

IN SEARCH OF AN EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

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IN SEARCH OF AN EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

DEPARTMENT OF PRACTICAL EDUCATION

(A Critical Appraisal of the Past and Present Administration
of Bantu Education)

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*An inaugural Address delivered on the occasion of the acceptance
of the Chair of Practical Education
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IN SEARCH OF AN EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

INTRODUCTION.

Education as a discipline is usually approached from four points of view, viz., its history, its philosophy, its science and its practice.

The *historical view* of education attempts to answer the question, What has the past achieved in education? The answer to this question involves the study of the history of civilizations, for education is at once the cause and the effect of a people's advance in civilization. It is customary to begin the study of history of education in the East: to pass in review the educational systems of the ancient peoples — the Chinese, the Indians, the Persians, the Israelites, the Phoenicians and the Egyptians. Then there follows a consideration of the education of the classical nations — the Greeks and the Romans. This in turn is followed by a study of education during the Middle Ages, the Renaissance and early Modern Times, and the study usually concludes with a consideration of Contemporary Education.

The *Philosophic view* of education raises the question, What is the meaning and end of education? Different nations have at different stages in their history given different answers to this universal question. Idealism, Realism, Naturalism, Nationalism, Socialism, Communism, Catholicism, Calvinism, Methodism — these are but a few of the ideals that have inspired educational thinking. Educational ideals are closely related to, and, indeed, flow from the philosophy of life held by a people.

The science of education, more commonly known as *Empirical Education*, attempts to answer the question, What is the nature of the body and mind to be educated — and what the nature of the educative process? To answer this question recourse is made to the sciences of biology, physiology, psychology, sociology, logic, aesthetics and ethics.

But education may also be studied from the practical point of view, as an applied science. From this point of view the educationist attempts to put into practice what the other viewpoints — history, philosophy and empiricism — have taught. But educational practice does more than merely to obey the behests of its sister disciplines: it applies them critically, rejecting those that do not conform to its norms. The scope of

educational practice includes the organization and administration of a school system, and it is on this subject that I wish to venture a few thoughts tonight. A previous inaugural address by a professor of education at this University College focussed attention on the education of the European section of the population of South Africa; the present address will concern itself with that section of the population which is served by this College, namely, the Bantu.

STAGES IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF AN EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM FOR BANTU

A. CENTRAL CONTROL

The administration and control of the education of the Bantu of South Africa has been an evolutionary process marked by five clearly distinguished stages which may be summarized as follows: (1—33/36)

- (a) Sole control by Christian missions (1799—1850).
- (b) Recognition and subsidization by colonial, republican or provincial administrations (1850—1925).
- (c) Joint control by missionary societies, the provincial administrations and the Union Department of Native Affairs (1926—1945).
- (d) Joint control by the missionary societies, the provincial administrations and the Union Department of Education Arts and Science (1946—1953).
- (e) Joint control by the Bantu communities and the Union Department of Bantu Education (1954—)

(a) *Missionary Control*

The overriding aim of missionary endeavour was the christianization of the non-European races of this land. All other considerations and activities subserved this guiding principle. What school education the Christian missions organized for their converts was intended not as an end in itself, but as a hand-aid to evangelization. The first school for the Bantu was established in 1799 near King William's Town by Dr. J. T. van der Kemp, a missionary of the London Missionary Society. In 1833 the Wesleyan mission established the first school in the Orange Free State; in Natal the American mission started educational work among the Bantu in 1835, and in 1842 the London Missionary

Society opened the first Bantu school in the Transvaal. Thus in all four provinces of the Union the initiative in establishing, controlling, financing, teaching and providing literature for Bantu schools was taken by the Christian missions.

In their pioneering work of establishing schools for their Bantu converts the missionary societies worked in splendid isolation from one another; there was no attempt or desire to pool efforts and resources. Indeed the contrary was often the case. Denominational jealousies and rivalries, and even proselytism, were only too common. Writing in 1917 on the influence of sectarianism on the educational work of the Christian missions, Dr. C. T. Loram said:

"The jealousy and unedifying quarrels of missionaries of different denominations have brought their work into disrepute in many parts. Attempts at proselytising are not unknown, and sometimes material advantages are offered to Natives to induce them to join a particular church." (2—74)

Sectarian control of schools has also been wasteful of energies and resources. Reporting on this aspect, the Organizer of Bantu Education in the Free State in 1924 wrote as follows:

"In almost every location there are two, three or even four churches and as many schools — it seems a waste of power to have several schools, inadequately staffed, competing against one another, when one strong school, adequately staffed, would do the work much more efficiently." (3—52)

But in the interest of accuracy it must be pointed out that it was in the Free State, more than in any other province of Union, that missionary societies later decided to amalgamate their schools to form the famous Bantu United Schools which became the pride of Bantu education in that province.

But in spite of the weaknesses and shortcomings mentioned above, it remains true that the early missionaries did a fine piece of work in the education of the Bantu. They certainly deserved the tribute paid to them by Lord Selborne when he said of them:

"Missionaries, like other people, make mistakes. Natives have often been educated on unsound lines. But instead of the missionaries . . . being the subjects of reprobation,

... they ... should be regarded as the people who have taken far the most trouble, and who alone have sacrificed themselves in order to ensure that the education of the Native, inevitable from the moment that he came into contact with the white man, should contain something good." (1—78)

(b) *Recognition and Aid by the State*

The second stage in the control of the education of the Bantu is marked by the gradual interest which the colonial, republican or provincial governments evinced. The first noteworthy step was taken in Cape Colony in 1854 when the Governor, Sir George Grey, made it known that the government was willing to pay subsidies to missionary institutions that undertook to train Bantu youth in industrial occupations and also to fit them to act as interpreters, evangelists and schoolmasters among their own people. From January 1855 to December 1862 the amount of £49,000 was paid to mission schools by the Department for Aborigines. This was a generous grant, especially when it is remembered that the annual expenditure on European education in Cape Colony at the time was slightly more than £10,000. In 1891 annual expenditure on Bantu education in the Cape had reached £33,000 and in 1925—26 the sum of £284,000 was spent.

In 1850 the Natal colonial government paid a grant of £200 to a Mr. Allison, a missionary, to assist in his efforts to establish a settlement for the Bantu at Edendale, near Pietermaritzburg. From that humble figure State aid increased gradually; in 1925 State subsidy in Natal exceeded £64,000.

In 1878 the Volksraad of the young Republic of the Orange Free State made its first grant in aid of Bantu education. This was an amount of £45 which was paid to the Dutch Reformed Church mission Station at Witziesshoek. In 1889 the amounts of £50 and £30 were paid as subsidies to the Wesleyan mission at Thaba 'Nchu and the Berlin Mission at Bethanie respectively. After the Anglo-Boer War the government of the Orange River Colony continued the Republican practice of providing funds for Bantu education from the general treasury of the Crown Colony. At the time of Union the State's annual expenditure on Bantu education had passed the £6,000 mark and in 1925 it stood at £13,000.

In the Transvaal the first grant in aid of Bantu mission schools was made in 1904 when some £4,000 was made available. In 1925 the amount exceeded £61,000.

Payment of subsidies to Bantu mission schools was made conditional upon the acceptance by the mission societies of a measure of State superintendence of the work of all aided schools. The general trend during the period under review was for government to impose certain demands in respect of curricula, teacher-training and inspection.

(c) *Joint Control by the Missionary Societies, the Provincial Administrations and the Union Department of Native Affairs.*

From 1910 until 1921 the missionaries and the provincial administrations were the only partners in the enterprise of Bantu education. In 1922 the Union Government, through its Department of Native Affairs, entered the partnership. While the provincial councils retained undiminished their power to legislate for Bantu education, the Union Department of Native Affairs, through its permanent Native Affairs Commission, obtained some measure of indirect control by way of the subsidies which it allocated annually to the provinces.

A new basis of State subsidization of Bantu Education was introduced in 1922. The Union Government had passed Act No. 5 of 1921 which debarred provincial councils from imposing direct taxation on the Bantu, except under certain specified conditions. The Act provided, further, that every province should expend annually on Bantu education a sum not less than its expenditure during the financial year 1921—22. To allow for expansion and general improvement of educational facilities, the Act further laid down that the Governor-General might from time to time make grants to any province after consultation with the provincial administration concerned. Such grants would be from the revenue derived from the direct taxation of the persons, lands, habitations or incomes of the Bantu.

The new principle whereby the Union Government, and not the provincial administrations, assumed responsibility for the direct taxation of the Bantu was enshrined in Act No. 41 of 1925, viz., the Native Taxation and Development Act. The Act provided for the abolition of all previous forms of taxation and for the imposition of new and uniform taxes throughout the Union. A General Tax of £1 per annum was imposed on every adult male Bantu; also a Local Tax of ten shillings per hut or dwelling, payable by Bantu living in the reserves.

Local taxes were to be paid into a Local Fund and were expended on local services. Into the General Fund were paid (a) an amount of £340,000 annually from the Consolidated Revenue Fund (this figure represented the total expenditure on Bantu education by the four provinces in 1921—22) and (b) one-fifth of the revenue derived from the General Tax.

It will be noticed that source (a) of the General Fund, viz., £340,000, was fixed and pegged — an odd provision for a Development Account. It was left to source (b), viz., revenue derived from the General Tax, to provide for the extension and development of Bantu services in general and Bantu education in particular. Revenue derived from the latter source was increased from time to time as the need arose. In 1935 the proportion of the General Tax paid to the Development Fund was raised from the original one-fifth to seven-twentieths; for the financial year 1935—36 to two-fifths. In 1937 it was raised to three-fifths; in 1940 to two-thirds, while in 1942 it stood at five-fifths. Finally, in 1943, the whole of the General Tax was paid into the Development Fund, and still there was a crying need for the provision of ampler funds for the development of social services for the Bantu, and especially for education. The evolution of a new system of financing Bantu education became an urgent necessity.

[d] *Joint Control by the Missionary Societies, the Provincial Administrations and the Union Department of Education.*

The Native Education Finance Act (Act No. 29 of 1945) introduced a new and a revolutionary basis of financing Bantu education. The Act provided that all funds for Bantu education would be drawn from the Consolidated Revenue Fund. No longer was the amount to be made available for Bantu education to depend on the proceeds of the General Tax. Estimates of expenditure on Bantu education were to be included in the Vote of the Union Department of Education.

The Native Education Finance Act gave a new lease of life to a vital service whose growth had become stunted because of lack of adequate financial provision. Had the system in vogue before the passing of the Act been adhered to, the total amount available for Bantu education in 1949 would have been £1,540,000 and not the handsome amount of £4,747,657 which was actually voted under the new arrangement. The Bantu will long remember this legislative measure which ushered in a period of real progress in their education. It made possible the

drawing up of improved salary scales for Bantu teachers and also the institution of a school-feeding scheme.

To advise the Union Government and the provincial administrations on matters connected with Bantu Education, there was set up, in terms of Act No. 29 of 1945, a Union Advisory Board on Native Education. The composition of the Board was as follows: the Secretary for Native Affairs (Chairman), the Secretary for Education, Arts and Science and a representative of each province. Later the membership of the Board was increased by the addition of two Bantu members who were also members of the Natives' Representative Council, a body that had come into being in terms of the Representation of Natives' Act of 1936.

(e) *Joint Control by the Bantu Communities and the Department of Bantu Education.*

As early as 1917 Dr. C. T. Loram, an eminent educationalist, urged central control of Bantu Education on the grounds that:

"Education has become a State function in all civilized countries . . . In a country such as South Africa, where only a fraction of the population is carrying on the Government, the need for State paramountcy (in education) becomes all the greater. So much so that in the writer's opinion the time has come to require the State licensing of all schools." (2—263)

In 1930 Dr. Edgar H. Brookes, another well-known champion of the rights of the Bantu, and for many years their representative in Parliament, made the following criticism of the administration of Bantu education by the provinces:

"Native education is so integral a part of Native policy generally . . . that it should be dealt with by the body responsible for Native Policy, viz. the Union Government." (4—119)

It is particularly noteworthy that even a body of disinterested observers from overseas came to the same conclusions as Drs. Loram and Brookes. In 1921 there came out to Africa from America a commission representative of various missionary societies in the United States which were engaged in mission work in Africa. The Chairman of that commission was the world-reputed American educationalist, Dr. Thomas Jesse Jones, and one of its members was the equally renowned Dr. James

Emman Kwegyir Aggrey, a Native of West Africa. The commission also visited South Africa and the following was its finding in so far as the administration of Bantu education was concerned:

"It seems clear that the limitation of the Union Government to the one field of higher education is especially unfortunate for the cause of Native Education. The varying policies of the provinces . . . point to serious losses through the indifference of provincial councils and the contradiction of educational plans. Surely a problem of such large and vital possibilities for good or for ill in the development of South Africa should receive the consideration of the largest and most influential unit of government in the subcontinent." (5—200)

The Native Economic Commission of 1930—32 was convinced that the peculiar nature of Bantu education demanded that it should be controlled from one source, and considered that the time had come for vesting the superintendence thereof in an officer of the Union Government. (6 — pr. 640)

By the year 1935 the question of the control of Bantu education had become such a burning issue that the United Party Government of General Hertzog appointed a commission, the Inter-departmental Committee on Native Education, to enquire into, and to make recommendations on, inter alia, the control of Bantu Education. After carefully weighing the *pros* and *cons* of the argument for the retention of provincial control of Bantu education, the Committee came to the conclusion "that the control of Native education be transferred from the Provincial Councils to the Union Government." (7—110)

The outbreak of the Second World War (1939—1945) put a temporary stop to social, educational and other planning on the home front.

In 1949 the National Party Government of Dr. Malan appointed a commission, the Native Education Commission, whose Chairman was Dr. W. W. M. Eiselen, presently Commissioner-General for the Northern Sotho. One of the terms of reference of the commission was to inquire into the organization and administration of the various branches of Bantu education. After traversing much the same field of investigation as its predecessor, the Inter-departmental Committee, the Eiselen Commission came to practically the same conclusion. It stated its view as follows:

"Your Commission feels very strongly that the present system of divided control has had a prejudicial effect upon Bantu education, and this has been the opinion of practically every Committee or Commission which has had to report on this or related matters since the establishment of Union." (1—110)

During the 1953 session of the Union Parliament the Minister of Native Affairs introduced a Bill to provide for the transfer of the administration and control of Bantu education from the provincial councils to the Government of the Union, and for matters incidental thereto. The Bill became the Bantu Education Act (No. 47 of 1953).

The Bantu Education Act became law on the 1st January, 1954. Its main provisions may be summarized as follows:

- (a) The transfer of control of Bantu Education from the provincial administrations to the Union Department of Native Affairs.
- (b) The establishment or subsidization of three types of schools, viz.:
 - (i) Government Bantu Schools
 - (ii) Bantu Community Schools
 - (iii) State-aided Native Schools (mission, farm, mine or factory).
- (c) The compulsory registration of all private schools as un-aided schools.
- (d) The introduction of uniform measures to replace those which obtained in the four provinces.

A Division of Bantu Education, with an Under Secretary of the Department of Native Affairs as its head, was set up in 1954. Five regional offices were opened, viz., in Pretoria for the Transvaal, in Pietermaritzburg for Natal, in Umtata for the Transkei, in King William's Town for the Ciskei and in Bloemfontein for the Orange Free State. Later a re-division of regions was made: the vast area of the Northern Cape was linked with the Free State, while a sixth region was created, viz., the Northern Transvaal, with Pietersburg as its headquarters.

On the 1st November, 1958 the Division of Bantu Education became a separate government department with its own Minister.

Finance

In 1955 the Exchequer and Audit Amendment Act (Act No. 7 of 1955) was passed. The purpose of this Act was to give effect to the policy of the Government that the Bantu themselves should contribute in an increasing measure towards the cost of expanding their educational and other social services. In terms of the Act a Bantu Education Account was created. To it is credited annually an amount of R13 million drawn from the Consolidated Revenue Account, together with four-fifths of the general tax collected under the provisions of the Natives Taxation and Development Act of 1925, an amount which in 1955 equalled approximately R4 million.

Realizing that the proceeds of the general tax were not increasing in proportion to the financial needs of Bantu development in general, and Bantu education in particular, Parliament passed in 1958 an Act to amend the Natives Taxation and Development Act of 1925. The provisions of this Act — The Natives Taxation and Development Amendment Act (No. 38 of 1958) — may be summarized as follows:-

- (a) From the 1st January 1959 the general tax payable by an adult male Bantu was raised from £1 (the 1925 figure) to £1.15.0.
- (b) From and after the 1st January 1960 the following additional amounts were payable:-

| <i>Income per annum</i> | <i>Additional Payment</i> |
|-------------------------|---|
| £181 — 240 | 5.0 |
| 241 — 300 | £1. 0.0 |
| 301 — 360 | 1.15.0 |
| 361 — 420 | 2.10.0 |
| 420+ | 2.10.0 (plus £1 i.r.o. every amount of £60 or portion thereof in excess of £420). |

Thus a Bantu man earning £900 would be required to pay annually in general tax the basic amount of £1.15.0 plus £2.10.0 for the first £420 plus £8 in respect of the remaining £480 — a total of £12.5.0. Before the passing of this Act the same man would have paid in general tax the sum of £1 — the same amount as a man earning £9 per annum, unless he came under the provisions of the Income Tax Act.

For the first time in the history of South Africa Bantu women were, in terms of the 1958 Act, also required to pay general tax as from the 1st January 1960. The scale on which Bantu women pay general tax is as follows:-

| <i>Income per annum under £180</i> | <i>Amount of General Tax Nil</i> |
|--|---|
| 181 — 240 | £1.0.0 |
| 240+ | 1.0.0. (plus £1 i.r.o. every amount of £60 or portion thereof in excess of £240). |

Thus a Bantu woman earning £400 per annum would pay altogether £4 per annum in general tax where formerly she was completely exempted.

But as there are not many Bantu persons who earn wages, salaries or other income exceeding £180 per annum, the proceeds from this increased taxation are not likely to amount to much for a considerable time to come.

B. LOCAL CONTROL

1. Historical

From the inception of the education of the Bantu in 1799 until 1953 all Bantu schools, with the exception of a small number of Government schools in the Transvaal, the Cape Province and especially in Natal, were State-aided schools. Of the State-aided schools all but some 600 were mission schools. The 600 non-denominational schools were community schools, all of them in the Transvaal. Table A below reflects the position in 1953. (8—16)

TABLE A

| | Cape | Natal | O.F.S. | Tvl. | Total |
|---------------------|-------------|-------------|------------|-------------|-------------|
| Government Schools | 38 | 266 | — | 5 | 309 |
| State-aided Schools | 2389 | 982 | 604 | 1485 | 5460 |
| TOTAL | 2427 | 1248 | 604 | 1490 | 5769 |

In his suggested administration of Bantu schools, Dr. Loram accorded the missionaries a pre-eminent place. He reminded that the existence of a system of education for the Bantu had been due to the missionaries and that for a long time they ought to be allowed to continue their good work. (2—264)

After weighing and considering the arguments that had been raised for and against missionary control, Dr. Brookes came to the conclusion that missionary enterprise in Bantu education had been, and would long continue to be, of the greatest benefit to the Bantu and to the State generally. He considered never-government control of at least the ordinary elementary schools. theless, that the time was ripe for the gradual transfer to direct (4—116)

The Inter-departmental Committee on Native Education had, as one of its main terms of reference, to consider the relationship between the State and the missionary bodies. The committee came to the conclusion that considerations in favour of the retention and extension of direct missionary control were weighty. It therefore recommended the continuance of local control by the missions. (7—73)

The Native Education Commission took quite a different stand on the matter. The Commission was very desirous of seeing the Bantu people given an active part to play in the administration of the education of their children. Much as it appreciated the heroic role that the Christian missions had played in the education of the Bantu, it nevertheless felt the time had come that the Bantu should take a more active part as a community, not only in the management of their schools, but also of their other community services. (1—133)

2. The Present Position

In August 1954 all church bodies concerned in Bantu education were given the following choice:

- (a) to retain control of their schools either as unaided schools with the subsidy reduced to 75 per cent in respect of teachers' salaries, cost-of-living allowances, as well as other allowances formerly paid to aided mission schools, or
- (b) to relinquish control and to leave the responsibility to the Department of Native Affairs to make other arrangements in accordance with Government policy.

Of more than 40 mission bodies only the Roman Catholic Church elected to retain control of its schools with a subsidy of 75 per cent. This subsidy was reduced to 50 per cent in 1956, to 25 per cent in 1957 and was completely withdrawn at the beginning of 1958. (8—17)

The following categories of schools have been created:

- (a) Government Bantu Schools, for the most part teacher-training and also secondary schools where the teaching staff is composed of both Bantu and Europeans.
- (b) Bantu Community Schools. This is by far the largest category of schools. These were established wherever a stable Bantu community was in lawful occupation of an area such as a reserve, Bantu-owned farms in a scheduled area, or a proclaimed urban location.
- (c) Aided Farm Schools, situated on farms owned by Whites, and conducted for the benefit of the children of farm employees.
- (d) Aided Mine or Factory Schools, situated on mine or factory property, and conducted for the sole benefit of children of employees on the mine or factory.
- (e) Unaided Mission Schools, run as private schools.
- (f) Unaided schools established by communities, farmers, mine or factory owners and run without subsidy until a subsidy is available. (8—17)

DIRECT PARTICIPATION OF THE BANTU IN THEIR EDUCATION

One of the major objectives of the Bantu Education Act was to ensure the active participation of the Bantu in the management of their own schools. The progress made in the establishment of Bantu Community Schools is shown in Table B below: (10—46)

TABLE B

(i) Government and State-aided Schools.

| | Gvt. Schls. | Comm. nity Schls. | Farm Schls. | Mine Schls. | Factory Schls. | Sched-uled Schls. | Total |
|--------------|-------------|-------------------|--------------|-------------|----------------|-------------------|--------------|
| N.Tvl. | 32 | 761 | 319 | 34 | 8 | — | 1,875 |
| S.Tvl. | 22 | 432 | 142 | 27 | 7 | 6 | 636 |
| O.F.S. | 16 | 296 | 536 | 9 | 4 | 3 | 864 |
| Natal | 62 | 873 | 178 | 13 | 4 | 9 | 1,139 |
| Transkei | 33 | 1,407 | 27 | — | — | 2 | 1,469 |
| Ciskei | 25 | 604 | 222 | 2 | 3 | 6 | 862 |
| TOTAL | 190 | 4,373 | 1,424 | 85 | 26 | 26 | 6,124 |

(ii) Unaided Schools.

| | Church Schools | Other | Total |
|----------|----------------|-------|-------|
| N.Tvl. | 45 | 142 | 187 |
| S.Tvl. | 56 | 33 | 89 |
| O.F.S. | 58 | 30 | 88 |
| Natal | 277 | 18 | 295 |
| Transkei | 68 | 78 | 146 |
| Ciskei | 44 | 69 | 113 |
| TOTAL: | 548 | 370 | 918 |

- N.B. 1. Under the category unaided schools are included the schools of those church bodies who preferred not to transfer the control of their schools to the Department.
2. Other unaided schools are mainly community or farm schools still awaiting subsidies.
3. Scheduled schools are schools which for some reason or other have not yet been classified, e.g. schools organized for inmates of hospitals, Santa, etc.

It will be noticed from Table B(i) above that Bantu Community Schools constitute more than 66 per cent of all State and State-aided Bantu schools. Each community school is under the supervision of a Bantu School Committee, while a number of schools with common interests, e.g. schools situated in one and the same urban area, is under the control of a Bantu School Board. Schools have at their disposal the services of full-time or part-time Bantu Secretaries whose salaries are paid by the Department of Bantu Education. In June 1959 there were 499 Bantu School Boards and 4,619 School Committees. Taking ten as the average number of members of a school board or a school committee, there were in the country in 1959 4,990 members of Bantu School Boards and 46,190 members of school committees, that is, persons who were entrusted with the day-to-day life and work of schools and who, in the course of their work, gained considerable knowledge and insight into the problems of educational administration. (11—202)

PROGRESS MADE

Our search for a system of education for the Bantu has taken us through a century and a half of education: from 1799 to the present day. It has been a long way and we must now

pause to assess the progress that has been made. We have only enough time to spotlight the most conspicuous marks of progress.

1. *The Emergence of a Planned System of Education.*

If there is one glaring defect in the administration of Bantu education prior to 1954 it must surely be the absence of a definite plan of administration and financial control. Colonial and republican administrations prior to 1910 were much too engrossed in problems relating to the survival of the white man in South Africa to pay much attention to the educational advancement of the non-European peoples.

In 1910 the Union of South Africa was formed. Section 85(iii) of the South Africa Act vested in the Provincial Councils the control of all education, other than higher (university) education, for a period of five years and thereafter until Parliament should otherwise provide. The education of the Bantu was made an integral part of the education of the other racial groups in South Africa. It is a notorious fact that under the integrated system of administration Bantu education suffered serious neglect. It was only when separate sections of the Provincial Education Departments were set up to deal exclusively with Bantu education that some progress was made. Centralization of control has saved Bantu education from the weaknesses and embarrassments which today afflict the education of the Europeans. In addition to the four Provincial Education Departments, there are at least eight Departments of State which administer some type or other of education for the Europeans in the Republic. A professor of education at this College stated recently that there were literally some one hundred and one teachers' certificates issued to Europeans in the country!

With centralization have come some developments which were not possible before. Within the Department of Bantu Education have been set up sections and sub-sections dealing with the following vital matters: planning of educational courses, psychological services, special education, statistics, publications, requisitions, examinations and personnel.

2. *Co-ordination of Education and the General Development of the Bantu.*

To be vital, meaningful and effective, school education must be related to the general development — social, economic, poli-

tical, cultural and religious — of the community it seeks to serve. In the past Bantu education took little account of this vital principle. The school taught the virtues and merits of modern hygiene; the traditional family knew nothing of this. The school taught modern agricultural theory and practice; the traditional family was both unable and unwilling to allow this practice.

The Department of Bantu Education functions in close collaboration with its sister department, the Department of Bantu Administration and Development: a Cabinet Committee co-ordinates the functions of the two departments.

3. Active Participation of the People.

In every state that lays claim to being progressive the active interest of parents and of local communities in the education of their children has always been great. It has not been so in Bantu education until very recently. Those who, like the present speaker, have spent many years as teachers in Bantu schools are aware of the mistaken view of many parents that the education of their children was a free or semi-free service rendered to them by the missionaries and the government. Under the circumstances it proved very difficult to get the average parent to be interested in the doings of the local school: parent-teacher organizations were often short-lived. The transfer of local control to the communities has led to a change of attitude: any inspector of Bantu Education knows how keenly positions on the school boards and school committees are contested today. The people have become education conscious.

4. Growth of the School Population.

The growth of the school-going population is shown in Table C below. (11—204)

TABLE C

| Year | Bantu Pupils | Bantu Population | Percentage of Population at school |
|------|--------------|------------------|------------------------------------|
| 1925 | 209,049 | — | — |
| 1935 | 351,908 | 6,491,000 | 5.42 |
| 1945 | 587,586 | 7,728,000 | 7.60 |
| 1950 | 747,026 | 8,417,000 | 8.88 |
| 1955 | 1,005,774 | 9,161,000 | 10.98 |
| 1959 | 1,414,260 | 9,751,000 | 14.50 |

A noteworthy feature is the rapid increase in the school-going population since 1955. For the first time the million mark was reached in that year. The figure for 1959 clearly indicates that the one-and-a-half million mark was in sight and must have been reached in 1960. In 1957 the percentage of school-age Bantu children (ages 7—16) actually at school was a little more than 50; in 1959 it was approximately 60. (10—47) The progress made in the matter of pupil enrolment in Bantu schools in the past decade can only be described as phenomenal. If the present rate of increase in the school-going population is maintained during the remaining four decades of this century, it seems certain that the backlog of pupils still outside school will be made up.

PROBLEMS FOR THE FUTURE

If it is true that there is much in the past and present systems of Bantu education for which there is genuine cause for gratitude on the part of those who have been, and still are, the beneficiaries of the systems, it is equally true that there are still many problems and difficulties — but also challenges and opportunities — which remain to be faced. I have time to mention a few only.

1. Over-crowding and under-staffing.

The phenomenal increase in pupil enrolment referred to above has been purchased at a high price: over-crowding of available school space and chronic under-staffing. Departmental regulations prescribe at least 8 sq. ft. of classroom space for each pupil in the sub-standards; at least 10 sq. feet for each pupil in Stds. I to VI and a minimum of 12½ sq. ft. for each post-primary pupil. While in most urban schools the prescribed space requirements are more or less adhered to, the position in rural areas, especially in farm schools, can only be described as very unsatisfactory. It is not unusual to find 100 pupils crammed into a classroom intended for half that number.

Equally unsatisfactory is the provision of teachers. In the sub-standards one teacher is responsible for the teaching of a maximum of 100 pupils the class being divided into two sessions of 50 pupils each. In Stds. I to IV a maximum enrolment of 65 pupils per teacher is permitted; in Stds. V—VI 60 pupils, while in post-primary schools a maximum of 50 pupils is allowed.

Over-crowding and understaffing are the twin problems which characterize the Bantu school system. The effects of these

problems are legion: backwardness is only one of them. It is not unusual to find pupils in Std. I who cannot read a single word in their own language. The need for more schools and more teachers is an urgent one.

2. *Compulsory education.*

Compulsory primary education is a generally accepted principle in all progressive countries of the world. Of all branches of education primary education is the most important. It is the only form of general education upon which the informal education of the masses can later be built. It is essential for social progress.

Compulsory primary education for the Bantu was recommended twenty-five years ago by the Inter-departmental Committee on Native Education. The Committee suggested that a beginning be made in the larger urban areas. It is to be regretted that until now no experiment in the introduction of compulsory education, even up to the Std. II level, has yet been contemplated. There is a direct relationship between juvenile delinquency and absence of compulsory education, especially in our cities and larger towns.

3. *Technical Education.*

"The implementation of the Government's policy in the Bantu homelands probably represents one of the greatest rehabilitation projects ever tackled outside Soviet Russia and China". The above statement was made, according to the press, by Prof. Hobart Houghton, wellknown economist of Rhodes University, when he delivered his chairman's address to the annual meeting of the Economic Association of South Africa on the 18th August, 1961. (12—443) We have in recent days heard and read much about the proposed Five-Year Plan for the development of the Bantu areas. For the plan to succeed is needed not only a good deal of capital but also an army of technicians.

The Eiselen Commission recommended the establishment of polytechnic schools "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 further avenue of employment open to them". (1—141) In recent years Bantu pupils who have obtained third class passes in the Std. VI or the Junior Certificate

examination have been debarred from entering secondary or high schools. Large numbers of pupils have in consequence been left unprovided for in so far as their future is concerned and frustration has been the inevitable result. Polytechnic schools could absorb many of these pupils who could then be trained to become useful and contented citizens of their country.

4. *Bantuization of control.*

We pointed out earlier that one of the main objectives of the Bantu Education Act was to ensure the active participation of the Bantu in the running of their own schools. This objective has been achieved in part by the establishment of Bantu school boards and school committees. The appointment of Bantu sub-inspectors, supervisors, clerks and school board secretaries has been another way of bringing the Bantu into closer touch with the administration of their educational system.

But the process of Bantuization has been slow. No Bantu persons hold offices of any significance in the Regional Offices and at the Head Office of Bantu Education. After an apprenticeship of seven years no Bantu sub-inspector has been raised to the position of inspector of schools. Many a Bantu graduate of a South African university can remember a former colleague of his who came from the Rhodesias or from East Africa or even from nearby Basutoland and Bechuanaland who has since risen to a position of eminence and responsibility in the government and administration of his native land. It is sad to reflect that many a South African Bantu who could have served his country with distinction has had to seek his fortune elsewhere. This loss of manpower, which we can ill afford, can only be counteracted by making greater use of it at home.

5. *Inadequate financial provision.*

The financing of Bantu education is based on the principle that the Bantu should find most of the money themselves. As we pointed out earlier, the contribution of the State has been pegged at R13 million per annum, and to this amount the Bantu contribute, by way of direct taxation, some R4 million annually. In addition to the R4 million the Bantu parent is required to find most of the money required to erect school buildings. He is also expected to make direct contributions to the funds of the school which his child attends.

While the present speaker strongly subscribes to the prin-

principle of subsidized education, he nevertheless feels that the contribution made by the State is pitifully inadequate for such a vital service as education. It is often argued that it is neither possible nor desirable that the three million Europeans in South Africa should carry the 10 million Bantu on their back. But no one seriously desires it: the Bantu still retain something of their pristine pride to ask for it. All they ask is that they be afforded the training and the opportunity to develop their Godgiven potentialities. Until such time as the Bantu control some of the wealth-producing enterprises in the country it does not seem unreasonable to plead that the National Treasury should provide more generously for their education. An otherwise well-planned system of education may fail to achieve its objectives mainly because of inadequate financial provision.

6. *Wanted: An educational philosophy.*

As we indicated in our introductory remarks, the practice of education in any school system depends upon the philosophy of life by the educators and by the people who support the system. The guiding principle in American life is the preservation of the democratic way of life as America understands it. Guided by that principle American educationalists like Dewey and Horne have written educational treatises in which they attempt to show how the American child and youth should be prepared for life in a democratic state. In present-day Russia the aim of all education is to advance and perpetuate the communist philosophy, and to raise up successive generations of inspired defenders of the communist way of life. In our own country we have the example of the Afrikaner people who uphold the Calvinist philosophy of life and whose educationists have formulated for their nation a philosophy of education which accords with its outlook on life and on the world.

Until now Bantu Africa has been content to accept uncritically ideals of life and of education which evolved elsewhere and under conditions often very dissimilar to those that obtain here. The teeming, timorous millions of Africa have now struck their tents and are in search of a new spiritual home. Whither the search will lead it is difficult to foretell; but one thing is certain: Bantu Africa alone can win or lose the battle for its own soul. In that sacred quest for the soul of a people it serves, this University College has an important part to play.

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