany, France, England, the U.S.A., in China and U.S.S.R., so why not among the Bantu?

An inspector of Bantu schools felt sure that the teacher could do a more effective job of teaching in the vernacular than in a foreign language:

> Terminologies as well as text books in the Bantu languages are now available for teaching in the vernacular in the primary schools up to Standard VI (8th school year). There is no reason why a conscientious teacher who prepares the lessons well, should not teach better in the vernacular than in a foreign language. Likewise there is no reason why a child should not understand matter presented in the vernacular better than that presented in a foreign language.

The Standard VI results as already pointed out previously, show that this is the case with Bantu Education. Practically the difference is this:

> The teacher asks a Bantu child in English: "What is a lion?" Answer: "A lion is a lion."
>
> The same question is asked in the Bantu language and now the child gives a sensible answer in its own language: "A lion is a wild animal which lives on the meat of other animals."

A leading banker said that the examination results of the new Bantu educational system are superior to those of the old system:

> Subject to the shortcomings of home-language media, . . . it would appear from senior school results that the Bantu child is now learning more effectively than under the old system although it is difficult to make strict comparisons because of the large increase in funds now being made available for Bantu education by comparison with amounts spent prior to 1953.

Another inspector of schools remarked that not only does the Bantu child now learn in his own tongue, but also becomes efficient in English and Afrikaans:

> The mere fact that the child entering the primary school, can now understand what the teacher is telling him in his own language, vastly increased the effectivity of his learning. This goes on right through the primary school course. In the meantime the child also acquires a working knowledge of the two official languages. When reaching the post-Primary school level the child's learning is slightly retarded by having to switch over to an official language as medium of instruction, but his being so much better equipped during his primary school career, more

than compensates for this temporary set-back.

These private opinions and views of responsible people should give the reader some indication of how an onlooker living in South Africa regards what Bantu education is presently doing for the Bantu society.

E. The Writer's Critique of Bantu Education in South Africa.

The colonial Bantu educational system apparently was not based on a child-centered educational philosophy. Its structure and curricula were not broad enough to provide for the variety of abilities and aptitudes of the Bantu child. The national educational system, on the other hand does appear to be congizant of the child's interests, background and development. Its curricula is broad and offers the child varied opportunities in areas of vocational skills and academic training. The national system should create within the child an attitude of independence and self-reliance.

On the matter of educational equality it appears that the colonial Bantu educational system and the system for the White schools had a common curriculum. No attempt was made to make education universal or compulsory, and educational direction was left with religious societies. The national Bantu educational system, however, does not have a common curriculum with White schools in the lower grades, but as it evolves

through the high school grades it moves toward the White curriculum, apparently becoming identical at the matriculation level. At matriculation level pupil attainment is on a par for Bantu and White providing equal opportunity for college or university entrance. The national system is ethnically segregated and is progressing toward universal and compulsory education. In purpose education is equal, but provided on a culturally segregated basis.

There are indications of two problems in the national Bantu educational system which do not directly involve the purposes, aims or basic educational philosophy of the system. The attempt to implement universal education has overcrowded the school rooms, and to meet the challenge the standards of teacher education for the lower elementary grades have been kept low so as to produce more teachers. Therefore at the present time the quality of elementary Bantu instruction cannot be considered equal to that of the European schools. Only when more teachers are better trained, and more classrooms are provided will the quality of lower elementary Bantu education meet the educational aims of the system.

In providing for the needs of the Bantu society the colonial Bantu educational system portrayed little evidence of any concern for the perpetuation of the Bantu society. Its application brought about a

separation of the Bantu child from his Bantu heritage and attempted to impose a foreign culture upon him. The national educational system is culturally based and appears to be purposefully structured so as to create an awareness of Bantuism within the child. National Bantu education will, therefore, bring about a perpetuation of the Bantu society and stimulate Bantu nationalism. This system will awaken within the Bantu child a Bantu-self concept which he will cherish and protect. This same belief is highly valued by educators and leaders of other African nations for their own educational systems.

Since the national Bantu educational system provides a more varied curriculum than did the colonial system the pupil has a choice of technical training, vocational training, or an academic education. There is the opportunity for the pupil to learn those technological values that belong to a modern society. The educational process which exposes the Bantu to technology will also become the process for cultural development and change.

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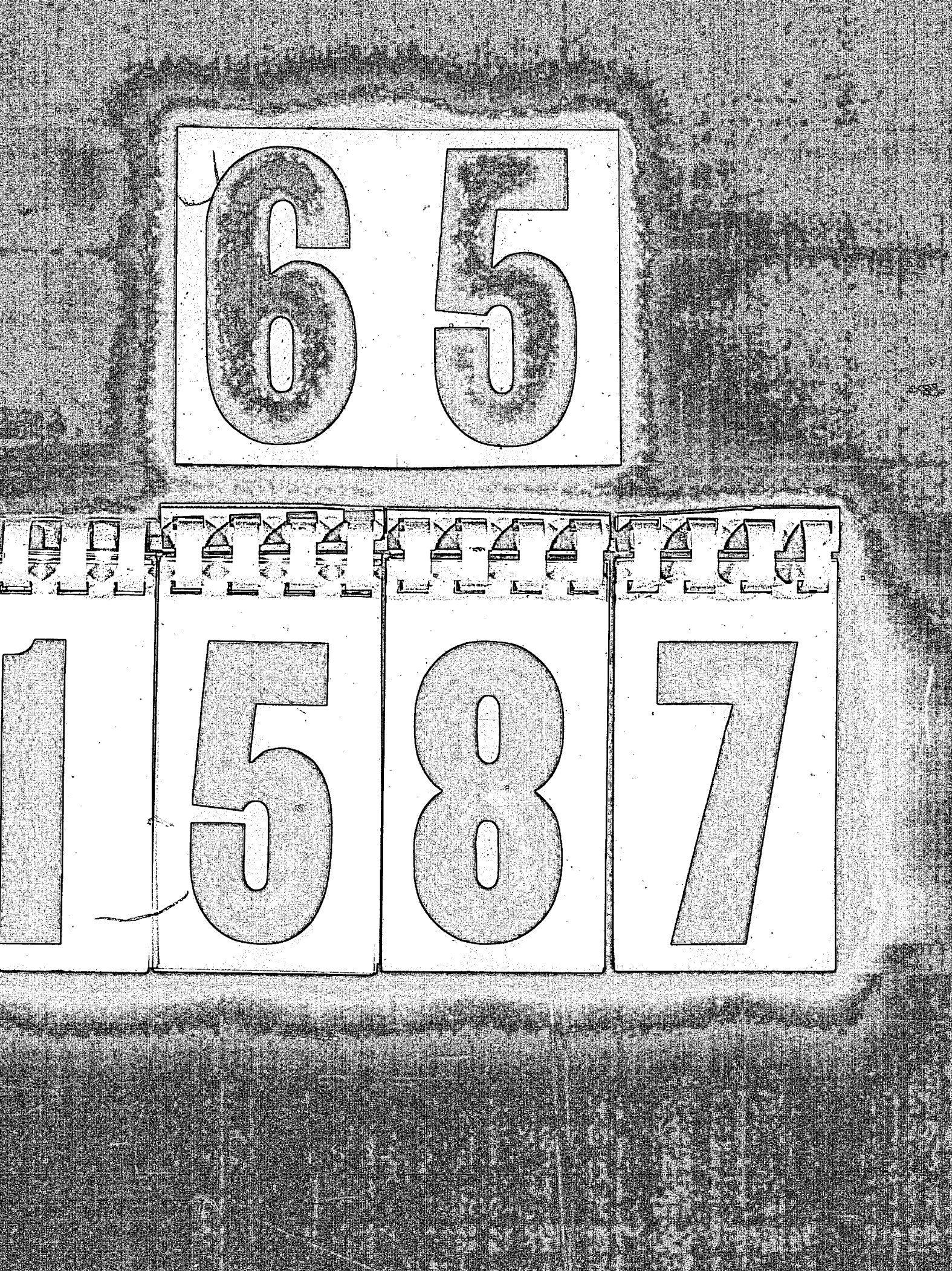
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