THE UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA

DEVELOPMENT OF PUBLIC ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION IN THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO THE TRANSVAAL

BEING A THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE COMMITTEE ON POST-GRADUATE STUDIES IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF EDUCATION

BY

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WINNIPEG, MANITOBA

MAY, 1949

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

The writer wishes to acknowledge the kindness and helpful co-operation of all those teachers, principals and officials of the Transvaal Education Department who so willingly introduced their Canadian colleague to the educational system of the Transvaal and to the complex but fascinating life of the varied races of South Africa. Equally appreciated is the recent co-operation of several South African educational departments in forwarding educational reports. Sincere thanks are tendered to Mr. A. G. Geeringh, M.A., of Krugersdorp, Transvaal, on exchange in Winnipeg, who has provided both written and verbal material covering very recent developments in education in the Transvaal. Finally, the writer wishes to express appreciation of the inspiration and guidance of Dr. D. S. Woods, Dean of the Faculty of Education, whose assistance has far exceeded that which might be expected of an Adviser.

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CHAPTER I

Purpose Setting and Validity of the Study

Comparative education, as Kandel[1] makes clear, is a branch of politics, interpreting education "as a part of the activity of humanity, organized into nations, for its own preservation and progress". Its value is not only in the resultant better understanding of educational systems, but also in "the development of an internationalism based not on emotion or sentiment, but arising from an appreciative understanding of other nations as well as our own."

It was with these two ideas in mind that the writer visited South Africa on Teachers' Exchange in 1938-39. Here he gained by personal experience that knowledge of the country, the people and the schools necessary as a foundation for a further examination of South Africa's educational system.

Provided with the necessary background, the writer entered upon the present descriptive, analytical and critical study for the further purpose of making available to students in Manitoba a comprehensive presentation of the development of public elementary and secondary education in the Union of South Africa, with particular reference to the Transvaal.

An understanding of the development of education in

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[1] Kandel, I. L. Comparative Education. Cambridge, Mass: The Riverside Press, Boston, U.S.A.: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1933, p. XXV.

South Africa can hardly be achieved without a fair knowledge of the complex history of that nation. For this reason the writer has provided in Part I an adequate outline of South African history. The general subject of the thesis, the development of education in South Africa, lends itself naturally to chronological treatment, with the exception that - as the educational systems of each province and the Union developed separately - clarity is increased by dealing with each such political unit in separate chapters. Finally, as this study is not of an experimental nature, no effort has been made to draw elaborate conclusions. Reading of the thesis as a whole should attain the object - an "appreciative understanding"[2] of South Africa's educational problems.

The validity of a study such as this depends to a large extent on three factors: first, on the breadth and depth of the personal experience of the author; second, on the reliability and comprehensiveness of the authorities studied; third, on the insight and understanding with which the writer of the thesis organizes and interprets the essential facts and ideas.

The author's personal experience in South Africa involved a year of teaching in two high schools in Johannesburg, the major city of the Transvaal, and over eleven thousand miles of travel in all provinces of the Union of South Africa and in Rhodesia. The two schools, King Edward High School and Athlone High School, each presented a different facet of South

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[2] ibid, p. XXV.

African education, the former resembling an English public school, the latter an American high school. The understanding gained by personal contact with the staff and pupils of these schools was enhanced by visits to some twenty other schools. These included "European" primary, elementary, junior high, agricultural and technical schools, and "non-European" elementary and secondary schools, Native, Coloured and Indian. During this year in South Africa the writer read widely on educational and related topics, attended school conventions and discussed educational matters with numerous South Africans, including both educational officials and laymen. This educational experience was generally confined to the Transvaal, but a knowledge of the Union as a whole, and of its people of all races, was gained through travel, mainly by car, in every province of South Africa. As these journeys were all in the nature of camping trips with other exchange teachers as guests, they provided a unique opportunity to gain understanding of the country and its people in relationship to the problem of education.

In entering upon the intensive study of educational literature necessary for the preparation of this thesis the author endeavoured to select his authorities with care. This problem was complicated by the limited amount of authoritative material relating to South Africa in the libraries of Winnipeg, and by the difficulties of securing books and reports from a country as distant as South Africa. A further and unusual complication was introduced by the serious paper shortage in

South Africa during and subsequent to the recent war, rendering it impossible to get copies of certain reports. Despite these difficulties the essential material has been secured, and where uncertainties existed, authentic information has been gained both by correspondence with persons in South Africa and by consultation with South African exchange teachers at present in Winnipeg.

In the preparation of Part I, the History of South Africa, the writer has leaned heavily upon the writings of the outstanding authority on South African history, Eric A. Walker, M.A. (Oxon.), King George the Fifth Professor of History at the University of Capetown. The South Africa volume of the Cambridge History of the British Empire, for which Mr. Walker was Adviser, has also been consulted. To provide information on the course of the Great Trek, reference has been made to the work of G. M. Theal, the classic historian of South Africa prior to the Twentieth Century. For an interpretation of the effects of the Trek, and of subsequent British actions in South Africa, use has been made of the impartial opinions and liberal views of Jan H. Hofmeyr, late Minister of Finance and brilliant assistant to Field-Marshal J. C. Smuts. For the period since 1924 it has been difficult to secure texts as scholarly in nature as the aforementioned, but the recent work of Lewis Sowden of Johannesburg has proved very valuable, combining as it does authentic fact with liberal opinion.

The authorities referred to for Part II, the

Development of Education in South Africa, are more numerous and include both primary and secondary sources. The central core of facts and interpretations has been gained from the writings of Dr. Ernst G. Malherbe, now Secretary for Education for the Union Government. Continual reference has been made both to his fully-documented dissertation on "Education in South Africa" and to his numerous articles in the Year Book of Education, London. All volumes of the Year Book of Education since 1936 have been scanned for relevant material on all aspects of public elementary and secondary education in South Africa. The accounts of education in all four provinces have been supplemented through reference to the Official Year Book of the Union of South Africa, 1938 and 1946 editions, and to the recent reports of their respective Education Departments. The chapters on education in the Transvaal have in addition been based on A. K. Bot's "A Century of Education in the Transvaal" and on information gleaned from departmental circulars, syllabi and handbooks. Equally important as a primary source have been the writer's own experiences in the schools of the Transvaal, most of which were summarized at the time in "Educational Jottings" from which extensive quotations have been taken.

However reliable and comprehensive the authorities drawn upon may be, the validity of the thesis as a whole depends, as has been stated, upon the insight and understanding of the writer. The writer trusts that he has succeeded in presenting a true picture of the development of education in

South Africa, and that this study will augment in both the author and its readers that quality referred to by Kandel as "an appreciative understanding of other nations."[3]

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[3] *ibid*, p. XXV.

PART ONE

HISTORY OF SOUTH AFRICA

CHAPTER II

Basic Characteristics

Complexity is the main characteristic of the history and the present condition of South Africa. The historian, Walker, sums up South African development as follows:

> "That story (the history of South Africa) is simple enough for nearly two hundred years after the foundation of Capetown; but thereafter, with the migration of the frontier farmers into the interior and their fitful pursuit by the British authorities, it becomes politically more complex than that of any other Dominion and, allowing for the difference in scale, socially more complex than that of the United States."[1]

To this complexity, geographic, racial, and historical factors have all contributed. Geographically the country is divided by mountain ranges, deserts and malarial lowlands, tending greatly to the isolation and division of its peoples, both European and Coloured. For the Europeans at least dispersion over this vast segmented area "made isolation and solitude their portion, and developed in them that resolute individualism which was to become a determining factor in South African history."[2]

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[1] Walker, Eric A. A History of South Africa. London: Longman's, Green & Co., 1928, p. 5.

[2] Hofmeyr, Jan. South Africa. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1931, p. 9.

Racially there are few lands more complex. The racial fortunes of no less than four major ethnic groups, European, Bantu, Indian and "Coloured" have been interwoven in the development of South Africa. Further, two of these ethnic groups, European and Bantu, have major subdivisions, which have been engaged in internecine struggles. The rivalry between Dutch and English has been so great as to be considered by several historians as the dominant factor in South African history. Among the many Bantu tribes warfare has been so common as to invite and necessitate the continual interference of both Dutch and English, leading to the complete subjugation of the great Bantu people by the Europeans.

Historically, the principals in South African development are Western civilization and tribal Africa.[3] The two European races, often bitterly divided against each other, have of necessity had to learn cooperation in the face of the greater danger of a vigorous Native race far more numerous than the Whites.

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[3] Walker, Eric A. op. cit. p. 6.

CHAPTER III

Dutch Foundations

Discovery by the Portuguese

Bartholemew Diaz, blown from the mouth of the Orange River around the Cape to Mossel Bay, in 1486, may be credited with the discovery of South Africa for the European races. Shortly after this the Portuguese put into the watering place in the shadow of Table Mountain, the first wayfarers at "the Tavern of the Seas" - the now great modern port of Capetown.

The Portuguese, not without cause, were the first to suffer from the wrath of the South African aborigines, for in 1510 Admiral D'Almeida and many of his men were slain on Salt River beach. Because of the proximity to gold and ivory, Portuguese bases were established on the east rather than the south coast. Because of rigidity, inefficiency and corruption, the Portuguese trade empire languished, and was finally snuffed to a smouldering state by the annexation, in 1580, of Portugal by Spain. Portuguese possessions in Africa were unprotected by Spain, and thus left to the mercy of Dutch and English.

Settlement by the Dutch (1581-1679)

The Cape Refreshment Station.- The Dutch had been for a long time the retailers for the Portuguese in the spice trade. The Northern provinces had revolted under William of

Orange, and as a result Philip closed Lisbon to Dutch shipping. The Dutch, in 1595, sailed around the Cape to Java, and were soon the leaders in the Eastern trade. A seafaring, trading and agricultural people, handy and industrious, the Dutch were much better fitted than the Portuguese for a work of maritime commerce and colonization.[1] The East India Company, with its headquarters at Amsterdam, was chartered in 1602, with full monopoly and sovereignty for twenty-one years. It was to the powerful Directors, "the Seventeen", that the rulers of the Cape had to give account of themselves. The company, on April 6, 1652, founded a refreshment station at the Cape - a full century and a half after its discovery. But for the caution of King James I, the English East India Company would have taken possession in 1620.

Jan Van Riebeeck, the seafaring surgeon entrusted with Cape settlement, which was to replace St. Helena, was instructed to build a fort named "Good Hope", to develop a garden, and to keep on good terms with the Natives for the benefit of the cattle trade.

The final control of the colony lay with the "Seventeen", but the immediate supervision of the Commander rested in the hands of the Governor General at Batavia. However the Commander at the Cape (Van Riebeeck for ten years), with his ships' council or "Council of Policy", was the real government of the settlement. No visiting commissioner landed until

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[1] Walker, Eric A. A History of South Africa. London: Longman's, Green & Co., 1928, p. 25.

1685, when "the Seventeen" were considering transforming their refreshment station into a real colony.

The Natives, in the opinion of Van Riebeeck and his colonists, were "dull, stupid, lazy and stinking", and not until 1685 did the Netherlanders recognize the difference between Bushmen, the Stone Age hunters, and Hottentots, the Copper Age sheep and cattle raisers. Unfortunately bickering between the tribes caused uncertainty in the cattle trade.

Development of Basic Problems. - As neither the cattle trade nor the official gardens proved satisfactory to supply the ships, the Directors decided to free some servants to raise cattle, corn and wine, and in 1657 nine such free burghers were established on the land. Within the very first year the burghers had revolted against the strict regulations of the Company, a portend of future trouble.[2] In the same year the first slaves were imported, the beginning of another contentious issue. In the next year occurred the first Hottentot war, symbolic of the most vital struggle to come - that between White and Native. The Cape burgher infantry came into being, forerunner of the "commandos" that were to wreak such havoc on English troops. Van Riebeeck attempted to lay down a frontier, but the insistent need for cattle forced traders far afield, indicative of the centrifugal forces that were to have their most striking expression in the Great Trek almost two hundred years later. Within the settlement slaves, half castes and detribalized Natives lived beside White South

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[2] ibid, p. 41.

Africans, and miscgenation was taking place. Moslems, Company servants sentenced to terms of servitude, began to arrive in 1667, and the "Cape Coloured" folk emerged. As Walker[3] points out, within the first few years of settlement "All of the economic and social problems which exercise South Africa today had begun to take shape before van Riebeeck's eyes."

Early Colonization by the Dutch East India Company

Between 1679 and 1717 the East India Company made a deliberate effort to transform its Cape refreshment station into a colony. The governorships of Simon van der Stel and his son Willem Adriaan covered the period of the arrival of the majority of the ancestors of the present Dutch or "Afrikaner" people. Unfortunately, in 1717, the decision was made to import slaves rather than White artisans, providing one basis for the later White citizens' conception of most labour as "Kaffir work."

The Dutch decision to colonize the Cape resulted from fear of French attack and the perennial shortage of cattle to provision the ships. The extension of the settlement to Stellenbosch and along the Berg River to Paarl and Tulbagh required local administrative and judicial officials, and the two functions were combined in the appointed "llandrosts" with power to levy a paid corvee, assess small duties on sheep and cattle, and to report applications for land grants. The llandrost system continued and spread even to the local republics of the middle nineteenth century.

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[3] ibid, p. 44.

Although the Company sent out a number of Dutch and German settlers, and many soldiers and Company servants took their letters of freedom at the Cape, the coming of the Huguenots was the most significant immigration, for these industrious Frenchmen could make wine, brandy and vinegar, could cultivate grapes and olives, and were skilled in other trades. Also, they were of a higher social level than the Dutch burghers.

Since the Directors were naturally somewhat afraid of the establishment of Frenchmen at the Cape, van der Stel settled them throughout the colony, interspersed with Dutch and German settlers, and although they were allowed to use their own language, it was not taught in the schools, and gradually died out as amalgamation took place. French played a part in breaking down spoken High Dutch into Afrikaans, later to become a national language.

The Trek-Boers.- The cultivation of grain began to assume an important place in the economy of the Cape, but in this as in cattle, wine and other products, seasonal gluts, Company purchase and monopoly retailing made the securing of a reasonable supply of cash a real problem for the burgher farmers. They had never been permitted to engage in the profitable cattle trade with the Hottentots, and the Company raised cattle on its own farm to provide competition and keep prices down. An authority outlines the resulting important development as follows:

"The difficulty was that cattle had far more

> attractions for the farmer than general agriculture; cattle could look after themselves and walk to market; there was a sure return on those that survived the trek. Wherefore, the laws against the trade were dead letters and a new social class began to emerge in the borderlands - the trek-Boer, the semi-nomadic frontiersman who was to blaze the trail for civilization far into the interior of Africa."[4]

Although Governor van der Stel issued innumerable regulations, he could stop neither the outward movement of the burghers nor their trading with the Natives. But he himself, and his son and successor Adriaan Willem, were both also breaking Company regulations by establishing large farms of their own, using Company labour in trying to "corner" the supply of meat and wine for sale to the Company. The burghers, led by Adam Tas, drew up a petition to the Directors and smuggled it to Batavia; the Governor imprisoned Tas and others without warrant. Then the Directors acted, recalling van der Stel and breaking up the officials' farms and market controls. The burghers had won in their first battle with the officials of the Company, but the Company, seriously alarmed, stopped sending out colonists.

By 1707 the free burgher population numbered seventeen hundred in all, already divided into three groups with widely divergent interests: townsmen, wine and grain farmers and the cattle farmers, already spread far beyond the mountains. These three groups have remained, until the present, as significant divisions in the economic and political life

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[4] ibid, p. 62.

of South Africa.

Commando System.- A development took place about 1715 that was to have far reaching effects on South African history. The successes of a purely burgher mounted commando against the Bushmen were so great that the Company withdrew its frontier military posts. Henceforth burgher commandos, compulsory but often under elected leaders, their expenses met by levies from the farm areas protected, were to be responsible for defense of the frontier.[5]

Slaves versus White Labour.- In 1713 a smallpox epidemic almost wiped out the Hottentot population, and an increase in the importation of slaves was necessary. Generally speaking, slavery at the Cape seldom took its cruellest form, and there were some provisions for manumission and the buying of freedom. To check the production of half-caste children, whose freedom might be in doubt, marriage between White and pure Blacks was forbidden in 1685, the first of the strict miscgenation laws to follow.[6]

After the governorship of the van der Stels, the Cape Colony appeared to slide backward. Cattle disease, degraded sheep flocks, shortage of timber, abandonment of the forestry scheme and uncertain grain crops brought Company revenue very substantially below expenditure, despite new taxes. The Council of Policy presented in 1717 a gloomy report of the agricultural possibilities of the Cape, and

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[5] ibid, p. 73.

[6] ibid, p. 76.

recommended slave rather than White labour.

The one dissenting voice was that of the far-sighted Commander of the garrison, Captain de Chavonnes.[7] With remarkable insight he perceived that the root of the Colony's economic difficulties was the inadequacy of its home market. The only remedy for that was an increase in its European population.

> "If the further importation of slaves were prohibited and people were gradually to accustom themselves to employ Europeans or Dutchmen born in this country as farm labourers etc., I am certain that it would be an advantage to the Company, and the welfare of the country."

In supporting this argument de Chavonnes pointed out the greater efficiency of European labour, the improvement in agriculture that would result from small freehold farms instead of plantations, and the potential defense forces made available by such an increase in the European population. Thirty years later Baron von Imhoff supported de Chavonnes suggested policy, but by that time the Colony's economy had been developed on a basis of slavery, and to this day Black labour is the backbone of the Union's development.

This turning point in South African history was also generally contemporary with the beginning of the decline of the Dutch East India Company and of Holland itself, resulting from the competition of France and the newly-united Great

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[7] Hofmeyr, Jan. South Africa. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1931, p. 32.

Britain. Mauritius was abandoned, and an attempt to take over Delagoa Bay failed. The Company and its officials, high and low, had become inefficient and corrupt. Governor Tulbagh instituted reforms, but on his death the burghers were again at the mercy of official corruption.

As the slave population became greater, there was a stiffening of laws, punishments and customs against them. The attempts to Christianize them ceased, for this might lead to their freedom, and as a result many of them adopted the Moslem religion. The effects of the increasing number of slaves on the White population were marked. Van Imhoff, in 1743, wrote words which are indicative of a condition existing even today. "But having imported slaves every common or ordinary European becomes a gentleman and prefers to be served rather than to serve."[8] He complained of the low quality of work produced by "half-trained artisans" and added "the majority of the farmers in the Colony are not farmers in the real sense of the word, but owners of plantations" many of whom consider it a shame to work with their hands. He pointed out that such a bad example made farm-hands worse.

Early Treks, Revolts and Kaffir Wars

By 1750 the Dutch East India Company was weakening. In its efforts to maintain its profits it endeavoured to regulate the Cape colonists and their trade even more strictly. While the grain and wine farmers of the West merely complained and ignored the trading regulations when they could, the

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[8] Walker, Eric A. op. cit. p. 85.

trek-Boers of the East spread out over the mountain passes into new valleys. Many came in to the Cape only once every year, with a load of butter and soap, while a few only came when there was no alternative - such as to present themselves and their brides before the hated matrimonial court. The ambition of every young cattle farmer was to get a lease from the Company of two cattle runs of four to six thousand acres, for each of which the annual rental was only two pounds, ten shillings. One run was used for summer grazing, and the other for winter grazing, and the Boers moved between the two. They kept buildings and improvements to the minimum not so much because of improper compensation by the Company as the certainty that on the death of the owner the "opstal" (buildings) would be sold, as all sons must share in the estate.

The trails for the trek wagons were blazed by the ivory hunters, and the wagons themselves could be taken apart and carried piece by piece over otherwise impassible sections of the trail. The Company was greatly concerned over this outward spread of the colony, particularly as the trek-Boers became involved in trouble with borderland Native tribes, and defied all Company authority.[9] One hundred years before the Great Trek the Company was faced with the first armed revolt of the trek-Boers. Actually, both Company and Church were forced by necessity to extend their activities in the wake of the early trekkers. By 1752 advance parties of the trek-Boers had crossed the Kei River near the lands of the powerful Bantu

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[9] ibid, p. 96.

tribes, and by 1760 they had reached the Orange River.

In the face of the trek-Boer advance many of the Hottentots withdrew to the last mountain barriers, including a powerful group, the Griquas, under Chief Adam Kok. Most of the Hottentots, however, gradually became absorbed into the Coloured population. Between the Bushmen and the Boer commandos, it was a fight to the death. But as the trek-Boers moved eastward they met, at the Fish River, opponents who were to be much more their equals, Bantu tribes, - at first, the Xosas. In the beginning the relations were fairly friendly, but as both White and Native races were on the move, in opposite directions, serious trouble was bound to develop.

Meanwhile, the trekkers were becoming more and more independent and less civilized, although they tried hard to keep in touch with the church and book learning, often trekking hundred of miles for baptism and "nachtmaals" (church communions). The children were taught by their parents to read the Bible and recite the Psalms by heart. Naturally, however, as a result of their hard life and unceasing warfare against animals and Natives the trek-Boers lost most of the tender graces of civilization.

Their rivals, the Bantu, although composed of many tribes, were strongly organized under paramount chiefs with almost complete power in time of war, nevertheless controlling loosely the many lesser chiefs in times of peace. For this reason and others including the easy foundation of new clans, it was difficult for Europeans to know where the Bantu

authority really lay.[10] The Bantu were a very warlike, loyal and patient people. Their economy was based on cattle, their medium of exchange and measure of the value of wives. Their political system was based on landholding, and war was the final arbitrer of tribal ownership. Contracts and treaties had to be verbal, for the Bantu had no writing. Further, a chief could not "cede" actual possession of land; he could cede only control; the members of the tribe could not be dispossessed of their rights to use the grass, timber and game on the land. Further, once a Bantu had broken land for farming, with the chief's permission, it remained his for all time whether occupied or not. It is easy to see how these Bantu conceptions would clash with European ideas of ownership, and still easier to understand how the two expanding and opposing cattle-raising groups, Boer and Bantu, would clash over ownership of the land.

The first Kaffir War, the forerunner of innumerable others, broke out along the Fish River in 1779. The Bantu, organized in regiments under strict military discipline, and armed with ox-hide shield, knobkerry and assegai, were dangerous antagonists to the small groups of undisciplined farmers armed with clumsy flintlocks, and only with difficulty did the colonists win this first encounter. A second war with the Xosas broke out ten years later, the Dutch military commander in the area capitulated, and a third war in 1792 likewise resulted in Xosa victory. The Company officials at

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[10] ibid, p. 117.

Capetown blamed the trek-Boers and issued regulations restricting their movements and activities. The trekkers rightly complained that the Company was a hindrance instead of a help, therefore they set up their own local government of "Nationals", and organized a raid to Kaffirland to recover their stolen cattle.

At this juncture, June 11, 1795, nine British warships, with troops, anchored in Simon's Bay near Capetown, their commanders, Craig and Elphinstone, hoping to complete friendly occupation under the terms of a secret treaty with the House of Orange.

Central Factors in Early Development

The modern writer, H. V. Morton, who takes a panoramic view of South Africa and its historical background, sums up the period of Dutch settlement in rather striking pictorial terms:

> "So, early in the story of South Africa, two ways of life are visible: the settled west, where property descended from father to son, where the vines and the corn and the peaches ripened in fertile valleys; and the tougher, coarser life of the ever-moving east, where long whips cracked over the horns of oxen and loaded wagons flanked by herds of grazing cattle moved slowly in search of new grassland. And as the white ranchers moved eastward, black ranchers in tribal hordes were moving west, and it was only a question of time before they clashed. By the time Britain stepped into the Cape in 1795, the outposts were already in touch. Boer and Bantu had met at last.

"That was the South Africa to which a handful of British officials came during the opening phase of the struggle that grew into the Napoleonic War. Soon after came the missionaries."[11]

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[11] Morton, H. V. In Search of South Africa. London: Methuen & Co., 1948, pp. 100-101.

CHAPTER IV

Early British Rule

The First British Occupation

Corruption, wars and the rise of revolutionary republican ideas were gradually sapping the strength of the Dutch East India Company from 1778 until its declaration of bankruptcy in 1794. The House of Orange, swept under by the French republican tide, turned to Britain for help. However, the Dutch at the Cape hoped to play both sides in the war, and fought ineffectually against occupation by British forces. Resistance continued from the pro-republican "Nationals" of Graaf Reinet and the eastern frontier. From the first the British commanders experienced the difficulty of controlling frontier cattle-stealing raids by both Kaffirs and Boers who rose against British authority. General Vandeleur suppressed the uprising, and quickly analysed the problem. As Walker sums up the situation:

> "Well might Vandeleur write that either the Boers and the British together must drive the Kaffirs from the Zuurveld or the British must build a fort there and watch the Boers and the Natives fight it out. Three generations of fluctuating British policy were foreshadowed in that one sentence."[1]

Last Period of Dutch Rule

The British governors, during the temporary

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[1] Walker, Eric A. A History of South Africa. London: Longman's, Green & Co., 1928, p. 138.

occupation, made little change in the administrative system of the colony. After the Treaty of Amiens the control of South Africa was handed over to the Batavian Republic which ruled for only three years.

The main changes during this short period of Dutch rule, between 1802 and 1806, were closer relations between the central government and outlying districts, and the reorganization of local government providing for "veld cornets", district assistants to the "llandrosts", with military and civil powers in their districts. These "field cornets" were very similar in duties and privileges to the Tudor justices of the peace. They became basic officials of the Boer republics later to develop. Commissioner General de Mist was responsible for these reforms and also for two proposals that shocked the community - civil marriages, and a system of public schools under a Board of Education and free from clerical control. These proposals were rendered ineffective, however, by the return of the British, who found it necessary to ensure control of their half-way house to India.

The state of culture at the close of Dutch rule may be judged from the impartial remarks of de Mist himself, who was a man of some literary reputation in addition to being an administrator. He laments that "in general, the young people are indolent, and seem to possess an intense prejudice against exerting themselves mentally."[2] He attributed this condition to the lack of facilities for education, for at that time there

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[2] Cambridge History of the British Empire, Vol. VIII, South Africa. Cambridge: University Press, 1936.

was only one school in the colony where Latin was taught, and four elementary schools, the rural population depending almost entirely upon itinerant teachers and periodical catechism classes.

The Second British Occupation

The new British administration was definitely Tory, and naturally conservative in its ideas, convinced that too much liberty meant revolution, as it had in America and France. Nevertheless few legal changes were made, except for a proclamation foreshadowing use of English as the official language. Governor Somerset did much to encourage agriculture, especially horse raising and the development of flocks of Merino sheep. Both governors Somerset and Cradock devoted themselves to the improvement of education.

Missionary Activity.- Even more important, missionary endeavour developed rapidly through four main societies; the South African Missionary Society, the Moravian Brethren, the London Missionary Society and the Church Missionary Society. The major influence of this missionary movement is summed up by Walker:

> "The coming of the missionaries did more than stimulate the religious life in the Colony. It interested the organized semi-educated, evangelically-minded and entirely vocal middle-class which was rising to wealth and influence in the wave of the Industrial Revolution, in the peoples of the colonies and above all in the aborigines. Henceforward, to an increasing degree, native policies had to be carried out under watchful eyes at home and in the colonies themselves. Liberalism, driven out of the State by the British Tories, began to return through

the Church, and in due time caused a revolution in the old Cape Colony."[3]

The first major result of the humanitarian movement, of which missionary activity was a part, was the abolition of the slave trade by Great Britain in 1807. With the stoppage of this trade the free burgher population rapidly outstripped the slave population; and both the value and the care of slaves improved. The missionary influences at the Cape now turned their attention to the maltreatment of slaves, particularly by the frontier Boers. The circuit court dealt with these cases, and despite the difficulty of getting evidence, many cruelties were revealed. However, the political effect of this "Black Circuit" was unhappy, for the Boers were put to inconvenience and risk by having to travel to the court at the close of a Kaffir war, and all bitterly objected to being hailed into court on the suspicions of a group of missionaries and Hottentots.[4] For many years the London Missionary society fared badly, particularly because of the opposition of Somerset who felt that the mission stations were dangerous in more ways than one. Since a regulation of Governor Cradock had the effect of reducing the Hottentots to serfs, many of these, of the Bushmen and of the "Bastards" (Griquas) escaped from the Colony to take refuge at these borderland mission stations, where resultant border trouble often occurred.

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[3] Walker, Eric A. op. cit. p. 151.

[4] ibid, p. 156.

Alarmed by the unfavourable reports reaching England, the London Missionary Society in 1819, sent Dr. John Philip to become superintendent of all their South African missions. Philip, because of his strong character and long service became a leading political figure in South Africa and a major influence regarding Native policy. He reinforced the Griqua station, and persuaded Somerset to extend British authority to Griqualand beyond the Orange River. He demanded legal equality with Europeans for the Hottentots, and when this was not forthcoming, reported to the Society in England on their problems and those of slavery in South Africa.

The 1820 Settlers.- Cradock, in a major campaign in 1812 cleared out the Zuurveld, rolled the Kaffir back across the Fish River, and established block houses to keep them there. Although this was a decisive act the Boers might well have appreciated, the use of Hottentot troops (added to memories of the Black Circuit) and the shooting of a Boer who refused to appear before the court caused some to revolt. The rebels were forced to surrender, and the execution after trial of five of the rebels caused "Slachter's Nek" to become a symbol of British oppression to many of the Boers.[5] Governor Somerset, having lost his best troops, was forced to raise the "Cape Corps" of Hottentots and mixed breeds, and declare the lands Cradock had cleared to be unoccupied neutral territory. He realized that the only final solution was immigration and sent to Downing Street a bright picture

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[5] ibid, p. 160.

of the prospects in the Eastern District. The result was that in 1820 nearly five thousand British settlers of a very good type landed and were established around the present Port Elizabeth. Somerset was in England at the time of their arrival, and on his return objected violently to the manner in which his assistant, Sir R. S. Donkin, had modified the frontier policy. A depression, droughts, and floods helped spread poverty throughout Cape Colony. The 1820 settlers were in addition faced with the dangers and depredations of snakes, lions, elephants and hyenas, and more serious, with cattle-stealing raids by their Kaffir neighbours. Fortunately the Boer farmers proved very helpful. An association was formed in Capetown for the relief of the settlers, and Lord Charles Somerset, after a visit to the eastern district, provided title deeds and essential loans.[6] Thus were laid the foundations of the prosperous Eastern Province and of the English-speaking minority in South Africa. Only through the fiery energy of Col. Harry Smith, however, were the 1820 settlers saved from destruction by the Kaffir invasion of 1834. Fortunately the amazing self-destruction of the Xosas tribe in their orgy of cattle killing a few years later eased the pressure on this frontier settlement, which soon included the towns of Port Elizabeth, Bathurst and Grahamstown.[7]

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[6] Colvin, Ian D. South Africa. London: Thomas Nelson & Sons Ltd., 1936, pp. 242-43.

[7] ibid, pp. 260-63.

Change and Emancipation

Evangelical pressure in England had finally resulted in a House of Commons Commission of Inquiry into the affairs of Cape Colony, especially the treatment of the Natives. The Commissioners, Major W. Colebrooke and J. T. Bigge, recommended political, constitutional and economic reforms which led directly to the Great Trek. First of these was the restoration of finances, an essential reform because the Colony was flooded with paper money of uncertain value. The British government acted generously, but the devaluation naturally harmed creditors and deflated land values. In addition, because the expenditures of the Colony greatly exceeded the revenues, the government could not afford to police the frontiers adequately.

As was to be expected, these financial measures made Somerset more unpopular, and as a result Earl Bathurst decided to set up a Council of Advice at Capetown. The Commissioners of Inquiry suggested such a council for the Eastern District. This action was the beginning of the long but unsuccessful struggle for separation of the Eastern District, a separation which probably would have been a wise act because of the six hundred miles between Grahamstown and Capetown and the serious frontier and Native problems of the Eastern District.

In the year 1828 the official language of the Colony became English, which change caused added difficulty to the Afrikaners in court appearances. In the same year the whole legal system was reorganized on English lines, using trained

jurists, and the courts of the llandrosts and their deputies were replaced by those of resident magistrates.

On the other hand, the Dutch Reformed Church was given an additional measure of corporate liberty and organized under a synod and local presbyteries. The government continued to pay the salaries of many clergy of the varied denominations in the Colony.

The coming of English and Scottish settlers and the political temper of the times led to a demand for representative institutions.[8] The British government refused for many good reasons, one being the racial divisions of this slave-holding society and the other being the prevailing low English opinion of the Cape Dutch.

With the election of the Reform government in England in 1883 the situation changed, and Executive and Legislative councils were established, the latter with five to seven nominated citizens. With the new government came a new Colonial Secretary, Lord Glenelg, and a new governor, Sir Benjamin D'Urban, who was to consider the matter of municipal institutions, to free the slaves and to develop a suitable Native policy. The first problem was settled by giving permission to towns to elect Boards of Commissioners under the local magistrate to levy taxes and handle local affairs.

The problem of emancipation was more difficult. Five years earlier the Hottentots and other "free persons of colour" had been granted civil liberty enabling them to own

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[8] Walker, Eric A. op. cit. p. 172.

land. The colonial officials and farmers regarded the Hottentots as an alternative labour force to the slaves, and objected to the missionary societies draining them off to the mission stations. However, Philip felt strongly, and probably rightly, that the Hottentot and other Coloured folk should have land of their own. For several years prior to 1833 the regulations on slaveholding and treatment had become more stringent, and the colonists, seeing that emancipation was only a matter of time, tried to delay it, and to arrange the transition to their best advantage. The actual Emancipation Act was received quietly in Cape Colony, as it provided for a four-year apprenticeship of freed slaves and for financial compensation. The farmers and officials concentrated on obtaining a vagrancy law which would enable control of the freed Coloured folk and their service under contract. Another Kaffir War interfered with the satisfactory settlement of this question. An added cause of discontent was that the actual compensation for slaves amounted to less than half the previous assessment, and it was payable in London. Most of the slave owners were forced to sell their vouchers to speculators at a high discount; all slave owners suffered heavy losses, and many had their mortgages foreclosed.[9] Judge Cloete, a contemporary writer, estimates that compensation for his slaves turned out to be only one tenth of their value. He continues: "and the agriculturists there found themselves totally deprived of every vestige of labour to

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[9] ibid, p. 181.

improve or cultivate their farms, or even to superintend or herd their flocks."[10]

Port Natal

The greatest problem that D'Urban had to face, however, was the combined one of frontier expansion and Native wars. The rise of Chaka's Zulu empire, expanded by his fiercely disciplined impis with their crescent formation, shield and assegai, had created terror and chaos among the other Bantu tribes and driven them in all directions, including toward the frontiers of Cape Colony. On the other hand two English traders, Farewell and King, had bought in 1874 a tract of land around Port Natal (Durban) from Chaka in return for helping him with guns. Because of the threat of Zulu attack on the Cape Colony, the government realized the strategic position of this fine harbor for outflanking the Zulus, but not until 1842 did the British take official occupancy.

Kaffir Wars

More pressing than the problem of Port Natal was the increasing area being opened up by traders, trek-Boers, ne'er-do-wells, and perhaps most venturesome of all, missionaries.[11] All these could cause border troubles and required protection. As the Eastern District was filling up, and the Xosas and other Bantu tribes provided a barrier, the

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[10] Worsfold, W. Basil. A History of South Africa. London: J. M. Dent & Co., 1900, p. 63.

[11] Walker, Eric A. op. cit. p. 185.

trek-Boer movement was shifting toward the north, along "the Missionaries' Road", first into Griqualand across the Orange River. Sheep raising was providing competition to the cattle farmers, and when, in 1832, by the Ripon Scheme, it was decided that public lands would no longer be granted freely, but sold at public auction, the trek-Boers felt that their birthright had been taken away. Within two years three scouting treks were sent out, and reported fine unoccupied lands to the north and east.

Like most of his predecessors and successors, Governor D'Urban was troubled by incessant Native wars. Only the energy of Col. Harry Smith succeeded in overcoming the Xosas, resulting in the establishment of "Queen Adelaide" province, shortly abandoned. Mutual aid treaties were made with such border tribes as the Griquas and the Basutos, the latter rapidly gaining power under their capable chief, Moshesh.

Missionary Influence

The most difficult problem in South Africa, then as now, was the formulation and execution of a satisfactory Native policy. Unfortunately the controlling voice in that policy was the Colonial Secretary, six thousand miles away. In the 1830's that official was Lord Glenelg, who was greatly influenced by the missionary societies, their main source of information being the rather indiscreet Dr. John Philip. The officials on the spot in South Africa, such as Governor

D'Urban, Colonel Harry Smith and Sir George Napier realized the necessity for a strong frontier policy, including border forts and support of the border settlers, British or Boer. Lord Glenelg accepted instead the missionary idea of border native states under paramount chiefs advised by the missionaries. The situation proved impossible for the border settlers, who must endure cattle raids and even massacres, but were prohibited from retaliating. Not only was the border policy unsound, but it was vacillating, and produced a situation which became one of the major causes of the Great Trek.[12]

South Africa's historian, G. M. Theal, points out, in the following paragraph, the extremes to which the missionaries went, and the impossible situation this created for the Boers.

> "It is not a pleasant admission for an Englishman to make, but it is the truth, that it would be difficult to find in any part of the world a people with so much cause to be discontented as the old inhabitants of the Cape Colony for many years after the fall of the ministry of the Earl of Liverpool. There was no sympathy whatever shown towards them by the authorities in England, in fact there was a decided antipathy, which was fostered by the so-called philanthropic societies then at the height of their power. The most outrageous stories concerning the colonists were circulated by men who bore the title of Christian teachers - and nothing was too gross to be believed in England - until the word Boer (Dutch for Farmer) came to be regarded as a synonym for an ignorant and heartless oppressor of coloured people. It was useless for the governors to report differently, or for the courts of law to pronounce the stories libellous; the great societies

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[12]Fairbridge, Dorothea. A History of South Africa. London: Oxford University Press, 1918, pp. 203-5.

condemned the Boers, and the great societies represented and led public opinion in England."[13]

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[13] Theal, George M. South Africa. London: T. F. Unwin, 1894.

CHAPTER V

The Great Trek, 1835-1848

Importance of the Trek

The Great Trek was undoubtedly one of the major events of South African history, resulting as it did in the opening of vast new territories and in the establishment of new states and colonies. Even today it is potent in South African life and politics as a symbol, almost religious in nature, of the deep love of the Boer for independence and a national home of his own. Symbolic it is, too, of the bitter warfare necessary to the subjugation of the Bantu peoples, and of the necessity for everlasting watchfulness to ensure the continuance of White supremacy.

Causes of the Trek

Some of the primary causes of the Great Trek of frontier Boers away from British rule have been indicated in the preceding chapter. Williamson sums up Boer dissatisfaction as follows:

> "The causes of Boer discontent were manifold in detail but all leading to one conclusion, hatred not so much of their British fellow-colonists as of British methods of government. In addition to racial feeling and religion, such factors as the favoured treatment accorded to Hottentots, emancipation, missionary activities and the policy of limiting expansion in a boundless country, all helped to shape the movement, which was essentially

an attempt to throw off British citizenship at the cost of much hardship and personal sacrifice."[1]

At the root of the differences between the Trek Boers and the British administration was a difference in ideas and beliefs. As Worsfold[2] points out, the English government was attempting to apply Nineteenth Century ideas to a Seventeenth Century people. Such modern ideas included the conversion and civilization of the Native on a basis of equality, and a respect for law and its processes and for the administrative machinery necessary to the government of such a vast and complex colony as South Africa. This meeting of the Seventeenth Century and the Nineteenth Century is a remarkably interesting episode, but one bound to result in bitter conflicts.[3]

Trekking had been a natural activity of the Boer frontiersmen for generations, although Boer farmers who had been provided with satisfactory land showed a general tendency to settle down on it. The young men, however, continually required land and when no more was to be had to the east, they trekked north across the Orange. The conditions outlined in the preceding sections, combined with a severe drought, were major causes of the Great Trek, but at its core lay grievances, republican ideas and the desire "to govern

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[1] Williamson, James A. A Short History of British Expansion. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1931, p. 122.

[2] Worsfold, W. Basil. A History of South Africa. London: J. M. Dent & Co., 1900, p. 35.

[3] Morton, H. V. In Search of South Africa. London: Methuen & Co., 1948, p. 101.

ourselves without interference", as Piet Retief phrased it. The lack of representative government, even of a local nature was a major factor as was the Boers' feeling that they had no spokesman to Parliament or to the King, as the missionaries had. The British proved their inability to provide security for frontier farmers, while the freeing of the slaves and the privileges given to Hottentots and other Natives through missionary influence were shocks to the Boers' racial pride. Walker makes clear that:

"If any one cause, other than economic pressure, can be named as the cause par excellence of the Great Trek, it is the fear of equality."[4]

An unusually trenchant summary of the major causes of the Great Trek is provided by Theal, in the following paragraph.

> "Let us look briefly at the grievances which determined their conduct. First, there was subjection by a foreign and unsympathetic government. Second, there was the prohibition of their language in the public offices and courts of law. Third, there was the superintendent of the London Missionary Society, their ablest and most relentless opponent, in possession of boundless influence with the British authorities. Fourth, there were the slanderous statements made by the philanthropic societies in England concerning them. Fifth, there was the sudden emancipation of their slaves without adequate compensation. Sixth, there was the whole mass of coloured people placed upon a political footing with them, and that without a vagrant act being put into force. Seventh, there was no security for life or property in the eastern districts, which were exposed to invasion

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[4] Walker, Eric A. A History of South Africa. London: Longman's, Green & Co., 1928, p. 207.

by the Kosas, as the secretary of state took part with the barbarians."[5]

Course of the Trek

Once started, the Trek took on an almost religious quality, and the women seemed even more enthusiastic for it than the men. Most of the trekkers sold their farms to finance their trip, the main item being the purchase of a trek wagon and a span of sixteen good oxen. Their cattle and sheep were herded as the wagons trekked. The country abounded with buck and other game, and the Boers were excellent shots. In certain areas and seasons there might be a shortage of water, but the only serious obstacles were the Bantu tribes, mainly Matabele and Zulu, and, in certain lowland areas, malaria and the deadly tsetse fly. The first two trek parties of Louis Trichardt and van Rensburg reached the Zoutpansberg Mountains in the Northern Transvaal and turned east, being practically wiped out by malaria and hostile Natives respectively. A. H. Potgieter, whose party contained the boy Paul Kruger, secured cession from a Native chief of a vast area between the Vet and the Vaal River. Combining with Gerrit Maritz, who was elected llandrost, they defeated the Matabele in 1836. In 1837 the group was joined by the trek party of Piet Retief, the ablest and most statesmanlike of the Voortrekkers, who soon established his leadership and was elected Governor, Maritz acting as President. Retief was

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[5] Theal, George M. South Africa. London: T. F. Unwin, 1894, p. 196.

wise and moderate in his Native policy and made treaties with all tribes willing. The trek group shortly divided into two parties, and Retief decided to settle in Natal.

The loss of its best commando material seriously weakened the Colony's frontiers, and D'Urban did all he could by concessions and promises to persuade the Boers to remain. Further, he was in a quandary as to whether or not he was to recognize the independence of the emigrants. However, the answer to this question was left to his successor Sir George Napier. The storm centre was Natal, into which the trekkers were pouring from the west, and where, in 1838 Piet Retief and seventy Boer followers were massacred by Dingaan's Zulus immediately after the chief had signed over to them ownership of Natal. His impis then fell upon the trek groups, at Weenan and other places, and as the trek leaders apparently failed to cooperate, they suffered disaster. The Zulus also drove back two English expeditions and captured Port Natal. A third English expedition rescued the port, while the Boers, under A. J. W. Pretorius, finally overwhelmed Dingaan's impis at Blood River, December 16, 1838 - now "Dingaan's Day", a national holiday in South Africa, commemorating the supreme triumph of Boer over Bantu.

The Boers organized a fairly elaborate republic, with Volksraad (People's Council), llandrosts and field cornets, but without a real executive except in time of war. At the very moment the British troops withdrew and the Republicans hoisted their flag, Lord John Russell, Secretary of

state, was finally signing authority for the annexation of Natal. Since their independence was now gone and the British would not permit slavery or the colour bar, many trekkers returned to the Orange-Vaal high veld.

The Great Trek had, by 1842 almost completed its course, and what followed in the succeeding years was only a confused struggle between Boer, Bantu and Briton for control of the land in the frontier areas. The British tried to restrict the trek through treaties with Native chiefs such as Moshesh, but governors such as Maitland and Sir Harry Smith were compelled by circumstances to extend British authority over disputed areas including British Kaffraria to the east and the whole high veld area south of the Vaal River. By 1848 only the unorganized Transvaal Boers were free from British authority, and British settlers had begun pouring into Natal.

CHAPTER VI

Early Development of the Colonies and States

Introduction

The period of 1848-1868 is marked by three major factors: vacillation of British policy regarding South Africa; struggles with the Natives, particularly the Basutos, and the birth struggles of three new governments, the colony of Natal and the independent states of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State. An almost unnoticed but very significant development was the entry of Indian indentured labour. At least one man, Sir George Grey realized even at this early date that confederation was the only solution of South African problems, particularly the Native problem - but the time for union was not yet ripe.

General Development of the Cape Colony

With the rapid rise of Free Trade sentiment in England, manifested in the repeal of the Corn Laws and the Navigation Acts, all parties had lost interest in colonies - "a millstone round our necks" as even protectionist Disraeli termed them.[1] On the other hand, both public and ministries wished to establish parliamentary institutions in the colonies

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[1] Walker, Eric A. A History of South Africa. London: Longman's, Green & Co., 1928, p. 243.

before parting on good terms. All Britain required of South Africa was the naval base in the Cape Peninsula, and she hoped to shift to the South African peoples the expense of Native wars.

The appointed Legislative Council of the Cape had proved to be of little influence and considerable agitation for an Assembly was building up, stirred by Christoffel Brand in his "Zuid Afrikaan" and Robert Godlonton in his "Grahamstown Journal", the latter being an advocate also of separation of the Eastern Province. The objections raised by Stanley of the Peel ministry included the matter of division, the explosive problem of coloured franchise, the difficulty of securing adequate political ability in the Assembly and Councils, and the perennial arguments about the site of the capital.

Fortunately, by 1846, the Colony was in a thriving condition financially as a result of previous financial reforms, expanding trade particularly in Merino and Angora wool, hides, and skins. Towns and villages were developing in all areas, and municipal institutions had spread rapidly since 1837. The Dutch Reformed Church was also expanding and its synod had been given full power in church affairs. The first Anglican Bishop of Capetown was appointed in 1848, and the Church of England extended its influence. There was considerable expansion of state aid to education.

The primary material needs of the colony were magistrates, roads and labour. The first need was effectively

met, and in attempting to supply the second the colony fortunately stood firmly against proposals to send convicts. Governor Sir Harry Smith was in the position, in 1850, of having to hold the convict ship "Neptune" five months in harbour without permitting the convicts to land in order to placate public indignation.[2]

Popular political institutions were proposed by Lord Grey, and became effective in 1854, when Sir George Grey became governor. The most significant point in the approved constitution was that, since all Her Majesty's subjects "without distinction of class or colour, should be united by one bond of loyalty and a common interest", all adult male British subjects were granted franchise on fulfilling the necessary conditions.[3] Thus the policy of equality was accepted in Cape Colony rather than that of the previous "Fiftieth Ordinance" based on the colour of the skin.

Establishment of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State

In the Transvaal the three main trek leaders, Potgieter, Burger and Pretorius at least temporarily healed their differences, resulting in the institution of the first Transvaal Volksraad in 1850. In 1852 the British government which had decided to rid itself of its responsibilities in South Africa, negotiated with Pretorius the important Sand River Convention, promising the Boers beyond the Vaal

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[2]Fairbridge, Dorothea. A History of South Africa. London: Oxford University Press, 1918, pp. 237-38.

[3]Walker, Eric A. op. cit. p. 252.

freedom to manage their own affairs if they did not encroach south of the Vaal, and abstained from slavery. Trade and free movement was to be facilitated.

The British, in their attempts to manage their "Orange River Sovereignty", were harassed by warfare with the Basutos and lack of cooperation from the Boers and their commandos. Therefore, in 1854, by the Bloemfontein Convention, the Orange Free State was given independence on terms similar to those for the Transvaal. Unfortunately no definite settlement was made of the borders between the Basutos and Griquas and the Boers. In addition, the fifteen thousand Europeans in the area were woefully lacking in political experience.

Developments in the Transvaal

The White population of the Transvaal numbered only twenty-five thousand, and as in the Free State, it was scattered over an immense area, and divided by great tracts held for speculation.

Houses were small and crude, usually of clay, but almost every village had a substantial church built by common effort. Three schoolmasters arrived from Holland in 1850 to supplement the teaching of reading the Bible, formerly provided only by parents and the itinerant teachers.[4] Children of the trekkers were taught in particular the books of Exodus and Joshua, which told the story their fathers had re-enacted. Although the land could produce good grain, vegetables and

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[4] ibid, p. 270

fruit the inhabitants of the two states were practically all cattle farmers. Their difficulties included wild men, wild beasts, malaria and lack of hard money, and quarrels among the inhabitants.

In the Transvaal feuds between the Potgieters in the northern Transvaal and the Pretorius's in the south weakened the state. Another Transvaal problem was the securing of an eastern port, now that the British controlled Natal. More serious was the complete lack of any central executive in the Transvaal, the undefined powers of the Volksraad and the Commandants-General, and the unruly nature of Het Volk, "the people". A major issue which caused much bitterness was the relation of the local Dutch Reformed Church to the Church at the Cape. Once this issued was disposed of, a constitution was drawn up, and in 1856 the "South African Republic" was instituted with its capital at Pretoria, one important clause being that there was to be no toleration of equality between Black and White in either church or state.[5] The Zoutpansberg and Lydenberg areas declared their independence as separate republics. Hofmeyr, in describing the character of the trek-Boers, gives some idea of the cause of such political separation.

> "The Trek Boers, lacking social intercourse with civilized individuals, and leading the monotonous life of the herdsman, varied only by continual warfare with wild animals and wilder Kaffirs, were bound to sink considerably in the scale of civilization, but actually they were

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[5] ibid, pp. 275-6.

rather amazingly successful in the maintenance of their standards, and developed in addition qualities of rare courage, persistence and self reliance.

Yet their isolation caused them to be very limited in their outlook, impatient of the restraints of civilized government, and difficult to unite in effective cooperation."[6]

Natal

Natal had been almost deserted by the Boers, and its eight thousand inhabitants (mainly English, and a vigorous lot) were surrounded by one hundred and fifty thousand Bantu, and thus cut off from land contact with Cape Colony. Municipal government developed. Lieutenant-Governors gained increasing freedom from Cape control, and in 1856 the province was created a Crown Colony, with a Legislative Council of four officials and twelve elected members - a new experiment. The British government provided for a franchise which took no account of colour, and provided five thousand pounds annually for the benefit of the Natives.

Effect of Division

The division of South Africa into seven or eight colonies and republics with relatively stable boundaries in no way solved its political problems. Although geographic barriers and racial and political differences had brought about these divisions, the major governing factor in South African development, as Sir George Grey pointed out, was

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[6]Hofmeyr, Jan. South Africa. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1931, p. 46.

(and still is) the Native question, and it was one and indivisible. Grey showed the absurdity of the division between the Cape Colonists and the Republicans, and prophesied that if the European states could not come together in peace they would certainly meet in another war. The inevitability of such a war was because of the fact that if one state, by its policies, put undue pressure on the Natives or was unable to control them, this would probably have serious repercussions in the other states. The smallness of the European states gave the Natives courage, and the abandonment of her Native allies by Britain in the Sand River and Bloemfontein Conventions caused Native tribes to combine for mutual protection.

Sir George Grey, High Commissioner for South Africa, in his famous dispatch of November 19, 1858, clarified and emphasized the other disadvantages that resulted from the division into several states.

> "Again such petty states must be constant foci of intrigue and internal commotions, revolutions or intestine wars. The affairs which occupy their legislatures are so small that they can raise no class of statesmen to take enlarged and liberal views. They can only inadequately provide for the education or religious instruction of their people. They can possess no able bar, no learned judges, can have no efficient administration of justice. Trade and commerce must therefore necessarily languish. Their revenues will be so small that they cannot efficiently provide for their protection. Hence a new incentive is given to the surrounding native races to attack them. Life and property thus became insecure and a general lawlessness follows ... South Africa ...

appears to be drifting, by not very slow degrees, into disorder and barbarism ... !"[7]

For the reasons outlined in his dispatch Grey did all in his power to federate the British colonies and the Free State as the link between the Cape and Natal. Unfortunately he faced the rivalry of Pretorius, who also wished to incorporate the Free State in his South African Republic. In addition his plans suffered from vacillation and lack of support in Britain. This failure to federate, related to and supplemented by economic depression and Native resurgence, explains the dismal South African situation of the eighteen sixties. The Bantu, by getting guns and learning European methods of warfare were almost a match for the Europeans, who had not as yet the use of the machine gun. As a result the Transvaal had to abandon its northern areas, and the Orange Free State became involved in such a deadly struggle with the Basuto that British authority had to be extended over Basutoland. Railways, however, which would make possible the subjection of the Natives and lay the communications net-work necessary to federation, were begun in 1859, and by 1885 three lines from the Cape ports had converged on Kimberley.[8]

Varying Native Policies

In Cape Colony the Native policy had tended to fusion of the races and civil and political equality among

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[7] Walker, Eric A. op. cit. p. 280.

[8] Botha, C. Graham. South Africa, Past and Present. Capetown: Cape Times Limited, 1938, o. 119.

all races. In Natal the vast influx of Natives after the defeat of the Zulus led to a policy of great Native reserves, eventually to have European agents in each to supervise education and agricultural training, with discipline maintained by Native police under European officers. Theophilus Shepstone was responsible for this plan, for recognition and development of the tribal system under chiefs, and for advocating the use of Native law, even for Natives on European farms or in the villages. European "Native Magistrates" assisted the chiefs in the application and necessary modification of Native law.

In the Transvaal and the Orange Free State the Boers looked upon the Natives as the children of Ham, an inferior race provided by God to be the servants of the Whites.[9] Slavery was forbidden, but Native children might be apprenticed. The movements of free Blacks were controlled insofar as possible and no Coloured person was permitted to possess arms.

The Transvaal Boers' attitude to missionary activity among the Natives was tolerant, taking into account the results of the activities of some ignorant or over-zealous missionaries. The "Missionaries' Road" to the Zambezi River ran west of the Transvaal, but the Transvaal claimed it. The missionaries, led by David Livingstone, objected strongly to this claim, for reasons which included the protection of their Natives and freedom of trade.

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[9] Walker, Eric A. op. cit. p. 285.

Entry of Indentured Indians

In Natal Theophilus Shepstone had developed a policy of segregating the Natives on large reserves allocated to the various tribes. This reserve system and Shepstone's paternalistic methods won the friendship and respect of the tribes, but resulted in the enmity of plantation owners, as his system and the related missionary influence cut down the Bantu labour supply. To provide workers for the new sugar plantations, the plantation owners in 1856 secured authority for the admission of indentured Indians. The term of indenture was for three years; after five years the coolie was free to live and work where he could, and after a further five years he was entitled to Crown land, passage to India, or the value of such passage. There was to be a statutory proportion of women, and strict regulations were set up to deal with defaulting workers. Under such careful provisions was created one of the major problems of South Africa today - that of the Indian minority.

Civil War in the Transvaal

Although the 1850's were prosperous in South Africa, the 1860's brought a depression which, combined with the agressions of Moshesh and his Basuto Confederacy, brought both the Free State and the Transvaal to their lowest level. Civil war in the Transvaal, in 1862, sapped the strength of that state, and only through the decisiveness of Paul Kruger was peace

restored, under President Pretorius. About the same time the Free State found a most capable leader, for a generation, in J. H. Brand. Conditions in all colonies improved with the annexation of Basutoland in 1868, when the British government finally reversed its policy of withdrawal.

CHAPTER VII

Diamonds and Gold

British Annexations

There were reasons other than Native wars which reinterested Britain in the lands beyond the Orange. In 1867 a diamond was picked up near Hopetown in Cape Colony, and there were rumours of more diamonds and also gold farther north. This discovery added to the potential value of the Missionaries' Road, and of possible ports for the Transvaal, such as the Portuguese Harbour, Lourenco Marques.

The key area along the Missionaries' Road was Griquatown, on both sides of the lower Vaal. In 1869 the "Star of South Africa" diamond was found in Griqualand; the Free State marked out its claim to the area, and the Transvaal did the same to the northern diamond area, and to the gold areas along the Missionaries' Road and im the Eastern Transvaal. The influx of many Cape Colonists and outsiders into all these areas made the settlement of boundary claims imperative. On the request of the Cape Assembly, High Commissioner Barkly annexed Griqualand West, including the diamond diggings, to Cape Colony.

The reversal of British policy as marked by the annexations of Basutoland and the diamond fields are considered by authorities to be a turning point in South African

history. Hofmeyr[1] points out that as it marks the beginning of the "New Imperialism", so it was also the beginning of a new "Republicanism", for this action of the British government aroused bitter feelings in the Free State and nourished seeds of distrust in other parts of South Africa. The British seizure of the diamond fields in Griqualand West in 1871 convulsed the Free State burghers with indignation, and reduced the possibility of republican cooperation in a federation of South Africa under British control. The annexation of Transvaal in 1877, according to Hofmeyr, an outstanding authority:

> "stands out as one of the black spots in South African history, the event which did more than any other, save the Jameson Raid, to exacerbate feeling between Dutch and British, and to delay the attainment of national unity ... A sense of Dutch nationhood, embracing Republicans and Colonists of kindred stock, became a powerful motive and inspiration in political action."[2]

With this came a movement for the development of the national language, "Afrikaans".

Responsible Government in Cape Colony

The diamond and gold discoveries brought quarrels and danger, but they also brought the money and the population to make possible greater things in South Africa - particularly railways. With brighter days ahead for the Cape Colony, the British government instructed Governor Barkly to institute Responsible Government. At first there was strong

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[1] Hofmeyr, Jan. South Africa. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1931, pp. 94-5.

[2] ibid, pp. 94-5.

opposition to it, especially from the Eastern Province, which preferred separation. In 1872 J. C. Molteno formed the first "responsible" Ministry. No radical changes were made, but the Colony developed rapidly on the wealth from wool, ostriches and diamonds.

Economic Influences and Confederation Plans

The Cape, the Free State and the Transvaal all enjoyed economic development as a result of the diamond and gold discoveries. The centre of development was on the "high veld" in the Transvaal, and the question was as to which colony would become the maritime supply base. This situation and the Native problem combined to influence all states toward some form of union, the only question being whether it was to be under the British or a Boer flag. The High Commissioner, Lord Carnarvon, influenced by the historian J. A. Froude, decided the hour had come for federation. In his plan he was assisted by Sir Garnet Wolseley, the Governor of Natal, and by J. H. Hofmeyr in the Cape, but there the premier, J. C. Molteno, was opposed. As President Burgers of the Transvaal was securing foreign help for his Delagoa Bay railroad, and many Transvaalers appeared opposed to his ineffective government, Lord Carnarvon authorized his emissary, Theophilus Shepstone, to annex the Transvaal if necessary, which he did in 1877.

As has been pointed out, this annexation caused the withdrawal of almost all Boer support for confederation. The

new High Commissioner, Sir Bartle Frere, found it necessary to drop such plans, and to concentrate instead on the improvement of Native policy and administration. The revival of Zulu militarism under Cetewayo was one threat that made such action imperative. While Wolseley was suppressing the Zulus the Basutos rose, and while Frere was attempting to control them the Transvaalers rebelled and defeated the British at Majuba in 1881. Gladstone arranged for independence satisfactory to the Boers, yet embodying a vague British "suzerainty".[3] Suzerainty, as embodied in the Pretoria Convention, involved British control of foreign policy, and the acceptance of a British "resident" or representative. This paradoxical situation was bound to cause trouble later, particularly as it was accepted by the Transvaalers only under the threat of war.

Afrikaner Nationalism

Even before the Boer victory at Majuba Hill, which destroyed the myth of British invincibility, the germ of Afrikaner nationalism was developing. One exemplification of this was the growth of the Afrikaans language movement inaugurated in 1873 by Reverend S. J. du Toit of the Cape Colony.[4]

The ideal, "Our Language, our Nation and our People", found a voice in the newspaper "Die Patriot". In 1879 du Toit published the principles of the "Afrikander Bond" - bitterly anti-British, its war cry becoming "Africa

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[3] Walker, Eric A. A History of South Africa. London: Longman's, Green & Co., 1928, p. 389.

[4] ibid, pp. 394-5.

for the Afrikanders". As du Toit, in 1881, became superintendent of education and a strong political influence in the Transvaal, his influence spread.

In Cape Colony, where the Bond developed its main strength, it was strongly opposed by many of the Afrikaners themselves, notably by Jan Hofmeyr, who favoured the use of High Dutch and English, and cooperation with the British. As Hofmeyr was able to arrange for use of Dutch in parliament and as a medium of instruction in the schools, he managed to gain control of the Bond. Then began Hofmeyr's long-continued struggle to transform the aim and spirit of the Bond in Cape Colony, resulting in its modification into a training ground in politics for Cape rural Europeans. In the Orange Free State Brand successfully discouraged the Bond as unnecessary in a Boer republic.

Despite the efforts of Hofmeyr and Brand to control the Afrikaner Nationalist movement, it remained a smouldering danger to British influence in South Africa, ready to burst into flame whenever British policy proved unjust or vacillating. The main source of Afrikaner Nationalism was in the Transvaal, and the annexation in 1877 and the limited withdrawal of 1881 were early examples of such injustice and vacillation.

Rhodes and the New Imperialism

By 1881, as Afrikaner Nationalism, represented by Paul Kruger, was developing, an opposite force, the "New

Imperialism" was coming into play, its master mind in South Africa being Cecil John Rhodes. This Oxford graduate, turned diamond magnate, had visions of a British Africa from Cape to Cairo, and he realized that time was the major factor. Already Germany and other nations were showing active interest in the Transvaal and lands to the west, north and east. It was vital for the British to retain possession of the Missionaries' Road to the Zambezi, and when Rhodes saw it threatened by two new Boer republics, Stellaland and Goshen, he urged Premier Scanlen of Cape Colony to annex the territory.

At the Convention of London, in 1884, Rhodes won his point, for the British government was being forced by European protectionist policies to reconsider colonies as preferred markets. The Transvaal was placated by the dropping of British "suzerainty" over that state, Kruger promising full civil rights and equality of taxation for all Europeans, and no vindictive tariffs. At the same time Britain annexed Pondoland and Zululand, thus preventing the seizure of the east coast by Germany or the Boer republics. Equally important Britain annexed Bechuanaland, and at the Berlin Conference of 1885 secured a zone of influence from Cape Colony through to the present Rhodesias.

Kruger and Preservation of the South African Republic

President Kruger as a boy of ten, had taken part in

the Great Trek.[5] Once established in the Transvaal, where his military prowess and religious sincerity made him a leader, he saw his country being again surrounded by the British, now led by Rhodes. He was convinced that in order to prevent absorption the Transvaal must secure an outlet to the sea. Therefore, when he became President in 1883, he worked for the acquisition of Kosi Bay, which annexation would, however, require British ratification of treaties with Native chiefs. At the same time he arranged with Portugal for a railway to Lourenço Marques, and gave the monopoly of railway construction to a Holland-German syndicate. Kruger and other South African leaders were now becoming conscious that economic rather than sentimental factors were the dominant influence in South African development, for the Afrikander Bond had failed, through jealousy among various sectional leaders, to become a unifying force. Kruger found the raising of sufficient revenue almost impossible, because of the Boer dislike of paying direct taxes, and he had to resort to troublesome customs duties and the "renting" of concessions, high prices being the result. Then, as trained administrators were almost non-existent in the Transvaal, and as he mistrusted the Afrikanders of the Cape and the Orange Free State, he had to "import" educated Hollanders and Germans. This policy angered not only the two colonies concerned, but even the burghers of the Transvaal, as did the customs duties and concessions.[6]

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[5] Fairbridge, Dorothea. A History of South Africa. London: Oxford University Press, 1918, pp. 237-8.

[6] Walker, Eric A. op. cit. pp. 411-2.

The opposition of the Orange Free State and Transvaal transport riders to the extension of railways, and the competition of lines converging toward the Transvaal, indicated that both railway and customs policies required some coordination of the states. At various times Hofmeyr of the Cape, Brand of the Free State and even Kruger himself suggested action toward this end.

All possibility of Transvaal cooperation was, however, ended by the discovery by the Struben brothers, in 1868, of gold conglomerate on the Witwatersrand, by the resultant birth of Johannesburg, and by the opening in addition of the rich Sheba gold mines at Lydenburg. Transvaal rapidly became the richest state in South Africa, and Kruger exploited this situation rather than seeking the cooperation of even Afrikaners in the Orange Free State and the Cape and Natal. Brand of the Free State developed cooperation with the Cape Colony respecting railways and customs, but he died in 1888 and W. Reitz, the new President, transferred Free State railway cooperation to Transvaal, and in addition made a defensive alliance with Kruger. Nevertheless the Free State was economically more tightly bound than ever to the Cape by the Customs Union.

Encirclement of the Transvaal

Cecil Rhodes, having consolidated the diamond interests of Kimberley, was now supporting a railway to the Zambezi and Central Africa, and since the Transvaal would not

permit its entry, he, Alfred Beit and the newly-chartered British South African Company planned to carry it through Bechuanaland and sidetrack Pretoria and Johannesburg.

Behind the British South African Company lay the resources of the Kimberley diamond mines, for Rhodes, assisted by Beit and Rothschild, had won the fight for control against Barney Barnato, establishing "De Beers Consolidated". The Cape government assisted in controlling illicit diamond buying through its Diamond Trade Act. But the discovery of the goldfields transferred the political and economic centre of South Africa to the "Rand", where Rhodes early acquired an interest as a founder of Goldfields of South Africa Company. Rhodes' plan appeared to be that through British annexation of all available territory around the Transvaal, this republic would eventually be forced into a customs union and later even into political union with the British Colonies in South Africa. By 1887 he had negotiated treaties with Lobenguela, paramount chief in the present Southern Rhodesia, and had established the British South Africa Company which was to develop that territory. By 1890, as Prime Minister of Cape Colony in alliance with J. H. Hofmeyr, Rhodes was in position to attempt to "squeeze" the Transvaal into some form of union. To gain support there he realized that he must cut out the Native franchise in the Cape and this was done by property qualification and education tests.

As his "trump card", however, Rhodes counted on the flood of "uitlanders" who were pouring into the gold area of

the Transvaal. These newcomers, mainly English, were alien in almost every respect from the Boer farmer, and contained considerable riff-raff who would have been a problem to any government. The Pretoria government, although lacking administrative ability, did much for the newcomers, both mine workers and company officials. The hearts of the "outlanders" remained with Britain, and Rhodes counted on their active cooperation in his "confederation" plans.

The uitlanders complained of unjust educational and language provisions, but the key problem was the uitlander franchise, for full voting rights were not granted until after fourteen years' residence had been completed. This provision, inflamed both British and Afrikaner from the other states. It was, however, quite understandable from Kruger's point of view, for although within ten years the uitlanders outnumbered the Boers, there was no guarantee of the permanence of the gold boom. The miners, if given the franchise, might outvote the Boer farmers, raise a large debt for improvements, and then suddenly depart, leaving only holes in the ground.[7] The British tried to use negotiations over possession of Swaziland as a lever to ease the franchise restrictions, but were unsuccessful.

As Kruger's policies were facing strong opposition among his own Transvaal Afrikaners and as the uitlanders were seething with revolt, Rhodes began training his British South

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[7] Williamson, James A. A Short History of British Expansion. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1931, p. 223.

Africa Company police to support any possible rebellion. Kruger, on completion of the Delagoa railway in 1895, closed the "drifts" or river crossings to overseas goods coming from the south. This was a violation of the London Convention, and a British ultimatum forced their re-opening.

The Jameson Raid

The economic struggle had reached an impasse, and the need for trade and railway cooperation was obvious. Many moderates on both sides realized this need, but moderation was thrown to the winds by the tragic blunders of Rhodes and Dr. Jameson in the "Jameson Raid" into the Transvaal to bring about an uitlander uprising. His raiders were forced to surrender, and only the good sense of Kruger and the High Commissioner resolved the situation without further bloodshed, Kruger wisely handing over all the rebels to the Imperial authorities for punishment. Walker sums up the result of the Jameson Raid in one sentence:

"So ended all prospect of peaceful federation in South Africa for a generation."[8]

This terse statement is more adequately expressed by Hofmeyr in a paragraph paraphrased as follows:

> "The Raid changed the course of South African politics. It deflected Rhodes from the path of cooperation and moderation which he had been treading. ... On the other hand the Raid strengthened the position of Kruger. ... Moreover, it at last consolidated the alliance between the

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[8] Walker, Eric A. op. cit. p. 455.

Free State and the Transvaal. ... the voice of moderation could no longer find a hearing, and the forces of Republicanism and Imperialism were left to hold the field alone. There could be only one result ... bitter warfare ... feelings of bitterness ... which were not soon to be allayed."[9]

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[9] Hofmeyr, Jan. op. cit. pp. 114-5.

CHAPTER VIII

War and Union

The Crisis

Renewed Imperialistic Attacks.- Although Rhodes was in disgrace for a year or two, he re-established his political influence - at least among the British - with amazing speed. His policies received strong support from Chamberlain who advocated strong measures with the Transvaal to forestall German and French aggressions from that state as a base, and also to preserve British investments in the gold mines. Therefore Chamberlain appointed as High Commissioner Sir Alfred Milner, a born administrator, firm to the point of being overbearing.

Renewed Afrikaner Nationalism.- Kruger, easily re-elected as a result of the Jameson Raid, was determined to maintain the independence of his South African Republic and had ordered arms from Germany and France. He and President Leyds of the Free State demanded from Britain complete power to make treaties with foreign nations. To gain internal support he began modest economic and franchise reforms, and more effective, he began to use capable Afrikaners from all states as his advisers in preference to foreigners. Included among such advisers was Jan Christian Smuts, a promising young attorney from the Cape. Thus the feeling of Afrikaner

unity was greatly strengthened.

Deadlock.- The final deadlock between the British government and the South African Republics came at the Bloemfontein Conference, at which Milner demanded a five-year franchise and refused to consider subsidiary issues unless this was granted. Kruger demanded full rights of a sovereign nation.[1]

The threat of war caused an exodus of uitlanders and business on the Rand was at a standstill. When the British government announced the dispatch of ten thousand troops to South Africa, the Transvaal decided to attack before these arrived, and on October 12th, 1899, Boer commandos invaded Natal.

The South African War

The specific events of the South African War of 1899-1902 although very important in their time, are of little significance today except in their residues of pride and bitterness to both Boer and Briton. At the beginning of the war the Transvaal and Free State troops outnumbered the British troops several times over, but later this situation was reversed. The Boers had better rifles and were better shots than the British, but the British had finer artillery. The great strength of the Boers lay in their knowledge of the country, their "home base" for supplies and in their experience in the commando "hit and run" style of fighting. The

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[1] Walker, Eric A. A History of South Africa. London: Longman's, Green & Co., 1928, p. 481.

Boer leaders hoped for a short aggressive war and then a favourable settlement, otherwise defensive wearing down tactics and then the best settlement possible. A proud people themselves, they failed however to count on British pride, the wounding of which resulted in the marshalling against the sixty-six thousand Boer fighters of the overwhelming resources of the British Empire.

The question was whether or not the Natal and Cape Colony frontier posts could hold out long enough for the British reserves to arrive. Joubert, the Transvaal commander, was loath to advance until these dangers to the rear were removed - Ladysmith, Kimberley and Mafeking. On the other hand, Sir Redvers Buller's three-column plan of relief met disastrous defeats at Magersfontein and Colenso. The British realized they were fighting a major war, and sent Lord Roberts with strong reinforcements. Roberts' forces outflanked the Free State troops and captured Cronje and four thousand Boers at Paardeberg. The Free Staters were temporarily discouraged and many left for home; Ladysmith was relieved and Bloemfontein was entered.

The delay resulting from disease and supply problems saved the Boers. When Joubert died he was succeeded by Louis Botha, an outstanding commander, and Christian de Wet reorganized the Free Staters. Nevertheless by June 1900 Roberts had relieved Mafeking, annexed the Free State and captured Johannesburg and Pretoria. By September the Boer forces appeared to be defeated and dispersed, Kruger had

withdrawn to Europe and Roberts annexed the Transvaal and declared the war over.

In this first stage of the war there was relatively little actual bitterness, civil administration in the Free State and Transvaal were interfered with as little as possible, and after defeat burghers were allowed to return to their homes.

It is somewhat difficult to understand why the war dragged on for another year and a half, but the stubborn resistance of the Afrikaners and the resultant retaliatory actions of Kitchener's military forces combined to deepen bitterness on both sides.[2] Chamberlain's decision to require a period of Crown Colony rule before granting responsible government was a contributing factor, as was the clamor of the English colonials for an "English" South Africa, and also Milner's actions toward Anglicization.

Refusing to accept defeat, the highly mobile commandos under de Wet, Botha, Smuts and Steyn, from remote farm areas and mountain strongholds, raided in all directions, even cutting into Cape Colony almost to the Coast. Martial law was declared in the Colony. Railways were protected with barbed wire and blockhouses, and British troops found it necessary to burn farmhouses suspected as harboring places of commando members. Thousands of Boers, men, women and children were gathered into concentration camps, in addition to those in prison camps in St. Helena and other

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[2] ibid, p. 495.

colonies. Kitchener offered favourable peace terms, but the British government refused to grant immediate representative government and amnesty to all rebels, Many Boers felt that if they could hold out long enough the election of a Liberal government in Britain might ensure much more favourable terms.

Wartime Administration.- Milner made every effort to gain the confidence of the Afrikaner by efficient and beneficial administration. Transferring the High Commissionership to Johannesburg he set up many new departments manned in the main by young men from Oxford. He planned to re-establish the peaceful Boers on their farms as quickly as possible, protect them with Baden-Powell's South African Constabulary, and settle among them a proportion of English farmers to break up the former division between rural Dutch and urban English. Actually, only fourteen hundred British families came and Milner did not achieve his aim. He struggled to re-open the gold mines which were the major source of taxation, his main difficulty being to secure Native labour. He re-established local civil administration as quickly as possible, and set up the courts on the Cape Colony basis. The new educational system he tried hard to develop showed an obvious attempt at Anglicization. Schools were begun in concentration camps to teach the children and adults English. Hundreds of teachers were imported from Britain and the Dominions, and before the end of the war more children were at school than ever before.[3]

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[3] ibid, p. 501.

Despite the favourable element of camp schools, the concentration camps, which at one time sheltered two hundred thousand refugees, became notorious, and were a cause of bitterness which has persisted to the present. Their rapid growth, and resultant poor location and construction, their inadequate food supply and medical service caused unnecessary suffering and the death of twenty thousand inmates. Neither were they a military asset to the British, for they freed the Boer commando troops of responsibility for their families.[4]

Peace and Reconstruction

At last, in May 1902, the republican leaders meeting under British protection voted overwhelmingly in favour of peace, led in this action by Botha, Hertzog and Smuts. In supporting Botha, Smuts made a moving appeal for peace:

> "The nation calls out ... From the prison, from the camps, the graves, the veld, from the womb of the future, the nation cries out to us to make a wise decision.
>
> "We fought for independence, but we must not sacrifice the nation on the altar of independence."[5]

By the Peace of Vereeniging, the republicans surrendered their independence, on assurance rebels would be dealt with by their own governments. The British promised three million pounds to repair war damages, plus an

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[4] ibid, p. 499.

[5] Armstrong, H. C. Grey Steel (J. C. Smuts). Bungay, England: Richard Clay & Co., 1937, p. 103.

interest-free development loan, and responsible government before any Native franchise was given.

An authority comments on the Peace of Vereeniging as follows:

> "The British terms at Vereeniging had been generous ... Above all, the spirit behind the treaty and its subsequent application was, in effect, an acknowledgment that South Africa would have to look after its own affairs and that its future was to be moulded by the people who lived in it. At last Britain had seen the light in Africa; the period of Imperial interference was over ...
>
> "In forty years the Boers have shown that if they lost the war they could triumph over its crushing adversities and proceed to win the peace. That is what has happened. True it was a peace which, despite friction, has proved all-round acceptable. It was a victory which was aided by sections of English, just as the maintenance of the British connection was aided and promoted by sections of Afrikaners.
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> " ... All this is a vindication not only of Afrikaner character and capacity for tolerance, but also of British liberalism and British policy in South Africa ..."[6]

After the war several Boer leaders who visited Europe found their British enemies more generous than their Continental friends. Chamberlain himself visited South Africa and helped Milner in his task of revenue raising.

In the meantime, "rebels" were receiving very generous treatment through the Alverstone Commission. Unfortunately a crop failure in the first year of re-establishment added to the developing "Poor White" problem, but gradually the construction of railways, public buildings and irrigation

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[6] Sowden, Lewis. The Union of South Africa. New York: Doubleday, Doran & Co., Inc., 1943, pp. 41-2.

works absorbed many of the displaced farm tenants or "bywoners". Milner made several steps toward federation, including amalgamation of railways, and the establishment of an advisory Intercolonial Council. Despite his efforts, the educational leaders and teachers in the four colonies failed to agree on educational federation.

Milner's Bloemfontein Conference of 1903 adopted three momentous resolutions. First was the establishment of a customs union for all South Africa, with an Imperial preference; second, was the decision that the Native question must be handled as a unit, particularly in view of the likelihood of federation. This resulted in the Native Affairs Commission of 1903-05, which planned the direction of later South African Native policy. Third was a suggestion that Asiatic indentured labour be imported as the Bantu had failed to supply even a fraction of the necessary labour force. Actually, the condition of labour in the mines were very poor, as were the wages and living conditions, and the death rate was appalling.[7] Milner insisted on reforms, of which a medical committee was one of the most valuable. Despite the evidence given by F. H. P. Cresswell in favour of white labour in the mines and the opposition of the Boers to Asiatics, Milner was forced to agree to the importation of Chinese as a temporary measure. The fifty thousand or so that came appeared to provide the necessary "lift" to get the mines into

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[7] Walker, Eric A. op. cit. p. 509.

large scale production, once more establishing prosperity throughout the colonies.

Rebirth of Afrikaner Nationalism in the Schools

In the Cape Colony a pro-British "Progressive" ministry under L. S. Jameson was elected, and even in the two former republics the tide appeared to run against the Afrikaners. As usual their trouble was division, at this stage between "Die-hards" and "Hands-uppers". The very triumph of the British, however, and the apprent success of Anglicization, had the effect of teaching Afrikaners, in all colonies, that they were one people.[8] The "Afrikaner Volk" led in this cultural and political revival, and the first struggle centred in the schools. Milner's government, which paid the expenses and was determined to teach all pupils English, wiped out all local share in choice of teachers and courses and would allow only five hours per week for Dutch, on request. In the Transvaal and the Orange River Colony the Afrikaners, provided with funds raised by Steyn and Mansvelt in Holland, organized the "Chrijstelike Nasionale Onderwijs", which soon controlled two hundred schools, through local committees. The Chrijstelike Nasionale Onderwijs schools did a great deal to stimulate Afrikaner national sentiment among the rising generation.

Afrikaner Political Control

Hofmeyr, in the Cape, began an Afrikaner political

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[8] ibid, pp. 514-15.

reorganization renaming the Afrikander Bond the South African Party. Botha formed the "Het Volk" party to work for conciliation and self-government in the Transvaal. In 1905 Viscount Milner, who had performed well the tremendous task of reconstruction and now recommended steps toward self-government, was replaced as High Commissioner by Lord Selborne. In the same year the Liberal Campbell-Bannerman government was elected in Britain, partly on the cry of "Chinese slavery" on the Rand. After conferences with Smuts, and the report of an investigating commission, the British Government granted self-government to the Transvaal in 1906, subject to certain reserved powers. Botha's Het Volk ministry and the British authorities proved very cooperative, the Chinese were gradually returned home, and in legislation such as Smut's Education Act the Afrikaner majority showed creditable moderation.

Influences Tending toward Union

Within five years of the end of the war, the Transvaal had passed again into the hands of the Afrikaners. Shortly after the Orange River Colony did likewise, and in the Cape Colony the Afrikaners were regaining political strength. Further it was becoming obvious to the British in South Africa and to Britain itself that the "British" population would never outnumber the Afrikaners.[9] On the other hand it was clear that the Afrikaner racial ties were insuf-

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[9] ibid, p. 521.

ficiently strong to bring about federation - for by 1907 intercolonial quarrels over railways and customs duties were reviving. Fortunately, both English and Afrikaans-speaking South Africans were beginning to realize that the races must cooperate if the country was to develop as a "European" nation. Therefore, High Commissioner Selborne, Prime Minister Jameson and Bondsman F. S. Malan of the Cape, supported by Hofmeyr, published the Selborne Memorandum, 1907, favouring closer union as the only solution of the railway rivalry and customs conflicts.

The Indian Question.- In Natal and the Transvaal another growing problem prompted support of union - the Indian question. The Indians in Natal were fast approaching the Europeans in numbers, two-thirds were free men and were entitled to the franchise. When it was found that few would return to India, restrictions against them were stiffened, these including education tests and other limitations on their franchise, strict trading licenses and limitations on securing land, and additional taxes. Many Indians had moved into the Transvaal also, and the Republican government had forbidden them to own land. Many were living under such unsanitary conditions as to be a menace to health in Johannesburg. Milner and the British administration hesitated to legislate against them for fear of arousing anger in India.[10] Once the Transvaal was given responsible government it passed an immigration law, education test and thumb-print

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[10] ibid, p. 523.

legislation. Gandhi, an Indian barrister in Johannesburg, had by 1906, organized passive resistance. To meet the rising anger of India and Asia, the Natal and Transvaal felt the need of being a part of a larger union.

The Native Problem.- As almost always in South African history, the Native question was a major determining factor, in this case toward union. In Natal the Europeans were outnumbered nine to one by the Bantu. Although, by common consent the Natives were considered neutrals during the South African War, the conflict had naturally unsettled them. The Shepstone policy of reserves and strengthening the tribal system had been broken down by labour laws, squatters' taxes and finally by a most burdensome poll tax. In 1906 several serious Native uprisings took place in Natal and Zululand, and it was becoming obvious that the problem of Native administration was too large a one for this small colony to handle.

Political Influences.- In the Orange River Colony, Steyn had returned from Europe determined to press for union before an Anglo-German war broke out. By 1908 the Afrikaner-dominated South African Party was the governing body in the three major colonies, and Smuts and Botha suggested to Prime Minister Merriman of the Cape immediate steps toward federation. The Cape Colony, suffering serious financial depression, was hopeful of some benefit from the wealth of the Transvaal. On the other hand English South Africans were bitter about Hertzog's actions in the Orange River Colony

enforcing bilingualism in the schools, English Natal, especially, was afraid of being swamped by Afrikaner South Africa. Nevertheless, throughout South Africa "Closer Union Societies" studied the various aspects of union, and in 1908 the four Parliaments decided to send representatives to a National Convention.

Terms of Union

The delegates to the National Convention understood that any colony which failed to join could not expect such favourable conditions on later entry. President de Villiers of the Orange River Colony, who had learned of the weaknesses of federation during a visit to Canada, led the fight for unification instead, and only Natal delegates favoured a loose confederation. Some very contentious problems such as the Native policy, and education with its linguistic difficulties, were wisely shelved until after Union.[11] The problem of the franchise was a difficult one, for the High Commissioner and some delegates, chiefly from the Cape, were in favour of a "civilization test" which would leave the voting right open to some Coloured, Natives and Indians, but would disenfranchise many Whites. The Transvaal and Orange River Colony delegates were determined on a "colour bar" and agreed to non-European franchise in the Cape only if it could be altered by a two-thirds majority of the joint Houses of Parliament. Only in the Cape and Natal could non-Europeans

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[11] ibid, p. 531.

stand for election, and then only to the Provincial Councils. In the struggle for the distribution of seats the Transvaal gained a more favourable position than the Cape. Fortunately a formula was derived for automatic redistribution so that continual quarrels for representation were avoided. Instead of establishing one capital city the Convention assigned the legislative, executive and judicial functions to Capetown, Pretoria and Bloemfontein respectively.

The "Draft Act" received threatening opposition only from Hofmeyr at the Cape, and in Natal, and even there a popular referendum showed a large favourable majority. The South Africa Act, which became effective on Union Day, May 31, 1910, provided for a House of Assembly, a Senate (without financial powers) and Provincial Councils. The Senate, partly elected by the Councils and partly appointed, was to include four senators particularly well acquainted with the needs of non-Europeans. The provisions regarding the equality of the Dutch and English languages and the Cape Coloured franchise could be altered only by a two-thirds majority of Assembly and Senate sitting jointly. Provincial Councils, elected every three years, were to possess only such powers as were delegated to them by Parliament. The provincial executive authority was to reside in an Administrator appointed for five years by the Union Government, assisted by an irremovable Executive Committee of four members elected by the Provincial Council.

There was rivalry between Merriman, the capable English-speaking elder statesman of the Cape, and the

outstanding and cooperative General Botha of the Transvaal as to which should be the first Prime Minister. As the latter had the greater support he was selected by Lord Gladstone, the Governor-General. On becoming the first Prime Minister, Louis Botha planned the policy of his South African National Party so as to bring Dutch and English together. Jameson gave him strong support as he had done in the negotiations toward Union. The chief opposition in the first session was provided by the more narrowly nationalistic Afrikaner leaders, Hertzog and Steyn of the Free State, a portent of struggles to come.

CHAPTER IX

Early Problems of the Union

Education and Language

The first parliament had to deal with many contentious problems. The financial relations of the Provincial Councils to the Union Government were difficult to work out, and these Councils were left only with unpopular direct taxation supplemented by rather indefinite Union grants. Their main responsibilities were education and roads. By now primary education was generally compulsory for Europeans, and there was a tendency toward some local control of schools, which in the Cape included some financial responsibility. The major problem was that of the medium of instruction, the Free State under Hertzog's influence, insisting on developing bilingualism, the English struggling bitterly against this.[1] The objections of the English were due mainly to racial pride, but there was also great difficulty in securing bilingual teachers, and great confusion as to what "Dutch" was - High Dutch or Afrikaans, the grammar and spelling of which was being standardized by Steyn's Suid Afrikaanse Akademie. The two languages, English and Dutch, were put on a basis of equality, both to be taught in the schools, but for the present teachers could qualify in either language.

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[1] Walker, Eric A. A History of South Africa. London: Longman's, Green & Co., 1928, pp. 539-40.

The matter of higher education was not satisfactorily settled for fiteen years. The examining University of the Cape of Good Hope and the various local colleges, Victoria at Stellenbosch, South Africa College at the Cape and others being vested interests difficult to influence toward the more efficient plan of a few large teaching universities.

Defence

The Defence Act of 1911 settled another problem, providing for a small permanent force supported by a form of part-time compulsory military training, and a combination of urban volunteers and rural commandos, all liable for service anywhere in Africa. The policy of the Cape Colony in making grants to the support of the British navy was continued.

Botha, Smuts and the majority of the interracial South African Party believed that South Africa must of necessity take on many of the aspects of modern Western civilization, and carry its responsibilities as a member of the British Empire. On the other hand the Unionists of Natal were much more Imperialistic, while Hertzog and many of the "back velders" of the Orange Free State and the Transvaal disliked any outside influence which might blight Afrikaner nationalism. They objected particularly to assisting British immigration and to being involved in Imperial defence.[2] By 1912 Hertzog, de Wet and their Nationalist following

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[2] ibid, pp. 543-4.

definitely split away from the South African Party.

The Native Problem

The Native problem too, developed as a source of division. The varying administrative systems and regulations of the former colonies and territories had continued and in addition to the franchise question two other aspects of the problem had reached serious proportions: first, the increasing number of Native squatters lacking any security on Europeans' farms; second, the encroachment of Natives, securing land under the Glen Grey system of title, into European farming areas. The rising Labour Party demanded segregation, in all its industrial, social, political and territorial aspects. The resultant restrictive legislation caused the anti-European Native National Council to send a deputation to the King. Clearly, some definite, all-over South African Native policy was needed.

Gandhi and the Indian Problem

Scarcely less serious was the Indian problem, which involved South Africa in complication with the Imperial and Indian governments. Although some minor concessions were made to Gandhi's demands, the immigration law of 1913 was frankly intended to exclude Indians and other Asiatics, empowering the Executive, subject to an appeal to the courts, to debar anyone from entry on economic or social grounds. Gandhi's "Five Points", which in effect demanded treatment of Indians equal to that of Europeans, won much support. On

the other hand it was obviously absurd, considering the caste system of India, to claim for the Indians of South Africa, (who were practically all low caste or untouchables, content with relatively squalid conditions and quite uneducated) the privileges of civilized Europeans.[3] After Gandhi had been jailed for "passive" resistance, a relatively independent commission made recommendations resulting in the Indian Relief Act, which at least abolished the Natal Indian poll tax and permitted entry of the wives of Indians. Gandhi, before leaving for India, accepted this act as a first step on the long road toward equality.

White Labour Policy

Another problem which the development of the Rand and modern industry brought to South Africa was that of "labour". From Britain had come streams of miners, bringing with them trade unionism and the Labour Party. About forty per cent of the white miners, however, were young Afrikaners from the farms. F. H. P. Cresswell and his few parliamentary representatives, with Hertzog's support, succeeded, in 1911, the passage of a Mines & Works Act which inaugurated the policy of shutting out non-Europeans from many employments. The extremely high incidence of and mortality from pneumonia and phthisis in the mines enabled the Labour Party to support successfully laws providing for compensation, and for the debarring of tropical Natives from the mines. A mine strike

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[3] ibid, p. 548.

and riot in 1913 resulted in recognition of unions by the Government and the Chamber of Mines, and the improvement of many unsatisfactory conditions. In 1914 immigrant syndicalist and socialist leaders brought about a general strike which the government quelled only by martial law and machine guns and Smuts' effective but illegal action in deporting nine syndicalistic leaders. Minimum wages and increased compensation for injury or sickness resulted.[4] The general effect of such economic issues was to break down division on purely Afrikaner-English racial lines. Radical British trades unionists tended to ally with reactionary Afrikaner nationalists against the South African Party, which combined the moderates of both races.

The War of 1914-1918

The year 1914 also brought not only the Great War, but the worst drought in a generation. Although on the declaration of war the government acted quickly in taking over the Imperial garrison at Capetown and in sending an expedition into German South West Africa, there was strong feeling among Afrikaner nationalists that the war with Germany provided an excellent opportunity for rebellion and the establishment of a Boer republic. Commandant-General Beyers, Generals de la Rey, de Wet and Kemp, and Lieutenant-Colonel S. G. Maritz were all involved to some extent, but Maritz actually led his Union forces in support of the

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[4] ibid, p. 552.

Germans, and de la Rey supported him from the Free State. General Botha wisely avoided letting the revolt become a major racial issue, by defeating the rebels with loyal Afrikaner troops, and by unusually lenient treatment of those involved.[5] Actually, such a rebellion was almost to be expected in revenge for the Afrikaner defeat and suffering in the Boer War. In addition, the less educated and less tolerant Afrikaner looked upon Britain as the source of most of his troubles - "he did not want the land ruled by Englishmen, niggers and Jews", as Maritz put it.[6]

It is to the lasting credit of Botha and Smuts and the thousands of loyal Afrikaners who helped suppress the revolt that they regarded this duty as a matter of honour.[7] This was the test of the faith the British government had placed in its former enemies. They did not fail.

South Africans of both races proved their ability to fight together in Botha's brilliant campaign in German South West Africa and Smuts' long drawn-out struggle in East Africa, in addition to their sacrifice on the fields of Europe, particularly at Delville Wood.

The heavy cost of these campaigns almost resulted in a second Nationalist revolt, and shortly after signing the Treaty of Versailles General Botha died, worn out by

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[5] ibid, p. 558.

[6] ibid, p. 559.

[7] Armstrong, H. C. Grey Steel (J. C. Smuts) Bungay, England: Richard Clay and Co., 1937, p. 173.

the strains of office.

Post-War Problems

The death of this great leader left the equally capable but less tactful and somewhat less trusted General Smuts to deal with the serious problems resulting from the war. He made it clear his policy was cooperation of the two white races and industrial development of the country. Unfortunately, Smuts had to try to answer for several weaknesses of the Botha government wartime administration. Despite special taxes the whole war expenditure had been put on loan account, the railways were run down and showing serious deficits. The cost of living issue had not been effectively handled, bread was poor and expensive and rents left uncontrolled. As a result the Nationalists returned in 1920 as the largest single party, and even with the support of the Unionists and Independents, the South African Party ministry had only a majority of four. As Labour held the balance, legislation was passed to check profiteering and to provide housing loans. To strengthen his position against the Afrikaner Nationalists who favoured secession from the Empire, Smuts secured incorporation of the pro-British Unionist Party within the South African Party, which enlarged party was re-elected with a large majority in 1921.

Industrial Development.- One major step of the new ministry was the establishment of a central reserve bank with the sole right of note-issue. The beneficial effect of

this instrument of government-control of banking was largely hidden as depression hit the country. The mines, the agricultural areas and the railways were all seriously affected, and the "Poor White" problem came to the fore. Official estimates indicated that the gold mines, the main source of national revenue, would be worked out by 1932. As a long range solution, the Smuts ministry set out to industrialize South Africa to supplement the failing primary production of gold, diamonds, wool, hides, ostrich feathers, coal, corn.[8] Secondary production was to be encouraged by bounties, 'scientific tariffs' and anti-dumping laws. The Electricity Supply Commission was appointed, resulting in the speedy provision of cheap and abundant electric power from the coal beds near Johannesburg.[9] The problem of industrialization in South Africa was extremely difficult because of its mixed and scattered population, and by the fact that the purchasing and productive power of the great majority of the population was very low despite the high real wages paid to the small number of skilled white industrial workers. The lack of education and the subsistence mode of living of practically all Natives, Coloured and Indians and of the numerous Poor Whites were basic factors in this lack of purchasing and productive power.

The protective tariff policy which was to help nurture industry received strong Nationalist support, for

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[8] Walker, Eric A. A History of South Africa. London: Longman's, Green & Co., 1928, p. 571.

[9] Botha, C. Graham. South Africa, Past and Present. Capetown: Cape Times Limited, 1938, p. 175.

obvious reasons. The labour and social legislation which accompanied the tariffs was a reversal of the South African policy of "cheap" labour, which had proved to be a poor substitute for brains, and further, "cheap" labour gave the advantage to Native and Coloured labour, and had made it impossible for the unskilled "Poor White" to become established in the mines, in agriculture or in such industries as existed.

The Indian Problem.- The position of the Indian and the Bantu in the coming industrialization was a major question. The quarrel between South Africa and India had been revived by South African refusal to repeal the Transvaal laws preventing Indians from holding land. Many Indians had found a loophole through the formation of limited liability companies, and were making inroads into White trade and real estate. Parliament passed legislation which blocked these loopholes. Indians all over the world protested violently against these fresh restrictions, including segregation, and Smuts refused to follow other Dominions in giving rights of citizenship to domiciled Indians.[10] Thus Indians were limited in the retail trade and with respect to landholding.

The Native Problem.- The core of the labour problem related not to the Indian but to the Bantu. Their tribal system was breaking down and the Bantu were growing in racial solidarity. About one-third of the Natives lived on reserves, but in such poverty that the men had to leave the

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[10] Walker, Eric A. op. cit. p. 579.

reserves for labour elsewhere. An equally large group (2,000,000) lived as squatters or labour tenants on the farms of Europeans. The fastest growing class was the group which was effectively detribalized by living in towns or cities. A fourth small but influential group was the well-educated Natives. These last two classes were the threat to European skilled labour, for many mine Natives had become skilled by doing work Whites would not or could not do. The mine owners found such skilled Natives very profitable and easy to handle, and preventive legislation would be necessary. Further, if the Bantu were to be shut from industry they must be provided with the only other alternative available - land.[11]

The idea of the Native Land Act of 1913 had been territorial segregation, but since that date there had been a wholesale removal of Natives from possession of Crown Lands. A commission recommended, in effect, the allocation of thirteen percent of the Union to the Natives, who outnumbered the Europeans about three to one. However, its recommendations were not put into effect, and it was very difficult for Natives to acquire land. Other Native grievances included the poor laws and the colour bar in the ex-republics, the rising cost of living, and most of all, the legal provision which made breach of contract a criminal offense for a Native. Many of these matters were too dangerous to handle politically, and Smuts wisely set up, in 1920, the permanent Native Affairs

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[11] ibid, p. 580.

Commission to advise the government. He also encouraged the extension of the Transkeian system of local government and taxation to all Native areas, and proposed conferences with Native chiefs. The shooting by police of scores of members of a Native sect, though hardly to be avoided, did much to stir up Bantu antagonism to White domination.

Labour Strife.- Thoughtful Europeans realized they knew too little about their Native countrymen, and by 1921 three universities had opened schools of Native anthopology. The crisis came too quickly for these schools to play any part. In 1929 the Chamber of Mines, facing serious mine deficits, took action which in effect would not only increase the Native labour supply and the hours of work, but would also regularly employ non-Europeans on semi-skilled work. Some twenty thousand European coal and gold miners went on strike in protest. As many returned to work the Communists took control, and for several days the Rand was controlled by revolutionaries who attacked Native compounds. Only by prompt and bloody military action was order restored, the Chamber of Mines being victorious in the labour contest.[12]

As a result of the uprising, Smuts appointed a Mining Industry Board and carried through an Apprenticeship Act. Much more significant was the decision of the Labour Party to cooperate with the Nationalists, whose Transvaal leader, Tielman Roos, had espoused the cause of White labour

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[12] ibid, p. 586.

against Black. Both these parties disliked capitalism; the former wanted to reduce Native labour in mines and industry, the latter wished to have more cheap labour available for the farms.

South-West Africa.- South-West Africa also brought its quota of difficulties to the Smuts government. The Treaty of Versailles had failed to incorporate it in the Union except as a mandate, obviously in the interests of its 208,000 Native inhabitants. About 10,000 immigrants, mainly from South Africa, and a lesser number of remaining Germans, formed the White population, but not until 1923 was Smuts able to arrange with Berlin provisions for these to become citizens of South Africa and this only subject to the use of German as a medium of instruction in the schools. Nationalists looked confidently to South West Africa as another province which would bolster their strength.

The Nationalist-Labour Alliance

Detribalization of Natives.- Smuts' political strenth was declining, partly because few of the "pro-British" voters were seriously worried about Nationalist talk about the right of secession. They believed that with the "Commonwealth" replacing the "Empire" and the obvious independence of its members, Hertzog and his followers would probably be willing to delay their cherished "Republic" in return for British trade preferences and naval protection. In any event, there was little indication of another European war

within a generation, so that the British connection was not likely to be a military liability.

Hertzog promised legislation which should protect "civilized labour", and to find the necessary additional agricultural areas for which the Bantu had been waiting. League of Nations reproof of the mishandling of the Bondelswart Native uprising in South-West Africa in 1922 redirected attention to the seriousness of the Native problem. The Councils of the large Native areas were working reasonably well, although the Bantu complained of their lack of power and their use as taxing machines. On the other hand there was no agency to deal with the two million Natives on European farms or the increasing stream of detribalized Bantu pouring into the towns, threatening to pull down the wages of White and Coloured. A step toward handling this latter group was made by the Urban Areas Act, which enabled municipalities to set aside "locations" in which the Natives would have some security of tenure and local self-government. As capable Natives debarred from skilled labour turned toward agitation, often as church ministers, the government and the Dutch Reformed Church both provided for conferences to enable the Natives to present their views. One demand was that the Union government should take over control of Native education, as the ex-republics had neglected to make reasonably adequate provision in this respect.[13]

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[13] ibid, p. 597.

The matter of Union control and financing of all education was receiving government consideration. The provinces, charged with this responsibility, were continually appealing for increased grants from the Union. The government's suggestion of increased local initiative was against the current of the times in South Africa, for the whole modern tendency had been to reduce local initiative in the name of efficiency - even in the Cape, the stronghold of local self-government. The Smuts ministry, faced with large deficits, in 1922 ceased giving grants to the provinces for education. The provincial system was threatened with collapse, for seventy-five per cent of provincial expenditures were for education, and the provinces' sources of revenue, including direct taxation and licenses were very small, as the Afrikaner farmer has always detested direct taxation on land.

The Dominating Factor - the Native Question.- The Nationalists and the Labour Party joined in attacking this financial settlement and the government retreated, making additional temporary provision for the provinces. The Smuts government was forced to go to the country in the same month of 1924 that Southern Rhodesia voted against union with South Africa. As a result of these factors the Nationalist-Labour "Pact" won a majority of twenty-seven over the South African Party, and Hertzog became Premier, including two Labour ministers in his cabinet.

Walker sums up the significance of the results of

the 1924 election in the following paragraph:

> "It was the end of a chapter. Men of British and Afrikander stock stood shoulder to shoulder in the country and sat together on either side of the House. The old 'racial' lines of division were cut clean across by the economic. The re-alignment of parties was a proof that the two sections of the Europeans had realised that the issues on which they had hitherto divided were a nothing to the issues raised by their contact with non-Europeans. South Africans were at last fully conscious that they stood face to face with 'black Africa and yellow Asia.' Wherefore, the new Premier, head of a coalition pledged above all things to the fostering of 'white South Africa', addressed himself to a study of that Native Question which had exercised van Riebeeck in the beginning."[14]

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[14] ibid, p. 599.

CHAPTER X

Modern South Africa

Policies of the Nationalist Government 1924-1935

Nationalistic Developments

Once elected Hertzog's Nationalists put into effect some of their election promises. Bilingualism was enforced, and as a result Afrikaners were given preference to Englishmen in the government service. Trade with Britain was discouraged, the state railways, for example, bought their locomotives from America and Germany. These were only surface manifestations of Nationalism, however, for the Nationalists, once in power, found the restriction of Imperial membership far less harmful than would have been the loss of the trade and defence benefits implicit in withdrawal from the Empire.

The defeat of the South African Party in 1924 was considered by many to be a blow to British prestige. Actually, it was the result rather of depression, and crisis in the gold mining industry, and of Smuts' labour and Native policy. The Nationalist cabinet contained three Labourites, all Britishers. Further, as Sowden points out:

> "Economic bonds, material interests proved more than political and sentimental ties, and soon South Africa was to hear General Hertzog

abjuring republican aims and claiming the country had all the independence it wanted."[1]

As a result of the visit to the Imperial Conferences of General Hertzog and Mr. Havenga these leaders were able to return with full affirmation of South African independence through the Statute of Westminster. This independence Hertzog symbolized by the authorization of a South African flag and restriction of the use of the Union Jack, an issue which almost split the country. Nevertheless a country which had adjusted itself to two languages and two capitals proved able to accept two flags, and later, two national anthems.

Native Policy

Hertzog made a major step toward segregation by the granting of several million morgen of additional reserve land in return for the Cape Natives' surrender of their franchise. As a substitute, by the Natives Representative Bill 1926, the Natives of the Union were granted the right to elect four special senators in addition to the four appointed on their behalf by the Governor General. This bill also provided for a Natives Representative Council to advise Parliament on all matters relating to Native affairs. The Council consisted of twenty-two members, with the Secretary of Native Affairs

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[1] Sowden, Lewis. The Union of South Africa. New York: Doubleday Doran & Co., Inc., 1943, p. 69.

as chairman, the five Native Commissioners of the Union, and sixteen Native members. The bill released fourteen million more acres to the Natives, and established a South African Native Trust to control all such reserve lands the affairs of the trust to be administered by the Governor-General.[2]

The "Poor Whites"

Almost lost in the political picture, but at its very base, was the developing problem of the Poor Whites.

The Carnegie Report on Poor-Whiteism, issued in 1932, estimated that there were three hundred thousand Poor Whites out of the total population of two million Europeans. Most of these were bywoners (sub-farmers), small farm owners and hired men, but there was a growing group of unskilled town labourers. The Afrikaner system of division of a farm among the heirs was an important factor in the development of this class but even more important was the refusal and the inability of these Whites to compete with Natives in manual labour which they despised as "Kaffir work".[3]

Various state-aided schemes for the regeneration of the Poor White served only to emphasize the difficulties and seriousness of the problem. The Carnegie Commission itself noted that Poor White voting power was being abused in order to obtain state aid and advised against such direct assistance as contributing to a loss of independence and

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[2] Goold-Adams, R. J. M. South Africa Today and Tomorrow. London: John Murray, 1936, p. 43.

[3] Sowden, Lewis. op. cit. p. 137.

self-respect.

Despite this recommendation, instead of assisting farmers to modernize their methods, the government resorted in 1930 to an extensive system of financial subsidies which has achieved little of permanent value, and has resulted also in higher costs to the home consumer. As Sowden sums up the results:

"The backwardness of agriculture is indicated by the fact that while two-thirds of the total population is engaged in farming, it produces only one eighth of the national income."[4]

Fusion

Although by 1933 Hertzog was increasing the antagonism of the English and losing the confidence of his own people, it was not these factors but the price of gold which brought about the end of the Nationalist government in 1934, as it had ended the Smuts regime in 1924. This time it brought the two great political opponents into a coalition government. When Britain went off the gold standard in 1931 it seemed as if the economic foundation of South Africa had dropped out. Smuts had at once advised the Union to follow the example of the British government, but most South Africans felt they must set an example of the use of the gold standard. Prices in South Africa rose, the flight of money to Great Britain increased and because of the close economic

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[4] ibid, p. 236.

connection between South Africa and Great Britain, the situation assumed fantastic proportions. In 1933 Tielman Roos, who had formed a small Central Party, worked hard for the fusion of the Nationalists and the South African Party. Finally Smuts agreed to work under Hertzog in a "Fusion" party. The result was that Afrikaner and English sat side by side in considerable numbers to tackle the problems of the country on non-racial lines. Some of the more extremely nationalistic Afrikaners, mainly from the Free State, remained aloof. Essentially, however, fusion was an Afrikaner victory, for the combination of their forces rendered the English minority an even less significant factor in the government of South Africa than was the case when the Afrikaners were divided. On the other hand, fusion made it fairly clear that South Africa was to remain a member of the British Commonwealth.[5] The extreme pro-British group, mainly from Natal formed the Dominion Party under Colonel Stallard; the extreme Afrikaner Nationalists under Dr. D. F. Malan remained as the Nationalist Party.

Extremist Parties.- Upon the fusion of the Nationalist and South African parties, the extremists of both European races set up new political groups.

Many of the "Malanites" absorbed Hitler's Nazi creed, mainly because it was a means of venting their dislike of all things British. Hertzog lost the support of many

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[5] Goold-Adams, R. J. M. op. cit. p. 44.

pro-Britishers by the authorization of an Afrikaans National Anthem, and by the appointment of a South African, Sir Patrick Duncan, as Governor-General. The Malanites were encouraged by the success of Nazism, and their emotions were raised to fever pitch by a re-enactment of the Great Trek, in 1938, on the one hundredth anniversary of that great event. This resulted in the formation of the Ossewa Brandwag (the Ox-wagon Guard) organized on a basis similar to that of Nazi organizations.

Defeat of Hertzog.- As events in Europe moved toward war, the Malanites emphasized "neutrality". Smuts as Minister of Justice gave a hint of his plans by strengthening the police control of South-West Africa. No one knew where Hertzog stood until the Cabinet split on the day of Britain's declaration of war. Hertzog lost the support of many of his followers by making out a case, not for neutrality, but for Hitler, and Smuts capitalized on the threat of German seizure of South-West Africa. Smuts carried the day by thirteen votes, formed a government and declared war September 8th, removing immediately the threat of German use of South Africa as a base for diplomatic espionage. The Germans, however, made full use of Portuguese East Africa for espionage and as a submarine base. General Hertzog did much to calm the country by advising his followers to refrain from all subversive action.

The entry of South Africa into the war assured Britain of the use of the Simonstown naval base and of

Capetown, Durban and other vital ports on the only available route to the Near East, for the Mediterranean route was practically closed in the early stages of the war.

The Second World War

Lewis Sowden in his account of the war effort of South Africa makes this statement:

"No state in the world was less prepared for war in September 1939 than South Africa."[6]

The Defence Force of five thousand men, and the Active Citizen Force had practically no modern equipment nor training in modern warfare, the Navy consisted of two mine-sweepers, and the Air Force of seventy obsolete planes. The former Minister of Defence, Mr. Oswald Pirow, was of German extraction, and was not without reason suspected of pro-German sympathies. Smuts had to build a modern army, and equally important, one that he could depend on, and for the latter reason he avoided conscription. His boldest step was to ask for volunteers for service beyond the Union - "anywhere in Africa". Otherwise, as elsewhere, little was done until the disaster of June 1940, when it became obvious that the Italians in Africa, embolden by German victories, might become a serious menace.

A Director-General of War Supplies was appointed, to make armaments within the Union. He had little to start with except the Iscor steel works, a government corporation

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[6] Sowden, Lewis. op. cit. p. 100.

established, ironically enough, by Hertzog in 1928 against bitter pro-English opposition. The scholarly industrialist, H. J. van der Bijl, head of Iscor and of the Electricity Supply Commission established by Smuts in 1923, was given the almost impossible task of developing South Africa's industrial potential. Within four months, according to an authority:

> "South Africa, which had never before made a gun, was now manufacturing howitzers, shells, bombs, trench mortars, armoured cars, steel helmets, army boots, portable bridges and pre-fabricated parts for the rapid construction of complete aeroplane hangars."[7]

South Africa, which had never grown enough wheat to feed its own population was now required to resume its role as refreshment station for convoys rounding the Cape. In agriculture and secondary food production South Africa telescoped its development, and succeeded in supplying the necessary produce.

<u>African Campaigns and their Political Implications</u>.- The greatest achievement of South Africa in the war was the major part its armies played in overwhelming the Italians in Abyssinia, who outnumbered the invader ten to one. South African men, military ability, and equipment proved their worth and helped provide the first encouraging news of the war. The "Springboks" second contribution was made in Libya, and their most serious reverse was at Sidi Rezegh,

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[7] <u>ibid</u>, p. 111.

where the Fifth Brigade was overrun by German Tanks. With the surrender of Tobruk twelve thousand combatants out of South Africa's army of two hundred thousand were lost, a major blow. Volunteers filled the gap, however, and the South Africans were in the van from El Alamein to Tunis, and from there into the thick of the Italian fighting.

On the very day the Nazis began their retreat at El Alamein, Mr. Pirow was addressing his "New Order Party", telling of the coming integration of South African industry with Hitlerite Europe. General Hertzog and his moderate Afrikaner party were declining in influence, being replaced by Dr. Malan and his "Re-United" Party. Malan, like Pirow, seemed convinced of the imminence of a German victory, and was also laying plans for a Boer Republic. An even more extreme Nationalist and German admirer, Dr. J. F. J. van Rensburg, leader of the Ossewa Brandwag, was suspected of dangerously subversive activities. It would seem that the political pronouncements of all these extreme Afrikaner leaders were influenced more by the endeavour to capitalize politically on anti-British sentiment than by actual understanding of the potential results of German victory. General Smuts, wiser at age seventy than he was in his former treatment of the Rand strikers, allowed the opposition full democratic privileges, made no martyrs, and gave elements of doubtful loyalty the chance to drift to his side as Allied victories increased.

South Africans suffered relatively few

restrictions as a result of the war. White bread went off the market in 1941, petrol, tires and paper were rationed in 1942. Taxes remained relatively low, but large sums were loaned to the government through War Bonds. A unique and outstandingly successful war charity organization was the South African Gifts and Comforts, headed by the wife of General Smuts.

Malan's Afrikaner Nationalist Government

Rural Control.- It is difficult for an outsider to understand the advent to power of Dr. D. F. Malan's apparently extreme and anti-British nationalist group in 1948.

One explanation is to be found in the "overweighting" of the rural vote. At Union, in 1910, the White population was evenly divided between town and country. Since then there has been a reversal of the old trek movement, and now two-thirds of the Whites live in the towns.

> "Yet, throughout its history, the policy of the Union has been ultimately determined not by the towns but by the country, not by the worker but by the farmer, not by the broader views of the city dwellers but by the narrowed sympathies of the dorp and the veld. This has been brought about by a curious system of parliamentary representation."[8]

From the time of union, government policy has always nursed the farmer as the backbone of the country. At that time, the country, to perpetuate its control, was

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[8] ibid, p. 140.

influential in the establishment of a Delimitation Commission to define the electoral divisions. They were given authority to depart from the quota by fifteen percent, and the result has been that the rural constituencies have had a margin of voting power of thirty percent, or in other words, a rural vote has been worth about fifty percent more than a city vote. Even today (1948) with two-thirds of the Whites in the towns, the rural population elects fifty-three percent of the members of parliament.

The Problem of Colour.- Despite the weighting of the rural vote, which is overwhelmingly Afrikaner, it is certain that to be elected, Malan's Nationalists must have received many British votes. The obvious truth of the situation is that except for vote catching purposes the English-Afrikaner rivalry has ceased to be the controlling factor in South African politics. The true (and now apparent) dominating influence in the political, economic and social life of South Africa is the Native problem - as has been the case since the days of van Riebeeck.

In effect, the Native policies of the two major parties are not basically different, but the Smuts government had leaned toward improvement in the position of the Native, especially in matters of education and employment in semi-skilled work. Malan's party came out boldly for a policy of permanent White supremacy and for separation of the Bantu from the White - a popular policy, but one almost impossible to implement. Even more effective in vote getting

was their plan for control of the Black labour force to prevent competition with the White in the towns, which control would make plenty of cheap Black labour available for the Afrikaner farmer.

The political position of the Native in South Africa degenerated year after year even under the apparently more benevolent United Party government. As early as 1936 the Cape Natives, the only ones with the franchise (the right to vote for a White candidate in his own constituency) were deprived of this privilege. The new government proposed to abolish the three representatives of the Natives in the House of Assembly.

The Cape Coloured are, apparently, to be taken off the general voters roll and given instead indirect representation. The Indian also, is to lose the partial representation promised by the Smuts' government. A minister of the government has repeatedly stated that the only final solution of the Indian problem is the removal of all Indians to India itself. The Malan government appears to be putting into effect final measures to make the "colour bar" complete, in its political as well as its economic and social aspects.

Racial Problems and the Future

There are many indications that the problem of the relations between the two "European" races is on the way to solution. The same can hardly be said of the relations of the Europeans to the three non-European races, Bantu, Indian

and Coloured. The eight million Bantu can hardly be held in permanent subjection by two or three million Whites particularly as their eighty million Black brethren of Africa are gradually gaining political power. The quarter of a million Indians can hardly be either permanently restricted or removed, especially as Indian influence is increasing throughout East Africa, supported by the powerful new Indian nations. Only in the case of the Coloured, for whom South African Europeans are at least partly responsible, does there seem to be any possibility of fairly permanent political subjection.

On the other hand, the great majority of Europeans in South Africa feel - and perhaps rightly - that their own security as a people depends on permanent retention of the colour bar, in all its major implications.

The harmonizing within South Africa of such violently conflicting interests is a task which will require indeed the judgment of a Solomon - perhaps in the form of the United Nations Organization - or the eventual arbitration or civil war. As the South African is independent, he will dislike outside interference. As he is wise, he may in the course of time make the necessary concessions to avoid civil war. The great question is whether or not the majority of White South Africans will outgrow their Seventeenth Century traditions in time to meet the challenge of Twentieth Century ideas of racial relations. Related to this question

is the White South African's response to the dilemma ahead-whether development of his Native races will in the long run increase his own prosperity or reduce his relatively high economic standard, now based on cheap Native labour.

In any case it is only a matter of time until a political, economic and social readjustment, peaceful or violent, must take place. As is indicated by the opening words of this brief historical study "Complexity is the main characteristic of the history and the present condition of South Africa." And, as almost every authority on South African history agrees, at the heart of that complex situation lies the problem of the Native.

PART TWO

DEVELOPMENT OF PUBLIC ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION

CHAPTER XI

Major Historical Factors Determining the Educational System of South Africa

Relation of Individual to Society

Defining "educational system" in a broad modern sense as the organization of the state and its related agencies for the education of the rising generation, we find that the basic influence in determining the nature of an educational system is the relationship existing between the individual and society. As Kandel states, "Educational systems are in fact colored far more by prevailing social and political concepts than by psychological theories or educational philosophies which attempt to deal with the individual as an isolated personality."[1]

In South Africa this relationship of the individual to society is extremely complex, as there are at least five major social groups in the Union. These are divided into two main divisions, "European" and "non-European", but even these

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[1] Kandel, I. L. Comparative Education. Boston, Mass: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1935, p. XXI.

are divided into distinct entities. The White or "European" race numbers approximately two and a half million people, divided into two groups according to national origin and language. The Afrikaans-speaking group, of Dutch origin, numbers roughly sixty percent of the Whites, while the English-speaking group, chiefly of English and Scottish origin, makes up the other forty percent. The "non-European" section numbers over eight and a half million (Census 1946)[2] subdivided into "Native" (Bantu), 87%; "Coloured" (mixed), 10%; and "Asiatic" (Indian), 3%. The fact that the "European" population is outnumbered more than three to one by the "non-European" population explains the natural tendency of the Whites to add economic and political barriers to the great social barriers between the two groups. For example, intermarriage of Europeans and non-Europeans is forbidden by law, and non-Europeans are segregated from Whites in almost every possible respect. Naturally this colour bar is reflected in the schools, where the two main racial groups do not attend the same schools. The racial, social and language barriers between the three "non-European" groups are almost as great. The "Bantu" peoples, although composed of many tribes, have a common racial origin and a common pride of race, and although their many local dialects are a cause of division, there is a tendency toward four main languages. The "Coloured" group are the most complex in

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[2] Official Yearbook of the Union of South Africa, 1946. Government Printer, Pretoria, S.A., Chapter IX, p. 1.

origin, with the least pride of race, and are probably of the lowest intellectual level, although there are striking individual exceptions. The "Asiatic" or Indian group, though divided into two main religions (Hindu and Moslem), shows a surprising unity. The Indians are very proud of their race, and are probably equal to the whites in native intellect. Each of these three main "non-European" groups has its own schools, although they occasionally attend joint schools where the population of any one race is rather scanty. It is obvious that in South Africa, as elsewhere "education as a whole is always relative ... to some concrete and evolving social situation."[3]

Political Philosophy

Based on the aforementioned social complex is a complex political structure, with an economic basis almost as influential as the social. From the first arrival of the Dutch in 1652, the Natives were considered as an inferior race, destined naturally to be the hewers of wood and drawers of water. Although this attitude was somewhat modified among the later English-speaking immigrants, due to missionary influence, this point of view still prevails in the bulk of the European population. As the Coloured group developed and the Indian group arrived, both developing to a point where they might become economic and political rivals of the

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[3] Counts, G. S. The Social Foundations of Education. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1934, p. 1.

Whites, there was a natural tendency among the Whites to strengthen the "colour bar" - only pure Whites were to be a part of the economically and politically-dominant European group. For economic and political reasons, therefore, the majority of Whites believe in segregation of non-Europeans insofar as it is possible, and in preserving the supremacy of the Whites not only by political provisions, but by marked superiority in the education of Europeans. Therefore, although in respect to their own race the Whites are politically democratic, in respect to other races they tend to be autocratic or "absolute". This introduces still another complicating factor in the organization of the South African educational systems. In South Africa "democracy" in respect to educational organization is hardly what Counts defines it as: "a point of reference ... a great ethical principle to be consulted in the formulation of all policies and programs."[4]

Nationalism

Taking into consideration the aforementioned factors, and adopting Kandel's point of view that "educational systems are dominated by national ends"[5], it is necessary to study some of the other basic factors of "nationalism" as a force in the development of the South African educational system.

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[4] ibid, p. 30.

[5] Kandel, I. L. op. cit. p. XXIII.

"Nationalism" almost defies definition, but is a resultant of racial origin, language, religion, culture, historical factors and present concept of patriotism and internationalism.

1) Racial Origin, Language and Religion.- In contrast to the racial and language complications, religion is not a major divisive factor. The European group, both Afrikaans and English, is dominantly Protestant, as is the Coloured group. The Bantu are "naturalist" in religion, but rapidly becoming Christianized. Although the Asiatics, as has been mentioned, are made up of two main religious groups (Hindus and Moslems) there is not the bitterness that is found in India, nor is the "caste" system a major factor. This is partly because of their common origin as indentured plantation workers and partly because of the necessity for solidarity in defense against a dominant White group whose policy is restriction of the Asiatic.

2) Culture.- Turning to culture as an aspect of nationalism we find again five distinct cultures. The English culture has behind it all the prestige of the English-speaking world, and is definitely "English" in nature rather than American. The Bantu culture is found throughout Eastern Central and Southern Africa, embraces many millions of Africans, and is at a high level among negroid cultures. It is based on a pastoral and agricultural mode of life, coordinated with a strong tribal and military organization. The military aspects have been repressed by White conquest,

and the tribal organization is tending to break down with the movement of Bantu to and from the industrial cities and the "European"-owned farms. The Indian culture is of ancient lineage, and has behind it the power of the uprising nationalism of the neighbouring three hundred million people of India. The indigenous "Coloured" culture is a conglomerate of many different origins, having its aegis in the days when the Cape of Good Hope was the half-way house on the road to the Indies. European, Malay, Hottentot, Bushman, Bantu (Kaffir) have all contributed, and into its developing body continue to pour the dregs from other races. Its language is chiefly Afrikaans, although English is also the home language of many of its members. What it lacks in "culture" this group to some extent makes up in political rights, for in the Cape Province particularly it has voting rights of long standing, now facing restriction by means of segregation from the body of White voters. There, Coloured citizens can own property in certain areas, whereas Asiatics are seriously limited in this respect, and the Bantu can own property only as tribes, not as individuals. The most striking of all cultures, and today the dominant one, is that of the Afrikaans-speaking South Africans, who are mainly of Dutch origin. As the original White inhabitants, who have suffered considerable inconvenience, indignity and economic loss and have tasted military defeat at the hands of the English, they have experienced, in the last forty years, a resurgence of racial and national pride and power which has

had great effect on every aspect of modern South African life, particularly education. The "Afrikaners" form the majority of the White population and hence control the government; they have developed a new language and literature from the original Dutch; they have a proud history, having opened up a sub-continent, tamed the warlike Bantu, and surprised the world with their successes against the British Empire in the "Boer" War. They are homogeneous in religion, practically all being members of various sects of the Dutch Reformed Church. With this Calvinistic background we can expect to see an interest in education, and some partnership or rivalry between church and state in educational matters. The Afrikaner takes a real pride in his cultural achievements, and rather reproaches the English-speaking South Africans who pay no attention to locally-produced books, plays or other cultural products unless they first gain recognition in England or America.[6]

3) Other Historical Factors.- There are other factors in the development of South Africa which have had effects both on her "nationalism" and her educational system. First, with the arrival of van Riebeeck in 1652 the institution of slavery was taken for granted, and to this day the white man turns away from unskilled labour, or "Kaffir work". Second, within the first century after their arrival, the Boer farmers spread into the outlying valleys and remote

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[6] Sowden, Lewis. The Union of South Africa. New York: Doubleday Doran & Co., Inc., 1943, p. 163.

areas to pasture their flocks, and thus faced the dangers of degeneration, the evidences of which are apparent today in "Poor Whiteism", which provides a challenge to modern education. Third, as they spread northward the Boers came into contact with the southward-advancing Bantu. The long and bloody conflict between these two strong pastoral peoples fills the pages of South African history and colours red the whole attitude of the modern Afrikaner to education of the Bantu. It has resulted in the situation outlined by the historian Jan Hofmeyr as follows:

> "The strength and vigour of the Bantu go far to account for the distinctive position which South Africa holds today among lands where white and coloured people have met. It is one of the few such lands where the coloured peoples have not been destroyed or submerged as a result of the coming of the white men, but have grown in strength as distinct entities. In South Africa it would seem that white man and coloured man are destined to live side by side in relative separateness."[7]

The third, and a major factor in the development of South Africa, and its educational system, was its conquest, control and colonization by the English in 1806. As Dutch and English were sharply-defined national groups, they did not absorb each other. There were at first promising indications that they could live in amity, but the factor that made this impossible was the influence of the London Missionary Society. Its policy of taking the part of the "Kaffirs" against the Boer farmers was the most serious divisive

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[7] Hofmeyr, Jan. South Africa. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1931, p. 48.

force.[8] Its attitude on slavery, and on compensation for slave owners was also one of the causes leading to the Great Trek, in 1836. Both the Great Trek and the missionary work done among the Natives have been major factors in the shaping of South Africa's educational system.

"We quit the colony" wrote Piet Retief, foremost among the Voortrekkers, in a manifesto which he issued on departure, "under the full assurance that the English Government has nothing more to require of us, and will allow us to govern ourselves without interference in future."[9]

This assurance proved vain, thus the Great Trek was a divisive force destined to be greatly increased by broken promises, further interference and finally war. The great political and educational task of the past forty-five years has been to try to heal the breach thus created between Afrikaans and English-speaking South Africans.

But the Great Trek was more than a divisive force. It opened up to white colonization the great spaces to the North, now Natal, the Orange Free State and the Transvaal, in the last of which new educational ideas were destined to take root. Further, the Trek itself became a symbol to the South African people, particularly the Afrikaner, a symbol with an educational significance - the Boer father, Bible and gun in hand, setting out to carve a better future for his children.

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[8] ibid, p. 67.

[9] ibid, p. 72.

The Bible made education essential. Until the Trek, education had been provided chiefly by the ministers of the Dutch Reformed Church, but after the Boers spread widely it was more difficult to teach the children of the widely-scattered families to read the Scriptures. As the independent Boer disliked too much government, and tax paying in particular, no strong local governmental or educational units developed in South Africa.

In 1860 a new historical and educational factor appeared in South Africa - the Indian, or "Asiatic". Originally brought as indentured labour for the sugar plantations of Natal, these "coolies" developed into traders, and became very influential in that colony. Forbidden to trade in the Orange Free State, they became well-established in Cape Colony and the Transvaal, where prohibitive legislation, particularly as regards voting and land-holding was gradually enacted to control them. The personal leadership of Mahatma Gandhi, the increasing political power of their countrymen in India, and the bitter competition necessary for their survival in South Africa has led to a surprising unity and a burning zeal for education.

Passing quickly over the period of the South African War, we must note certain prior historical and educational forces that have helped to heal the wounds created by that war. Among the "Europeans" in South Africa there have actually been not two, but three, main groups or powers, each typified by a great man. One power has been that of Afrikaner

Republicanism, represented by President Paul Kruger; the second has been that of British Imperialism, represented by Cecil Rhodes; and third, and most hopeful for the future, has been that of "South Africanism" represented by three outstanding men, Jan Hofmeyr of Cape Colony, Louis Botha of the Transvaal, and Jan Smuts, of all South Africa. Each power is still represented in the schools of White South Africa; Republicanism or Afrikaner Nationalism in the schools of the "back veld" or rural areas of the Orange Free State and the Transvaal; Imperialism, in many of the public "English-medium" schools and private schools; and "South Africanism" in the dual-medium schools of all provinces, particularly Cape Province, and in the bi-lingual nature of all White education in the Union.

These three influences, of varied strength in the several provinces, were a major reason for two vital decisions of the Act of Union, 1910. Article 137 read:

"Both the English and Dutch (later "Afrikaans") languages shall be official languages of the Union, and shall be treated on a footing of equality and possess and enjoy equal freedom, rights and privileges."

Another section provided that all education other than "higher" (university) was to be under the control of the provincial governments. This provided for the continuance of the four separate educational systems that had developed. However there were many factors operating toward centralization and against local control of the nature found either in

England or in America, as will be clarified in later sections of this study.

4) Industrialism.- The effect of industrialism, or the Industrial Revolution is listed by Reisner[10] as one of the three great factors, along with nationalism and democracy, in the development of educational systems. In South Africa the first element of industrialization was diamond mining, the second and greatest, gold mining, the third, manufacturing, resulting mainly from war needs. These had three major educational effects; first, the provision of ample money for state education; second, the movement of vast numbers of Natives from the reserves to the mining cities, where they would require education; third, the need for technical education for the large numbers of "Poor Whites" from the farms who require readjustment to an industrial economy.

Educational Influences, Traditional and Current

Traditions of localism or centralization, of curricula, of teacher training, of supervision, inspection and finance, plus current educational philosophy and psychological theories, all play a part in formation of an educational system. These factors, as they have operated, in South Africa are outlined in succeeding chapters.

Influence of Geography

Without question the geography of South Africa

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[10] Reisner, E. H. Nationalism and Education since 1789. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1939, p. 1.

has had considerable effect on the characteristics of its people and on the educational systems they have developed. Sowden sums up the major geographic influences in the following paragraph:

> "On the whole it is a good country. Arid in parts, fertile, very fertile in others, it is not a land in which the white man can take things easy if he wishes to maintain his standards. Nature is harsh and, with her heat, drought, pests, disease, her fast-flowing and fast-emptying rivers, cannot exactly be described as welcoming the human hand ... a land where the climate entices a man to fall into relaxed habits, but where the geography forbids him to do so ..."[11]

Hofmeyr gives a slightly different picture of the influence of South Africa's vast spaces and sunny climate on her people:

> "... the land again impressed itself upon their life and character. For its physical features led them to spread themselves over a wide area, made isolation and solitude their portion, and developed in them that resolute individualism which was to become a determining factor in South African history."
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> "So then South Africa is predominantly a healthy land, a land of prevailing sunshine, where men live naturally in the open air, but with a diversity bracing enough to promote physical and mental health. The South African youth grows rapidly to maturity, is sturdy and self reliant, inclined to give his affection rather to outdoor activities than to intellectual pursuits, but gaining in his contact with nature much that in other lands he would miss."[12]

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[11] Sowden, Lewis. op. cit. p. 15.

[12] Hofmeyr, Jan. op. cit. pp. 9 and 12.

CHAPTER XII

Education in Cape Province

Introduction

For almost two hundred years after the founding of Capetown, the history of South Africa was the history of Cape Colony. Certainly, in education, the basic foundations were laid in the Cape, and even in the last hundred years the developments in education in the other provinces have been affected to a major extent by educational policies and practices in the Cape.

Dutch Church Tradition

To understand the beginnings of education in South Africa we look back to its basis in Holland. Malherbe makes it clear that education was a cooperative project:

> "Summarizing then the relations of Church and State in school affairs in Holland in the seventeenth century: the principal power of the church lay in a generally acknowledged right to examine as to creed subscription, to enforce which there had been devised the regular visitations of the church and consistory for local supervision, and that of the deputies of the classes (presbyteries) for a more general oversight."[1]

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[1] Malherbe, Ernst G. Technical Education in South Africa. London: The Yearbook of Education, 1937, p. 23.

South Africa followed closely the institutional traditions of Holland, and at the Cape, as elsewhere, secular teaching was sacrificed more and more to religious teaching, until, following the revulsion leading to the separation of Church from State in 1795, de Mist, in 1804 promulgated a secular system.

First Schools.- The first school at the Cape was formed in 1658, was originally intended for the instruction of West African slaves, but was opened for the instruction of White children in 1663. It was conducted by the "sieckentrooster", or "comforter of the sick", who was entrusted with certain clerical duties, for there was as yet no minister. A long succession of sieckentroosters kept the little school going in Capetown and in the small villages that gradually sprang up in the outlying valleys. The educational advances made in the seventeenth century were due chiefly to the zeal of the church, and included a school for Coloured children, an infant school, and a school in the French language for the Huguenots. Educational matters were indirectly controlled by the Council of Policy, which received petitions regarding the founding of new schools and the appointment and dismissal of teachers. Direct control was exercised by the Ecclesiastical Court or Kerkeraad and its subsidiary local district Kerkraden, or church councils. The first regulation issued by a civil authority regarding the supervision of education was promulgated in 1685, and laid down a curriculum, methods of

discipline and the stipulation that the clergymen should visit the schools twice weekly. De Chavonnes, in 1714, began the codification of educational regulations, including the licensing of schoolmasters.

As the "sieckentrooster" type of schoolmaster was found only in the larger villages, an itinerant type of teacher developed to meet the need of the rural districts. Several families usually clubbed together for the hiring of such a teacher - often one of the discharged Company servants, many of whom brought the teaching profession into disrepute.

Among the ordinances of Chavonnes was one establishing the "Scholarchs" - the first board of education, consisting of the governor's assistant, the clergyman and the military captain, which took over certain educational administrative duties in Capetown, including the establishment of a new Latin School, and the raising of a substantial educational fund which was in 1837 transferred to the South African College.

The de Mist Interlude.- When, from 1803 to 1806, the Cape came under the Batavian Republic, the Commissioner General, J. A. de Mist, one of the ablest of administrators and educational reformers, toured the country, surveyed the educational resources, and proceeded to systematize them. He established a training school for teachers under competent instructors, provided a system of grants and scholarships for potential teachers, and developed secondary education

including domestic training for girls. Lower mixed schools were to be established all over the country, and the whole system was to be a state function rather than a clerical one, supported by luxury and land taxes. Unfortunately, the renewal of English occupation ended de Mist's plans, but even had the English not taken control, it is doubtful if de Mist's secular system would have survived due to the strongly religious character of the community.

The Early English Regime

Anglicization.- The English governors, and Lord Charles Somerset in particular, considered it their duty to Anglicize the colonists as soon as possible. To them it seemed incongruous that a mere thirty thousand Dutch colonists should be allowed to perpetuate a foreign language and foreign customs in a part of the British Empire. Therefore, in 1822, Lord Somerset ordered that proclamations and court proceedings had to be in English only, and English and Latin were to be the only languages that might be taught in the government schools. After importing Scottish teachers he started free English schools, and also filled vacant Dutch Reformed Church pulpits by young Presbyterian clergymen. These attempts to alter the language of the people were not only a complete failure, but even had an adverse effect, for many parents who would otherwise have had their children taught English now refused to do so.

Assisted Schools.- When, in 1827 all existing

institutions of local government were swept away and governmental authority and procedures were centralized, the colonists along the frontiers naturally suffered greatly, particularly because they could take no immediate action against Native raids. Fortunately Sir John Cradock, in 1812, had again linked the schools with the church, and had provided for government grants to itinerant teachers, so that frontier education did not suffer as seriously as it otherwise might have. Cradock's "Bible and School Commission" controlling education, after a short period of activity, degenerated into a purely nominal authority, for it had no power to inspect the schools, no means of coordination, no responsible executive head and most disadvantageous of all, it was ignored by later governors, particularly Somerset, who proceeded directly with the hated policy of Anglicization. By 1839 the Commission had become concerned only with purely ecclesiastic matters.

Local Control.- Fortunately, by 1827, an attempt was being made to establish some local responsibility in the matter of education, through the setting up of School Committees to supervise the schools of the district, to visit these schools and conduct examinations, and to report to the Bible and School Commission. The members of the School Committee were usually the Resident Magistrate, local clergyman and a doctor. In 1834 all free education was suspended and fees reintroduced, except in special cases to be decided

by a local committee. Most important change of all was the provision for the teaching of Dutch where the parents desired it as a subject in school. Although these provisions have become a basis for the present-day functions of school committees, they had little effect at the time, for only seven schools adopted the new system as against the seventeen government free schools and some ninety private schools.

The Growth of the Education Department

> "Probably the greatest single step in the progress of educational control in South Africa was the establishment in 1839 of an Education Department with a Superintendent as the one responsible organizing head of the whole educational system in the Cape Colony."[2]

This move was suggested by the Government Secretary, Colonel Bell, in a comprehensive memorandum submitted first to Sir John Herschel, the eminent astronomer.[3] The alternating zeal or disregard of successive Governors became of less serious import for education in the Colony. The duties of the new official, Mr. James R. Innes, were defined as including the duties of general inspector, registrar, government representative for education, curriculum maker and leader of teachers - in embryo, almost all the sub-departments which today make up the Cape Department of

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[2] ibid, p. 71.

[3] Centenary of the Education Department 1839-1939. Capetown: The Department of Education, Province of the Cape of Good Hope, pp. 1-5.

Education. It is interesting to note that the Cape Education Department was formed in the same year as the English Education Department and shares the honours as the oldest in the British Empire.[4]

With the adoption of the superintendency several permanent changes in educational organization were made. These include the division of schools into two classes: the "First Class" or Principal Schools in the larger centres, which included elementary and secondary instruction in the one building; and Second Class schools, also called "Government Schools", which offered only the free Primary Course. In 1843 a system of Aided or Third Class schools was begun for the country districts. Provisions were made for religious instruction in all schools, and for school libraries. A normal school started at this time, closed after a few years, but the government schools increased considerably in number and efficiency.

As these government schools were based on the aim of Anglicization they were as a result entirely unsuitable to the desires and needs of the Dutch settlers who formed a a great majority of the White population, and as a result a great number of private schools sprang up, which, being denied government assistance, were naturally of an inferior nature. Innes, the Superintendent realized that the government in its

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[4] Duffett, P. S. A History of Cape Educational Administration. Addresses to the Diamond Jubilee Conference of the South Africa Teachers' Association. Capetown, June 1947, p. 113.

enthusiasm to disseminate English was neglecting the educational needs of the majority of the citizens of Cape Colony, but his suggestions in this respect were not put into actual practice until more than half a century later.

The Growth of the Aid System and of Local Responsibility

The first move away from the unpopular English Free School system in the Cape was made in 1841 when the Government began to encourage mission schools by providing teachers' salaries. In 1843 the government offered grants toward the teachers' salaries in rural districts which elected a school committee and provided secular instruction including English. Unfortunately lack of publicity and an excess of governmental red tape resulted in only ten such schools being established in the succeeding seven years. As later regulations provided for governmental payment of only three-fifths of the teacher's salary, a local "guarantee system" was developed by which certain members of the district pledged themselves to make up deficits. School committees, although relieved of supervision over internal matters such as discipline and curricula, soon became responsible for hearing and reporting on complaints and for furnishing buildings and equipment in addition to part of teacher salaries. Thus local responsibility, and consequently interest in education was increased, and this interest was augmented by developments in representative government, by prosperity resulting from the infant mining industry and by

the spread of railways and telegraph communications.

This material prosperity resulted also in a great increase in the number of children attending school, the enrolment of 1840 being multiplied ten times over by 1870. In the 1840's the Superintendent had in effect prevented most Coloured children from entering the regular schools by the regulation that all scholars must be "decently clothed and of good deportment". However, by 1890 education had extended to the Coloured section of the population to the point where they made up sixty percent of the total school enrolment. The grant-in-aid system had succeeded in spreading education but it grew haphazardly and developed abuses. By 1854 the grants system and the whole educational set-up required overhauling. Therefore, after the institution of Representative Government in 1854, a Select Committee on Public Education was appointed. It recommended some basic principle of grants, such as the pound for pound system, but no change resulted. In 1863, however, the Watermeyer Commission issued a very valuable report which advocated the gradual abolition of the "established" or government Free English Schools, which were so unpopular that despite generous government support they were being rapidly ousted by private schools. The second recommendation suggested the extension of government aid to all schools on the pound for pound system.

Education Act of 1865

The aforementioned and other improvements were embodied in the Cape Colony Education Act of 1865, an important milestone in education in that province. The pound for pound grant was applied only to "Undenominational Public Schools", and the maximum grants varied for three different types of schools. To "Mission Schools" and "aborigines schools" unconditional grants were made. The pupil-teacher system was confirmed and a better financial basis was provided. The conditions for grants included government approval of the managers, English as a medium of instruction except during the first twelve months, daily religious instruction with permission for withdrawal, and government inspection - this last provision being a result of the Newcastle Commission Report in England. In Cape Colony the grant-in-aid system developed also, in effect, into a system of "payment by results". Adequate inspection was provided only very slowly, however, for as late as 1879 each inspector was responsible for sixty-seven thousand pupils spread over an area twice that of the British Isles.

Special Allowances

The beneficial effect of the Education Act of 1865 is indicated by the fact that for the first time the curve of school attendance began to rise more sharply than that of population. In 1873 the extension of grants to "District Boarding Schools", including capitation allowances for boys

whose homes were more than six miles distant, introduced the public boarding school system which has become a major factor in bringing the scattered children of South Africa into centralized schools. In 1882 the government provided for capitation grants to pupils taught by certificated private teachers on farms, conditional on the pupils passing the successive standards. Further, the government began the appointment of circuit teachers to provide for certain seriously neglected rural districts.

A system of Good Service Allowances for teachers was instituted in 1875, the main criterion being the pupils' success in examinations. This system lasted until 1917, and continued beyond that date in the Mission schools.

To remedy the deplorable state of many school buildings the government in 1893 offered building grants on the pound for pound principle, supplemented by a redeemable loan system which incidentally resulted in the nationalization of all school property. Unfortunately in this as in all other educational advances initiative was left to the locality, and in a colony of scattered pioneer farmers there were bound to be many educationally inactive districts. Fortunately the ministers of the Dutch Reformed Church stimulated the growth of schools wherever that church operated.

Another serious impediment to the development of education was the nature of the local school committees, for the appointment of which there were no regular provisions except that their term was limited to three years. Lacking

continuity and corporate status, burdened by the guarantee system, and lacking powers of local rating, both these committees and the teachers and schools dependent on them suffered heavily.

District School Boards

Until the year 1905 the only sources of school revenue in the Cape Colony were treasury grants, school fees and "guarantees". Although Divisional Councils were established as bodies of local control over large districts in 1855, the control of education, and its financing by local rates, were not, unfortunately, turned over to these authorities. Although the Education Commission of 1879 recommended transforming local school committees into corporate bodies with taxing powers, the Superintendent was opposed on grounds of economy. A survey by Inspector Donald Ross indicated that only one-fourth of the white population was receiving the minimum education advisable, and this led to the development of the compulsory education idea. However, the Education Commission of 1891 failed to recommend such a step, and its recommendation for incorporation of the school boards and for regular nomination of its members remained dead letters.

The Cape Legislature, between 1865 and 1905, had passed very few statutes relating to education as its members appeared to fear opposition from powerful sections to any move that might be made. The School Board Act of 1905, however finally provided for the establishment of

approximately one hundred incorporated School Boards, two-thirds elected by the ratepayers and one-third appointed by the Governor, to protect minorities. They were entrusted with the task of founding new schools, and the enforcement of compulsory education was made optional to the boards. The single school committees, or Committees of Managers (formerly guarantors) were continued as representatives of the parents with responsibility for supervision of buildings and grounds, for advising the Board and for the appointment and supervision of teachers.

Approval or non-approval of the selection or supervision of a teacher was in the hands of the School Board and the Department.

> "This right of the parents (or their representatives) to select the teacher has been regarded throughout South Africa (excluding Natal) as an inalienable local privilege. This feature is practically unique to South Africa, and must be reckoned with by any form of educational administration which may be introduced in this country."[5]

The method of financing under the system set up by the Education Act of 1905 requires the School Board to submit its budget and scale of fees to the government which pays half the expense. After 1910, all the financial responsibility of the School Boards was taken over by the Divisional Councils. These are the only local authorities in South Africa, other than the Provincial Councils, which have

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[5] Malherbe, Ernst G. op. cit. p. 129.

authority to tax for educational purposes.

Progress and Greater Centralization

Organization of the Education Department.- Because the office of Superintendent involved responsibilities and duties far beyond the powers of one individual, the feeling began to develop that a central Board of Education should be established. The first step in this direction was the setting up of a Board of Public Examiners in 1858, which became the examining University of the Cape of Good Hope in 1873. Its successors, the Joint Matriculation Board, while not truly a central board of education, has nevertheless, through its matriculation and other examinations, exercised a powerful influence on education in South Africa.

The Cape took no other steps toward a central board of education and as little progress toward the appointment of a Minister of Education. The Superintendent was only indefinitely responsible to the Governor and the Colonial Secretary, and except for the latter, there was no one to pilot educational measures through the Assembly, with the result that educational matters received only the most cursory attention. Some consideration was given to division of the Superintendent's duties into "financial", responsible to parliament, and "professional", subject to advice from a council of education, but no action was taken until Union, in 1910.

Considerable progress, however, was made in the

reorganization of the Cape Education Department, under the superintendency of Dr. Thomas Muir. Separate branches were developed for examining, statistics, authorizing, building, the "Educational Gazette", school boards, railway schools, registration and general correspondence. A branch dealing with accounting and finance was transferred in 1910 to the office of the Provincial Administrator. In addition the inspectorate was reorganized, each officer being made responsible for a definite area, and being instructed as to the inspirational nature of their duties. Special inspectors were appointed for secondary schools and supervising instructors were appointed for such subjects as music, needlework, woodwork, drawing, kindergartens, cooking and nature study.

Progress to 1921.- An educational survey, conducted in 1893 in certain neglected rural areas was the first of its kind in South Africa. Unfortunately the Boer War prevented the remedial plans from materializing. In the matter of school libraries great progress was made. For the second time a Normal College was established in 1878, and other training schools and colleges later supplemented the work of teacher training. By 1922 ninety percent of teachers in White schools were certificated, eighty percent of teachers in Coloured schools, and seventy-four percent of teachers in Native schools. Such certification involved courses of from two to four years' training after Standard VIII (Grade X).

Compulsory education, made optional to the

individual school in 1906, was not extended to all schools until 1913, but by 1919 all White children aged seven to sixteen years, or not graduated from Standard VI (Grade VIII), were required to attend school. Only in 1920 was education made free to Standard VI for all children as a logical corollary of compulsion. It should be noted that this free education applied in the Cape Province to Europeans, Native and Coloured, in theory at least. By 1917 an Indigent Boarding Home system had been inaugurated to provide free housing for necessitous cases.

The succeeding Superintendent, Dr. W. J. Viljoen from the Orange Free State, carried on the progressive work of Sir Thomas Muir, and in addition took major steps toward the improvement of the teaching force and consultation with teachers' organizations. In 1920 secondary education in the Cape was revised to prevent overlapping between primary and secondary schools, to centralize schemes in the country districts and to provide for differentiated education at the secondary level to meet the need of varied types of pupils. Agriculture particularly has been given adequate attention at the secondary school level.

Powers of the Superintendent-General.- It is of interest to note that on the establishment of the Education Department in 1839 the "Superintendent-General" was vested with important powers - "under the law he has the last word in the establishment of schools, the creation of teachers'

posts, the appointment of teachers, the grant of increments etc."[6] In these powers he is responsible only to the Provincial Administrator and Executive Committee of the Provincial Council. Although this "autocracy within democratic government" has often been criticized, the original set-up has been maintained, even in the Consolidated Education Ordinance of 1921, and since. The post of Superintendent-General of Education has always been filled by a professional and not an administrative man. On the other hand, all financial matters are managed by a Controller of Educational Finance, who is usually the Provincial Secretary.

Progress 1921-1947.- Under the most recent Superintendent-General, Dr. de Vos Malan, the Cape has made great progress in education. It pioneered in school broadcasting and in effect runs the service for the whole Union.[7] Special provision has been made for deviate children - hard of hearing, speech-defectives, physically defectives and the mentally sub-normal.

The problem of financing the schools by means of Union government subsidies has been a serious one in the Cape, for reasons suggested in the following paragraph:

> "The European enrolment of the Cape is approximately the same as that of the Transvaal; but the Cape enrolment is scattered over an area two and one-half times as large as that of the

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[6] Duffett, P. S. op. cit. p. 114.

[7] ibid, p. 116.

> Transvaal. As a consequence the Cape has to maintain one thousand more schools and seven hundred more teachers than the Transvaal. It is obvious therefore that what would be a reasonable subsidy for the Transvaal is bound to be an inadequate subsidy for the Cape..."[8]

This difficulty in financing the scattered schools of the Cape has at last been recognized by the Union government. Under the "Financial Relations Consolidation and Amendment Act of 1945" the Union government has agreed to provide for the Cape a special subsidy of one hundred and fifty thousand pounds, in addition to the normal fifty percent of next approved expenditure.[9]

Another pressing problem for the Cape is that of financing "Coloured" education:

> "If the Coloured child is to be given a 'square deal' in comparison with the European child, the Coloured pupil subsidy should be at least two thirds of the European pupil subsidy, whereas it is at present not much more than one third."[10]

Ninety percent of the Coloured pupils attend denominational schools, and practically all Native schools are denominational in nature. Practically all salaries,

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[8] Report of the Superintendent-General of Education, 1939. The Department of Public Education, Cape of Good Hope, Capetown, p.4.

[9] A Brief Description of Education in South Africa, 1946. Pretoria: The National Bureau of Educational and Social Research, pp. 5-6.

[10] Report of the Superintendent-General of Education, 1939. The Department of Public Education, Cape of Good Hope, Capetown, p. 6.

except those of teachers in Coloured and Native secondary schools, are paid in full by the Provincial Administration, which receives roughly fifty percent from the Union government. The Financial Relations Consolidation Act of 1945 does not appear to increase greatly Union grants for Coloured education, and as a result the Cape Province, in which the bulk of the Coloured live, has an almost impossible task in the endeavour to raise their educational status. Nevertheless the Coloured Education Ordinance of 1945 has given the Administrator the power to declare education compulsory for Coloured children between seven and fourteen where public school accommodation exists.[11]

In the primary schools special attention is paid to the teaching of the second language (by direct method), to history and geography taught in conjunction, to nature study and to handwork of varied types for practical use and the development of creative ability. In addition vocational guidance with occupational studies, is provided in Standard VI (Grade VIII). Education is compulsory for all children age seven to sixteen, or until completion of Standard VI. Secondary education is not yet free, however, moderate fees being charged except for those fifteen years or younger.[12] In ninety percent of the Cape schools the "secondary"

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[11] Official Yearbook of the Union of South Africa, 1946, Education. Chapter VIII; Pretoria: Government Printer, p. 26.

[12] A Brief Description of Education in South Africa, 1946. Pretoria: The National Bureau of Educational and Social Research, p. 11.

department is in the same school as the elementary, and under the same principal. The language medium used is that of the child's home, but in all schools both official languages must be taught unless the inspector authorizes otherwise.

Great progress has been made in the content of secondary education. The University Matriculation Examination no longer controls the education of all secondary pupils, for the Cape Education Department now has control over both the Junior and Senior Certificate examinations the latter being accepted under certain conditions as an equivalent qualification to Matriculation.[13] Provision is now made for individual differences among pupils, particularly in the larger schools. Unfortunately the Standard VI examination is not yet designed to give an indication of the particular course of advanced study for which the candidate is best suited. Principals and teachers provide what guidance they can. Physical education and music are non-examination subjects required of all pupils. Libraries and student clubs are found in most schools. Educational films are available from the Union Education Department's film library and a museum service is maintained for schools. Three agricultural high schools equipped with hostels provide all round training for children interested in agriculture. Forty-four other high schools offer a four-year course in agriculture as one

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[13] Report of the Superintendent-General of Education, 1939. The Department of Public Education, Cape of Good Hope, Capetown, p. 34.

of the subjects of the Senior Certificate.[14]

A major problem in public education of Europeans in the Cape is the retention of pupils in school after Standard VI, either through government regulation or by the provision of secondary education and vocational training better suited to the needs and interests of many of the pupils. Of the 1942 group in Standard VI only seventy-three percent proceeded to Standard VII, only fifty-six percent to Standard VIII and only twenty-nine percent to Standard X.[15] There is no provincial compulsory attendance law governing Native pupils, and attendance of Coloured pupils is compulsory in only very few districts. The policy of the Cape Education Department appears to be, however, to extend facilities for Coloured and Native education as quickly as Union subsidies and informed public opinion will permit. It also aims, to a much greater extent than the other provinces, at the encouragement of local effort.

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[14] ibid, p. 79.

[15] Report of the Superintendent-General of Education, 1946. The Department of Public Education, Cape of Good Hope, Capetown, p. 23.

CHAPTER XIII

History of "European" Education in the Transvaal, until Union

Beginnings (1836-1872)

"Inspired by an innate desire for independence and strengthened by their trust in God, the bold spirits of the Great Trek journeyed northwards."[1] Even on trek the parents taught their children, for

> "amongst these pioneers no part of a parents' duty was considered more necessary than the instruction of the young. Every child was one day to be a member of the Church; and among the most commendable traditions of their Church was the insistence that all whom it accepted as members should be able to read and write."

An occasional band of trekkers had an itinerant schoolmaster among its members; in most cases parents had to teach their children the alphabet, how to read the Gothic lettering of the State Bible, and mastery of the questions and answers of the Catechism. After 1848 the Dutch Reformed Church sent ministers to the Transvaal, and in 1851, after insistent demands, three teachers were sent out from Holland. By 1853 the Volksraad had passed a set of thirteen regulations

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[1] Bot, A. K. A Century of Education in the Transvaal. Pretoria: Government Printer, 1936, pp. 9-11.

relating to education, stressing the importance of religious teaching.[2]

When the South African Republic was established in 1859, the spirit of nationality and awareness of national culture was at once asserted in the provisions for education. In the same year an Education Committee was appointed. The greatest difficulties were the lack of financial resources and the dearth of teachers. Holland did most to make good the latter deficiency.

> "It was prescribed that the teachers should be members of the Dutch Church and be declared competent by the General School Committee. They were required to give instruction in Bible history, reading, writing, arithmetic, geography, history and singing. Their salaries were fixed at seventy-five pounds a year, plus the school fees. A yearly examination was to be held and a prize presented to the best pupil."[3]

Civil war prevented much progress until 1864, when provision was made for the establishment of local authorities - appointed local school commissioners without financial responsibility. It should be noted that among other instructions was one that English as well as Dutch should be taught. Inspection of schools and the submission of reports by local bodies were required.[4] Further, the increasing importance of education was indicated by transfer

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[2] Malherbe, Ernst G. Education in South Africa (1652-1922). Capetown: Juta and Company, 1925, p. 225.

[3] Bot, A. K. op. cit. p. 14.

[4] Malherbe, Ernst G. op. cit. p. 23.

of its control direct to the Executive Council. In 1867 six percent of the national budget was spent on schools. From the first education was considered a national responsibility and the teachers were practically civil servants. The Church, however, remained the main influence in bringing children into school.

Modern Ideas (1872-1882)

When, during critical times in the affairs of the Republic, Thomas Burgers of Cape Colony was elected President, he made provision for an even more advanced scheme of national education, including a Superintendent of Education and establishment of a gymnasium at Pretoria. Local authorities were to be elected, and were to assume financial responsibility - a burden for which these pioneer communities were not ready. Purely dogmatic religious teaching was limited to after school hours. The latter provision aroused bitter opposition among the people and Church leaders who believed in the sacred principle that education should be built upon a definitely-religious foundation. As it turned out, the annexation of the South African Republic by Great Britain for four years rendered this provision ineffective. Interesting in the light of future developments was the provision in the Burgers' Law that the parents could choose the medium of instruction, with the result that four of the eight state subsidized schools used English, at least until Mansvelt's regulations twenty years later.

The succeeding British Superintendent of Education, Dr. Vacy Lyle, found that only eight percent of the children were attending state schools, and with great wisdom, he developed a policy to popularize education among the rural population particularly. Religious instruction was to remain a subject of the school curriculum, and ministers of religion were made temporary school inspectors. Local school commissions were to be entrusted with supervision of schools in their area. Two other innovations were of equal significance: one provided for financial support for private-enterprise schools, and another supported the founding of separate-medium schools for Dutch and English. His successor introduced the idea of "payment by results", which, though iniquitous in principle, did much to raise standards and improve attendance.

State-Aided rather than National Schools (1881-1900)

With the restoration of independence, the South African Republic appointed Reverend S. J. du Toit as Superintendent of Education. Reverend du Toit was a leader of the national revival of the Afrikaner people, which stressed the Dutch Reformed religion, the development of Afrikaans as the native language, and the foundation of a political organization known as the Afrikander Bond. Prior to appointment he insisted on an educational change that deviated from the systems then in existence in South Africa - the replacement of state schools by state-aided private schools. This was

in accord with the prevailing belief in the Transvaal, that the basis of teaching should be religious. With great energy he set to work, establishing local committees, inspecting schools and popularizing education. Whereas in 1877 there were only fifteen state schools, with but four hundred and forty-two pupils, by 1889 there were three hundred state-aided schools with seven thousand pupils, and the cost to the state, per pupil, was cut in half. The great difficulty was, as before, the provision of competent teachers and as a result du Toit opened, in 1883, a training school for teachers at Pretoria. The following quotation sums up the work of this Superintendent of Education:

> "Mr. du Toit had founded a system of education which increased the parents' sense of responsibility for the schooling of their children. He had by his measures pointed the way to a satisfactory treatment in schools of the religion, language and traditions of the Boer people."[5]

One defect of his work was in basing the subsidy on the number of pupils, resulting in the overcrowding of schools with very young children. Local communities used this means to reduce still further their financial obligations for education.[6]

The next Superintendent, Dr. N. Mansvelt, was a professor of Dutch, and stressed a high quality of work in this language, almost as foreign to many of the pupils as

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[5] Bot, A. K. op. cit. p. 31.

[6] Malherbe, Ernst G. op. cit. p. 264.

English. To this end he provided schemes of work and texts, and stressed individual examination. He gave explicit instructions to inspectors, teachers and school committees as to registers, returns etc., and issued a departmental handbook, the "School Guide". Primary schools were defined as Standards I to III, Secondary as Standards IV to VI, (in which only seven percent of the pupils were found). In 1882 a law was passed making Dutch the only medium of instruction. Dr. Mansvelt enforced this strictly, to the dislike of many Afrikaners and of the growing English population in particular.

The Education Act of 1892 confirmed the policies of parental responsibility, state aid to private schools and state supervision, and also made provision for "higher education". This resulted in the erection of the State Gymnasium at Pretoria at a cost of forty thousand pounds - the finest building in the Republic. The Gymnasium, and Dr. Mansvelt's ideas generally, were inspired by continental codes. As an aid in the training of men teachers, a State Model School was developed. Women teachers were trained at a State Girls' School, which offered courses also in needlework, hygiene, art and music. Three grades of teacher certificates were established just before the South African War broke out.

Conflicts in Education

While the aforementioned developments along Dutch

and European lines were taking place, new elements had entered into the economic, social and political situation which were to upset the system now apprently flourishing. The discovery of gold in 1886 caused a great influx of immigrants, chiefly English, resulting in Johannesburg becoming, within twelve years, the largest town in the Republic. By that time the government had finally permitted the use of English as an instructional medium, but the Dutch language and Transvaal history had to be taught also. This provision, although it appears quite reasonable, did not please the English. Therefore the Witwatersrand Council of Education was established to provide private schools, supported mainly by mining profits. Although they must be considered as a foreign growth in the national educational system of the South African Republic, in the long run the broader curriculum, better equipment, more modern methods and extra-curricular activities of these "Council" Schools helped modernize education in the Transvaal.

Another factor was aggravating the language question - the growth of Afrikaans. Many of the teachers from Cape Colony were in favour of the use of this vernacular tongue in the schools, in place of "high Dutch". Many Cape teachers had been educated in dual-medium schools, and were not opposed to the use of English as a medium of instruction.

The outbreak of war in 1898 put an end to the educational system of the South African Republic. It is interesting to note however, that in the World Exhibition of

1900 at Paris, the educational exhibit and report of the republic won the "Grand Prix" for both primary and secondary education. This report indicated that thrity-three percent of the pupils of the South African Republic were educated free, and seventeen percent were lodged free, as children of indigent burghers.[7]

English Influence (1898-1906)

War did not put a complete stop to educational activity in the schools. As a matter of fact a situation brought about by the war was the means of first getting the Boers and the English to cooperate in education - in the "camp schools". Viscount Milner was concerned about the educational situation and particularly about the thousands of Boer children and adults interned in concentration camps. Under Mr. E. B. Sargant, an able officer of the British Civil Service, with a wide knowledge of the educational systems of Rhodesia, Australia and Canada, a new start was made. Sargant developed the camp schools, using teachers, Dutch and English, wherever they could be found. Religious instruction was in Dutch, other lessons were in English. Emergency schools were established in Johannesburg, and three hundred teachers were brought from England. For the first time in the Transvaal in the camp schools, Dutch and English found common ground for cooperation; education had now become a joint enterprise, but under compulsion.

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[7] ibid, p. 285.

Under the new Director of Education for the Transvaal, General Favian Ware, state education was revived. Within two years organizing inspectors had established almost three hundred schools, the government offering free education wherever thirty children could be assembled. Provision was made for the teaching of Dutch for three hours a week and for instruction in Bible history through the Dutch medium, if requested by parents. The obvious aim of the British administration was, nevertheless, the Anglicization of Afrikaans children through these schools. The Educational Adviser, Mr. Sargant, attempted to apply British models, including a system of "District Headmasters", principals who supervised neighbouring lesser schools.

Boer Reaction - "C.N.O." Schools

The Boers, however, embittered by defeat in war, disliking the English medium and naturally suspicious even of British concessions, avoided wherever possible the transfer of their children to the government schools. Thus a large system of Dutch private schools came into being, financed mainly from Holland, organized by the "Christian National Education" movement, directed by Generals Botha and Smuts. The purpose of these schools was the perpetuation of the religion, language, history and traditions of the Afrikaans-speaking people of the Transvaal. Within a short time one-third as many children were enrolled in these private schools as in the government schools. The

organization developed secondary schools, its own normal schools and its own certification. The "C.N.O." organization was prepared to fuse with the government school system only if two principles were accepted. First, parents should have a voice in the appointment of teachers (to safeguard the Dutch religious interest); second, Dutch and English should enjoy equal rights as the medium of instruction.

Liberal Policy in Education (1906-1910)

The Selborne Minute.- The victory of Campbell-Bannerman's Liberal party in England in 1905 had far-reaching effects on both politics and education in the Transvaal which was granted responsible government in 1906. Lord Selborne, the new High Commissioner, immediately applied himself to the task of neutralizing racial differences, and singled out education for his special attention. His "Minute on Education" led to the establishment of advisory school committees.

> "The principal duties of these committees were to select teachers for appointment, subject to the approval of the school boards and of the Director of Education, and to report through the school boards to the Department on the character of the religious instruction given."[8]

It was their further duty to make reports on negligent teachers and on other similar situations. These remain the fundamental duties of school boards and school committees in the Transvaal.

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[8] Bot, A. K. op. cit. p. 85.

The Selborne Minute also permitted the use of Dutch as a medium of instruction until pupils could profit from instruction in English, satisfactory progress in which remained a condition for promotion. The Boers saw in this provision a continuation of the attempt to destroy their nationality and language. Malherbe thus emphasizes the importance of the Selborne Minute:

> "The Selborne Minute may with good reason be called the Magna Charta for Transvaal local control ... Lord Selborne went straight to the heart of the educational difficulty in the Transvaal, namely, the choice of the teacher by the local committee, and the Dutch medium question."[9]

The Education Act of 1907

The big question, however, remained. Would the new school system be built on the principle of the government school or on that of the state-aided school? General Smuts as Minister of Education decided for a system of government schools which would embody the desires and aspirations of both races. Accordingly his Education Act of 1907 became the basis of the present educational system of the Transvaal. The Education Act of 1907 not only embodied the Selborne principle but provided a framework of educational administration which allowed for development merely by the addition of amendments.[10] The system was to be headed by

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[9] Malherbe, Ernst G. op. cit. p. 326.

[10] ibid, p. 337.

a Minister assisted by a Council of Education acting in an advisory capacity. Its Director and four other members were to advise the Government in such matters as finance, language, fees and the appointment and dismissal of teachers. Twenty-six School Districts were set up corresponding to the electoral divisions, the School Boards to be elected by the regular voters. The School Committees were to be elected by the parents, and their powers and those of the Boards followed the lines of the Selborne Minute. Unlike the School Boards in the Cape and the Orange Free State, the Transvaal School Boards did not raise funds, as all monies were provided by the provincial government. They were essentially the local agents of the Education Department, held responsible to familiarize themselves with the wishes of the people in their areas and to ensure that educational opportunity was available to all - that is, to all Whites. The Act of 1907 also brought into existence the first advisory body to the Education Department - a Council of Education, which was, however, dispensed with in 1915. Primary education was to be free, and compulsory for White children, seven to fourteen, living within three miles of a school. For the first time separate legal provision was made regarding schools for Natives.

In the matter of language instruction Smuts and Botha showed moderation by respecting the suggestion of the Selborne Minute, requiring that a knowledge of English should be conditional to promotion, although Afrikaans did not enjoy this provision.

Perhaps the most vital provision of the Act of 1907 was that which stated: "No doctrine or dogma peculiar to any religious denomination or sect shall be taught in any public school." The Smuts Act provided for religious education, but not on a denominational basis, and despite many attacks, this provision has remained an integral part of educational law. By the Act, children could be excused from receiving instruction in Bible history on request of their parents, and no one but a teacher could teach Bible history during school hours.

One other provision of this basic Act is important - that concerned with the status of teachers. Since the power of appointment and dismissal was put in the hands of the Director of Education, and since teachers' salaries were paid by the provincial government, teachers became, in effect, civil servants.

Upon the passing of the Smuts Education Act of 1907, the "C.N.O." schools merged into the state school system. At that time the chairman of the Christian National Education Teachers' Organization made the following statement:

> "This Act is not our ideal, but a great step in the right direction ... If this Act is executed in the right spirit then General Smuts will be honoured in future as the man who laid the foundation of a system of education that has given rest and peace and has brought the races together in one vigorous nation in which

the distinction between Transvaaler, Cape Colonist, Englishman, Hollander or German has died out, and in which everyone will be proud of being a South African."[11]

Progress 1907-1910

The period between 1907 and 1910 was one of progress. Twenty-six large-area school boards were set up. Their biggest problem was how to provide school accommodation, particularly in the country districts. The question was whether to bring education "to the doors of all", or to abolish one-teacher schools as far as possible. A provincial conference of board members in 1908 happily declared itself in favour of concentration rather than dispersion. The Department agreed, and developed the system of transportation and boarding bursaries, which along with the "concentrated school" is one of the outstanding characteristics of rural education in the Transvaal, and a major reason for its success. Fine schools and hostels were erected in the towns, and much was done to enforce school attendance. By 1910 over ninety percent of the children of school age were at school.

In addition to the aforementioned changes in primary education developments were taking place in secondary education. Five high schools were organized in Pretoria and Johannesburg in 1902, including King Edward School referred to later, all taking pupils as young as nine years, and as young as four years in the preparatory departments.

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[11] Bot, A. K. op. cit. p. 89.

Pretoria Normal College was founded, and the Education Ordinance of 1903 had made provision for the establishment of the Technical Institute, in cooperation with the mining community particularly. All these schools are still functioning; several have been visited by the author, and will be commented upon later.

CHAPTER XIV

Educational Work and Influence of the Union Government

Introduction

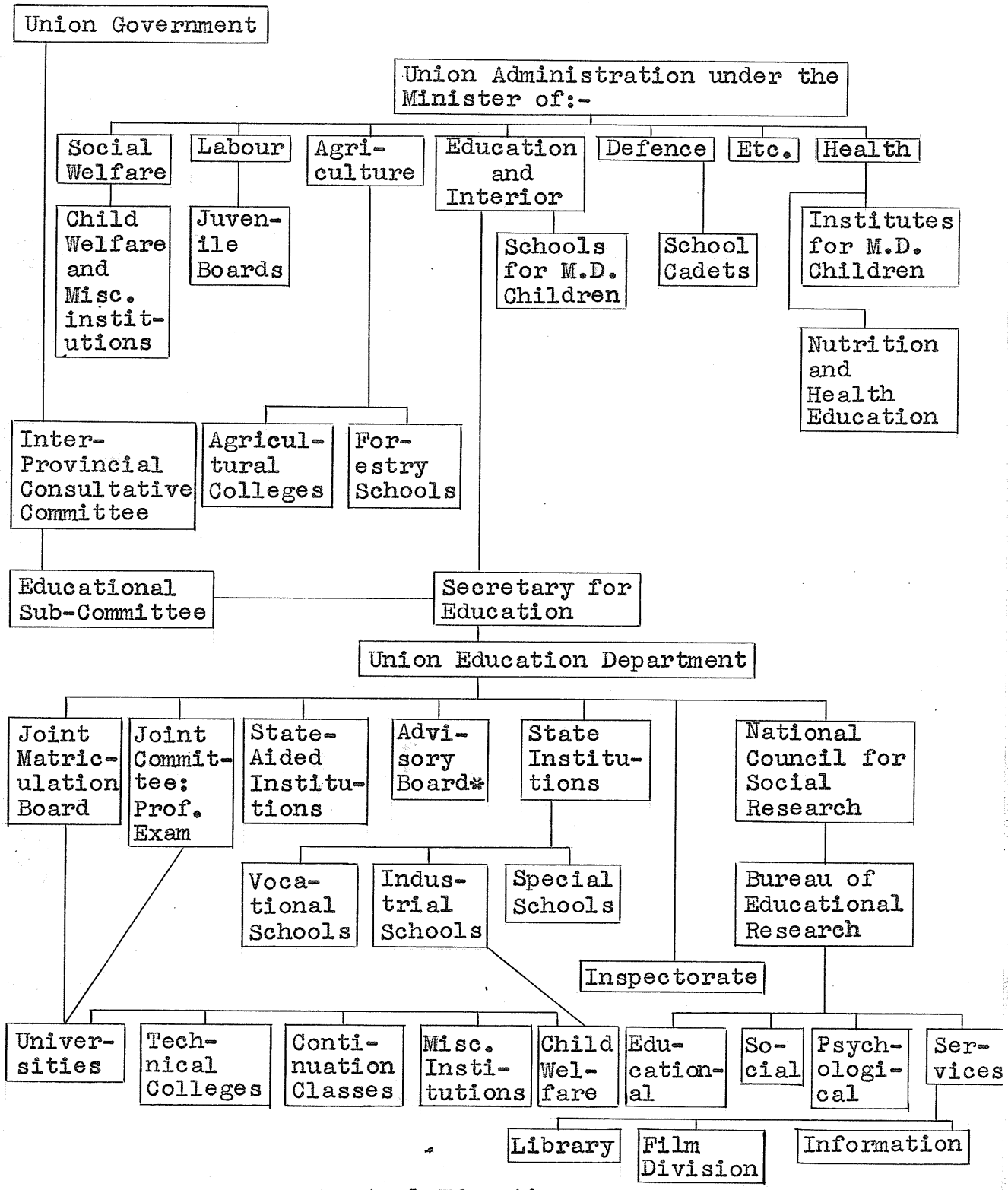
As has been mentioned, "higher" or university education, agricultural colleges, industrial education, child welfare, vocational and technical education and certain types of special education are now under Union control. The manner in which these are administered is illustrated in Figure 1. No attempt will be made here to deal with true "higher" education, university, teacher training or adult education, as they fall outside the scope of this study. The work of the Union government in "European", industrial, vocational, technical and agricultural education will, however, be explained.

Administration

Union brought about very little change in the internal administration of the Education Departments of the four colonies, except that the provincial Directors of Education became responsible to the Administrator of the Province instead of to a Minister. Naturally the attention paid to educational matters by the elected members was much greater now, as education was a major function of the Provincial Council and its Executive Committee whereas

FIGURE 1

UNION ADMINISTRATION OF EDUCATION, SOUTH AFRICA



*Advisory Boards on Physical Education, Adult Education and Native Education.

formerly it had been only one of the many functions of each colonial government.

A division was made between the functions of the Education Department that were purely financial and those that were professional, the former being transferred to the general branch of the provincial administration, the Director coming under the Provincial Secretary and his Controller of Finance in this sphere.

Division of Authority

By the Act of Union, in 1910, the provinces lost their full sovereignty, and even their permanent existence as units of government is uncertain. They were given, however, independent authority in the fields of education "other than higher" - but only for a "period of five years and thereafter until Parliament otherwise provides."[1] The term "higher" was left undefined, and came in the course of time to include many aspects of education other than university, including some which are not "higher" in the broadest sense of the word. The result is that, in the words of an authority on comparative education:

> "The Union presents the most striking example of divided control and the inevitable defects in organization. The four provinces administer general secondary schools, whilst the Union administers technical and vocational schools. Owing to this artificial division the provinces were precluded even from introducing

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[1] Malherbe, Ernst G. Education in South Africa (1652-1922). Capetown: Juta and Company, 1925, p. 398.

a vocational or agricultural bias in their high school grades, while the Union could not combine general and vocational courses in its system."[2]

The aforementioned statement, made in 1940, is probably rather extreme in the light of the present situation, as some methods of alleviating the situation have been developed. The problem is serious enough, however, and will be referred to again in the description of education in the Transvaal and in Appendix C.

Financial Policy

After Union, the government enacted, in 1913, a "pound for pound" system of grants of roughly fifty percent of the recurrent expenditure in the four provinces. The system broke down because the two poorer provinces (the Cape and the Orange Free State) could not develop their schools on this basis, while Natal and the Transvaal forged ahead. In 1925 a new financial policy was initiated, based on average attendance. Although it was considerably better than the pound for pound principle, the new basis still disregarded the two factors of need and ability. We must remember that in South Africa the educational finances were complicated by two factors not present in the other Dominions.[3] First, the Union subsidy was not specially earmarked for education,

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[2] Hans, N. "Comparative Study of Administrative Problems in England and Four Dominions." The Year Book of Education, London, 1940, p. 408.

[3] ibid, p. 412.

included all local services, and was distributed very unevenly in the four provinces. As the subsidy was still calculated on the basis of the European population only, it disregarded entirely the respective needs of the provinces. The factor of ability to pay was not considered at all. The result was bankruptcy of the Orange Free State followed by subsequent departure from the system of subsidy based on attendance, by special enactments in 1933 and 1936. The Union was compelled to add "special grants" to Natal because of its large Native population and to the Free State because of its poverty. These additional grants were so substantial that the original subsidy for each pupil based on average attendance lost its significance. Whereas in the Transvaal and the Cape Province the subsidy remained at its original level of fifteen pounds per pupil, in Natal it rose to twenty-two pounds, and in the Free State to twenty-three pounds.

By thus attempting to equalize the system of grants, the Government recognized indirectly the relative needs and abilities of the different provinces, but this was done as an emergency measure without any scientific foundation. In 1937 the Union Parliament passed a resolution "That the Government be requested to consider the advisability of taking steps to establish a National Education Board for the purpose of coordinating educational matters, such Board in particular to devote its attention to the large number of children who leave school without having progressed beyond

the primary school stage."[4] The investigation, which was actually carried out by the Union Educational Office, resulted in two memoranda; "The Revised Basis of Provincial Subsidy", and "Provision for Differentiated Education for Adolescents". It was found that the old system of capitation grants discriminated against the poorer and rural areas, where only about two percent of the pupils reached the secondary grades as against more than thirty-six percent in urban areas. The Memorandum therefore recommended a new basis of State subsidy which would take into consideration the "ruralness" of the area, the number of non-Europeans and the taxable income of individuals and companies.

Temporary modifications in the subsidies were made until 1945, when the Financial Relations Consolidation and Amendment Act introduced a new system in place of the former subsidy calculated on educational data. There is to be paid a "general subsidy" of fifty percent of the total net expenditure of the province. However, if the net expenditure increases by more than five percent over the previous year, only thirty-three and one-third percent of the additional increase will be paid.[5] Additional grants of a very substantial nature are made to the Cape, the Free State and Natal, all of which have a high proportion of Coloured and Indian residents. The Union continues to assume all the

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[4] Yearbook of Education, London, 1939, pp. 22-23.

[5] A Brief Description of Education in South Africa. Pretoria: The National Bureau of Educational and Social Research, 1946, pp. 5-7.

costs of aid to Native education, which is practically all controlled by the church missions.

A very significant factor in the financing and development of South African education is made clear by the following paragraph:

> "The important point to note in connection with the Union Government's role in financing education is that these grants do not have conditions attached to them. That is, the Union Government does not control the expenditure of the subsidy given to the provinces."[6]

Although there are certain obvious weaknesses in such a situation, nevertheless the ability of the provinces to dip into the Union treasury for the greater part of their educational expenditure has been a major factor in making possible the great expansion and development of education, particularly "European" education in all provinces.

Probably no other country in the world spends from state revenue a higher proportion on education than South Africa - in 1935 one quarter of the national expenditures.[7] Table I (Appendix F.) summarizes the sources and distribution of this expenditure for the Union and for the Transvaal for the year 1943-44. Table II shows how this expenditure is divided between European and non-European education.

Two facts should be noted for the proper

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[6] Official Yearbook of the Union of South Africa, Education, Chapter VIII; Pretoria: Government Printer, 1946, p. 3.

[7] Malherbe, Ernst G. and Bot, A. K. Education in the Union of South Africa. Pretoria: Government Printer, 1936, p. 10.

interpretation of Tables I and II: first, the major portion of the so-called "provincial" expenditure actually comes from the Union government in the form of subsidies, based mainly on attendance; second, the state expenditure on "non-European" education is chiefly "aid" to mission schools, which receive large voluntary contributions from "European" societies and individuals. It should be remembered that the majority of the Native population still lives in a primitive state on large Native reserves.

Certain minor contradictions appear in Tables I and II, for example in total cost and cost per pupil for "non-European" education. These are due to contradictory figures in the sources. Also certain figures for 1943-44 were not available, and to make totals for comparison the 1935-36 figures had to be used in two places.

The Language Problem

The provision in the Act of Union for complete equality of the English and Dutch languages did much to resolve the problem of the medium of instruction in the schools, a problem which, as has been indicated, had become acute, particularly in the Transvaal and the Orange Free State. The cultural combat between English and Afrikaner still continued, however, and the main ground of contention was the requirement of fluency in both languages in the schools and in the civil service. Many English-speaking South Africans objected strongly to the necessity of learning

Afrikaans, while Hertzog and his Nationalist Party pushed the claims of Afrikaans with extreme vigor.

It should be made clear here that although the Act of Union referred to the equality of English and "Dutch" languages, the local form of Dutch "Afrikaans" had been making rapid headway as a written language.

It is not within the province of this study to go into the development of Afrikaans as a new spoken and written language based on low Dutch, but because of its importance in education in South Africa, some explanation is advisable. Afrikaans as a form of speech developed form the complex of races, including Dutch, German, Huguenot, English and Native which blended in Cape Colony. It was fostered by the isolation of these settlers, out of touch with much literature except the Bible, and was despised as a "bastard tongue" until 1875. Then, under the influence of a group of scholars and patriots, it took written form, was standardized, and became the rallying ground and chief vehicle for expression of the rising nationalism of the Afrikaner people in their struggle for survival against the encroaching English. Behind it was gradually thrown the support of the powerful Dutch Reformed Church, always a great factor in the cultural, political and educational growth of the Afrikaners and of South African life generally. The Reverend J. S. du Toit, already mentioned as Superintendent of Education in the Transvaal, was one of the leaders in the movement. The first approval of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction in the schools came in the primary

schools of Cape Province in 1914. In 1925 the Union Parliament amended the Act of Union in such a manner as to recognize Afrikaans as one of the official languages of the Union, before which time it had been adopted as a medium of instruction in the Transvaal. As all pupils are required to learn the second language from the primary grades on, practically all the younger generation are now able to read, write and speak both Afrikaans and English. High Dutch has become a subject for study only at the higher education level. Fortunately Afrikaans, with its phonetic spelling and simple grammatical structure is much easier to learn than high Dutch, and transfer from the Dutch to the Afrikaans medium has greatly speeded up the learning process and made possible more time for other subjects. Further, its excellence as a means of literary expression has rendered it an excellent medium of instruction, superior in several respects to English.[8]

The advent to power of Hertzog's Nationalists in 1924 had marked the definite victory of the forces of Afrikaans and of bilingualism. The measures taken by Hertzog's government were confirmed by the Smuts wartime administration which, through its National Education Ordinance of 1942, laid down the principles that the medium of instruction should be chosen by the parents and that facility in the second language

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[8] Malherbe, Ernst G. Cultural and Economic Forces in South African Education. The Year Book of Education, 1936. London. p. 647.

should be encouraged by its use as a medium for teaching a suitable subject for one-half to one hour per day. In 1945 the Transvaal effected this plan in both public and private schools, beginning at Standard V.

On the foundation of bilingualism the blending of the two cultures and the two races is now possible. Unfortunately, in the opinion of many authorities[9] the wrong course was taken in the carrying out of the provisions for bilingualism, for instead of parallel or integrated (dual-medium) classes within the same school, the system of separate schools was recommended by the Transvaal Education Commission of 1917 and favoured by the policies of the Hertzog government. J. H. Hofmeyr, E. G. Malherbe and the writer of this study are united in the opinion that racial divisions would be greatly lessened by the education of both European races within the same school. As Hofmeyr puts the situation:

> "But from the national point of view the loss of the opportunities of association in the diverse activities of school life between Afrikaans-speaking and English-speaking children during their formative years has been serious in both sections, and it cannot but delay the creation of a united nation."[10]

And again:

> "There is still too much eagerness on both sides to lay stress on the points that keep the

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[9] Malherbe, Ernst G. Education in South Africa (1652-1922). Capetown: Juta and Company, 1925, p. 416.

[10] Hofmeyr, Jan. South Africa. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1931, p. 216.

two elements in the South African people apart, too little emphasis set upon the bonds of common nationhood."[11]

Fortunately the pendulum appears to be swinging towards dual-medium schools. In the Cape such schools have always been favoured, and recent ordinances in the Transvaal, the Orange Free State and Natal have been towards the use of both languages together as joint media of instruction. Such provisions will make more practicable not only the system of parallel classes of the two races within the same school, but actual integration of the two races in the same classes, at least at the level of secondary education.

Although, like many other dual-racial nations, South Africa has not yet succeeded in the integration of its two cultures, the striking success of South Africa in promoting bilingualism in the schools is indicated by a recent authority.[12] He points out that although in 1918 only 42.1% of the White population could speak both official languages, the 1946 census indicates that 64.4% of the Europeans seven years of age or over can speak both English and Afrikaans, while 19% can speak English only, and 16.4% can speak Afrikaans only. These percentages represent the older people, for every mentally-capable South African child is now learning to read, write and speak both languages fluently. This is in

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[11] ibid, p. 219.

[12] Cook, P. A. W. South Africa. The Year Book of Education, London, 1948, p. 90.

striking contrast to the situation that exists in the Dominion of Canada.

Growth of Union Authority

The foremost authority on education in South Africa Dr. E. G. Malherbe makes this statement:

> "The most important of all (these) tendencies toward the unification or nationalization in education is to be found in the gradually widening sphere of educational control assumed by the Union government."[13]

The Union government, upon its constitution in 1910, immediately created a Union Department of Education which at first directed its attention to the reorganization of university education. In 1916 the Joint Matriculation Board was established, charged with the conduct of the matriculation examination, and consisting of representatives of the universities, provincial and Union education departments and the teachers of the secondary schools.

In 1922 it was ruled that teacher training was not higher education. Thus normal schools came under provincial control. Most of the secondary teachers are, however, trained in the universities.

Native education can hardly be labelled "higher" and is therefore under provincial control. The Union government nevertheless undertook in 1922 to provide funds to the provinces specially for Native education. It is an anomaly that the Native Affairs Department of the Union government

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[13]Malherbe, Ernst G. Education in South Africa (1652-1922). Capetown: Juta and Company, 1925, p. 418.

has no direct connection whatever with any of the Native educational agencies.[14]

Vocational education and industrial schools had developed as an attempt to relieve problems of child protection and delinquency, and as such came originally under the Union Department of Prisons.

In the 1920's both the Union and the provincial governments were operating some technical and agricultural schools. The provinces were facing financial difficulties, and complications resulting from dual administration were creeping in. Therefore it was felt to be in the national interest that the Union Department of Education should take over control, in 1925, of all technical colleges, vocational, housecraft and agricultural schools. In 1938, for reasons made clear in a later section, control of agricultural schools was returned to the provinces.

By other successive acts of legislation child welfare and special education were declared to fall within the term "higher education" and so came under the Union government. The effect of all such legislation has been that: "where originally the term applied solely to institutions of university rank, it now covers education from the kindergarten to the highest post-graduate classes of the university."[15]

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[14] ibid, p. 425.

[15] Official Year Book of the Union of South Africa, 1946. Education, Chapter VIII; Pretoria: Government Printer, p. 1.

In addition to its exclusive authority in the fields so far mentioned, the Union Education Department operates services which give it a wide influence upon education, even within the areas of provincial jurisdiction. These services include the National Bureau of Educational and Social Research.

Vocational, Industrial, Vocational and Technical Education

The subject of "vocational" as distinguished from "academic" education in South Africa is of such vital importance under present-day conditions in South Africa that a whole appendix will be devoted to the problem. Only sufficient information is provided in this chapter to complete a general overview of the educational work of the Union government.

Under the Children's Act "industrial" schools are operated for neglected or "committed" children. There are also special schools for the blind, the deaf and the mentally defective. Reformatories and probation services were transferred in 1935 from the Prisons Department to the Union Education Department.

Under the "Vocational Education Act" of 1928, some fifteen technical and commercial high schools and eleven housecraft schools (as of 1945) are operated, usually residential and many of them quite small, at a cost of about ninety-four pounds per pupil.[16] A "Primary Certificate" is

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[16] ibid, p. 25.

required, and the courses normally last three years.[17]

The main work of the Union government in technical education is done through the eight or more technical colleges, which provide full-time and part-time vocational education for some twenty-three thousand pupils, at a cost of forty-three pounds per student.[18] The "Primary Certificate" is required for entrance, but some courses require Junior or Matriculation Certificates. The Union Department of Education conducts a series of regular national technical and commercial examinations and issues several types of certificates. In many trades employers are required to send apprentices to these schools and pay wages for their hours of attendance. Technical teachers of varied types are also trained in these technical institutes.

Special Education

In 1937 it was decided that the Union Education Department should be responsible for the education of the blind, the deaf and dumb, and for epileptic children. Six schools mainly state-aided have been established for this purpose. The provinces were to accept responsibility for subnormal, hard-of-hearing, partially-sighted and physically defective children. In general these are provided for by special classes in certain of the regular schools. In

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[17] ibid, pp. 20-22.

[18] ibid, p. 21.

addition the Union Department of Health provides facilities for the education of some three hundred mentally defective children.[19]

School Feeding

In order to combat malnutrition, a national school feeding scheme for European, Coloured and Native primary school children was launched in 1944, the provincial education departments assisting in carrying out the scheme. Grants were made for equipment and for the provision of one meal per child per school day. Emphasis was placed on supplying dietary deficiencies such as proteins, vitamins, and mineral salts. The Superintendent-General of Education of the Cape Province states that definite benefits in increased weight, improved health and better attendance have resulted.[20]

Research

Beginnings in educational research were made in 1916 and developed by Carnegie Corporation grants in 1934.

The functions of the National Research Council and Board and the South African Council for Educational and Social Research were taken over in 1945 by the newly-created Council for Scientific and Industrial Research and the National

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[19] A Brief Description of Education in South Africa, 1946. Pretoria: The National Bureau of Educational and Social Research, p. 20.

[20] Cook, P. A. W. op. cit. p. 194.

Council for Social Research. This last council is a creation of the Union Ministry of Education, and has as its main functions the following:

1) To promote, organize, coordinate and assist educational, social and humanistic research, but not to dominate or monopolize the field.

2) To encourage the training of research workers by grants to individuals.

3) To provide information, liaison, statistical and library services.

This Council advises the Minister on all matters relevant to research. Its secretariat is provided by the Union Education Department through one of its divisions, the National Bureau of Educational and Social Research.[21]

The National Bureau of Educational and Social Research established in 1924 as a part of the Union Education Department, is one of the most interesting and promising developments in South African education. Its functions include the following:[22,23]

1) Secretariat for the National Council for Social Research.

2) Central clearing-house for information on education and social work.

3) Liaison with educational developments in other countries and with international bureaux.

4) Conduct of research work as desired by the Education and other departments.

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[21] ibid, p. 197.

[22] Official Year Book of the Union of South Africa 1938. Pretoria: Government Printer, 1938, p. 348.

[23] Malherbe, Ernst G. and Bot, A. K. op. cit. p. 25.

Tendencies Toward Coordination in Education

The union of the provinces has led to unification in policies and procedures other than those suggested in the section on bilingualism immediately preceding. Naturally, even before Union, the colonies borrowed one another's educational features, such as payment-by-results, the pupil-teacher system and grants-in-aid. This tendency was accelerated after the Boer War, through conferences between the Education Departments, such as the inaugural conference at Bloemfontein in 1903. Many of these meetings dealt with the conditions of service of teachers in which respect considerable uniformity has been achieved. In addition, the English system of "Standards" has been adopted and similarity has been secured in the courses of study in the elementary schools.

The education departments have also, to an increasing extent, given the teachers a voice in the administration through representation on departmental committees dealing with examinations, textbooks, courses of study, etc. The teachers have come to realize that education is a national matter, and in 1923 they formed a Federal Council of Teachers.

As has been pointed out, the dualism in administration has led to overlapping of function and often to serious anomalies. To remedy this defect an Inter-Provincial Consultative Committee was established in 1935. This consists of the administrators of the four provinces with the Minister of the Interior as chairman and the Minister of Education as

deputy-chairman. At the quarterly meetings the four administrators are assisted by members of their executive committees and by the heads of the education departments. These four provincial "directors" of education, together with the Union Secretary for Education, form an Education Sub-committee. The chief function of the Consultative Committee is coordination in the activities of the Union and the provinces, and the field of education is the major element. Some practical results of the work of this committee are as follow:

1) Coordinating of normal colleges and universities in the training of teachers.

2) Coordination of facilities for the education of deviate children.

3) Establishment of a Film Division of the Union Education Department.

4) Facilitation of inter-provincial exchange of teachers.

5) Coordination of school broadcasting.

6) Uniformity in reporting important education statistics.

It should be noted that the Consultative Committee is purely advisory in function.[24]

The coordinating machinery for the administration of education in South Africa is diagrammatically illustrated in Figure 2.

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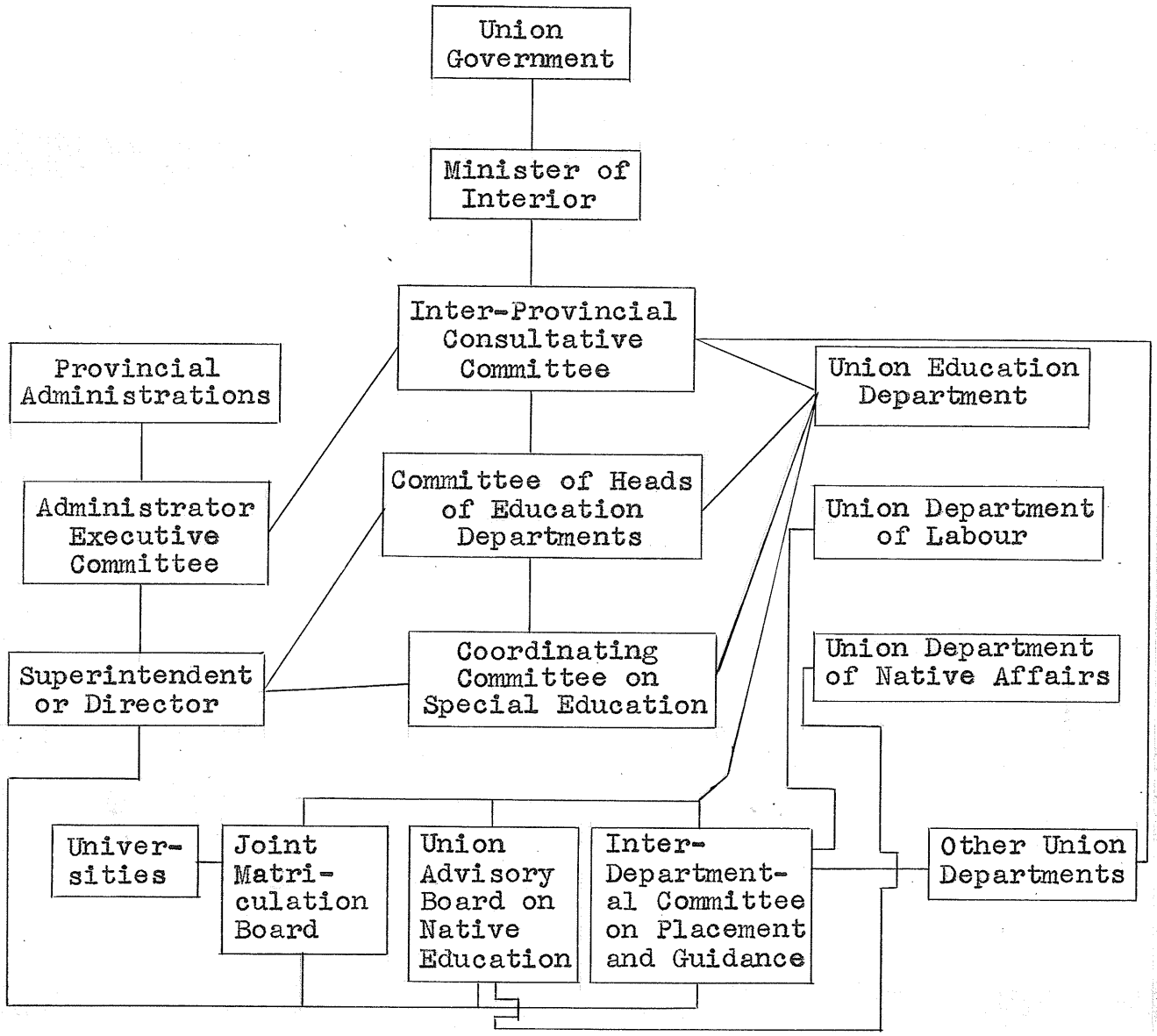
[24] Official Year Book of the Union of South Africa, 1946. Chapter VIII, Education. Pretoria: Government Printer, pp. 5-6.

FIGURE 2

COORDINATING MACHINERY FOR THE ADMINISTRATION OF EDUCATION IN SOUTH AFRICA *



*A Brief Description of Education in South Africa, 1946. Pretoria: The National Bureau of Educational and Social Research, p. 38.

CHAPTER XV

Development of "European" Education in the Transvaal, 1910-1939

Provincial Administration of Education

The Act of Union established a new system of government for the Transvaal. In each province there was to be a Provincial Council elected by the same persons (Europeans only in the Transvaal) as were qualified to vote for members of the Union House of Assembly. The Council was to continue for three years without dissolution. At the first meeting four persons, normally from the Council, were to be elected by it to form, with the Administrator (appointed by Governor-General-in-Council), an Executive Committee. This Committee was not thereafter directly responsible to the Provincial Council. The Provincial Councils were granted legislative authority over education, local works, hospitals, game preservation etc., but their legislative powers were in all respects to be inferior to those of the Union Assembly. Further, their acts were subject to veto by the Governor-General. The Councils were granted the power of direct taxation and licensing. The resulting Provincial income provided, however, only a small fraction of educational monies, the bulk being received from the Union Government in subsidies which by 1939 amounted to over fifteen pounds per

European pupil.[1] The Provincial Administration was divided into two sections; the Education Department, dealing principally with professional matters, and a general branch, dealing, inter alia, with the financial administration of education. Both the Director of Education and the Accounting Officer were to be responsible directly to the Administrator of the Province.

Education in the Transvaal continued to be administered under the Education Act of 1907 as amended. The Education Department had the authority to provide for the establishment and maintenance of schools for European, Coloured (including Indian) and Native children. Private schools might be assisted by grants-in-aid. Subsequent to Union the Transvaal provincial administration had no authority in the field of "higher" education.[2]

Solution of the Language Problem

The Act of Union brought about a solution of the most vexed educational problem in the Transvaal, the language of instruction. Article 137 of the Act of Union provided that:

> "Both the English and Dutch languages shall be official languages of the Union, and shall be treated on a footing of equality and possess and enjoy equal freedom, rights and privileges."

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[1] Official Year Book of the Union of South Africa, 1938. Pretoria: Government Printer, p. 563.

[2] Official Year Book of the Union of South Africa, 1946. Chapter VIII, Education. Pretoria: Government Printer, p. 32.

Therefore the Rissik Ordinance permitted instruction in the home medium, English or Dutch, as decided by the educational authorities. If there was any doubt the parents could choose the medium. Also, parents could request instruction by both mediums. This has resulted, since 1912, in three types of schools:

(i) Schools in which the English medium is used exclusively.

(ii) Schools in which the Dutch medium is used exclusively.

(iii) Schools in which both Dutch and English are used.

The net effect, as indicated by Table III (Appendix F) was a decrease in the use of English as a medium, an increase in the use of Dutch (Afrikaans since 1925), and a decline in dual-medium schools. The figures for 1943[3] indicated that by that year only thirty-one percent of the primary pupils and thirty-nine percent of the secondary pupils use English as the medium of instruction.

Another reason for the decline in the percentage of pupils in the English medium schools was a shortage of teachers competent to teach through the English medium. To make up for this deficiency the Department supported immigration of English teachers from overseas.

Progress, to 1918

Several other developments took place between 1913

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[3] ibid, p. 47.

and 1918. Johann Rissik, first Administrator of the Transvaal was responsible for the raising of the limit for compulsory school attendance to age fifteen or the completion of Standard V. School Boards were given the option of extending this to age sixteen. By 1933 provision was made for compulsory attendance for two years beyond Standard VI. Medical inspection of schools was begun in 1913 and developed to include two clinics employing full-time doctors, dentists and nurses. Dental treatment, particularly, has been provided, by part-time work of private dentists, over most of the Transvaal. Another improvement was the development of a special curriculum, with a strong agricultural bias, for use in the country schools. Two other outstanding advances were the decisions of the Provincial Council, in 1914, to extend free education to intermediate and high schools, and to provide all books used in the primary schools free of charge. The provision of free texts has since been extended to Standard VIII. In 1916 improved salary scales and pensions for teachers made the profession more attractive to provide the additional teachers required by the decision for free secondary education.

In 1918 an important step was taken in the setting up of the Joint Matriculation Board, described as follows:

> "This body in conjunction with university authorities organizes the final examinations taken by secondary schools and consequently exercises profound influence on their syllabuses and the direction of education. The Board is chiefly concerned with maintaining a high

> standard in secondary education and securing a reasonable measure of uniformity in examinations."[4]

Further information on examinations and their effect on school work will be found in the succeeding chapters and in Appendix D.

Perhaps the most important change in the Transvaal school system during this period was the substitution, by 1925, of Afrikaans for Dutch as a medium of instruction. The reason for the importance of this fact is that Afrikaans is the home language of the "Boers" while Dutch (high Dutch) is only an acquired language. As long as high Dutch was the alternative medium many Afrikaner parents preferred to have their children educated through English or through both mediums. Once, however, that Afrikaans became a medium, practically all Afrikaner parents desired their children educated through this medium; hence the rapid decline in the use of the dual medium, and the increase in the use of Afrikaans medium as indicated in Table III (Appendix F).

Expansion and Changes, 1918-1939

As a result of criticism of the Transvaal educational system in the Provincial Council, an Education Commission was set up, and made its recommendations in 1919. Five changes were made, as listed below:

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[4] Bot, A. K. A Century of Education in the Transvaal. Pretoria: Government Printer, 1936, p. 108.

1) Teachers' salaries were again raised.

2) The Transvaal Education Department instituted its own "Secondary School Certificate Examination", acceptable in place of the Joint Matriculation Board National Matriculation. Provision was made to take into account not only the examination results but to consider to some extent the school record of the pupil.

3) Many new high schools were built so that every major area could have its own central high school.

4) Teachers taking the Third Class Certificate were to follow an academic course at university for one year, prior to a one year professional course at normal college.

5) Against the recommendations of the Director, (Dr. J. E. Adamson) and the Education Commission, the Executive Committee of the Provincial Council decided to establish intermediate schools for pupils who wished to continue for a year or two after Standard VI. Here more attention was to be given to practical subjects. These schools made little headway until after 1936, when they became "junior high schools", offering easy access to the high schools.

Because of the economic depression from 1922-1933, new financial arrangements had to be made with the Union government. This resulted in a decision of the central government to pay to the Transvaal a subsidy of sixteen and a half pounds for every pupil from seven to sixteen years of age. Further, the Union government took over full control and financing of all specialized schools for vocational training, including technical, trade, commercial, domestic science and purely agricultural schools.

An unusual problem in education had to be faced

during this period in the provision of movable schools for three thousand poverty-stricken children of the migratory diamond-digging "Poor White" population.

Because of the severe depression cuts had to be made in all costs, including teachers' salaries, long leaves and pensions, and many teachers were unemployed, although the Department made every effort to place them.

A further development in pupil-examination and certification took place in 1928, with the institution of the Transvaal Junior Certificate Examination to be taken at the end of Standard VIII, chiefly in the interests of the scholars who wish to proceed no further. The Civil Service Commission has recognized this as equivalent to the Junior Certificate issued by the Joint Matriculation Board.

In the same year a higher standard was set in teacher qualification, the old Second and Third Class Certificates being replaced by a Transvaal Education Diploma, requiring one year's academic work at university followed by two years of professional training at normal colleges.

School Farms

The greatest problem of the period 1918-1939, however, and the most promising educational experiment, was concerned with the "Poor White" child. The new Administrator of the Transvaal, Hon. S. P. Bekker, was very interested in raising the social level of such children, and improving their opportunity to become integrated into the normal

population.

The problem of the Poor White in South Africa is a major one, as such Poor Whites comprise an estimated one-sixth of the White population of South Africa. As has been made clear in previous sections, the causes of their low economic and cultural level are many and varied, and were the subject of a study by a Carnegie Commission. In the Transvaal most of such children live on large cattle ranches in isolated areas, often in the lowlands, where malaria, bilharzia and undernourishment are prevalent, and combine with isolation, low parental level and defective education to bring about conditions which result in the children having little hope for the future.

The experimental solution to this problem has been the establishment of "school farms", a plan which had often been considered before for the rural population of the Transvaal. In 1935-36 five such school farms were established. The following outlines gives the official interpretation of the school farm as a method and ideal in rural education:

> "School farms do not come under the control of school boards. They are directly under the authority of the Department. The principals of the schools are the farm managers. The Administration supplies the material required for all additional buildings, but these must be erected by the teachers and pupils themselves. Farm implements attend to the cultivation of fruit and vegetables and to the harvesting of crops. The farms in short must be self-supporting.
>
> "To be eligible for admission, children must have passed Standard VI in a primary school; and they must stay at a school farm until they have completed Standard VIII."

"A few central rural schools have been selected to prepare pupils, who are already holding bursaries, for admission to school farms. Of these children, those who pass Standard VI with distinction are awarded the ordinary high school bursary. The others attend a school farm and can again compete for a high school bursary at the end of Standard VIII. The Administration contributes at the rate of twelve pounds per child per annum towards the upkeep and extension of grounds and buildings, the furnishing of schools and hostels, and general expenses.

"The boys study farming and gain practical experience outside the ordinary school hours; the girls manage the hostel and are responsible for meals and clothing. There is a periodical medical inspection, followed by treatment if necessary. The pupils have regular games, read books and magazines, and listen in to wireless; healthy competition is encouraged amongst them. The spirit and tone of the school are very much those of a happy and God-fearing family.

"It is impossible to assess the potential value of the school farms, but there is not the slightest doubt that they will to a great extent alleviate the depressing conditions prevailing in certain backveld areas."

"After a few years spent at a school farm children will have acquired not only a practical knowledge of the various branches of agriculture, but will also have profited by living in hygienic surroundings, and by eating good food, much of it grown by themselves. When they return to their homes, they will be capable of creating for themselves an environment similar in at least some respects to that of the school farm. They will have a new outlook, new hope for the future and a proper feeling of self-respect, all of which will eventually benefit the community in general."

"The Transvaal school farm system ought certainly to succeed. It is the expression of a principle advocated by modern educationists of international repute; it is sponsored by those who believe in it, and it has the approval of all who are competent to judge its value."[5]

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[5] ibid, pp. 139-41.

The reactions of the writer and certain other teachers after a visit to one school farm in 1939 will be given in a later section. Sufficient here is a confirmation of the official statement that it is too early to assess the value of school farms, modified by the observation that there are certain obvious factors that are apt to militate against the success of the scheme as at present constituted and operated.

CHAPTER XVI

Visits to Transvaal Schools, 1938-1939

Introduction

The writer, while on Teachers Exchange to Johannesburg, in 1938-39, had the opportunity of seeing first hand the operation of the Transvaal education system. He visited some twenty schools, city, rural, European, Native and Indian, read educational journals and discussed education with many people, including English and Afrikaans teachers, other Exchange teachers and Departmental officials and inspectors. At that time the writer jotted down notes recording what he had observed, and his reactions to these observations.

It is not within the scope of this study to include in detail all the "Educational Jottings"[1] concerning these visits, readings and discussions as much of the material applied only to local situations. However, certain significant extracts are provided in this chapter. Since the information so far given in this study is largely based on official information and stresses the strong points of the educational system, the material selected from the "Jottings" is chiefly such as to provide "the other side of the picture".

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[1] Thompson, R. T. F. "Educational Jottings, South Africa 1938-39". Unpublished reports.

Thus it generally lays stress on the weaknesses of the system in comparison with the conditions prevailing in Winnipeg where the writer had had most of his experience prior to that time. A balance between the two accounts should give the reader a fair impression of education in the Transvaal. In order to present accurately the original impressions, no major modifications have been made in these notes. Thus they appear here in their original rough form, and, for the sake of simplicity, without quotation marks.

Education: Johannesburg and Winnipeg

In Winnipeg, rich and poor districts are treated alike in the provision of schools, staff, and equipment. In Johannesburg, even among the Whites themselves, there is an educational inequality that would amaze Winnipeg citizens. Some "exclusive" public schools, partly residential in character, each providing for less than a thousand pupils, have up to a dozen fine buildings, expensively equipped, on as much as twenty-seven acres of elaborately laid out grounds. The majority of schools, on the contrary, have poor buildings with small rooms, no auditoriums, no special equipment, and practically no playgrounds worthy of the name. One "Poor White" school begged for weeks without results for fumigation to rid it of vermin.

The inequality of facilities referred to above is due largely to three factors, none of which, fortunately, prevails in Winnipeg. These are: separate school governing

bodies, the practice of selecting students, and the charging of fees in many schools. Thus a few schools are practically select private schools, while the others are "just schools". Distinctive school uniforms indicate to what educational institution, and indirectly, to what social class the student belongs.

In Johannesburg, there is little equality in the standard of actual education provided within the various schools. An even greater factor in this respect than those mentioned above is the lack of any real system of supervision or inspection. As a recent Transvaal departmental report states: "A uniform method of inspection does not exist because there is no uniform method of teaching in schools." As a result of this lack of special supervision, there is a general lack of standard and of progressive methods. This is true of primary methods, which are almost archaic, grade promotions, language teaching, and particularly of the special subjects such as music, art, physical training and the technical arts. The lack of "standardization" has not resulted in Johannesburg in the development of any really outstanding educational ideas that have been generally followed by other schools. Rather, comparison proves that the money spent on supervision and inspection in order to raise the general educational level in Winnipeg has been money well spent.

In Johannesburg, the only real checks on school standards are the provincial examinations. It is true that provincial inspectors occasionally visit the schools, but a

school the writer taught in had not had an inspectoral visit for over three years. As the inspectors spend much of their time looking at the pupils' exercise and note books, many teachers neglect more profitable student activities in order that the exercise books may look particularly well. An article in a leading Johannesburg paper reads as follows:

> Perhaps most serious of all in its effect on South African education, this matriculation examination, designed and maintained as a university entrance examination, is still the generally accepted school leaving examination for the school as a whole. Though only 25% of the Standard X students (and only 3% of all students) go forward to the University, yet the Matriculation Board (University controlled) really has the last word in deciding the syllabuses of work in our schools. ... Our teachers' studies have been dominated so largely by text book, lecture and examination that they often lack the width of outlook that makes a good schoolmaster.

As a result of this over-emphasis on examinations, note-giving and other forms of "stuffing", cramming, testing and reporting occupy a far greater proportion of educational time than they do in Winnipeg, cutting down still more the time available for the pupil activity, oral work and project work that are such prominent features of education in Winnipeg.

While this account is concerned primarily with features of Winnipeg education lacking in Johannesburg, the fact that the Transvaal educational system is provincial rather than local should not be lost sight of. It is more difficult for Johannesburg to take progressive steps as an educational unit than it is for Winnipeg. An example of this is in the matter of mental and psychometric testing and

provisions for special classes for handicapped children, which, although well advanced in Winnipeg, have hardly been begun in Johannesburg.

As a provincial unit, the Transvaal educational system has many points of superiority over the Manitoba system. The poor rural districts do not suffer to the extent as they do in Manitoba. More attention has been paid to experimental "school farms" and to the provision of radios and visual aids for the country and small town schools. All Transvaal teachers are more generously provided with salaries, pensions, sick leave and long leave than those even of Winnipeg. However, the Transvaal is a prosperous province. Despite all this, a recent address of the Director of National Bureau of Educational Research for South Africa indicates that educational conditions in the country districts, including the Transvaal, are far from satisfactory. Less than half of the farm students pass the equivalent of Grade VII, and approximately ninety percent of them have no agricultural training whatsoever.

High Schools

King Edward High School.- The writer taught in this school for five months. The grounds and buildings are much superior in every respect to those of Winnipeg schools, but this is the finest public high school in the Transvaal, and several of the buildings and much of the special equipment have been provided by the Governing Body, representing

well-to-do parents and graduates. This idea of governing body and extra assistance for special features not procurable from tax funds appears attractive but is undemocratic in principle.

The buildings, set on twenty-seven acres of ground, include the central school, primary school, primary auditorium, gymnasium, separate science building, bathing pool, rifle range, three hostels, pavilion, cricket pavilion, outbuildings, storehouse and secretary's residence. Playing fields are beautifully laid out and cared for, and trees, flowers and rock walls are all worked into the general scheme. The whole "quad" in the central building is surfaced with stepping stones and grass, and there is a cloister archway all around the quadrangle. Native labour provides the explanation for such large well kept grounds.

Military Training.- On first impression the greatest difference between Winnipeg schools and those of the Transvaal is in the matter of Military Training. In Winnipeg schools a Cadet Corps, even voluntary, would not be allowed in a public school except during wartime. In "K.E.S." and in practically all senior schools here, every boy must be a cadet. The law requires this training, and also militia training after leaving school. In addition to any extra time and training of cadets, two full periods are given each week at K.E.S. to a full dress parade of all boys, in a full military uniform, carrying guns, and there is also a period each week for rifle practice. The teachers are the cadet leaders;

the older boys hold important ranks.

The extent to which schools here are judged by their cadet corps is indicated by the fact that three companions on the liner said that K.E.S. must be one of the very best schools, for its cadet corps almost always won the annual competitions.

Forest High School.- Fundamentally, the school seemed little different from K.E.S. except in four respects: it is non-residential, the parents have evidently done little for it, the grounds are not as elaborate and it lacks as much equipment as K.E.S. Forest High School has only the one building. The boys and girls are in separate classes, which seems artificial in a mixed school. The teachers move, and as a result, practically all the rooms appeared very bare and uninteresting. The only extra activity of this school was an occasional play or musical comedy. The principal said the examinations dominated the situation.

Athlone High School.- This school, where the writer taught for five months, is not considered one of the leading high schools, chiefly because of the following facts: 1. Pupils were not winners in sport, although they entered all, had school leagues, and all teachers gave several afternoons a week for sports supervision. 2. The school was not a winner in cadet competitions though two periods a week were devoted to cadets, band and shooting. 3. Pupils were not winners in Matriculation examinations for which they did not emphasize, although University professors said their students knew how to work by themselves,

and did better than students from other schools. 4. Athlone was not a residential school, was located in a poorer and predominantly Jewish district and therefore was not quite as well equipped as seven other high schools in the city. 5. The discipline at Athlone was not generally considered very good, because the school policy was less repressive, the aim being that the pupils should discipline themselves. Therefore, because Athlone was not "out to win" in sports or cadets or examinations, was financially and socially in a lower class, and the students lacked the fear deterrent, the school was somewhat looked down upon, although educationally and culturally it was really much broader and more progressive than most of its "superiors".

In this school, the Junior Certificate examination had been dispensed with, and there was no endeavour to limit the general curriculum to what was likely to be emphasized in examinations. Such variations as visual lessons, science "project books", and visits to factories were encouraged by the principal, although most of the staff still followed traditional classroom procedure.

The principal said to the writer, in effect: We are trying to prepare the students for life generally, giving them opportunity and encouragement to develop their special interests. To this end the school has developed many activities and clubs, most of which are carried on after school hours, but all of which require teacher supervision, although the pupils have a large part in arranging the programmes. Orchestra and Red Cross activities are carried on in school

hours. After school the Debating Society, Chess Club, Student Christian Movement, Science Club, Ball Room Dancing Club and other groups meet.

The school is divided into six "houses", and their officers are elected. School prefects are appointed. Houses are units for athletic and other competitions. In addition, in 1938, each form was a unit for arranging a concert for school funds. These concerts, while quite good in their own way, needed more supervision, for they were mainly "variety shows" featuring tap dancing and rather risque songs and did not give a good impression of school standards and activities. School funds were the main objective, unfortunately.

Classes and small groups of students were encouraged through a variety of activities to make money for the funds, although the activity itself was considered to have some value. Raffles, "pools" and similar projects were not at all frowned on. Money was needed for the school hall and a piano. The twelve acres of school grounds, tennis courts and gardens had to be cared for at school expense. School fees of $2.50 per term were charged and urged, but could not be legally enforced. For poor children there was a special bursary fund to help buy books.

Germiston High School.- The principal was a broad-minded and aggressive man, and the staff gave up an afternoon to the writer. The school has seventeen acres of ground along the edge of a little lake, a very fine, well-developed location. The building itself, was bare - merely

rooms, hall, drab laboratories and a small manual room. There was no domestic science room, and theory dominated while practice was neglected.

The staff seemed to be interested in the writer's talk, which featured projects, school library, clubs and practical work, all of which they thought fine, but impossible in their system due to the overcrowded curriculum and the pressure of examinations. In discussing the possibility of getting the library developed with the help of students, the principal exposed the terrible lack of interest of the parents. He said that letters to five hundred parents would bring in less than ten books. He mentioned also that only .2% of the parents came to annual meetings, and that on one occasion all present consisted of two members of the Governing Body of three.

Junior High Schools.

The principal of Germiston High School doubted if the writer would see much of interest to him even in the junior high schools. These serve an entirely different purpose to those of Winnipeg (a broadening at the adolescent state, preliminary to choice of Matriculation, Commercial, Industrial or High School Leaving Course). The junior high schools in the Transvaal are for those not desiring - or not sufficiently capable-to go to high school. These schools are not specifically Industrial or Commercial. The writer immediately concluded that the junior high school might be the one place where broadening influences, projects and clubs, might

be used, as examinations need not dominate, and the students could be trained for general good citizenship. However, the principal of King Edward School said that in these schools practically every student had to try the Junior Certificate Examination, as employers would not accept their graduates without certificates because the schools themselves did not have outstanding reputations.

Sir John Adamson Junior High School.- This junior high school, newly established but in old buildings, appeared to be the most progressive of any of the schools which the writer had yet seen. On the first visit the writer was very much impressed by the extent of the preparations made to ensure proper darkening of the auditorium for the writer's illustrated talk on Canada. The entire auditorium period was most efficiently handled and there was ample evidence of excellent student cooperation.

On the writer's second visit he was conducted through all departments of the school. It was located in old but attractive buildings with very small but well-beautified grounds. There was, unfortunately, no room for games, but only a very small paved court for outdoor physical training. Despite this disadvantage the school had won competitions in both boys' and girls' inter-school sports and swimming. These victories were due to careful organization, efficient time-tabling of teachers for supervision of sports, and an enthusiastic student body. The school library was well kept, though not arranged according to the Dewey Decimal System. Classes were time-tabled for reading. The domestic science room was old and not well

equipped, but was clean and carefully kept. The shops room was equipped for woodwork and light metal work, the machinery including woodturning lathes, one metal lathe and a forging outfit. The pupils did beaten metal work and had attempted some concrete work, but bookbinding had not been considered. The two outstanding things about the school were the extra-mural activity and the disciplinary methods. On the opening of the school the principal had publicly announced his intention of dispensing with the cane, and of settling all really important troubles by discussion with the pupils and the parents. The plan seems to have worked well. The extent of the extra-mural activity was remarkable. Almost all the teachers devoted one or more afternoons a week to the supervision of sports and school clubs. They also cooperated in managing a four-day mixed camp on the Vaal River during the holidays. The nature of the clubs depended on the activities the teachers could supervise, but the range included sports, handicrafts, dramatics and the speaking of Bantu. All these progressive educational procedures were found in a school established only a year, in old buildings and in rather a poor district. Like most effective education this was due to the qualities of the principal and the fine staff he had gathered around him.

Junior and Primary Schools

Mayfair Junior School.- This school included Grades 1 and 11 and Standards 1 to 111, being staffed by eight teachers and a supervising principal. As is the practice in the Transvaal,

permanent principals supervise only, although temporary principals must both teach and supervise. The rooms of this school were small, heated by fireplaces, and with windows on both sides. The windows of neighbouring houses were directly opposite those of certain rooms. The playground was tiny but paved.

There were many poor pupils in Mayfair school, and these indigents, as they were called, were given free milk or cocoa, supplemented by buns, at lunch time. They were all gathered together in one room, which action marked them apart from the others who brought their own lunches. The writer remarked on how these procedures differed from those used in Winnipeg, and asked why the other children could not buy this food in order that the indigents should not be so noticeably set apart. The principal stated that it would be too much trouble to have to feed any more.

Of the actual teaching at Mayfair the writer had little opportunity to judge. There was the usual lack of space, blackboards and equipment for primary methods. Little of the pupils' handwork was displayed. The school possessed a spare room and had bought a piano and a radio to develop folk dancing, which was quite well done. The principal gladly accepted the writer's offer to talk on Indians. The pupils seemed very interested in this account, and later sent a small gift to the speaker.

The pupils' reading ability was observed during a period with a small class, outdoors. At the teacher's admonition the pupils, even the very best, pointed to each word as they read. This practice has been, in America, for many years.

considered fatal to correct eye movements. There seemed to be little emphasis on "silent reading".

King Edward Preparatory School.- The principal had quite a talk with the writer, and frankly admitted that the school was a "cram shop", which must get through the Primary School Certificate Examination the maximum number of students possible to permit their entry to King Edward High School. This was its one purpose in existing. He also gave me an insight into how boys are selected for this "best" of the "public" schools. Last year there were some two hundred applications for about sixty places. The secret of this is that "prep" boys have first chance to get into King Edward High School. In selecting them he was guided by four considerations: first, if they were sons of Old Edwardians, second, if they were from homes of "culture", third, but vital, if they could pay the annual athletic fee of $7.50, and fourth, if there were any places left, those that lived nearest the school had the next chance.

Boumann Memorial Primary School.- The author visited this school because of the comments of two principals. One said that this was the place where one was most likely to find real innovations in education; the other said that the staff had a few theories, but he did not know how they worked out in practice.

The school is a modern building much on the lines of our bungalow type schools, but with only one row of rooms on each wing, with a covered terrace all along the inside. The

eventual plan is to have the inner courtyard enclosed. The writer was welcomed very sincerely and, in the absence of the principal, was shown around by the assistant whose class was dismissed for the occasion. (Many in Winnipeg might have been left alone to work.) A great deal of effort has been spent to beautify the grounds (two and one-half acres - much less than the average in Winnipeg.) which will eventually look very attractive. One idea that appealed was the setting of old benches in concrete in convenient shady places and formations for outdoor classwork, art work, or study.

Most of the rooms were much like ordinary classrooms, but an attempt had been made to decorate them with samples of the students' work. An outstanding idea was the decoration of different rooms in different colour schemes.

The school makes much of handicrafts as hobby activities, several teachers and many students coming in the afternoons to work on basket making, colour decoration of cloth, weaving, stencil work and lino cutting. The writer was told that the inability to handle large numbers in such groups was the reason for not having these activities in school time - perhaps also the crowding of other work prevents it.

The primary rooms were the most interesting, very similar to those in Winnipeg, featuring decorations made by the children, sandpile, sandtable and other projects, (one on Indians!) and several percussion bands.

One thing which surprised the writer was the continued issue to primary schools of double desks, thirty years outdated in Manitoba in all except rural schools. In one class every pupil was required to place his school bag upright on the desk in order to cut off his view of his neighbour's work, with resultant cramping of the positions of all children.

Merensky School Farm

The principal of this school was very kind to the group of visitors which included the writer. He showed them everything of interest and answered all their questions. This school was better equipped than the other seven, for the principal was reportedly a favourite of the Administrator of the province. The school farm consisted of seven hundred acres of land, mostly in forest plantation, provided with almost a dozen buildings. The hostels, dining hall, hospital and school building were all quite imposing. The classrooms were large and airy, decorated in varied tints, with two walls of blackboard. They contained the usual double desks, which the principal hoped to replace with furniture made in the school. The regulations posted up in the hostels indicated that the principal was a strict disciplinarian. In the three years that the school had been established the staff and pupils had not been able to develop greatly the gardens, orchards or farmlands. The stock was of scrub breed, troubled with ticks. The standard school curriculum was in effect, supplemented by practical work for one and

one-half hours - which the visiting group thought was very much too academic for such a school. The aim, the principal said, was not to make farmers, but to get the youngsters to like some kind of work, which they could follow with further training. Some went on to high school, some to technical school; some were placed with farmers. The visitors' reaction was that the school seemed to be making very little of the farm and shops and other facilities for a practical completed education for the average farm youngster.

The total capital cost to date was $300,000. The income, chiefly from selling lumber, was $10,000 per year, but would, the principal said, be more later. The aim was for these school farms to become relatively self-supporting. There were one hundred and eighty pupils in the school, with three hundred and fifty the ultimate capacity. There were eleven teachers, four more than the regular allowance. Each one took some special practical activity, but was not as yet really trained in this. The hostel cost was $75 per year, of which the government paid $60, the parents $2.50 to $15.

The pupils, the principal told his visitors, did the practical work in all departments, being allowed later to "specialize", but the fact that there were sixty Natives regularly employed would indicate that the pupils did not actually do much. Since they all went away for holidays, they could not possibly carry through the complete cycle of activities, and examinations must also interfere. The secretary explained some of the finances, and also told the

group that because of malaria, the heat and malnutrition, the youngsters seemed dull when they arrived from their homes.

A neighbouring English citrus farmer, a university graduate, stated that he liked the school farm idea, but not the way it was being carried out. Naturally he did not wish to criticize the management of this school, but he did comment on two points. First, although most of the present settlers in the district were English, this fine school was not available to their children as it used Afrikaans only as the medium of instruction. Second, the policy of selling the lumber and other products of the farm in competition with the products of private farmers was unjust, as school products were indirectly subsidized. The school was dumping products on the market at less than the cost of production, thus making matters difficult for the private producer.

The writer's conclusions were that the costs of this school were very great relative to the results apparent, but that the experiment was a very interesting one. A great deal depends on the principal in charge, and the writer had heard that the atmosphere and results were much better at Happy Rest School Farm than at Merensky, where the principal dominated and the staff and pupils seemed to count for relatively little.

Chats with Exchange Teachers

An exchange teacher from Edmonton thinks that the Transvaal teachers are about twenty years behind in Primary

Methods. The rooms are far too small and ill-ventilated; there is very little blackboard space, and this is too high; the desks are double and are too small. She feels that the readers used are the dullest things imaginable, and reports that the pupils spend the whole year working on one old, dirty, torn reader. There is no provision for supplementary reading. There is little equipment and no room for seatwork exercises and pupil activities. Writing is in finger-movement style. The students learn to read alphabetically and phonetically, instead of by sight with later use of phonics and silent-reading exercises. The headmistresses are out of date in their ideas of what children want to do, should do and should not do. Every single thing to be taught is outlined in detail by the Education Department and departures from these instructions are frowned upon.

A Domestic Science teacher from England, an exceedingly intelligent and capable socialist, said that she expected, in this young and wealthy country, to find that the schools were well ahead of English schools in the methods used to teach Domestic Science. She has concluded, instead, that the procedures and equipment used are both very much out of date. She states that the course is mainly theory and that the examination is all theory. The equipment in most schools is antiquated, for example, coal stoves are in class use in areas where not one youngster has this type at home. As there is not sufficient equipment girls must work in groups. The teachers are poorly trained and not interested in new ideas. There is little

attempt to develop extra-mural activity or to relate the domestic science course to real life. Only recently has each room been provided with one electric iron. In this country of fresh fruits and vegetables there is only one period allotted to "salads" in a course five years long. Everything to be taught is outlined in detail and teachers must not depart from the outline because the students must, above everything else, be prepared for the all important theory examination.

This English exchange teacher also criticized the school farms. She had taught in one until she could not stand it any longer. She agrees with the other exchange teachers that some of these school farms are very good, particularly Happy Rest school, where there is an exceedingly capable principal. At Happy Rest, to which school most of the exchange teachers were taken, buildings and equipment, and more important, the spirit and the pupil activity were all of an excellent standard. On the other hand, this English exchange teacher left Merensky school farm because of its atmosphere of repression. She felt it was wrong that in this isolated residential school there were no facilities for games or any form of spare time activity or entertainment. The principal frowned on such things. This teacher reported that boys and girls were not allowed to mix at all, that mail was kept from the students as a disciplinary measure, and that few of the staff took any interest in the children after the actual teaching hours.

Junior Schools

A progressive male exchange teacher from England, who had taught in two junior schools in Johannesburg, summarized his comments as follows:

Singing: One period a week, just singing; no training, developing of better voices, reading music, or training for part-singing.

Drawing: Weekly, always of an object, in crayons; then marked; nothing creative.

Reading: Straight oral reading of informational matter; uninteresting, no literature or poetry or appreciation.

Nature Study: A fixed and "theoretical programme" - the fly, the bee, the hen, etc.

Drill: The whole school together (boys and girls) for straight exercises and marching for fifteen minutes.

General Notes: There was nothing creative or appreciative; pupils must "learn".

Discipline: Easy, children passive; big but soft.

Note: No staff lavatory or basins, and the toilets in a bad state, cared for by the Native.

Conclusion: The writer pressed for an answer as to whether he had found one new or progressive feature since he had come to Johannesburg - anything that had struck him as educationally outstanding. Answer, two weeks later. "Nothing".

Interview with a Departmental Inspector

The writer asked for an interview, in order to get more valid information and the Departmental point of view.

The inspector proved very broad-minded and helpful, and appreciated the reports and articles offered. The main points he presented, after questioning, were:

The Transvaal system puts a great (probably too great) emphasis on the academic, to the neglect of cultural and practical (due partly to Union control of technical education). Provincial examinations occupy too important a place, but these are being gradually cut down.

The inspection is primarily of teachers (formerly of the scholars and their work). Regular inspections take place every three years. The aim is to grade the teachers, and to check up on the ratings given by principals. For the forty thousand or more children of the Central Rand School Board, there were only five inspectors, one a woman for primary inspection. The others inspected all schools. The inspectors really had dual duties, also acting as the Department's authorities on the spot regarding regulations, plans of school boards for buildings, matters of school organization and approval of appointments. He felt that the inspectors had too many and too varied duties. There were no special supervisers, except one or two "organizers" for the whole province for Physical Training, Domestic Science and Manual Arts.

The complete lack of grounds for many schools was, he said, due to the wrong policy of the School Board during the period of rapid growth, which error was being corrected now as far as possible.

A beginning had been made some years ago in special classes for mentally weak children; there now were over a thousand in such classes - but there were many difficulties.

The lack of high school accommodation in the poorer districts, was he said, because people here did not send their children to high school, but into trades, on into the technical school. He did not think the poor districts were particularly penalized, except that it was hard for them to get good permanent teachers. It was unwise for entrance to technical training to be based on an academic examination (Standard VI - English, Afrikaans and Mathematics) and there was no other road for those unable to profit from the regular school course.

The junior high school as established in Johannesburg, was a mistake - too much like the high schools, which the principals tried to ape. They would have to get back to the original idea of an entirely different type of school - an all round finishing school training broadly and practically for citizenship.

"Ekuteline" Native School

"Ekuteline", "the House of Peace" in the Bantu tongue, was the name of a Church of England mission and mission school situated in a Native township in the suburbs of Johannesburg. The mission occupied several acres of high ground, and the cross-surmounted tower on the great brick church was a reminder to all that the church stood for

sacrifice for the sake of all people.

The twenty-roomed, one-storey brick school, with rooms opening out on a large playground, was the result of sacrifice, having been financed mainly by missionary donations. Much of the work of building and improvement of the grounds had been done by the Natives themselves, under the supervision of the White Missionary Manager.

The rooms were well decorated and reasonably-well equipped. Instruction was carried on mainly by Native teachers, though there were a few White teachers for the higher grades. Two or three Native languages had to be used in the junior classes, but as English was taught to all it could be used in the higher classes where such multiple-language difficulties persisted. In addition to the regular academic time-table considerable time was devoted to practical woodwork for the boys, and sewing, cooking and home-making for the girls. Religious instruction was a regular subject. A feature of this mission, which was in part residential was a fine organization of Boy Scouts, Wolf Cubs, Girl Guides and Brownies.

The senior pupils ~~appeared~~ interested in a lantern lecture on "Canada". The intelligence of the girls was indicated by their recognition of the advantage of an Indian "cradle-board" over the Native method of carrying babies tied on the back in a shawl. One of the boys asked a question which was very difficult to answer: "If the Eskimos live in snow houses and warm them with lamps, why doesn't the snow

melt?"

This school, which was of high standard as most Native schools go, was receiving an increasing amount of state aid from the Transvaal Education Department, but not sufficient to make it possible to operate without charging small fees or without missionary donations.

Indian Schools

The writer visited three Indian schools. They were all in poor and crowded districts, for Indians cannot hold land, nor rent in the White residential areas. The first school was housed in a terribly dilapidated galvanized iron shed with inadequate windows and no divisions between the four classes. The White teachers informed the writer that the Department paid a high yearly rental for this shed and its small rocky playground rather than build a modest permanent school building.

The second school was in a better building, provided in this case by the Indian community. This was a girls' school, and the problem here was that the girls, mainly Hindu, went into "purdah" or confinement to their women's quarters, at the age of eleven or twelve.

The third Indian school visited was a large one, including both primary and secondary classes. The building was very crowded and the only play space was a tiny courtyeard. Nevertheless excellent work was apparently being done by the White and Indian teachers - the former receiving almost double the pay of the latter. The Indian community

had provided much of the school equipment, including a dental clinic. Hindu and Mohammedan boys and girls sat side by side here, and exhibited a remarkable unity and spirit. At the close of the "Parents' Day" activities the leaders of both Hindu and Islamic communities called for cooperation of the two races to assure their children the best education and opportunities possible. The writer spent considerable time in this school, and was greatly impressed with the results produced, taking the limiting factors into consideration.

CHAPTER XVII

Education in the Transvaal since 1939

Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to outline some of the developments in education since the departure of the writer from South Africa, and to provide a sketch of the present system of public elementary and secondary education in the Transvaal. This outline can include only the briefest re-statement of major points elaborated and documented in earlier chapters. The relationships existing between the educational agencies here referred to are diagrammatically illustrated by Figures 3 and 4. Supporting and correlative data for certain statements of a statistical nature will be found in Tables I to V which comprise Appendix F.

It should be understood that this chapter, emphasizing as it does certain recent developments, does not present a balanced representation of the educational system of the Transvaal. To gain such a complete picture, in correct perspective, the reader must devote his attention to the entire thesis, particularly to Part II, "The Development of Education."

Administration

Provincial Administration.- The government of the province of Transvaal is responsible for the administration

of education "other than higher" within the boundaries of the province. Since 1928, however, "higher" education has included technical and vocational education, with the result that there is an overlapping in the field of differentiated education for adolescents.

In the provinces of South Africa the executive authority (vested in the Administrator in Executive Committee) is not fully responsible to the legislative authority, the Provincial Council. The Administrator, appointed by the Union Government, has powers which permit him to proceed in certain educational programmes without the support of the Provincial Council. This power has been utilized in connection with the inauguration and development of both the School Farm and the Junior High School.

The provision of adequate finances to operate the schools of the Transvaal has gradually become, since 1910, mainly a Union Government responsibility, discharged: first, by the granting of generous subsidies; second, by the operation and financing of technical and vocational schools at the secondary level and third, by the assumption of responsibility for the financing of grants-in-aid to Native education.

The Education Department.- Education in the Transvaal is administered under the Education Act, Number 25, of 1907 (Transvaal) and subsequent amendments, as consolidated in 1942.[1] Responsible to the Administrator in Executive

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[1] Report of the Transvaal Education Department, 1942. Pretoria: Government Printer, 1946, p. 2.

Committee are two main officials: the Provincial Secretary, in whose hands financial and certain purely administrative responsibilities lie, and the Director of Education, who is a professional man responsible for instructional policy. The Education Department must accept instruction from and report to these two officials in their respective fields. Both these officials, and others, are appointed by the Civil Service Commission, a creation of the Union Government. Very often such officials and the Administrator are of one political party while the majority in the Provincial Council is of another.

Inspection.- On the premise that "the first duty of an inspector is educational diagnosis and treatment"[2] the Transvaal Education Department has always chosen its inspectors from the ranks of the teaching profession. Some twenty-six district inspectors visit all types of provincial "European" schools. They are no longer concerned with the inspection of individual pupils, but of classes, schools and teachers. The teacher enjoys reasonable freedom but his grading has until recently depended on the inspector's reports. Since 1935 the principals have been required to report on the work of their teachers. This provision has come under some criticism, the teachers having requested that principals be required to show them their reports. A recommendation of the Education Commission of 1945 granting this

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[2] Bot, A. K. A Century of Education in the Transvaal. Pretoria: Government Printer, 1936, p. 142.

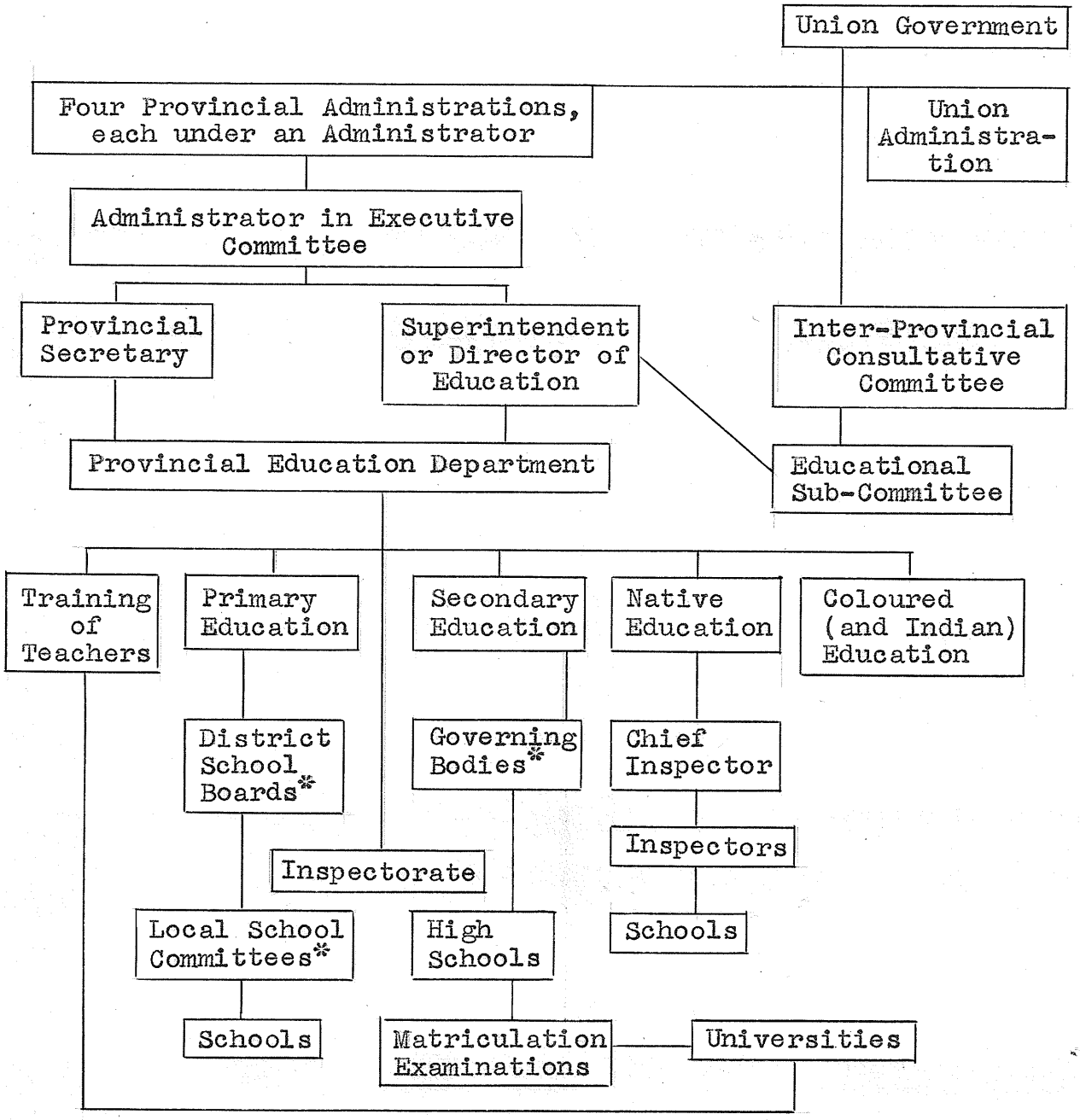
request has reportedly been put into effect. The inspectoral staff is augmented by some nine travelling departmental instructors, all specialists in particular subjects.

Medical inspection is supplemented in the Transvaal by several school clinics, including a psychological clinic in Johannesburg. Reports of the Chief Medical Inspector indicate that the medical and dental staff is inadequate to meet the demands for these services.

Local Control.- The Transvaal is divided into thirty-two school districts, for each of which there is an advisory body called a School Board, consisting of both nominated and elected members. These boards, originated in 1907, deal with general administrative matters pertaining to all schools in their respective districts. They are responsible for the enforcement of the compulsory attendance laws and the supervision of school committees. Each "School Committee" aids in the selection of staff and in the provision of supplementary equipment. Board of Governors for each high school combine the functions of the two bodies. Two achievements stand to the credit of these boards and committees; first, an average attendance record of over ninety-three percent; second, the provision by wealthy or interested committees of many additional school facilities, including playing fields, auditoriums and special equipment. Neither of these local authorities, however, has any actual responsibility for financing education. A reported weakness of local committees is, according to certain Transvaal teachers, that only a fraction

FIGURE 3

PROVINCIAL ADMINISTRATION OF EDUCATION



*Natal excepted.

of these bodies actually function, the others being merely "rubber stamps" for the recommendation of the principals. Several authorities indicate also that most School Boards have relatively little influence, and often function, in effect, only as local offices of the Education Department.

Systems of Schools

Types of Schools.- There are at present five main types of schools operated by the Transvaal Education Department. The Primary Schools (of which there were 752 in 1942 and only 687 in the year 1945) provide instruction in the "Grades" (I and II) and the "Standards" up to and including Standard V (Canadian Grade VII).[3] In 1942 the European enrolment was 131,112 pupils divided among areas as indicated in Table IV, Appendix F. The "Junior" school is a primary school providing education only to the end of Standard III. The Junior High Schools, of which there were, in 1945, twenty-five with almost 10,000 pupils, are the newest type of school in the Transvaal, providing secondary education in Standards VI, VII and VIII. The High School overlaps the Junior High School, providing secondary education from Standards VI to X. Other types of schools include School Farms, of which there are nine, Agricultural Institutions (two only) and secondary departments attached to primary schools providing for some seven thousand pupils. Many of

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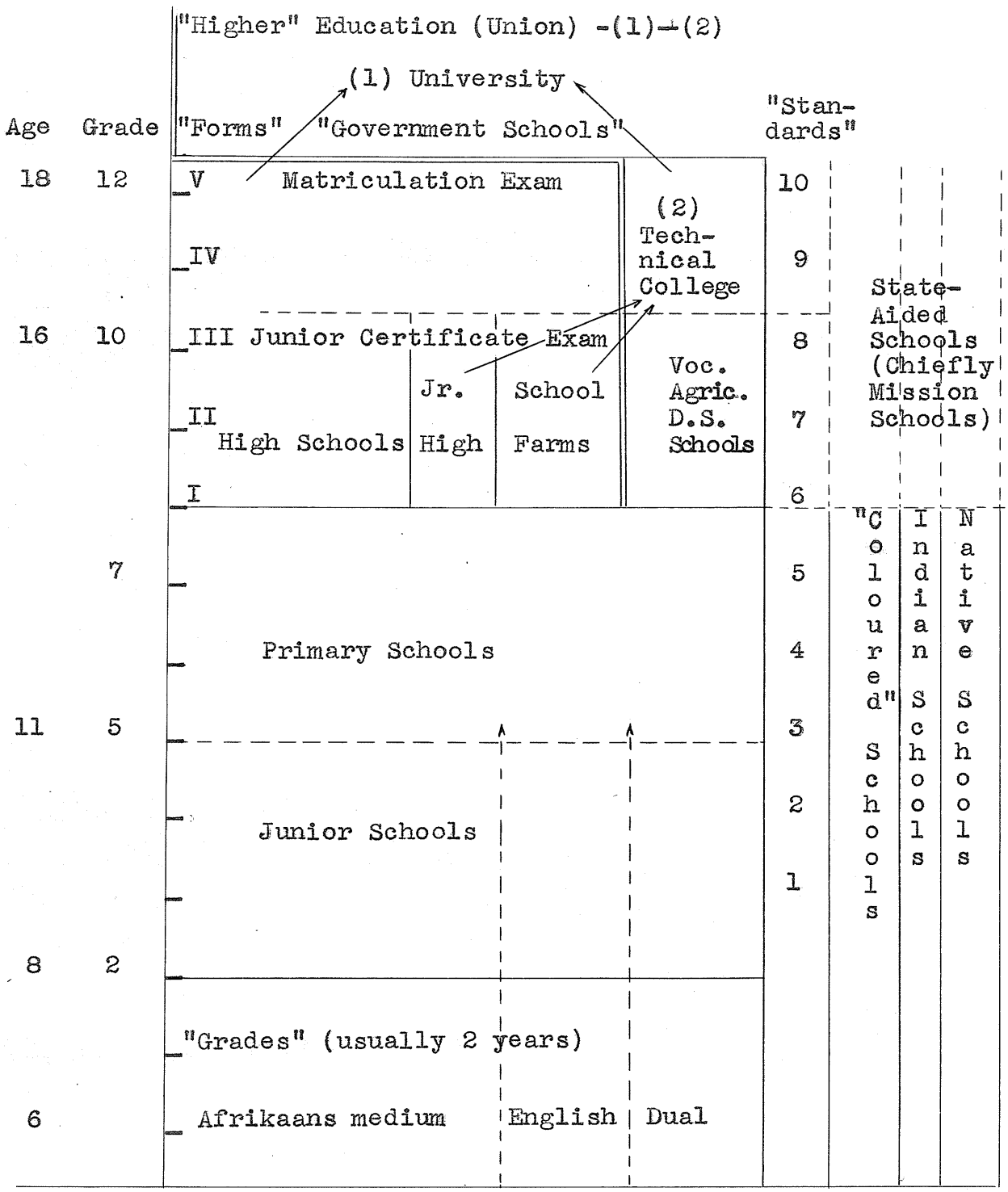
[3] Official Year Book of the Union of South Africa, 1946. Chapter VIII, Education. Pretoria: Government Printer, p. 32.

FIGURE 4

SCHOOL SYSTEMS OF THE TRANSVAAL



the schools of all types are residential or have hostel accommodation in the community.

As a result of a policy of "concentration" (centralization) commenced in 1936 most of the one and two-teacher schools have been eliminated and the great majority of children in rural areas now receive their education in larger schools. The average number of pupils per school has increased from seventy-four in 1936 to one hundred and twenty-two in 1942.[4]

Primary Education.- The Union subsidy has applied at the age of six since 1935, and six is now the normal age of admission. The child usually spends two years in the substandards or grades. At the end of Standard VI he may transfer to any one of the secondary schools mentioned or to a Union technical or vocational school. In the Transvaal the child must attend school until he passes Standard VIII or reaches age sixteen. Textbooks are free to this point. The Primary curriculum prescribed leaves some freedom to principals in the planning of their own schemes of work. The usual subjects are Afrikaans, English, arithmetic, history, geography, nature study, religious instruction, physical drill, art and arts and crafts. The second language is taught in every class, one-sixth of the total time being spent on it. The Education Amendment Ordinance of 1945 made clear that the standard in the second language should be high enough to

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[4] Report of the Transvaal Education Department, 1942. Pretoria: Government Printer, 1946, pp. 3-4.

permit its use, (by Standard V) as the medium for teaching at least one subject.[5] Visits of the writer, confirmed by other Exchange teachers indicate that the great weakness of the elementary schools is in methodology. The tradition is the European one, and the experience and educational research of American schools in primary methods is seldom drawn upon.

Secondary Education.- In the Transvaal the graduates of an elementary school normally enter a high school or a junior high school, possibly transferring to a high school after Standard VIII. The secondary schools are usually quite separate from the primary schools. On the completion of Standard VIII many pupils formerly wrote departmental examinations (the Transvaal Junior Certificate) the pupil's school record counting for one third of the marks. Transvaal Exchange teachers report that this external examination was recently abolished and that Standard VIII students are now examined and accredited entirely by their own school staff, subject to inspectoral check.

Junior High Schools.- As the junior high school system in the Transvaal, inaugurated about 1938, has become a very promising development it will be discussed here in some detail. This growth has involved not only the number of such schools, but also the content and spirit of the programme.

In 1939 the writer of this thesis made the following statement:

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[5] A Brief Description of Education in South Africa, 1946. Pretoria: The National Bureau of Educational and Social Research, p. 17.

> "The junior high school of the Transvaal has before it an almost unique opportunity to develop a new and progressive educational institution. Unlike its typical counterpart in America, its graduates do not need to be prepared for the senior high school and the university, nor is it subject to any supervision by senior technical schools. Instead of being required to prepare, it has a unique opportunity to educate."[6]

In this article the writer suggested the dropping of external examinations in the junior high schools, the provision of a wide range of courses including many of a practical nature, and emphasis on school clubs and vocational guidance. The paragraphs which follow will verify the fact that the junior high school system of the Transvaal has followed the trend suggested. It has moved away from the purely academic tradition prevalent in the provincial schools of South Africa toward an educational institution which should supply very satisfactorily the requirements of differentiated education for adolescents.

Since its inauguration in 1938 the junior high school system has grown to include twenty-five schools providing education from Standards VI to VIII (Grades VIII to X). During the first six years of the development of these schools principals were given considerable freedom to evolve their ideas. By 1944 it was essential that the Department lay down policy with respect to the junior high schools. The Director of Education made it clear that the purpose of the junior

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[6] Thompson, R. T. F. "The New Junior High Schools". Johannesburg: The Star, April 13, 1939, p. 11.

high schools was to meet the physical and mental needs of their pupils and to function as a link between the primary school and the vocations. Careful attention was to be paid to the moral, social, cultural and economic aspects of education for living. Finally the Department emphasized that the junior high school was not intended as a bridge to the high school, although such a bridge is possible with an appropriate combination of subjects.[7]

As the junior high school provides only three years of secondary education, some stigma of inferiority developed, which the Department has endeavoured to remove. The principals of primary schools have been instructed to inform the parents of the opportunities offered through each course and to advise placement in the interest of the child. If parents have other wishes they are advised to interview the principal.[8] The Department suggests strongly that age is the best basis for the division of classes, and that those pupils who have failed to pass Standard V and have graduated "due to age" should not be isolated if it can be avoided. On the other hand, they should devote themselves to a limited number of subjects and activities for which they show aptitude. In the first year, Standard VI, one of the major tasks is the determination of the vocational aptitudes of the pupils. This requires a wide variety of subjects, appropriate tests,

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[7] The Junior High School in the Transvaal, Transvaal Education Department. Pretoria: Government Printer, 1944, p. 3.

[8] ibid, p. 5.

a careful study of the pupil's primary school record, an analysis of his activities and interests and consideration of his home circumstances and the wishes of his parents.

The curriculum of Standard VI provides for a change of subjects in the middle of the year to assist in the determination of interest and aptitude. Success in certain patterns of subjects is to be taken as indicative of ability in the appropriate academic, commercial, technical or domestic field. In Standards VII and VIII the curriculum is divided into the aforementioned courses. A suggestion made by the Education Department is that each junior high school should establish its own "employment bureau", utilizing staff members and a few influential parents. Such a bureau should contact employers, participate in the work of the Juvenile Affairs Board, organize industrial visits and talks and maintain contacts with ex-pupils.

The Department, in 1944 requested the views of principals on the matter of a more "practical" syllabus for junior high schools, of establishment of intra-mural school clubs, of the limitation of failures to within twenty percent of the number of pupils, and of the preparation of a fully cumulative record card on which "aptitude" would be more fully indicated.[9] In 1946, in response to the above suggestions, the Department prepared a more extensive list of subjects approved for Standards VII and VIII, some thirty-nine in all, of which only the two languages, religious

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[9] ibid, pp. 14-15.

instruction, music and physical education are compulsory.[10]

As junior high schools do not exist in all areas, regulations have been issued indicating the maximum age permissible for pupils at the various levels of the school system. Further, special courses are to be provided in primary and high schools for retarded pupils if no junior high school is available.[11] These regulations were integrated with the provisions of the compulsory attendance ordinance of 1941, laying down age sixteen as the school-leaving age unless Standard VIII was successfully completed, in which case age fifteen was the leaving age.[12]

High Schools.- The high schools of the Transvaal provide a five-year course leading to university entrance. Many of these high schools, both English and Afrikaans, have been greatly influenced by English "public school" traditions, and this influence has been enhanced by the residential nature of most of these institutions. The methodology throughout the high schools is European rather than American. As previous sections of this study indicate, the high schools provide a purely academic education of high quality, though it is generally formal and linguistic in nature. The main aim of these institutions has always been the preparation of

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[10] ibid, pp. 3-4.

[11] ibid, p. 13.

[12] Report of the Transvaal Education Department, 1941. Pretoria: Government Printer, 1946, p. 7.

students for the Matriculation examinations. Formerly, too large a proportion of high school students were unsuited to the type of education which these schools provided, but many of the pupils not academically inclined are now absorbed by the technical schools, the junior high schools and the school farms. As academic high schools, those of the Transvaal are outstanding in their physical facilities. School cadets and competitive sports are features of their extra-curricular activities, as is made clear in the chapter entitled "Visits to Transvaal Schools."

School Farms.- The School Farm system, inaugurated in 1936, is a very interesting experiment in the education of underprivileged rural children. Its development, aims and operation have been described in previous sections and will not be repeated here. The number of school farms has increased little since the inception of the system, for which fact there appear to be two main reasons. The first is the high cost per pupil, approximately one hundred and thirty-seven pounds, practically four times that in the regular high schools.[13] The second reason is that it is now being more generally realized that the solution of the Poor White problem lies not so much in agricultural education as in technical training to enable the Poor White to take his place as a skilled worker in the expanding industrial life of the Transvaal.

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[13] Report of the Education Department, 1941. Pretoria: Government Printer, 1946, p. 34.

Technical Colleges and Vocational Schools.- Over five thousand pupils attend full-time (as of 1941) in the nine Union technical and vocational schools in the Transvaal. The organization and work of these schools is fully explained in Appendix C, as is the fact that their control by the Union results in many serious problems related to the dual administration of secondary education.

Internal Features

Medium of Instruction.- The equality of Afrikaans and English as media of instruction in the schools and the requirement of bilingualism have been dealt with adequately in other chapters. The proportions of pupils using each medium are given in Table III, Appendix F. It seems unfortunate that the two European races are generally educated in separate schools. Fundamentally it is the English South Africans rather than the Afrikaners who have objected to bilingualism and to dual or parallel medium schools. The author of the Cambridge History, South Africa volume, confirms this view, concluding that "... only today ... are the English speakers becoming aware of the advantages to be reaped from both cultures."[14]

Bilingualism is now accepted throughout South Africa, but the controversy still rages as to whether there should be two sets of schools, Afrikaans and English, or a

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[14] Cambridge History of the British Empire, Volume VIII, South Africa. Cambridge University Press, 1936, p. 852.

system in which parellel classes would be found within the same school. Reports from South African teachers indicate that although the majority report of the recent Education Commission favoured the latter procedure, the present "Nationalist" Union Government and its appointees, the Transvaal Administrator and the Secretary for Education, favour separate schools.

Examinations.- The Transvaal Education Department now conducts, with the assistance of a Board of Moderators, one external examination, the Transvaal Secondary School Leaving Certificate. Certain papers of this examination are subject to the approval of the Joint Matriculation Board, described in Appendix D. The Board of Moderators includes representatives of the inspection staff, the normal colleges, the universities and the high and intermediate schools, the chairman being the Secretary for Education for the Union Government. The basic principle of the Transvaal examination is that passing shall not depend solely on an external written examination, but shall take into account the school record of the pupil as an integral part of the examination.[15] Successful candidates are classified as First Class and Second Class, and certificates may be endorsed for additional subjects if the school record in these subjects is satisfactory. Oral examinations are provided in the two official

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[15] Official Year Book of the Union of South Africa, 1946, Chapter VIII, Education. Pretoria: Government Printer, p. 38.

languages and practical examinations form a part of the tests in Homecrafts, Wood and Metal Work and Agriculture.

As recently as 1946 there was in effect also a "Transvaal Junior Certificate Examination" on the completion of Standard VIII for students not proceeding beyond that grade. According to reports of Transvaal Exchange teachers this examination was abolished recently. Other matriculation and technical examinations in current use in the Transvaal are described in Appendix D.

Curricula.- The curricula of the primary, junior high and high schools have all been referred to briefly in previous sections but a more complete description of the curricula through the grades and standards to Standard VIII will be provided here. The departmental handbook[16] in present use lists some twenty-nine subjects for the junior high school grades alone, including the matriculation, commercial and technical subjects normally provided, supplemented by such unusual subjects as Native Languages, Hebrew, Practical Agriculture, Nursing and Hygiene in the Home and any other subject approved by the Secretary for Education. For all subjects through all grades "Suggested Syllabuses"[17] furnish in great detail guides as to the subject matter, to methods of teaching and to suitable text and source books. A study

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[16] Transvaal Junior Certificate Examination Handbook. Pretoria: Government Printer, 1947, 86 p.

[17] Suggested Syllabuses for Grades to Standard VII, Transvaal Education Department, Pretoria, 1948, 295 pp.

of the aforementioned two booklets leaves the impression confirmed by personal experience, that the courses tend to formalism and detail, and permit only limited opportunity for variation and for activity of an inspirational nature. On the other hand, reports from Transvaal teachers indicate that, as from 1947, departmental bulletins make clear that deviation from the syllabi is permissible subject to inspectoral approval.

Hostels.- The scattered population of the Transvaal and the policies directed toward centralization of schools resulted in the early development of residential hostels for school children. In the early days the Dutch Reformed Church led in the provision of such hostels and as late as 1936 the majority of pupils boarded were to be found in Church-sponsored residences. Between that date and 1942, however, the Education Department, as a part of its centralization policy, took control of the great majority of such hostels. By 1942 some eighty-five percent of the twelve thousand pupils in residences were living in provincial hostels.[18]

Bursaries.- Related to the hostel plan, and also an integral part of the Transvaal centralization policy, is a generous system of scholarships for promising students and of bursaries for all necessitous pupils. These include tuition, transportation and boarding bursaries. The nature of the

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[18] Report of the Transvaal Education Department, 1942. Pretoria: Government Printer, 1946, p. 5.

secondary course made possible by bursary is determined from information on the pupil's school record card, having regard also to the wishes of the parents.[19] In 1945 a sum of 150,000 pounds was made available for bursaries of various types to primary and secondary pupils.[20]

School Feeding.- The supplying of a supplementary meal to indigent pupils has been carried on in the Transvaal for many years, but under the National Feeding Scheme commenced early in the recent war a grant of six pence per child per week was made available by the Union Government. Although the grant is a step in the right direction, the Education Department feels that the grave problem of malnutrition cannot be solved by such limited efforts alone.[21]

Physical Education.- The policy of promoting physical education in the schools has been continued over many years. Under the auspices of the National Advisory Council for Physical Education a draft syllabus and handbook, comprising four volumes in all, was completed in 1942. The aim has been to take the best from all recognized systems and adapt it to South African conditions.[22]

Vocational Guidance.- By 1942 four vocational

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[19] Report of the Transvaal Education Department, 1942. Pretoria: Government Printer, 1946, p. 7.

[20] Official Year Book of the Union of South Africa, 1946, Chapter VIII, Education. Pretoria: Government Printer, p. 33.

[21] Report of the Transvaal Education Department, 1942. Pretoria: Government Printer, 1946, p. 11.

[22] ibid, p. 8.

guidance officers and one psychologist were employed by the Transvaal Education Department, their work including both the testing, interviewing and advisement of pupils and the provision of guidance information to the teachers through a vocational guidance bureau. Particular attention has been paid to underfunctioning pupils and to statistical analyses for comparing the results of examinations and intelligence tests. Conversation with a Transvaal Exchange teacher suggests that much of the testing work and related vocational guidance is still viewed with grave suspicion by many teachers. The cumulative individual record card now to be prepared by teachers for all pupils provides an exhaustive record of the achievements, aptitudes and personality of each pupil. The comments and recommendations are to be "positive" in nature. All cards are available to the vocational guidance officers and are finally passed over to the Juvenile Boards of the Department of Labour, responsible for all juveniles under eighteen who have left school.

Education of the Retarded Child.- It has been determined that in the five years preceding 1942 over six percent of the Transvaal European school population has remained in the same standard two years or longer, the repetition occurring generally in Standard III (Grade V), Standard VII (Grade IX) and Standard X (Grade XII). It is estimated that, due to lack of mental ability, some fifteen percent of the pupils fail to complete Standard VI. In 1942 over seven hundred such pupils were attending special classes,

mainly in the large towns. Unfortunately there was only one departmental psychologist to test all pupils presenting such difficulties.[23]

Recent Developments

Effect of the War of 1939-1945.- The work of the schools was adversely affected by the enlistment of many teachers, and by serious shortages in paper and school furniture, but the latter deficiency resulted in increased thrift and care in the schools.[24] From the broader point of view the war influenced South African education in two major ways: first in the stimulation of Native demands for education, and second in developing an increased interest in the place of science in South African education.

Report of the Education Commission 1945.- This commission, after several years of investigation, issued a report recommending rather sweeping changes in the educational system of the Transvaal. Copies of the report are not available because of the paper shortage but departmental circulars make some reference to its recommendations and these have been supplemented by verbal information from teachers at present on Exchange from the Transvaal. Its recommendations include the following:

1) Incorporation of the Education Act and amendments into one consolidating ordinance (effected in 1942).

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[23] ibid, pp. 9-10.

[24] ibid, p. 2.

2) Development of new curricula and syllabi throughout the school system, with permission for deviation subject to inspectoral approval.

3) Abolition of external examinations in Standards VI and VIII.

4) Raising of the school-leaving age to sixteen, or to fifteen with the successful completion of Standard VIII.

5) Consideration of age in the classification of pupils.

6) The development and use of a new cumulative "Individual Record Card."

7) The establishment of a system of vocational guidance.

8) Limitation of inspectoral duties relative to the grading of teachers, and the granting of the right of teachers to see inspectoral reports.

As previous sections of this chapter suggest, most of these recommendations have been put into effect. On the other hand, a majority recommendation for the establishment of parallel-medium schools has not been effected because of the opposition of the new Administrator, appointed by the recently-elected Nationalist Union Government.

Non-European Education

The Present Situation.- The general picture in relation to non-European education in South Africa has been outlined in Appendix E. In the Transvaal there continues to be, since 1939, a steady increase in the number of Coloured, Indians and Natives voluntarily attending government and aided schools for non-Europeans. Today, there is a movement toward the separation of Coloured from Indian schools, the

latter having the higher proportion of well-qualified teachers, half being European.

The Native school population in the Transvaal was 159,325 in 1942, during which year some £345,138 was spent by the province on Native education.

> "The Chief Inspector, however, expresses the view that the total expenditure will have to be three times the existing amount in order to enable provision to be made for all children of school-going age."[25]

The Report on Native Education for 1941 contains several arresting paragraphs which indicate that for many years the funds supplied by the Union Government have been insufficient to provide for more than a fraction of the Native children desiring to attend school, and barely sufficient to provide the absolute minimum in teachers' salaries and in physical equipment. A number of new school buildings have been constructed, however.[26]

The extremely elementary nature of Native education is made clear by the fact that less than half the children enrolled proceed from the first to the second class, and that the majority of Native schools do not even teach Standard I. This situation is presented clearly by Table V, Appendix F. Only 2,081 pupils passed the Native Primary Certificate examination in 1942.[27] However, the enrolment in secondary

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[25] ibid, pp. 16-17.

[26] ibid, p. 100.

[27] ibid, p. 121.

schools in 1942 was almost fifty percent higher than that in 1941. In addition, since 1938, promising developments have been made in the Transvaal in integrating elementary schooling of Natives with practical and agricultural training.

Comparison of Educational Opportunities.- Preceding chapters and the account of "Non-European Education" in Appendix E will make clear the disadvantages in educational provision under which Coloured, Indians and particularly Natives suffer throughout the Union and in the Transvaal. Only gradually - and not yet in the Transvaal - is education becoming compulsory for Coloured and Indians, and nowhere is it compulsory for Natives. Although the tables of statistics for South African education are so organized as to make it difficult to differentiate between the costs for European, Coloured and Native education, an analysis has been attempted by the writer, by comparisons from several sources.[28,29] The per pupil expenditure on European education in the Transvaal is approximately £24, on Coloured and Indian education about half that amount, and on Native education less than one-tenth of that for Europeans. When it is realized that only one-third of Native children attend school, it can be seen that, based on expenditure per child, the educational advantage of the European over the Native is roughly thirty to one. The

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[28] ibid, pp. 32-33.

[29] Official Year Book of the Union of South Africa, 1946, Chapter VIII, Education. Pretoria: Government Printer, pp. 44 and 52.

figures of Table II, Appendix F, based on 1936 statistics, indicate a ratio of twenty-four to one for the expenditure on European as related to non-European education (including Native education). The two independent calculations thus confirm the conclusion arrived at by observation that the non-Europeans generally and the Natives in particular face a most serious disadvantage under present state provisions for education. This inequality of educational opportunity provides the basis for the most serious criticism of the educational system of the Transvaal. On the other hand, the government of the Transvaal is not permitted to tax the Natives and therefore it can hardly be held fully responsible for failure to provide funds for Native education. In the matter of Native education the Union Government, which alone can provide the necessary funds, must bear the major responsibility.

CHAPTER XVIII

Conclusion

Historical Background

An understanding of the educational systems of South Africa requires a knowledge of the complex history and the serious social problems of that country. This understanding can hardly be achieved without the experience of living in the Union.

From simple beginnings the history of South Africa becomes increasingly involved, mainly as a result of racial factors. The Europeans, comprising less than one quarter of the total population, have maintained full control of the government. The Afrikaners, white descendents of the original Dutch settlers, despite their defeat in the South African War again dominate the national life. It is probable that citizens of British stock will be permanently in the minority. The Natives remain the major threat to White supremacy, but there are also pressing problems related to the Coloured and Indian populations. Missionary influences lie at the core of the attempt to raise the level of the Natives. Fear of Native influence and eventual domination in the political, social and economic fields is responsible for the colour bar and the policy of segregation of non-Europeans from Whites.

After the Great Trek of 1838 the Afrikaners established independent republics with weak governmental structures. Because these farmers disliked paying direct taxes on land,

there was practically no development of local government. The discovery of gold fortunately provided the economic foundation essential to the development of a strong national state. The conflict between British Imperialism and Afrikaner Nationalism was aggravated by the problem of control of the gold areas. An impasse resulted, influencing wise leaders of both groups to support a policy of co-operation of the two European races. This agreement made possible the profitable operation of the gold mines and the formation of a common Native policy.

Educational Developments

In education Dutch traditions have dominated, except in Natal where the English form the majority. The Dutch Reformed Church has been the greatest single influence in the growth of the school system. The early instruction in reading the Bible has developed into a linguistic and academic education intended to produce leaders in the professional and political life of the nation. The Act of Union, 1910, confirmed the policy of bilingualism, now in effect in the schools of all provinces. The establishment of separate schools for pupils speaking English and Afrikaans has probably increased the effectiveness of instruction, but has perpetuated the division between the two races. The ability of the provincial administrations to draw freely upon Union financial resources has made possible the development of an expensive system of provincial primary and secondary schools for Europeans. In all provinces, teachers are adequately compensated, and hold, in effect, the status of

civil servants.

Despite the greater wealth of the Transvaal, the most progressive developments in education have been, until recently, effected by the Cape Province. Since 1936, however, the Transvaal, in an effort to develop its agricultural resources and to support its increasing industrialization, has taken several forward steps in education which are eliminating many of the weaknesses of its former academic system. These advances include the centralization of rural schools and the establishment of agricultural "school farms", both measures intended primarily to raise the level of the rural Poor White population. In the towns a junior high school system has been developed which appears likely to provide the orientation necessary to the effective education of adolescents. In addition, provincial examinations have been replaced by internal examination, except at the matriculation level. Most recently, vocational guidance, utilizing cumulative records, has been incorporated into the school system. The main task yet to be accomplished in the European schools of South Africa is improvement in the methods of instruction, which advance will require modifications not only in teacher-training institutions but also in the system of inspection. Because instructional methods generally follow European lines, it is difficult to introduce any improved procedures developed in America.

By the Act of Union, the central government was granted sole authority over "higher" education. This authority over university education has since been extended to include

technical and vocational education at the secondary level. Thus has arisen the greatest educational problem facing South Africa today in its European schools - that of dual systems of secondary schools, technical and academic, and the resultant overlapping administration at the adolescent level. The unification of these systems may be achieved eventually through the gradual assumption of full control of education by the Union government.

Throughout South Africa's history the basic conflict has been that between the Whites and the Natives. One current aspect of this struggle is the insistent demand of the Natives for education in contrast to the resistance of the Union government to the provision of adequate funds for Native schools. Missionary efforts have established a system of Native education, but the amount of state aid to this system is unlikely to prove adequate until European South Africans cease to fear domination by the non-European majority.

Educational Problems

The educational needs and problems of South Africa as a whole are well exemplified by those of the Transvaal, and in comparison with those of most other countries they are almost unrivalled in complexity. Like Canada, South Africa must provide for the education of a scattered population and endeavour to build up its educational system under pioneering conditions. In the attempt to accomplish these ends South Africa has moved much further than Canada towards centralization of rural schools

and federal aid to education. Like Canada also, South Africa is a bilingual nation, but its two races are not separated geographically. For this reason it has been advisable to train all pupils to fluency in both official languages. Like Denmark, South Africa needs to adapt its educational system to the requirements of an agricultural community, but only recently has South Africa begun to provide effective agricultural education at the secondary level. Like the United States, South Africa, possessing great mineral resources, is facing increasing industrialization, and must provide an increasing number of her young people with technical education. In making this provision South Africa has failed to place sufficient emphasis on the need for a broad general education for the pupils of both academic and technical schools.

South Africa must face one educational problem which is almost unique, that of aiding in the transition from barbarism to civilization of a Native population outnumbering the Whites by practically four to one. Not until South Africa has worked out a mutually satisfactory relationship between its European and non-European peoples can either the nature or the extent of education for the Natives be determined.

When consideration is given to the complexity of the educational problems of the Union of South Africa, and of the Transvaal Province in particular, one must pay tribute to these governments for the advances they have made in both elementary and secondary education. The future educational policies and procedures of these two governments, particularly in the matter of education of the Natives, will bear observation and study.

APPENDIX A

Development of Education in Natal

Early Development

The Voortrekkers who entered Natal in 1836 and 1837 immediately drew up a "Grondwet" or simple constitution, and within a year some attention was paid to the matter of religious education. Little of a formal educational nature could be accomplished by these pioneers who faced so many vicissitudes, culminating in the annexation of Natal by the British in 1843. Most of the Boer farmers then withdrew, and education was in a confused condition for many years. In 1848 the school at Pietermaritzburg was supported solely by state funds, and four years later a grants-in-aid plan was commenced.

In 1856 Natal was granted its own Legislative Council, and two years later the Lieutenant-Governor appointed a "Chief Central Board of Education" which, however accomplished little except recommending the establishment of local committees and the appointment of a Superintendent of Education. The local committees operated only indifferently, and the Superintendent, with little assistance, was left with the main responsibility for the operation of the educational system.

The Superintendent's major problem was the adminis-

tration of grants. By 1875 the "payment-by-results" system was adopted, and it was developed and perpetuated in Natal with effects as iniquitous as elsewhere. On the basis of inspectoral examinations capitation grants were paid in varying scales to teachers of government, aided and private schools. In 1895 a modification was made which permitted evaluation also of the general work of the school and of its supplementary subjects. In 1878 a Council of Education was established, which regulated education for some sixteen years, the Superintendent acting as its Secretary.

Centralization

Natal, the most English of the provinces, has been most subject to English educational ideas, the "payments-by-results" procedure being only one example of this influence. Practically its entire teacher supply came from England until 1908, when the Training College was established in Pietermaritzburg to replace the English pupil-teacher system previously in effect.

In contrast, nevertheless, to modern developments in England, education in Natal became more highly centralized than in any other province of South Africa. This was partly a result of the increasing weakness of local committees both prior to 1910 and after that date, when Advisory School Committees were established. These municipal committees, with the mayor as ex-officio chairman, were to be

elected annually by the parents, and were given vague rights of visiting, inspection and reporting to the Department, but no responsibility for raising any of the funds budgeted on their advice. Another influence leading toward centralization was the Council of Education, which satisfied the public's desire for a voice in education until the granting of Responsible Government in 1893. Malherbe sums up the situation as follows: "As a consequence, when the Council was dissolved in 1894, an Education Department of the severely bureaucratic nature was established which has held undisputed sway to the present day."[1] (1922) This situation remains true in 1946, as indicated by the following quotation: "Natal has no local authorities for education. Everything is controlled from the department at the provincial capital."[2] The position of Superintendent has remained relatively unchanged, as have the educational policies of bureaucratic control of teachers and schools and the dominance of examinations.

Recent Progress

By 1905, a start was being made in technical education. In 1909 was compulsory education adopted, and not until 1918 was primary education made free. At this

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[1] Malherbe, Ernst G. Education in South Africa (1652-1922). Capetown: Juta and Company, 1925, p. 206.

[2] A Brief Description of Education in South Africa, 1946. Pretoria: The National Bureau of Educational and Social Research, p. 10.

time an elaborate system of bursaries for secondary schools was instituted. The government took over all "Aided" Schools in 1918. These were relatively far less efficient than the government schools and private schools. Natal has made relatively favourable progress in Native and Indian education and considerable advance in continuation study and teacher training. One interesting difference at Union with important implications is that in Natal only, the financial responsibility in educational matters was shifted completely from the Superintendent of Education to the Provincial Secretary.

Present Status

In 1942 the Provincial Council passed a consolidating ordinance which vested the administration, direction and control of education in the Provincial Administration.[3] A Department of Education was provided for, to work under the Provincial Administration. There was to be no local administrations, except that provision was made for the establishment, where desired, of school advisory committees, with purely advisory functions. Separate schools were provided for Europeans, Coloured, Indians and Natives.

The full cost of education is now paid out of a central fund, into which any school fees are paid. Primary education is free in European, Coloured and Native

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[3] Official Year Book of the Union of South Africa, 1946. Chapter VIII, Education. Pretoria: Government Printer, pp. 28-29.

Government Schools, and will be free in Indian primary schools by 1949. In most of the primary schools essential books and supplies are provided free, particularly for indigent children. Secondary education is free in certain schools, particularly in the European schools. European, Coloured and Indian schools follow identical curricula, but a special curriculum has been developed for Native schools. In European schools parents have the choice of English or the Afrikaans medium, but both languages must be taught, and it was provided in 1942 that instruction in one subject must be in the second language.[4] Attendance is compulsory only for European and Coloured children, from age seven until age fifteen or the completion of Standard VI.

Many bursaries are granted on the basis of merit to enable pupils of all races to continue secondary education or to qualify as teachers, and money loans are available to European students. Tuition, boarding and transport grants are allowed to indigent European and Coloured pupils. Such grants are generally more numerous and generous to European students than to those of other races. There has been, however, a very steady increase in the number of non-European pupils attending school.

The general provisions for the education of Natives, Indians and Coloured are outlined in a later

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[4] A Brief Description of Education in South Africa, 1946. Pretoria: The National Bureau of Educational and Social Research, p. 16.

section. One or two aspects in which Natal's procedure is unique will be mentioned here. For example, only in Natal are there a considerable number of Native schools operated and controlled directly by the state through its Education Department.[5] In these and government-aided Native schools tuition is free since 1942, up to Standard VIII. In Natal alone education of Coloured and Indians is provided for separately. Only in Natal is the education of Coloured children compulsory and free in government schools to Standard VIII. Indians, on the other hand, are not compelled to attend school, although their education is rapidly becoming free.[6]

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[5] ibid, p. 28.

[6] ibid, p. 35.

APPENDIX B

Development of Education in the Orange Free State

Beginnings

As in the other "Trek" colonies, the educational facilities in the Orange River Sovereignty in its early years were very limited, consisting of a few wandering teachers and one or two missionaries. After the establishment of the Orange Free State, Governor Sir George Grey granted two thousand pounds for the founding of a school in the new republic to be supervised by the Dutch Reformed Church. Today, as Grey University College, this is the most important educational institution in the province. As both the Dutch Reformed Church and Volksraad contributed to this school it stood under a dual authority and a quarrel arose early as to the relative status of the English and Dutch languages in the school. By 1882 the Volksraad gained complete control over this situation.

Early regulations regarding schools required teachers to be selected by local committees but approved by the President. They also insisted on the teaching of English as well as Dutch in the town schools.[1] Unfortunately, although the Volksraad piously discussed schools, finances

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[1] Malherbe, Ernst G. Education in South Africa (1652-1922). Capetown: Juta and Company, 1925, pp. 359-60.

were such that little was done until the Education Law of 1872, which vested the financial aspects with the Executive Council, and instruction with the Inspector. Appointed Local School Committees were to supervise schools, hold examinations and expel pupils where necessary. Provision was made for bursaries for the training of teachers at Grey College. There was to be religious instruction with a "conscience" clause.

The Brebner Administration

The Reverend John Brebner served for twenty-five years as first Inspector and Superintendent of Education. He served under President Brand who held office for an equally long term, so that there was unusual opportunity for continuity of policy under the control of wise and judicious leaders sincerely interested in the development of education. The very scattered population, living at a subsistence level, and steeped in a simple conservative and religious tradition, was difficult soil in which to bring to fruition an efficient and progressive educational system. The Volksraad voted for "aid" to, rather than "maintenance" of, education.

The "Brebner system" established in the Free State an unique method of financing schools, from the sale of public lands and captured ammunition, these funds being supplemented as necessary from the Treasury. The "District" schools offered provision for boarders, and the "Itinerant" schools, which moved from one farm to another every year or

so, also had to provide boarding facilities. As early as 1895 a promising industrial school had been established, and the Volksraad urged attention to agricultural training. The School Committees were partly appointed and partly elected, by all the district inhabitants rather than by the parents only. They were responsible for inspection, nomination of teachers, opening of schools and the supply of school materials. The Superintendent of Schools always reported to the Volksraad and answered their questions in person, a practice unique in South Africa.[2] The curriculum provisions were broader than usual, including in addition to the normal studies, Bible history, geography, literature, science, woodwork, sewing, drawing and gymnastics. As in other parts of South Africa, the pupil-teacher system was in effect, supplemented by a teacher training institution. After 1891 compulsory education was inaugurated, based at first on local option, requiring one or two years' schooling or the passing of a simple examination. Fees were eliminated for poor children, and the government provided essential clothing.

The English Occupation

From the outbreak of the South African War until the granting of Responsible Government in 1907, conditions in education resembled those in the Transvaal. For most of these years education in the two provinces was jointly

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[2] ibid, p. 372.

administered. The attempt at Anglicization resulted in the elimination of local committees, leading to the establishment of Christian National schools in the Free State and the Transvaal. An ordinance of 1905 provided for free compulsory primary education and for local committees with very limited powers, responsibility for one-sixth the cost of education and for the use of English as the medium with limited provision for teaching Dutch.

Education under Responsible Government

After the granting of Responsible Government in 1907, General Hertzog became the Minister of Education, and introduced the Hertzog School Act of 1908, providing for the establishement of an Education Department, compulsory education, with fees and equal treatment of the English and Dutch languages. Provision was made for the use of the home language as the medium up to Standard IV but the gradual introduction of the second language as a subsidiary medium. The latter provision caused considerable dissatisfaction, as the parents had little or no say as to whether or not their child should learn the second language, and because of the large number of unilingual English teachers. The situation was made more difficult by strict provisions regarding the medium to be used in examinations and the certification of teachers.

In 1910 a new Superintendent of Education, Dr. W. J. Viljoen, was faced with the establishment of

opposition schools, the English "Council Schools". However, the Act of Union in the same year, establishing the equality of English and Dutch, resulted in a revision of Orange Free State language clauses making bilingualism effective for both races.

Recent Progress

Subsequent to the Union considerable development occurred in commercial and industrial education, and also in Native education. As many teachers took part in the rebellion of 1914, disciplinary regulations were passed, and finally the teachers were placed under the same regulations as the civil servants. Since the First Great War education has developed in the Orange Free State along lines similar to, although less expensive than, those prevailing in the Transvaal.

Present Status

For several years a centralization policy has been followed, based on the provision of hostels and motor transport. Despite limitations imposed by the second Great War, the number of small schools has been steadily reduced.

In 1945 the Provincial Council and Administration approved compulsory attendance of European pupils to age sixteen, irrespective of grade level attained. This is the highest demarcation line for compulsory attendance in the Union and implements a tradition of fifty years standing, as the Free State, in 1895, was the first South African

government to pass a measure for compulsory attendance.[3] The average percentage of school attendance has varied since 1921 between ninety and ninety-five percent.

With the cooperation of the Union government funds were made available, since 1944, for the feeding of all European, Coloured and Native pupils. In the ten years since 1935 twenty-seven school halls and nine swimming baths have been built, the cost being equally divided between provincial and local authorities. The supply of library books has greatly increased and plans are being laid to build library rooms. In 1946 cumulative record cards were developed to assist in scientific educational and vocational guidance.[4]

Coloured schools, which formerly were under the Native educational administration, have now been transferred to the control of the school boards and the Education Department. There are, however, only two thousand pupils in Coloured schools. Of the one-hundred-twenty thousand Native children in the Free State, approximately one-half do not attend school.[5]

At present an Education Commission is conducting

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[3] Report of the Education Department, Orange Free State Province 1945. Bloemfontein, p. 9.

[4] Report of the Education Department, Orange Free State Province 1946. Bloemfontein, p. 77.

[5] Report of the Education Department, Orange Free State Province 1945. Bloemfontein, p. 13.

an inquiry into the educational system of the Free State. Fortunately the recent developments in gold mining in the province suggest that adequate financial resources for education may be made available. The terms of reference of the Education Commission are very broad and indicate attention to practically all modern developments in education.[6] A few of the subjects the Commission is to study are indicated here: centralization, technical education, inspection and examinations, post-school and pre-school education, vocational guidance, use of radio and films, special education for deviate children and psychological guidance.

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[6] Report of the Education Department, Orange Free State Province 1946. Bloemfontein, pp. 6-7.

APPENDIX C

Industrial, Technical, Agricultural and Vocational Education in South Africa

Introduction

The matter of secondary education of the non-academic type in South Africa is so complicated by historical factors, so divided as to authority, administration and financing and so important to the future of South Africa that it is wise to consider the problem as a whole rather than attempt to deal with it in detail in the various chapters on the educational work of the separate provinces and of the Union government.

Historical Background

Malherbe, in his fine analysis of the situation in his article "Technical Education in South Africa" opens with the following paragraphs, which suggest the nature of the problem.

> "The development of technical and vocational education in South Africa is a reflection of the country's social and political conditions. In comparison with other types, the history of this type of education is recent and its growth has been very rapid."
>
> "As a Protestant country the people always believed in education and they were willing to pay for it, not individually so much but through State funds. For example, the amount that the State spends on ordinary primary and secondary education in South Africa per pupil (22 pounds) is about as much as in the other Dominions and

> Great Britain. Also, probably, we keep our pupils longer at school. But the type of education people believed in was "book" education. It was education of the academic type, which if pursured long enough would lead to university and the professions. It had very little to do with the work of the world, that is, the work one does with one's hands."[1]

The causes of this condition lie in the fact that South Africa is composed of a dominant White minority "all aristocrats" and mainly farmers, with no artisan tradition and a dislike of manual labour as "Kaffir work". Evidence from the depression of the 1930's proved nevertheless that Whites who were lazy on the land would work quite industriously in both the skilled and unskilled fields in the mines, and on the railways and in the factories. Between 1911 and 1930 the number of European factory workers increased from twenty-one thousand to one hundred and twenty thousand. The industrialization which came with the war of 1939-45 greatly developed the interest and ability of the Whites in skilled industrial employment. Afrikaners particularly of the former "Poor White" farmer class, are moving to the industrial towns. The problem as it now exists is twofold: first, to educate the young Whites for industry; second, to keep the non-Europeans out of skilled and semi-skilled industrial employment to preserve that

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[1] Malherbe, Ernst G. "Technical Education in South Africa." The Year Book of Education. London, 1939, pp. 665-689.

area of employment for the Whites.

Early Developments

Industrial education began first for Natives and Coloured, under Governor Sir George Grey in 1855, and during the six years that followed as much was spent for training of Natives to be carpenters, tailors, masons, shoemakers and skilled farm workers as for education of Whites. The plan gradually dwindled, but the sentiment remained: "Teach the Native the Bible and teach him to work." Ironically, as soon as the Native competed with White workers, the colour bar was erected, limiting him to work in Native areas. For this reason industrial education of Natives languished.

The efforts of the Education Department of Cape Province to introduce, about 1880, industrial training into the European schools met with opposition. This was partly because many of the farm boys could attend only part time and badly needed the "three R's". A second reason lay in the fact that practically all early South Africans were either professional people, officials, merchants and landowners. The few others preferred adventure, such as transport riding, to artisan work.

Industrial Education

The genesis of industrial education in South Africa is made clear by the following paragraphs:

> "Underlying all education of a 'practical' nature, such as industrial, vocational and technical education in this country, there are

> to be found two traditions, two main motives which worked in two different directions and sometimes conflicted ... Technical education had quite a different origin and motive all along from that of industrial education in this country. The former developed directly out of the needs of the industry itself and carried with it the British or continental tradition of a highly skilled artisan."
>
> "Industrial education was born out of poverty, misery, wars and epidemics. As education it was considered more suitable for the destitute, the delinquent and the defective. The motive was social salvage, and the Church, particularly the Dutch Reformed Church, generally took the initiative."[2]

In 1893 the Cape Assembly was persuaded to develop schools for Poor Whites in which manual should take precedence over intellectual instruction for indigent and neglected children. The instructors tended to be religious people rather than technicians, and the pupils rarely rose above the level of handymen. An additional stigma was attached to these schools by temporary association with the Department of Prisons and the committing of children under the Children's Protection Act. Only in later years has the Union Education Department been able, by means of its trade and agricultural schools, to make vocational education even approach respectability. This tradition of charity and delinquency has been bad for education and bad for industry. Even more tragic is the fact that many of the boys and girls trained at these Union industrial, vocational and agricultural schools could not find work. A follow-up study, about 1938, showed that about one-third of trainees were

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[2] ibid, p. 667.

working in the occupation for which they had training, about one-third in some other occupation, and one-third were without any work.

As at 1945 there were twelve of such "Schools of Industries" offering primary and some secondary education along with courses in several trades. The student body of these schools is composed of children committed under the Children's Act, the causes being destitution and neglect in seventy-five percent of the cases, and uncontrollability and minor delinquencies in the balance. The regime is definitely educational, not penal. There are in addition two reformatory schools under the Union Department of Education.[3]

It should be made clear at this point that despite the criticisms rightly levelled by the South African educators at the deficiencies of their own "industrial" schools, such schools represent a definite attempt by the state to deal effectively with the problem of "committed" children. The aim in such schools is similar to the major aim underlying the operation of the Children's Act of 1937, the progressive consolidating measure under which the Schools of Industries were turned over to the Union Education Department. The basic principle of this Act is that "the treatment of juvenile delinquency cannot be wholly met by

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[3] A Brief Description of Education in South Africa, Pretoria: The National Bureau of Educational and Social Research, 1946, p. 23.

purely penal or deterrent measures, but that it must ... emphasize the constructive principles of re-education and social rehabilitation."[4]

Technical Education

> "The origin and motivation of technical education were different. It was born out of a frank recognition of the increasing industrialization and commercialization of South Africa. In the effort these needs technical education has largely escaped the stigma of poverty and inferiority which has been associated with vocational and industrial education. It is fee-paying and not free. Its students stand on their own feet. It has accordingly developed into a much more flourishing branch of the educational system, if numbers afford a criterion."[5]

The first provision for the technical training of youth was made in the railway shops about 1895. About the same time the South African School of Mines was organized, which institution has developed into the University of the Witwatersrand. This, and to a considerable extent the technical colleges established later, comes within the province of "higher education", which is outside the scope of this study. Within the technical colleges, however, both "higher" and "secondary" education are carried on, and it is almost impossible to differentiate between the two fields.

Technical Colleges.- The basis for the establishment of technical colleges was laid by two acts; first, the

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[4] Official Year Book of the Union of South Africa, Chapter V, Social Conditions. Pretoria: Government Printer, 1946, p. 14.

[5] Malherbe, Ernst G. op. cit. p. 669.

Apprenticeship Act of 1922, which provided for the regulation of apprentices involving compulsory attendance at technical classes; second, the Higher Education Act of 1923, which brought the institutes for technical education under the Union Department of Education and provided for their development as technical colleges. The provincial departments of education had neither the interest nor the resources to provide for this new and expensive education. In addition to two institutions incorporated under this act in 1923, six more technical colleges were developed prior to 1939, all from part-time classes formed from apprentice and commercial employees. The largest is the Witwatersrand Technical College with over eleven thousand students, plus nine thousand who receive instruction by correspondence. It includes a central technical college, a training school for domestic science teachers, schools of arts and crafts, aeronautics, commerce, and trades, an important mining department, a physical education department and a three-year post-matriculation training course for nursery school teachers. This and other technical schools in South Africa provide an approach to the universities which has not been possible through the technical schools of many other countries.

In commercial work the South African technical schools offer two and three-year courses after the completion of Standard VI (Grade VIII) and one-year intensive courses for those with a thorough secondary education. The

courses are generally rather narrow, lacking cultural content. Typing, shorthand and bookkeeping need to be supplemented by both general commercial courses and cultural subjects.

Part-Time Courses.- Dr. Spencer, authority on British technical education states:

> "The backbone of the demand for part-time courses which are everywhere the largest part of the technical college work is formed by the apprentices attending under the Apprenticeship Act, which, in its operation, is in advance of British practice."[6]

Under the terms of this act, compulsory attendance of pupils is required four hours a week during working hours, and four hours in the evening. Dr. Spencer concludes that in general the system is a success but comments: "The presence at a technical school of the apprentice does not invariably mean that he imbibes knowledge eagerly." This impression is confirmed by the author of this thesis, who visited Witwatersrand Technical College and heard several reports from teachers to the effect that many of the apprentices showed no interest in learning, for if they merely attended their eventual journeyman status was secure. This situation was improved during the war, and is still undergoing modification to ensure actual learning on the part of the apprentices.

Apprentices who have completed their compulsory

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[6] ibid, p. 681.

courses may attend subsequent voluntary courses toward the National Technical Certificate, for which the requirements are differentiated with respect to the various trades.

Financing of Technical Colleges.- The financial arrangements for technical colleges have been unsatisfactory for many years, and the subsidy scheme devised in 1935 failed to work. Each technical college is a corporation, with an independent governing body, partly nominated and partly representative of the community. The Union government merely "aids" their work, but the governing bodies have no tax-raising powers. Therefore their only sources of revenue, other than government grants of about fifty percent of their maintenance costs, are gifts and fees. The trade, industrial, housecraft and special schools, and the few commercial and technical high schools, are, on the other hand, full maintained by the Union government. In 1937 one-third of the income of the technical colleges came from fees, which work out to approximately fifteen pounds per full-time student. Further, the principal of a college and the chairman of the governors never know for sure the basis of government granting or how much will be granted.

On the one hand it would seem that technical colleges, which are primarily urban in nature and of specific benefit to the local community, should receive some local tax support. On the other hand, there is no tradition nor practice in South Africa for either school board or municipal financing of education. Therefore it would appear obvious

that the Union government must either provide for such local financing supplemented by an equitable and "compensatory" system of grants, or, more likely, it must assume the full responsibility for financing the technical colleges. The grants made must be such as to practically eliminate fees, and to provide bursaries, if practical and technical training in South Africa is to assume its rightful place beside, not below, academic education.

Agricultural Schools

A most serious result of the confused jurisdiction and financial responsibility in non-academic secondary education has been the lack of satisfactory agricultural education in the rural districts districts.[7]

A statistical analysis made about 1934 indicated that some forty-seven percent of school boys went in for farming, yet only fifty-eight percent had completed Standard VI, and only five percent had any agricultural training whatsoever. As almost half of the fathers of these embryo farmers possessed no land for farming it is obvious that many of these young men should have been trained for other occupations. Another interesting fact revealed was that the sons of those farmers who possess land tend to complete their matriculation and that a very small proportion of these return to farming. When the difficulties of making a success

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[7] Malherbe, Ernst G. "The Education of the Adolescent in the Union of South Africa." The Year Book of Education. London, 1937, p. 201.

of agriculture in South Africa are considered, it appears certain that both intelligence and training are necessary to develop a successful farming class. Neither of these elements appears to be channeled toward agriculture by the provincial systems of academic education as it existed prior to 1936.[8]

The Union Department of Education has had in operation for many years several good agricultural schools providing two or three years of agricultural training chiefly to poorer boys, enabling them to become farm foremen. Unfortunately the prejudice against such "charity" schools and the dualism in educational administration between the Union and the provinces resulted in only a small attendance at such schools. Only in the 1930's was provision made whereby successful graduates might acquire land.

When, in 1925, the financial difficulties of the provinces necessitated the turning over to the Union government all authority for technical, vocational and agricultural education, it appeared as if the rural education offered by the provinces would continue to be purely academic and without any agricultural bias. In all the provinces the isolated one and two-teacher rural school was the characteristic educational unit. All provinces, however, particularly the Transvaal and the Orange Free State directed strong efforts

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[8] Malherbe, Ernst G. "Cultural and Economic Forces in South African Education." The Year Book of Education 1936, London, p. 664.

toward centralization of rural education, through the building of central schools, the provision of transportation or hostels, and the awarding of academic, boarding and transportation bursaries. As centralization was achieved it became obvious to certain provincial education authorities, especially in the Cape and the Transvaal that the stress placed in such schools on purely academic education directed toward passing external examinations tended seriously to minimize the importance of farm activities in the minds of the pupils.

The movement to rural education directed at least in part toward the school operation of a farm began in the Cape in the 1930's, and several such semi-agricultural schools are now in operation in the Cape Province. This plan was developed by the Transvaal about 1936 as the basis of its residential school farms which have been described in Chapters XVI and XVII.

Union educational authorities at first objected to such provincial infringement of Union authority in agricultural education, but as it was generally agreed that rural education should have some agricultural bias the operation of agricultural schools, other than colleges, was returned to the provinces in 1938. Four of the agricultural "colleges" retained by the Union still provide purely agricultural courses at the secondary level.

Education of the "Poor Whites"

Related to the whole matter of vocational guidance

is the basic problem of "Poor Whiteism" in South Africa. Long before Union it was realized by many thinking South Africans that there was a tendency for certain White families to sink down to or even below the economic level of the non-Europeans. The seriousness of the situation was not fully realized until 1932, when the Carnegie Commission revealed that one-sixth of the White population could be classed as "Poor Whites".

The great bulk of the Poor Whites were rural Afrikaners, "bywoners" or renters on the farms. Their depression has been mainly a result of the rapid transition in South Africa from an agricultural to a mining and industrial economy - a transition for which the school failed to prepare or equip its pupils. The inheritance laws and droughts of South Africa were also causatory factors, but the major cause lay in the inability of the unskilled White to compete with the supply of cheap Native labour. Neither industries nor an artisan tradition existed in South Africa to provide suitable alternatives to agriculture for young "bywoners". In his white skin and in his refusal to do "Kaffir work" lay his only symbols of superiority. Actual experience has proven, however, that under proper auspices, the Poor White can and will do even unskilled labour more effectively than the Native, who is not an efficient worker. Nevertheless, the South African Poor White has to develop considerably before he can compete with the European unskilled or skilled labour

of other countries.

The early emphasis on education merely as the gateway to literacy, church membership and respectability completely ignored economic forces and helped unwittingly to lay the basis for Poor Whiteism. The later stress on academic education provided the opportunity for a few clever young Poor Whites to escape from their predicament, but left the lot of the rest worse than before, for vocational and agricultural education to meet their needs was almost completely neglected. Government attempts to provide relief, agricultural subsidies and like palliatives did almost more harm than good, for it encouraged the bulk of Poor Whites to become dependent, rather than helping to eradicate the cause of their depression.

After the revelation of the Carnegie Commission, educators, now somewhat freed from nationalistic and cultural preoccupations began to pay more attention to economic and social forces. They found that the industrial schools founded after the Boer War to train rural Poor White boys in shoemaking, carpentry and blacksmith work, and girls in domestic work had rather failed in their purpose. By 1910 there were only four hundred pupils in such schools. When the Prisons Department established similar schools for destitutes and delinquents, the coup-de-grace was practically given to the possibility of vocational schools as a solution of the educational problem of the Poor Whites. It has taken the

Union Education Department over thirty years, since 1917, to overcome the prejudice against "vocational" education, and to develop, along with the provinces, vocational and agricultural education which will help solve the problem of the Poor Whites. The developments indicated in other sections of this study indicate the good work that is being done.

Education, however, is only a partial solution of Poor Whiteism. As Malherbe points out:

> "Dull children are being added more rapidly to our population than bright children ... This isolation, this immobility of the population, which leads to social inbreeding and deterioration are ... among the root causes of Poor-Whiteism."[9]

The Report of the Social Security Committee, 1944, suggests the broad measures that must be taken to combat Poor Whiteism and conditions of depression among non-Europeans, in the following paragraph:

> "The general raising of living standards cannot be achieved without consideration of such means as education and training, better nutrition, improved health and social services, better housing and planned towns, farming reorganization, modernization and expansion of industry, extension of employment opportunities in industry and elsewhere, cheapening of distribution and a realignment of transportation and taxation policies."[10]

The problem of Poor Whiteism cannot be passed over

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[9] Sowden, Lewis. The Union of South Africa. New York: Doubleday Doran and Company, Inc., 1943, p. 138.

[10] Report of the Social Security Committee, Union of South Africa. Pretoria: Government Printer, 1944, p. 6.

without some suggestion of its effects on policies concerning the non-European population. It is only natural that, confronted with the plight of the Poor Whites, many South Africans should conclude that a possible solution is to be found not only in the raising of the level of the Poor Whites, but in the fixation of the non-European at a still lower level, so that the Poor White will be at least relatively better off. This point of view explains much of the opposition to increasing educational facilities for non-Europeans and to the provision of opportunities for them to engage in semi-skilled or skilled labour.

Vocational Guidance

As early as 1915 the Department of Mines and Industries brought about the appointment of Juvenile Boards in the large towns. The same department administers the Apprenticeship Act, inaugurated in 1922.

The last few years have seen important developments in the provision of vocational guidance, especially in the Cape and in the Transvaal. The Union government has encouraged such developments, which come within the provinces of both the Department of Education and the Department of Labour. The Registration for Employment Act of 1945 provides that principals of schools must supply the Department of Labour with certain information concerning all juveniles who leave school and seek employment. This is provided in the form of a cumulative school record card, together with other

information as desired by each province, to serve the purposes of both educational and vocational guidance. None of the information is to be divulged to employers or private bodies "other than in the form of a positive recommendation as to the occupations for which the juvenile may be best suited." This scheme of guidance and placement of juveniles also envisages a central bureau to collect and disseminate information concerning occupations, occupational trends, wages, etc. An important element in the scheme is that it calls for professionally-trained persons to form a body of employment officers.[11]

Problems Requiring Solution

To meet the needs of the smaller towns continuation classes have been established in twenty-four different centres, comprising two thousand four hundred students in 1937. The rural children are still at a great disadvantage, however. Although the Union Department of Education provides a few bursaries, more are needed. In South Africa as a whole, and in the Orange Free State and Transvaal particularly, where academic high school education is free and there are also bursaries and bursary loans for the rural child, "the dice are loaded" - heavily, for academic as against technical education of the rural child. The technical colleges are fee-paying institutions, and although for apprentices, employers pay the fees, the pre-apprenticeship, post-

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[11] Cook, P. A. W. "South Africa". The Year Book of Education. London, 1948, p. 199.

apprenticeship and commercial students must finance themselves.

Another factor militating against the vocational and technical schools was the fact that Union subsidies to the provincial academic schools were paid on a per pupil basis, so that it was definitely against the interests of the staff and school committees of such schools to release pupils to the Union vocational schools. Even the salary of the principal might suffer by such a release. Further, entrance to most of the Union vocational schools was based on the successful completion of Standard VI instead of the attainment of a certain age. As a result of this a high proportion of pupils spent their last school years in a vain attempt to fulfil an academic requirement rather than benefiting from differentiated education during those years.[12] Using the criterion of the Hadow Report, about thirty-eight percent of the South African primary school population of 1936 should have been receiving differentiated education in a secondary school.[13] Further, a study made in 1943 indicated that only fifty-five percent of the total number of European children over fifteen are in school at all.[14]

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[12] Malherbe, Ernst G. "Cultural and Economic Forces in South African Education." The Year Book of Education 1936. London, p. 658.

[13] Year Book of Education. London, 1937, p. 210.

[14] Report #2 of the Social and Economic Planning Council, Union of South Africa. Pretoria: Government Printer, 1944, p. 94.

The institution by the Transvaal Education Department of junior high schools, in 1938, provides a threat to the technical colleges. These junior high schools providing domestic science, commercial and trades training duplicating that of the technical colleges are free, and will undoubtedly weaken the position of the technical colleges. The action of the Transvaal is in contravention of an undertaking, in 1925 (when the Union took over vocational education) not to introduce commercial and technical subjects into its schools.

A further difficulty has been introduced by the Transvaal action in that pupils enter the junior high schools after Standard V, whereas they enter the technical colleges after Standard VI. This will introduce serious discontinuity for those transferring to technical colleges.

A basic fault in the present apprenticeship system with its related part-time compulsory technical college training has already been mentioned - "the total absence of any considerations of quality in the training which an apprentice undergoes under the normal apprenticeship system. All that seems to count is mere length of time served."[15] This system takes no account either of effort nor of individual differences. The employer is the obstacle to change, for the longer he can keep the boy under apprenticeship, the less he has to pay.

The investigations of the Social and Economic

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[15] Malherbe, Ernst G. "Technical Education in South Africa." The Year Book of Education. London, 1939, p. 683.

Planning Council in 1944 revealed that over a period of sixteen years only 28,500 trained artisans and engineers had been developed from among the 605,000 Europeans reaching the age of sixteen in this period, and only some 7,000 skilled agricultural workers were trained in the same period. Fortunately the deficiency in agricultural trainees is now being made up by the school farms. Nevertheless the proportion receiving vocational and agricultural training compared to the ratio in the United States is very low.[16]

On recommendation of the Planning Council to alleviate the situation was the shortening of the period of apprenticeship below the usual five years, with a higher preliminary educational requirement and improved trades training facilities. This should involve classes during working hours, the passing of such courses (rather than mere attendance) being prerequisite to the attainment of journeyman status. A further recommendation is that apprenticeship training in many trades is now not as essential as previously, and that the emphasis should be on a general and vocational education linked up with the ordinary school system. To study and effect such recommendations the Planning Committee suggested establishment of a broadly-based special committee to consider the necessary modification and coordination in South African education.[17]

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[16] Report #2 of the Social and Economic Planning Council, Union of South Africa. Pretoria: Government Printer, 1944, p. 95.

[17] ibid, p. 96.

The Need for Coordination

The proposal for the Union Education Department to take over control of all vocational, industrial and technical education was made at the Durban Conference of 1924. Malherbe comments on this decision as follows:

> "Whatever this measure will accomplish it will only succeed in perpetuating the already serious gap between "vocational" and "culture" - a division which will have the most disastrous consequences on the educational and social life of South Africa."[18]

A related recommendation of the Education Administration Commission of 1923 suggested that the Union government should accept responsibility for the whole reasonable cost of compulsory education of all types. Malherbe feels that this step might result eventually in the elimination of the Provincial Councils. Combining these two factors the same authority on South African education reaches the conclusion, (with which this author strongly agrees) that:

> "Whatever happens, the fact remains that no educational system that is divided into arbitrary sections will answer to the needs of South Africa, and the sooner we come to regard the organization of our education as one organic unity the better."[19]

There is need, therefore, for a bridging of the present gap between the administration of the provincial

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[18] Malherbe, Ernst G. Education in South Africa (1652-1922). Capetown: Juta and Company, 1925, p. 434.

[19] ibid, p. 435.

"academic" type of education and the practical and technical education provided by the Union Education Department. There should be one central control of all types of education, at least at the secondary level. The proposals of the Inter-Provincial Consultative Committee for a National Education Board to coordinate all education at the adolescent level may provide a solution. The major stumbling block appears to be the vested interests of the academic school - its teaching and administrative bodies.

As has been mentioned, immediately following the war of 1939-45, on the recommendation of the Social and Economic Planning Council, a commission was appointed to investigate technical and vocational education in the Union in general including the matter of apprenticeship. Particularly to be studied is the advisability of greater provision for instruction of a vocational character in the curricula of the primary and secondary schools which provide education of a general character, and the scope of vocational and technical schools. Within the purview of this commission comes the whole matter of the respective places and relationships of the Union and provincial education departments, and the desirability of coordination.[20]

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[20] Cook, P. A. W. op. cit. p. 200.

APPENDIX D

Examinations in South Africa

Introduction

"There is no aspect of the educational system which looms larger in the public eye in South Africa than examinations."[1]

This unequivocal statement by the outstanding authority on education in South Africa supplies adequate reason for the inclusion in this study of a short section on the subject of examinations - a subject which crops up in practically every discussion with South Africans about their educational policies and procedures.

As an indication of the wide coverage of the examination system in South Africa it should be made clear that ninety-four percent of the European pupils attend public schools, where there are as many as three levels of state external examinations. Of the six percent who attend private schools practically all take state examinations the same as or similar to those used in the public schools. Even non-Europeans who reach the level of Standard VI (Grade VIII) or higher, take the same state external examinations.

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[1] Malherbe, Ernst G. "Examinations in South Africa", The Year Book of Education. London, 1938, p. 199.

Development of the Examination System

In addition to the reasons common to all countries for the emphasis on examinations there are historical factors in South Africa which account for the almost unassailable prestige of examinations in its educational system. First, as an isolated country with a tradition of European civilization and high respect for learning, examinations are seen as one sure means of maintaining scholastic standards in the face of disintegrating influences. The second reason is to be found in the early centralization of control of education, contrasting strongly with the situation in the pioneer United States. A third reason lies in the influence of the Dutch Reformed Church, of which the confirmation examination was the entrance to approved adult status, and was often known as the "Boer Matric".[2]

As a result of these influences, a Board of Examiners was established in 1858, with power to award certificates in many fields. This was replaced in 1873 by the University of the Cape of Good Hope, an examining and degree-granting body. Thus the external examination became firmly established in South Africa, and was extended to the lower schools as examination by inspectors, who used printed test cards. This emphasis on external examinations had two main results: first, emphasis by teachers on those parts of the curriculum readily measurable; second, an attitude of distaste and fear toward inspection. Since tradition dies hard, the external

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[2]ibid, p. 199.

examination, particularly at the terminal stages, continues to hold a major place, and only slowly are increased flexibility and teacher participation being introduced. A system of accredited schools would be viewed with alarm in South Africa. Even many of the teaching body covertly approve of the present system, for it permits them to "work up" their schools (and incidentally, their own salaries) through an outstanding record in the examinations.

The Matriculation Examination

The Matriculation or "Senior Certificate" examination for university entrance is now conducted by the Joint Matriculation Board - "the greatest single force making for uniformity in South African education."

> "Through the Joint Matriculation Board the universities dominated the high schools and the demands of the latter again influenced the work of the primary schools. What is more, the character of the work of the school was dominated by the historical fact that the matriculation examination was primarily a test of 'clerks', and the entrance to the white-collar professions."[3]

In 1937, only three out of one hundred school entrants and twenty-five percent of Standard X pupils entered university, yet university requirements dominated the whole preceding educational system. Since most business concerns showed very strong preference for matriculants, the same examination was obviously being used to serve a dual purpose.

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[3] ibid, p. 203.

School-Leaving Certificate

In 1918, when the Joint Matriculation Board was constituted, representation was given to both the Education Departments and the teaching profession, and proposals were soon made by the latter for a School-Leaving Certificate to serve functions other than university entrance. Soon after, the Joint Matriculation Board recognized the School-Leaving Certificates of the Cape and the Transvaal as exempting students from matriculation examinations where the prescribed combination of subjects has been taken, and a similar situation now exists with respect to the Orange Free State. In addition, the National Senior Certificate granted by the Union Education Department to technical college graduates has been approved as an exemption from the matriculation examination. The Joint Matriculation Board in 1936 also introduced its own School-Leaving Certificates. In 1937 it included oral tests as a part of the examinations in the official language.

Influence of the State Examination System

Despite the modifications indicated, and a list of forty subjects theoretically available, in 1937 some seventy-five percent of the secondary school pupils were forced by circumstances - chiefly by the limited offerings of small schools - to take the following subjects for high-school leaving: English, Afrikaans, Latin or German, Mathematics, Science and History.

It should be noted that although there are five bodies conducting leaving and matriculation examinations, they are all even yet subject to the general control of the Joint Matriculation Board, which may modify every paper set. This Board fundamentally represents the universities and the five Education Departments. The only oral examinations included are in the languages, but in the Cape there are practical examinations in needlework, cookery and woodwork, and in the Transvaal, the "school record" of the pupil counts for one-third of the final mark - unless it diverges too widely from the results of the final examination.

Junior Certificate Examination

Another examination which has a nationwide status is the Junior Certificate Examination, taken at the end of Standard VIII. These are now conducted by the provincial departments of education, except in Natal, and tend to be less and less of an external nature. The Joint Matriculation Board has turned over to the University of South Africa the responsibility for the Junior Certificate examination for Natal and the private schools. In the Transvaal, the completion of the Junior Certificate permits withdrawal from school, and throughout the Union the examination is taken, often voluntarily, and considered as the completion of general education. It is the minimum requirement for many positions in the Civil Service and for many occupations.

Primary School Certificates

The Primary School Certificate is the terminal examination for primary schools (Standard VI or Grade VIII) and the possible end of schooling in the Cape and Natal provinces. Nevertheless, forty percent of those starting school do not attain it, having reached the age of sixteen prior to such achievement. This Primary Certificate is the minimum requirement for the Civil Service and the railways, and for entrance into almost all skilled trades. As an "I.Q." of eighty-five appears to be the minimum necessary to pass this examination, and as fifteen percent of the population have intelligence quotients below this figure and are thus debarred from the skilled trades, the placement of such "subnormals" is a very serious socio-economic problem. This is especially true in South Africa because unskilled labour is considered "Kaffir work".

Even the Primary School Certificate examinations are still generally external and academic, rather than internal and practical. One reason for this is the use of this certificate as a prerequisite to employment; another is its use for the awarding of bursaries to assist in advanced studies. Such bursaries are, incidentally, financially weighted about twenty to one in favour of academic rather than technical education. In the Transvaal this Standard VI examination was finally abolished in 1941.[4]

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[4] Report of the Transvaal Education Department, 1942. Pretoria: Government Printer, 1946, pp. 6-7.

Technical School Examinations

Passing of the Primary School Certificate is necessary to entrance into apprenticeship and into the technical schools and colleges. After two years of technical, commercial or domestic science work a Technical Junior Certificate examination is given. Two years later the student may attempt the National Technical Certificate or the Commercial Senior Certificate. After two years' study beyond the National Technical Certificate the student may take the National Senior Certificate examination which is the equivalent of Matriculation and provides a path to the universities for advanced students of the technical schools and colleges.[5]

The Influence of the Examination System

The examination system in South Africa is a major factor in the academic emphasis and retardation which has resulted in the augmenting of Poor Whiteism. Malherbe is the authority responsible for this serious charge, and he states further:[6]

> "It was more eliminative and selective in its function than in fruitifying the minds of the young people by making the school worthwhile to them for as far as they can go."

Developing this charge, and using figures valid in 1936, Malherbe continues:

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[5] A Brief Description of Education in South Africa, 1946. Pretoria: The National Bureau of Educational and Social Research, p. 22.

[6] Malherbe, Ernst G. op. cit., p. 661

"Thus it comes about that the interests of the three percent who go to university dictate the nature of the education of the ninety-seven percent who do not go ... This blind determinism in the educational field is probably the biggest tragedy in our secondary education."

The serious proportion of dropouts from this overwhelmingly academic educational program is suggested by the following quotation:

"Some ninety percent of the total (European children) attend the Standard VI course but only eleven per hundred reach matriculation standard."[7]

Since 1936 there has been a substantial lessening of the strictures of state external examinations. However, the problem is extremely difficult to solve, because of the public demand for matriculation courses and standings. It has been suggested by several conferences that after an age break at thirteen, the pupils should be directed to the most suitable type of course through a thoroughgoing continuous system of vocational guidance. The implementation of this plan in the junior high schools of the Transvaal has been outlined in the final chapter on education in that province.

A new factor which may help mitigate the evils of the academic essay-type examination prevalent in South Africa is the successful application of applied psychology in the selection of personnel during the war years. A National

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[7] Report #2 of the Social and Economic Planning Council, Union of South Africa. Pretoria: Government Printer, 1944, p. 79.

Bureau of Personnel Research has been established and there is a quickened interest in the schools in intelligence and aptitude testing and in the use of standardized achievement tests.[8]

The hardships and heartbreaks which rest from the dominance of academic education, and the continuing universality of the external examination at the higher levels, are suggested by results of the Joint Matriculation Board Matriculation Certificate examinations for 1944-45 which indicate that of the 2,777 candidates 1,210 obtained the Matriculation Certificate, 595 were granted the School-Leaving Certificate and 972, or over one-third were "complete failure".[9] It is evident that under such conditions education becomes primarily selective in function. South Africa is well-advised in the moves it is gradually making away from the external academic examination.

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[8] Cook, P. A. W. "South Africa". The Year Book of Education. London, 1948, p. 189.

[9] Official Year Book of the Union of South Africa, 1946. Chapter VIII, Education. Pretoria: Government Printer, p. 13.

APPENDIX E

Non-European Education in South Africa

Introduction

> "European education is mainly public or state education, i.e., administered and financed by the State, private or local enterprise playing a very diminutive role, while non-European education is mainly state-aided education. That is, it is partly supported and controlled by mission enterprise. The relative contribution of the State therefore for non-European education is very small in comparison with that for European education. European and non-European children do not attend the same schools. While segregation is difficult in other respects, in education it is complete."[1]

The preceding quotation makes it clear that non-European is fundamentally "private" rather than "public" education, and as such it hardly comes within the scope of this thesis. On the other hand it does receive an increasing proportion of state aid. Moreover, the problem of non-European education is so vital in South Africa that it is essential to give it some attention if for no other purpose than to understand European education.

As has been made clear the "non-European" majority of the South African population is prohibited by the "colour bar" from attendance at the "European" schools. As each "non-European" group, Native (Bantu), Coloured and Asiatic

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[1] Official Year Book of the Union of South Africa, 1946, Chapter VIII, Education. Pretoria: Government Printer, p. 3.

(Indian) is a distinct entity with its own language and cultural traditions and its own pride and way of life; because each came into the educational picture at different periods; and since the bulk of each has a particular geographic location, there are different school systems for each of the three groups.

Definition

All persons whose racial origin is other than that of the European White races are classified as non-Europeans, and this group includes all those whose blood contains any "taint" whatever of non-European blood.

The largest group of non-Europeans are the "Natives", mainly Bantu. Native education is quite distinct from the education of the other main group of non-Europeans, the Coloured. In Natal a further distinction is made between Coloured and Indian education.

Administration

In all provinces the Provincial Council is the legislative authority in regard to non-European education, the provincial Education Department, under the Executive Council, being the executive authority. Within each Education Department there is a specialist officer, the Chief Inspector of Native Education. The supervision of Coloured education varies in each province; in the Cape a separate "Coloured" branch of the Education Department has been established; in Natal, it rests with the Inspector of Indian Education; in the Free State, with the Chief Inspector of

Native Education; in the Transvaal "Coloured" schools are administered as ordinary government schools.

"Coloured" Education

The Coloured population developed early in South African history; and as it contains White blood, is dominantly Christian, and gained civil rights in Cape Province at the beginning of the nineteenth century, it has perhaps the best claim to schools at near the European level. In Cape Province, where the bulk of the 800,000 Coloured live, the province makes substantial grants to Coloured schools, which are however still dominantly mission schools. Although attendance is not yet compulsory, it is free up to Standard VI (Grade VIII)[2] and by The Coloured Education Ordinance, 1945, the Administrator may declare attendance compulsory where school accommodation is available. This Ordinance also provides for an annual grant of one hundred thousand pounds for ten years to build schools for Coloured children and permits the setting up of Coloured school committees.[3] Cape province, by raising the level of training and status of Coloured teachers, and by inspection by the regular inspectors, has done much to raise Coloured education to a level comparable with "European" education, considering the social, economic and intellectual background of the Coloured people.

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[2] South and East African Year Book, 1939. London, England: Sampson Low, Marston & Co., p. 43.

[3] Cook, P. A. W. "South Africa". The Year Book of Education. London, 1948, p. 200.

In all provinces the curriculum in Coloured schools is generally the same as in the European schools. Primary education of Coloured pupils is free in Natal where attendance is compulsory, but fees are customary in the Transvaal and the Orange Free State. Also, in the Transvaal, Coloured schools are under the authority of the regular school boards, but have no school committees. In this province the Coloured generally use the Afrikaans medium. In the Cape province there is a special curriculum for Coloured schools. Several of the Union's technical colleges provide special classes for Coloured pupils.

Indian Education

The number of Asiatics in South Africa is approximately 220,000, of which over 180,000 are in Natal and 26,000 are in Transvaal. Practically all of these are Indians, the descendants of indentured sugar-plantation workers, now also very active in retail and wholesale trade. As has been mentioned there is a very strong community spirit among them, resulting in close cooperation of Hindus and Moslems in support of education.

Their education is under the Provincial Administration, and is dealt with in a manner more similar to the handling of Coloured than of Native education. There are, however, three great differences between Indian and Coloured as regards education. The first is that the Indians are probably at a higher level intellectually, being comparable to Europeans; the second is that they value education for

cultural, trade and professional reasons; the third is that they have the community spirit and money necessary to get along without missionary help, and to raise their schools much above the level of those of the Coloured. Their teachers, for example, often hold university degrees, gained in India or England.

In all provinces the Indians face serious restrictions. In the Transvaal the most serious of these, educationally, is the inability of an Indian or Indian society to hold land. Thus the Indian community cannot develop school sites and buildings, but can only spend money on externals and internals to be applied to whatever school building the Education Department is willing to provide or the community is able to rent.

In the Cape Province and the Transvaal, primary education for Asiatics is free but no compulsory. In Natal a commission has recommended the gradual introduction of free and compulsory education for Indians.[4] As yet it is not compulsory but is becoming free in the lower standards and will be free to Standard VI by 1950. There is a training college for Indian teachers at Durban, and Indians may graduate from the Native College at Fort Hare. In the Transvaal the 1938 Conference of the Transvaal Teachers' Association urged compulsory attendance for all Indian and Coloured children, but no immediate decision was made by the Education

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[4] South and East African Year Book, 1939. London, England: Sampson Low, Marston & Co., p. 45.

Department.[5]

In Natal, where the vast majority of Indians live, there is a Chief Inspector of Indian Schools. The syllabus is the same as for the European schools, but because of the number of vernacular languages Indian children usually require an extra year in the "sub-standard" grades learning English (or Afrikaans) which is then used as the medium of instruction.[6] There is an Indian technical college in Natal, and special technical classes for Coloured pupils are in effect in the Cape and the Transvaal.

Native Education

Management Authorities.- In all provinces the Provincial Councils are the legislative authorities in regard to Native education, although a commission of 1939 recommended the transfer to Union control. In the Education Department there is usually a Chief Inspector of Native Education and an Advisory Board representative chiefly of missions. In each mission school the Missionary Manager (European, except in Cape Province) wields authority over almost all matters concerning the conduct of the school, subject to approval by the Department. The Transvaal has appointed eight European Superintendents of Schools who act as managers of certain tribal and inter-denominational schools.

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[5] The Transvaal Education News, October 1938, "Resolutions and Official Replies." p. 6.

[6] A Brief Description of Education in South Africa, 1946. Pretoria: The National Bureau of Educational and Social Research, p. 34.

In 1945 a Union Advisory Board on Native Education was established to advise the Union Government and the administrations of the provinces on the maintenance, extension and improvement of education facilities for Natives. This board includes representatives of the governmental bodies, including the Natives Representative Council, and three nominated members.[7]

Financing of Native Education.- The missionary organizations which established Native education eventually found it necessary to seek government financial support. Because of the implications for the Europeans of education of the Native, and because of the increasing demand by the Native for more education, the government began subsidizing Native schools, the grants being conditional upon meeting government conditions of attendance, curriculum and inspection.[8] Since by the Act of Union no special provision was made for Native education it was relegated to the provincial administrations. As early as 1916, the Provincial Administration Commission pointed out the anomaly that although one of the major aims of Union had been a uniform policy in Native affairs, and all Native policy was therefore kept in the hands of the Union Government, Native education, a most potent factor was left in the hands of the provinces "divorced from all connection with the general Native policy of the

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[7] ibid, p. 27.

[8] Rogers, H. Native Administration in the Union of South Africa. Johannesburg: University of Witwatersrand Press, 1932, p. 253.

country."

The attempt of the Transvaal to levy a direct tax on Natives to finance their education led to the Union Government decision to pay subsidies to the provinces for Native education out of revenue derived from direct taxation of the Natives. For twenty years the main source of such grants was the South African Native Trust Fund, to which the Union Government contributed an annual sum of three hundred and forty thousand pounds and taxation of the Natives provided a further sum. By an act of 1945 the amount of the Union contribution was to be decided by parliamentary appropriation.

Supervision and Inspection.- The system of inspection of Native Schools varies with the province. In the Cape the regular district inspectors are responsible; in the other three provinces special inspectors of Native Schools are employed. In all provinces except the Free State there are both Native Supervisors of Schools, to assist the European inspectors, and specialist subject supervisors.

Curriculum.- Special curricula for Native schools have been developed in all provinces, especially in Natal, but they are generally similar to those of the European schools, except that the Native language replaces one of the official languages and there is more stress on handicrafts. Some schools provide secondary and vocational education; there are four Native schools of agriculture and there is one Native college (Fort Hare) where secondary teachers are trained.

To sum up, Native education is voluntary, partially free, denominational, and state-aided, with the percent of state aid steadily increasing. In 1939 there were roughly 300,000 pupils in Native schools, at a state cost of about seven hundred thousand pounds. The number of Natives in the Union at that time was approximately 6,700,000.

The Lower Teachers' Certificate requires Standard VI (Grade VIII) plus a three-year training college course. About sixty-five percent of Native teachers are certificated. The average state cost per pupil in non-European (chiefly Native) schools in the Transvaal was just over one and one-half pounds.[9] However, even in the city of Johannesburg there was, in 1939, school accommodation for only one-third of the Native children of school age.

The Quandary of Education of the Non-European

The quandary regarding the future relations of Europeans and non-Europeans in South Africa is reflected in the similar lack of settled policy regarding the education of the non-Europeans, particularly the Natives, who form an overwhelming majority of the population. The lack of unanimity regarding the extent and nature of the education to be provided or permitted for the Native is indicated by the following quotations, each representing a common viewpoint.

The view of those disparaging Native education or

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[9] Bot, A. K. A Century of Education in the Transvaal. Pretoria: Government Printer, 1936, p. 163.

desiring at most the maintenance of the status quo is respresented in the following paragraphs:

> "As long as the native is encouraged to develop in accordance with his own natural aptitudes, and subject to the due enforcement of law and order, there will be no trouble. He feels that the existing order of things offers the best safeguard for his future prosperity, and that he has more to fear from a reversion to the old system of barbarism and savagery, when the land was a prey to the unbridled ambition of warring chiefs.
>
> "... I do not mean that he should receive no education whatever. On the contrary he should continue to receive elementary education, such as is being imparted to him in certain mission schools. Hitherto a great many educationists have assumed that as soon as a native has learnt to read and write he is capable of being taught philosophy, science and all other subjects which figure in an advanced white students' curriculum. They ignore the fact that in mental development the native is thousands of years behind the white man, and they expect him to leap over the chasm in a day.
>
> "That many natives have a marvellous capacity for acquiring - I will not say assimilating - information cannot be denied ... Most Europeans in South Africa have a strong prejudice against the highly-educated native, and, having regard to the measure to which such natives have frequently put their education (as disclosed by the records of the criminal courts) it cannot be said that this prejudice is without foundation."[10]

The view of the advocates of segregation and of the provision of a separate type of education for the Native is suggested by the subsequent paragraphs.

> "To segregate the native from the white man is not in any sense to deny him education. It is one of the premises of South Africa that the native shall be educated; but the form of the

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[10] Nathan, Manfred. South Africa from Within. London: John Murray, 1926, p. 279.

education is hotly questioned ...

"By segregating the native from the European in domicile, in politics and in society, we would be making that very opportunity for the provision of adequate and suitable education of the native, which we lack today through doubt and indecision ... if she (South Africa) does not educate him (the native), he will eventually educate himself - probably along lines, ... that in the end will be farm more deadly for the white race than white tutelage could ever be."[11]

The missionary opinion is succinctly stated by Dr. Kerr, principal of the South African Native College: "Nothing in my experience of the last twenty years justified any feeling but the most cheerful as to the educability of the Bantu."[12] A general confirmation of this opinion is implicit in the report of the Inter-Departmental Committee in 1936 surveying the question of Native education:

> "A great deal of careful research needs to be undertaken ... before the conclusion can be reached with any degree of scientific certainty that the potential or inborn intelligence of the native is lower than that of the white man."

The Report indicates that even using European tests the average I.Q. of Native teachers and pupils was almost 90.[13]

The effect of the War of 1939-45 on Bantu thinking and on the moral obligation of the White race to educate the non-European is outlined by Sowden as follows:

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[11] Goold-Adams, R. J. M. South Africa Today and Tomorrow. London: John Murray, 1936, p. 65.

[12] Sowden, Lewis. The Union of South Africa. New York: Doubleday Doran & Co., Inc., 1943, p. 196.

[13] ibid, p. 196.

"After three years of war new forces have been gathering in and about Africa which most vitally affect the lives of the people in the South. The convoys that came along the Cape route liberated a black empire on the East coast. In the equatorial West black men stood faithful to the allied cause when they had little enough to hope from it. Men came from India and helped hold the Suez front ... and so made the independence of India an inevitable outcome of the ultimate victory. Democracy, fighting for the rights of the people, cannot deny those rights to the brown peoples or the black."

"The continued subjection of the natives in the status of a slave race is not only a great wrong but also a great folly, which has retarded the development of the country, impaired its efficiency and doomed four-fifths of the population to abject poverty."[14]

The same author sums up the more disheartening aspects of the situation in Native education in the following words:

"Such schools as exist are overcrowded and under-staffed. The buildings are often makeshift and unhygienic; the equipment is so inadequate that many pupils have to sit on the floor. The books used are in bad condition and insufficient in number. The teachers are often unqualified and of low academic standard. The pupils are often undernourished ... Not more than about thirty percent of native children of schoolgoing age ever receive any schooling at all. The majority of these do not go beyond Standard One."

The confusion existing in governmental policy regarding education of the Native is suggested by the following contrasting statements. The first is a statement of the aim of the Native Affairs Department in 1933: "The Department's primary endeavour is to guide Native thought and progress

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[14] ibid, pp. 176 and 184.

aright in the laborious and difficult process of the absorption by the people of the ideas and methods of Western civilization."[15] The second is a statement from the Report of the Interdepartmental Committee on Native Education, 1935-36: "The education of the white child prepares him for life in a dominant society and the education of the black child for a subordinate society."[16]

Desirable objects of Native education are stated by the Native Affairs Commission to include the following: the provision of an elementary education for as large a number of Native children as possible; emphasis on character training, habits of industry and practical subjects; a limited provision of secondary education (beyond Standard IV) to provide suitable candidates for such higher education and vocational training as is necessary to supply the needs of the Native population itself.[17]

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[15] Rogers, H. Native Administration in the Union of South Africa. Johannesburg: University of the Witwatersrand Press, 1932, p. 17.

[16] Hoernle, R. F. Alfred. "Education and Democratic Ideals." The Year Book of Education. London, 1940, p. 396.

[17] Rogers, H. op. cit. p. 257.

APPENDIX F

Tables

TABLE I

TOTAL EXPENDITURE ON EDUCATION, SOUTH AFRICA 1943-44

(Approximation only, in pounds)[1]

By the Union Education Department			
European		1,544,175	
Universities	496,169		
Technical Colleges	510,188		
Vocational Schools	279,908		
Other institutions	196,895		
General	(61,015)*		
Agricultural Colleges	(163,572)*		
Native		13,540	
Total (Union)		1,721,287*	
By Provincial Education Departments			
European		8,124,165	
Transvaal	3,214,010		
Native		1,585,230	
Transvaal	433,629		
Other Non-European		1,318,141	
Transvaal	159,488		
Totals (Provincial)	3,807,127	11,027,536	
GRAND TOTAL (Union and Provincial)			12,748,823*

[1] Official Year Book of the Union of South Africa, 1946, Chapter VIII, Education. Pretoria: Government Printer, pp. 18,21,22,42,43,52.

TABLE I - Continued.

European		
Entire Union		9,831,912
Transvaal	3,214,010	
Non-European		
Entire Union		2,916,911
Transvaal	593,117	

Note: Figures marked with asterisk are not fully accurate because of need to substitute 1934-35 figures, in parentheses.

TABLE II

DIVISION OF EXPENDITURE BETWEEN EUROPEAN AND NON-EUROPEAN EDUCATION

Population (1936 Census)

European	2,003,857
Non-European	7,586,041

State Educational Expenditure per person, 1936, (round figures only, in decimals of a pound)

European	4.04
Non-European	.17

Ratio, European to Non-European Expenditure per head - 24:1

School (not University) Cost per pupil[2]

European	(375,000 pupils)	20 roughly.
Non-European	(500,000 pupils)	3 roughly.

Note: Although exact figures are not available, by 1944 the educational expenditure per non-European pupil had increased to roughly four pounds,[3] and the number of pupils had increased to almost 750,000. This increase of practically 50% in the number of non-European pupils is related to an increase of only some 17% in the non-European population during these eight years.

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[2] Official Year Book of the Union of South Africa, 1938. Pretoria: Government Printer, 1938, pp. 368 and 376.

[3] Official Year Book of the Union of South Africa, 1946, Chapter VIII, Education, pp. 49-50.

TABLE III

MEDIUM OF INSTRUCTION IN TRANSVAAL SCHOOLS[4]

	Percentage of Children educated in:		
	English	Dutch(Afrikaans)	Dual Medium
1912	75	21	4
1916	45	33	22
1920	41	41	18
1925	41	51 (Afrikaans)	8
1930	39	55 "	6
1934	37	58 "	5
1943	32	67 "	1

[4] ibid, p. 47.

TABLE IV

DISTRIBUTION OF SCHOOLS AND SCHOLARS UNDER THE TRANSVAAL EDUCATION DEPARTMENT AS AT JUNE 1, 1942[5]

	Schools	Scholars
A - EUROPEAN		
Primary Schools (Town)		
Pretoria	39	13,736
Johannesburg and Rand	189	59,104
Provincial Towns	73	24,726
Primary Schools (Country)	451	34,269
School Farms	9	1,729
Agricultural Training Schools	2	83
Secondary Education		
High Schools	47	17,827
Secondary Departments of Primary Schools		6,992
Secondary Departments of School Farms		651
	810	159,117
Aided Nursery Schools	13	566
Aided Private Schools	11	1,818
Aided Farm Schools	3	27
	27	2,411
Training Colleges	4	1,178
TOTAL EUROPEAN	841	162,706

[5]Report of the Transvaal Education Department, 1942. Pretoria: Government Printer, 1946, p. 18.

TABLE IV - Continued.

	Schools	Scholars
B - NON-EUROPEAN (OTHER THAN NATIVE)		
Government Schools		
For Eurafrican (Coloured) Children	56	9,987
For Indian Children	20	3,649
	76	13,636
Aided Schools		
For Eurafrican Children	1	185
For Chinese Children	2	183
	3	368
Training College		45
TOTAL NON-EUROPEAN (OTHER THAN NATIVE)	79	14,049
C - NATIVE		
Government Schools	1	1,124
Aided Schools	959	156,944
Aided Training Institutions	9	1,257
	969	159,325
SUMMARY		
A. EUROPEAN	841	162,706
B. NON-EUROPEAN (OTHER THAN NATIVE)	79	14,049
C. NATIVE	969	159,325
GRAND TOTAL	1,889	336,080

TABLE V

CLASSIFICATION OF PUPILS IN PRIMARY AND SECONDARY CLASSES, AS AT JUNE 1, 1942[6]

	European	Non-European (Coloured & Indian)	Native
Grade I	10.9	19.2	41.0
Grade II	8.3	14.5	17.1
Standard I	10.0	15.6	14.1
II	10.9	14.4	10.2
III	11.6	12.4	7.5
IV	11.7	10.2	4.9
V	11.9	7.0	3.0
VI	10.0	3.9	2.1
VII	6.7	1.5	.1
VIII	4.1	1.0	
IX	1.9	.2	
X	1.5	.1	
Special Classes	0.5		

Note: The figures indicate the percentages (of the total school population of each race) enrolled in each grade or standard.

[6] Report of the Transvaal Education Department, 1942. Pretoria: Government Printer, 1946, pp. 21, 22, 120.

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